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EDITORS’ CORRECTION:
On this page in the Winter 2004 issue of Ohio Valley History, the editors incorrectly associated the Thomas Jefferson Papers with the University of Virginia. In fact, the Thomas Jefferson Papers: Retirement Series is sponsored by the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, and it is housed in the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, at Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia. Our apologies.

*High Mountains Rising* is an anthology of essays by major scholars of the Appalachian region covering a long time frame—from European contact with Native American populations to the twenty first century. In his introduction, editor Richard Straw sets the stage by relating his undergraduate experience when a professor informed him that Appalachia “has no history.” (1) Straw argues that recent scholarship does indeed demonstrate that Appalachia has a history and that history should be available to beginning students and non-scholars. This collection seeks to do just that by including essays by influential Appalachian scholars especially written for this work. Straw’s introduction also lays out the themes explored by the essays and ends by dealing with the issue of Appalachian exceptionalism. He seems to suggest that despite much recent research suggesting that Appalachian history is intertwined with and reflective of Southern history and American history, there is still something “unique” about it. (5)

This claim is not readily born out by the many excellent essays. C. Clifford Boyd, Jr. insists that Native American culture, particularly Cherokee, showed an evolutionary pattern similar to other native peoples in other parts of the United States, right down to the present importance of tourism and casinos. H. Tyler Blethen documents the diversity of European immigrants along with involuntary immigrants, African Americans. He shows that English, Scotch-Irish, Irish and German immigrants all shared a desire for land and improved economic status; all participated in a mostly self-sufficient household economy but also traded beef and other products with coastal areas. When possible they engaged in small businesses—salt production, iron forges, timber cutting, etc. In short, they resemble the household economies of the eighteenth century elsewhere. John Inscoe provides a snapshot of African American life in the mountains, destroying the myth that there were no people of color or slaves in the mountain South, or that if there were, they were better treated than in the plantation South. Similar patterns can be found in Gordon McKinney’s chapter on the Civil War and Reconstruction, in Ronald Lewis’s examination of industrialization, and in Paul Salstrom’s account of the Great Depression in the mountains. All of these time periods and historical events did indeed have in common some features peculiar to Appalachia, but in the end the fundamental patterns of social, economic and political change remain the same as those found in American history as whole.

Another set of chapters—David Hsiung on “Stereotypes,” Bill Malone on “Music,” Michael Ann Williams on “Folklore,” Michael Montgomery on “English Language,” and Ted Olson on “Literature”—have as their theme the deconstruction of
stereotypes or myths developed by outsiders about mountain people. Hsiung argues somewhat uniquely that Appalachian stereotypes originated in conflicts between town dwelling Appalachians and country folk, but that outsiders also exaggerated stories to an extreme. In other essays, we discover that there is no uniquely Appalachian music, folk customs, language or literature. Even bluegrass, log cabins and the words “plumb” and “right smart” are not particular to Appalachia! (148) In fact, these cultural analyses suggest that Appalachia, like every other place in America, was divided by social class and race, and had the added misfortune of being rich in natural resources that modernizing capitalists from outside the region exploited with vigor and abandon—not that they did not have allies within the region, as shown in the final essay by Ronald Eller. As a result, much that we perceive today as “Appalachian” proves to be a construction by outsiders created either to justify exploitation, especially in the industrial era, or to romanticize mountaineers, as in the 1960s. None of this is new, of course, but the authors of High Mountains Rising have written new versions of their work aimed at appealing to newcomers to the field of Appalachian life and history, and they have done so successfully.

Altina Waller
University of Connecticut


Ohio’s history includes an array of intriguing females with complex and serendipitous stories oftentimes overlooked because of research and publishing constraints. This volume, produced collaboratively as an Ohio Bicentennial Legacy Project, is an effort to spur interest and help correct that deficiency. Profiles of Ohio Women is an attractive volume that well commemorates the state’s recent bicentennial and introduces the reader to the varied contributions of numerous, fascinating female Ohioans from the past two hundred years. The lovely forward from First Lady Hope Taft is paired with an inspiring dedication to “untold numbers of Ohio women,” making this book a nice keepsake for future generations. (vi)

Profiles ably meets its dual purpose to “showcase leadership statewide” and to depict a range of achievements demonstrating the multiple pathways by which women, typically unsung heroines, have shared their visions, time, and talents, often against incredible odds. (xi) The volume is organized into seventeen sections representing a broad range of achievements that include business and finance, communications, community service, education, exploration and adventure, health care, law and government, literature, military service, music, public service, religion, science and technology, social activism, sports and athletics, stage and screen performance, and the visual arts. Each section includes a very brief, generalized introduction to the topic. While the introductions are inspirational and well written, they have not been grounded in the historical literature of Ohio.

Choosing two hundred women from the multitude who have contributed to Ohio’s development could not have been simple. The book’s introduc-
tion details the care that the collaborating agencies took to spread the entries over time, region, achievement category, race and ethnicity. Heavy reliance was placed on a grassroots effort to identify nominees. It is, however, disturbing that only 562 names resulted from public announcements requesting nominations from sixteen hundred organizations. Hopefully, the publication of Profiles will spur Ohioans working in traditional history as well as public history to search for additional ways to disseminate information about the contributions of Ohio women. The archival collections are already preserved to support this effort, although there will always be more collecting to be done. But Ohio needs an increasing number of venues for the publication of the enticing stories in these collections.

Each of the two hundred Ohioans chosen is profiled with a one-page biography that includes a picture, basic vital statistics, and county of residence. The easily readable biographies include information on date and place of birth, education, marriage, and contributions to society. Readers will find this is good volume to pick up for a series of brief, relaxing reads. Each biographical sketch has enough information to satisfy the casual reader and to spark questions in the more serious student of Ohio history. One always hopes that this will lead the reader to search for more information on the subject. Unfortunately, the lack of citations and references to other publications for further information will make this more of a challenge than it needs to be, an all too typical problem in volumes published today for a popular audience. The appendices, varied and helpful, include profiles of Ohio women by region and by century, plus information on other notable women nominated for the publication, including a list of first ladies for the state of Ohio, and the seven Ohioans who have been First Ladies of the United States. The bibliography, however, easily could have been more extensive and thereby better promote more inquiry into the subject of Ohio women. The scholarship is already there but it needs visibility.

Profiles of Ohio Women will make a lovely gift, particularly for Mother's Day or graduation. It will spur comment and provide relaxing reading if kept on your coffee table. I, and likely many of my colleagues, will refer students to it when they are looking for a reference book from which to pull a research subject in Ohio women's history. And I will certainly save my copy, as I am sure many mothers will, to hand down to my own daughter with the hope that it will help her understand her place as a seventh generation Ohio woman in the rich heritage of this state.

Bari Oyler Stith
John Carroll University


In bold, colorful prose, Kentucky's state historian laureate, Thomas D. Clark, chronicles the story of southern forests from the period of first European contact to the recent past. As the title suggests, Clark's book adopts a fundamentally optimistic perspective. Although carelessness, shortsightedness, and greed pushed the South's forested landscape to the very brink of destruction, by the middle of the twentieth century the region experienced a remarkable green renaissance.

According to Clark, the Anglo-American pioneers who ventured to the South during the early nineteenth century "enjoyed the distinct privilege of walking beneath the vaulted canopy of virgin trees" stretching some four hundred thousand square miles. (2) Three major types of pine graced the region's coastal areas and highlands while the Appalachians harbored a luxurious growth of deciduous trees and
swamplands that produced prodigious quantities of cypress, gum, hickory, oak, and cedar. The early settlers viewed this seemingly limitless arboreal bounty as either an obstacle to agriculture or a source of potential profit. In either case, they wasted trees with abandon. Timber cutters initially extracted only the choicest morsels, leaving behind billions of board feet of wood. Fires regularly ravished the landscape, destroying not only scrap lumber and mature trees but also the seeds and seedlings that might have regenerated the forest. Countless miles of wooden split rail fences—erected to prevent wandering herds of pigs and cattle from invading crops—quickly rotted and had to be constantly replaced. The construction of extensive railroad networks in the post-Civil War era facilitated larger and larger timber harvests. By the end of World War I, Clark argues, some ten percent of the original volume of conifers and deciduous trees found growing in the region in 1880 remained intact.

In Clark’s view, science and technology then rescued the southern forest. The initial inklings of a more sustainable approach came in 1892, when George Vanderbilt hired the consulting forester Gifford Pinchot to manage the extensive woodlands surrounding Biltmore, his estate in the mountains of western North Carolina. Although Pinchot soon moved on to Washington, his successor, Carl A. Schenck, established the Biltmore Forestry School, a short-lived institution whose students provided the vanguard for a more scientific- and management-oriented approach to southern forests. During this same period, the Weeks Act (1911) authorized the federal government to begin buying up privately owned woodlands in the eastern part of the United States, while the Clarke-McNary Act (1924) promoted federal-state cooperation in the acquisition and management of public forests. The Southern Forest Experimentation Station, established in 1921, developed the know-how to prevent fire damage, determine the effects of grazing, and regrow vast cut-over regions in the South, whether in public or private hands. In the 1930s, the chemist Charles H. Herty figured out how to make bleached white paper from pine pulp. Following this discovery, a bevy of pulp, paper, and fabricated wood products companies rushed in to construct large mills in the region and to purchase vast quantities of land to grow the trees necessary to keep those mills operating.

Today timber production in the South is a continuous process of “clear-cutting, scraping the land bare, and replenishing it with superior pine and hardwood stock.” (133) Each year more and more former cropland has been replaced by intensely managed timber stands. Although Clark briefly mentions some of the human costs as original forests gave way to cropland and then tree farms, he nonetheless portrays the change in largely positive terms. The shift from cotton, tobacco, and other crops to timber may have re-forested the South, but from an environmental and ecological perspective, tree farms only faintly resemble the original woodlands that
once characterized the region. Complex, diverse ecosystems have given way to genetically uniform monocultures planted in straight rows and doused with copious quantities of pesticide, herbicide, and fertilizer. These highly engineered landscapes may promote the rapid growth of a handful of economically valuable trees and provide habitat for some game species, but what impact have they had on non-game and endangered wildlife? And what have been the effects of the copious stream of chemicals that tree farms and paper mills spew into the region’s environment? These are questions left to future historians, who will undoubtedly rely on Clark’s engaging (though un-footnoted) introduction to the topic.

Mark V. Barrow, Jr.
Virginia Polytechnic and State University


The national Lewis and Clark bicentennial has sparked a resurgence of popular interest in the early American West. Christman’s work, timed to take full marketing advantage of this fad, provides a panoramic view of the lives and activities of three generations of the Chouteau family, dominant players in the early Trans-Mississippi fur trade. After making every effort to ingratiate themselves with the Louisiana Territory’s new American authorities, the Chouteau clan sent their children to West Point in a successful effort to solidify their crusade to maintain their lucrative position as vital intermediaries between the indigenous Native American populations, particularly the militarily powerful Osage nation. Their pivotal role in regional Indian diplomacy permitted them to use their political connections to get a leg up on their fur-trade competitors. As a result, the Chouteaus and their kin extended their already considerable colonial-era economic reach to the eastern ranges of the Rocky Mountains.

Before Lewis and Clark constitutes a historically notable case study of the Americanization of a French frontier family (and, by extension, the Trans-Mississippi region) based upon the classic three-generational assimilation model. Because of its wide national distribution, Christman’s book will do much to shape popular perceptions about the early nineteenth-century West. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that the work is badly flawed. First, Christman, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, does a commendable job of documenting her subjects’ American-era activities, but the same cannot be said for the Chouteaus’ early (i.e., pre-1804) careers, which, the title erroneously suggests, should have been the book’s central focus. This portion of the narrative is based primarily upon secondary literature of often questionable value and, as a consequence, it is riddled with errors. For example, the author’s contention that the refuse of the French jails, sent to Louisiana during the second proprietary period as forced emigrants, became voyageurs who took Native American wives (29) is inaccurate. The author also places far too much emphasis upon the Trans-Mississippi fur trade industry at a time when the French colonists’ eyes were facing eastward. Second, the author demonstrates a rather surprising—and profoundly
disappointing—lack of understanding regarding French colonial/Creole society and culture as well as those of the motherland that gave them birth. For instance, in her discussion of the French background of Pierre LaClède Liguest (26), the founder of St. Louis and progenitor of the city’s Chouteau clan, Christman fails to note the acrimonious eighteenth-century French social divide between the noblesse de robe (newer nobility conferred by office, often purchased) and the noblesse d’épée (older nobility conferred by military rank or deed). She consequently ignores the fact that it was highly unusual for a noblesses de robe child like LaClède to pursue a military career. Moreover, the work is written in expository style with minimal interpretation reserved for the conclusion. Finally, the author’s prolix narrative frequently rambles and Christman inserts a largely irrelevant discussion of the various Chouteau positions on slavery. Before Lewis and Clark is, therefore, a work that promises much, but delivers less than anticipated.

Carl A. Brasseaux
University of Louisiana at Lafayette


A fter writing or editing several books about the Union Army’s “Iron” Brigade, Alan D. Gaff turns his attention in his latest work, Bayonets in the Wilderness, to another army: “Mad” Anthony Wayne’s “Legion of the United States.” Gaff has written not just a history of the battle at Fallen Timbers fought by these soldiers in 1794; his is the story of the entire life of the Legion from its inception in Philadelphia in 1792 to the ratification of the Treaty of Greeneville in December 1795.

Through his extensive use of correspondence, newspaper articles, orderly books, journals and other material, Gaff describes in great detail the challenges surmounted by Wayne and his troops. Gaff’s reliance upon “virtually everything written by members of Wayne’s legion” (xiii) provides insight into the life of the Legion outside of the headquarters tent. Enlisted men, officers, and even civilians recount the difficulties involved in recruiting, training, marching, and supplying the Legion throughout the course of its campaign. Some of the stories Gaff uses to provide a fuller picture of the men involved in this campaign tend toward the fanciful, but these are few and do not detract from the overall quality of the work.

Gaff’s otherwise excellent narrative is weakened by his portrayal of the Legion’s Indian opponents, and, oddly, by his own respect for Anthony Wayne. Due to an admitted paucity of native primary sources, Gaff cannot tell the Indian version of events. Thus the voice that is heard is that of the whites and it is their negative opinions and stereotypes of their native opponents that dominate the narrative. Unfortunately, Gaff utilizes the whites’ language and imagery even when not quoting them. With a few exceptions, the Indians appear in this work as the stock “vicious savage” character, capable only of brutality and cruelty. They are described as “blood thirsty” and “butchers” (7), and their army as a “ravenous multitude.” (242) Following the defeat of St. Clair’s army, Gaff notes that “whooping with laughter, grinning warriors swiftly
scalped those corpses that had thus far escaped ritual mutilation.” (7) When a truce was called between the Legion and the Indians, Gaff writes that the “Indians did not take long to violate the truce” (189)—intimating that such behavior was not unexpected. He gives very little consideration to the reasons behind the Indians’ violent actions; nowhere does he contemplate the validity of the Indians’ actions from their own perspective as they defended their homes against an invading cultural and military force.

In the course of his research, Gaff developed a high regard for Wayne, whom he asserts “must rank with the most successful army commanders in American history.” (369) However, this esteem causes interpretive difficulties for Gaff when he considers those members of the Legion who opposed Wayne. This is seen most clearly in Gaff’s depiction of the rift between Wayne and his chief subordinate and detractor, James Wilkinson. Gaff simply reports Wayne’s few faults without comment while lavishing praise on the general for his successes. Gaff inverts this in his treatment of Wilkinson, whose strengths he merely reports while heaping scorn upon the perfidy of the man whom he claims “never did anything above board if a devious option presented itself.” (80) The author assumed this deviousness poisoned virtually all Wilkinson’s actions, even when they involved protecting the identity and future usefulness of American spies (81-82), criticizing Wayne to the secretary of war, Henry Knox (256), or placing himself in danger during the fight at Fallen Timbers. (311) This is not to deny that Wilkinson was indeed a scoundrel, but rather to assert that the success of the campaign would be untarnished had Gaff given due weight to Wayne’s faults and mistakes and recognized Wilkinson’s strengths and the possibility that his critiques of Wayne were valid. The complex humanity of the Legion’s leaders makes it all the more remarkable that it did accomplish what it was created to do. Gaff could still assert that this was “one of the most stupendous undertakings in all U.S. history.” (xiv)

Mark Gooding
Purdue University


In the middle part of the nineteenth century, Americans scoured their colonial and Revolutionary past for signs of providence. Out of this effort came the pastoral, a literary style that linked the new country’s greatness to its original bountiful, and supposedly empty geography. Most historians who have studied the rise of pastoral sentiments have placed them within a larger reaction to changing social and economic conditions of the early nineteenth century market revolution.

Thomas Hallock, in From the Fallen Tree, suggests that the national pastoral grew out of an even longer tradition of literary engagement with the trans-Appalachian backcountry. This literary tradition had political and environmental overtones, and reflected Euro-Americans’ changing cultural conceptions of place. Hallock argues that between 1749 and 1820, American colonial and national writers “forged their impressions of the physical environment against still populated
Jefferson, for example, lauded a speech by Logan, a Native criticizing Lord Dunmore’s war, as an example of the virtue and integrity that existed in the west and within Native peoples. The idea of Indians as “noble savages” dominated writing in this period. Yet by the 1820s, where Hallock’s book ends, pastoral writing had developed into a series of elegies; the most dominant image was that of the “disappeared” Indian, as exemplified by the novels of James Fenimore Cooper. Hallock argues that these elegies sought to transfer legitimacy to the new American empire by connecting it to the native empire that preceded it and obscuring the American role in its disappearance. The book’s title comes from the motto of the seal of the Northwest Territories (meliores lapsum locavit; which can be translated to “a better one has replaced it”). The seal depicts an apple tree growing out of the remains a fallen oak. The image proves an apt metaphor for Hallock’s argument. He writes that Americans believed “a new empire should take root in the humus left by a vanished people.”

Although largely a work of literary criticism, the book takes a multi-disciplinary approach, incorporating ecological criticism, and drawing from “new” western history, and environmental history. As a result, Hallock is able to offer a compelling argument in favor of studying the symbols and myths that gave national meaning to the process of westward expansion. Throughout the book, Hallock demonstrates a broad familiarity with the wide array of sources that he cites in his extensive bibliography. However, his approach proves a double-edged sword. While at times he gracefully weaves together sources drawn from history, literary criticism, and ecological criticism, his overuse of discipline-specific jargon makes some sections, particularly the Introduction and Part I, somewhat off-putting for readers from other disciplines and for the general interest reader. In those sections where he uses jargon sparingly, particularly later in the book, Hallock’s writing can be quite engaging.

The bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery expedition brought forth a fresh outpouring of scholarship, a reinterpretation of the meaning of the expedition in the context of American westward expansion, and a reevaluation of the characters involved in the undertaking. From a Ken Burns documentary and accompanying book to Stephen Ambrose's *New York Times* bestselling *Undaunted Courage*, the expedition and corps have experienced a mini-renaissance in the past few years. A common theme in many of the works focuses the attention of readers on Meriwether Lewis as the tragic central, almost heroic and mythical figure, leading the expedition through uncertainty, hardship, and eventual triumph. Less well-known is William Clark, the “other” leader of the journey. James Holmberg has partially filled that gap in knowledge with a collection of heretofore-unknown letters.

From 1990 to 1998, Holmberg, Curator of Special Collections at the Filson Historical Society in Louisville, Kentucky, edited some fifty-one newly-discovered letters from explorer William Clark to his oldest brother Jonathan Clark. Discovered in an attic trunk in Louisville in the late 1980s, the correspondence uncovers a previously unseen side of William Clark. In fact, the letters, ranging from 1792 through 1811, proved to be a bonanza. Holmberg's edited volume contains fifty-five letters, all but four of which came from the Louisville attic. The other four, Holmberg believed, contained enough relevant information that they deserved to be included in this edited collection as well. Some but not all of the letters cover the period of the Lewis and Clark expedition itself, and several letters mention York, Clark's slave who crossed the continent with the Corps of Discovery. Others detail the more mundane aspects of Clark's life, and they provide an excellent portrait of a warm and respectful relationship between the brothers.

Holmberg organized the book in a chronological and thematic format. The first chapter includes letters from 1792 through the eve of the expedition in 1802, and letters in the following chapter come from the cross-continental voyage. After that, the chronological organization of the book becomes more thematic. Chapter three, covering the period from 1808 to 1809, consists of letters from the period of Clark's life that he spent in St. Louis after the expedition. The letters in the next chapter document events in the following year after Clark learned of the death of his close friend and partner Meriwether Lewis. Finally, letters in chapter five covering the period from 1810 through 1811 show how Clark settled into his life as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Louisiana Territory and some areas east of the Mississippi. The appendix contains a series of letters from William Clark to other family members that Holmberg included because of their relevance to other correspondence in the edition.

The editorial style of *Dear Brother* makes this an eminently readable volume, of interest to both professional historians and others with an interest in the life of William Clark. Holmberg walked a very fine line between readability and accuracy, and also between simply publishing a collection of documents and providing a usable history. The editing of the letters themselves is very light-handed, altering the original documents as little as possible, leaving misspellings and mis-capitalization of words as they appeared in the originals. Letters appear in their entirety, without regard for what the editor may have found more or less useful, allowing the reader to make those decisions. The book also includes photographic reproductions of three of Clark's letters, giving readers a feel for the original texts and the monumental task that faced Holmberg in reading and interpreting these documents. In the early nineteenth century, spelling and punctuation had not yet been standardized in American English, and Holmberg rightly notes, "Clark had few equals..."
in his approach to spelling and capitalization.” (xxi) A number of editorial marks provide a guide when the editor felt it absolutely necessary to make a correction, or when the handwriting or the condition of the document made it impossible to figure out what Clark had written on the page. Each chapter also begins with an introduction outlining the general contents of the chapter, and that serves as a helpful guide to the significance of the letters reprinted there. The exacting editorial standards that Holmberg chose to use certainly made his task more difficult, but the end result is all the more impressive, and the overall product much more useful than it might have been otherwise.

Although some of the information in Clark’s writings will seem unsurprising, the letters in which Clark reacts to Lewis’ death are emotional and insightful. These letters also seem to echo the belief of later historians that Lewis took his own life. Also of interest are several letters detailing Clark’s treatment of York, his famous slave. In recent years, historians have lauded Clark’s treatment of York, noting that on the expedition Clark’s slave sometimes carried a gun, sometimes went hunting on his own, and was, to modern eyes, almost a regular member of the corps. But in William Clark’s letters to his brother we find a very different story, a more “normal” portrait of a slave owner in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In November 1808, for example, when York told Clark that he’d prefer being sold than to move from one city to another, Clark threatened to sell the slave down the river to New Orleans. (160) In another letter, Clark notes that York was “insolent and Sulky” which brought on a “Severe trouncing.” (201) Other letters detail similar treatment and will help reduce Clark’s status from enlightened despot to a typical southern slave owner.

In all, Dear Brother is a first-rate collection of letters that will both confirm and overturn many commonly-held preconceptions about William Clark. It is a volume that historians and lay scholars alike should find very useful and interesting; it should be considered a must-have for anyone wishing to understand not only William Clark but also this chapter of early American history.

Andrew McMichael
Western Kentucky University


In John Ford’s classic The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, gunslinger Tom Doniphon (John Wayne) shoots the outlaw in order that the educated and civilized lawyer Ransom Stoddard (Jimmy Stewart) can get the girl and become a U.S. Senator, bringing law and order to the West, if not American civilization as well. At its best, Michael Lofaro’s Daniel Boone: An American Life develops a similar theme in the life of the frontiersman. Full of artfully woven vignettes, stories and anecdotes, the book seems to support a vague Turnerman notion of Boone as spearheading a civilizing process (echoed in the book title) that eventually leads to his downfall. But while this material is lively and colorful, the book as a whole will be disappointing to academics. The author’s immense efforts to reveal details of Boone’s life result in satisfying stories, but the stories are overshadowed by the lack of consistent effort to explore the significance of that life in American history.

To be sure, Lofaro places Boone in the Revolutionary Era, describing and explaining his roles in Kentucky as entrepreneur and explorer, army officer and elected representative. Occasionally we are provided a conclusion or hypothesis as to the meaning or significance of the events that unfold before us. For instance, the author writes: “Perhaps, the recent experience of the France and Indian War” made the people in Kentucky more
prone to sharing. (36) More often, however, the author provides his reader with tidbits of information that have no clear link to an argument, such as when he dispels the myth of Boone’s teetotalism by noting that he once purchased two quarts of rum (40), or that the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln “may have been in the party” that blazed the trail to Boonesborough in 1779. (109) The tendency to offer anecdotes and information without an interpretive framework becomes most serious when the author writes long narratives of significant events, such as the kidnapping and subsequent return of a slave in 1782 (119), or Boone’s own capture and escape from the Shawnee in 1798. (chapter 7) These stories give Lofaro an opportunity to engage the slavery issue, or to discuss Native American cultural clashes with Euro-American intruders, especially over use and misuse of the land. Other stories about Boone’s wife or daughter also ought to raise questions about women and gender. In most of the cases, however, the author leaves to the reader the work of identifying the significance of events described in the book, but without the complete evidence available to the author.

The persistent reader will find some rewards in the final four chapters in which Lofaro interprets Boone’s life as Turnerian tragedy. The author argues that Boone’s great knowledge of the frontier and his skill in cutting new trails, founding new towns, and brokering treaties with local Native Americans was matched by the frontiersman’s own mistakes in surveying and his ineptitude in the courtroom. Eventually, the land for which he invested so much of his life was wrenched away from him through lawsuits. This irony is worth the wait, but the theme could be made much more explicit earlier in the book, perhaps foreshadowing the contrast with Boone’s success in forest skills as a young man compared with his failure in formal education. (chapter 1)

There are also problems with Lofaro’s poorly conceived method of citing evidence. End-notes are referenced only by the first phrase of the sentence rather than by a superscript number, requiring a great deal of effort on the part of a reader to track down quotations and sources of other information. The bibliography, in contrast, is organized and expansive, and in combination with the engaging prose makes this volume valuable for historians of Kentucky and the Trans-Appalachian frontier. Because of the lack of an argument, however, Daniel Boone: An American Life should be read in conjunction with other histories of the Kentucky frontier in order to better understand the period, the place and the man.

Corey Smith
Wartburg College


Recently, historians have explored how white and black southerners understood the contradictory confluence of property and personhood embodied in chattel slaves.1 This literature reveals that while slaves resisted their status as property, for white southerners, negotiating the personhood of slaves occurred in a context in which slavery was accepted as a natural, positive good. Two books reviewed here remind us that, although whites in the Lower South may have been in agreement about the slavery’s virtues, Kentuckians debated whether slavery should exist at all. Lowell Harrison’s The Antislavery Movement in
Kentucky and Harold D. Tallant's *Evil Necessity: Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky* thoroughly analyze Kentucky’s anti-slavery movements and the reasons behind their ultimate failures. Both authors agree that, throughout the antebellum era, Kentucky had a vibrant, and at times violent culture of dissent over slavery. Directed at a broad audience, Harrison provides a concise narrative of Kentucky anti-slavery movements, which celebrates the tenacity and spirit of the movement’s proponents. Tallant argues that, after 1820, many white Kentuckians, unlike their Lower South counterparts, depicted slavery as a necessary evil rather than a positive good, which produced a contentious debate over whether Kentucky should remain a slave state.

Originally published in 1978 as part of the Kentucky Bicentennial Bookshelf, Harrison’s *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky* has been reissued with an updated bibliographic essay. In an incisive 138 pages, Harrison covers the opponents of slavery, slave law, antebellum politics and the prevalence and forms of slavery in Kentucky. He uses newspapers, personal correspondence, slave narratives, legal documents, and secondary sources to discuss the diverse resistance to slavery. As opposed to other slave states, slavery “did not appear to be as firmly fastened upon Kentucky,” and that created conditions in which reformers raised moral and economic objections to the peculiar institution. (17) Persons opposed to slavery formed several “movements” whose proponents disagreed about the timing and process for slavery’s eradication. The most notable divergence existed between the emancipationists who proposed a gradual end to slavery often with compensation to slave owners, and a smaller group of abolitionists who advocated immediate, uncompensated dissolution of slavery.

As the national dialogue over slavery became increasingly vitriolic, pro-slavery Kentuckians viewed with deep suspicion even mild emancipationist sentiments. They rallied, and in 1849 delivered a resounding defeat to anti-slavery reformers by firmly enconcing slavery in the new state constitution. Harrison believes it was a “credit to their courage and, in some degree, to Kentucky’s tolerance that these opponents of slavery were able to continue their agitation” after 1850. (61) He traces the subsequent embattled crusade against slavery, focusing on debates over tactics and strategy between emancipationist Cassius Clay and radical abolitionist John G. Fee. In one of his most interesting chapters, titled “Blacks Against Slavery,” Harrison explores how enslaved African Americans became anti-slavery agitators, although their forms of resistance necessarily differed from white reformers. Harrison concludes that the anti-slavery movement failed because it “did not end slavery within the state, and it had little effect upon the national movement.” (111) He reminds readers, however, that Kentuckians can take pride in those citizens “who continued to fight, persistently and courageously.” (111) Harrison’s book continues to offer an excellent introduction for scholars and general readers alike to Kentucky slavery and internecine debates between anti-slavery advocates and pro-slavery forces.

In *Evil Necessity: Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky*, Harold D. Tallant focuses on the “distinctive ideology” through which many Kentuckians, including slaveholders, viewed slavery as a “necessary evil.” (xi) This position distinguished Kentuckians from radical Northern abolitionists and strident pro-slavery theorists of the Lower South. It did not, however, translate into a rhetoric of racial equality. On the contrary, both pro- and anti-slavery advocates agreed on the moral turpitude of African Americans, and all but
the most radical abolitionists believed that slavery degraded white morality and labor. Tallant thinks that, paradoxically, this view "both promoted dissent and thwarted action" against slavery. (xi) Proponents of the "necessary evil" theory feared the social chaos that might be caused by an emancipated black population unready for the responsibilities of freedom. For all its potential, Tallant concludes, "Kentucky's moderation—it's theory that slavery was a necessary evil—had the effect of preserving slavery and white domination..." (218)

After laying out his "necessary evil" thesis, Tallant describes variations of anti-slavery sentiment in Kentucky. Societies devoted to colonizing free African Americans in Liberia, although supported by luminaries such as Henry Clay, never offered plausible options due to distrust among slaveholders fearing pecuniary loss. But through these societies moderates did make political gains toward implementing a gradual emancipation plan. In 1833, the General Assembly approved non-importation laws that forbade Kentuckians to import slaves from other states. Tallant argues that colonization schemes and the non-importation laws reflected Kentuckians' ambivalence; both could be construed to support slavery and anti-slavery positions. Finally, the late 1840s brought Kentuckians to a crucial "crossroads." (133) Opponents of slavery pushed for a new constitution that would allow for gradual emancipation, while pro-slavery factions sought to make slavery a permanent, constitutionally protected institution. Campaigning by both sides led to divisive, sometimes violent debate. Ultimately, political maneuvering, economic concerns, and a robust racism led constitutional delegates to permanently fix slavery in Kentucky. Tallant concludes that by 1850 many Kentuckians thought that slavery "perhaps wrong in the abstract—served the useful function of controlling the Negro race." (159) The final two chapters of this book cover the turn toward radicalism that Kentucky's anti-slavery agitation took, personified in the moral vision of abolitionist John G. Fee. Fee's uncompromising position on racial equality and his belief in using violence toward just moral causes eventually led to his expulsion from Kentucky, rendering him politically irrelevant. War was required to fulfill the vision of Kentucky's anti-slavery advocates.

Tallant has done extensive research in manuscript collections, newspapers, legislative and court documents, pamphlets, and secondary sources. The result is an important book that reveals contradictions in Kentucky's ante-bellum political culture while enriching our understanding of the conflicted views white Southerners often held on slavery and the politics of race. But Tallant reaches a much bleaker conclusion than Harrison. "Caught between their potential for antislavery idealism and their loyalty to racism, property, and reputation, Kentuckians found they could not successfully serve two masters." (219) While Harrison applauds the devoted opponents of slavery, Tallant points to the complacent white majority who eventually embraced slavery rather than grapple with the implications of racial equality. The books have other differences. Harrison portrays a much broader anti-slavery movement that included the agency and resistance of African American men and women as slaves, fugitives, and Underground Railroad participants. Tallant is concerned with political rhetoric and organized political action, resulting in a more narrowly defined movement consisting of white male politicians and reformers. Taken together, these books analyze a critical moment in Kentucky history. By uncovering suppressed historical alternatives and ideological variations, Tallant and Harrison reveal under-explored currents in southern thought and politics. In doing so, they complicate historians' ideas about slavery and suggest that much work remains to be done on slavery in the Upper South.

Yvonne Pitts
University of Iowa


On August 3, 2004, the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center officially opened its doors in Cincinnati to the public. Advertised as the nation’s next great monument, this facility has the daunting task of educating all interested citizens about the origins, development, impact, and legacy of the Underground Railroad movement and its various permutations. Keith P. Griffler’s study seeks to fulfill the same lofty goal, but on a smaller scale. In *Front Line of Freedom,* Griffler moves away from the traditional interpretation of the Underground Railroad that placed white activists at the center of this campaign to a more complex arrangement where “African Americans were central to the development and operation of the Underground Railroad.” (xi) The author further argues that the struggle for freedom along the Ohio River “played an important role in the combination of many complex factors that ended American slavery” (p. xi).

Griffler first shows how the Ohio Valley became a region characterized by racial hostility and violence as a result of demographic changes and interventions by the state and national governments. Specifically, the movement of thousands of new settlers, both black and white, into the Ohio Valley greatly contributed to the creation of a region that prohibited the full participation of African Americans in any level of government, as did the passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the enactment of Ohio’s first series of Black Laws in 1804, Indiana’s attempt to ban African American migration to the Hoosier state, and the ratification of the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850.

The author next turns to a discussion on how African Americans in various river cities—such as Madison and Rising Sun in Indiana, Covington, Kentucky, and Chillicothe, Cincinnati, and Ripley in Ohio—were forced to create a “political and social space to wage a war for their own liberation,” especially through their activities associated with the Underground Railroad movement. (31) Here both famous and little-known figures are highlighted such as William Anderson, Henry Boyd, James Bradley, John Curtis, Arnold Grayston, Gabriel Johnson, John Mercer Langston, John Mason, John P. Parker, and Frances Jane Scroggins. However, Griffler also notes that although black Americans “carried the main burden of the frontline struggle,” they were assisted greatly by many dedicated progressive whites, including Isaac Beeson, James G. Birney, John Brown, Salmon P. Chase, Levi Coffin, John Fairfield, Laura Haviland, John Rankin, and Gerrit Smith. Griffler’s book ends with an analysis of the critical role that the Underground Railroad movement in the Ohio Valley played in the national campaign to end enslavement throughout the United...
States. Specifically, the author notes that despite the heavy toll sustained by many Underground Railroad operatives, this freedom crusade, which rested on the works of numerous community activists, helped lead to the Civil War and eventual destruction of African American enslavement.

Front Line of Freedom presents a much-needed perspective on the history and legacy of the Underground Railroad. Professor Griffler should be commended on his masterful use of new oral histories as well as a wealth of various other primary sources. Without question, this lucidly written book covers countless topics and subjects that have received only scant attention from scholars, such as the essential and fundamental involvement of free African Americans in assisting fugitives as well as the struggles of local Black Americans to maintain their communities in the face of insurmountable odds. The author, however, could have added more to his brief discussion of the impact of the Underground Railroad movement in the Ohio Valley on emerging divisions between the North and South during the 1850s. Despite this minor problem, Griffler's book makes a great contribution to the field of African American history and the study of race relations in the United States.

Eric R. Jackson
Northern Kentucky University


Interest in the Underground Railroad has blossomed with the opening of Cincinnati’s National Underground Railroad Freedom Center and has inspired many recent studies. This one reprints excerpts from two classic sources, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin and William Still’s The Underground Railroad. The editors chose these passages because of their respective authors: a white abolitionist from Cincinnati and an African American secretary of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee.

Fleeing for Freedom also includes a twenty-two-page introduction with a short historical overview of the institution and of the difficulty scholars face in separating fact from fiction. The editors tend to accept some of Wilbur Siebert’s less verifiable conclusions, including his listing 1,539 conductors in Ohio. Siebert’s pioneer study of the Underground Railroad remains useful, as does his correspondence with descendants of abolitionists, but many individuals whom he described as conductors cannot be verified.

The editors do not mention slavery in the northern colonies, which even included some slaveholding Philadelphia Quakers. They rightly call attention to the role of individual Quakers in Underground Railroad activity but do not describe differences within the Society of Friends that led Levi Coffin and others to found an antislavery yearly meeting. Many Quakers believed gradual emancipation and purchase of individual slaves was preferable to abolitionist agitation, but the editors did not include Coffin’s discussion of this issue.

Their treatment of the famous Eliza Harris story is puzzling. They quote John Rankin, who first helped Eliza, describing how she crossed the Ohio River on slush-covered ice with a child in her arms, but said nothing about her tossing the child from one ice flow to another. Harriet Beecher Stow added
that element, and years later Coffin repeated it. The editors do not reconcile the two versions except to include an illustration showing Eliza balanced on free-floating ice with her young child in her arms.

A careful reading of the Coffin excerpts suggests a corrective to most legendary accounts of aid given fugitive slaves. Coffin, who never mentioned secret signals or hidden rooms, kept fugitives in the upper story of his house despite many in Cincinnati knowing it. A successful merchant, he publicly warned slave hunters that anyone entering his home without permission would face a trespassing charge. While other abolitionists, lacking Coffin’s immunity, could not assist runaways so openly, the legendary shroud of secrecy is often exaggerated. Coffin’s book remains an important source and it is useful to have parts of it reprinted.

William Still’s book is a collection of transcribed interviews with fugitive slaves, biographical sketches of fugitives and abolitionists, and excerpts from newspapers. Still regarded the fugitives, whom he labeled self-emancipated, as the heroes of his book. The editors failed to include the story of how one of the fugitives who Still assisted turned out to be his own brother, Peter Still. Their emotional meeting inspired Still to preserve his many interviews for possible future publication. The book also includes Still’s account of a confrontation between local African Americans and slave hunters that ended with the escape of the fugitive, the death of the master, and a charge of treason against some of the rescuers. William Still wrote, published, and sold his book and dedicated it to the men and women who had risked everything to escape slavery. These excerpts add human interest to a historical drama that many view only abstractly.

The source material reprinted in this volume provides an introduction to two of the more important Underground Railroad sources. A careful reading of such source materials should provide a more accurate account of what has become a major historical legend.

Larry Gara
Emeritus, Wilmington College


Some authors have created such poignant written expressions of the human condition that they transcend time and are rewarded, justly, by wide readerships decade after decade. For others whose reputation is assured, even if they are labelled with the backhanded compliment “minor writer,” the cyclical patterns of history must collide with contemporary events to set them once again upon the bedside stands of the living. Such a renaissance is underway for the works of Ambrose Bierce. In 2005, with death a regular
customer in human fears and in the realities of global life, Bierce's stories resonate with mankind's delusions, hopelessness, and random violence to offer an ambivalent (dis)comfort to modern readers. Indeed, the horrific events of September 11, torture at Abu Ghraib prison, suicide bombings in Iraq and Palestine, internet beheadings of hostages, the systematic slaughter of two million people in Darfur and Sudan, and the monumental disaster of an Asian tsunami drowning thousands upon thousands of victims—again and again (and yet, again) for television viewers—resurrect interest in Bierce's phantoms.

Donald Blume has revived Bierce's 1892 edition of Tales of Soldiers and Civilians, cutting down flabbiest subsequent editions to get to what he argues is the most accurate version of the author's original intentions. Three of the short stories ("An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge," "Chickamauga," and "The Man and the Snake") are sometime lodgers in literary anthologies. The thesis of Blume's edition is that Tales is "not merely a collection of nineteen loosely connected short stories awkwardly divided into two unmatched parts, but an artfully crafted masterpiece offered up as . . . literary counterpart to the popular novels and novelists of the late nineteenth century," (ix) He acknowledges that although Tales is not recognized as a "traditional novel" (xxvii), it is "a kind of novel" (xvi) and "truly the sum of all its parts." (xxvii) Blume's thesis—which would raise Bierce's stature in the literary pantheon because novel writers are held higher than writers of short stories—is not convincing.

While the stories present wonderful glimpses of soldiers and civilians from the perspectives of various individuals, it is difficult to understand the whole as more than a combination of memoir and short story. An obvious comparison of Bierce's Tales is found in the conversion of Vietnam veteran Tim O'Brien's previously-published short fiction into The Things They Carried (1990). The striking difference is that O'Brien's protagonists move from story to story, increasing the tapestry as they go back and forth between Vietnam and civilian life. In Tales, each piece introduces a new set of actors and clear beginnings and endings. We are not told how the protagonists might have reacted to one another, let alone if they even knew one another. Blume might have argued that the character of Death or ghastly (ghastly) souls provided the common denominator, but even that would be a less than specious claim.

The novelty and significance of Blume's edition is in an eighty-eight-page appendix derived from editorials and columns that Bierce wrote in San Francisco newspapers. Bierce confronted conformity and his columns attacked both high- and low-brow interests equally, from the actions of railroad magnates to the flummery of novelists or fortune-tellers. Blume demonstrates how Bierce's commonsense criticism of everyday issues gained public confidence, making his attacks on weightier issues—prejudice, racism, imperialism, robber barons—highly influential. Through the inclusion of Bierce's editorials, Blume helps readers better to understand the historical era and interests surrounding Bierce at the time he wrote Tales. Twenty-first-century readers, with their post 9/11 frame of reference, will certainly understand Bierce's transcendent tales.

Russell Duncan
University of Copenhagen


Wheels of Fortune chronicles Akron's long association with rubber that began in 1870 when Dr. Benjamin Franklin Goodrich accepted an invitation from the city's business leaders to establish the first tire-making
facility west of the Alleghenies. It continues today with a current focus on polymer research and development. As an adaptation of a series of newspaper stories written by Steve Love and David Giffels and published in the Akron Beacon Journal, this book is a lively, well-written, largely celebratory, popular history of the rubber industry in Akron that, unfortunately, lacks the analytical depth of more academic works.

Based mostly on interviews for the newspaper stories, each chapter covers a separate topic in roughly chronological order. The overall tone and message of the book focuses on progress, and celebrates hard work and determination in the face of adversity. Readers learn much about the major entrepreneurs who brought the rubber industry to Akron—including B. F. Goodrich and Charles Seiberling, founders of Goodyear; Harvey Firestone; and William F. O’Neil, founder of General Tire. Akron boomed through the 1920s, reaching a population over 200,000. But, in the 1930s during the Great Depression, workers in the Akron tire plants, many of them white migrants from West Virginia or blacks from the South, faced hardships. Some became leaders in rapidly expanding local unions, and they helped organize strikes that led to recognition through the United Rubber Workers (URW). With World War II came renewed prosperity for Akron’s rubber companies and their workers. Scientists and engineers developed synthetic rubber, and workers, now mostly women, made materials for the war effort, including Corsairs built in Goodyear’s massive “Airdock” originally designed for airships. In the 1950s and 1960s, the rubber companies dominated the market for tires and their workers, again mostly men, benefited from good wages, six-hour days, and seemingly long term job security.

In addressing the decline of tire making in Akron during the 1970s and 1980s, Love and Giffels assign blame to both rubber workers and the companies. According to the authors, the URW was inflexible. For example, workers refused to change to an eight-hour day to accommodate building the new radial tire that foreign companies used to take control of the tire market. Instead of concentrating on job security, the union fought for raises and benefits. At the same time, companies refused to reinvest in tire making in Akron; the last new tire plant in Akron was built in 1917. Retooling for radial tires meant new plants and, rather than rebuild in Akron, tire companies moved south, building new plants staffed with workers paid a lower wage. Also, companies often used profits from tire making to reinvest in other products, allowing the Akron plants to wither on the vine.

There are some serious weaknesses in Wheels of Fortune. Love and Giffels have plenty of praise for the male, mostly white executives, engineers, scientists, and civic leaders of the city who serve
as the main focus of the book. Nowhere is this more evident than in a brief account of the 1968 urban unrest in Akron. The main point of the story is how Ben Maidenburg, editor at the time of the Beacon Journal, stood up at a meeting of black leaders and city officials and convinced the mayor to lift a curfew and thereby allow black leaders to preserve the peace, which they did. But this account of events privileges white leaders unnecessarily. Love and Giffels do mention discrimination on the shop floor, in unions, and in housing. But the story of rubber in Akron needs to be placed more firmly in the history of the area's social, political and economic development. The authors especially need to explain how local political and economic institutions helped create and reinforce racial discrimination in Akron. The book also lacks a thoroughgoing analysis of the rubber workers themselves, especially women, blacks, and white ethnics. These weaknesses aside, Wheels of Fortune should be considered strong journalism, in short, an informative first-draft of the history of rubber in Akron.

Gregory Wilson
University of Akron


Although it was America's greatest railroad and the nation's largest private employer, the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad was no match for a midwestern regional carrier and its resilient manager. In this book, Richard T. Wallis, despite a tendency to lionize his subject and overuse organizational and financial minutiae, succeeds admirably in illustrating the limits of corporate power. In the process, Wallis provides a powerful affirmation for the power of individual personality and community loyalty in shaping the business of transportation.

William Riley McKeen (1829-1913) spent most of his life in Terre Haute, Indiana, emerging as a leading figure in business and politics. His career flourished as railroads evolved into a national transportation network. His mentor, local businessman Chauncey Rose, like many of the initial investors in the as-yet distant Pennsylvania Railroad, understood railroads as a means to link a particular city (Terre Haute in the first instance, Philadelphia in the second) to larger markets. Far better than Rose, however, McKeen understood that “his” railroad was more than a commercial extension of his city; if it were to survive, it must become part of a national transportation system.

McKeen's vision dovetailed neatly with the expansionist policies of the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR). As the “Pennsy” became a true transportation network by incorporating a separate company (Pittsburgh’s Pennsylvania Lines West) to lease existing railroads rather than construct new ones. The Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad gave PRR access to the largest city in the Midwest, yet it lacked an outlet to the only slightly less important rail gateway at St. Louis. Through a series of tortuous legal and financial dealings which Wallis covers in truly exhausting detail, PRR acquired a lease
remained relatively unchanged due to their isolation from the rest of the country. Campbell always tried to dispel this notion, maintaining that the region was a mix of ethnic backgrounds and varied localities, some isolated, some not. To support his point, he included in his book tabular data on population, religion, crime, and illiteracy based largely on the 1910 census. But he rarely addressed problems of race or diversity in the towns and mining camps he visited. In *Southern Highlander*, Campbell wrote, “The Highland country is in truth a land of paradoxes and contradictions, because here in a restricted area are taking place all the changes that are going on in the world elsewhere . . . constant qualification is necessary.” (328)

Campbell’s influence can be seen in virtually every major scholarly work published about Appalachia since his death. This reprint edition of *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, first published over eighty years ago, attests to its importance as a benchmark in the history of mountain people. A foreword by Rupert B. Vance and an introduction by Henry D. Shapiro that appeared in the 1969 edition introduce the reader to the scholarly debates to which this book contributed for nearly fifty years. Most historians and sociologists writing in those years agreed that Campbell had remarkable foresight and raised pertinent questions about the perceptions and misconceptions held by those seeking solutions to the problems of the Southern Highlander and his homeland. John C. Campbell was an intelligent, perceptive, thoughtful man whose convictions and ideas were ahead of his time. His concerns are still being addressed.

*Elizabeth M. Williams  
Appalachian State University*


Eve Weinbaum’s *To Move a Mountain: Fighting the Global Economy in Appalachia* is an important, sometimes heart-rending, and ultimately uplifting examination of three east Tennessee communities as they battled plant closings, outsourcing, downsizing and all manner of economic evils in the late 1980s and 1990s. Weinbaum, a former labor organizer with the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE!) and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE), and currently an Associate Professor at the Labor Center at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, combines these stories with insightful theoretical analysis to offer a model for labor/community-based organizations that can have input into local public policy-making and ultimately network with similar organizations in communities around the globe. She foresees nothing less than the re-invigoration of our civic culture.

After an all-to-brief discussion of local economic development strategies in eastern Tennessee and other parts of the South, Weinbaum’s story centers on
three plant closures—Greenbrier Industries in Clinton, Tennessee; Acme Boot Company in Clarksville, Tennessee; and the General Electric factory in Morristown, Tennessee—and the responses of displaced workers in those locales. All three communities organized in the face of economic devastation and their successes and/or failures provide the fodder for Weinbaum’s model building. In the case of the Greenbrier Industries closing, workers not only lost their jobs, but their pension-plan and health care benefits also disappeared. After months of agitation, it was clear that the factory would never re-open, and benefits would never be restored and workers angrily resigned themselves to their defeat. In the Clarksville and Morristown cases, however, the fight—while never successful in bringing the factories back—contributed to a political awakening that continues to reverberate. In Morristown, for instance, workers initially attempted to organize a union at the local General Electric warehouse. When they were about to succeed, GE closed the plant and moved out of the area. The political fight that ensued led to the creation of Citizens Against Temporary Services (CATS). CATS led the fight against local politicians whose economic development strategies were strikingly undemocratic, not to mention harmful to their constituencies. CATS also forged an alliance with the Tennessee Industrial Recovery Network (TIRN), as well as to national and international networks of activists in communities facing similar economic distress. New leaders emerged from the grassroots with a new understanding of how these local problems connected with important aspects of economic globalization. They organized around a host of issues, including contingent work, job-training policies, local economic development strategies and economic justice in the global economy. Perhaps not surprisingly, members of CATS joined the massive protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle in 1999. Events at Morristown provide the best example of what Weinbaum terms a “successful failure.” General Electric was long-gone but the people of that small town had a new and emergent consciousness, and new skills for understanding the world around them and making their way in it.

For those interested in Appalachian studies and who know John Gaventa’s *Power and Powerlessness* or Stephen Fisher’s more recent *Fighting Back in Appalachia*, this will be a familiar and welcome addition to that literature. However, given that this is a work of contemporary non-fiction, historians will rightly question the utility of *To Move a Mountain* for our own work. If there is a weakness here it is in the lack of historical context for these stories. Obviously, the subtitle invokes the history of resistance in “Appalachia,” but there is no discussion of that history; a fact that is all the more remarkable because Weinbaum asserts at the end of her study that successful grassroots organizing should build on local histories or traditions of resistance. What, then, does “Appalachia” refer to in the context of Weinbaum’s analysis? Is it simply a geographical appellation? Does it refer to that socio-historical construct that emerged in this country after Reconstruction? Does it refer to that immense geographical expanse delineated by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) that stretches from western New York to northern Mississippi? What, if anything, is distinctive about these events? This is more than semantic nit-picking. As a resident of
interest in not one but two railroads that linked Indianapolis and St. Louis. One was the Indianapolis and St. Louis, the other was McKeen’s Terre Haute and Indianapolis (THI). This unnecessary duplication was but one problem associated with PRR’s indirect strategy for developing new routes. Another drawback, from PRR’s perspective, was that irascible shareholders like McKeen were in a position to dictate policy to the mighty Pennsylvania. During economic recessions, marginal appendages to THI threatened to retard the performance of not just the McKeen road, but the Pennsylvania system as well. At the same time, unscrupulous financial promoters such as Henry S. Ives not only temporarily deprived McKeen of control over his railroad, but also threatened PRR’s stability. The difficulties associated with this uneasy marriage cut both ways; McKeen’s carefully cultivated image as a friend to the local working man suffered when the violence of the 1877 strikes spread from PRR to THI.

The moral of the story is perhaps that the PRR possessed a far less streamlined corporate organization and had far less control over its destiny than its own publicity, as the works of many histori-

ans suggest. As Pennsy managers organized a regional railroad system, they struggled to understand, and to manage, mavericks like William Riley McKeen. In the end, McKeen and those like him gave way to an increasingly regimented and bureaucratized corporate organization, a process that perhaps led to the ossification and ultimate collapse of a once-proud railroad empire. Wallis clearly portrays McKeen as an individualist rather than an obstructionist, yet acknowledges that this individualism was also a reflection of his community’s values. The book would benefit from a more extensive analysis of the links between community and industry, something that may be difficult to accomplish given the absence of McKeen’s personal papers and at the risk of turning the book into another antiquarian case study of local railroad promotion and construction. As Wallis indicates, good historical analysis of PRR Lines West are in short supply. Yet this book makes an admirable contribution to that literature as well as the broader fields of transportation and business history.

Albert Churella
Southern Polytechnic State University
Marietta, Georgia

John C. Campbell’s *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* was first published in 1921 and has been a classic source of reliable information ever since about the people of Appalachia and their history. Completed after his death by his widow, Olive Dame Campbell, it was the first comprehensive survey of the southern mountain region and the first real attempt to investigate the complex and transitional world of the mountaineer in the early twentieth century. After the Civil War, because of the large numbers of Union sympathizers in the mountains, northern Protestant churches saw Appalachia’s mountain people as worthy of their ministrations, a people that needed to be saved. But no one had investigated the real needs as mountaineers themselves perceived them. Before writing this book, Campbell had become particularly concerned about the ways many mountain missionaries conducted their missions and schools, and he wanted to create a venue in which the various denominations could get together to discuss their work and thereby to begin working toward mutual goals, rather than competing with each other.

To accomplish this awesome task, John C. Campbell set out with his wife to study the mountain people and their plight. He convinced the newly created Russell Sage Foundation that a survey of the region should be done, and, under the auspices of the foundation, he traveled across the entire region, getting acquainted with its inhabitants and collecting data in order to make a realistic assessment of conditions in the mountains. Campbell knew that there had never been a survey of the region as a whole that included empirical data, and he planned to gather as much accurate information as he could about the demographic, economic, educational, and occupational characteristics of the region. He was the first social scientist to draw a viable map of the Appalachian region—three distinct physiographic belts, each with a set of its own sub-characteristics. Although the Appalachian Regional Commission enlarged the boundaries of the region in the 1960s, Campbell’s borders are still used by some modern historians to define the region.

John C. Campbell’s designation of the Southern Highlands as a coherent region effectively recognized the common characteristics that made the mountains a functional entity. But, within the region, he also stressed the disparity between rural and urban life and the differences that existed amongst residents in each place. He believed the native culture of Appalachia had to be accepted as an immutable fact, and this suggested to him that programs to improve conditions in the region would have to be customized to meet the needs of a population that was neither coherent nor homogeneous. Practically single-handedly he advocated public schools that would concentrate on educating the mountaineer in a way that would be both productive and useful to him and to his community. However, he was too tactful and diplomatic to publish his findings until he was near death. He would not betray the trust of the mountaineers who had befriended and informed him.

At the turn of the century, many Americans supposed that the mountain people of Appalachia descended directly from the original settlers of the region, “our contemporary ancestors,” who had...
a small, rural town in western New York state (in a county designated by the ARC as "Appalachia), I have witnessed the same economic dislocations first-hand. Weinbaum, in fact, notes that the same problems affect workers in small manufacturing centers across rural America. Those criticisms aside, anyone interested in grassroots democracy and the economic transformations that will shape public policy concerns in the twenty-first century will find To Move a Mountain to be an excellent book.

Mark Andrew Huddle
St. Bonaventure University