

Anderson, for instance, are strained. The evidence presented suggests that, given the backgrounds and priorities of the two women, Anderson did about as well in 1933 in dealing with her new boss as could be expected. In another case, treatment of the Reagan administration's success with reform of the Social Security system, the story is so complicated as to make the lessons somewhat murky.

In general, however, May and Neustadt make their points with force and clarity. The authors set out to write a book both meaningful in substance and readable in style and, overall, they have achieved their goals admirably. Although *Thinking in Time* is written for decision-makers in government, its message is relevant to people in all walks of life. For historians, I found two messages particularly compelling. First, we need not apologize for what we do, for it is not only interesting but important as well. Second, facts count. If we are to produce a "usable past," our first task is to get the facts straight and then to make them accessible to the public. Obvious points, perhaps, but well worth stating nonetheless, especially in light of another insight that runs through this ambitious and pathbreaking book: common sense is central to effective decision-making, and it is an acquired not an inherited quality.

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Hard Right: The Rise of Jesse Helms. By Ernest B. Furgurson. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1986. Pp. 302. Bibliography, index. \$18.95.)

Ernest Furgurson, Washington bureau chief of the *Baltimore Sun*, has written the first biography of three-term North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms. A solid and thorough though non-scholarly work, Furgurson provides a valuable, workmanlike portrait of Helms, derived largely from the public record and some limited cooperation by Helms and his associates.

Furgurson professes that he undertook the book because of an interest in southern demagogues, of whom Helms "was most fascinating of all," in part "because I could see so much of my own background in his" (pp. 7-8). However, Furgurson says, he soon came to realize that Helms, unlike earlier southern demagogues, was a national rather than a regional figure, and one who, in the post-World War II era, might be best compared with George C. Wallace and Joseph McCarthy. Wallace, though, appears to be "a warmer, more understandable human being" than Helms, whose record also has been far more pro-business than the appeal of Alabama's long-time governor (p. 25). In comparison to Wisconsin's infamous senator, Furgurson asserts that Helms "far outreaches McCarthy. In breadth

if not coherence, his dream reaches far beyond that of any politician now practicing in America" (p. 27).

That assertion is only one example of Furgurson's occasional weakness for exaggerating or overstating Senator Helms's current—and likely future—importance on the American political scene. From his lucky election to the Senate in 1972 on Richard Nixon's coattails, through his modest 1978 re-election over an undistinguished opponent who was outspent by a margin of \$8.1 million to \$264,000, to his remarkable and vituperative comeback in his 1984 re-election race against incumbent North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt, Senator Helms has never demonstrated impressive popularity even within North Carolina, much less more widely. With the 1986 death of his hand-picked Senate colleague, John P. East, and the 1986 re-election defeat of his one North Carolina congressional protégé, Representative Bill Cobey, Helms's electoral fortunes are at a lower ebb than at any time since 1976, when his crucial support allowed then Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan to eke out a narrow North Carolina primary victory over President Gerald Ford and avoid a humiliating early departure from the Republican race.

Furgurson provides a modest and at times skimpy portrait of Helms's early life, from his 1921 birth in the small town of Monroe, N. C., through his brief college stints at Wingate and Wake Forest. Arriving in Raleigh at the age of eighteen, Helms was drawn into newspaper work at the *News and Observer* and the *Raleigh Times*, spent three years as a North Carolina-based Navy recruiter, and then drifted into radio news work in the small northeastern North Carolina city of Roanoke Rapids.

At some potentially important turning points in the Helms story, such as his brief stay at Wingate and his perhaps puzzling decision to leave the city editorship of one of the state capital's two papers for a job at a tiny, out-of-the-way radio station, Furgurson has almost nothing to say and is unable to shed any light on what, in retrospect, may have been crucial events in Helms's evolution.

In 1948, at the age of twenty-seven, Helms returned to Raleigh as news director of conservatively-owned radio station WRAL. Two years later, in what Furgurson terms "by far the most controversial event of the first half of Helms's life," he became involved in the hard-fought Democratic senatorial primary in which conservative attorney Willis Smith bested the liberal incumbent, Frank Porter Graham (p. 40). Some accounts and recollections, including Helms's own, portray him as "little more than an interested bystander" who openly favored Smith in spite of Helms's journalistic role (p. 42). Others, however, remember Helms as a central if unofficial operative of the Smith campaign, someone who was "deeply involved" in campaign strategy and decisions. One long-time Helms friend, now retired North Carolina Superior Court Judge James H. Pou Bailey, told

Furgurson "I don't think there was any substantive publicity that he didn't see and advise on" (pp. 53-54).

The issue long has seemed important because of the nasty anti-Graham tactics long attributed to the Smith campaign, including an anonymous leaflet supposedly featuring a doctored photo of Graham's wife dancing alone with a black man. Furgurson makes a creditable, but ultimately unsuccessful effort to determine just what role Helms may have had in that matter and in other similar Smith campaign tactics. Although Furgurson's account seems to indicate that no copy of the leaflet in question is known to exist, he does quote from a personal interview with a now-deceased *News and Observer* advertising manager, who voiced a recollection of Helms sometimes delivering Smith campaign ad copy to the paper. "One day I loaned him my scissors and he took and outlined around the figure of Mrs. Graham with a Negro . . . He cut out two or three other figures in the picture" (p. 54).

Although this comment has been much-remarked upon by North Carolina journalists since publication of Furgurson's book, a careful reading indicates that it, like Furgurson's entire handling of this issue, raises more confusing questions than it resolves. Although both Helms and Judge Bailey implicitly acknowledge the 1950 existence of some such "doctored photo," the ad manager's recollection, if taken literally, seems to say that the photo was simply trimmed, to eliminate others, rather than faked *per se*. Moreover, since the photo was not printed in the *News and Observer* or, apparently, any other newspaper, why Helms supposedly would have been trimming it on a brief visit to a newspaper office, rather than in some more private setting, with his own scissors, seems puzzling on the face of the matter. In short, reporter Furgurson may have erred in not treating this gentleman's twenty-six-year-old recollection with more caution than he has.

The question of the photo aside, Furgurson clearly believes that Helms was indeed involved in distasteful, now-denied behavior during that 1950 campaign, and that it may have been "the most formative" experience in Helms's early life, "setting a pattern on which he would fall back repeatedly in his own political future" (p. 40). That is about as close to an overt castigation as Furgurson gets at any point in the book, for, even on subjects as sensitive as Helms's perceived racism towards blacks, Furgurson allows quotations from Helms's public remarks to speak for themselves, rather than employing condemnatory words of his own.

Furgurson does a creditable if unexciting job of surveying Helms's twelve year (1960-1972) career as a five-nights-a-week editorialist for Raleigh television station WRAL, the perch from which he was able to launch his 1972 senatorial campaign. He offers only modest coverage of Helms's two years (1951-1953) of service as Senator Smith's

top staff aide, and of Helms's service (beginning in 1957) on the Raleigh City Council. Furgurson provides adequate, though not extensive discussion of Helms's staff network and the affiliated organizations—particularly the Congressional Club and Jefferson Marketing, Inc.—that have allowed Helms to build a national direct mail fundraising operation that is one of the most important on the "New Right." He gives less space than he might have to examining Helms's role as an unpopular ideologue and obstructionist within the Senate itself, but he offers an intelligent and insightful explanation of Helms's hard-fought 1984 re-election victory, emphasizing how Helms's intense opposition to the Martin Luther King, Jr., national holiday bill brought him back to dead-even with Governor Hunt after initially trailing by upwards of fifteen percentage points in many statewide polls. In the end, Furgurson notes, Helms won the mud-slinging battle, which changed Hunt's image "from clean-cut symbol of the New South to wishy-washy ambitious pol" (p. 186), largely because the incumbent Republican president—as in 1972—carried North Carolina in a virtual landslide. Helms, Furgurson points out, "won no county where Reagan did not draw at least 60 percent" (p. 187).

In short, Furgurson has written a valuable though unremarkable (and unfootnoted) book, one which will offer a useful starting point when, after Helms leaves public life, a thorough scholarly study of his entire career can be written.

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The History of Southern Literature. Edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., Blyden Jackson, Rayburn S. Moore, Lewis P. Simpson, Thomas Daniel Young. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. Pp. xiv, 626. Appendices, index. \$29.95.)

In its panoramic presentation of southern literature "in terms of its historical unfolding," this anthology offers a wealth of valuable information about southern writers and the relationships of their literary art to its milieu. Comprised of seventy-three essays which discuss southern writing from the colonial period to the present, *The History of Southern Literature* is a massive compendium of essential information in the field of southern literary and historical studies. This is the collective work of many of the most prominent scholars in southern literature and the culmination of years of research, writing, and planning. Its value lies not only in the sheer abundance of factual information, but in its assertion that, as Louis D. Rubin, Jr., writes in a general introduction, "literature may usefully be viewed in terms of its historical unfolding, its changing relationships to a