An Army of Women: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas, by Michael Lewis Goldberg. Reconfiguring American Political History Series. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. x, 313 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. $39.95 cloth.

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In *An Army of Women*, Michael Goldberg offers new perspectives on the "Woman Movement" and Populism in late nineteenth-century Kansas. He does not claim to offer a new account of these intersecting movements. Rather, "by viewing these familiar stories through a gendered lens," Goldberg attempts to "reappraise both the movements themselves and Gilded Age politics in general" (4). Although the Kansas Woman Movement and Kansas Populism had characteristics distinctive from their counterparts elsewhere, Goldberg's study offers valuable insights about the relationship between politics and gender that are applicable to other states and regions.

Goldberg begins by considering the history of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association in the 1880s. These two organizations, the core of the Woman Movement, formed a "partnership" (111) that successfully mobilized middle-class white women around an ideology of women's moral superiority. The main triumph of this movement was the achievement of the right of Kansas women to vote in municipal elections in 1887.

Even as this "ever expanding army" imagined itself "marching inexorably onward to further the cause of all women" (124), however, winning the right to vote immediately revealed the movement's internal contradictions and limitations. In arguing for suffrage, women had characterized themselves as nonpartisan (women's purity demanded that they be nonpolitical), but once they won the vote, women were unable to ignore their partisan allegiances. Furthermore, although middle-class women appealed to African-American and white working-class women to vote against the saloon, middle-class women never tried to develop an enduring coalition with those outside their race and class.

Goldberg then turns to gender in the Farmers' Alliance and Populist Party. He argues that although the Alliance was never able to completely overcome the patriarchal relations in traditional farm families, it nonetheless had strong egalitarian tendencies and opened up significant social and political space for women. In 1890, when Alliance members decided to form the Populist Party, however, the contradiction between "the politically egalitarian Alliance family and the patriarchal farm family" (160) deepened. The problem was that the new

political party became devoted to pursuing votes—the votes of men—and thus failed to consider issues of importance to women.

Goldberg concludes his book with an account of the 1894 campaign for statewide woman suffrage. Although the Populists endorsed suffrage, the Populist press "sacrificed" this issue to the "demands of partisan politics" (244). In Goldberg's view, this, along with the failure of the Republicans and Democrats to endorse suffrage, doomed the measure.

An Army of Women makes an important contribution to the scholarship on women and politics and is an especially welcome addition to the literature on Populism. For years, students of Populism have lamented the absence of a full-length study of gender in the Alliance and Populist Party. In providing the first such published study, Goldberg does an especially fine job of revealing the many internal contradictions that beset the Woman Movement, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Populist Party as well as the tensions between different groups in the larger arena of Kansas politics. At times, however, the oppositions that Goldberg establishes in revealing these contradictions seem overly rigid. For example, in characterizing the Populist Party as nothing more than any other political party and thus a radical departure from the Alliance, Goldberg overlooks the significant antipartyism that remained within the movement even while it contended for power in the electoral arena. Goldberg also overstates the willingness of supporters of the Union Labor Party, who argued in the late 1880s that the Alliance should support a third-party strategy, to sacrifice woman suffrage for political gain. Later, Goldberg implies that the Populist Party would have fared better had the party taken a consistently "mid-road" position against fusion with the Democrats and for woman suffrage. That may have been a more principled position, but it is not clear that it would have been politically effective.

An Army of Women is a well-written book. Far more than most writers of academic books based on Ph.D. dissertations, Goldberg knows how to turn a phrase. Unfortunately, however, *An Army of Women* is marred by several proofreading errors. Goldberg describes the Missouri Compromise as restricting slavery "west of the thirty-sixth parallel" (11), gives 1888 as the date for what he misleadingly terms the Haymarket "Riot" (59), renders the title of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* as *Poverty and Progress* (136), and identifies the important Populist writer Sarah E. Van De Vort Emery in one place as "Sarah Van Der Emory" (136) and in another as "Sarah Van Emery" (203). Perhaps these mistakes can be corrected in subsequent editions of this otherwise well-executed addition to the literature on gender and politics in American history.