



LINCOLN AND RACE

BY RICHARD STRINER

Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL, 2012. 94 pages, \$19.95.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND WHITE AMERICA

BY BRIAN R. DIRCK

University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 2012. 213 pages, \$29.95.

Reviewed by Henry Cohen

There is no question that Abraham Lincoln was always a strong opponent of slavery. He wrote, "I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel." But Lincoln's attitude toward race—the extent to which he held the prejudices of most white people of his day, and the extent to which he surmounted them—is a more complex question. These two excellent books, both by professors of history, address this question, but they take quite different approaches.

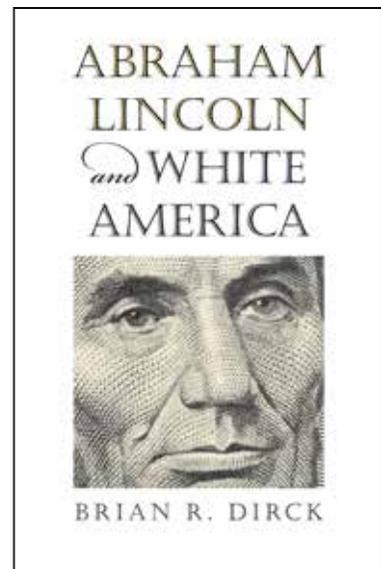
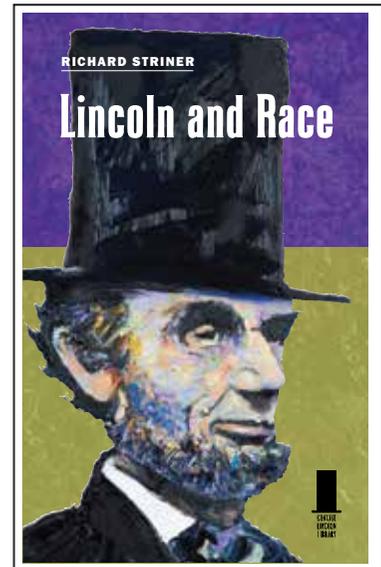
Richard Striner's *Lincoln and Race* seeks to account for remarks of Lincoln's that are racist or at least equivocal as to race. In his 1854 speech in Peoria, Ill., for example, Lincoln said that he would free the slaves, but raised the question: Would he then "make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question. ..." Thus, although Lincoln said that he opposed making blacks politically and socially equal to whites, he raised the possibility that he could feel differently and that his current feeling might be unjust. What is going on here? Was Lincoln racist or not?

Striner raises two possibilities: the Huck Finn theory and the master-politician theory. The Huck Finn theory is that Lincoln, like Mark Twain's character, "was at odds with himself—he was struggling to overcome bigotry." The master-politician theory is that "Lincoln was engaging in a justified deception. ... He was trying to establish safe political ground from which to challenge his lis-

teners. ..." In 1857, for example, in a speech in Springfield, Ill., responding to Stephen Douglas' race-baiting accusation that Lincoln was willing to permit intermarriage between blacks and whites, Lincoln said, "Now I protest against that counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a *slave* I must necessarily want her for a *wife*. I need not have her for either, I can just leave her alone. In some respects she is certainly not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands ... she is my equal, and the equal of all others."

Keep in mind that Lincoln's audience consisted of racist whites. According to Striner, by agreeing with Douglas' in opposing intermarriage and in claiming that blacks were not the equal of whites, Lincoln was trying to neutralize these issues. He had two purposes in doing so. One was to pander for votes. His other, more selfless, purpose was to advance his anti-slavery position by agreeing with Douglas' racial views, thereby showing that even a racist could oppose slavery. Moreover, Lincoln often expressed racist views equivocally, as in the 1854 Peoria speech when he said that his feelings that blacks should not be treated equally might be unjust. During the 1858 debates with Douglas, Lincoln said, "Certainly the negro is not our equal in color." What does that even mean?

Striner reveals early on that he favors the master-politician theory, which he asserts "is the *only* way" to account for Lincoln's racist remarks. "[I]n all probability," he concludes, "Lincoln had no racial bias." Striner makes a persuasive case for this theory. He engages in a fairminded and perceptive parsing of Lincoln's words regarding race, starting with the Peoria speech. He also discusses Lincoln's policies to end slavery, such as his unwillingness, after he was elected in 1860, to compromise with the South to allow slavery to expand into the territories; his unwillingness, as the North grew war-weary, to end the war with slavery intact; and his behind-the-scenes efforts to have Louisiana and Tennessee restored to the Union without slavery. Lincoln's anti-slavery policies, however, might have been pursued by a President who was prejudiced



against black people, so they do not advance Striner's case that Lincoln had no racial bias. Other matters that Striner discusses, such as Lincoln's support for incrementally granting voting rights to blacks, show his lack of racial bias better. The same is true of his support for voluntary colonization of blacks. Although some people advanced colonization for racist motives, Lincoln more likely did so to make emancipation more acceptable to whites and out of concern for the animus that blacks would continue to face after emancipation. Black people themselves were divided on the question of colonization.

On Aug. 14, 1862, Lincoln met in the

White House with five free blacks from the District of Columbia. It was the first time that any blacks had been invited to the White House except as servants or cooks. Lincoln's remarks were recorded by a journalist, and Striner quotes Lincoln as having said to the five men, "Your race are suffering, in my judgment, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. ... [O]n this broad continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. ... It is a fact, about which we all think and feel alike, I and you." Striner emphasizes that "Lincoln actually told his black guests—on the record—that he *shared their feelings* in regard to white supremacy."

Yet Striner is quoting selectively, as he does not mention some less admirable remarks that Lincoln made to the black men: "I think your race suffer very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated [by blacks volunteering to colonize overseas]. ... But for your race among us there could not be war." These remarks may be defensible (as a strategic move to make his planned issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation more palatable to whites), but, because Striner does not quote them, he does not try to defend them. This is the only place in the book where Striner seems, even if unintentionally, to place his thumb on the scale to benefit Lincoln.

In addition, Striner's statement that, "in all probability, Lincoln had no racial bias," lacks subtlety. To what levels of consciousness does he refer? Is it significant that Lincoln, as Brian Dirck writes, "had a real fondness for lowbrow 'darky' jokes," which portrayed African-Americans as "thickheaded, stubborn, and just not terribly bright"? But I do not intend these questions as a criticism of *Lincoln and Race*, because the book does not purport to be a psychological study of Lincoln. Striner's examination of Lincoln's words is more in the nature of a legal analysis, and it is a discerning one.

For a history book that takes a more psychological and sociological approach, we move to Dirck's *Abraham Lincoln and White America*. Dirck sees Lincoln as "in many ways a product of the predominant white culture of his time ... far less willing or able to transcend the limitations of that culture than I would have wished." Nevertheless, Lincoln's approach to [racial] matters was better than that displayed by

most whites of his day."

On the question of Lincoln's racist jokes, Dirck writes, "The point here is not the ... seemingly endless (and fruitless) debate concerning whether such humor proves he was a bigot. Rather, the point is that these jokes were told by Lincoln ... to further reinforce his standing among [other white men] as a clever man and politician." But, at least, Dirck writes, "where [Stephen] Douglas made black people monsters to be feared, Lincoln made them buffoons. But even as buffoons, they were useful and therefore used by Lincoln." Thus, like Lincoln's denying that blacks were equal in color to whites, his racist jokes constituted pandering. Presumably, Dirck would acknowledge that Lincoln might also have found these jokes funny and enjoyed making people laugh.

A theme of Dirck's book is that Lincoln was a white man. That may seem obvious, but white people, Dirck notes, tend to think "that only nonwhite people are people of color, whereas whites are normatively neutral and colorless by definition. ..." This sort of thinking "has made white supremacy so powerful and pernicious a presence in American history." With Lincoln, as with all white people, "Whiteness shaped him, transformed him, and in some ways severely proscribed what he would or could do in the name of American racial equality." Dirck notes that, if Lincoln "was not given to exploiting white fears of black people, he also was not often willing to openly confront and criticize those fears." Yet, although Dirck insightfully demonstrates these truths throughout his book, he did not diminish Lincoln in my eyes—not that he was trying to. He views Lincoln as "a flawed, eminently human, and yet still fundamentally admirable American white man."

Dirck observes that, in the debates with Douglas, Lincoln did not *have* to argue against slavery. It was not politically expedient, and it played right into his opponent's hands. Moreover, although he made racist comments in the debates, "there were lines that Lincoln would not cross. He did not demonize black people," and he did not, as Douglas did, exploit his audience's fear of interracial sex, but instead "poked a bit of fun at the whole subject," as with his remark that we can "get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes." Lincoln also did not *have* to publicly meet with black troops or publicly welcome Frederick Douglass at the White House, and he risked alienating

white people in doing so.

Dirck writes that "[r]acial amalgamation [the term at the time for miscegenation] persistently haunted the imaginations of white Americans, many of whom connected Lincoln, the Republican Party, and the end of slavery with the dilution of white racial purity." In his 1857 speech in Springfield, Lincoln tried to counter this by saying, "Judge Douglas is especially horrified at the thought of the mixing blood by the white and black races: agreed for once—a thousand times agreed." But, if Lincoln was pandering, he was also setting up his audience for an argument against slavery. He added: "In 1850 there were in the United States, 405,751, mulattoes. Very few of these are the offspring of whites and *free* blacks; nearly all have sprung from black *slaves* and white masters. ... [S]lavery is the greatest source of amalgamation. ..."

Dirck shows how Lincoln's ambition was affected by his race, as Lincoln, coming from a poor background, sought to distance himself from people who even then were known as "white trash." "Both the negroes and the poor white trash are the serfs" in America, thought one observer. Lincoln's sister-in-law noted that her family's African-American slave cook complained that the family's "po' white trash Irish [cook] didn't even know how to make good co'n bread." Lincoln's expansive reading, his aversion to alcohol, and his shunning farmwork may have in part been efforts to escape the "white trash" image. His chosen professions, law and politics, were, Dirck notes, "associated with not just whiteness but respectable whiteness."

Dirck writes that "Lincoln had come to appreciate just how sensitive a racial nerve he was touching among whites whenever he in any way approached the issue of emancipation. There was terror there, unreasonable and unfounded terror—and he knew it." The fear was not only of amalgamation, but of freed slaves being given jobs in "manufactories at low wages or none" (as one white man wrote) and putting white men out of work. Furthermore, Dirck writes, "perhaps [Lincoln] confronted a divided mind within himself. ... [I]t may have been divided over whether in ending slavery, he could expect some degree of accommodation for a multiracial society in postwar America, both within himself and from his white neighbors. ... At times, Lincoln gave too much counsel to white fears; he sometimes sought too hard and too intensely for ways to circumnavigate

white angst through dubious schemes such as colonization, when perhaps both he and the nation would have been better served by a direct and frank confrontation with the evils of white supremacy.” But this does not suggest that Lincoln was a racist. Rather, it suggests the complexity of his attitudes toward race. ©

Henry Cohen is the book review editor of The Federal Lawyer.

FRATERNITY

BY DIANE BRADY

Spiegel & Grau, New York, NY, 2012. 242 pages, \$ 25.00 (cloth), \$16.00 (paper).

Reviewed by Richard L. Sippel

Fraternity is an account of how a small liberal arts college in central Massachusetts achieved racial integration. The College of the Holy Cross was founded in 1843 by Benedict Fenwick, a Jesuit from Maryland who served as Bishop of Boston from 1825 until his death in 1846. Fenwick wanted to establish a Jesuit college that would cater exclusively to Catholic students and produce priests. “It was an odd mission,” Diane Brady writes, “for a man educated at Georgetown University, which was open to all faiths.” But the massive influx of Irish Roman Catholic immigrants to the Boston area had given rise to anti-Catholic sentiments, and Fenwick wanted a college that was free of them.

Fenwick chose the city of Worcester, about 40 miles west of Boston. He selected a charismatic Jesuit, Thomas F. Mulledy, as the college’s first president. Mulledy had been a leader of the Jesuit’s Maryland province, where he had supervised the selling of the Jesuits’ slaves because of the financial cost of maintaining them. Brady writes that the Jesuits had deemed slavery to be divinely ordained, and saw emancipation “as tantamount to abandoning people who could not care for themselves.” Mulledy was directed to find new owners who would agree to respect the slaves’ religious needs and family bonds.

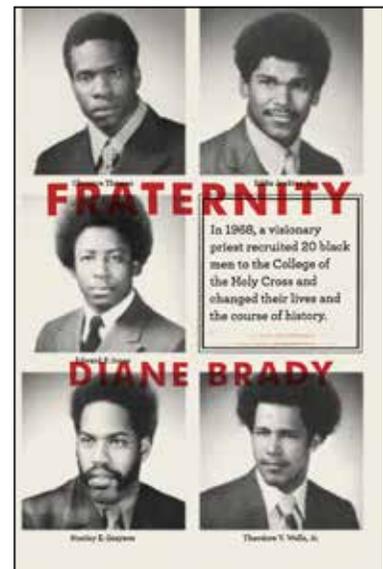
In 1844, the first students arrived at Holy Cross. Among them “were four sons of Michael Morris Healy, an Irish-born planter in Georgia, and Eliza Clark, a mixed-race slave whom Healy owned and had fallen in love with.” In Georgia, their children “were considered slaves, making them ineligible to attend school in the South.” Healy was a

progressive thinker and doer for his time. His mixed-race boys did well at Holy Cross, and thereafter, with son Patrick becoming president of Georgetown University, son James the first African-American Catholic bishop, son Michael a celebrated sea captain, and son Sherwood rector of Boston’s Cathedral of the Holy Cross. Yet, despite the college’s promising beginning, as late as the 1960s, “[b]lack students were still an anomaly at small liberal arts colleges,” including Holy Cross.

A major figure in *Fraternity* is Rev. John E. Brooks, president of Holy Cross from 1970 to 1994. Brady notes that, “[e]ven among the Jesuits, a progressive, intellectual, and typically outspoken order of the Church, John Brooks stood out.” In 1942, Brooks had entered Holy Cross as a freshman, but, in 1943, he enlisted in the U.S. Army, trained in the Signal Corps, and ran “a repeater station in rural France during the war to help keep communications flowing for General Patton’s army.” He graduated from Holy Cross in 1949 and was ordained as a priest in 1959. In 1963, during the Second Vatican Council, he earned a Doctor of Sacred Theology degree from the Gregorian University in Rome. He then returned to Holy Cross and was chair of the Religious Studies Department in 1968 when Martin Luther King was assassinated. Brooks had respected King as a person of great courage. While in Rome, Brooks had vowed to apply Vatican II’s lessons in social justice to King’s message.

Brooks became concerned with the unfairness of the draft during the Vietnam war. White men avoided service through student deferments, while a disproportionate number of black men were drafted for combat. It was primarily a lack of resources that prevented young blacks from attending college and qualifying for deferments. As a result, campuses in the 1960s, including that of Holy Cross, were a “sea of white faces.” Dr. King’s assassination at the height of the Vietnam war gave Brooks a sense of urgency “to put the preacher’s teaching into practice.” For the sake of justice, he became determined to bring black students to the college.

Brooks petitioned the college’s president, Raymond Swords, for permission to seek out qualified black high school seniors and offer them scholarships. Swords authorized Brooks to find the right young men and then convince them that Holy Cross was a good option. (Women were not accepted at Holy Cross until 1972.) Brooks canvassed the East



Coast with a 25-year-old admissions officer, Jim Gallagher. They knew that this was going to be a hard sell for a college with 2,200 students, practically all of whom were white and many of whom were sons of the Irish elite.

Brooks faced a persisting practice: Holy Cross rarely admitted more than two black men in any given year. Some in the college’s administration thought that this was sufficient. But even a policy of race-based admissions would not permit accepting anyone who did not meet formidable standards. The stakes were high! Brooks had the foresight to realize that the college “risked becoming less relevant” if it “largely ignored the potential of an entire group of talented young men.” The best of these would never think of attending Holy Cross without an effort being made to recruit them. Brooks was impervious to pressure from administrators who did not want to deprive sons of alumni of their spaces.

Brooks and Gallagher interviewed promising students from Catholic high schools in Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Detroit. “Brooks met with Gilbert Hardy, an accomplished sprinter and National Greek Scholar,” who was among the brightest students at St. Joseph’s Preparatory School in Philadelphia. But good grades were just the starting point. Brooks also sought students with “drive and ambition,” and knew that “[i]t would take a strong personality to overcome the isolation that many would feel at Holy Cross.” The first scholarships were accepted by nine outstanding black students, including Gilbert Hardy. More than \$80,000 was committed to cover tuition, books, and room and board for four years at Holy Cross, a considerable sum in 1968.

The tenor of those times was disruptive at best, with 1968 marking a watershed in the Vietnam war. "January had brought the Tet Offensive, a series of surprise attacks by North Vietnamese troops that stunned the U.S. public and the military, raising doubts about the promise that victory was in sight. Within weeks, newscaster Walter Cronkite, 'the most trusted man in America,' had turned against the Vietnam war. ..." The size and the number of antiwar demonstrations were expanding, and the war's injustice, coupled with King's death, made Brooks' argument for affirmative action more persuasive. Holy Cross became primed to integrate in significant numbers, provided that prospective students met academic standards and showed good character.

Among the arrivals between 1968 and 1972 were Stanley Grayson from a Jesuit prep school in Detroit, Eddie Jenkins from a Catholic prep school in Brooklyn, N.Y., Clarence Thomas from a Catholic seminary in Conception, Mo., and Edward P. Jones and Theodore V. Wells, both from public schools in Washington, D.C. Four of these five men became prominent lawyers, with Grayson also becoming an investment banker and deputy mayor of New York; Jenkins a National Football League player before attending law school; Wells a partner in Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison and a leading white-collar criminal defense attorney; and Thomas, of course, a Supreme Court justice. The fifth student, Edward P. Jones, won the 2004 Pulitzer Prize for his novel, *The Known World*, about a black slaveholder in antebellum Virginia.

The black students came to Holy Cross with a positive attitude. None opposed having a white roommate, and Thomas, Jones, and Grayson were especially pleased with theirs. The five students proved that they could handle the academic work, but they found the isolation at Holy Cross a challenge, with the many white students having similar academic needs but different cultural interests (such as Motown versus the Grateful Dead). Father Brooks arranged for a black corridor in the dormitory so that the black students could be in close contact with one another. They soon settled in and put up with snide remarks about the riots in Detroit and other personal digs, only sometimes said in jest. But the racial slurs, though rare, were harder to take.

The black students realized early on that they would need some structure within

which they could address their problems, so they organized a Black Student Union (BSU) through which they presented their demands to the college, such as no fewer than 50 black students in the incoming class, a black admissions officer, and a black studies curriculum. Art Martin, a black upperclassman, was first to advance the idea of the BSU. Wells wrote the first draft of a charter, and Thomas typed it. Martin served as the first president and Thomas as correspondence secretary. Father Brooks convinced Swords to charter the first BSU at Holy Cross.

Meetings became argumentative as factions formed. Jones, who showed early talent as a writer, wrote for the student newspaper: "Below our blackness, was our natural handicap of being human beings with various viewpoints and we had bitter arguments with excruciating results from the beginning." Grayson dubbed the Black Student Union meetings "Sunday Night Theater," as Thomas and Wells would have at it. He "sensed that Wells was speaking from his heart, but he often wondered if Thomas was being contrarian just to keep things lively. ... Rarely did Thomas himself ever suggest an idea, he merely liked to shoot them down."

Grayson sought to remove the racist reference to "Old Black Joe" from the school's rallying song, "Mamie Reilly." Father Brooks, Brady writes, "insisted that it was a tradition, albeit from a different era; tampering with a beloved song struck him as a rash move, especially given the heightened sensitivities of alumni and faculty." But Brooks listened to Grayson's concern and could see why the words were offensive. "Old Black Joe" became "Go Cross Go."

Thomas was the group's self-designated realist. He saw the BSU's list of demands becoming unwieldy. He urged focusing on what they needed, and not on what they wanted. One need was for a car so that they could go off campus to meet black women. In class, Thomas often sat in the back and barely said a word. He played intramural sports and wrote articles for the student newspaper. Between his junior and senior years, he read Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* and *The Fountainhead*. "He had first come across the books in high school," Brady writes, "but this time Rand's message of radical individualism and her notion of rational self-interest truly sank in."

While at Holy Cross, Thomas courted Kathy Ambush, his future wife and mother of his only son. She was a black under-

graduate at Anna Maria College whom Eddie Jenkins had introduced to Thomas. Her father was a dental technician. He generously fitted Thomas with a bridge and built a workspace for him to study in the Ambush home. Thomas and Ambush married in June 1971, the day after Thomas graduated. They divorced two years later.

How did Clarence Thomas fare at Holy Cross? He finished ninth in his class, with a 3.57 grade point average, and graduated *cum laude*. He wore the blazer of the Purple Key Society and was admitted to Alpha Sigma Nu, the national Jesuit college honor society. Thomas majored in English because he wanted to lose the Gullah dialect that occasionally crept into his speech. But he also had a genuine appreciation for literature. He toyed with the idea of a career in journalism, but he decided to go to law school and set his sights on Harvard or Yale. "He didn't seem to harbor any [doubts] about himself," writes Brady.

"Yale Law School," Brady writes, "had an aggressive affirmative action program, and Thomas felt the sting of low expectations every day he was there." That experience made him realize how much Father Brooks had given him. At Holy Cross, "not once ... had Thomas doubted his own intelligence." In 2008, more than 500 people gathered for dinner to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of Holy Cross' Black Student Union. Wells and Thomas, who had parted ways politically, were united in showing their appreciation for Father Brooks. Wells gave a speech, which Brady describes in the final paragraph of *Fraternity* as expressing the view that "the world needed more men like Father Brooks, who had the courage and foresight to integrate the college and had stood as a visionary and friend to the black students at Holy Cross. 'I love this man,' said Wells, prompting the entire room of people to stand up and cheer."

John E. Brooks, who was designated president emeritus in 1994, died in July 2012, at age 88. ☉

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ROGER WILLIAMS AND THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAN SOUL: CHURCH, STATE, AND THE BIRTH OF LIBERTY

BY JOHN M. BARRY

Viking, New York, NY, 2012. 464 pages, \$35.00 (cloth), \$18.00 (paper).

Reviewed by Neysa M. Slater-Chandler

Rhode Island is the smallest state, the last to sign the Constitution, and often the measuring stick used to identify the size of any land mass. (How often have you tuned into the news to hear that the latest area of concern is “about the size of 10 Rhode Islands”?) Yet Rhode Island was the first colony to allow religious freedom, to ban slavery (although it would later profit greatly from the Triangle Trade), and (on May 4, 1776) to declare independence from England.

All of this occurred because of the “lively experiment” started by Roger Williams (1603–1683)—a banished Puritan minister who started the first Baptist church in America, a former aide to one of history’s best legal minds, a man who corresponded with Oliver Cromwell, and the author of several important publications.

John M. Barry starts *Roger Williams and The Creation of the American Soul* by telling his readers, “This is a story about power.” That statement oversimplifies both the story and the power it details. To a lawyer, this is a story about the law. To a linguist, it is a story about the importance of language, both one’s own and others’. To a religious person, it is a story about religion, and, to yet others, it is about the right to be left alone.

If you learn only one thing from this book, it is the importance of maintaining contacts—networking, in today’s language. And if you learn a second thing from this book, it is the importance of shorthand.

At about age 13, Williams came to the attention of none other than the great jurist Sir Edward Coke—because of Williams’ ability to take shorthand. Coke treated Williams like a son, and, Barry writes, “Williams, standing in the back of the Star Chamber and the Privy Council, his ears pricked and taking notes, was receiving an education.” Coke arranged for Williams to attend school, where Williams built on his experience, became a minister, and soon sought out opportunity in the New World.

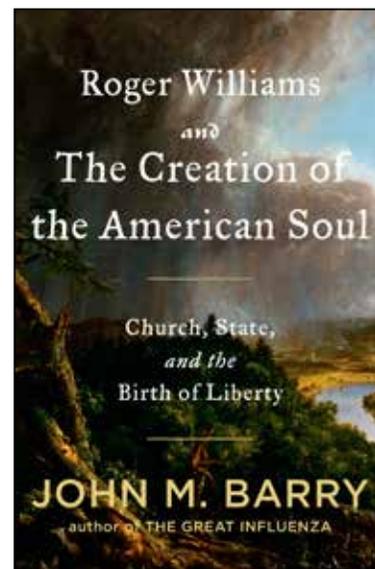
Williams shared the Puritan faith of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but he did

not share its faith in man and government. Barry tells us that the Bay’s leaders “firmly believed that the state must enforce all of God’s laws, and that to do so the state had to prevent error in religion.” But Williams, Barry explains, believed that “humans, being imperfect, would inevitably err in applying God’s law.” Barry adds that Williams dreaded “a foul corruption not of the state, which was already corrupt, but of the church, as it befouled itself with the state’s errors.”

Williams developed his argument for a “wall of separation” between church and state (he, not Thomas Jefferson, first used the term) through his disagreement as to the foundation of law in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Barry writes that Gov. John Winthrop believed that “[o]bedience meant conforming to God’s laws, and those laws began with the Ten Commandments. The government intended to enforce these commandments.” Williams disagreed. He believed that government had no authority to enforce the first four of the Ten Commandments (using the numbering of the Calvinists and the Church of England), as these commandments embodied duties to God and were therefore beyond the reach of government. This thinking not only attacked the jurisdiction of the government in the New World, but that of England. Further, Williams recognized the rights of Native Americans in their lands, which also put him at odds with the English.

Williams was banished during the harsh winter of 1636; it was so cold that Narragansett Bay froze. This was punishment in the extreme, and had it not been for the Wampanoag and the Narragansett tribes, Williams would have perished. He had traded with these tribes, befriended their leaders, and learned their languages. (He also saw them as targets to convert to Christianity.) Now, he received permission from the Narragansett sachem (chief), Canonicut, and his nephew, Miantonomi, to settle in a “place in the wilderness” that Williams named “Providence, [which] I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience.”

Williams used his linguistic ability (he also spoke Dutch) to publish the first dictionary of the “Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New-England” upon his return to England to negotiate a charter for Providence. He used his contacts from both sides of the Atlantic to win the 1644 charter granting Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport “full Powre & Authority to Govern & rule themselves ... as by voluntary consent



of all” and imposing no religious requirements. After another 20 years of fighting off Massachusetts and Plymouth, Williams’ work led to the granting of the royal charter allowing Rhode Island to “hold forth a lively experiment ... with a full liberty in religious concerns ... no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion, in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of Our said colony.”

For the attorney (and the historian, too), Barry’s book is worthwhile even if you read only Part I, “The Law.” These first six chapters place into context law as practiced in England and colonial America during the 1600s. It is unclear from Barry’s acknowledgments whether he enlisted assistance (it doesn’t appear that he did) from legal professionals as he did from the medical community for his wonderful work on the World War I flu epidemic, *The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History*. However, Barry’s emphasis on the law throughout *Roger Williams and The Creation of the American Soul* details the importance of our profession in history.

For the Rhode Islander, Barry’s book is a who’s who (or perhaps, a where’s where) of Rhode Island cities, streets, and schools. Fortunately, many Rhode Island names have remained unchanged, although transliterations result in myriad spellings of many important people and places from Williams’ time.

Barry uses short chapters to move the story forward; however, so many pages are spent building to the climactic grant of Rhode Island’s royal charter that the quick wrap-up

is jolting. There are few references to either Williams' wife or family, and the reader is left to wonder about their roles in Williams' development. The book would have benefited greatly by having a timeline, particularly one that showed the overlap of the authorities (kings and Cromwell) and conflicts in England with those in New England. Maps of the Native American nations' areas of control and better maps of the English settlements would have helped as well.

I found puzzling the book's lack of the texts of the various Rhode Island charters. Including these would have made the work more complete, particularly for the legal or scholarly reader. The royal charter is available at the Rhode Island secretary of state's website (sos.ri.gov/library/history/charter/) and was recently displayed in the state house for the document's 350th anniversary (at which Barry spoke).

For those of you planning to attend next year's FBA convention in Providence, the city named by Williams, *Roger Williams and The Creation of the American Soul* might be a welcome introduction. Providence is no longer a place in the wilderness. But don't be surprised if your plane lands in a place once called Shawomet, for the Providence airport is located not in Providence, but in my home city of Warwick, formerly Shawomet, which changed its name to thank Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick, who helped Rhode Island start its "lively experiment." ☉

Neysa M. Slater-Chandler was born and raised in Rhode Island. She is a U.S. government attorney, past chair of the Federal Career Service Division, and current vice chair for Sections and Divisions.

LOBBYISTS AT WORK

BY BETH L. LEECH

Apress, New York, NY, 2013. 254 pages, \$24.99.

Reviewed by Nick J. Sciuolo

As a former government affairs professional, I found this book of great interest. Lobbying and the broader practice of government and public affairs is a complicated professional industry, which few outside it understand. Most people, members of the bar included, have had little to no experience with lobbyists or lobbying. Perhaps they have written a letter to their senator or representative, or a letter to the editor, and maybe they once even

signed a petition or traveled to Washington, D.C., with a team of like-minded colleagues to present opinions to Capitol Hill leaders and staff. But not many have been employed as professional lobbyists, advocates, or organizers. In *Lobbyists at Work*, Beth L. Leech takes a broad view of lobbying, understanding it to include the practice of government relations at all levels, using multiple strategies and tactics, and serving a wide range of clients to influence specific changes in the law as well as broader issues.

Lobbyists at Work consists of an introduction and 15 chapters, each containing an interview with a lobbyist, each of whom has a different take on lobbying. Leech is well-suited to her subject matter. She holds a Ph.D. in political science from Texas A&M University and a bachelor's degree in journalism from the prestigious Northwestern University Medill School of Journalism. She has experience as a newspaper reporter and editor and is now an associate professor of political science at Rutgers University. The informal style with which she conducts the interviews makes the book an easy and informative read.

One of the lobbyists whom Leech interviews is Dale Florio, who runs the largest state lobbying firm in the country and lobbies at the state house in Trenton, N.J. She also interviews Timothy Richardson of the Washington, D.C., office of the National Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), the largest police organization in the country. The book's 15 chapters unfold with enlightening and sometimes entertaining conversations with everyone from mega-firm Patton Boggs lobbyists to American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) interns, and from citizen advocates to the president of the American League of Lobbyists, which lobbies for lobbyists. Each chapter provides information about the types of campaigns in which the lobbyists engage and the advocacy interests they represent. Some interviews provide significant insights into the personal and educational backgrounds of the subjects, making this book an excellent resource for people beginning or interested in lobbying.

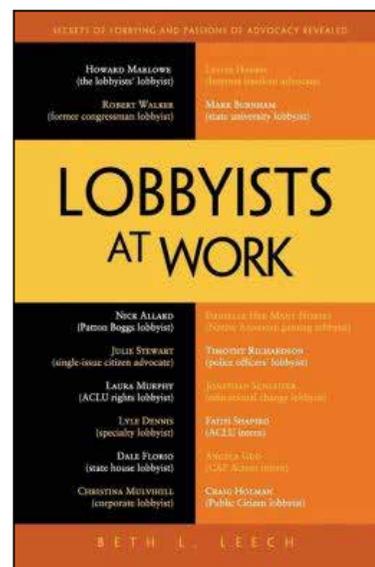
Leech addresses the hatred of lobbyists. As the saying goes, "Who do people hate more than lawyers? Lobbyists!" In her introduction, Leech readily acknowledges negative popular perceptions of lobbyists, writing, "In the popular view, the word 'lobbyist' is often taken to be synonymous with 'special interest' and 'corruption.' Media stories assume that lobbyists twist arms and

force government officials to do things that they otherwise would not. Campaign contributions are equated with bribery." But *Lobbyists at Work* humanizes this diverse group of influence peddlers, demonstrating their passion. Lobbyists have high hopes, they are hardworking, and they care deeply about their issues. They possess skills and relationships that cannot be built overnight. Leech explores the motivation of lobbyists, giving readers a unique view into the minds of these professionals. Most studies of lobbying do not include much in the way of comments from actual professionals, so Leech should be commended for allowing us to hear lobbyists' voices.

Readers will likely also be interested in the different advocacy strategies and issues represented by the lobbyists Leech interviews. Local-, state-, and federal-level lobbying are all covered, as are strategies such as letter writing, earned media, on- and off-the-Hill approaches, and direct meetings with members of Congress and key legislative staff, as well as grassroots and grasstops strategies. Indeed, few other books provide such expansive coverage of lobbying. Although the book does not provide the quantitative analysis that some texts on lobbying and political influence do, its anecdotes are themselves illuminating.

Lobbyists at Work is not without faults. Readers may quibble with the choice of interviewees. Of course, no book could ever address all types of lobbyists in all issue groups, and several issue groups are left out. Yet one wonders whether two chapters with ACLU representatives is one too many. Much lobbying is performed at the national organi-

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- * Dana M. Herberholz
- † Eugene A. Ritti

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zation level, including by trade and professional organizations, yet the book gives these groups less attention than they merit. Many large organizations, such as the National Rifle Association and the Sierra Club, both of which have large presences on Capitol Hill, are absent. Unions also receive little coverage, save for the Fraternal Order of Police lobbyist. (The FOP functions both as a union and a professional organization.) More could have been written about the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. These unions have large memberships and conduct a plethora of lobbying activities.

The book leans toward citizen and non-profit lobbyists, devoting significantly less space to corporate or contract professional firm lobbyists. But Leech should be applauded for emphasizing these other types of lobbyists, as average citizens likely envision the Jack Abramoffs of the world when they think of lobbyists. *Lobbyists at Work* is a valuable addition to the growing body of scholarship on government affairs practice. Future as well as seasoned lobbyists will find more than enough to keep them turning its pages. ☉

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ADDITIONAL BOOK REVIEWS

In addition to the book reviews in the paper copy of this issue of *The Federal Lawyer*, bonus reviews are included in the online version of the magazine. The following reviews are available at www.fedbar.org/magazine. ☉

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BY DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN

Reviewed by David Heysfeld

THE HANGING JUDGE

BY MICHAEL PONSOR

Reviewed by JoAnn Baca

THE COLLINI CASE: A NOVEL

BY FERDINAND VON SCHIRACH, TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY ANTHEA BELL

Reviewed by Michael Ariens