

tinuing challenges. In the 1870s memorial associations diminished. Janney blames economic hard times, but she acknowledges that women continued their benevolent work in other venues, especially in church associations. In the 1880s they rebounded, adding members. Here readers will pause to consider Janney's argument. In three of her cities, the total membership in Ladies' Memorial Associations during this renaissance totaled just 261 women. Janney also acknowledges that these new members closely resembled the founding generation. Born between the 1830s and the 1850s, they could remember the war themselves. Most had been members of earlier memorial associations. This renaissance was confined to a tiny—and aging—segment of the population; it is likely that most women hardly noticed.

The final challenge came in 1894, when a younger generation of white southern women organized the much larger United Daughters of the Confederacy. Unlike the elitist Ladies, the UDC women set an objective standard for admission: members had to prove they had an ancestor in the Confederate Army. This standard cut across class lines, leading to a different kind of organization than the postwar Ladies' Memorial Associations. The Ladies fought back, as they had when challenged by the men, but ultimately they could not win. Janney concludes by writing that the “devoted and persistent” Ladies “seeded the ground” for the more popular organizations that followed (pp. 198–199). They put in place the celebrations and rituals that persist today and attract increasing controversy.

This excellent and well-written book illuminates the work of an important group in the South's Lost Cause movement.

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JOAN MARIE JOHNSON. *Southern Women at the Seven Sister Colleges: Feminist Values and Social Activism, 1875–1915*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2008. Pp. 229. \$39.95.

Joan Marie Johnson presents a “collective biography” (p. 2) of unique Reconstruction-era collegians: southern white women who attended northern, single-sex “Seven Sister” colleges. Johnson ably mines school records, surveys, obituaries, diaries, personal letters, and autobiographies of over 1,000 “pioneers” (p. 9). The era of interest lies between 1875, when Smith College and Wellesley College were founded, to the World War I era, when higher education in the United States underwent drastic structural changes. The mix of gender expectations, regional allegiance, and campus climate makes for a lively but nuanced tale of complex identity formation. The women's stories reveal intricacies of (northern) higher education's clash of values with (southern) home training.

Chapters are arranged to follow the women's stories from their upbringing in the South, through the college experience, and then after graduation when most returned to the South. Chapter one, “The Benefits of a

Liberal Arts Education,” situates the students in their home environment, and chapter two, “Entrance Requirements, Preparatory Departments and Schools, and Alumnae Networks,” locates pipelines of college preparatory schools and feeder clubs. Although the girls are painted as privileged “belles,” Johnson argues that those who chose to go north for college were a self-selected set of radical-minded women who sought social adventure, superior mental development, and broadened personal freedoms not available at their local or state institutions.

Chapters three and four, “From Homesick Southerners to Independent Yankees” and “Southern Clubs, Yankee Ways, and African American Classmates,” reveal relationships with peers, faculty, staff, and administrators that challenged the newcomers intellectually and socially. They were forced to mature as they worked to overcome stereotypes that southern girls were “lazy” or only attended school to “find a husband” (pp. 84–85). In these two chapters especially, the quotes of women's self-definition and perception of their “damn Yankee” surroundings are priceless (p. 83).

The last chapters of the book, “The Marriage and Career Dilemma” and “The Activist,” show the difficulties of re-entry into southern culture for those who had flown the coop. When they went north, most felt like awkward “misfits” (p. 69) who clung to their southern roots and culture, often stubbornly remaining “unreconstructed rebel girls” (p. 78). However, Johnson follows the young women after graduation as they entered into marriage and public life, where they realized how much they had grown beyond southern paradigms. There was a wide range of reactions to both leaving and returning, but overall, major questions loomed about family ties, suitable work, marriage, and motherhood. Johnson ends where she began, making the point that southern women with northern education employed “Yankee” ways of independence and activism in ways that demonstrated their local and regional loyalties to the South. They brought the academic lessons and feminist culture that strained southern restrictions of ladylike behavior to bear on the improvement of their homeland. Professional employment, community service, or organizing clubs like the Southern Association of College Women (SACW) scandalized some families where communities insisted upon adherence to the ideal of “Republican motherhood” (p. 15). Seven Sisters women formed the base of white women's support of women's suffrage (pp. 144–145) and boycotts against racial segregation (pp. 95, 106–107).

This book's major contribution to women's educational history lies in excavating the regional impact on the social development of race and gender. Individual identities, “family claim” (p. 127), and community norms (such as the status of a non-working socialite) had specific strictures for southern white women. Johnson provides detailed statistical representations of each school and from each state, though much weight rests on Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, and Texas, the

states that provided the most southern students to the Seven Sisters.

Johnson's argument that a disproportionate number of the southern women who attended northern schools became public leaders at home seems well grounded. Yet one wonders if southern women will not object to the portrayal of feminism in the South as inorganic. Other Reconstruction texts that raise issues of gender identity and public policy in the South might show otherwise and round out the picture drawn here. The thematic, disciplinary, regional, or gender-focused possibilities to connect with this text are limitless.

There are two slight drawbacks to the construction of the book. A brief overview of women's colleges in the introduction to set the stage would have been very helpful. Also, thematic headings only appear in chapter five; inclusion in each chapter would have smoothed the flow of information. Despite this small oversight, the book is a collective story well told.

Those interested in southern history will find much useful in the sources and nuances of historical figures' political interpretation. Those in the history of education can add this to the growing collection of race and gender studies about identity, institution type, and college attendance. Women's studies scholars—especially researchers of the construction of white womanhood—will certainly appreciate the depth of stories and the richness of the quantitative data. Perhaps the most apparent audience for this work is the alumni offices of the Seven Sister colleges. These institutional narratives through the eyes of southern girls and their families offer invaluable insight into the vibrant character of one very important demographic of their alumnae.

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GEORGE B. ELLENBERG. *Mule South to Tractor South: Mules, Machines, and the Transformation of the Cotton South*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 219. \$42.50.

In 1877 Michael Burns, a longshoreman and labor advocate from Galveston, Texas, told an agitated crowd of mostly African American laborers that "this country had been built up by the Irishman, the negro and the mule" (Robert S. Shelton, "'Built by the Irishman, the Negro, and the Mule': Labor Militancy across the Color Line in Post-Reconstruction Texas," *East Texas Historical Journal* 46:2 [2008]: 20–21). Historians, however, have not spent much time debating the mule's influence. George B. Ellenberg steps into this void and in doing so makes a significant contribution to southern history. He documents the lack of respect southerners afforded the mule initially but explains how cotton planters, farm owners, tenants, and sharecroppers alike came to depend on the animal. The dependency slowed mechanical adoption as southerners seemed hesitant to give up their mules in favor of tractors. Finally, during the 1950s the tractor supplanted the mule as the draft

source of choice across the cotton South. Not all saw the shift as positive. Some lamented the loss of traditional values that the mule symbolized and the intimacy between animals and their human handlers that draft animals facilitated.

Ellenberg discusses the ways in which southerners manipulated the mule to suit their needs, and how, in turn, mules helped define southerners' status and power, or lack thereof. He relies on major southern and agricultural journals, government publications, personal papers and reminiscences, literature and agrarian rhetoric to document the symbiotic relationship of mule and southerner. The evidence allows him to convey the contradictory perspectives of southern farmers, laborers, breeders, and boosters who both loved and loathed the ubiquitous mule.

The book begins with a brief overview of the unique nature of the mule as a hybrid, a product of genetic engineering, but it quickly moves to social historical and cultural issues. Ellenberg explains how planters, notably politicians such as George Washington and Henry Clay, experimented with mules and helped establish breeding programs in Virginia and Kentucky. Between the 1810s and the Civil War, mules symbolized planters' attempts to innovate. Tales about a mule's longevity, ability to survive on meager rations, superior intelligence compared to oxen or horses, and adaptability to plantation conditions helped sway many southern farmers to adopt them for cotton production. The Civil War resulted in a loss of as many as forty percent of mules in some states, and meeting the increased postwar demand forced breeders in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and to some degree Texas to increase production.

A network of breeders and markets had to exist to ensure an adequate supply of the animals because farmers had to purchase new stock to replace their sterile animals. Mule breeding could be complicated, and southerners depended on regional rather than local markets to satisfy their needs. Ellenberg addresses this, but his survey lacks the detail possible in a state-based study. Walton C. Arnold's overview of breeding and mule sales in Texas provides evidence that supports Ellenberg's argument that mule owners depended on markets outside their region. Arnold argues that farmers in the Blackland Prairie preferred big strong animals that could plow central Texas soil, and this led breeders such as Joe Cavitt at Caufield Ranch to develop an animal to meet their needs. In contrast, the U.S. Army needed a more consistent supply of larger numbers of mules, and they depended on the St. Louis Stockyards, and after 1906, the Fort Worth Stockyards, to satisfy their demand. During the early to mid-1930s, however, the Caufield Ranch ceased mule breeding and the Fort Worth Stockyards closed its "Mule Alley" (see Arnold, "The Mule: The Workers that 'Can't Get No Respect,'" *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 92:1 [2008]: 36–50).

The closing of such regional markets prompted what Ellenberg calls the "golden age" of local mule breeding (p. 67). Farmers throughout the South had depended