

In Memoriam: Alice Algood and Rita Groseclose

The Tennessee Historical Commission is saddened by the recent deaths of two former Commission members. Rita Groseclose, 88, died in a car accident in Johnson City in February. A retired librarian and former Sullivan County commissioner, she lived in her National Register-listed family home, Grass Dale. She served ten years on the Historical Commission, from 1987-1997, and was a long-time volunteer at the Netherland Inn in Kingsport. Alice Algood of Columbia, 84, died March 16th. Mrs. Algood, who served from 1985-1990, leaves a long record of leadership and service in the fields of history and historic preservation. She formerly served as president of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities and as president of the Tennessee State Museum Foundation. She was also appointed by President Reagan to a ten year term on the National Museum Services Board. At the time of her death Mrs. Algood was chair of the Tennessee Governor's Residence Foundation.

Greeneville Hosts State Preservation Conference

President Andrew Johnson's hometown proved the ideal setting for the annual Statewide Preservation Conference and Main Street Summit April 15-17. This year's theme, "The Preservation Puzzle: Tailoring the Fit" paid tribute both the former president's profession as well as the challenges historic preservation faces in a changing world. Organized by the Tennessee Preservation Trust with major grant support from the Tennessee Historical Commission, the annual conference is the ideal venue for heritage supporters to gather in the state. It was last held in upper East Tennessee in Jonesborough in 2002. Attendance was solid, as almost 150 total attendees converged at the beautifully restored

1880s General Morgan Inn, headquarters for the conference. Dwight Young, the longtime Communications director of the National Trust who is retiring this summer, served as the keynote speaker for the opening session conference and entertained the audience. Renowned Seattle preservation architect and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation member Jack Williams closed out the meeting with a report on the President's budget. The Commissioners' Assistance and Mentoring Program workshop (CAMP), an intensive one-day training session for members of local historic zoning commissions was offered as part of the activities.

As always, visiting with friends and colleagues and was a big part of the events. The Thursday night reception and silent auction took place on the upstairs terrace and featured fabulous views of three antebellum churches, the downtown Victorian commercial district, and the beautiful c. 1805 Dickson – Williams House. This year the conference offered a variety of field tours, including a "Walk with the President" tour featuring an Andrew Johnson interpreter and tours of the National Park Service's Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Hands-on workshops on masonry repair and window re-glazing were particularly popular, bringing in craftsmen and do-it-yourselfers from across East Tennessee.

Elkins Appointed to THC



Governor Bredesen recently appointed Clarence Elkins of Smyrna to the Tennessee Historical Commission. A native of

Shelbyville, Mr. Elkins was raised on a farm that has been in his family for over 150 years. A graduate of Middle Tennessee State University and the Cumberland School of Law at Samford University, Elkins is a retired attorney with the Tennessee Department of Transportation. During his 29 year career with TDOT, Mr. Elkins served as director of the Equal Opportunity section and later directed the Governor's Highway Safety Program. Currently, he serves as a tour guide at the Sam Davis Home in Smyrna and enjoys studying the Civil War. He is married to Alice Marie Blythe, and the couple have two children and a grandson.

Bredesen Declares May as "Preservation Month"

In May, Governor Phil Bredesen recognized National Historic Preservation Month in Tennessee by issuing a proclamation. The theme for 2010 is "Old is the New Green." The preservation of historic structures and their reuse contributes to the preservation of energy and ultimately the good of Tennessee and the nation.

The Tennessee Historical Commission will meet on June 18, 2010, 9:00 a.m. at the Holland McCombs House on the campus of the University of Tennessee at Martin (Martin, Tennessee). The meeting is open to the public.

You can find this issue of The COURIER and back issues dating from October, 2003, at the Tennessee Historical Commission's web page at www.state.tn.us/environment/hist. Click on the State Programs Menu to find the newsletter. For information on the Civil War in the Volunteer State visit www.tennessee.civilwarsourcebook.com.



State-Owned Historic Sites Report

Martha Akins, Historic Sites Program Director

Much has happened during the past four months, especially at the eight sites featured below.

Clover Bottom Mansion, Nashville, Tennessee

Historic Clover Bottom Mansion is not one of the state-owned historic sites maintained by the Tennessee Historical Commission--even though it houses its offices. The Department of General Services manages the c. 1853 landmark building, and the Commission is a paying tenant. Unfortunately, the exterior of the structure, including the elaborate Italianate front portico has been suffering from severe decay the past several years. A much-needed exterior repair project was planned over three years ago, but severe budget cuts had postponed the work. We are very grateful to report that the funding has been recently restored, and the project is expected to go out for contractors' bids in the near future.

Wynnewood, Castalian Springs, Tennessee

During the harrowing and tragic February 2008 tornado, this c. 1828 National Historic Landmark in Sumner County suffered extensive damage. During the past two years, interested people from many federal, state, and local entities have been diligently working together on the restoration process. The building remains in stabilized or "mothballed" condition, and two pre-restoration projects have been completed: the vegetative debris removal and the building debris removal. The actual restoration project is now in the bidding phase, and the successful bidder is expected to begin work in June, barring any more delays. This project will be on-going for the remainder of the year, completing in early 2011.

Carter House, Franklin, Tennessee

Recently the organizations that oversee the Carter House State Historic Site and Carnton Plantation took a bold step in merging to form a new joint entity, the Battle of Franklin Trust. The Commission welcomes Jennifer Esler, the Trust's new Executive Director. Esler, formerly the director of the Museum of the Shenandoah Valley in Winchester, Virginia, brings a wealth of knowledge and experience that will tremendously benefit these important Civil War sites.

A large part of Esler's work will be in seeing the continued development of plans for and fundraising for the new visitor's center for the Carter House that will be located in the former gymnasium next to the house. Meanwhile, current work at the site includes monitoring the historic house's temperature and humidity in anticipation of a badly needed climate control system. The visitor center will soon look better as the fast deteriorating wood siding will be repaired and painted in the upcoming month.

Halbrook Hotel, Dickson, Tennessee

This early 20th century railroad hotel, the birthplace of Governor Frank Clement, opened to the public last June. 1220 Exhibits (Nashville) is developing the latest phase of exhibits, which is nearing completion. At a cost of approximately \$170,000, this Capital Improvement Project has been funded with Transportation Enhancement funds through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. The Halbrook is a premiere destination for Tennesseans and other travelers especially interested in railroad and local history. When complete, this high caliber exhibit will be the envy of many other similar small museums throughout the United States.

Alex Haley Boyhood Home, Henning, Tennessee

The Alex Haley House Museum is currently operating with an interim Executive Director. Nationwide advertising for a new Executive Director is forthcoming.

The site is also privileged to have brand new exhibits in the new \$1.2 million dollar Interpretive Center. Almost \$160,000 in exhibits is being installed, and 1220 Exhibits fabricated a top quality end product. The Alex Haley Grand Opening Celebration will be on Friday, August 13, at 10:00 AM.

In the meantime, other work at the site includes painting and other minor restoration. The drive to the new parking lot needs significant work, and the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Town of Henning are working together to get the necessary repairs done.

Chester Inn, Jonesborough, Tennessee

Tipton-Haynes, Johnson City, Tennessee

Rocky Mount, Piney Flats, Tennessee

In East Tennessee, three of the state-owned historic sites, Chester Inn, Tipton-Haynes, and Rocky Mount, will also be receiving new museum exhibits. Nationwide Fixture Installations (Plymouth, MN) teamed with The Exhibit House (Indianapolis, IN) to secure the lowest bid of \$846,508. The first phases of the project will be completed in house, with site delivery occurring in early fall. Chester Inn is slated to receive its exhibit first, in order to be complete by the annual National Storytelling Festival. This Capital Budget Project greatly enhances the interpretation of these three sites, and we are grateful to the State Building Commission for having approved this worthy project.

While the exhibits are being fabricated, the three buildings housing the exhibits need minor to extensive work for proper installation. This repair work is currently in the construction document and bidding processes.

In General

All of the state-owned historic sites are in the process of being surveyed soon as part of the annual maintenance process. Consequently, new projects are always in the works, and they will continue unless our budget runs dry.

Two opportunities for continuing education have been taken in the past months. The Field Services Alliance, which is an affinity group of American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), held its mid-winter meeting in Nashville. Sessions demonstrated how the AASLH and the THC can mutually benefit with new administrative strategies.

The Tennessee Association of Museums (TAM) also held its annual conference in Nashville recently. Many of the state-owned historic sites had representatives there, either as attendees or presenters. As usual, the dissemination of valuable information recharged, revitalized, and confirmed my mission here at the Tennessee Historical Commission.



FEDERAL PRESERVATION GRANTS

The Tennessee Historical Commission is accepting grant applications for historic preservation projects for the 2010-2011 fiscal year. These grants, which are federally funded, will be available after October 1, 2010. The precise amount of funds which will be available in Tennessee for such grants will not be known until Congress has passed the FY 2010-2011 budget; however, it is expected to be in the range of \$400,000. After review, applications will be rated and ranked. Decisions on those to be funded will be made when the exact amount of the allocation is known. This may be as late as next spring depending on when the Congress completes work on the FY-2011 Budget.

As in the past, the selection process will emphasize projects for the conducting of architectural, archaeological, and historic site surveys. Such projects are designed to identify and record historic districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant to Tennessee's history and built before 1960. Surveys may be for a specific geographic area or for sites associated with themes or events significant in the state's history, such as the development of railroads in the nineteenth century, or the development of motor tourism in the twentieth century. Priorities for funding survey projects will include areas which are experiencing rapid growth and development or other threats to cultural resources, areas where there are serious gaps in knowledge regarding cultural resources, and thematic surveys based upon existing historic study units produced by the SHPO.

In addition to historic surveys, assistance is available for other types of historic preservation projects. These may include preservation planning studies for towns, neighborhoods, and historic districts, the preparation of nominations to the National Register of Historic Places, planning or pre-development work necessary to undertake restoration of an historic property, and restoration of historic properties (for restoration or restoration pre-planning, properties must be listed on the National Register of Historic Places). Unless appropriations are significantly increased, funds for restoration projects will be limited; however, THC always encourages quality applications of this type. Applications for projects to prepare nominations to the National Register of Historic Places are a priority and are also encouraged.

The grants are matching grants and will pay for up to 60% of the costs of approved project work. The remaining 40% must be

provided by the grantee as matching funds.

Applications for grants are available from the Tennessee Historical Commission, 2941 Lebanon Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0442. For further information or for an application, contact the Tennessee Historical Commission at (615) 532-1550. Applications may also be downloaded from the Tennessee Historical Commission Website, www.tdec.net/hist/federal/presgnt.shtml.

Completed applications must be submitted by **SEPTEMBER 1, 2010**.

This program receives Federal funds from the National Park Service. Regulations of the U.S. Department of the Interior strictly prohibit unlawful discrimination in departmental federally assisted programs on the basis of race, color, national origin, age or disability. Any person who believes he or she has been discriminated against in any program, activity or facility operated by a recipient of Federal assistance should write to: Director, Equal Opportunity Program, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

National Register News

Since the last issue of The Courier there have been five entries to the National Register of Historic Places from Tennessee. The properties are: Hall-Harding-McCampbell House, Davidson County; Wilkinson-Martin House, Giles County; Strickland Place Farm, Robertson County; Hotpoint Living-Conditioned Home, Knox County; and Hamilton-Tolliver House, Union County.

The Bethlehem Methodist Church and Cemetery in Montgomery County had a boundary change. The church burned last year but the cemetery is still extant. The church was removed from the National Register and the cemetery remains listed. Oakland in Weakley County was demolished several years ago and the property was removed from the National Register.

There are now 2,031 entries in the National Register from Tennessee including 267 districts for a total of 41,058 resources now listed.



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National Register of Historic Places in Tennessee

Recently five more properties from Tennessee were added to the National Register of Historic Places. These properties range from a circa 1805 Federal brick house to a circa 1915 concrete block farm house and a 1954 ranch house.

Hall-Harding-McCampbell House – Located in Nashville, the Hall-Harding-McCampbell House is a good example of the Federal style in Davidson County. The Federal style is seen in the entry with a fanlight, a Flemish-bond brick pattern, paneled and reeded interior



woodwork, and fireplace details. Constructed around 1805 for William Hall, the two-story solid brick house appears to have originally been a hall and parlor-plan house. After the Harding family purchased the house in 1820, changes were made to the interior floor plan giving the house two rooms and a hall on each floor. In the late 19th to early 20th century, the house was updated with a new principal door, new windows, sawn wood brackets, and a porch that has since been removed. A one-story gable roof extension is located on the rear elevation and there is a one-story hip roof addition on the south – both are framed and date from the 20th century.

Hamilton-Tolliver Complex – A circa 1830s log residence is the centerpiece of the Hamilton-Tolliver Complex in Union County. The complex also includes a store, the remains of a tomato cannery, smokehouse, privy, farm acreage, and woodlands. The varied resources and long history of the property are good examples of the commercial and agricultural development of this rural area in East Tennessee. The complex also represents the various ways farmers diversified their business over the years, using both the farm and outside commercial activities to make a living. An example of this is what the Tolliver family called a “rolling” store – then a stationary store building, followed by its use as a garage and then rebuilding it in the 1950s. Canning tomatoes rather than just growing and selling them, is another example of the Tolliver family’s varied farm activities.



Hotpoint Living-Conditioned Home

– The house was built in the West Hills area of Knoxville in 1954 as a demonstration house for a program sponsored by

General Electric’s Hotpoint brand and featured in the magazine *Living for Young Homemakers*. Designed by Knoxville architect Bruce McCarty and Knoxville builder Martin J. Bartling, it was one of four houses built in the country to show how a moderately priced, all-electric house could be easily built and lived in. The magazine was responsible for the interior decorations and for making the plans available to others. The magazine sold copies of the house plans for 10 dollars each. When the demonstration project ended, Bartling moved into the house. The one-story ranch house has a concrete core supporting a cantilevered truss roof and curtain walls of glass and wood paneling. This design allows for a lot of natural light and a clear flow between the interior and exterior. The core contains the bathrooms and kitchen and divides the interior spaces into public and private areas.

Strickland Place Farm – Established in 1903, Strickland Place



Farm is located near White House in Robertson County. Consisting of about 99 acres of farmland, the property contains a circa 1915 concrete block farmhouse, milk house, shop/equipment shed, corncrib, and barns. Several modern

resources can also be found on the property. An interesting feature of the farm is the former airfield. The farmstead represents an important example of how an early 20th century Tennessee family farm embraced progressive agricultural programs such as dark-fired and burley tobacco production, while also diversifying the farm’s income by operating a general store that sold automobiles, tractors, and electrical appliances. Operation of the airfield provided weekend entertainment with airplane rides and barnstorming stunts. In some ways the property is typical of historic family farms in the state, but the airfield and the use of concrete block for the farmhouse makes this property unique in Middle Tennessee.

Wilkinson-Martin House – The circa 1835 Federal-style house

is located in Pulaski in Giles County. Important design elements of the house include the symmetrical five-bay façade, entry door surrounded by sidelights and a transom, multi-paned double-hung windows, and brick end chimneys. The main staircase and fireplace mantels are interior features that are essential features of the Federal style. It is one of the last remaining examples of the Federal style in Pulaski. Francis H. Wilkinson, who built the house, was a farmer and businessman in Giles County. After his death in 1875, the house was owned by his daughter Mary L. Martin and her husband David S. Martin. The house remained in the family until 1968, when it was sold to a neighboring family. Currently the house is used for meetings and special events.





The Stuff of Legend: The Perils of Pauline Cushman “Celebrated Scout of the Cumberland”

By Michael E. Birdwell, Ph.D.

It is a story that stretches the limits of credulity, more suited to the pages of pulp fiction or a graphic novel. It is a story hopelessly entangled with rumor and hearsay, and exacerbated by intentional exaggerations created by the self-proclaimed “heroine.” Rather than try to straighten out the skein of tangled facts and fiction, what follows is an abbreviated story of derring-do worthy of Hollywood’s Golden Age.

Pauline Cushman hailed from New Orleans and pursued a career in theatre. By the late 1850s she earned a reputation as an actress of estimable talents and trod the boards with such luminaries as the celebrated Shakespearian actor Edwin Booth and his brother Junius Brutus Booth. Though actors were generally regarded with the same esteem as Irish immigrants in antebellum America, Cushman forged a career that earned her a modicum of respect despite her profession.

When the Civil War erupted Cushman, though southern by birth and sensibilities, remained loyal to the Union. According to her autobiography and the hagiography of Ferdinand Sarmiento, Cushman yearned to be of service to the Union. On a number of occasions she offered her services to federal officers when on tour. Popular myth argues that the key occasion came while she was employed at a theatre in Louisville, Kentucky in 1862. The Bluegrass State was firmly under the control of Union forces. At a performance in Louisville she claimed that she chose to do something drastic to gain the empathy of southern sympathizers in the audience. Cushman claimed that she was approached by two paroled Confederate officers who offered her \$300 if she would swear her allegiance to the South. Afterward she reported the incident to federal authorities, arguing that it could be her entree into the shady world of espionage for the sake of the Union.

Cushman arrived at the packed theatre intent on making an unforgettable scene. She rose to her feet and lifted a glass of wine to those in attendance. Then she said in a clear loud voice, “Here’s to Jeff Davis and the Confederacy! May the South always maintain her honor and her rights.” A hullabaloo ensued. Federals booed; southern sympathizers erupted with rebel yells, and the production was halted before it was fully underway. Cushman was summarily fired for her behavior in an agreed upon scheme, which afforded her with the notoriety she desired. While in Louisville she participated in a variety of exploits that



drew upon her acting skills, assuming new roles in a variety of disguises. Frequently risking her life, Cushman reveled in the thrill of danger. While in Louisville she learned to ride horses like a man, and became a deadly shot with both a rifle and a pistol.

Cushman arrived in federally occupied Nashville in 1863 and performed in a number of shows, entertaining the troops. In public she continued to cultivate the persona of a Confederate sympathizer, though her true sentiments were known to the Provost Marshall stationed in Nashville, Colonel William Truesdail and General William Rosecrans. Cushman implored Truesdail to use her to gather information about Confederate activity beyond Nashville, and in due time her wish was granted. Truesdail helped her create a viable back-story, and through his own agents made arrangements for her to leave the Capitol City to spy for the Union. He gave her a pistol and instructions concerning relevant information.

Linking up with a “Sesech” drummer (or merchant) who pretended to be a loyal Unionist, Cushman ventured South of Nashville and got involved in a whole host of adventures which included getting shot at by bushwhackers, disguising herself as a teenage boy, stabbing a Rebel picket and much more. Posing as a coy Southern Belle she wooed Confederate officers while picking their brains for relevant information. One officer was so enamored with her that he took her on inspection tours of the

fortifications at Tullahoma and Shelbyville. While there, Pauline boldly sketched positions of gun emplacements, Rebel troops, and other coveted information while the besotted officer praised her ability as an artist.

When she gathered what she considered to be enough relevant intelligence, Cushman appropriated a horse and rode north toward Nashville. En route she charmed five Confederate pickets who demanded her papers, though she had none. The sixth picket proved immune both to her feminine wiles and her blatant attempts at bribery. He arrested her on the spot.

The picket sent her to General Nathan Bedford Forrest’s headquarters for interrogation. While there she encountered the dashing John Hunt Morgan and the two hit it off famously. Both tried to out charm the other, and later when Morgan was in prison in Ohio, Cushman claimed to have visited him. Forrest, however, was not impressed with the enchanting Ms. Cushman. Though gentlemanly in his behavior, he refused to suffer any of her nonsense. He recognized her for what she was—a Union spy. Not only that, Forrest’s examination led to the discovery of her drawings that she had hidden in her boots. Convinced she was a menace to the southern cause, he predicted that she would end this life “wearing a hempen collar.”

Though he could have dispatched her himself, Forrest sent her to General Braxton Bragg at Shelbyville for further interrogation. Though Cushman parried Bragg’s lame questioning with probity and wit, the general was at a loss. He inquired about troop strengths and fortifications at Nashville while trying to understand what damning information she might have gathered about the Army of Tennessee. Caught red-handed with incriminating evidence, the general was slow to realize what Cushman knew. When finally convinced that Cushman worked for federal authorities in Nashville, he ordered a court martial. Cushman was confined to quarters during the bulk of the military tribunal. Guarded round the clock, the actress charmed her jailers and soon found herself the recipient of a host of special favors. One jailer spent his time on duty fanning Cushman so that she did not overheat. Another professed his love and asked her to marry him.

When the verdict was delivered, Pauline Cushman was informed that she had been found guilty on all charges and was sentenced to hang

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Triune Field Fortifications Tour

The Triune Fortifications east of Franklin, Tennessee in Williamson County are significant for their role in the military history of the Civil War. The site is representative of fortifications constructed by the Union army to protect important transportation routes during the war. Triune was located at a major crossroads south of Nashville and a series of interconnecting fortifications were built to protect this vital location. The fortifications at Triune were built in early 1863 and skirmishing continued in the area around the works until the end of the war. These fortifications represent the most significant earthworks built by the Union army at Triune and are significant for their military engineering aspects. The redoubts and connecting entrenchment lines at Triune represent one of the most intact and pristine set of earthworks identified during the Middle Tennessee Civil War Site Survey in 1990.

The fortification consists of several redoubts (square earthen forts) located on a series of hills north of Spanntown Road in Williamson County. The redoubts, located on the top of three hills, are connected by a continuous line of infantry entrenchments running through intervening valleys. The fortifications have a high degree of integrity and include campsites in the fields to the north and south of the hills.

At the request of the Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association (TCWPA) and the Franklin's Charge Association (both not-for-profit Civil War preservation groups), Tennessee Wars Commission Director Fred Prouty led his 5th tour of the field fortifications on the hills north of the Triune on April 31, 2010. Prouty has lead many groups to the works explaining the history and occupation of the fortifications, as

well as describing the significance of it's military engineering and need for preservation and interpretation. A tour of more than 30 gathered for a PowerPoint presentation and then tour the Triune Earthworks and for many, this will be their first glimpse of extensive Civil War fortifications that have remained virtually unknown to most area residents.

Franklin's Charge Association was awarded a grant from the Tennessee Wars Commission to create a preservation plan and study of the endangered National Register Civil War era field fortifications near Triune. The plan addresses current ownership and information gleaned from public meetings held with the properties owners. The Plan also serves as an important resource for continuing preservation efforts of the significant Tennessee site.

Franklin's Charge Association (a not for profit Civil War preservation group) recently applied for and received a grant to subcontract the services of a professional preservation planner to prepare a Preservation Plan for study of the endangered Civil War era fortifications in Triune. The planners will address the current ownership of all properties and conduct public meetings with parties who

currently own portions of the Triune field fortifications listed on the National Register.

The Wars Commission has granted funds to the non-profit Franklin's Charge Association to develop a preservation plan for the endangered Triune Civil War field fortifications east of City of Franklin. The plan will include public meetings with local landowners to discuss potential for the preservation and interpretation of these extensive and highly significant fortifications.



Wars Commission Director Fred Prouty led his 5th tour of the field fortifications on the hills north of the Triune on April 31, 2010.

COVERED BRIDGE



REHABILITATION

Dick Tune and Louis Jackson of the THC meet with Steve Wilson, of Spoden & Wilson, and others in Elizabethton to discuss the Covered Bridge rehabilitation. The bridge is listed in the National Register as part of the Elizabethton Historic District and was erected in 1882.



HISTORICAL MARKERS

At its meeting on February 19, 2010, the Tennessee Historical Commission approved five historical markers: *CSA Camp Trenton*, Gibson County; *Enochs Mill* and *Captain William R. Anderson*, Humphreys County; *Douglass High School* and *Weaver Union Church, School, Cemetery, and Log House*, Sullivan County.

Those interested in submitting proposed texts for markers are urged to contact Linda T. Wynn at the Tennessee Historical Commission, 2941 Lebanon Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0442, or call (615) 532-1550.



AMATEUR AND PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL IN NASHVILLE, 1867 & 1885

Base Ball. - There is something a little wonderful in the enthusiasm which our "national game" has excited among all classes of people, in all parts of our country. Beginning in our eastern cities, it rapidly became popular, and organizations sprang up with the facility of mushrooms, until no village or hamlet in the country, east or west was without its base ball club, while in the larger cities their names were legion. Young men were fascinated with the sport; older men encouraged it as promotion of hard muscles and a good digestion. Teachers of morals rejoiced that an amusement had been found which broke none of the commandments and permitted the spiritual sapling to pursue a perpendicular growth. Merchants, bankers, and shopkeepers closed their establishments, and gave their clerks a holiday on Saturday afternoon, that they might drive dyspepsia from their land stomachs, and the drowsy film from their cadaverous eyes. The ladies lent the magnetism of their presence to the game, and through blistering hours exposed their carefully nursed complexions to the bronzing sun in their eagerness to witness the skill and prowess of their brothers and lovers.

But there is an adage that "everything has its limit," and this adage the lovers of the national game seem to have forgotten. They seem to have acted upon the opposite principle, that if a thing is good, you cannot possibly have too much of it. Merchants found that their clerks were not content with having a half holiday per week. Their health was held by a more doubtful tenure than had been supposed. A more rigid discipline was called for. The muscles must be submitted to the hardening process at least once a day. Moreover their skill had been called in question; the municipal reputation was at stake, and must be vindicated at the expense of a four days' trip to a neighboring city. A few months of such experience as this was sufficient to convince business men that they were improving the American muscle at a greater expense that was prudent, and when their young men came home with a patch instead of a film over the cadaverous eyes aforesaid, and with four fingers and a the thumb on each hand encased in a yard and a half of linen rag, to say nothing of bruised shins, "spiked" feet, toothless gums and a smashed nose, it began to dawn on them that base ball is a nuisance. Indeed so prevalent did this opinion become that merchants and business men in several of our large cities met and determined that they would employ no young man who was a member of a base ball club.

We are much inclined to subscribe to the opinion of these gentlemen, and vote base ball

in its present growth, a nuisance. It has become universally a matter of rivalry. The motive is no longer sport or health, but superiority. No club is content until it has vanquished its rival clubs. To attain this superiority requires constant and severe practice. This not only tempts men to spend more time than is profitable, but prompts them to severe and protracted exertion in the heat of Summer, and endangers rather than promotes health. Moreover, the liability to accident is so great that professional base ball players are notoriously disabled a good part of the time, and area as unreliable as opera singers. At all events, would it not be well for admirers of the game to remember that there should be moderation in all things.

Nashville Daily Press & Times, October 22, 1867.

"Play Ball!" Some Aspects of Early Professional Baseball in Tennessee: the Old Southern Baseball League Association's First Year, 1885.

By James B. Jones, Jr.,
Public Historian °

In 1885 professional baseball in Tennessee got its start in three of the state's cities when, Memphis, Chattanooga, and Nashville joined the newly formed Southern Baseball League Association, (or the Southern League) where "close scores, brilliant playing and exciting games are the rules." [1].

Admission was placed 25 cents. [2] Joining the Tennessee trio were League teams from Birmingham, Alabama, Columbus, Macon, Augusta, Atlanta, and Americus, Georgia. Teams were reported to be well backed financially with managers who were "progressive, capable and withal keen lovers of the sport, and the sections represented are quickened by a generous rivalry which...will insure fair and full play and the development of all excellence attainable." Team uniforms were colorful, for example:

The uniform of the Memphis Club is a very showy one, consisting of a white flannel cap, blouse and pantaloons, red stockings and belts, with 'Memphis' in large red letters on the shirt. [3]

The Nashville Americans lost an exhibition game with the Chicago nine on April 10, [4] while the teams of the Southern League began play on April 15, 1885, playing a series of three games with each opponent until moving on to the next game lineup. For example, Chattanooga played at Macon, the Nashville

Americans (few teams had names) were at Macon, and the Memphis nine took the field at Birmingham on April 15, 16, and 18, 1885. Teams traveled by rail to their next game sequence. The last Southern League games were scheduled to be played in October, with Memphis playing Chattanooga in a three game series on the 14th, 15th and 17th. [5] The team with the best win/loss record was to be declared the pennant winner and Southern League Champions. By mid-summer it was reported that there were a total of 125 players, managers, and umpires in the Southern League, earning an aggregate salaries of \$ 15,000 a month, or about \$150 a month each. [6]

For a brief time it appeared as though there would be no professional baseball in Memphis. In February the City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting the playing of baseball on Sabbath. An outcry arouses and ball fans circulated a petition to rescind a city ordinance against Sunday games. According to the Memphis Daily Avalanche mechanics especially were unhappy because

they are compelled to work every day in the week, [and] have only Sunday for recreation, and that it is better for them to go on the outskirts of the city and witness a good game of ball than to spend the day around saloons...often winding up in the station house....The boys say they will have Sunday games of baseball if they have to play on a sand-bar across the river. [7]

The effort to reverse the hated ordinance was evidently successful [8] and Sunday baseball was played, not on an Arkansas sandbar, but in Cycle Club Park in Memphis. Nevertheless, the state passed a law prohibiting Sunday baseball games which would be enforced sporadically.

By March 10 each of the nine teams in the Southern League had finally recruited their players, and exhibition games were to be played with local amateur and professional teams from the North. [9] Memphis and Chattanooga won their first games, but Nashville was downed by Columbus. Baseball games were reported with much interest in the newspapers, indicating the wide-spread popularity of the national past time in the urban South by 1885. Crowds of from 400 to 2,000 were reported at various games. Yet, at first anyway, the Memphis team's owners were initially discontent because they were not making money on the games because of low attendance, caused by a poor win/loss record of the club. [10] This news would have consequences later on in the season.

Aside from controversy were the social

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PUBLICATIONS TO NOTE

Linda T. Wynn, Assistant Director for State Programs, Publications Editor

Publications of the University of Illinois Press, 1325 South Oak Street, Champaign, Illinois 61820-6903 include:

In *Bessie Smith and the Emerging Urban South: Blues Empress in Black Chattanooga*, Michelle R. Scott argues that the ascendancy of blues culture and the success of female blues artists like Smith are linked to broad issues of history, including industrialization, Southern rural to urban migration, post-emancipation black community development, and black working-class gender practices. Scott, an assistant professor of history at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, focuses her investigation on Chattanooga, Tennessee, Smith's natal home. One of the first American black vocalists recorded, Smith is a celebrated personality in American popular culture and the history of American blacks. By using the life of the "Empress of the Blues," depicts the change producing forces of race, sex, and material wealth in Tennessee as the state developed into a pivotal transportation and manufacturing locality in the postwar South. This tome should appeal to those who have an interest in popular culture, as well as American, Tennessee, and women's history. **Paper, \$25.00.**

Louisiana State University Press, Post Office Box 25053, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70894-5053 has published the following:

Lincoln the Cabinet and the Generals by Chester G. Hearn gives the first extensive synthesis of Lincoln's complex relationships with his cabinet and generals. Adhering to the historical documents and public sources of the period, this work is about Lincoln, the indomitable, compassionate, complex, and self-made lawyer who believed that all Americans had the right to live permanently and together in a free and unfettered society. This monograph integrates the interactions between Lincoln the president, the people who understood him best, and how collectively as cabinet members, friends, enemies, and generals, they cross-functioned throughout one of the nation's most disquieting periods. Casting new light on the behind the scenes interplay, intrigue, and sparring between President Lincoln and his advisors and military commanders during the Civil War, the author explores his relationship with his cabinet, the problems encountered selecting it, and the difficulties Lincoln experienced attempting to maintain an ideological balance while trying to

maneuver around those who disagreed with him. Based on over a decade of research this book offers both a fresh perspective on and a new interpretation of Lincoln's presidency. **Cloth, \$39.95.**

University of Mississippi Press, 3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson, Mississippi 39211-6492 includes:

G. Wayne Dowdy, in his latest book *Crusades for Freedom: Memphis and the Political Transformation of the American South* chronicles the fall of the Crump political machine and the corresponding rise to power of the South's two largest minorities, American blacks and Republicans. During the first half of the twentieth century, Memphis, Tennessee, was governed by the Shelby County Democratic Party and controlled by Edward H. Crump. Within a twenty-year span, between the years of 1948 to 1968, the Bluff City emerged as a leading center in an effort to establish a strong and viable two-party political system in the mid-South. Concomitantly, American Blacks were waging a campaign to topple centuries of racial bias and discrimination to attain political and social equality. Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, for the first time, campaigned for votes in Memphis. Dowdy fuses black, white, political, and civil rights history into a story that helps to elucidate a broader history of Memphis politics from 1948 to 1968. **Cloth, \$45.00.**

Publications of The University of North Carolina Press, 116 South Boundary Street, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514-3808 includes:

Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of Plessy v. Ferguson by Blair L. M. Kelley is a reexamination of the earliest struggles against Jim Crow and exposes the breadth of American blacks and their efforts to resist the passage of segregation laws dividing trains and streetcars by race. While examining the cities of New Orleans, Richmond, and Savannah, Kelley, an associate professor of history at North Carolina State University, chronicles the litigation and local organization against segregated rails that led to the United States Supreme Court's 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. She also looks at the streetcar boycott movement waged in twenty-five cities from 1900 to 1907, which include Nashville, Chattanooga, and Memphis, Tennessee. These movements against

segregated transportation occurred some fifty-five years prior to the now iconic Montgomery Bus Boycott. *Right to Ride* narrates the stories of courageous but obscure men and women who faced lynching to challenge segregation. By concentrating on these early protest movements against segregated transportation, Kelley causes a re-examination of the period described by historians as the "age of accommodation" and asserts that it could be interpreted as part of a continuum history of protest and refusal to accept second-class citizenship. **Paper, \$21.95.**

Another work published by the University of North Carolina Press is *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army After 1861* by Kenneth W. Noe. Professor of history at Auburn University, Dr. Noe examines the motives and subsequent performance of "later enlistees" and offers a nuanced viewpoint of men typecast as less loyal and resolute to the cause, rekindling the argument over who these later enlistees were, why they joined, and why they stayed and fought. The author rebuts the allegation that later enlistees were more likely to abscond or execute inadequately in battle and reevaluates the line of reasoning that they were less knowledgeable and ideological than those who joined the war early. *Reluctant Rebels* places the stories of individual soldiers in the larger context of the Confederate war effort and follows them from the initial optimism of enlistment through the weariness of battle and defeat. Those attracted to Civil War history and those interested in the interrelationships between culture and war in varied historical contexts should find this work of interest. **Cloth, \$35.00.**

Publications of The University of Tennessee Press, 110 Conference Center, 110 Henley Street, Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-4108 included the following:

Appalachians All: East Tennessee and the Elusive History of an American Region by Mark T. Banker, a history teacher at Webb School of Knoxville, interweaves the histories of three communities—Knoxville with its urban life, Cades Cove with its farming logging and tourism legacies, and the Clearfork Valley with its coal production. Examining these three places, he conveys a larger story of East Tennessee and its populace. Combining a perceptive account of how industrialization shaped developments

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**Nashville Baseball...continued**

aspects of baseball and baseball fans. Ladies were admitted to the game free and good male conduct was urged in order to encourage women to attend ball games at the park. Sometimes women were admitted to the ball park and stands free of charge. Newspaper reports indicate female attendance at ball games increased, but that men "unaccompanied by women should not be allowed in the ladies stand, no matter whom they are." [11] The ladies were welcome, however, it was reported they would not be allowed to keep score. [12] Nevertheless, it was boasted by the Memphis press that "[t]here are more ladies in Memphis, and young ladies too, who understand more about the intricacies of the game than in the balance of the circuit towns put together." [13] It was not uncommon for ladies to bestow their attentions on ball players. For example, according to a report in the Chattanooga Daily Times, a player, Hart, was said to be a consistent heart-breaker; had received a "beautiful Bible" from an admiring Fourth Ward miss, "and it is said some handsome bouquets mysteriously found their way into his dressing room." [14] "Tug" Arundle the catcher of the Memphis nine was likewise a favorite of the ladies - one female fan claimed she came to see "Tug" catch and if he did not she would stop coming to the games. [15] By the middle of the season "baseball parties" were "all the rage...amongst fashion's votaries." [16] Blacks also formed baseball teams, for example, the Memphis Eureka Baseball Club although there is no information to suggest they were part of a nascent African-American League. [17] Baseball fever also resulted in attempts to form Southern League teams in Jackson and in Knoxville. [18]

Sometimes news of interesting games involving rival Tennessee city teams playing home games were telegraphed to local cigar stores or hotel lobbies where scores were kept on black boards for the congregated fans. [19] Late in the season in Memphis it became customary for fans to congregate in the Terrace Garden "to hear the telegraph tick the details of the Memphis and Nashville clubs." Such entertainment was novel and well attended. One key operator received the coded play-by-play messages, while the other read the news. The game was "played" by using a representation of a ball diamond and a series of cards with the names and positions of the players printed on them.

The ball ground is represented by a green cloth, ten feet square, suspended from the wall....The bases and home plate are provided with hooks and the cards bearing the players names are inserted on the hooks as they reach the bases.

Thus is every stage of the game accurately portrayed, on the artificial diamond and only a single glance is necessary to determine the stage of the game. [20]

Western Union had quarreled with the Chattanooga team's management and had no wires run from the home ball park and so for at least the first season there were no telegraphed games from Chattanooga. [21]

Perhaps the first controversial game in the Southern League's first year was reported in May after a Macon, Georgia paper made some unfounded charges about a lack of sportsmanship against the Chattanooga team which had earlier beaten the Macon nine. Chattanooga club directors demanded a retraction of the comments. [22]

Unpopular umpires are perennially a favorite subject among baseball fans, and this was as true in 1885 as it is today. Umpire Jennings called a game between Nashville and Atlanta in late May due to rain, although the Atlanta team's manager claimed the game as a forfeit, insisting the grounds were not too wet. [23] Sometimes the mood of the home crowd turned ugly, as was the case in the Nashville Americans and the Columbus, Georgia, game of July 7, played in Nashville. According to the Nashville American the umpire, McCue, declared one of the Nashville nine out, an unpopular call among the fans. The Americans player Diestel, denounced him. According to the newspaper report:

If it had not been for the presence of ladies in the grand stand Diestel would have hit him. By this time an angry looking mob came pilling [sic] down from the amphitheater, and it looked very much like back eyes, tar and feathers, or something worse for McCue.

The Columbus team's manager anticipated trouble and summoned the police to the diamond to protect the hapless umpire. They arrived in the nick of time too, as a "gang of spectators were about to administer to him what they evidently believed he deserved, when...he was escorted by a body guard of police out of the grounds, up Cherry street to Gaffney's saloon." He remained inside, even though a crowd of several hundred had followed him there. He, according to the newspaper report, called a runner out because it appeared as though he had run more than three feet out of the base line to avoid a contact with a Columbus team member player, which made him out. The hometown press insisted he only made a wide turn around third on his way home, which he reached safely. Diestel had already been safe for some five seconds when the ball found its way to the catcher's mitt and

McCue made his contentious decision. McCue, earlier released as a pitcher from the Birmingham team, was not qualified as either a hurler or umpire said the American. He enforced technicalities that were "ignored on every ball field in the country and makes himself odious and pitiable for his ignorance of those very technicalities. He is the only umpire in the south who has sent batters to bases because the pitcher 'unnecessarily delayed' the game."

Managers of the Nashville Americans and the Columbus team wired the President of the Southern League, H. W. Grady of Atlanta, asking for another umpire. The Nashville team's directors encouraged the crowd to remain calm in future games and that any intemperate remarks made toward players or umpires would result in expulsion from the park. McCue was relieved by President Grady, a rare occurrence, more for his own safety than for reasons of revulsion emanating from the hostile Nashville fans. [24]

Arguments with the umpire about strike calls led to fines against players. [25] In other instances in early September, in Memphis during a game with the Macon nine, a fight ensued between the managers of the two teams. "Tug" Arundle, popular catcher for the Memphis team, stepped up to batter's box and hit a single and then stole second. The next Memphis batter, Carroll, hit a grounder to third, and "Tug" was out. Memphis manager Ted Sullivan and Macon manager Price took to the field and exchanged heated words when Price, slapped Sullivan in the face with his score card. "Sullivan threw out his right fist and a knock-down that would have done credit to his cousin from Boston, John L., was the sequel. Brass buttons [police] interfered and Price was gently lifted from the ground." There were no arrests, [26] although the affair would have dire consequences after the season was over. In another instance two members of the Memphis team intimidated Umpire Dunlevy who took the threat seriously and asked President Grady to relieve him of any future work in the Bluff City. [27] In another instance manager W.H. Voltz of the Chattanooga nine also petitioned to have an umpire removed: "I will not play another game with DeFrance" he telegraphed to the President of the League, "Remove him from here at once or we go home." His demand was not met and he apparently left the city. [28] Umpire "Dandy" De France, an ex-manager, had run afoul of the fans and manager of the in Chattanooga team and was not a favorite there. [29] Obviously, if the President of the Southern League were to accede to every request to remove an umpire, then every losing club would make similar demands and "the

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**Nashville Baseball...continued**

whole system would be demoralized." There was an established procedure involving the receipt at League headquarters of three written protests from three clubs which would secure the removal of an umpire. De France stayed in Memphis while Voltz apparently left for Chattanooga. [30] The Memphis team's manager, Ted Sullivan, was pleased with the behavior of the fans in Atlanta, but complained of the Umpire Cartwright's "rotteness." Sullivan felt "if New York or Chicago were playing in Atlanta they could not win one game out of ten with Cartwright as umpire."

Umpire bashing had gotten so bad that by late July it was feared that the Southern Baseball League would soon break up, at least that was the observation of the *Boston Herald*, which reported

a war against the umpires has been carried on. In Nashville a policeman was detailed to keep an umpire from being mobbed. In Birmingham a crowd tried to drown the umpire in the lake.[32]

It appeared for awhile that the Memphis team would not survive the first season of the Southern League's 1885 season. The first stockholders guaranteed that the club would be supported even though baseball wasn't yet profitable.[33] The strength of their commitment to baseball was made evident in the abrupt newspaper headlines of June 14: "The Memphis Club Reorganized and in New Hands." The new management of the Memphis Baseball Club had only recently secured contracts with two Omaha, Nebraska club players would "spare neither pains nor expense to secure first class men." They likewise promised to "revive local interest in the national game" and made improvements at the Cycle Park baseball field. By early July the nearly complete transfer of the Kansas City team to Memphis had a beneficial effect and Memphis soon downed Macon. These two "baseballists" were said to be the best players in all the Western League.[34] and would be joined by other players from the St. Louis, Missouri, and from the professional team at Milwaukee[35] and one player all the way from Elmira, New York.[36] Trading and recruiting players was common, for example Nashville found players from the St. Louis and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania teams[37], and management talent in Chicago.[38] while Chattanooga acquired players from the Detroit team.[39]

Details are sketchy, but hints that the league might disband appeared in August. [40] By September 12, representatives of all nine teams met in Atlanta, League Headquarters, to decide the question of "whether the League would

continue or disband." While the Memphis and Nashville club agents strongly argued against disbanding they were out voted and the first Southern Baseball League was scheduled to be dissolved on September 17. Only Nashville refused to consent. [41] The Chattanooga and Memphis representatives unsuccessfully amended the dissolution measure to allow for the extension of the season past the 17th. This would have allowed teams who desired to play out their games. It appeared that Atlanta would most likely win the pennant, with its closest rival being Nashville. Ironically, it was reported that all the clubs present in Atlanta "favored a continuance of the league next year." [42]

In Nashville the *Daily American* fulminated that the destruction of the League was the result of a deliberate withdrawal by Atlanta from the League was done out "fear of losing the pennant." If the League could be disbanded early then the Atlanta team would insure its commanding lead. It was a matter of percentages, and the Nashville Americans would have a better record than Atlanta if the season was not shortened by the League's dissolution. If Nashville and Augusta both won every game until the 17th Atlanta would still win the pennant. Atlanta, seeing that their "chance for the pennant was lost, and rather than see another club win it by fair and square ball playing, they...break up the league." [43]

According to reports in the *Daily American*, teams but Birmingham met again in Atlanta on the 17th and determined that Augusta should win the pennant if she and Nashville played rained-out games with Atlanta. Atlanta refused inasmuch as she had already released several players to the Baltimore and Brooklyn teams as a result of the dissolution of the League. By a vote of four to three it was determined the games with Nashville and Augusta should be played. [44] The Atlanta club, the pennant holders, flatly refused to play the deferred games with Nashville and Augusta and so remained the defunct Southern League Baseball Association champions.

Apparently the League had not actually dissolved, and the members of the Southern League met in November, in Macon, Georgia, to discuss continuation of the association in 1886. Memphis was, in a "premeditated" move, kicked out of the League, (Birmingham suffered a similar fate) as a result of the altercation between Macon's manager, Price, and the Memphis nine's manager, Sullivan. Memphis was to be replaced by the Savannah, Georgia team. Dropping Memphis from the roster was, according to a report in the Memphis *Avalanche*, "done merely to spite the Memphis club for the treatment of Mr. Price by Manager Sullivan last summer." If both the Nashville and Atlanta clubs kept their promises to "stick by

the Memphis club...it will be safe to say there will be no more Southern League." [45] After winning the support of the Chattanooga, and Columbus clubs to his alliance, the new manager of the Memphis club, John L. Sneed, returned home from strategy consultations with the management in Atlanta. There he gained support for a meeting to reinstate Memphis into the Southern League. [46]

By mid-January, 1886, Memphis bought its way back into consideration by completing a bargain with Columbus for four of their franchise players, all for \$675.[47] By January 23, 1886, speculation had it that the League would refuse to recognize Memphis's purchase of the Columbus franchise[48], yet eager speculation about the new ball season quickly replaced any acrimony that resulted from the Southern League's first year of existence and Tennessee's first professional experience with the national past time. The narrative illustrates how Americans began to invent new ways to spend leisure time, ways that were more urban than rural in character.

An earlier version of this article appeared in The Courier for October 1992.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Memphis *Daily Avalanche*, July 24, 1885.
- [2] Ibid., April 11, 1885.
- [3] Ibid., May 10, 1885.
- [4] Nashville *Banner*, April 11, 1885.
- [5] Memphis *Daily Avalanche*, February 24, 1885.
- [6] Ibid., July 10, 1885.
- [7] Ibid., February 4, 1885.
- [8] Ibid., April 11, 1885.
- [9] Ibid., March 10, April 11, 1885.
- [10] Ibid., May 8 & July 19, 1885.
- [11] Ibid., July 14, 1885.
- [12] Ibid., August 25, 1885.
- [13] Ibid., August 22, 1885.
- [14] Ibid., July 21, 1885.
- [15] Ibid., August 23, 1885.
- [16] Ibid., July 30, August 22, 1885.
- [17] Ibid., July 4, 1885.
- [18] Ibid., July 19 & July 23, 1885.
- [19] Ibid., May 14, & July 6, 1885.
- [20] Ibid. August 9, 1885. See also, Ibid., August 7, June 11, July 3, 1885.
- [21] Ibid., August 18, 1885.
- [22] Ibid., May 9, 1885.
- [23] Ibid., May 28, 1885.
- [24] Ibid., July 9, May 19, 1885.
- [25] Ibid., June 2, 1885.
- [26] Ibid., September 2, 1885.
- [27] Ibid., July 31, 1885.
- [28] Ibid., July 29 & July 18 July 25, 1885.
- [29] Ibid., July 18, 1885.
- [30] Ibid., July 29, 1885.

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**Nashville Baseball...continued**

- [31] Ibid., August 18, 1885.
- [32] Ibid., July 22, 1885.
- [33] Ibid., May 8, 1885.
- [34] Ibid., June 14, and July 2, 1885.
- [35] Ibid., July 4, 1885.
- [36] Ibid., July 31, 1885.
- [37] Ibid., July 30, 1885.
- [38] Ibid., May 22, 1885.
- [39] Ibid., July 25, 1885.
- [40] Ibid., August 14, 1885.
- [41] Memphis *Daily Appeal*, September 13, 1885.
- [42] Ibid.
- [43] Nashville *Daily American*, September 11, 1885.
- [44] Ibid. September 18, 1885.
- [45] Memphis *Daily Avalanche*, November 12, 1885.
- [46] Ibid., December 19, 1885.
- [47] Ibid., January 13, 1886.
- [48] Ibid., January 23, 1886.

Publications to Note...continued

in these communities since the Civil War with a heartfelt reflection on Appalachian identity, the author provides a significant new regional history with implications that extend beyond Tennessee's eastern region. Fusing the extensive research and revisionist interpretations of Appalachia, the East Tennessee native causes a reconsideration of ideas that have diminished the region and makes the connection between history, self, and place. His meticulous research discloses not only the richness and complexity in the East Tennessee experiences but also the region's interconnectedness. **Cloth, \$39.95.**

The University of Tennessee Press also published Peter A. Dorsey's *Common Bondage: Slavery as Metaphor in Revolutionary America*. This work examines how patriots and those who were in opposition to them comprehended and grasped the institution of slavery within the

more comprehensive context of revolutionary philosophy. Dorsey, the chair of the English Department at Mount Saint Mary's University, examines the figurative extension of slavery in revolutionary rhetoric. Explicating the traditional meaning of rhetoric as "to persuade" the author notes that it can also mean "to mask" or "to mislead." This book demonstrates that the language of the Revolutionary era was tactical rather than principled and contends that understanding this stratagem helps to explain why an early antislavery movement failed to achieve its goals once the American Revolution was over. *Common Bondage: Slavery as Metaphor in Revolutionary America* puts forth a composite characteristic temperament and associated behavior of the slave-holding culture that existed during the nation's formative years that allows for an enhanced tracking and a better understanding of the progressive development of racial intolerance in America. **Cloth, \$43.95.**

Pauline Cushman...continued

by the neck until dead. Upon hearing the news, Cushman fainted. Her would-be paramours scrambled to revive her, and continued to fawn over her. Over the next few days as her time of execution drew near, Cushman feigned illness. Each day she convinced her captors that she felt worse than the day before. On the morning of her appointed hanging she whispered that she did not think she could leave her bed. Braxton Bragg determined her to be too sick to execute, and allowed her time to regain her health so that she could be properly killed. The fact that she was a well known actress who often played the part of sick and dying ingénues to packed theatres evidently never quite penetrated the general's mind.

While Cushman struggled to recuperate from her non-existent illness, Colonel Truesdail and Old Rosy planned for her rescue. In the nick of time federal troops descended upon Shelbyville and Cushman was saved and returned safely to Nashville. Debriefed by Truesdail and Rosecrans, Cushman turned over relevant information that was later used in the Tullahoma campaign. She went right to work to create a stage show based on her exploits which she first performed in Nashville to enthusiastic troops. Taking the show on the road, she performed before President Abraham Lincoln who was so smitten by her story that he made her the only female Major of the Civil War. She continued to perform the piece well after the war ended, and wrote two autobiographies that were best

sellers. As she grew older the exploits expanded as well, with stories more harrowing than the last and personages encountered of greater importance. Cushman narrated her own legend, leaving a record of how she wanted to be remembered. Her story is reminiscent of that told in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* which encouraged the newspaper reporter to "print the legend," rather than the actual truth; or the tag line of *The Life and Times of Judge Roy Bean*, which declared: "This may not be the way things were, but it's the way it should have been."

Dr. Michael E. Birdwell is professor of history at Tennessee Technological University and author of *Celluloid Soldiers: The Warner Bros. Campaign Against Nazism* among many other publications.