Book Reviews

Edited by Kenneth R. Bowling and Helen E. Veit. *The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes On Senate Debates: March 4, 1789—March 3, 1791. Volume IX.*


One of the lamentable documentary gaps in our early national history is the lack of an adequate official record of the debates in the United States Senate. During its first six years that body met in secret and, with one exception, only the most fragmentary records of its debates were made and preserved, notably sketchy notes by Vice President John Adams and by five senators. (These comprise about one-tenth of the volume under review.) The exception was the diary of William Maclay, senator from Pennsylvania.

Maclay was relatively unknown nationally. Abigail Adams, for example, relayed to her husband, the Vice President, the comment of an acquaintance that he "did not like pensilvania's chusing a man who had never been heard of before." (p. xiii) Maclay was, however, well-regarded in his native state (though not counted among its more influential political leaders). His appeal to Pennsylvania's electorate can be inferred from an introductory letter that Tench Coxe wrote to James Madison. Describing Maclay as our "Agricultural Senator" (and thus indicating the main reason for Maclay's selection), Coxe wrote that his fellow Pennsylvanian was "a decided federalist, of a neat clear landed property, with a law education, ... [and] of much more reading than the Country gentlemen in the middle states usually are, a man of fair character and great assiduity in business." (xiii) What Coxe could not foresee was that this competent though obscure political figure would "have a greater influence over what has been written about the First Federal Congress than any of his colleagues. The ... diary that Senator Maclay kept stands just behind James Madison's notes from the Federal Convention as the most important journal in American political and constitutional history. It is the preeminent unofficial document of the First Congress and fundamental to the historical record of the United States Senate." (xiii)

A satisfactory scholarly edition of Maclay's diary is long overdue. An abbreviated and expurgated version, edited by his nephew George Washington Harris, was published in 1880. This was followed by a fuller and more accurate version edited by Edgar S. Maclay (a distant cousin of the diarist) in 1890. Although Edgar Maclay was for his time a scrupulous scholar, his edition was carelessly edited and un-annotated. Nevertheless, it was re-issued without a single alteration and with a brief introduction by Charles A. Beard, more renowned for his contributions to historical interpretation than for his occasional editing of historical documents. Now, some two centuries after Maclay began his diary, Kenneth Bowling and Helen Veit have provided an edition worthy of the work's importance. Researchers and readers will presumably quickly discover, however, that it must be used with caution.

Far from being objective, Maclay was one of the most caustic critics of the first
government launched under the new constitution. The policies of both the Washington Administration and Congress were the targets of his scathing disapproval—for example, the relationship between the legislative and executive branches, the establishment of a Federal Court system ("a most expensive and enormous machine of a Federal judiciary") Maclay called it [p. 10]) and the creation of what he viewed as a swollen Federal bureaucracy. His principal *bête noire*, however, was the Vice President. Indeed, the Pennsylvanian's distrust of Adams's insistence on bestowing respect and dignity on the new government by adopting appropriate ceremony was obsessive, spilling over into personal dislike. Adams "is not well furnished with small talk," Maclay wrote soon after he began his diary on April 23, 1789, "and has a very silly kind of laugh. I have often looked with the utmost attention at him, to see if his aspect Air & ca. could inspire me with an opinion of his being a Man of Genius.... No. the thing seems impossible.... every man, like a labelled bottle has his Contents, marked in his visage." (p. 20)

Adams was not Maclay's only target. So, too, were the President's cabinet members and the policies they recommended. The Pennsylvanian sharply criticized Secretary of War Henry Knox's proposals for a military establishment, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson's foreign policy and Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton's program for funding the Federal debt and assuming that of the states. Not even Washington escaped censure. The President, Maclay once said, has become "in the hands of Hamilton the Dishclout of every dirty speculation." (p. 321) (Maclay's criticisms were temporarily dispelled by Washington's august presence on the few occasions when the two men met face to face.) In sum, Maclay's incurable fault-finding, self-righteousness, neurotic sense of self-importance, and sensitivity to presumed slights blinded him to the possibility of his own fallibility and encouraged his tendency to scent sinister motives and self-interest in the behavior of others. Nevertheless, his personal shortcomings and manifest political biases do not significantly detract from the historical value of his diary.

In the work under review, Kenneth R. Bowling and Helen E. Veit have provided an exact replica of the original diary text, including Maclay's capitalization, punctuation, and misspelling, as well as his insertions and deletions, even the most minor ones. More importantly, and as is now standard for historical editors, they also offer abundant annotation that leaves no fact, name, or allusion unexplained. The only defect of this volume is its imperfect index. [Space restrictions allow only a few illustrations: Following only nine page number entries under George Washington, there appears "See also President." But there is no entry under that word. Following only seven page number entries under Alexander Hamilton, there appears "See also Secretary of the treasury" but the latter entry cannot be found; the same curious error is made for John Adams to whom only four page number entries are listed though he is referred to in Maclay's diary scores of times.] Although an accurate and full index would be particularly useful in a work that will be mostly used by researchers (not readers), scholars are greatly indebted to Bowling and Veit for this superbly edited contribution to the literature of American history.

Jacob Cooke, *Lafayette College*
Beginning in the waning years of the Gilded Age and continuing throughout the Progressive Era, Americans transformed their conduct of elections and their political parties. In the heyday of the Gilded Age in the 1880s, elections were exciting events. Men were brought together in boisterous rallies and torchlight processions prior to Election Day and on that day crowds gathered at the polls to drink to their heroes and to bolster their wavering brethren. After the polls closed partisans congregated at newspaper and telegraph offices for tidings of victory or defeat. Many of these revelers had worked hard for their party prior to and especially on Election Day, when they distributed ballots to voters with only their party's nominees listed, kept track of who voted and how they voted, and brought reluctant or tardy party members to the polls. In the 1880s a higher percentage of those eligible voted than at any other time in American history.

Political parties, not the state, were largely responsible for carrying on these elections. They printed the ballots, watched the polls, and compensated party workers with civil service jobs or cash and paid many rank and file party members for voting. Local political machines controlled the electoral process and often defied the dictates of state party leaders.

By 1920 voting was no longer a simple, exciting, social event but a complex, sedate, private act. A long ballot or a voting machine, provided by the state and listing all candidates for numerous positions, had to be marked or manipulated for each candidate selected, secretly, in a voting booth. Queues of sober voters of both sexes, whose eligibility was clearly established by a registration system, replaced unruly drunken crowds that had once surrounded the polls and whose names were entered on the election rolls by enthusiastic party workers. There was little bribery and fraud at the polls in 1920, but a much smaller percentage of eligible voters cast their ballots than did in 1880. Voters in 1920 were far more independent than in 1880, when virtually everyone voted a straight ticket.

Political campaigns had also changed by 1920. Voters selected candidates by a direct primary, rather than by a state convention. National, statewide, or congressional candidates dominated campaigns by addressing issues and appealing to the voter through the newspapers. The local machines, which in the past had gotten out the vote and injected the hullabaloo into campaigning, had lost much of their power to state party leaders.

Utilizing manuscript and printed sources and analyzing electoral and demographic statistics, Reynolds details these enormous changes in New Jersey and seeks to discover why they occurred when they did. He concludes that, despite their major role in transforming the parties and the electoral process, reform laws were catalysts speeding devel-
opments already underway in a society rapidly becoming more industrial and urban. "In the final analysis, it is difficult, if not overly simplistic, to extricate legal-institutional effects from the social forces that brought them into being." (p. 168)

It is these legal-institutional developments, however, that concern Reynolds. Reform triumphed in New Jersey in 1890 with the introduction of a secret and official ballot, in 1903 with the direct primary and the first voting machines, and in 1911 with an accurate voter registration system and a blanket ballot. Although these reforms were initially backed by men outside the party leadership, politicians of both parties soon saw advantages in reform, either as proposed, or by adapting it to fit their needs. For example, major party state leaders realized that these laws would break the power of local machines and hamper independent and third party candidates.

But reform brought results anticipated neither by reformers nor political leaders. While political leaders gained more control over state party machinery, grassroot partisan discipline eroded, and these leaders could not control independent-minded candidates for major offices. Woodrow Wilson, who basically ran his own 1910 gubernatorial campaign, for example, distanced himself from the state organization by appealing to the voter with an issue-oriented approach. Progressive reformers were also disappointed by some of the results of their work. While pleased that fraud and vote buying had been eliminated, they were disturbed that reform had in effect disfranchised so many minority group members and made it virtually impossible for a third party seriously to challenge the major parties.

Reynolds has written an excellent book which integrates traditional historical methodology with sophisticated statistical tools. Sandwiched between tables illustrating the dire effects of a complicated ballot is the graphic fact that Wilson took four-and-a-half minutes to mark his ballot in 1911. The point is nicely made, and other views are equally well documented throughout the book. Until a similar rigorous study is made of Pennsylvania, there is ample reason to suppose that Reynolds's conclusions apply with equal force to the Keystone State.

Ari Hoogenboom, Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York


This study presents a wealth of information about the impact of intensified urbanization on people living in the country that surrounds the city. Stilgoe's narrative derives primarily from magazine articles and newspaper reports. It is enriched by evidence from a special segment of nineteenth-century belle-lettres. In the first half of the century, writers deplored the fading agricultural beauty of land as it was overtaken by the expanding city. In the second half of the century other writers rallied to the defense of the way of life which had emerged on land now belonging neither to the country nor to the city. They seemed intent on exposing the residents' foibles, but their stories ingeniously por-
trayed the residents' failures as shrewd responses to the indignities modern life heaped on presumably helpless people. The study is profusely illustrated with pictures and maps from the magazines and books. These visual sections primarily repeat the verbal messages of the text. Thus, the illustrations increase the general impression of the study as a cornucopia overflowing with information.

Much can be done with such a splendid collection of material. Stilgoe attempts to do so much that it may be helpful to review the book by first identifying the major strands of the argument. At bottom, the author investigates the changing attitudes over the span of a century towards the borderland which had emerged on the East Coast and in the Ohio Valley as the byproduct of the intensified urbanization in the decades between 1820 and 1860. He focuses on that segment of American landscape lying between the suburb and the farm. Dubbed borderland by ante-bellum writers, the name for these outer suburbs had always implied an awareness of the fluctuating physical boundaries of the area. Using some of the natural, social, and economic characteristics of the borderland to emphasize its boundaries, Stilgoe clarifies the vagueness inherent in the term. He stresses the woodland character of the borderland and the role of the nearby city as place of work for the head of the household while his wife remains at home. His discussion of the domestic arrangements points to the crucial role of transportation between borderland and city in the lives of the residents. Many modes of transport—ferry, steamboat, carriage, horse-drawn omnibus, railroad train, electric trolley, and automobile—tied the borderland to the city. In visual terms, borderland stood for dispersed single-family homes, while the row houses along street car lines identified the suburb as the immediate adjunct of the city. This is the physical distinction to divide suburb and borderland.

The borderland of the book is commuter country, with emphasis on the country. The author's stress on country fades, however, when he reaches the twentieth century and turns to a discussion of the planned residential community. He describes in detail the making of Forest Hills Gardens in the New York borough of Queens and the building of Shaker Heights overlooking the city of Cleveland. His attention turns to an assessment of the principles of landscape gardening and architectural design. The shift illuminates the difference between the so-called scientific methods from abroad used in the experiment in Queens and the indigenous community development of the Cleveland enterprise supported by real estate speculation. The change in emphasis directs the focus of the book from a discussion of the varying attitudes to the borderland to an evaluation of the intellectual responses to the suburb.

The switch provides the author in the next-to-last chapter of his study with an opportunity to expand on a thesis alluded to in the introduction. He feels that "the anti-frontier school," represented here almost exclusively by Matthew Josephson and H. L. Mencken, "shifted its sarcasm to what it perceived as the new frontier of cultureless, small-minded people, the suburbs, and focused its attention particularly on the 'leafy' outer suburbs—or borderlands, as early nineteenth-century intellectuals termed them—of the large eastern cities." (p. 4) The author treats just as vaguely his opinion that "the outer suburbs began and developed as spatial means of grappling with and lessening the
difficulties of urbanization and, especially, urbanization based on industrialization and corporate capitalism.” (p. 5)

The impressive wealth of material is not utilized to substantiate these views methodically. Most information is presented in form of an assiduous accumulation of detail. Its weight tends to smother the limited exposition and ties the study firmly to the geographic setting of its stories, the East Coast. The discussion rarely reaches beyond Chicago, except for four pages of text on the Pacific Coast borderlands. The investigation is based on the assessment of literature. The observations of Sidney George Fisher, the great nineteenth-century Philadelphia diarist, on the characteristics of the borderland before the Civil War are reiterated throughout the book. On the other hand, the perceptive insights of Robert Louis Stevenson and Ambrose Bierce into the borderland phenomenon in California receive no attention at all.

The flaws of the study are conjoined with impressive accomplishments. They make the publication, much like the author’s earlier books, a fascinating study. The great wealth of material and the sheer range of ideas continuously stimulate thought and provoke reaction. Some of the ideas are not entirely persuasive, others are lost in sentences crowded with quotes. However, the book shows an author incessantly intrigued by his sources. A few references may illustrate the range of topics raised. These are some of the absorbing themes: women and borderland; gardening as an inspiring task shared by husband and wife in the borderland; repair work as source of marriage joy derived from the joint effort; basement craftsmanship as bond between father and son; and the village improvement movement as offspring of the city. The many thoughts encompassed in its pages make reading the book a rewarding experience.

Gunther Barth, *University of California, Berkeley*


Frederic Miller, Morris Vogel and Allen Davis have compiled another handsome collection of photographs that tells the history of the city of Philadelphia. In *Still Philadelphia* (1983), they provided a photographic study of the Quaker City in the last decade of the nineteenth and first three decades of the twentieth centuries; they now take the Philadelphia story or “stories” to 1960, closer to our own times. As in their earlier volume, the photographs unearthed by the authors are accompanied by a well researched and written text that reflects on current issues of concern to social historians. In their two ventures into public history, Miller, Vogel and Davis have proven that scholarship and accessibility need not be mutually exclusive tasks or goals.

The first set of photographs reveal Philadelphia in the 1920s as a city impacted by the automobile. Particularly striking are scenes of early traffic congestion. Although the car fostered the creation of new residential areas, Philadelphia remained a city of fairly
enclosed neighborhoods, and scenes of street life in various ethnic wards appear timeless (here, the authors do provide a good portrait of expanding black communities in the city with the massive migration of blacks to Philadelphia in the 1920s).

In the sections on the 1930s, the authors offer a rich melange of sights: squatters in the parks; men and women lined up for jobs and relief; the poignant, bleak (and obviously posed) shots of poor families taken by sympathetic photographers; demonstrators in the streets and on the shop floor; those workers able to maintain employment, particularly in radio and electrical manufacture and other new industries; the festivities of the unperturbed wealthy; New Deal housing and public works programs in action; and scenes of normal life amidst crisis, kids playing games and groups picnicking on Sundays. For the 1930s, the authors have taken Studs Terkel’s interviews in *Hard Times* and provided the visuals.

The city’s fortunes revived with war. Miller, Vogel and Davis present 1940s photographs of men and women at work in defense industries and Philadelphia boys about to be shipped to the front. Social tensions, however, did not dissolve in the Quaker City during World War II and this is clearly seen in photographs of racial disturbances, cost-of-living protests, housing shortages, and intense post-war labor disputes. In perhaps the strongest section of the book, the authors then depict the critical shifting of Philadelphia’s white population to new housing developments in the outskirts of the city and the suburbs. Families tending their lawns in front of their Levittown box-like detached homes provide a sharp contrast to earlier scenes of inner-city neighborhood life. The volume ends with a pastiche of 1950s popular culture. In each section of the book, the authors have also included a so-called “Family Album,” which is comprised of family snapshots they received from the public after soliciting in local newspapers. Hardly unusual, they can be dismissed at a glance; yet this reviewer found them a compelling complement to the more official photographs.

Miller, Vogel and Davis tell a full range of Philadelphia stories, but there are important gaps at both the beginning and ending of the book. The 1920s receive short attention; neither photographs nor text speak to issues of mass culture and entertainment during the decade, the experience of Prohibition and the critical deterioration of old industries, particularly textiles. More important, *Philadelphia Stories* fails to treat important transformations occuring in the city after World War II. Surbanization is significant, but so too are the following: the growth of service sector and white collar employment; the accelerating decline of the manufacturing base of the city; the buying (and in some cases, removal and liquidation) of local firms by national corporations; the expanding role of the federal government and federal revenues in municipal affairs; and the impact of urban planning initiatives. These developments needed discussion and depiction.

There are two aspects of the format that also deserve mention. The authors chose not to provide captions for the photographs. A viewer has to read or search in the text for information. As a result, the eye gets diverted from the photographs. There is another point at which this viewer also found himself lingering less with the photos. At the end, the pictures are so familiar that the pages turned quickly. In *Still Philadelphia,
the scenes were so removed that they invited lengthy perusal. Philadelphia Stories truly may be a history for future generations.

Walter Licht, University of Pennsylvania


The economy of early America was more complex than we thought a decade ago. Far from being polarized between the market-oriented plantation society of the South and the hardy self-sufficiency of New England, we now know that nearly all colonial and early republican farms were linked to commerce. Subsistence agriculture never existed in a significant way in America. Furthermore, wherever farmers tried to establish themselves in the new world, they faced the problem of finding sufficient labor to enable their farms to prosper. In the South, planters added to their labor supply with slaves; in Pennsylvania, farmers solved some of their problems with tenants; in New England, the family economy teetered along through the contributions of wives and children. But these strategies merely set the broad parameters. Within each, there is yet a great deal to be learned about the factors that governed the work lives of early Americans.

The essays in Work and Labor in Early America explore the varied settings, relationships and fruits of seventeenth and eighteenth century labor. Contributions by Daniel Vickers and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich discuss the importance of family members in the household economy of New England. Unlike their counterparts in England, Yankee farmers had neither the capital nor a ready supply of cheap workers. Consequently, the labor of sons was critical to field work, while mothers and daughters engaged in their own female economy. The surplus of agricultural produce for the market as well as the level of home produce had more to do with the availability of sons and daughters than with any other factor.

Even within the plantation system, labor relationships and routines were far from uniform. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, in an essay on the Chesapeake, and Philip D. Morgan, in a study of the organization of slave labor, shatter some pervasive myths about the plantation South. Carr and Walsh demonstrate that Chesapeake planters moved away from single commercial crops toward more diversified agricultural production in the seventeenth century. In turn, this change affected the way that planters organized labor. As they diversified, planters relied more heavily on task rather than gang systems of labor, a change that greatly benefited most slaves. Morgan's work shows that the Chesapeake was not alone. In fact, if Morgan is correct, it is no longer accurate to think of the typical work experience of slaves as being "drawn out in a line, like troops on a parade, with their driver and his whip close at hand" (p. 189). Ironically, however, as Green and Carr speculate, female slaves may have lost in the balance. The diversification of agriculture and the shift to the task system of labor resulted in a marked increase in the sexual division of labor. In the gangs, work routines varied little
for men and women. The task system increased the complexity of work for men but by and large left women to perform the most unskilled manual field labor without the support of their menfolk.

*Work and Labor in Early America* adds considerably to an understanding of work in the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania. Paul Clemens and Lucy Simler investigate the extremely complex interweaving of agriculture and rural industry with a variety of work relationships that included cottagers, tenants, day labor and family labor. In Chester County, farmers preferred to increase their profits by leasing parts of their farms to cottagers and tenants whose contracts stipulated both rents and work to be performed. Thus, farm owners obtained a flexible supply of labor while cottagers obtained some security and the use of fertile lands in market areas, giving them some hope of acquiring "capital for upward mobility" (p. 25).

The remaining two essays approach work routines and relationships more typically associated with labor history. Billy G. Smith explores the careers of the "lower sort" in the latter half of eighteenth-century Philadelphia. He finds that the Revolutionary era was a time of shrinking opportunities for both artisans and common laborers. The precarious economic fortunes of laboring men were subject to business cycles, changing labor relations, irregular employment and generally low wages, meaning that prospects for the sort of success enjoyed by Ben Franklin were rare and becoming rarer still. Finally, an intriguing essay by Marcus Rediker posits the Anglo-American seaman as the prototype proletarian. Shipping was critical to "the creation of the worldwide concentration and organization of capital and labor" (p. 253). Thus, captains ran their "wooden factories" on principles and with a discipline that would soon typify the world of manufacturing and wage labor. Facing the initial formulation of the disciplines of industrial capitalism, then, helps explain why seamen pioneered the use of the strike and participated disproportionately in the collective actions that marked political resistance in cities like Philadelphia and Boston.

Taken together, with Stephen Innes's excellent introduction, the volume illuminates key facets of the decade-long debate about the transition to capitalism in America. What was the *mentalité* of the migrants who populated the countryside? Innes, in particular, tries to move the debate away from the poles of "antiaquisitiveness, mutuality, and reciprocity" versus "self-aggrandizement" and "utility maximizers par excellence" (pp. 11, 13). By focusing on labor relationships and work routines rather than on household participation in commodity markets, the authors introduce a more rewarding way of treating this debate. Obviously, if America did not absorb capitalism with the first settlers, neither did these migrants settle for self-sufficiency. As Innes notes, a competency for early Americans was more than mere survival. Furthermore, the peopling of America was, in many respects, a migration of a struggling labor force in the context of a pervasive economic ideology that centered on employment.

In the same way, the concern with labor relationships allows for a sophisticated discussion of gender issues. Ulrich uncovers a female network of work relationships separate from men and hidden beneath tax lists, deeds and account books. And a close reading of the evidence about diversified agriculture in the Chesapeake enables some
speculation about the relative benefits for male and female slaves in the transition. Finally, by concluding with Rediker's essay, the volume establishes links between these early labor relationships and the more structured work routines demanded by the increasing concentration of international merchant capitalism.

There is yet much to be learned about work and labor in preindustrial America. Several of the essays are indeed speculative. But historians engaged in the careful reconstruction of labor relationships through imaginative uses of untapped sources are making headway. This volume is a testament to how much has already been learned. It also pushes the debates to a new plane.

Ken Fones-Wolf, University of Massachusetts-Amherst


The main thesis of The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem is implicit in its title. The Moravian community in Bethlehem began its existence in 1742 as a society dedicated to fulfilling a deeply religious purpose through communal organization in which members of similar age, sex, and marital status lived and worked together. Even married people did not reside together, and their children too were raised separately. In 1762, pressed by debt, the Moravian central authority decreed that Bethlehem reorganize itself into conventional nuclear families. Beverly Prior Smaby attempts to show the impact this order had upon the demographic, cultural, and religious life of Moravian Bethlehem. She finds that before 1762, the population was young and growing, there were more men than women, and migration was frequent. After 1762, the number of nuclear families increased as the physical fabric altered to accommodate them, but total population, marriages, births, and migration fell, and the sex ratio reversed. Smaby interprets this decline as evidence of "stress" (p. 239) imposed by the unwelcome compulsion to reorganize. After 1818, population, marriage, and birth rates picked up and the proportion of men increased. (p. 51) These demographic shifts were roughly paralleled by changes in values, from an intensely religious focus on an individual's relationship with "the Heiland" (Christ) to a more secular concern with a person's activity in work and family. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the Moravian community had become secularized in both structure and consciousness.

This book investigates a compelling subject; a visit to restored Moravian buildings in Bethlehem today inspires wonder and curiosity about these remarkable people. The process of secularization, too, is of great interest to contemporary historians and non-historians alike. Smaby has obviously invested a great deal of work and care in translating and analyzing the uncommonly rich sources accumulated by the history-conscious
Moravians. In the appealing drawings and plans of Bethlehem at various points in its history, she helps the reader literally to see its transformation. Smaby also constructs vivid portraits of Moravian faith and daily life (and death) as they intertwined, using biographies read at their subjects' funerals. She makes a particularly sensitive reading of the unusual opportunities Moravian life presented for women, together with an acknowledgement that these opportunities were nonetheless constrained by conventional gender expectations. She also finds some noteworthy demographic trends, for example in extraordinarily high ages at marriage during the disruptive middle period.

Ultimately, however, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem* offers only a partially satisfying view of the Moravians and of their transformation. The reasons for this are several. First, because it is organized topically, the sense of change is conveyed less effectively than if a chronological approach had been employed. Second, many of the substantive findings are obscured by unnecessarily explicit technical machination. This is particularly true for the chapters on "Biographical Structures" and "Secularization of Consciousness." In the former, the author constructs elaborate flow-charts based upon the funeral biographies; in the latter, she employs discourse analysis (as expressed in still more complicated and difficult-to-decipher tables) to uncover "unconscious emphasis." (p. 199) For any but the most indefatigable reader, these discussions intrude on the narrative to become a deterrent to understanding. Cliometric study and discourse analysis arise out of an entirely justifiable quest for analytical tools that allow for a wider comprehension of the past, whether of social groups previously neglected or of symbolic texts. But in this case I wonder whether the price paid in readability is worth the yields returned. Do we really need an elaborate "difference of means" test to conclude that "adults' biographies are more than sixty percent longer than children's biographies?" (pp. 131-132) Can we find a trend to secularization without needing to know that fourteen percent of "references to the Heiland" in the early period were "sacrificial," while in a later era only .4 percent were so categorized? (p. 218)

The depth of detail in these calculations is not carried over into explanation of the overall trends. A brief conclusion sketches out some possible reasons why a highly successful community, faced with dissolution, became demoralized but later recovered to accept a more conventional life. Smaby focuses mostly upon different goals of leaders and on the familiar pattern of institutionalization as generations born into the church replace those who join it as converts. But these explanations are so general as to leave many questions unanswered. Why didn't the community resist more forcefully? Conversely, why did it recover at all from a blow so apparently devastating? A more thorough attempt to place Bethlehem in context also would have been useful in assessing its meaning. How did the growing non-Moravian community affect Moravians? How did the Moravian experience compare with other American religious experiments? The obvious ones that come to mind are New England Puritanism and Quakerism. There is more to be done in integrating the Moravians into social history.

Sally A. McMurry, *St. Hilda's College, Oxford*


In this intriguing study of patriotic symbols, human geographer Wilbur Zelinsky draws a kind of roadmap of the American soul as he moves from an interior landscape of herotales and national beliefs to real places: streets named for Washington and Lincoln; dusty squares in Southern towns still haunted by the Civil War soldiers marooned on pedestals therein; whole village-fuls of make-believe colonial history in costume, inviting the tourist to drive straight into yesterday. The terrain Professor Zelinsky traverses is littered on every side with icons proclaiming our common culture of myth and sentiment. There are what the author calls "public eidolons" (p. 20), ranging from the real but quasi-deified George Washington—the prime "exemplum virtutis"—to the wholly fictitious Uncle Sam. There are the holidays, the rituals, the once-in-a-lifetime events that mark the calendar of citizenship—the Glorious Fourth, Thanksgiving, Flag Day, the quadrennial inauguration parade, the great Centennial Exposition of 1876. There are star-spangled stamps and pictures and stories, along with red-white-and-blue movies and songs and TV commercials. And, beneath fluttering banners unfurled against "spacious skies," there are solemn monuments of bronze and marble, dedicated to those who died for our freedom or our honor.

The strength of the book lies in the author's zest for hunting down bits of pertinent Americana: the bibliography runs to 40 dense pages invaluable for art historians, students of popular culture, or anyone attempting the difficult task of pursuing a given motif through several media and periods. Zelinsky is at his indefatigable best, however, when he takes to the road in personal pursuit of the facts. Chapter five, for instance, finds him touring the Eastern third of the nation, in search of houses flying flags, a practice rarely observed on previous field trips to foreign climes.

The weakness of the book is its ostensible thesis: namely, that through the examination of eagles and Uncle Sams and the like, it is possible to detect an historical shift from nation (a kind of folk culture) to state (which, he writes [p. 9], "floats far above the reach or understanding of the common herd, stern and austere . . . ; majesty rather than fraternity"). That over-arching argument remains arguable, at least on the basis of the evidence presented, but since Zelinsky confines discussion of his theory largely to the opening and closing pages, its effect on the charm and engaging energy of his guided tour through the hinterlands of artifactual America is just about nil.

It is also possible to quibble with the fact that much of the research not conducted on the road comes from secondary sources of a dubious stripe. Thus the trusting Professor Zelinsky believes the author of a paper maintaining, in the teeth of voluminous documentary evidence in the Marine Corps Archives and elsewhere, that Joe Rosenthal's famous 1945 news photo of the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima, was "carefully posed." (pp. 160 and 279) The picture wasn't posed. Nor is it in any way central to nation into state, of course. But the error does illustrate the hazards of ranging too far afield from matters the intrepid tourguide is prepared to explore for himself.
But, when Wilbur Zelinsky is doing what he does best—charting the slow spread of American place-names across the continent, noting the high incidence of 4th of July weddings in the nineteenth century, looking for the places where our flag strains against the wind—his book rises above sources and theses. It becomes an intellectual odyssey of compelling earnestness, a trek into the very heartland of the American character.

Karal Ann Marling, *University of Minnesota*


Already acclaimed the father of his country, General George Washington was declared President on April 6, 1789, by the First Congress assembled under the Constitution of 1787. Pennsylvania's Charles Thomson, the dedicated Secretary of the Continental and Confederation Congresses, carried out his final duty after fifteen years of service to the revolutionary republic, by traveling to Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election. Washington was accompanied by Thomson and Colonel David Humphreys, his former aide-de-camp, on his journey to New York City, where he was inaugurated, on April 30, on the balcony of the nation's first capitol—Federal Hall.

George Washington's inaugural trip, from Virginia northeastward across Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey and its climactic ceremony, has been reenacted on a number of occasions capped by 1989's bicentennial celebration. In Pennsylvania this April, the mayor of Chester and local dignitaries turned out to greet the latest re-staged entourage. In Philadelphia, the First City Troop supplied the essential nostalgic link to the days of revolutionary heroes escorting the celebrants to the receptions awaiting them. Next day, the party undertook the ritualized crossing of the Delaware, and proceeded onward to Trenton to endure further banquets and speeches. By now, it is evident, the practice from time to time of touching base with George Washington is a hallowed one.

Karal Ann Marling, in her wonderful big book, pursues the figure of George Washington over the past century from flea markets to world's fairs, in order to demonstrate his significance in American popular culture and iconography. Professor Marling incorporates a breathtaking array of evidence of Washington's recurrently renascent significance. She brilliantly combines art history, material culture analysis, and social history to show us how and why Americans have employed Washington for their own purposes.

Marling traces the incidence of George Washington's imagery in the popular culture from the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 to the eve of the present bicentennial festivities. Of all the nation's heroes, she affirms, Washington is most intimately connected to artifacts, relics, material possessions, and exemplary standards of behavior. She recollects the Centennial of 1876, where the federal government mounted a display of Valley Forge camp life featuring Washington's coat, pants, and other personal belongings in humanizing the stern symbol of American independence and unity. There
commenced at Philadelphia the modern consecration of Washington as a complex, if secular, deity, who somehow can be contrived to serve as an emblem of progress while betraying his reservations over the penalties exacted for it. In clinging to George Washington, Americans gather themselves together to recite their colonial origins before pledging their allegiances to an astonishing variety of social, economic, and political purposes.

In her quest for the talismanic George Washington, the Washington who has slept here and there, but who neither slumbers nor sleeps for very long, Marling examines the popular expressions of American life—magazine fiction, historical romances, motion pictures, and journals. She follows fine art into such demotic forms as posters, plaques, dishware, bottles, and souvenir ashtrays, all to highlight how Washington's iconic function has shaped styles and tastes on myriad occasions. Washington's incorruptible image regularly appeals to politicians eager to overlay their own compromised reputations with its protective coating. The Washington aura of nobility was borrowed to enhance Calvin Coolidge's Puritan plainness, while Herbert Hoover's engineering skills were paraded to remind us of George Washington's experience as a frontier surveyor.

The most bizarre adaptation of Washington's truth to modern day political fiction occurred in Warren Gamaliel Harding's campaign of 1920, during an uphill struggle to persuade the public of his probity. In telling her tale, Marling lays out a learned and witty depiction of the hollow, morally flawed Senator from Marion, Ohio, who wanted to be President of the United States. Himself a visibly married, small-town newspaper publisher, Harding nevertheless for many years had a mistress, who was the wife of a local hardware merchant. Then, in 1919, a neighborhood teenager with aspirations for a Hollywood career gave birth to Harding's natural daughter. Blandly the Republican Party's bosses accepted Harding's assurances of his innocence, and broadcast his oft-reiterated sermons on Washington-like honesty, the "great essential of American progress." So Harding's campaign galloped ahead, spurred by the reaction against Woodrow Wilson's internationalism. Harding's path to the White House was handsomely smoothed by his photographic appearances on the enormous colonial revival porch of the Harding home at 380 Mount Vernon Avenue. George Washington himself never lived at a better address.

Long ago, Light-Horse Harry Lee eulogized George Washington for being "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." This omniscience of Washington's persona maintains him today as the focussing mechanism for guiding modern men and women through the patriotic rituals of establishing their colonial origins and hence their credentials as legitimate Americans. The more modern and present-minded we become, claims Karal Ann Marling, the more passionately do we clutch George Washington to our bosom. The oral and pictorial traditions of George Washington's country, from which President Ronald Reagan drew inspiration in his second inaugural address, envisioned a United States of America undeviatingly governed by a constitutional order compatible with God's will. No matter that it is not. Thanks to Karal Ann Marling's highly original history of this prominent feature of American culture, we have
a clear-cut delineation that Americans from all walks of life, from presidents to parishioners, have compelled themselves in one way or another—commercially, politically, religiously, patriotically, comically—in Marcus Cunliffe's apt phrasing, to get right with George Washington. And they still do!

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