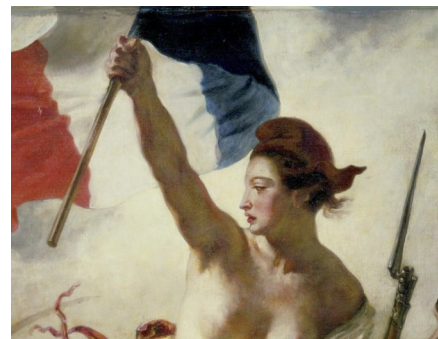


# Insights

## Notes from the CCWH

Fall 2020 | 51: 3



## Co-President's Column

Crystal Feimster

Like so many of you who have been advocating for justice for Breonna Taylor, I was heartbroken when the Kentucky Attorney General announce that the grand jury had declined to indict the three officers who shot and killed her. As a scholar of African American women's history specializing in racial and sexual violence, the decision did not come as surprise. In fact, it is yet another reminder of how much work we have to do to end police brutality. The Black Lives Matter protest that swept across the world this summer after a Minneapolis police murdered George Floyd were a global call to action.

The protest of this summer and last week were not spontaneous responses to individual cases. We are not here by accident. The marches, civil disobedience, riots, and calls for police reform are the product of enormous work. Indeed, while the protests are part of a long history that goes back to Reconstruction, we only need look back over the last ten years, beginning with the protest following the murder of Trayvon Martin in 2012 and the founding of the movement for Black Lives Matter in 2013 by Opal Tometi, Alicia Garza, and Patrisse Cullors to understand the significance of the current movement. In August to 2016, the movement for Black Lives Matters laid out six demands aimed at ending all forms of violence and injustice endured by black people; redirecting resources from prisons and the military to education, health, and safety; creating a just, democratically controlled economy; and securing black political power within a genuinely inclusive democracy. This kind of revolutionary change does not happen overnight, it requires relentless grassroots organizing, radical political education, and historical knowledge.

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Indeed, Black Lives Matters is part of a network of organizations, activists, and scholars who have been doing this work for decades. Together organizations, such as Black Youth Project 100, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, Copwatch, Dignity and Power, Critical Resistance, We Charge Genocide, Dream Defenders, the Rising Majority, Black Organizing for Leadership and Dignity, SURJ- [Showing] Up for Racial Justice, Equal Justice Initiative, and the African American Policy Forum and scholar activist, such as Tracey Meares, Barbara Ransby, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Angela Davis, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Michelle Alexander, and Bryan Stevenson have been raising question and calling for political action on these issues for years.

Kimberlé Crenshaw, the director and founder of the African American Policy Forum (AAPF) and #SayHerName campaign, has brought national attention to the often-invisible names and stories of black women and girls who have been victimized by racist police violence. I want to close with the AAPF's statement on the grand jury's failure to indict the police officers who murdered Breonna Taylor and ask the members of CCWH to join me in the #SayHerName Campaign (<https://aapf.org/sayhername>):

*Today, Kentucky Attorney General Daniel Cameron announced that the grand jury declined to indict officers Jonathan Mattingly and Myles Cosgrove, and indicted Detective Brett Hankison on charges of first-degree wanton endangerment. No charges related directly to the murder of Breonna Taylor will be brought against the officers who killed her. Our hearts go out to her family who, like so many other families, will not see justice done. This failure to indict casts light on how the entire system of policing and criminal justice is designed to reduce the likelihood that cops will ever*

*have to account for their actions.*

*And yet, while we are deeply disappointed in this decision, we are not surprised by it. At every stage of this process, the value of Breonna's life was an afterthought to law enforcement: From the morning of March 13th when the Louisville Metropolitan Police Department (LMPD) officers needlessly put her life in danger by firing over 20 rounds into her apartment while executing a no-knock warrant, to the failure of the officers to provide emergency assistance as Breonna lay dying, to the city's baseless attempts to assassinate her character.*

*While predictable and shameful, perhaps the most insulting dimension of today's decision is that after 194 days of demands to Say Her Name, the two-page indictment against Brett Hankison for wanton endangerment does not mention Breonna's name at all. With the world watching, Attorney General Cameron announced that what was long-delayed will be denied outright—there will be neither justice for Breonna's family, nor accountability among the officers who took an innocent woman's life. Instead, her death has been labeled "a tragedy" for which no one is to be held*

*accountable. This decision extends the business-as-usual disregard of Black life to yet another gut-wrenching case of a Black woman cut down by police practices that would not be tolerable if they disproportionately endangered the lives of their white women.*

*While it is noteworthy that the city has settled with Taylor's family and has agreed to some reforms, a settlement is not and cannot be a substitute for accountability and justice. So long as cities and police departments can pay their way out of misconduct, Black women's vulnerability will simply be seen as the cost of doing business. But the price of racist, violent policing is measured not in dollars and cents, but in stolen lives and shattered families. Justice requires dismantling the systems that allow police to terrorize, brutalize, and kill Black people.*

*Though we are dismayed by the decision not to bring charges, we recognize that simply prosecuting the cops who murdered Breonna Taylor is not enough. We must continue to address and challenge the broader systemic conditions that enable the kind of policing that predictably imperils Black bodies to continue. There can be neither justice nor*

*peace until police violence, and white supremacist violence in all its forms is stamped out.*

*We will continue to lift up Breonna Taylor's name, share the story of her life, and demand justice for her and every other Black woman whose life has been cut short by state violence.*

*We will continue to fight for a world in which Black women are free from the twin terrors of racism and sexism -- for a world in which Black women can sleep in their own homes and live their own lives without fear of being killed.*

***Enough is enough. Justice is long overdue.***

### **Mark Your Calendars!**

**Please join us for a virtual awards ceremony this December (date and time TBD), during which we will formally recognize our award winners and runners-up. We'll also celebrate our outgoing co-president, Sasha Turner, for her many wonderful contributions to the organization.**

**All CCWH members are invited to attend this event. Registration information will be sent closer to the date. Please contact Elizabeth Everton at [execdir@theccwh.org](mailto:execdir@theccwh.org) with any questions.**

## **Notes from the Executive Director**

**Elizabeth Everton**



Dear CCWH Members,

Many of us are looking forward to a new academic year, albeit one that looks very different from those that have come before. You may be designing online courses for the first time or adapting teaching techniques to virtual or blended classrooms. For those who teach at institutions that are offering in-person courses, you may be struggling with how radically unfamiliar our familiar spaces look and feel—unfamiliar and perhaps unwelcoming or even frightening. We are all learning new skills, and we are doing so in impossible conditions.

Yet many historians will not have the opportunity to start a new academic year. While the COVID-19 pandemic has affected all academics employed at colleges and universities, it has dealt a particularly heavy blow to adjuncts, lecturers, and other contingent faculty members. In July, the City University of New York system laid off almost 3000 adjunct professors and part-time staff members, prompting a lawsuit from the faculty and staff union. This scenario is occurring across the nation as institutions grapple with low enrollment and budget shortfalls.

In addition, we are seeing a troubling trend of institutions shuttering departments and programs in the humanities, prompting layoffs of both non-tenured and tenured faculty. This trend predates the pandemic, but the current economic crisis has accelerated and intensified it. And even in departments that are otherwise weathering the storm, faculty and staff may be feeling the pinch of furloughs, salary reductions, and cuts to benefits. These financial hardships will have a ripple ef-

fect throughout the profession, as historians struggle to afford conference and research travel, access to primary and secondary sources, and membership fees.

In light of this situation, the American Historical Association has established the Historians Relief Fund, with the goal of assisting unemployed and underemployed historians who have been financially affected by the COVID-19 outbreak. The fund will disburse emergency grants to eligible historians. To learn more, to apply, or to donate, please visit <https://www.historians.org/awards-and-grants/grants-and-fellowships/historians-relief-fund>. The AHA has also issued statements condemning department closures, program eliminations, and faculty layoffs, which the CCWH has co-signed. You can access these statements here: <https://www.historians.org/news-and-advocacy/aha-advocacy>.

This time of year is also a busy one for the members of the CCWH's six prize committees. Tasked with selecting winners from the pool of terrific applications, committee members

spend the summer deliberating and finalize their decisions by mid-September. The timeline is designed to give winners and runners-up ample time to make arrangements to attend the annual awards luncheon at the AHA's January meeting. The CCWH has usually made its voice heard at the AHA through sponsored panels and events, as well as using the conference as a venue for our annual business meeting, where a quorum of members votes on administrative and organizational matters.

Of course, in pandemic times, nothing is as usual. Many of you have seen that the AHA will not be holding its January 2021 conference in Seattle. Whether there will be some programming and what that will look like has not yet been determined. What I do know is that the CCWH will find a way to meet, to learn from each other, and to celebrate.

Indeed, the CCWH is in a better place than many organizations to pivot from in-person to virtual events—we've actually been convening online for years! September 2020 marks the three-



year anniversary of our mentorship program. This program facilitates peer mentorship connections and offers frequent e-mentorship sessions. For more information, visit <https://theccwh.org/ccwh-resources/mentorship-program/> or keep an eye out for emails from our membership coordinator, Einav Rabinovitch-Fox.

We plan to continue offering these sessions as the academic year progresses, and we hope to see you there! I had the great privilege of presenting at our March 27 session on Working and Teaching from Home. It was a wonderful experience, and I strongly recommend it.

During these challenging times, we must all band together and

lift one another up. In a moment of social distancing, it's important not to lose sight of the connections we have—and the connections we need. A helping hand is a boon in good times, but in bad times, it can be a life-saver. In sisterhood, let us take each others' hands.

All the best,  
Liz

**Call for Papers: Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques**

**Editor: Elizabeth C. Macknight, University of Aberdeen**

**Co-Editor: W. Brian Newsome, Elizabethtown College**

Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques (HRRH) has established a well-deserved reputation for publishing high quality articles of wide-ranging interest for over forty years. The journal, which publishes articles in both English and French, is committed to exploring history in an interdisciplinary framework and with a comparative focus. Historical approaches to art, literature, and the social sciences; the history of mentalities and intellectual movements; the terrain where religion and history meet: these are the subjects to which Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques is devoted.

Contributions are invited from all fields of intellectual-cultural history and the history of religion and mentalities. Some specific themes include: Music history ● Social policies and societal change (including studies with a comparative focus) ● Material culture and emotions ● Architectural and garden history ● Small businesses ● Colonial/imperial studies

The editorial board welcomes submissions for publication in English or French. Authors should submit articles as email attachments, formatted as Microsoft Word or Rich Text Format files. Please note that all correspondence will take place via email. Send submissions and complete contact information to the editor, Elizabeth Macknight at [e.macknight@abdn.ac.uk](mailto:e.macknight@abdn.ac.uk).

Have other questions? Please refer to the various Berghahn Info for Authors pages for general information and guidelines including topics such as article usage and permissions for Berghahn journal article authors ([www.berghahnjournals.com/historical-reflections](http://www.berghahnjournals.com/historical-reflections)).

## Membership and Mentorship

**Einav Rabinovitch-Fox**  
Membership Committee Chair



Dear Members,

In these very uncertain times, one of the biggest strengths that we can all have is the power of community. Here at the CCWH, building this community has been one of the top priorities for me as a membership coordinator. And one of the ways to build this community is through mentorship.

Thinking about mentorship and finding feminist models to create one was also on our thoughts this last AHA, before the world has changed forever due to the pandemic. In a panel titled “Surviving and Thriving: Inclu-

sive, Meaningful Mentorship for Women across the Profession,” sponsored by the CCWH, Barbara Molony, Kathleen Feeley, Sarah Litvin and myself discussed different approaches and ideas for mentorship, especially for and by people who identify as women. We were very fortunate to convene again, this time joined by Kelly Midori McCormick and Fatemeh Hosseini who could not join us in New York, for an updated discussion on mentorship, especially during times of Covid-19. Organized by the Journal of Women’s History, you can view the panel on their blog: <https://jwh.oucreate.com/mentorship-a-conversation/>.

In addition to the panel, the CCWH Mentorship Program is in full swing. We had a vibrant summer with conversations about working with an editor, the process of going from dissertation to book, and applying to prizes and awards. We also had our first “Open Zoom” e-Mentorship discussion last month where members discussed in breakout rooms teaching, productivity, and dissertat-

ing and the job market during Covid-19. We were energized by these discussions, and were reminded that much of what we need right now is a way to connect with others in our field, even across the distance.

We will continue to offer topical e-Mentorship sessions, as well as to explore more formats such as the “open zoom” sessions. You can find past sessions on our website, and request notes from specific sessions by emailing [mentorship@theccwh.org](mailto:mentorship@theccwh.org). We also look forward to hosting calls that encourage connection while writing and working together as well as sessions that allow for themed open discussions and the exchange of ideas. We look forward to seeing more new faces on future calls!

We are also in the process of reinvigorating our mentorship matching program and need your help! We are looking for individuals who are willing to serve as a mentor for a fellow CCWH member, and continue welcoming those of you who look for mentors. We are especially in need of Associate and Full Professors who can lend a

bit of their time to a fellow member or two. We recommend that mentors check in with their mentee monthly, and to serve as someone a mentee could reach out to with questions on writing, on the tenure process, or about administrative positions. Email [mentorship@theccwh.org](mailto:mentorship@theccwh.org) if you are interested in serving as a mentor. Thank you!

The strength of our community is as the strength of our numbers and our collaborations and our connections. I hope that you could all join me in building and strengthening our community here at the CCWH.

## Wisdom for Well-Being

**Ilaria Scaglia**

**Connections Committee Chair**

On August 20–21 2020, I was invited to serve as faculty facilitator for an ACLS seminar for 2020 Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellows enti-

tled “Preparing for the Academic Job Market” (August 20 and 21 2020).

Among other things, I was asked to share my thoughts on managing time and staying productive and healthy during the job hunt. I re-read the notes from the CCWH mentorship sessions I had the pleasure to moderate in the last few years and I condensed them into “ten pearls of wisdom.” Here they are:

1. *Understand that this is not a sprint but a marathon*, and you will need to be in the right mindset to get to the end. This is vital. Make it a priority to cultivate that mindset.
2. *Staying physically and mentally healthy is essential*. Find and invest as much as possible in activities to help you with both (bake, do yoga, paint, sing, run, dance... whatever). Maybe do a combination of these things, but find a way to do it.
3. *Schedule/break up your work with health in mind*. Example: I get depressed if I do not do research for a long stretch of



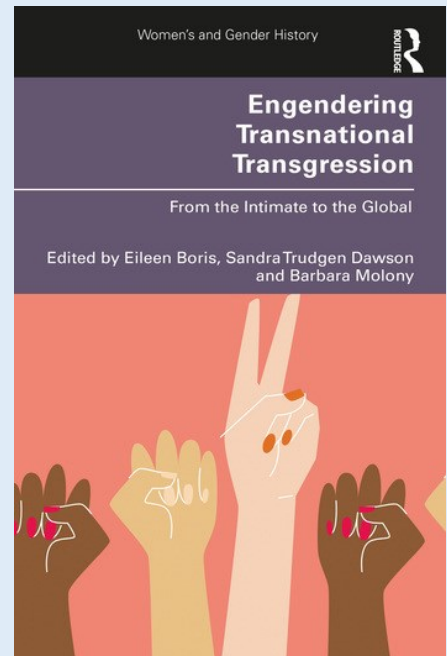
time—I find it helpful to squeeze in 30 minutes a day, first thing in the morning. Keep your mind into your project. Debunk the myth of the “perfect time to write.” Instead, figure out what is the most efficient/healthiest time to complete your research and everything else.

4. *Be organised*. Make “to-do” lists. Chop large tasks into small bits, devise rubrics for grading, checklists for admin/applications; go through these with a machete and move along.
5. *Do not allow getting or not getting jobs/grants/etc. to determine your sense of self-worth*. This is important, but easier said than done. Accept that there is an element of good fortune (remember that even

**Congratulations to past CCWH Executive Director Sandra Trudgen Dawson, and past CCWH co-presidents Eileen Boris and Barbara Molony on the appearance of their new work, *Engendering Transnational Transgressions: From the Intimate to the Global* (Routledge, 2021).**

From Routledge: “*Engendering Transnational Transgressions* reclaims the transgressive side of feminist history, challenging hegemonic norms and the power of patriarchies. Through the lenses of intersectionality, gender analysis, and transnational feminist theory, it addresses the political in public and intimate spaces.

The book begins by highlighting the transgressive nature of feminist historiography. It then divides into two parts—Part I, *Intimate Transgressions: Marriage and Sexuality*, examines marriage and divorce as viewed through a transnational lens, and Part II, *Global Transgressions: Networking for Justice and Peace*, considers political and social violence as well as struggles for relief, redemption, and change by transnational networks of women. Chapters are archivally grounded and take a critical approach that underscores the local in the global and the significance of intersectional factors within the intimate. They bring into conversation literatures too often separated: history of feminisms and anti-war, anti-imperial/anti-fascist, and related movements, on the one hand, and studies of gender crossings, marriage reconstitution, and affect and subjectivities, on the other. In so doing, the book encourages the reader to rethink standard interpretations of rights, equality, and recognition.”



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| <p>after you do get a job, and be an advocate for those who did not); most of us have more rejections than acceptances. Do not waste time to find out who got the job instead; move on.</p> <p>6. <i>Surround yourself with supportive people, and be one of them.</i> Misery loves company.</p> | <p>Don't fall for it, and don't drag others down with you. Receive and give positive vibes.</p> <p>7. Peruse CVs of successful people and get ideas for academic and non-academic activities to do while searching for jobs. <i>Impara l'arte e mettila da parte</i>, we say in</p> | <p>Italian: “learn the art and set it aside.” Do something for the media, become involved in some advisory board, in archives... you name it. All of this will help you to find a job and open opportunities.</p> <p>8. <i>Work and family balance</i>: don't be afraid to bring children/partners with you to</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|



conferences, archives, etc. Many of us have kids/family; it can be done (it should be possible!). The more of us do it, the more normal this becomes.

9. *Be active in professional organizations* (including CCWH!). Have a community outside of your work place. It's never too early to sit on committees and to become an active citizen of our profession: you will find models and inspiration.
10. *Be open to finding jobs in places or with features you had not initially envisioned.* I will end with a cooking metaphor: don't have a precise recipe in mind, but be curious and ready to make a splendid dish with the ingredients you have. You will improve your chances of being employed, healthier, and happier than the professors you had!

I hope you will find them useful!



## Public History Forum

**Dr. Elyssa Ford**

**Public History Coordinator**



Two areas of study within public history are historic sites and monuments broadly speaking, including their history, their care, and their use; and sites of violence, conflict, and contest more specifically. These studies tell us about our past, reveal the values of our present, and inform our future. Provided here is a brief summarization of selected books published in 2017-2019 on these topics; the full reviews can be found at *The Public Historian*.

### Historic Sites & Monuments

Lisa Blee and Jean M. O'Brien, *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit*

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), review by Cynthia C. Prescott, *TPH* 42:1 (February 2020): p.143-45.

The authors examine the Massasoit sculpture by Cyrus Dallin. Created for the 300th anniversary of a Massasoit-Colonist peace treaty in 1621, the sculpture was meant to commemorate that event and mark the historic site in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Despite its purpose, copies of the sculpture soon appeared across the country, and the authors carefully trace how the meaning of the monument changed as it was disassociated with its original context.

Rebecca Yamin, *Archaeology at the Site of the Museum of the American Revolution: A Tale of Two Taverns and the Growth of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2018), review by Kimberlee Moran, *TPH* 42:1 (February 2020): p.142-43.

Written by an archaeologist and intended for a popular audience, this book takes an unusual approach that tells several stories: that of the archaeological process and that of the site itself.

We often consider books like this as examining known and identifiable historic sites, but this one takes the site of a former NPS site, now a museum, and uncovers not those histories but that of daily life in late colonial Philadelphia.

#### Sites of Violence & Conflict

Guy Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), review by Olwen Purdue, *TPH* 42:1 (February 2020): p.146-48.

Much of Northern Ireland's history and present is tied to divisive identity politics, and historical events are often claimed by one side or the other (Catholics or Protestants, Nationalists or Unionists). This book studies the Society of United Irishmen and their rebellion in 1798. An important historical event, it is often forgotten and claimed by neither side today. More specifically, the author focuses on the concept of "social forgetting" and what leads a society to forget (or, here, to choose not to remember) a past event.

**Congratulations to the winners of the inaugural Ida Blom-Karen Offen Prize in Transnational Women's and Gender History, offered by the International Federation for Research in Women's History. The prize was awarded jointly to Katherine Marino for *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of an International Human Rights Movement* (University of North Carolina Press, 2019) and Jocelyn Olcott for *International Women's Year: The Greatest Consciousness-Raising Event in History* (Oxford University Press, 2017).**

In her first book, Katherine Marino focuses on the movement for Pan-American feminism in the interwar years. Drawing on archives from seven countries (Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, the United States and Uruguay) in four languages (Spanish, Portuguese, English and French) it is exemplary of the possibilities and challenges of transnational history. It is impressive that one scholar was able to complete a project which would otherwise have required a team of researchers. In demonstrating that Latin American feminists were at the vanguard of global feminism and international human rights advocacy, it shifts our attention to the importance of attention to the global south.

Jocelyn Olcott's engaging history complicates the standard narrative of the 1975 United Nations International Women's Year (IWY) Conference in Mexico City. It unpacks some of the oppositions which have shaped previous narratives of the event: economic justice versus sexual freedom, third world versus first world, USSR and non-aligned nations versus US and its Western allies, and the NGO (non-governmental organization) Tribune versus the official UN meeting. Olcott has not only written a definitive study, but her concluding "Notes on Sources, Theories, and Methods" invites us to think about how we narrate the history of events, the role of contingency, and the reliability of multiple witnesses. This tale of encounters—between North and South, East and West, the grassroots and the bureaucratic—sets a high standard for the practice of transnational history, no less than the history of feminism.

James P. Brennan, *Argentina's Missing Bones: Revisiting the History of the Dirty War* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), review by Gustavo Morrello, *TPH* 41:1 (February 2019): p.170-71.

Much like scholars who recently have begun to interrogate the legacy that has been enshrined in many of the Confederate and Western monuments in the United States, this book reexamines the history of the “disappeared” in 1970s Argentina. It aims to move beyond the traditional story of rote denial by the military and what the author says might be that of the idealized victim, which was created by survivors themselves.

Amy Sodaro, *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), review by Olwen Purdue, *TPH* 41:1 (February 2019): p.165-67.

Museums are a place for people to discuss, confront, and understand difficult history, especially sites and moments of violence and trauma. This book highlights the approaches taken by

five museums on four different continents. Each looks at significant events, like 9/11 or the Rwandan genocide, rather than local or regional cases. While we may have an understanding today of what a memorial museum should do (ie. testify, memorialize, and morally educate), the author makes it clear that a single, generic blueprint on how to “do” a memorial museum is not enough; the museum must address the specific event, the past of that event, and the purpose and use of that event (and of the museum itself!) today.

Erin Krutko Devlin, *Remember Little Rock* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017), review by Justin Gomer, *TPH* 41:1 (February 2019): p.160-61.

In this book, the author undertakes not only a retelling of Lit-

tle Rock's forced school integration in the 1950s but also looks in more detail at how officials in the ensuing decades have portrayed Little Rock's integration efforts and have used that integration, particularly their own tellings of it, for their own purposes. As the review author highlights, this appeared most clearly in the 1980s when local leaders promoted moderation and gradual change to undermine and co-opt (words used by Gomer) the civil rights movement; it appeared again in the 1990s when local, state, and national officials simplified and misconstrued the rights movement and racism in the US by celebrating Little Rock's integration as the end of structural racism.

**Want to learn more about the CCWH's programs and resources? Visit us at <http://theccwh.org>. Learn about membership benefits, annual awards, the mentorship program, university and conference liaisons, affiliate organizations, and much more.**

**Want even more? Follow us on Facebook and Twitter.**

## Book Reviews

Whitney Leeson

Book/Media Review Editor



**Mary Ellen Pethel.** *Athens of the New South: College Life and the Making of Modern Nashville.* Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2017.

Sarah Case

University of California, Santa Barbara

*Athens of the New South* is a clearly written analysis of the link between the growth of Nashville, Tennessee, and its institutions of higher learning between the end of the Civil War and 1930. Although it is generally known that the post-Civil War development of urban centers in the South and the expansion of colleges and universities oc-

curred in parallel, author Mary Ellen Pethel asserts that few studies have examined carefully the link between these two phenomena. She argues that the “emergence of southern colleges and universities . . . was what marked cities like Nashville as ‘progressive’ and ‘New South’”—that is, one of the key forces for progress, modernization, and urbanization was higher education (31). Nowhere was the importance of higher education to urban growth and New South economic, cultural, and social changes as clear as in Nashville, nicknamed the “Athens of the New South.”

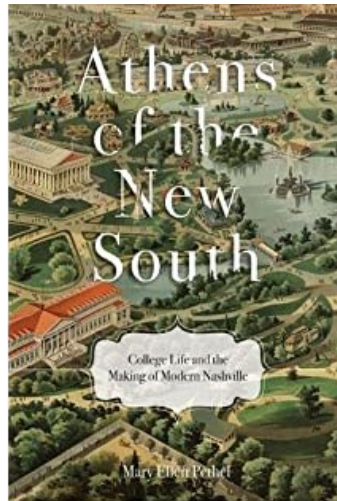
Pethel begins her study with an introduction that provides an overview of the city’s expansion and a survey of the major higher educational institutions in Nashville. These include Vanderbilt (one of the top private universities in the South) and Fisk (regarded in the 1910s as one of only two institutions offering university-level instruction for African Americans), as well as several normal schools, institutions that trained ministers, and medical schools. In Chapter 1

she explores in depth the association between educational expansion and New South urban growth. Colleges and universities educated students, but perhaps even more important was their “role in shaping neighborhoods, public transportation, leisure, nonprofit activism and organizations, and the cultural arts” (37). More than other southern cities, education was a key industry in Nashville and part of the city’s “image, reputation, and appeal” (40). Universities and colleges shaped the growth of the city, and the New South elite was defined by their educational attainment as well as their participation in the industrializing economy.

The next chapters focus on higher education for white women and African Americans. In Chapter 2, Pethel introduces the “modern belle,” an ideal of white womanhood, combining gentility of the antebellum belle with more modern ideals of independence, educational attainment, and even employment. Although Vanderbilt always accepted a small number of women, for most of the New South



period, all-female schools were considered preferable by students, parents, and educators, especially for the elite and the rising middle class. Less wealthy women who sought respectable employment usually favored normal schools for training for positions within in the South's developing public school systems. Nashville's prominent HBCUs are the focus of Chapter 3; Nashville was rivaled only by Atlanta as a center of Black higher education. Fisk, the best known, was joined by Meharry Medical College, Roger Williams (educated ministers and teachers), and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial Normal School (today Tennessee State University). Men and women educated at these schools also took part in the economic growth of Nashville, founding businesses catering to the emerging Black middle class. Fisk and Meharry, especially, educated Nashville's "talented tenth"—including W.E.B DuBois himself, a Fisk graduate. Pethel even coins the term the "Fantastic Fifth" to describe men such as James C. Napier, a successful entrepreneur who



served as Register of the Treasury under President Taft and was part of his unofficial Black cabinet. Although not educated in Nashville, Napier co-founded Tennessee A&I and sat on the boards of Fisk and Howard universities. Nashville's HBCUs, like those elsewhere in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, generally had white leadership. The exception was Tennessee A&I, run by William J. Hale, a pragmatist who managed to get white political and financial support while expanding educational opportunity for African Americans in Tennessee primarily by educating the teachers who made up a key aspect of the growing Black middle class. Pethel's analysis here is weakened somewhat by an acceptance of an either/or mod-

el of Black education that followed either a Booker T. Washington/industrial or DuBois/academic model, a dichotomy that other scholars have questioned and that her evidence also troubles.

The following chapters focus on extracurricular life. Chapter 4, centered on youth culture and leisure, finds that students born after the Civil War helped fashion modern campus life, including increasing social interaction between young men and women. In other words, college life helped create a new, heterosocial space for young people and create a distinct time of life with its own cultural and social rules and behaviors. The structure of college life and culture put in place by the 1930s would be familiar to us today (or at least to the time before pandemic shutdowns). The development of youth-centered leisure culture that catered to college students was, Pethel finds, part of the early twentieth century shift in southern entertainment away from mostly religious-based to secular. This included the creation of Nashville as a "music

city”—a large part of the audience at the Ryman and other venues were college students. At the same time, whereas white men had increasing autonomy on and off-campus, colleges for white women still imposed expectations and rules governing modesty and propriety well into the first decades of the twentieth century. Black students faced segregation in the New South city and strict restrictions on their behavior on campus. For example, under Avery McKenzie, who led Fisk between 1915 and 1925, the university improved its academic standing and earned it status as a leading (along with Howard) Black university. But McKenzie also imposed restrictions on behavior—such as requiring uniforms, prohibiting smoking, and separating men and women on campus—that, along with his close relationships with the city’s white business elite, led to campus protests in 1924, sparked by a visit by Du Bois in which he decried the current state of campus life and called for student activism. The Fisk protests inspired others at HBCUs that led to a shift away from administrative

control by northern paternalists and their southern Black allies. After McKenzie’s resignation in 1925, another white man, Thomas Elsa Jones, replaced him; however, Jones did hire Black administrators and faculty in unprecedented numbers and loosened some of the most restrictive rules.

Chapter 5 examines athletics on campus, tracing the extraordinary rise of college sports in the early twentieth century. College sports, particularly football, became linked to southern identity, and in particular, Lost Cause ideology. Vanderbilt, “the dominant southern team in football for the first quarter of the twentieth century,” helped shape standards, rules, and regulations for the sport not only in the South, but nationwide. White colleges continually invoked Lost Cause imagery and ideology, referring to northern “invaders” and “southern honor.” On the other hand, sports at Fisk and Nashville’s other HBCUs, although popular with students, were met with some skepticism by administrators who worried that athletics

would take away from their primary mission.

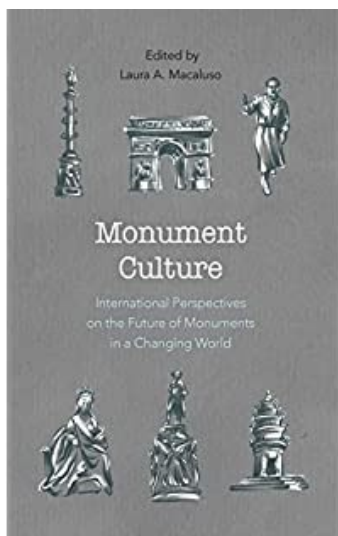
Pethel ends with an overview of Nashville’s educational landscape today. In all, the book’s argument that education has been underappreciated as a central agent in creating an urban New South, and the significance of Nashville in this process, is compelling. This would be a useful resource for scholars interested in the New South and the history of education.

**Laura A. Macaluso, ed. *Monument Culture: Interpreting Perspectives on the Future of Monuments in a Changing World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019. 260 pp. \$39.00. ISBN 978-1-5381-1415-5.**

Mayra Lizette Avila  
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*Monument Culture: Interpreting Perspectives on the Future of Monuments in a Changing World* examines the international perspective of monument culture, which is no longer only physical monuments but social (xvii). This collection goes further by

focusing on the installation or removal of a physical object as the public re-examines history. Through the themes of land, people, and place, the authors look at the ideology of counter-monument and future monuments, highlighting how various and distinct historical forces compete to portray a specific past (19 and 258). This edited volume opens a discussion to the international perspective on monument culture around the world.



History is often written by the victors, but if the public is not interested in the complex details of the past, a monument can create a historical narrative (32). Through an examination of the Robert E. Lee monument in

Charlottesville, Alex Vernon, points out that protestors on both sides held communist and fascist symbols, creating this false narrative. He explains that the public examines a speech, person, or group by their actions on a single day or event but fail to learn the ramifications of these actions in the days and years later. Consequently, the hidden agendas for a monument often require a deeper look and a good deal of understanding of history (25-26). For example, Carmen S. Tomfohrde explains how monuments commemorating Tahiti's first experienced "entanglement with the west encapsulates the recollections of past erasures of religious, cultural heritage" (13). Yet, the monuments do not represent the colonial destruction, but integration, as black stones representing tribes throughout the country are displayed to signify the people's involvement in Polynesia's history. But Roger Nelson reminds the reader that the location and the monument itself is a symbol of nationhood and sovereignty. *Monument Culture* demonstrates that a monument cannot just be removed in hopes

that history is forgotten but should acknowledge all parties involved and provide a complete history (252).

In a time when groups are calling for the removal of statues representing an oppressing force is coming into question, *Monument Culture* encourages the reader to consider various arguments and solutions. Additionally, it provides a guide for curators and artists to create temporary and permanent monuments that encapsulate a broader collective memory while remembering past victories and atrocities. *Monument Culture* adds to the literature of Public History, Museum Studies, Historical Memory, and Monument Culture by providing a guide for those interested in monuments and exhibits, whether permanent or temporary.

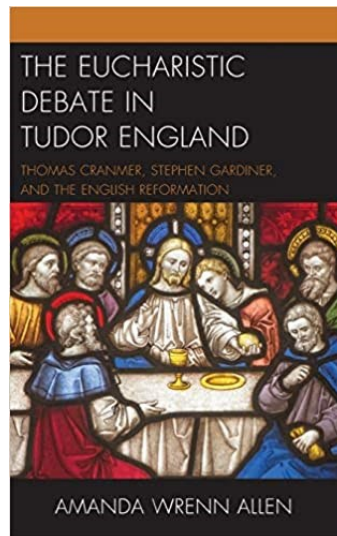
**Amanda Wrenn Allen, *The Eucharistic Debate in Tudor England*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018. 207 pp. \$105.00. ISBN 978-1-4985-5975-1.**

Mary Lynn Pierce  
University of Arizona



Amanda W. Allen's *The Eucharistic Debate in Tudor England* remedies the historiographical dearth of scholarly studies that examine biographies and treatises of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and Bishop Stephen Gardiner. Allen's richly contextualized study analyzes the 1550-1551 debate between Cranmer and Gardiner as a crucial event in the English Reformation and England's Eucharistic doctrine. By establishing the connection between Cranmer's 1550 Defence, Gardiner's 1551 Explication, and Cranmer's 1551 Answer, Allen demonstrates how the Eucharist became the most important doctrine for both Cranmer and Gardiner, leading the latter to a Zwinglian Eucharistic theology (9). Cranmer's Defence, while suggesting his conversion from a Lutheran Eucharistic theology to that of Huldrych Zwingli by 1547, was not a model of theological clarity. In Explication, Gardiner found the opportunity to discredit Cranmer and his Spiritual Presence theology as ambiguous and figurative only. This attack against him pushed Cranmer to rectify the deficiencies by writ-

ing his Answer, consequently providing a decisive reformed Eucharist doctrine for the English church (10).



The book's structure alternates between chronological and thematic. In Chapter 1, Allen contrasts the early careers of Cranmer and Gardiner, both Cambridge University scholars in the 1520s, to illuminate their developing religious attitudes to the English Protestant Reformation, and their political rivalry under Henry VIII (1509-1547) and Edward VI (1547-1553). Comparing the early education of both men shows they parted ways theologically. Cranmer, who supported the Pope and opposed Luther's theology, changed his earlier views in the early 1530s.

He supported the break with Rome and began pushing for further religious reform in the newly established English Church, consequently emerging as a stronger political and religious figure in royal service. Gardiner, on the other hand, who continued to support Henry VIII's break with Rome and the 1534 Act of Supremacy, ended his support for more religious change, becoming theologically a traditionalist. This split in their attitudes towards religious change exacerbated animosity between the two men. Cranmer and Gardiner found each other religious and political antagonists, and their rivalry would long outlive the old king. Despite his relentless efforts in securing the annulment of Henry VIII's marriage to the Protestant Anne of Cleves in 1540 and his marriage to Catholic Catherine Howard in the same year, Gardiner remained less than his political foe Cranmer in Henry's court. During Edward VI's reign, Gardiner was jailed for his attacks against Cranmer's religious reform program. Gardiner remained locked away, while Cranmer was implement-



ing the greatest theological steps in the English Reformation, solidifying his religious authority (41). It was during Edward's rule that Cranmer and Gardiner engaged in the debate over the Eucharist.

In Chapter 2, Allen assesses the 1550-1551 doctrinal debate to show Cranmer's Eucharistic theology developed largely because of affiliations with Continental Reformers such as Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr. Of all the Reformers, it was Zwingli who helped to shape Cranmer's decisive Eucharistic thought, including the communal role of the Eucharist in the Church, the Eucharist serving as a memorial of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, and Spiritual Presence of Christ (58). In *Defence*, Cranmer avoided explicitly discussing any of the radical Protestant Reformers, but his Zwinglian views came through, particularly his emphasis on the Spiritual Presence and Eucharist's communal aspect. These views further fueled the contentious debate between Cranmer and Gardiner. In *Explication*, while dis-

missing Cranmer's Zwinglian position, Gardiner challenged his theology and accused him of misusing such words as spirituality and true presence, consequently misleading the believers into heresy (67). In his *Answer*, Cranmer, aware of the political motivation behind Gardiner's attacks against his theology, not only defended his reformed Eucharist theology, but also illuminated the inconsistencies and ruptures in Gardiner's arguments.

Chapter 3 demonstrates that Cranmer's claims in his earlier works such as the 1548 *Catechismus* and *The Order of the Communion*, and the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, were not as contradictory as Gardiner averred in his *Explication*. In Gardiner's view, all of Cranmer's previous treatises supported the traditionalist view, the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence. The *Defence*, added Gardiner, offered false teachings and should not be followed. Cranmer spilled little ink in *Answer* responding to Gardiner's critique of his earlier works. He described Gardiner as an

"ignorant" man without judgment who had misunderstood the Reformed theology (87). Cranmer, Allen argues, was already asserting his Spiritual Presence theology, when stressing in his earlier works the idea of "spiritual" eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ. Moreover, 1548 was about two years after his theological progression to the Zwinglian Spiritual Presence theology, which went unnoticed in *Explication* (89).

In Chapters 4 and 5, Allen returns to *Defence* and *Explication* to show how Cranmer and Gardiner used the Scripture, Church Fathers, and Continental Reformers, to defend their own Eucharistic position while challenging the other's religious and political credibility. By connecting with as many early theologians as possible and using the Scripture both men were demonstrating that their current theological perspectives were a continuation of the earliest teachings and practices. In their works, Cranmer and Gardiner quoted arguments by many theological thinkers, including Ter-

tullian and Ambrose, on Real Presence or Spiritual Presence of Christ in the Eucharist (119). In turn, both men also accused his opponent of misinterpreting the early theologians' texts. What is most important to note about the 1550-1551 theological debate, Allen asserts, is that Gardiner's discussion and critique put forth in *Explication* forced Cranmer to provide clearer and detailed explanation on Spiritual Presence theology in *Answer*.

Chapter 6 ultimately establishes the English Reformation as "uniquely English" build upon Cranmer's decisive Eucharistic doctrine. Allen challenges the arguments that Elizabeth's Religious Settlement in 1559 was heavily influenced by Genevan exiles with ties to John Calvin. Elizabeth had little interaction with Calvin or the English exiles from Geneva. After her ascension, despite the pressure for further religious reform and to move closer to Calvinism, she showed an unyielding determination to hold firm to Edward's and Cranmer's Reformation. Cranmer also remained uninfluenced by Calvin's thoughts on

Spiritual Presence and made no mention of Calvin in his works, including *Defence*, *Answer*, and *Book of Common Prayer*. All of which shaped "the structural basis" of the English Church (184).

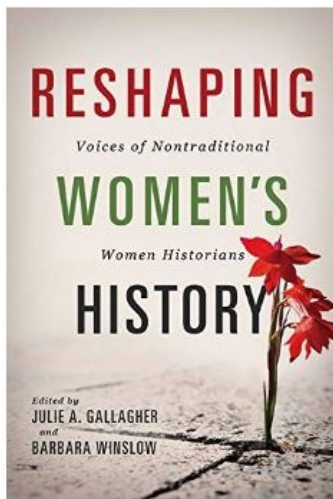
The Eucharistic Debate in Tudor England is an intriguing study, well-written, detailed, with refreshing initiative. Allen successfully demonstrates why the 1550-1551 Eucharistic debate between Cranmer and Gardiner should be placed in English Reformation historiography. Despite the specificity of its focus, this book will be useful in upper-division undergraduate or introductory graduate courses dealing with a variety of themes, including church history, history of the Eucharist, and history of the English Reformation. The only caveat is that the text is better suited for readers with at least a basic knowledge of the Tudor period. This rich study will invigorate debate among scholars of the Protestant Reformation and early modern England.

**Julie A. Gallagher and Barbara Winslow, eds., *Reshaping Women's History: Voices of Non-traditional Women Historians*. Edited by Gallagher, Julie A. and Winslow, Barbara. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2018. 268 pp. \$30.00. ISBN 978-0-252-08369-3.**

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Since 1998, the Coordinating Council for Women in History (CCWH), through the Catherine Prelinger Award, has given a generous stipend each year (\$10,000 before being increased to \$20,000 in 2000) to a "nontraditional" historian. The award was designed to allow scholars, at almost any stage in their career, to finish major projects including dissertations, public history projects, or monographs. In Julie A. Gallagher's and Barbara Winslow's *Reshaping Women's History: Voices of Nontraditional Women Historians*, eighteen of these awardees submitted brief biographical essays examining their own histories in order to "reflect on the connections between their lived experi-

ences, their scholarship, the field of women and gender history, and women's professional lives" (xi). In doing so, Gallagher and Winslow have brought together a fascinating collection of essays that illuminate the myriad challenges women face as scholars and historians.



It is impossible in a brief review to reflect the wide diversity of voices, standpoints, and backgrounds of the eighteen award-ees in *Reshaping Women's History*. However, there are a few themes that are present in a significant number of the writings which I will discuss in further detail. While a few of the pieces will be emphasized, all eighteen autobiographical entries offer a great deal to readers who endeavor to understand women's

and gender history and women's place within those disciplines. Indeed, I plan to find ways to include some of these readings next time I teach women's history as a way to help students explore the field as a whole.

The Prelinger prize defines "nontraditional" scholars as those "whose academic path has not followed the traditional path of uninterrupted study, moving from completed secondary, to undergraduate, then graduate degrees, followed by a tenure track faculty position" (xviii). Recognizing these scholars is particularly important as many women historians do not follow the traditional path toward academia, encountering barriers and hurdles others do not regularly experience. From the beginning, editors Gallagher and Winslow recognize that the Prelinger prize is critical in acknowledging and supporting women scholars. However, they note, "what is strikingly clear is that even now, 'traditional' scholars . . . by and large are white men." Nontraditional scholars are often women who must juggle "multiple caretaking

burdens on top of their professional responsibilities." Therefore, "the 'gendered imagination' is alive and well in the field of history, as it remains in much of society, and it continues to constrain women's opportunity and equality in myriad subtle and overt ways" (xv). Virtually all of the authors experienced both personal and professional barriers creating difficulty in pursuing graduate education. In many of the pieces, the authors both implicitly and explicitly critique the nature of graduate school and academia that helps to create the two groups of "traditional" and "nontraditional" scholars.

In illuminating these obstacles, the various authors indicate areas for improvement in graduate training. For example, Barbara Ransby notes in her piece that "the university is a big and contradictory place. There is still not nearly enough racial or class diversity" (87). This lack of diversity can lead to a dearth of mentorship for women historians and a rejection of projects they pursue. Ann Marie Wilson encourages readers to "explore

alternative visions of achieving scholarly ‘excellence’,” especially when the field of history has changed dramatically over time leading to many historians feeling “like a failure” when they “do not manage to secure a job that looks like the ones held by your role models-or when you do not manage to find a job at all” (128; 135). Not all historians desire a traditional faculty position, but the academy has yet to embrace public historians fully as their equals. All of the essays should force readers to grapple with how we train historians; too often, the structure of graduate school, the many emotional and financial hurdles set in place, and the rejection of lived experience as relevant to one’s training create unnecessary hurdles for burgeoning students and scholars.

The essays also recognize the wide diversity among the Prelinger awardees, which in turn reflects the increasing diversity in the scholarship of these women. It is no accident, these writers suggest, that as the discipline welcomes different perspectives that the stories told and empha-

sized expands. As noted by the editors, these historians “showed that the everyday and the exceptional activities, ideas, and institutions that women founded, shaped, and shared were not only worthy of historical study but essential for a fuller understanding the U.S. and global history” (xvi). Many of the writers literally created historical records through oral history and the collection of documents. Fran Buss, Kathleen Sheldon, and Donna Sinclair all mention the building of oral history records for other researchers. Still others recognize their place in the history of women’s history, consciously saving their own documents for future historians. The tenacity of these women in insisting that their subjects were agents of change worthy of historical study is quite inspiring.

Perhaps the most interesting theme within the essays is the idea that the personal is both political and historical. Almost every author came to their subjects due to their own personal experiences. Waaseyaa’sin Christine Sy, an “Ojibwe An-

ishinaabe womxn of mixed ancestry and an Anishinaabe feminist scholar” explores how her use of Anishinaabeg research methodology was a “crucial step in advancing the discipline of Indigenous womxn’s history and ideally Indigenous womxn’s lives” (222-3). Catherine Fosl describes how the “contradictions and hierarchies in southern culture” that “too ripple through my life to this day” inspired her to research the white, southern activist Anne McCarty Braden. Pamela Stewart directly addresses her discomfort with incorporating herself into her histories while recognizing that without “our stories contributing to a broader understanding of the world, history, and the academy, we perpetuate myths . . . that limit what history gets written . . . that limit who seeks careers in higher education and constrict further the cohort who may believe they can succeed in college, that their stories matter” (43). As the editors themselves recognize, all eighteen scholars were “motivated by life experiences and their personal philosophies to be change agents in their fam-



ilies, their work places, and in society, all of the contributors have written about and engaged in feminist and social justice activism” (xii). Although all the scholars are professionally trained historians, and thus rely on evidence, they also recognize the important interconnections between the personal, the political, and the historical subjects we choose to research.

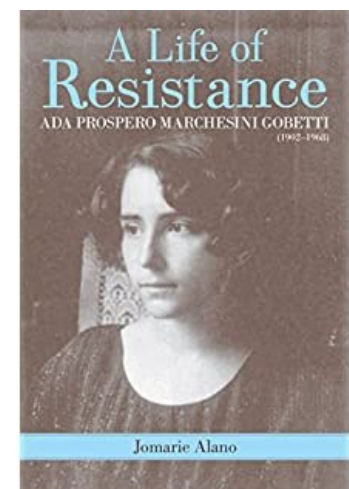
*Reshaping Women’s History* is a deeply moving, exciting, and important collection. I encourage women’s historians to share the pieces with their students and colleagues, many of whom are unfamiliar with those integral to the development of the discipline. As Nupur Chauhuri notes in her afterword, these essays not only help shed light on the growth of women’s studies and women’s history, but also the “impact of the sociopolitical and economic situation on women of this country” (253). These essays reveal a great deal not only about our discipline but ourselves as historians and scholars.

**Jomarie Alano, *A Life of Resistance: Ada Prospero Marchesini Gobetti (1902-1968)*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press. 2016. 278 pp. \$34.95. ISBN 978-1-58046-572-4.**

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Spring Hill College

Jomarie Alano’s new biography, *A Life of Resistance: Ada Prospero Marchesini Gobetti (1902-1968)*, narrates the exciting life story of Ada Gobetti, a female Italian resistance fighter, postwar politician, and women’s rights activist whose legacy has been largely ignored by the public and scholars alike. A Turin native, Gobetti was well placed to witness Italy’s turbulent early twentieth century. Turin possessed a unique confluence of intellectual culture and labor activism that laid the foundation for a strong antifascist resistance against Benito Mussolini’s rising fascist movement between 1919 and 1921. In her own way—sometimes openly, often surreptitiously—Gobetti contributed to the opposition, despite falling out of recent examinations of antifascism in Italy. Alano argues that a study of Ada Go-

betti’s life dismantles the myths of antifascist resistance in Italy. It was never a marginal, united front led by men who opposed Mussolini’s increasingly popular fascist rule. Ada Gobetti’s life in resistance demonstrates that antifascism was divided, well supported by women, and more widespread from the beginning of Mussolini’s rule than historians have been willing to acknowledge. Furthermore, Alano argues, Gobetti’s resistance stretched beyond the end of fascism in Italy, morphing into dual struggles to expand women’s rights and reform Italian education.



The first three chapters trace Gobetti’s early years and introduction to antifascist resistance. Ada Gobetti (née Prospero) was

born in Turin in 1902 to two prosperous and devout Catholic storekeepers whose wares (fruit and vegetables) allegedly enjoyed the patronage of the Queen herself. Ada was encouraged from a young age to study and learn languages and music. As a teenager, her future husband, Piero Gobetti, another aspiring intellectual, began to pursue her. They became engaged at the ages of sixteen and seventeen, when Piero was already attending the University of Turin and Ada was still finishing high school at the academic liceo. Piero and Ada then plunged headfirst into local intellectual life. Initially, the pair were interested in the fallout of the Russian Revolution of 1917, believing it could provide a model for Italy's national renewal. Everything changed, however, with the debut of Mussolini's fascism. By early 1922, Ada and Piero were both publishing papers denouncing fascist violence. By the end of 1922, they were living under Mussolini's Fascist regime, albeit in open defiance and under threats of violence. In 1926, Piero went into exile in Paris and died of

bronchitis, leaving Ada alone in Italy with their infant son to continue resisting Mussolini and the Fascists. While she later married Ettore Marchesini, Alano suggests that the memories of Piero remained strong for Gobetti.

The fourth chapter outlines how, as a single mother in Mussolini's Italy, Gobetti found herself on the margins. Even before Mussolini seized control of the government, Italian women's rights were severely limited. Women already lacked suffrage, among other basic political rights. Mussolini granted women over the age of twenty-five suffrage, but it was an empty gesture; he eliminated free elections altogether soon thereafter. Mussolini's government proclaimed that it was aiding women by pushing several pronatalist and pro-family policies designed to reinforce traditional family structures and women's separate roles in society. Gobetti, however, was unable to receive welfare aid from Mussolini because of her status as a single mother and widow of an antifascist dissident. Despite being targeted by

Mussolini's secret police, Gobetti pursued antifascist activities that ranged from publishing to corresponding with exiled Italian antifascists. Sometimes, Gobetti's antifascist activities took unconventional forms. In chapter five, for instance, Alano interprets Gobetti's creation of a children's story about a rebellious young rooster named Sebastiano as a decidedly antifascist action.

Chapter six covers the first part of the Second World War. At first, Italy had tried to remain out of the war. In this brief period, Gobetti attempted to continue her scholarly activities, working on translations and a literary criticism of Alexander Pope. Then, in June 1940, Mussolini declared that Fascist Italy would enter the war on the side of Nazi Germany. For the next three years, Gobetti and her friends squeezed in their academic work in between air strikes and hiding in underground bomb shelters. Gobetti also continued teaching in a local school and raising her son, who was rapidly approaching adulthood and, much to her consternation, mandatory mili-

tary conscription. Furthermore, she maintained her subversive political activities. The fall of Mussolini, however, required a sharp shift in her actions. Now, she could openly defy both the Fascists and Nazi occupation forces, as chapter seven shows. Here, Alano does an extraordinary job of retracing Gobetti's clandestine and open resistance through the last twenty months of the war and outlining her eventual goals for Italy's reconstruction.

Unlike many resisters, Gobetti lived to see Italy liberated. Like much of postwar Europe, Italy had to be rebuilt from the ground up. She became the vice mayor of Turin—a major change in an Italy that had long suppressed women's rights. Without much precedent to follow, Gobetti forged her own path as a woman in Italian politics. One issue with which she became intimately involved was social welfare for women, children, ex-soldiers, former prisoners, and other individuals harshly affected by the war. At the same time, she did not hold back with the Italian public, re-

minding them frequently in speeches that many of them had collaborated with and supported fascism. When she lost reelection in 1946, Gobetti turned to organizing international women's rights campaigns and educational reform, with a special focus on antifascist education for children. She also increasingly became attracted to Communist politics, despite the intensifying Cold War tensions across Europe. In March 1968, Ada Gobetti died, leaving an Italy bereft of an important figure in the resistance and postwar rebirth of modern Italy.

Alano aptly titled this biography *A Life of Resistance*. She makes a convincing case throughout her retelling of Gobetti's life that her protagonist was a quiet rebel. From the start of the book, Alano employs a wide-ranging definition of "resistance," that allows her to go beyond the short window of time of the official Italian resistance—September 1943 to April 1945—to include her postwar activism. Alano also ostensibly includes Gobetti's early life and activities in this broad definition. At times, how-

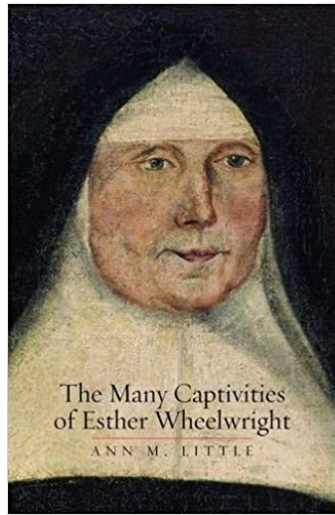
ever, the first three chapters of Gobetti's life dragged, as Alano got caught up in too many details about Gobetti's childhood and early life with Piero that seemed irrelevant to the larger argument about a life of resistance. Where the story really takes off is the fourth chapter, when a widowed, grieving Gobetti sets her sights on resisting fascism on her own, a moment long in the making since her teenage years. For those interested in understanding gendered resistance, broadly construed, Alano's chapters on Gobetti's activities in the latter part of the war and the postwar period will be especially fruitful. Gobetti's biography may not be well known to non-specialist audiences, but Alano's masterful narration of Gobetti's life and her significance to antifascism and feminism will change that.

**Ann M. Little, *The Many Captivities of Esther Wheelwright*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016. 286 pp. \$30. ISBN 978-0-300-23457-2.**

Michelle Marchetti Coughlin,  
Independent Scholar

In *The Many Captivities of Esther Wheelwright*, Ann Little has crafted an original portrait of a significant but largely unknown woman of early America. Yet she has also accomplished much more, resurrecting the experiences of “whole communities” of Native, French-Canadian, Anglo-American, and African-American women and illuminating “how they lived and worked, and suffered and thrived” in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (2). Tying their stories to broader social, political, and economic themes, she demonstrates the crucial role that women played in the region’s development—whether they were New England women establishing families and colonies, Wabanaki women participating in tribal decision making, or French-Canadian women educating, nursing, and providing spiritual sustenance to their communities and supporting their country’s imperial aims. As Little writes, “What can we learn by attending to [Wheelwright’s] life and the lives of the women who surrounded her? Everything important to understanding early

North America” (16).



Born on the Maine frontier in 1696, Esther Wheelwright was taken captive at the age of seven during a raid by Wabanaki Indians. She was subsequently raised by a Wabanaki family until being brought to Quebec at the age of twelve and placed in the home of New France’s aristocratic governor-general, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil. She was soon enrolled at the nearby Ursuline convent school, where she remained for the rest of her life, becoming a nun and teacher and ultimately the order’s first foreign-born mother superior. As superior, she helped ensure the order’s survival during the British occupation of the 1760s through wise financial decision

making and increasing the order’s outreach. She left a legacy that inspired subsequent generations.

Wheelwright’s story is extraordinary and enlightening, yet because she was a relatively obscure woman—a nun, no less—and left behind few personal writings, her experiences have been largely overlooked by biographers and historians. As Little notes, despite the strides made in the past decades by the “new” social history concerned with the experiences of ordinary people, most biographies continue to focus on elite, white male political and military leaders. As she writes, it’s easier for historians to write about subjects who left behind letters and journals and who were on the “winning” side of history—and it’s “more fun for middle-class North American readers to identify with rich and powerful individuals rather than the victims of history” (10). A major pitfall in these types of celebratory biographies, of course, is that they leave vast holes in the telling of American history.

Historians and biographers seek-



ing to understand the experiences of the nonelite and undocumented must employ innovative techniques, drawing from fields like anthropology, architecture, literature, and art history, and consulting nontextual sources such as material culture. Little herself is able to glean meaningful insights into Wheelwright's experiences and those of other women of the time by considering such varied evidence as Wheelwright's portrait and former living spaces, period clothing, regional foodways, Native-made wampum belts, and needlework created by nuns. These items not only offer vital information about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century life on the war-torn North American borderlands, but speak to an intriguing tradition of cross-cultural exchange between Anglo-American, European, and Native peoples.

Little recognizes the value of the work of public historians when studying subjects such as women and people of color. As she writes, "Public history, with its focus on historic preservation and material culture, has proved

to be an especially fruitful subdiscipline for historians who want to—or must—push beyond traditional historical texts in order to tell new stories about early America. Women's historians in particular can learn a great deal from the house museums and material culture that remain—usually preserved, conserved, and passed down by women through female kinship lines. Because they connect us not only to a selected moment in time, but also to previous generations of historians whose work was overlooked or trivialized by professional historians, these objects demand our attention as we are the beneficiaries of centuries of this kind of scholarship" (11).

In employing a chronological approach to studying Wheelwright's life, Little highlights her passage through geographical, cultural, and linguistic borders. Chapters trace the evolution of Wheelwright's sense of identity, progressing from "Esther Wheelwright" to "Mali Among the Wabanaki" and eventually to "Esther Superior." They also explore the factors surrounding

Wheelwright's decision to stay with the Ursulines rather than return to her New England family, as well as the reasons for her continued liminal status. For the rest of her life, she remained something of an *étrangère* to her convent sisters.

Unlike some women's biographers and historians who perhaps rely too heavily on the accounts of the men in these women's lives, Little focuses primarily on the girls and women who shaped Wheelwright's experiences in her Anglo-American, Native, and French-Canadian environments. In the end, she discovers that "there were more compelling similarities in women's lives across these borders than there were differences" (5). As she writes, "whether they were bound or free, whether they crossed themselves or complained bitterly of 'papists,' whether they were cloistered nuns or married mothers or widows, whatever language they spoke—[they] had perhaps at least as much in common as they had dividing them" (5). In addition to expected overlap in such areas as child care and

food preparation responsibilities, she finds, for example, intriguing commonalities in approaches to spiritual beliefs and the realm of agricultural work.

A significant contribution to the (still nascent) literature on early American women, *The Many Captivities of Esther Wheelwright* combines scrupulous scholarship with imaginative storytelling. By taking the time and effort to consider a variety of sources and perspectives, Little has shown that it is possible to uncover a wealth of information about past lives and worlds. It is hoped that others will heed her example.

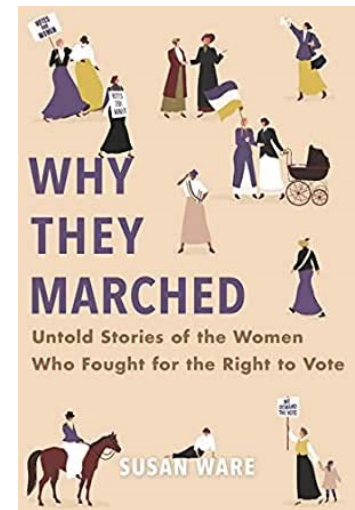
**Susan Ware.** *Why They Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote.* Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. 2019. 360 pp. \$26.95. ISBN 978-0-674-68668-8

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Susan Ware's deeply researched monograph, *Why They Marched*, deploys biography, analysis of material objects, and studies of

place to create a richly woven narrative of the march toward a federally guaranteed commitment to universal women's suffrage in the United States from the Civil War to 1920. Upending historical narratives that typically privilege the achievements of 'great men,' Ware places the lives of women at the center of her monograph, highlighting stories both well-known and others that are new. Organized as a series of nineteen stories, *Why We Marched* is intended to reinforce the overarching significance of the nineteenth amendment to the broader narrative of US women's history. Yet, even as Ware's narrative aims to commemorate the amendment's importance, it also complicates the moment's history. Rather than a simple paean to the centenary, Ware's nuanced and sensitively drawn account highlights many of the tensions that existed within and amongst suffrage activists over a range of issues.

Organized into three distinct sections, *Why They Marched* adopts a formulaic approach in the presentation of its subject



matter. Each chapter opens with the discussion of an object, followed by a biography of an individual activist (or occasionally, group of activists). The objects range enormously. In some cases, the objects chosen are print-based, such as cartoons, printed fliers, or pamphlets. In one instance, Ware highlights a cookbook investing a seemingly domestic object—something used in a household—with political purpose. In other cases, Ware takes the opportunity to highlight more unusual objects, such as Sojourner Truth's carte de visite, the prison pins worn by those who survived incarceration in the Occoquan Work House, Charlotte Gilman's death mask, and pro-suffrage buttons. By adopting this ap-

proach, Ware deftly illustrates how a diverse range of cultural artifacts can be placed within a broader narrative of political history.

The opening chapters of Ware's study destabilize narratives of women's voting rights in the United States by reminding readers that women had been voting—both successfully and not—since the Civil War. Ware's monograph begins with a discussion of Susan B. Anthony's well-known attempt to vote in the 1872 election in Rochester, NY, an attempt that ultimately failed. That vignette is followed by Sojourner Truth's efforts to vote in the same election although in a different location, also without success. Ware then turns to a lesser known story, that of the Mormon woman Emmeline Wells in Utah. As Ware reminds us, Wells voted (almost) continuously from 1870 until her death in the early twentieth century. The retelling of such a story decenters narratives of women's history that privilege the nineteenth amendment as the moment women achieved voting rights. Further, the story

reminds us of the importance of Mormon women's stories to the broader narrative of US women's history, a significance that is often overlooked.

The second section of Ware's narrative, consisting of seven chapters, shifts the temporal focus of the march toward the nineteenth amendment to the late nineteenth century. Ware uses her biographies here to usefully illuminate many of the tensions inherent within the US suffrage movement, and feminism more broadly. As Ware demonstrates, many of these tensions revolved around issues of race. In 1903, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) opted, for example, to allow state chapters to determine membership requirements in each state. In doing so, NAWSA neatly avoided taking a stand on whether or not the national women's suffrage organization should be integrated. Yet, Ware also argues that in other instances the suffrage movement provided a wide umbrella, providing room for those engaged in what Ware characterizes as "gender non-

conforming behaviors" to gather (162).

The final third of *Why They Marched* focuses on the shift toward militancy in the movement, principally the steps taken to achieve a congressional amendment as a means of guaranteeing women the right to vote. Included here is one of the monograph's most impressive chapters, which focuses on the stories of those women from the National Women's Party imprisoned in the Occoquan Work House as punishment for picketing outside the White House during wartime. It is difficult to imagine that anyone might have anything new to add to the well-known narrative of these suffragists. Yet, Ware reconstructs the history by drawing upon the unpublished memoir of Hazel Hunkins, an otherwise unknown participant in the pickets. As Ware explains, Hunkins's feminist consciousness was awoken at an early age as she spent the first two decades of her life being told by her family and potential employers that she could not pursue a career in science or medicine as she was female.

From there, Hunkins moved into suffrage activism seeking like-minded women who, like her, chafed at their exclusion from realms traditionally gendered masculine. Through a careful retelling of the story of Hazel Hunkins, Ware brings alive the story of these well-known activists evoking a strong sense of what it meant for these women to fight for the right to vote.

There is little to quibble about in Ware's compelling narrative. Some artifacts do lend themselves more easily to exposition and analysis than others. In that regard, for instance, the assessment of the significance of a ballot box from an Illinois municipal election falls somewhat short, with the box's significance determined by the label attached to it rather than the artifact (that is, the box) itself. Yet, the inclusion of the box amongst a wide range of historical objects provides opportunities to illustrate the limitations of using material culture as an historical source as well as the strengths of such an approach.

Further, the timeframe of Susan Ware's story—and her focus on

the vote—excludes the narratives of some women entirely. As Ware acknowledges in the conclusion, Native American women, for instance, remain beyond the parameters of her story as their right to vote was not guaranteed until 1934 with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act. Latinx women, too, are absent from her narrative, a history that construes race largely on a black/white axis. These absences, however, provide opportunities for discussion in a classroom environment rather than criticism. How might Ware's narrative look different if expanded to include the stories of such women?

That question points to the great benefit of Susan Ware's monograph, which is that it lends itself so well to use in undergraduate classrooms. The text is easily accessible to undergraduates and could be assigned in women's history or US survey classes. Further, its formulaic approach provides opportunities for instructors to develop assignments around the text. Students, for example, might choose local figures involved in the pursuit of

women's rights and model their own interpretative approach on that of Susan Ware's monograph.

An exemplary piece of scholarship, Susan Ware's *Why They Marched* is a vital contribution to the history of women's suffrage in the United States. Although the narrative of women's march toward the vote has been thoroughly well documented, Ware's approach proves refreshingly innovative. *Why They Marched* does, indeed, remind us why women marched, yet also suggests that much work still remains to be done in excavating this complex and multi-layered history.





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