Book Reviews

Race and Education in North Carolina: From Segregation to Desegregation. By John E. Batchelor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Preface, acknowledgments, epilogue, appendixes, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 222. $45.00.)

John E. Batchelor's slim volume makes a modest contribution to the massive literature on the subject of school desegregation. The book focuses on the well-known responses of white officials in North Carolina to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, and follows the state's glacial pace toward compliance with the law. Batchelor argues that although North Carolina did not desegregate its schools any faster than other southern states, its policies of "local flexibility" (p. 81) allowed it to do so with less disruption and no closures of (white) schools. Batchelor does note that many African American schools closed in order to merge student populations, but he seems to regard these closings as the price of desegregation, not as catastrophes.

The book opens with a brief overview of North Carolina's educational system and its laws pertaining to schools and race. Batchelor discusses the growing pressure for change from the NAACP, but the bulk of the book documents how state officials, aided by state judges, delayed significant desegregation until the late 1960s. He identifies four eras of desegregation in North Carolina schools: token integration up to 1960; the role played by the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s; limited desegregation until the late 1960s; and "system-wide desegregation" from the late 1960s to the 1970s.

Paralleling his top-down narrative, Batchelor typically relies upon official sources. He makes extensive use of the papers of each governor in this era, as well as dozens of court cases, educational reports, and newspaper accounts. Batchelor also draws upon his telephone interviews with some of the key decision-makers. However, the book gives short shrift to African American leaders and to ordinary people of either race.

Batchelor's depiction of school desegregation will not surprise historians of education, race, or civil rights. Yet his defense of the state's dilatory response to such an urgent moral and political issue might. Most other historians who have analyzed North Carolina and race have not found much to admire, although they would agree with Batchelor that Deep South states were worse. Court cases add an interesting ingredient to the work, but since Batchelor simply summarizes the cases and the rulings, no new insights emerge. His book paints a portrait of state leaders who cared more for social order and reputation than for justice, equality, or conformity with the law. Batchelor ends by emphatically defending desegregated schools and emphasizing recent school resegregation nationwide. It is too

bad that Batchelor did not draw upon his own background to add a personal note to his rather bloodless narrative. He was a student in mostly segregated schools during the 1950s and 1960s, a teacher in 1969, and later a superintendent in North Carolina schools.

Gael Graham

Western Carolina University

The Wilmington Ten: Violence, Injustice, and the Rise of Black Politics in the 1970s. By Kenneth Robert Janken. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Introduction, illustrations, maps, conclusion, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. Pp. 246. $30.00.)

One overly simplistic civil rights narrative focuses on the rise of a nonviolent Christian movement of active but peaceful disobedience, cresting in places like Birmingham and Selma and resulting in landmark federal legislation. With schools integrated, voter registration expanded, and everyone suddenly welcome at lunch counters, gradual assimilation in the 1970s supposedly created a more perfect Union where racism ebbed into virtual irrelevance. In *The Wilmington Ten*, Kenneth Robert Janken explodes what little is left of this cut-and-paste version of the movement, reminding readers that many different movements were operating over a period of decades. Self-defense, militance, and a host of religious and secular philosophies, reactions, and counterreactions mingled together, usually without a happy ending.

Wilmington in the 1970s, Janken avers, was a city where "the community good was defined by what was acceptable to whites" (p. 14). This sentiment created verbal and physical fights within recently integrated schools, a police force that tolerated virtual free reign by white power groups like the Rights of White People, and a political culture and legal system that manufactured evidence and testimony to obtain the preferred outcome. The proximate cause of the arrest of the Ten—many of whom were politically active—was the arson at Mike's Grocery. But Janken excels at detailing the broader context of unrest, violence, and fear in Wilmington and explaining why the case eventually "aroused the nation and summoned the attention of the world" (p. 139). Mining a trove of sources, including archival documents, court records, oral histories, and newspapers, he demonstrates that the conviction came from an especially flimsy case. The key prosecution witness, Mike Hall, was excessively coached and given unusual privileges for a convict. Hall changed the nature of his account several times, and he was protected by court rulings from vigorous cross-examination until "his Honor [became] an adjunct for the prosecution" (p. 102).

The Ten received some 282 combined years of prison sentences, unleashing a series of organizations, movements, responses, rallies, boycotts, and legal appeals designed to convince state and federal courts and officials to take action. During the next decade, much of the consciousness-raising about the Ten came from North Carolinians and the groups they created, merged, and in some cases quickly dissolved. Janken argues that the rise of black politics in North Carolina was noteworthy in part because of its varied roots. Its influences included Christianity, Marxism, parents, students, the Black Panthers, and Black Power. *The Wilmington Ten* is an important, approachable study. General readers and specialists interested in the complexity of the civil rights movements and the idea that the under-studied 1970s could be just as important as the more celebrated 1960s should take note.

Jeff Frederick

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Before the Volunteer State: New Thoughts on Early Tennessee, 1540–1800. Edited by Kristofer Ray. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2014. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, index. Pp. xxii, 230. $57.00.)

The "Tennessee experience" in American memory has largely been defined by epochs such as the American Revolution. But Kristofer Ray argues that these moments in time can only be understood by placing them within a larger context of geopolitical realities. This anthology seeks to do just that by examining the history of Tennessee and the larger Ohio River Valley from 1540 until the dawn of the nineteenth century. By reframing its narrative away from the American Revolution, the collection reveals that "early Tennessee was a political, economic, and imperial crossroads," and part of a larger story featuring global dimensions (p. xv).

The book is broken into two parts. The first introduces historical figures, and the second traces their activities during and immediately after the American Revolution. Robbie Ethridge offers a Cherokee-centric take on the "shatter zone"—the regional instability that resulted in massive social transformations—to account for the rise of the region's dominant indigenous groups. Kristofer Ray illustrates how ambition led the British to treat with the Cherokees, who could check any expansion into the Tennessee corridor. Tyler Boulware relates how that very expansion forced the Cherokees after 1750 to adopt new methods of marking boundaries to preserve their sovereignty. Indeed, the Cherokees were far from the only indigenous people to call Tennessee home. John P. Bowes's essay describes how the Shawnees' use of the corridor "illustrates their willingness to

move, and their ability to do so within the frameworks of trade, diplomacy, and warfare established with the Europeans and other Indians" (p. 87).

Richard Gildrie uses the American Revolution to illustrate the importance of the Tennessee corridor to the larger Atlantic World, and in doing so he resembles recent scholars like François Furstenberg, who illuminate the region's global importance. Natalie Inman, however, provides a fine counterpoint to Gildrie's essay. Eschewing global perspectives in favor of local ones, she finds that kinship networks were used by competing factions—Anglo and Indian alike—to seize power and protect sovereignty. Kevin Barksdale recalls the rise and fall of the failed State of Franklin, explaining how a small separatist movement ultimately made possible the admission of Tennessee. David Britton's piece examines the administration of the territory prior to statehood, focusing specifically on Middle Tennessee's Mero District. He documents how Americans, the Spanish, the Chickamaugas, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and the French wrestled with defining the region in the years following the American Revolution. Finally, Barksdale and Ray consider the memory of early Tennessee in American history, hoping to contest the nineteenth-century construction of "Tennessee" in American minds.

Before the Volunteer State is a well-crafted, engaging look at the people, places, and events that shaped early Tennessee history. The essays are thoughtful and will appeal to scholars and general readers. Moreover, they address questions about Tennessee's role in shaping the larger American narrative. No collection can tackle every subject, though a minor quibble could be made about the volume's east-central bias, or its lack of a Chickasaw-centric essay. However, these are only minor asides. This fine volume should readily find itself in the hands of American, American Indian, and Atlantic World historians.

Jason Herbert

University of Minnesota

The Curious Mister Catesby: A "Truly Ingenious" Naturalist Explores New Worlds. Edited by E. Charles Nelson and David J. Elliott. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, indexes. Pp. xviii, 456. $49.95.)

This landmark volume, sponsored by the Catesby Commemorative Trust, is an effort to bring together all that is known, including some new research, about the pioneering naturalist Mark Catesby (1683–1749). The book comprises twenty-two chapters by twenty-five authors and discusses Catesby and his remarkable works, especially *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama*

Islands. Contributors consider his predecessors, the world in which he lived, and his intellectual legacy. The book begins with a basic biography of Catesby contextualized by "relevant concurrent events." We have known little about Catesby apart from his works, and no likeness of him exists. Several contributors attempt to humanize the man, but none succeeds better than documentary filmmaker Cynthia P. Neal (chapter 2). Neal's *The Curious Mister Catesby* preceded and probably inspired this volume. Catesby succeeded John Lawson, whose *A New Voyage to Carolina* was the first attempt at a comprehensive overview of the region's natural history. Lawson's work firmly established the American tradition of artist-naturalists that led to Wilson, Audubon, and modern field guide makers. Catesby's story makes it clear that networking was as important in the eighteenth century as it is today. His considerable artistic skill opened many doors.

Along with detailed biographical material, this collection includes chapters concerning Catesby's contributions to European horticulture and botany; his specimens in European collections and influence on Carl Linnaeus, the first modern taxonomist; his production of preparatory drawings under primitive conditions; and the printing and publication of *The Natural History*. An important chapter discusses Catesby's lesser-known work "Of Birds of Passage." This short paper presented the then-novel concept of bird migration, proving Catesby much ahead of his time. The chapter also includes a short history of subsequent research on bird migration. A catalog of plants and animals illustrated by Catesby for *The Natural History* is included as an appendix.

This compendium is well edited, referenced, and indexed, and it is lavishly illustrated with both Catesby's images and those of contemporaries and later artists whom he influenced. The volume's contributors frequently establish context with contemporary accounts indirectly related to Catesby and his accomplishments, and they sometimes engage in historical speculation. In most cases, the conjectures help piece together the often fragmentary historical record. Occasionally, however, the speculation approaches fiction. A few chapters are clearly intended as essays rather than research papers. As might be expected with so many contributors, some repetition of text and illustrations has crept in. Nevertheless, the book is scholarly and easy to read, with no jarring style shifts between chapters. It is reasonably priced by today's standards, and it deserves a place in the library of anyone interested in the early scientific exploration of North America.

H. Douglas Pratt

North Carolina Museum of Natural Sciences

The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity. By Gregory D. Smithers. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. Pp. vii, 358. $40.00.)

In *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity*, Gregory D. Smithers argues for the concept of "diaspora" as a new paradigm for understanding Cherokee history. Attuned to the particularities of Cherokee historiography and informed by global indigenous and postcolonial studies, Smithers offers a comprehensive tribal history from the Cherokee diaspora's Revolutionary-era origins through the early twentieth century. The Removal Crisis is obviously critical to this history of diaspora. But Smithers situates this great disruption among a number of other forced and voluntary migrations in which Cherokees struggled to negotiate and police the boundaries of territory and identity.

As much as this work is a history of where and why Cherokee people migrated, it is also a history of the shifting meanings and tensions associated with being part of a diaspora created by colonialism. Smithers first charts pre-Removal Cherokee migrations to New England, Arkansas, Texas, Mexico, and Indian Territory. He then traces the interplay among the diaspora's political core in the reconstituted western Cherokee Nation, the ancestral homeland in the Appalachians, and the individuals and small communities located far from these nexuses of Cherokee identity. Though separated from Cherokee land and kin, people as disparate as California gold miners, the exiled sons of Treaty Party members, and Hawaii mission school students articulated belonging in a range of ways. They read and wrote in English and Cherokee and sustained deep knowledge of their family lineages. In an evocative discussion that closes the book's final chapter, Smithers also shows how Great Depression-era Cherokee people identified with their ancestors' suffering along the Trail of Tears.

These means of expressing identity sustained the diaspora, but false claims to being Cherokee also threatened Cherokee land and sovereignty. The U.S. Civil War, the mass postwar migration that followed it, and the 1887 Allotment Act all posed existential threats to the Cherokee Nation. These phenomena also heightened the stakes for determining legitimate tribal citizenship. Smithers probes the vast paper trail of late nineteenth-century citizenship applications to show both how complicated it could be to determine claims to Cherokee citizenship and how easily applicants of African descent were dismissed as "intruders."

In the book's prologue, Smithers notes that forthcoming chapters "reveal the untidiness, uncertainty, and anxiety that accompanied different forms of travel and migration" (p. 10). On a broader level, *The Cherokee Diaspora* embraces the "untidiness" of Cherokee history in original ways to explore what bound this

diaspora together—and the strictures of racial thinking about "blood" that divided it. If Cherokees could no longer be physically rooted in a place, they had to find other ways to be at home.

Jonathan Hancock

Hendrix College

Varieties of Southern Religious History: Essays in Honor of Donald G. Mathews. Edited by Regina D. Sullivan and Monte Harrell Hampton. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendixes, index. Pp. x, 310. $54.95.)

Varieties of Southern Religious History is a Festschrift consisting of fifteen essays written by Donald Mathews's former graduate students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The authors discuss a wide array of topics and are arranged in roughly chronological order, ranging from the time of the American Revolution to the early twenty-first century.

Whatever the topic, the essay writers employ the lessons they learned from Donald Mathews's "crucified sensibility" when examining historical subjects (p. 4). As editors Sullivan and Hampton explain in the introduction, Mathews's crucified sensibility entails remembering that "As God both bore and transformed the worst suffering of human existence, so by focusing on the crucified God the believer (and the religious historian) became aware of both the victims of suffering and also victory over suffering" (p. 4). In his research, Mathews is noted for "foregrounding those who challenged, or were victimized, by the majority, the status quo, the powerful," while also seeking to understand the majority's behaviors and actions (p. 4).

A couple of examples will suffice in showing the students' devotion to Mathews's principle in their own scholarship. In " 'Taking Up' Quaker Slaves: The Origins of America's Slavery Imperative," Larry E. Tise explores North Carolina Quakers who illegally freed their African American slaves in the late 1700s to assuage their guilt over slaveholding. Moreover, the new state's government imprisoned free African Americans and resold them when their former Quaker owners did not reacquire them. In "Where Do We Go from Here? Spiritualism and Eternity in 1850s Nashville," Nancy Gray Schoonmaker discusses Nashville Church of Christ minister Jesse Babcock Ferguson's drift into spiritualism. According to Schoonmaker, "Historians have assumed that the South was both too orthodox and too defensive about northern 'isms' to let spiritualism take root, but abundant sources reveal evidence linking hundreds of individuals in the South with spirit communication" (p. 138), and Schoonmaker does not want to marginalize southern practitioners of spiritualism.

Despite the writers' success in keeping Mathews's crucified sensibility in mind, some essays do not quite mesh with the theme indicated in the book's title: *Varieties of Southern Religious History*. The title purports to honor Mathews's legacy by examining different topics within southern religious history. But some authors discuss the South only briefly if at all. For instance, Gavin James Campbell's essay analyzes Andover Seminary-trained Niijima Jo's efforts to win his native Japan for Christ, and the essay has nothing to do with southern religious history. Daniel R. Miller discusses the travails of Cuba's Christian Reformed Church (CRC) during the reign of Fidel Castro. Although Cuba is located near the American South, the CRC has no deep roots in the region, and the essay focuses mainly on the interactions of the CRC with Cuban nationals. Notwithstanding the unlikely focus for some of the essays, the reviewer recommends this work for undergraduate and graduate students and scholars interested in American religious history generally.

Jacob Hicks

Florida State University

Federal Justice in the Mid-Atlantic South: United States Courts from Maryland to the Carolinas, 1836–1861. By Peter Graham Fish. (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2015. Tables, graphs, maps, illustrations, appendixes, indexes. Pp. xxxvi, 734. $125.00.)

North Carolina's legal history, especially the history of its federal courts, remains underdeveloped. But Peter G. Fish, professor emeritus of political science and law at Duke University, has done much to remedy this deficiency. In 2002, Fish published *Federal Justice in the Mid-Atlantic South: United States Courts from Maryland to the Carolinas, 1789–1835*, a companion volume to the work under review. The geographic focus of both books is the federal judiciary in the present Fourth Circuit, which includes Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Fish's new study interprets United States courts in these states between the Age of Jackson and the secession winter of 1860–1861.

Federal Justice addresses an amazing array of issues, from biographies of influential personnel to courthouse architecture. Most important, however, is Fish's analysis of key legal disputes. Narrow federal jurisdiction limited the kinds of matters litigated. The short-lived 1841 Bankruptcy Act and conflicts arising on salt and fresh waters dominated United States courts' dockets. Fish shows that despite constricted power federal judges confronted the young republic's most important legal question: What was the relationship between the states and Washington? *Federal Justice* provides nothing less than a comprehensive account of how Mid-Atlantic federal courts answered that question by constructing a fragile

compromise that ultimately collapsed under the burden of slavery. Particularly compelling are the failed prosecutions of obviously guilty slave traders, as Southern jurors simply would not convict human traffickers. Equally revealing is that after Abraham Lincoln's election most of the federal judiciary in the circuit quit, quickly reemerging as Confederate judges.

Fish's discussion of Tar Heel federal courts is also noteworthy. Most striking is their insignificance, at least when compared to judicial activity in Baltimore, Richmond, and Charleston. Caseloads remained astonishingly meager. Between 1802 and 1861, only two men, Henry Potter (1766–1857) and Asa Biggs (1811–1878), served as the state's federal district judges. Potter's excessively long service (1802–1857) came to be distinguished by its "[i]nformality, tardy procedures and short sessions," including holding court in his Fayetteville home (p. 187). Potter's death gave Biggs an opportunity to revive the North Carolina district, but after a few years he resigned from the bench, supported secession, and accepted an appointment as a Confederate States judge. Weakness in North Carolina federal courts partly derived from the state's rural character and its lack of substantial port cities.

The Fourth Circuit is fortunate to now be the subject of an excellent history that spans the entire antebellum period. Fish's current work offers a fascinating look at the people and places that defined the federal court presence in the Mid-Atlantic South. Most impressive is the way his history demonstrates how legal disputes over commercial matters, chiefly those related to the movement of goods at sea, raised fundamental questions about the deepest purposes of government. Conflicts resolved in the federal courts demanded concrete applications of both national and local values. Professor Fish's account of those decisions gives historians novel and rewarding perspectives on American law, slavery, and the Civil War.

James L. Hunt

Mercer University

The Color Factor: The Economics of African-American Well-Being in the Nineteenth-Century South. By Howard Bodenhorn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, appendixes, notes, references, index. Pp. xv, 320. $39.95.)

Economic historian Howard Bodenhorn contends that "relative to dark-skinned African Americans, light-skinned mixed-race men and women achieved higher levels of economic well-being in nearly all measurable dimensions" (p. 2). Few readers, especially African Americans, will view that as a debatable thesis.

Yet this is a truly unique and intriguing book. Rather than providing a narrative history, Bodenhorn presents a compelling economic study that challenges the suppositions of earlier, more traditional works on African American life and families. However, if you have great curiosity about nineteenth-century African American life, this may not be the book you want to read. *The Color Factor* will have its greatest appeal among academics and students of economic and social theory.

Bodenhorn asserts that this study is not about race relations, which is not entirely accurate. This book would have been impossible to write without noting the racial discrimination that nineteenth-century African Americans faced, regardless of their shade of skin. Bodenhorn does acknowledge egregious discrimination throughout most of the book. One of the sources upon which he relies is a prime example of antebellum discrimination—Virginia's free black registries. Beginning in 1801, state law required free blacks to register with county court clerks, who described them in some detail. The clerks noted skin color as *bright mulatto, mulatto, and dark black*. They also noted height and visible scars. Sometimes the descriptions were not meticulous; for example, workers would write that a person was "about" five feet tall. Unlike Bodenhorn, this reader questions how such information fits into a scientific study. Could clerks have disagreed on what a bright mulatto looked like, or on variations between bright mulatto and mulatto? Were all brown-skinned people categorized as mulattoes? Nonetheless, Virginia's free black registries are a wealth of information, and they do provide lots of data about the free black community and a glimpse of the people who were keeping tabs on them. Fortunately for Bodenhorn, he was able to use numerous other sources, including records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; federal census records; and the Maryland free black registries.

The important takeaway is that while light-skinned people fared better than their dark-skinned brethren, racial prejudice, Jim Crow laws, and custom limited the success of both groups. Bodenhorn argues that the color factor was so pervasive that it governed marriage choices and even affected people's height and health, just as it affected their employment and wealth. This study surely belongs in all collegiate libraries and on the shelves of every professor of African American history. It is indeed a very important book.

Theodore Carter DeLaney

Washington and Lee University

Fortune's Fool: The Life of John Wilkes Booth. By Terry Alford. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Introduction, illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, index. Pp. x, 454. $29.95.)

Books about Abraham Lincoln—more so than any other figure in American history—are churned out with prodigious rapidity. The sixteenth president has attracted the most eminent of biographers, ranging from Carl Sandburg to James McPherson to Stephen Oates to David Donald. Myriad other books about Lincoln's presidency, his wife's insanity, his relationship with the Todd family, his political strategies and ideas about slavery, his speeches, his death, and his legacy are easy to find. Admittedly, this attention paid to anything and everything Lincoln over the last 150 years makes the lack of a single proper biography for his assassin, John Wilkes Booth, all the more puzzling. Terry Alford's *Fortune's Fool* is a stunning achievement—it more than fills this decades-old lacuna.

Everyone knows the basic story of John Wilkes Booth: a disgruntled southern actor who led a group of conspirators first to kidnap, and then to assassinate, President Lincoln as the tides of war turned against the Confederacy. And as early as grade school, Americans have been taught to remember the iconic moments of the assassination, none more so than Booth jumping to the stage, breaking his leg, and shouting "Sic Semper Tyrannus!" ("Thus always to tyrants!") at the confused patrons of Ford's Theater. But it is the details about the man, from his upbringing to the treatment of his corpse, that make Booth more than a mustachioed caricature. These are the details Alford has painstakingly assembled and brought to light.

For example, while the character so often employed as a prop for telling the tale of Lincoln's murder is simply a "famous actor," Alford chronicles the real ups and downs of Booth's career. He illuminates how Booth struggled mightily to follow in the footsteps of his father and his older brother, Edwin, and he provides a fascinating glimpse into the world of the Civil War-era theater. Moreover, while many killers are later found to have tortured animals in their early years, Booth harbored a striking fondness for dogs and horses. He once jumped from a moving ship to rescue a dog cruelly thrown overboard by its owner. Though an assassin to be sure, Booth was apparently no sociopath.

Perhaps most interestingly, Booth's political ideology concerning slavery and African Americans' place in southern society did not align that well with the rest of his family's sentiments. Booth's father, Junius Brutus Booth, and his grandfather, Richard Booth—both born in England—were quite progressive in matters of race and slavery. The latter was reportedly caught numerous times helping slaves escape from neighboring farms. This intellectual and emotional disconnect between Booth and his paternal forebears represents the point lurking beneath Alford's entire narrative: the more we learn about John Wilkes Booth, the more real he becomes as a historical actor. The more real he becomes as a

historical actor, the closer we think we're coming to understanding why Booth committed his horrible crime. In reality, though, he becomes a man of paradoxes: a mash-up of emotions and partisan feelings, of childhood baggage, love affairs, and even learning disabilities. Simply put, the opposite is true. The more real Booth becomes, the less we actually know him.

Fortune's Fool is highly recommended to all audiences with an interest in Lincoln, the Civil War era, or biography in general. Alford's research meets academic standards, while his writing should please a popular readership. It is difficult to imagine this not being the definitive biography of John Wilkes Booth for decades to come.

Matthew C. Hulbert

Frankfort, Kentucky

Marching Masters: Slavery, Race, and the Confederate Army during the Civil War. By Colin Edward Woodward. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 283. $35.00.)

Colin Edward Woodward's *Marching Masters* demonstrates that Confederate soldiers—slaveholding and nonslaveholding—well understood that they were protecting slavery and white supremacy and supporting military and government policies to do the same. His arguments reinforce much that some scholars already accept but others do not fully understand. Despite methodological weaknesses, this monograph, which examines the views of enlisted men, officers, and Confederate administrators, should be required reading for those still clinging to the Lost Cause.

Using a chronological framework, Woodward divides the book thematically. Early chapters examine Confederate soldiers' support of slavery, plowing much the same ground as Chandra Manning's *What This Cruel War Was Over* (2007). Woodward demonstrates that even nonslaveholding Confederate combatants, who made up the bulk of the Rebel army, feared the economic and social repercussions of slavery's potential destruction. They feared that emancipation would result in miscegenation, black men preying on white women, a race war, or racial equality.

Woodward also examines the controversial Confederate policies of conscription and slave impressment. He argues that these measures engendered considerable discord but did not internally weaken the Confederacy. Because white Southerners of all classes were committed to white supremacy they ultimately accepted these policies. Woodward demonstrates that this shared goal ameliorated objections and allowed the Confederacy to utilize slave impressment effectively.

Woodward also explores Confederate soldiers' sentiments about slaves in camp, runaway slaves, and black Union soldiers. Rejecting the neo-Confederate myth that many African Americans served as Rebel soldiers, he demonstrates that most blacks in camp were enslaved body servants, impressed laborers, or paid free blacks. Soldiers upheld race controls and standards, body servants performed subservient domestic duties, and whites alone were "man" enough to fight. Soldiers refused to see the flight of slaves to Union lines as disloyalty. Instead, they convinced themselves that Union lies and enticements led slaves astray. Black Union soldiers incited more Confederate rage, strengthening support for the racial order and spurring furious atrocities. Woodward also details the Confederacy's late war debate over enlisting blacks as soldiers, but his most effective chapter compares soldiers' wartime statements and postwar recollections. Once "carpetbag rule" ended with race controls back in place, veterans denied the war had ever been about the preservation of slavery. Yet they also insisted blacks had been happier as slaves. The long-term impact is that Confederate veterans' descendants and apologists have used those words to support the Lost Cause.

Woodward's work raises questions that better categorization of evidence could have addressed. For instance, did conscripted soldiers express the same commitment to preserving slavery as volunteers? Did soldiers from regions with fewer slaves have the same sentiments as those from areas with larger slave populations? Further, Woodward does not create a statistically representative sampling of the Confederate army, making his primary source evidence merely anecdotal. Yet these weaknesses are in some ways an asset. Had Woodward created more categories and a representative sampling, the book might have become jargon filled and less accessible to the broader audience that needs its message. *Marching Masters* effectively demonstrates that white supremacy was central to Confederate soldiers' motivations.

Glenn David Brasher

University of Alabama

The Civilian War: Confederate Women and Union Soldiers during Sherman's March. By Lisa Tendrich Frank. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 237. $42.50.)

Few topics in Civil War history receive more consistent attention than Sherman's March. Since the late 1980s, Joseph Glatthaar, Charles Royster, Mark Grimsley, and others have debated Union conduct toward the civilian populations of Georgia and the Carolinas. Historians of gender remain equally fascinated by the March, however, and some of the most innovative approaches to studying Union military policy in 1864–1865 have emerged from scholars such as Jacqueline

Glass Campbell, who analyzed Sherman's campaign through the eyes of Southern women. To this circle can now be added Lisa Tendrich Frank's *The Civilian War*, which argues that Sherman specifically targeted elite white females—the race, class, and gender deemed most responsible for sustaining the Confederate war effort on the home front.

Frank aims to bridge military and gender history with her discussion of how Union attitudes toward the slave-owning civilian South required a "gender-specific military campaign on the home front, one that encompassed an active female civilian population and focused on the trappings of their domestic worlds" (p. 10). Through their actions, Union soldiers cracked the fragile cultural norms that had previously protected these women, invading female privacy in a specific strategy "akin to a sexual assault on the South as a whole" (p. 51). The result of this assault, however, was not the widespread withdrawal of female support from the war effort that Drew Gilpin Faust and others have observed. Instead, as Frank argues persuasively, the breakdown of cultural barriers resulting from Sherman's March actually hardened resolve and convinced elite white women to call for renewed resistance. The author shows how, through their hard work to support the war before and during the march, white women extended the parameters of political action.

Powerfully written and cogently argued, *The Civilian War* is an easy read and was clearly a labor of love for its author. Frank uses primarily sources written at the time and relies heavily on such gems as the journal of North Carolinian Catherine Edmondston. That said, some of the military considerations in the book are tenuous; for example, terms such as "battle tactics" are out of place in a description of policy toward civilians. Most importantly, the author undervalues the extent to which logistical considerations—not necessarily a specifically designed assault on white womanhood—drove Sherman's decision to embark on the march from Atlanta. Furthermore, Frank privileges hyperbolic Union accounts of a "40- to 60-mile-wide swath of destruction" in contrast to a critical mass of scholarship indicating that Union forces used relative restraint during the campaign (p. 57).

The Civilian War forces readers to reexamine assumptions about Sherman's March. By asking historians to focus less on the quantity of destruction and more on the specific cultural effects of Union invasion, this work pushes the dialogue forward in new and interesting ways. Further investigation of how white female reaction in the Confederacy compared with civilian populations in other wars would almost certainly elicit groundbreaking results if viewed through Frank's approach.

Zachery A. Fry

Ohio State University

Agriculture and the Confederacy: Policy, Productivity, and Power in the Civil War South. By R. Douglas Hurt. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, tables, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 349. $45.00, paper.)

The most enduring theme of the Southern experience in the Civil War may well be hunger. All accounts of the war must reckon with the plain fact that privation was central to Southerners' wartime experiences. Yet few historians have attempted to explain the sources of this hardship and contextualize its causes and effects within the larger war. R. Douglas Hurt's fine new volume does just this, and in the process it moves discussion of wartime agriculture and food production away from generalizations to specifics. Hurt details the myriad agricultural problems confronting the Confederacy, from a lack of central planning to the destruction of crops and infrastructure to the effects of the breakdown of slavery, arguing that it was really a wonder that the South could feed itself at all.

Agriculture and the Confederacy is organized chronologically and by region. The first chapter opens with Confederates' faith in Southern farms to supply both the new nation's dietary needs and the world's demand for cotton. Indeed, Confederate leaders were optimistic that the South's agricultural power, often compared unfavorably to the urban North's industrialization, would make the difference. As Hurt demonstrates, harnessing this power proved elusive, even by late 1861. Difficulties stemmed from the Union blockade and European buyers' unwillingness to violate it, as well as from Southerners' readiness to trade across lines and the Confederacy's inability to coordinate production and supply. By 1862, the subject of chapter 2, confidence gave way to confusion. The Confederate government tried to limit inflation, requisition sufficient supplies for the army, and encourage the production of food rather than cotton, but these efforts crashed on the rocks of farmer and planter individualism, wartime depredations, and black market activities. Chapters 3 through 7 document the continuing collapse of Confederate agriculture as a result of these forces between 1863 and 1865, alternating attention between the Western and Eastern Theaters. While this structure can be repetitious, as Hurt himself admits, it works well for showing how agricultural developments were critical to the course of the war.

Hurt's attention to detail allows historians to better contextualize those developments, making this book is an important addition to the historiography of the Civil War and the Confederacy. Additionally, by detailing the course of destruction wrought by the war, *Agriculture and the Confederacy* is a useful book for students of postbellum southern agriculture.

Evan P. Bennett

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Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era. By Tiya Miles. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Preface, introduction, notes, acknowledgments, index. Pp. xvii, 154. $24.95.)

Tiya Miles's book is a lively and entertaining first-person account of "ghost tourism" in the Deep South. Miles, an African American who teaches at the University of Michigan, grew up in the Midwest. She encountered a gripping phenomenon called "ghost tourism" while taking a "Ghost Tour" at the antebellum Sorrel-Weed House in Savannah, Georgia. The tale of Molly, a young slave who was the mistress of the home's owner and was found hanged in her quarters, captured Miles's imagination. Subsequently, Miles explored the Deep South's antebellum house museums and ghost-story literature, in which deceased black slaves, most of them women, haunt homes and attract enthusiastic, diverse tourists. In addition, Miles studied the tortured slaves haunting the house of Madame Lalaurie, a cruel mistress residing in the New Orleans French Quarter, and slave ghosts Chloe and Cleo at The Myrtles plantation in St. Francisville, Louisiana.

The author has a pragmatic attitude toward ghosts and does not completely discount the "spirit world." She acknowledges that past African Americans believed that ghosts were real and dangerous and admits that she writes about history because she is haunted by the people. In her book *The House on Diamond Hill* (UNC Press, 2012), a history of the antebellum plantation of Cherokee slave owner James Vann, Miles invented a slave ghost to convey "the integrity of our ancestors" (p. 132).

This book reveals two sides to ghost tourism, a subset of so-called "dark tourism," which caters to a growing fascination with death, disaster, and suffering. In the context of black history, ghost stories satisfy our craving for knowledge about the little-known lives of enslaved people. Miles notes that books and tours featuring slave ghosts are often the only venues that make black history visible. The "dark" side to such tours is that they tend to feature lurid, sensationalized tales that promote racism. Caricatures of sexually predatory "Jezebel" slaves, comforting "Mammy" slaves, or voodoo priestess slaves whose black magic had a malevolent purpose distort historical truth and undermine the dignity and value of black history. Tourists become voyeurs, alternately fascinated and repulsed by spectacles of slaves subjected to brutality from their owners or taking revenge against their owners. Sometimes, Miles herself may repeat the lurid details a little too enthusiastically. Yet she shines a valuable light on how we feel about the Civil War and race, and on how the ghosts of the past are still with us.

M. Ruth Little

Longleaf Historic Resources

The Slain Wood: Papermaking and Its Environmental Consequences in the American South. By William Boyd. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2015. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, essay on sources, index. Pp. xiii, 350. $55.00.)

The Slain Wood, by William Boyd, explores the history of the paper and pulp industry in the South. The book concentrates on two elements of this larger story. Boyd surveys paper and pulp manufacturing's economic and industrial history, and he provides legal analysis of the industry's relationship with the environment.

The vast majority of this book is a business and institutional history of southern paper manufacturing. It focuses primarily on the economic, political, and institutional factors that led to the industry's growth in the South, and it principally examines the actions of large firms and the government. Chapter 1 discusses how paper producers secured a source of wood in the South. Boyd explores the creation of "a new forest management regime" that treated timber "as a crop" (p. 18). Most southern forests were owned by small landowners who supplied mills with raw materials. These forests were rationalized and placed into an industrial framework in which they could be continually cut and replanted.

Next, Boyd traces the flow of wood from these small farmers to pulp and paper mills. He again takes a large-scale institutional and economic perspective, paying close attention to the specific regional contours of the South's economy and labor force. Chapter 3 continues in this vein, examining how the industry sought "order and stability" in the context of southern industrial forests, paper mills with machinery that never lost value, and fluctuating demand (p. 111). However, this chapter's analysis of class and race in paper manufacturing is less successful. A brief sixteen-page section that largely relies on dated secondary sources discusses desegregation and the persistence of unions in the industry.

In chapter 4, Boyd, a professor of environmental law, assesses the industry's environmental impact. This sixty-eight-page chapter is a comprehensive analysis of the legal history of pollution from paper manufacturing. It masterfully analyzes early litigation, federal efforts to regulate water and air pollution, and later, legal fights over toxic compounds like dioxin. This chapter has tremendous value as a legal history situated within broader political, historical, economic, and social context.

Boyd's fifth chapter looks at the industry's broader relationship with the economy and natural world of the South. He concludes that the paper industry radically changed the southern environment, creating an industrialized and rationalized forest, and disastrously polluted the region's water and air resources.

Chris Wilhelm

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OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Fans of historic preservation know that Frederick Law Olmsted became famous as one of the designers of Central Park in New York City in the 1850s. But do those same fans know about Olmsted's last major undertaking? His final task was serving as landscape architect of the Biltmore Estate. As Olmsted began work with the Asheville project for George Washington Vanderbilt, he sent Vanderbilt his comprehensive plan in a thirty-six-page letter. Prominent architect Richard Morris Hunt designed the 250-room mansion.

Bill Alexander, Biltmore's longtime landscape and forest historian, covers Olmsted's contributions in *The Biltmore Estate, Gardens and Grounds*, an Arcadia book. He condenses his scholarship for Arcadia's format by merging text in the introduction and chapter headings with photographs and captions. One learns that Olmsted faced many challenges, including health issues and the task of meshing "his naturalistic landscaping style with Hunt's formal and often elaborate architectural elements" (p. 8). The book consists of chapters about the Approach Road entering the estate; the home grounds and gardens, which include areas near the mansion such as the Esplanade, Vista, terraces, gardens, and Conservatory; and areas of the site less frequently visited, including the glen, deer park, farm, and forest. The last chapter focuses on the inspiring story of Chauncey Beadle, who was hired by Olmsted right out of college in 1890. Beadle became an indispensable worker at Biltmore for sixty years.

The author uses a variety of rare photographs from the Biltmore archives. Some images are of Vanderbilt with his Saint Bernard dogs. Others are sentimental, showing how the builders of the Approach Road welcomed Vanderbilt and his new bride, Edith Stuyvesant Dresser Vanderbilt, to Biltmore. However, the subjects in a few of the photographs are difficult to identify. Cropping these images would have helped readers with this process. The book will be of value to Biltmore visitors who want to learn more about attractions the grounds have to offer. *The Biltmore Estate Gardens and Grounds* (maps; photographs; 128 pages; $21.99, paper) can be ordered from Arcadia Publishing.—Walter R. Turner, Wadesboro, North Carolina.

On July 19, 1967, two aircraft, a Piedmont Boeing 727 and a Cessna 310, collided very near the new cloverleaf interchange of Interstate 26 and US 64 in Hendersonville, North Carolina. All aboard, a total of eighty-two people, including Secretary Designate of the Navy John McNaughton, died. The Piedmont jet had just departed the Asheville Regional Airport, then six years old. The collision

was at an altitude of between four and five thousand feet. Debris spread over a half-mile radius. Bodies, luggage, bathroom facilities, and aircraft parts fell in the woods and through rooftops. Many local residents witnessed the collision near noon on a brilliant blue sky day. Counselors at Camp Pinewood, directly beneath the collision, rushed to shelter campers under canoes and in the water.

Paul D. Houle of Chesnee, South Carolina, has revisited the tragedy as the fifty-year anniversary approaches. The story he tells is compelling, if at times encumbered with repetition and circuitous thinking. A former traffic accident investigator with the U.S. Army, Houle has plumbed the episode with particular attention to what he contends was a flawed investigation by the National Transportation Safety Board. Following a public hearing at the Grove Park Inn in October 1967, the NTSB issued a report placing sole responsibility on the pilot of the Cessna, who had deviated from his course.

Rather, based on flight recordings, interviews, and other accounts, Houle builds a solid case that places blame outside the Cessna. In particular he points to poor cockpit discipline by the Piedmont pilots. At the time of the collision they were dealing with, of all things, an ashtray fire. As or more important were the deficient radar system and the shortage of air traffic personnel. He notes that the lead investigator, Thomas Saunders, was the brother of Piedmont vice-president Zeke Saunders. A second NTSB review of the investigation in 2007 defended the original findings. Houle's research can be found in *The Crash of Piedmont Airlines Flight 22: Completing the Record of the 1967 Midair Collision Near Hendersonville, North Carolina* (illustrations; 213 pages; $35.00, paper), published in 2016 by McFarland and Company.—Michael Hill, Historical Research Office, N.C. Office of Archives and History.