

Despite the merits of this well-written and extensively researched volume Risjord's work has many shortcomings. Particularly damaging is the emphasis he has placed upon events at the national level, while generally ignoring the interrelated local political struggles. Never does he manage to give any indication of the appeal of the Old Republicans within the states, nor does he correlate conservative views with vital local issues—over which most of the major battles of the day were fought. Risjord also underplays the effect of the boom and bust period from 1815-1819 upon the development of the conservative mind. The emergence of an interregional market economy greatly altered American attitudes towards the national government. And with the Panic of 1819, many new nationalists retrenched and became poorer but wiser Jeffersonians.

An interesting assertion which Risjord makes, but does not adequately document, is that many southerners opposed internal improvements because they feared that the same central authority might be used against the institution of slavery. He likewise does not justify the extreme emphasis he places upon the War of 1812 in creating the postwar nationalism, while he neglects to discuss the equally important issue of local banking and finance. Finally, he falls into established myth by pointing to the existence of a monolithic southern sectional viewpoint opposed to nationalistic legislation—a situation which never existed. These are admittedly strong objections to an otherwise valuable book which ably discusses the ideas and practices of the Old Republicans.

Indiana University

Norman S. Cohen

Zeb Vance: Champion of Personal Freedom. By Glenn Tucker. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965. Pp. viii, 564. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

Zebulon Baird Vance emerged as a Whig party spokesman and champion of unionism in the turbulent decade that preceded the secession crisis and the outbreak of the Civil War. Contrary to the widely recognized thesis of Roy F. Nichols and others on the calibre of political leaders, the author of this biography maintains that the events which occasioned the disruption of the Union brought forth political giants: "In this era of stress, most states endeavored to send [to Congress] their ablest and best" (p. 83). As a political aspirant from the mountains of western North Carolina, Vance reflected the viewpoint of the yeoman farmer class from which he was descended. His modest upbringing was enriched by voracious reading from an ample private library, and his intellect was sharpened by a brief enrollment at the University of North Carolina. Zeb's extraordinary talent as an orator and his dynamic, engaging, and colorful personality assured his success in politics.

Vance's appeals to unionism and nationalism ended abruptly with President Lincoln's call for troops in 1861. The indomitable mountaineer

promptly enlisted as a Confederate private and, as a testimonial to his popularity, was soon elected by the troops as colonel of the 26th North Carolina Regiment. His military experience in the futile defense of New Bern and in the costly Battle of Malvern Hill was limited and would not seem to warrant the inordinate amount of space allotted by the author to the campaigns and leaders of the Civil War. Tucker is obviously following his penchant for military history, although much of what he relates is rambling, irrelevant, anecdotal, and poorly organized.

It is the author's main contention that Vance as wartime governor of North Carolina, elected from the military ranks as a Conservative party candidate in 1862, ably supported the cause of the Confederacy while he upheld the rights of his own state from encroachment by an arbitrary and capricious Confederate leadership. This viewpoint is not original, but it is persuasively argued in this biography. Vance is portrayed as an effective administrator whose record in recruiting troops, procuring supplies, running the Union blockade, and upholding the writ of habeas corpus for his fellow North Carolinians evidenced extraordinary qualities of leadership and an abiding belief in individual freedom. The author contends that Vance's squabbling with Jefferson Davis and the Confederate government did not stand in the way of service to the lost cause. Impressive data is adduced to support this point of view. Tucker apparently injects his own views and philosophy about the "continual diminution" of the individual and the expansion of governmental powers.

The information on the post-Civil War period until Vance's death in 1894 is sketchy and anticlimactic. The author demonstrates little knowledge about the recent historical literature on the Reconstruction Era in North Carolina. There is practically nothing of substance on state or national politics from 1876 to 1894. It is ironic that Vance, who is heralded as a champion of personal liberty, would steadfastly lead his party in its campaign to secure the enactment of county government laws, voting requirements, and registration procedures that effectively denied local self-government and home rule in his own state. The use of gerrymandering tactics left no qualms with this post-Reconstruction governor and United States senator.

This is a biography written for popular consumption. It is spirited and dramatic and abounds with anecdotal lore. It is far from definitive. The monumental research of Frontis W. Johnston as editor of the Vance papers—of which the first volume has appeared—must be cited as a more authoritative source on this subject. As a reputed authority on western North Carolina, Tucker encounters considerable difficulty in citing properly the name of the famous jurist Richmond Mumford Pearson. The author's diligent research nonetheless deserves to be commended.

East Carolina College

Joseph F. Steelman