

OHIO VALLEY HISTORY

Volume 4, Number 4, Winter 2004

A Journal of the History and Culture of the Ohio Valley and the Upper South, published in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Louisville, Kentucky, by Cincinnati Museum Center and The Filson Historical Society, Inc.

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Cover: Entrance of the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Regiment into Charleston, an example of USCT. The Filson Historical Society

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Review Essay

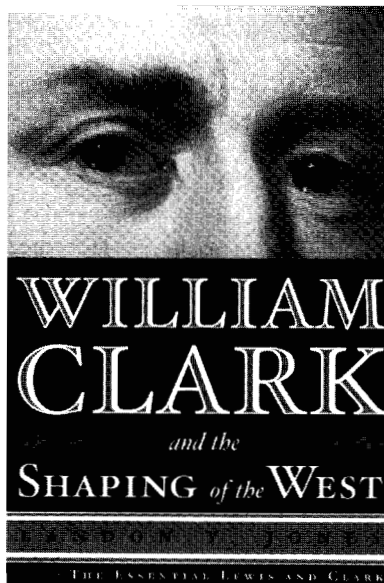
Landon Y. Jones. *William Clark and the Shaping of the West*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004. 400 pp. ISBN: 0809030411 (cloth), \$25.00.

William E. Foley. *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004. 326 pp. ISBN: 0826215335 (cloth), \$29.95.

The historical spotlight has been shining brightly on Lewis and Clark during the current four-year bicentennial commemoration of the Corps of Discovery's historic expedition across the American West. Articles, books, musicals, operas, exhibits, reenactments, stamps, coins, toys, and more dedicated to this American epic have appeared in ever-greater numbers recently. Some are truly significant contributions to our understanding of this historic undertaking and the people that played a role in it. Others are, as William Clark would say, "diverting," seeking to capitalize on the current interest in the explorers. But the expedition also has a very important eastern legacy—one that includes the Ohio Valley. The Lewis and Clark Trail east of the Mississippi River encompasses the entire Ohio River. Many of the members of the Corps hailed from the region and gained their frontier and soldiering skills there. Meriwether Lewis visited Kentucky, Ohio, and West Virginia river towns such as Steubenville, Wheeling, Marietta, Maysville, and Cincinnati on the way to his

rendezvous with William Clark at Louisville. Lewis spent a week in Cincinnati from late September to early October in 1803. And after joining forces with Clark, the two explorers and the nucleus of the Corps spent almost two weeks in Louisville and Clarksville, Indiana, at the Falls of the Ohio. After the expedition, some of the men returned home and lived in the Ohio Valley. Others, including Lewis and Clark, returned only to visit, casting their lot with the vast western country they helped open to American settlement.

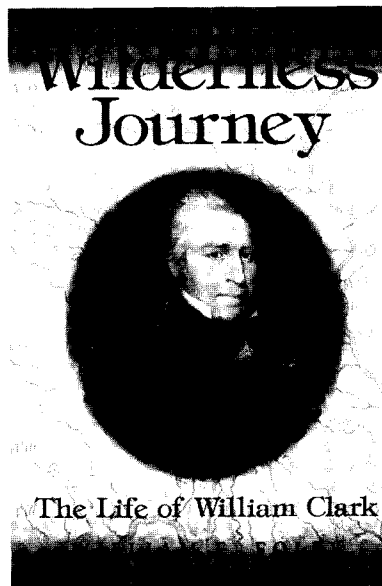
Over the past century, as interest in the expedition has heightened, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark have been the subjects of a variety of articles and books. For some reason, perhaps because of his intriguing nature and tragic end, Lewis has received greater attention than Clark, including a number of biographies. The life and contributions of William Clark—especially before and after the expedition—were often overlooked. This has been unfortunate. Lewis and Clark historian James Ronda has noted that Clark led a "crowded life," mostly spent in the service of his country, that began in colonial Virginia and ended sixty-eight years later on the edge of American settlement. Over the course of that life, Clark farmed, soldiered, explored, traveled, governed, and administered Indian affairs. He enjoyed the pleasures of family life and public acclaim, but he also suffered personal tragedy and loss. A hallmark of William Clark's character was that he always picked himself up, looked ahead, and soldiered on. Such a man deserves a biography. He



had to wait longer than his partner in discovery, but he has now gotten his due. He is the subject of not just one but two biographies. The higher profile, commercial biography is Landon Jones's *William Clark and the Shaping of the American West*. The other biography is William Foley's *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark*. Both authors clearly admire Clark for who he was and what he accomplished, but they organize their biographies according to different perspectives and write in very different styles.

Jones begins the saga of William Clark's life with two United States military disasters suffered at the hands of American Indians in the 1790s. Using this as the backdrop for the conflict between white and red Americans that occurred during Clark's entire life, Jones charts his subject's role in that ongoing contest. William Clark was a product of his society and times. He strove his entire life to succeed and meet the expectations of his peers and superiors, an effort that extended to essentially all facets of his life, personally and professionally. Whether it was fighting and negotiating with Indians or meting out punishment to his slaves or whether it was seeking the approval of his commanders or of his family, William Clark sought to acquit himself well. His dedication to family and country seemed almost boundless, according to Jones.

Jones writes well and the story of Clark's eventful life flows easily through the chapters. The expedition proved to be a watershed event in Clark's life and his role in it, as well as post expedition events, helped chart the course of American history. Clark negotiated and signed more Indian treaties than anyone else. For three decades afterwards, he sought to implement United States government policy while also trying to achieve a measure of fair treatment for his Indian charges. Clark acted as the facilitator



of a system that, like slavery, was often unfair, callous, and cruel to its victims. But he saw no alternative and did the best he could, with varying levels of success and compassion. The remainder of this book, indeed more than half of it, focuses primarily on the often overlooked years of Clark's post expedition life. Jones notes that Clark's accomplishments on the Lewis and Clark Expedition have managed to overshadow his very important post expedition accomplishments. But the experience looms in Clark's future as his

experiences prepared him for the journey; indeed, it became the reason he was called upon to lead in territorial and Indian affairs after his return

Landon Jones is a retired journalist and editor with over thirty years experience in the magazine business. Taking a more journalistic than scholarly approach to his subject, Jones has written an interesting and worthy biography. He is not a historian and readily confesses he had a great deal to learn about this period of American history. Overall, he has succeeded, but there are shortcomings. Using a more journalistic and commercial approach to the story has resulted in a style that cites only quoted material and fails to acknowledge certain sources of information. This leaves a reader sometimes at a loss, especially when the information is obscure or contradicts what is commonly believed to be true. There are also scattered factual errors and some inaccurate quotations. Whether this is the result of unreliable sources or researcher/author error isn't known, but to readers familiar with the events and people of William Clark's world, the cumulative effect is somewhat unsettling. This criticism also extends to Jones' understanding the era and its people. Slavery is a particularly unfortunate legacy of American history and Clark's relationship with his slave York serves as an excellent example of how

this tragic institution effected both master and slave. A wider reading and use of sources regarding this part of Clark's life and character would have been beneficial to the narrative and to the conclusions that Jones draws.

William Foley, professor emeritus of history at Central Missouri State University and author or editor of numerous books and articles related to Missouri history, takes a more academic approach to William Clark. In an insightful overview, Foley explains that "William Clark is not an easy person to fathom, and any effort to take his full measure must draw from the totality of experiences in a life that spanned nearly threescore and ten years." (ix) Foley begins with Clark family history tracing their move to Kentucky from Virginia when William was fourteen years old. Placing more emphasis on a chronological account of Clark's life than does Jones, Foley then documents the explorer's life through the years. Unlike his fellow Clark biographer, Foley devotes four chapters (some 110 pages) to the journey to the Pacific. Anyone relying on this biography to learn about the Lewis and Clark Expedition will gain a good overview of its events, especially as the undertaking impacted Clark. The final three chapters are devoted to Clark's post expedition career and life. An excellent epilogue in which the author assesses William Clark and his place in American history concludes this fine biography. Just as with Jones' biography—or any undertaking of this magnitude for that matter—some factual errors occur, but they do not substantially detract from the reliability and quality of the work. Reflecting Foley's academic background, the book is thoroughly footnoted, as well as being well written and well paced.

Jones and Foley have sought to chronicle an American giant as well as an eventful and complicated era in American history, and both have succeeded. The books are different in their approach and style but both are worthy efforts. Anyone interested in this period of history and an eventful life full of adventure and accomplishments should

definitely add both *William Clark and the Shaping of the West* and *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark* to their reading list.

James J. Holmberg
The Filson Historical Society

Book Reviews

James H. O'Donnell III. *Ohio's First Peoples*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004. 176 pp. ISBN: 0821415255 (paper), \$17.95.

Ohio's First Peoples is part of a series of academic publications related to the state of Ohio and Ohio University, in honor of Ohio University's bicentennial. It documents the history of Ohio's various indigenous populations from pre-contact periods through the historic period beginning after contact with Europeans, to formal removal from the state. The author bases the earlier portion of this story on archaeological data and, for more recent events, he relies on an abundant supply of textual evidence. To my knowledge, this is the most comprehensive presentation of indigenous societies and their ill-fated encounters with the power of the American empire yet written. As such, this volume represents a very solid, well-researched and well-written contribution to Native American history, a vital part of understanding Ohio and the United States today.

The author's first goal is to remind contemporary Ohioans of those who lived here before them (p. 12). O'Donnell begins with a description of the pre-contact populations known as the Adena, Hopewell, and Fort Ancient peoples. Here he hopes to demonstrate that Native Americans lived in Ohio for millennia prior to 1788 when European Americans first began to settle the state, and that they lived in settled communities with a mixed agricultural economy. These early Indians

also established clearly defined territories and committed themselves to planned use of their land, practices that contradict images of Indians as nomadic people with no ties to the land that were popularized in the late nineteenth century and based on information about various Indian tribes who inhabited the Great Plains at that time. Although the author's comments regarding the ability of archaeologists to reconstruct the past seem unnecessarily dismissive (p. 8), this book in fact demonstrates that knowing the pre-contact history of native peoples can be an essential tool, useful in understanding how European Americans conquered America's indigenous societies.

The core of this volume richly documents the tribes who lived in seventeenth and eighteenth century Ohio, especially the Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, Seneca, Iroquois, and Miami peoples, as well as other Indian tribes, depending upon their relative presence in Ohio and the availability of historic documentation. This very illuminating history explores Christian missionizing efforts among the Delaware, the resistance of leaders representing the Shawnee, and removal of the Wyandots, the last tribe to reside in

Ohio. I found particularly compelling O'Donnell's description of the revitalization movement begun by the Shawnee Prophet, his account of Thomas Jefferson's enmity towards the Shawnee, and the fact that at least one treaty created (on paper) a Delaware Indian State in 1778. The book also provides an excellent description of treaties and tribal leaders.

The theme connecting the historic chapters



focuses on the loss suffered by Native Americans, and here the author makes his sympathies known clearly. O'Donnell is explicit in his desire to expose the treachery of the United States government and American settlers, and includes to that end a description of the murder of innocent Delaware women and children and other atrocities perpetrated upon unarmed victims. He also shows why, whether agreeing to peaceful alliances and treaties, resisting through cooperative efforts with several tribes, or attempting to assimilate into the growing European American population, Ohio's indigenous tribes failed to halt the advance of the American empire. Although references are made in the text and footnotes to land purchases or economic depression as they influenced policy towards Indians, I would have liked to have read a bit more about these subjects.

O'Donnell ends this volume by reminding readers of the significance of Ohio's former inhabitants. I would add that the archaeological record of these past peoples is of vital importance to the cultural memory of these societies as well as ours, and that preservation of the state's archeological sites, in the face of continued destruction, should be a concern for all of Ohioans. In addition to the book's rich content, O'Donnell has included an exhaustive bibliography valuable to readers who wish to fur-

ther investigate the primary and secondary sources upon which this narrative is based. Also the book is very well designed and easy to read; the figures are informative and the production quality of the entire book is excellent; and the author's writing style will appeal to readers of varied backgrounds. For many, this book will be at the perfect level of detail, and anyone interested in reading a very clear and complete volume on Ohio's historic tribes should begin with this book.

Elliot Abrams
Ohio University

Kenneth W. Noe. *Perryville: This Grand Havoc of Battle*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001. 494 pp. ISBN: 0813122090 (cloth), \$35.00.

In this fine military history, Kenneth W. Noe has accomplished for the Civil War battle at Perryville, Kentucky, what Wiley Sword did for the Tennessee battle of Shiloh (or Pittsburg Landing). This is a deeply researched, capably written campaign and battle narrative that places the battle squarely within the broader strategies of the war in the fall of 1862 and that situates it particularly in the western theater, a yet underutilized subject in Civil War writing. Noe has offered the most thorough study of this battle, one that historians and generalists alike still largely misunderstand, yet in print. The detail that the author offers to this battle, gleaned in part from his own thorough familiarity with the Perryville landscape, assists readers to feel the chaotic battle as it unfolded, right down to the unbearable heat and debilitating thirst that drove both armies to the Chaplin River through the prolonged drought that gripped the country's middle region in the months surrounding it.

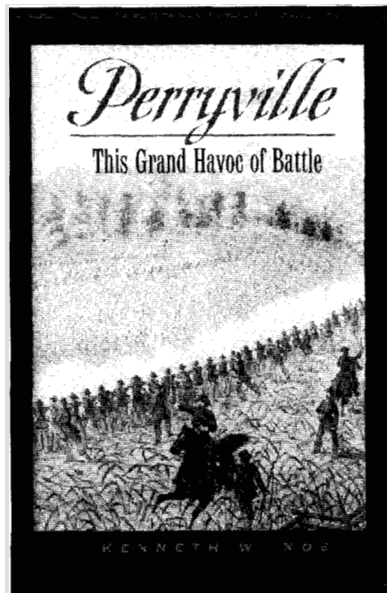
Noe has effectively captured the "Babel of confusion" (80) that characterized not only the behavior

Sketch of Pacane by Henry Hamilton. This 1778 sketch of the Miami leader known as Pacane (Pagan/Pacane) illustrates the gifts received by a high-status chief. Pacane wears an elaborate trade shirt decorated with cowry shells; both sleeves are held in place by silver armbands. His hair is twisted around the copper worm screws usually designed for cleaning rifle barrels, and his pierced ears and nose septum carry trade silver decorations. He appears relatively healthy, without the swollen cheeks usually associated with alcoholism and accompanying malnutrition. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.



of the units involved in the fight itself, but that captured the personal, political, and command relationships of the leaders on both sides. Kentucky's neutrality serves as backdrop to much of the military incongruities that define the battle and the book. Political animosities plagued the federal leadership, most evident between the Army of the Ohio's commander, Don Carlos Buell, and the governors of Indiana and Ohio, Oliver P. Morton and David Tod, respectively. Yet the Confederate command, too, suffered from its own unique disjunction, with Edmund Kirby Smith, whose independent force threatened Cincinnati, coordinating only reluctantly with Braxton Bragg, commander of the Army of Tennessee, the largest Confederate force in the Kentucky invasion. Noe's most provocative contention is that Bragg, the enigmatic Confederate general, suffered from "narcissistic personality disorder," a psychological malady that prevented Bragg from making competent decisions and that led ultimately not only to his failures in Kentucky but in wartime leadership in general.

Readers should be warned that this book will not allow for a quick reading. The author packs a staggering, even numbing, amount of detail into densely printed 367 pages of text. Noe draws from a wide array of primary and secondary sources and pays homage to more than a few military historians and their work, thus offering a battle analysis rather than simply a narrative. Despite Noe's superb grasp of strategy and tactics and his textbook handling of military science, readers will not find as deft his



implementation of the "new military history," or that enhanced by techniques of social and cultural history, as demonstrated in path-breaking recent studies such as by William G. Piston and Richard Hatcher in their book on Wilson's Creek. Indeed, the author acknowledges early on that his is "a rather traditional and . . . accessible battle narrative" (xvii). Moreover, readers might be disappointed at Noe's imprecision on the cultural complexity of Kentucky's wartime society, evidenced by his sustained wonderment at the Bluegrass State's residents' unwillingness to join the Confederate invaders. His characterization of Kentucky society as "Janus-faced" (3-4), southern in culture and middle western in politics, offers an argument little revised since E. Merton Coulter's 1928 book on Kentucky and the Civil War and resembles the default "divided loyalties" argument that so characterizes interpretations of border slave states. In truth, white Kentuckians identified themselves not so much as southerners as westerners, and far less so as Confederates, certainly far less than Noe

would have them to have done. In October 1862 the state's residents had yet to realize the identity politics that would ultimately construct a Confederate Kentucky, much less a Kentucky that was part of the South. Such criticism aside, *Perryville* will stand for a long while as the most definitive study of this critical battle.

Christopher Phillips
University of Cincinnati

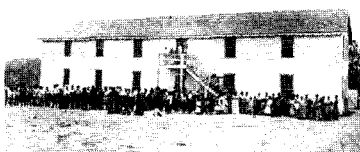
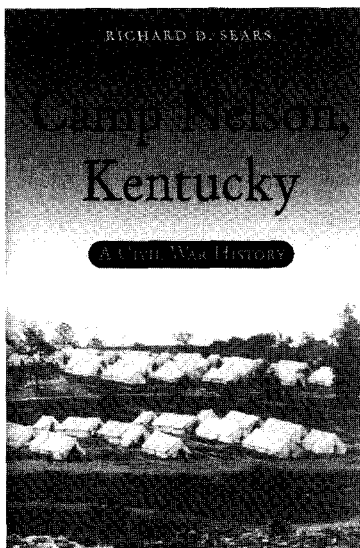
Richard D. Sears, editor. *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002. 401 pp. ISBN: 0813122465 (cloth), \$45.00.

“Camp Nelson,” according to Richard Sears, “is a haunted place.” (xix) All locales associated with the epic struggle that was the American Civil War share a similar feeling as if time were forever frozen holding in eternal stasis thousands of faces whose presence profoundly shaped the conflict. In this wonderful combination of well-crafted narrative and illustrative primary source materials, Sears provides readers with an invaluable study of a military installation that played an important role in shaping central Kentucky’s wartime experiences. Sears convincingly argues that, despite Camp Nelson’s inability to serve the Union Army as a supply depot, the camp did play an important role as it evolved into a vital regional recruitment and training center as well as a center for the operations of the American Missionary Association. This transition ultimately defined Camp Nelson’s brief history.

The past decade has witnessed the publication of a large number of documentary histories. Edward Ayer’s digital project *The Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War* and Ira Berlin’s *Freedom Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War* offer perhaps the best examples of how documentary histories can be useful both as a pedagogical tool and as an entry point for subsequent historical revision. Richard Sears’s *Camp Nelson, Kentucky* accomplishes similar feats.

The author’s concise yet inclusive forty-six page historical introduction provides readers with all of the necessary background material required to place the book’s primary source materials into an appropriate context.

Department of the Ohio commander General Ambrose Burnside selected a location “in southern Jessamine County, on the north side of the palisades of the Kentucky river, at Hickman Bridge on the Lexington-Danville Turnpike near Nicholasville, Danville, Lancaster, Lexington, Lebanon, [and] Richmond” (xxii-xxiii) as the desired site for Camp Nelson. Burnside hoped that his new installation would protect the vital Hickman Bridge, serve as a launching point for his upcoming East Tennessee campaign, aid in efforts to seize the Cumberland Gap, and finally provide a location where central Kentucky troops could be consolidated. From its inception, Camp Nelson experienced critical problems with securing supplies and in providing the army with enough mules and horses to transport items to the field. Horses and mules simply perished from exhaustion due to inadequate grain supplies. Meanwhile, Burnside’s soldiers lumbering away in East Tennessee began to run low on ammunition, clothing, and vital food stuffs such as sugar and coffee which in turn directly impacted morale. Burnside’s campaign succeeded in capturing Knoxville and seized the Cumberland Gap despite severe supply problems. “Although the total operation was ultimately successful,” writes Sears, “. . . Burnside’s invasion of East Tennessee very nearly failed on the basis of the *misplacement* of his depot at Camp Nelson.” (xxviii)



Refugees lined up outside their tents at the beaching.



Street scene in the Refugees' camp.

Following the successful East Tennessee campaign, General Ulysses S. Grant assessed the situation and determined that a new supply depot was desperately needed. While the camp no longer served one of its initial primary purposes, “the exigencies of black recruitment extended Camp Nelson’s military significance and its official existence.” (xxx) The interaction between black Union soldiers and refugees and American Missionary Association agents offers a particularly compelling story that mirrors similar encounters throughout the Border States and occupied South. Despite the A.M.A.’s well-documented paternalistic attitudes toward freedpeople, this organization, in most cases, provided ex-slaves their first opportunities in a classroom to learn how to read and write. If for no other reason, the interaction between A.M.A. missionaries and freedpeople which comprise a majority of the book’s primary source materials evidences Camp Nelson’s lasting contribution not only to the Union war effort, but more importantly as a vital hub for the early advancement of education for blacks in Kentucky.

Camp Nelson, Kentucky is a well-researched and well-presented documentary history. The book might have benefited from the inclusion of maps showing the fort’s location and an illustration, if available, detailing the fort’s design. The primary documents are arranged well and include a wide array of materials originating from the Records of the United States Army in the National Archives, and from the American Missionary Association Archives which are housed in the Amistad Research Center in New Orleans. This work would be especially useful in an upper level collegiate classroom and for those scholars interested in the A.M.A.’s wartime activities.

Keith S. Hébert
Auburn University

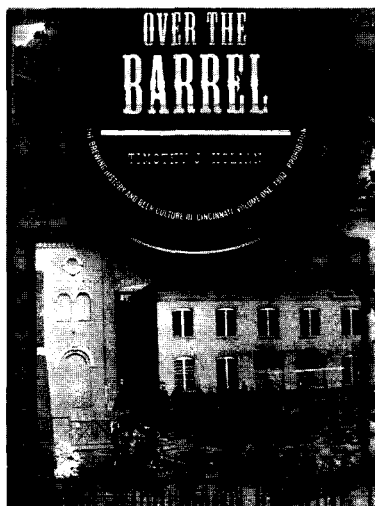
Timothy J. Holian. *Over the Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati, Volume One, 1800-Prohibition*. St. Joseph, Missouri: Sudhaus Press, 2000. 365 pp. ISBN: 0970390602 (paper), \$24.95.

Timothy J. Holian. *Over the Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati, Volume Two, Prohibition-2001*. St. Joseph, Missouri: Sudhaus Press, 2003. 392 pp. ISBN: 0970390696 (cloth), \$35.00.

Cincinnati has a long and rich brewing history. Most natives know this. Many would say that this is part of the city’s German heritage. Others might remember a time when most of the taps at their local watering hole poured local brews like Red Top or Weidemann’s. But despite these memories, the depth and breadth of Cincinnati brewing

history is largely unknown to many Cincinnatians, especially those in younger generations. In these two volumes of *Over the Barrel*, Timothy J. Holian gives a detailed picture of that history, showing how beer helped define the city’s culture for generations. He also shows why the industry suffered such a sharp and precipitous decline in the twentieth century. Prohibition is not just a convenient division point for these two volumes. It is the

event that looms largest in the history of the brewing industry in Cincinnati and the entire country. Before those dark days of the 1920s, Cincinnati had a thriving beer industry that served the largest local market, per capita, in the country. After Prohibition, local breweries struggled to survive, as the huge national brands moved into town with their slick advertising campaigns, stealing away



loyal customers.

Although Prohibition is the boogey man in Holian's story, it is only one part of his two exhaustively complete volumes of brewing history. In the first volume, Holian provides a vivid picture about how beer and beer-making permeated every aspect of Cincinnati's economy, culture and social structure. This may seem like hyperbole, but both of these volumes prove that there is no way to overstate the importance of beer to Cincinnati's history. Indeed, one of the main reasons that Cincinnati breweries were easy prey for the national brands after Prohibition is because they never really had to sell outside of the local market. Beer

consumption in the Cincinnati area was so high, as was local brand loyalty, that the city was able to support scores of breweries for well over a century. And companies like Hauck Brewing and Christian Moerlein were not just purveyors of local suds, but key sectors of the city's economy. They employed hundreds of workers, and their owners were some of the city's wealthiest and most prominent citizens.

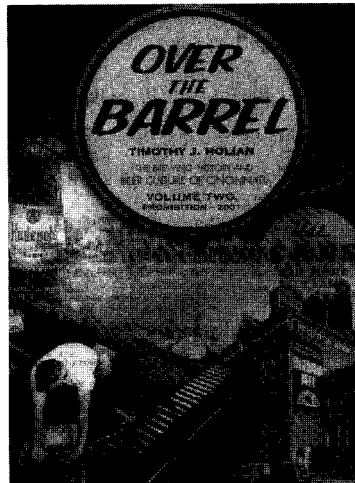
The first volume also paints a vivid picture of Cincinnati's pre-Prohibition beer culture. Saloons in *Over-the-Rhine* and other parts of the city were more than bars; they were community centers that served all levels of society. Hilltop resorts like the Highland House and Mecklenburg Gardens also catered to families and social groups on weekend outings. In a fascinating way, beer was a key thread in the city's diverse social and cultural fabric. To Holian, this makes the industry's demise that much more tragic. But Holian does not paint an altogether rosy picture of Cincinnati's brewing business. He details

labor strikes and rivalries between brewery and saloon owners. The real enemies of beer in Cincinnati, however, proved to be prohibition advocates. Their agitation began in the years after the Civil War, and culminated in 1919 with the passage of the Volstead Act. This law had a devastating affect on Cincinnati breweries. Many closed down, or were permanently damaged by the fourteen-year loss of business.

Those who did weather the storm faced an onslaught of competition after Prohibition was repealed. The story of the Cincinnati brewing industry's demise, though tragic, is the strongest part of the second volume. Holian shows how the larger national brewers were able to slowly enter, and eventually dominate, the Cincinnati market. Unlike the few Cincinnati firms that survived Prohibition, large firms like Anheuser-Busch had enough capital to weather an extended shutdown easily and take advantage afterwards. After 1933, and especially after World War II these large firms aggressively marketed their product in Cincinnati,

which had been a heretofore impenetrable market. They had large advertising and promotion budgets with which local breweries simply could not compete. The national brands picked off Cincinnati breweries one by one until the last of them, Hudepohl-Schoenling, went under in the late 1990s.

Over the course of 700 pages, the two volumes of *Over the Barrel* detail every aspect of Cincinnati's brewing history. At times this story can become a bit plodding and, although Holian provides a wealth of pictures and diagrams, the chronological organization of the book can be a bit confusing. Certain topics



like advertising and labor disputes are covered in several different chapters; a thematic organization of this information would have been helpful. But Holian's story is well researched and appropriately footnoted, and it will be of interest to anyone, whether they are a beer connoisseur or a lover a local history.

Rob Gioielli
University of Cincinnati

John S. Kessler and Donald B. Ball. *North from the Mountains: A Folk History of the Carmel Melungeon Settlement, Highland County, Ohio.* Macon: Mercer University Press, 2001. 220 pp. ISBN: 0865547033 (paper), \$19.95.

The term "Melungeon" possesses the power to trip up spell checkers and novice historians with equal impunity, and it is quite capable of flustering and confounding even professional scholars who know it well. What are academicians to make of this term and the people who have claimed it as self-identifying? A starting point would be to accept that American history, not to mention ethnic identity, is far more complicated than the average textbook would have us believe. Melungeons likely represent the genetic and cultural survivals of long-forgotten immigrants to colonial America from the Mediterranean world. Tossed into the early American crucible, these travelers mingled their genetic codes with northern Europeans, sub-Saharan Africans, and Native Americans.

While Melungeons traditionally are associated with a fairly small section of central Appalachia located along the Tennessee-Virginia state line, numerous outlying communities are closely connected to these core groups. One of the factors by which such groups are identified is evidence of multi-generational community intermarriage.

The other primary factor is evidence of multiracial heritage, likely dating back to colonial America. These factors reflect a probable enforced isolation of individuals and families due to increased colonial aversion to miscegenation. Left on the fringe of white society, free persons of color forged ties with Native Americans, runaway slaves, and others to build close-knit communities that remained intentionally isolated as the United States grew up around them. Over time, some members of these communities struck out on their own to find new land and new opportunities.

The "Carmel Indians," according to Kessler and Ball, are just such a splinter group and can be linked through genealogical evidence to the Melungeon core groups. This community in the foothills of Appalachian Ohio remained small and isolated from its origins, around the time of the American Civil War, until at least the 1950s. Long identified as "Indian" by area whites, some members of the Carmel community have even made efforts to claim legal status as Native Americans. In actuality, Melungeon residents appear to have a limited local Native American ancestry but strong roots stretching back through several communities in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee to colonial Virginia and the Carolinas. Significantly, this community has continued to evidence Melungeon folkways, thus enabling the authors to assemble an informative folk history.

Senior author John S. Kessler, a native of Highland County, has first-hand knowledge of the Carmel settlement's traditions, which he has gleaned from friends and kinfolk. Additionally, the authors have delved extensively into census records and other genealogical sources to trace surname replication and probable kinship ties from the Carmel community back to Appalachia. Kessler, though initially an academic novice, has broadened his study of the social sciences during the years of research and writing culminating in this monograph. With co-author Donald B. Ball, an archeologist working for the Army Corps of Engineers in Louisville,

Kentucky, he has turned an anthropologist's lens on his native community. The result is an ethnographic study that successfully bridges the gaps between myth, family history, and academic inquiry to reveal more fully the complex ethnic and cultural heritage of this and other Melungeon communities in the Ohio Valley.

J. Michael Rhyne
Northern Kentucky University

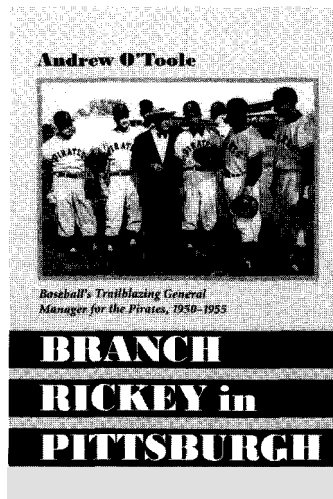
Andrew O'Toole. *Branch Rickey in Pittsburgh: Baseball's Trailblazing General Manager for the Pirates, 1950-1955.* Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co. Publishers, 2000. 213 pp. ISBN: 0786408391 (paper), \$29.95.

O'Toole sets out to fill a gap in the literature on one of baseball's great innovators, Branch Rickey. While two full biographies on Rickey have been published, as well as innumerable articles, there has been no sustained treatment of his five years as general manager for the Pittsburgh Pirates between November 1, 1950 and October 31, 1955. O'Toole does indeed fill this gap, and, for the most part, he does so admirably. He tells a rich tale covering Rickey's relationship with Pirates owner John Galbreath; his interactions with various players such as Ralph Kiner, his scouts and newspapermen; and Rickey's financial problems confronting the team over these years. In the telling, O'Toole effectively relates the challenges and failures of Rickey's years with the Pirates, and he succeeds in painting a textured and complex portrait of Rickey in his later years. Along the way, O'Toole introduces fascinat-

ing material on the nature of the general manager's job in the 1950s, and on the relationship between major league baseball and minor leagues.

Rickey is often credited with being the first to develop an extensive farm system to bolster the playing and financial fortunes of small-market teams. He did this with the Cardinals in the 1920s and 1930s, and again with the large-market Dodgers when he joined that team in 1942. It was when he worked for the Dodgers that Rickey integrated the major leagues by bringing Jackie Robinson to play in Brooklyn in 1947. While O'Toole shows that Rickey's attitude toward blacks was not always enlightened, he also makes it clear that Rickey was not done innovating after he left the Dodgers in the fall of 1950. Among other things, Rickey introduced the idea of a fall baseball school in 1951 and argued for baseball's adopting an amateur draft as football had already done. And, contrary to the notion in Michael Lewis' *Moneyball* that Billy Beane was the first general manager in baseball to recognize the importance of on-base percentage or the relative value of college over high school players, O'Toole shows that Rickey was commissioning systematic studies of baseball statistics dealing with precisely these points in the early fifties.

That said, O'Toole errs in attempting to explain away Rickey's failures as the Pirates general manager. The Pirates stunk during Rickey's tenure, finishing last every year but one, when they finished second to last. The teams' win percentage over this stretch only exceeded (barely) .400 once, and thrice fell below .350 (and once below .300). But O'Toole makes two points that he believes will vindicate Rickey's work in Pittsburgh. First, he argues, Rickey was assembling the basis for the Pirates' successful teams of the sixties. Second, Rickey's failure to sign or trade for better players is explainable by the team's fragile financial condition. Both



of these points seem dubious. In fact, the Pirates only won the pennant in one year (1960) during the decade of the sixties (and then went on to beat the Yankees in the bottom of the ninth of game seven on Bill Mazerowski's home run). And, of the players on the 1960 team, only Bill Mazerowski, Bob Skinner and Dick Groat were originally signed by Rickey's scouts. Roberto Clemente and Elroy Face were plucked from the Dodgers, and Clemente was discovered accidentally by a scout whom Rickey had sent on a mission to evaluate Joe Black. In any event, if we are to attribute the Pirates' success in 1960 to Rickey's genius, which seems rather a long shot, then we would also need to know more about Rickey's role in the signings of these players.

Unfortunately, O'Toole only relates Rickey's role in one player signing. Moreover, between 1951 and 1969, the Pirates won only one pennant, one out of nineteen, a lower success ratio than would have been produced by pure chance. Rickey traded away stars Ralph Kiner and Gus Bell and got little in return. Rickey apparently also had an opportunity in 1952 to trade one Danny O'Connell (who never hit ten homers or batted .300 in an individual season) for Hank Aaron, but passed it up. It would have been a more plausible argument to attribute this performance in Pittsburgh to old age rather than to any residual genius. After all, he was six weeks shy of his sixty-ninth birthday when he became general manager of the Pirates. Finally, O'Toole's position on the club's finances makes little economic sense. Each time Rickey made a trade, it was explained on the grounds that the Pirates needed to save money. But one must look at both sides of the equation. If you trade away Ralph Kiner and lower your payroll by, say, \$40,000, how much revenue do you lose because fans will no longer come to the ballpark? In the pre-free agency days, star players almost always produced more revenue than they were paid, so trading them away and getting no good players in return would actually hurt team finances.

These few shortcomings notwithstanding, O'Toole has written an engaging and perceptive account of baseball in the 1950s and he has begun to fill an important void in the Branch Rickey story.

*Andrew Zimbalist
Smith College*

Announcements

Cincinnati Seminar on the City

Now in its 13th year, Cincinnati Seminar on the City is a collaborative program of the University of Cincinnati Department of History and Cincinnati Museum Center. Lectures run from October through May each academic year. Held in Reikert Auditorium at Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, the lectures begin at 7:30 p.m. and are free and open to the public. For those interested in the opportunity to meet the speaker, each evening begins with a cash bar reception and dinner at \$25 per person. Dinner reservations must be made in advance. Call 513-287-7080 the Friday prior to the lecture to make dinner reservations.

January 13

Dr. Martin Francis, University of Cincinnati Department of History

“Bridget Jones” vs. “Sex and the City:” Love, Dating and Cultural Difference in Contemporary London and New York

Martin Francis was born in England, and was educated at the University of Manchester and the University of Oxford, where he received his doctorate in 1994. Dr. Francis will compare the dating cultures of contemporary London and New York City, as represented in the movie *Bridget Jones’ Diary* and the TV series *Sex and the City*. He will offer a balanced view of *Bridget Jones* and *Sex and the City*, arguing that they reflect the complexity of gender roles and identities in the modern city, and simultaneously offer both conservative and progressive readings of the relationship of women’s lives to romantic love, female friendship, sexuality, fashion

(shoes will feature prominently in this lecture!) and urban geographies. The lecture is particularly concerned with differences between New York and London (and, by implication, between the USA and Britain). British critics often argued that Bridget Jones’ world was more self-deprecating and gentle than the cruel materialistic marketplace of the Manhattan singles scene. However this assertion, it will be argued, is less a reflection of the reality of ‘thirtysomething’ life in these two cities as it is about long-established myths about cultural difference between the Old World and the New.

February 10

Dr. Patrick Snadon, University of Cincinnati School of Architecture and Interior Design

Ludlow/Hygeia: From Regency Enclave to Railroad Town

The town of Ludlow, Kentucky has a unique history. An Englishman named William Bullock planned a speculative community there, to be called “Hygeia,” designed by London architect J. B. Papworth. The plan formed one of the most creative “new towns” in America and included a variety of urban and suburban elements such as geometric squares, ornamental gardens, and picturesque drives, with buildings in many historic revival styles. Housing types ranged from detached and semi-detached villas to townhouses and workers’ cottages. Although “Hygeia” failed to materialize, several country seats and suburban villas developed on the site. By the 1870s the town of Ludlow had emerged and became a Victorian railroad community, with

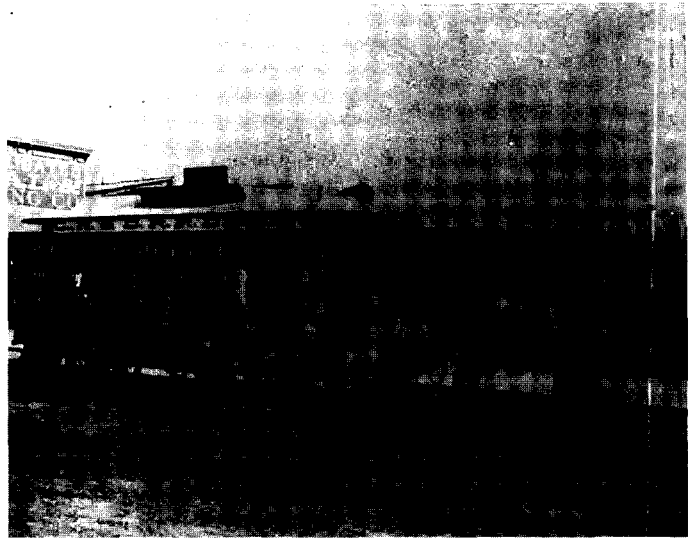
an ambitious, working-class amusement park called "the Lagoon," all serving greater Cincinnati. Significant buildings survive from all of Ludlow's historical layers. Dr. Snadon lives in Ludlow, Kentucky.

March 10

John H. White, Miami University

Horse Cars: City Transit Before the Age of Electricity

John H. White will discuss horse cars, a basic form of public transportation in American cities from the 1860s until the early 1890s. Mr. White will discuss the pros and cons of horse cars that were very decorative but neither comfortable nor fast. His talk will have a national focus with



some emphasis on horse cars in Cincinnati. A member of the CMC History Advisory Board, Mr. White served as curator of transportation for the Smithsonian Institution for three decades.

Fellowships and Internships of The Filson Historical Society

The Filson Historical Society invites applications for fellowships and internships.

Applications must be received by February 15, 2005.

Fellowships and internships are funded by a variety of sources. Fellowships encourage the scholarly use of The Filson's nationally significant collections by providing support for travel and lodging. Internships provide practical experience in collections management and research for graduate students. Fellows as well as interns are in continuous residence at The Filson. Applications are reviewed twice a year, February 15 and October 15. Applicants should indicate how The Filson's collections are relevant to their research topics.

Fellowship recipients will have the opportunity to present the results of their research to scholars and the general public as appropriate. For more information about fellowships and internships, application procedures, and to view The Filson's online catalog, please visit www.filsonhistorical.org, or call 502-635-5083.

The Filson is Kentucky's largest and oldest independent historical society with research collections documenting the history and culture of Kentucky, the Ohio Valley, and the Upper South. The Library and Special Collections include rare books, maps, and 1.5 million manuscripts, forming the best research holdings in Kentucky for the frontier, antebellum, and Civil War eras in addition to extensive collections for the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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Fellowships

Master's Thesis Fellowships

Eligibility: M.A. candidate at the thesis stage

Tenure of Fellowship: One week

Amount of Award: \$500

Note: Full support is available for one-week fellowships to encourage use of Filson research collections by M.A. students developing and researching thesis topics. Partial support is available for students residing in Kentucky who travel from beyond the greater Louisville area.

Filson Fellowships

Eligibility: Ph.D. or equivalent, or doctoral candidate at the dissertation stage

Tenure of Fellowship: One week

Amount of Award: \$500

Note: Full support is available for a one-week fellowship period. Partial support is available for scholars residing in Kentucky who travel from beyond the greater Louisville area.

C. Ballard Breaux Visiting Fellowships

Eligibility: Ph.D. or equivalent

Tenure of Fellowship: One month

Amount of Award: \$2,000

Note: Full support for post-doctoral scholars living outside of Kentucky is available for a one-month residence. Partial support is available for scholars residing in Kentucky who travel from beyond the greater Louisville area. Applicants for Breaux Visiting Fellowships are automatically considered for Filson Fellowships.

Internships

Filson Interns

Eligibility: Current enrollment in or recent completion of a graduate program in history or a related field

Tenure of Internship: Two semesters

Amount of Award: \$1,000 per semester

Note: Interns work with appropriate curatorial staff and faculty advisors in areas of collections management and research.

H. F. Boehl Summer Interns

Eligibility: Current enrollment in or recent completion of a graduate program in history or a related field

Tenure of Internship: One to three months summer residence

Amount of Award: \$1,200 per month

Note: Interns work with appropriate curatorial staff and faculty advisors in areas of collections management and research.

Submission Information for Contributors to *Ohio Valley History*

Three paper copies of a manuscript should be sent by postal mail to:

Christopher Phillips or Wayne K. Durrill, Editors
Ohio Valley History
Department of History
P.O. Box 210373
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio 45221-0373

- Preferred manuscript length is roughly 22 to 25 pages, exclusive of endnotes, on one side of 8.5 x 11 inch paper.
- Please use 11 or 12-point type.
- Double-space text and notes, with notes placed at the end of the manuscript text.
- Author's name and institutional affiliation on title page only.
- Illustrations, tables, and maps that significantly enhance the article are welcome.
- Regarding general form and style, please follow the 15th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*.
- Please include a working postal address, with telephone, fax, and e-mail information for home or office, as well as for extensive holiday or sabbatical residences.

The refereeing process for manuscripts is blind. Referees are members of our editorial board or other specialists in the academy most appropriate to each manuscript. We have no quotas of any kind with regard to authorship, topic, chronological period, or methodology—the practitioners via their submissions determine what we publish. Authors must guarantee in writing that the work is original, that it has not been previously published, and that it is not under consideration for publication elsewhere in *any* form.

Should a manuscript be accepted for publication, the author will be asked to provide a computer disk, clearly labeled with the name of the author, file, and saved in Microsoft Word. We do not have the capacity to translate alternative programs.

Accepted manuscripts undergo a reasonable yet rigorous editing process. We will read the manuscript very closely as to style, grammar, and argument. The edited manuscript will be submitted to the author for consideration before publication.

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