Book Reviews


This slim volume (165 pages of text) attempts to examine five major themes of religious liberty in Pennsylvania from its founding to the Civil War, with an epilogue bringing the story up to the present. Frost’s primary concerns include: church autonomy; separation of church and state; liberty of conscience; informal support of religion for the purpose of fostering civic morality; and natural law as the intellectual base for government policies. This is certainly a worthwhile and ambitious undertaking, but in the end the author fails to significantly enhance the reader’s understanding of the topic.

The book is organized thematically. The first three chapters examine the development of the theory and practice of religious liberty in colonial Pennsylvania. The following two chapters look at the impact of the Revolution on the state’s traditions, and emphasizes in particular the constitutions of 1776 and 1790. Chapters six, seven, and eight focus on politicians, clergymen, and judges as Pennsylvanians continue to work out the implications of religious liberty in the early republic. Catholic and Jewish minorities are the subject of the final chapter.

Frost correctly identifies Pennsylvania as a neglected model for the disestablishment of churches in the revolutionary period and for the framing of the religious clauses of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Had this issue been developed more extensively, this would be a significant work. The book also could have served a useful purpose by tracing the transition of Pennsylvania from a liberal, tolerant colony to a state known for its “blue laws.” This reader would still like to know what happened after 1776 to change people’s ideas and the state’s policies. However, the thematic orientation does not lend itself to a comprehensive essay; rather, the text reads like a collection of isolated articles that have little continuity from one to the next. Thus, the reader does not have a clear sense of chronology or developments that occurred simultaneously and might be related to each other. Further, the epilogue asserts that “[T]he major features of Pennsylvania’s pre-Civil War understanding of religious liberty endured until the mid-twentieth century” (p. 159), and then proceeds to discuss “the dismantling”; this requires a leap of faith in the absence of solid evidence.

One difficulty with this book is that the research is superficial, especially for the colonial and revolutionary eras. I question why, for example, on p. 12 Robert Proud’s *History of Pennsylvania* is the source for a quote rather than an original William Penn document. Indeed, I find it surprising that Penn’s *Select Works* (1825) were used rather than the 1727 edition of his writings; the microfilm version of Penn’s papers (and of his heirs)—the originals of many of which are in various Philadelphia area repositories—
also do not seem to have been consulted very extensively. Similarly, for Anglicans, Frost cites W.S. Perry’s *Historical Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, which are incomplete and unreliable, rather than the microfilm Society for the Propagation of the Gospel letterbooks. The notes and bibliography reveal little archival research; at least for Quakers, Presbyterians, and various German religious groups, resources are readily available to someone based in Swarthmore. For the national period, there is a heavy reliance on the published legislative records. Thus, the book is highly dependent on a limited selection of published primary and secondary sources, and tends to add little new to previous studies of religious liberty in Pennsylvania.

While typos are perhaps inevitable (for example, Hermann Wellenreuther’s name is misspelled on p. 173 n. 2 and the title of his book is incorrectly printed on p. 174 n. 19; Patricia Bonomi’s name is misspelled on p. 177 n. 1), factual errors are inexcusable. Between pp. 55 and 62 John Dickinson the politician is identified as Jonathan Dickinson. This is quite confusing as the latter was a Presbyterian minister active in Pennsylvania who died in 1747.

Sally Schwartz, *Marquette University*

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**By Helena M. Wall. Fierce Communion: Family and Community in Early America.**


Reading Helena M. Wall’s *Fierce Communion*, one is reminded of that wonderfully expressive saying, made familiar by Isaiah Berlin, that “the fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing.” The “one big thing” Wall knows is that everywhere in colonial America, from New England to the Carolinas, community values regulated public and private life, especially in family matters, by subordinating individual desires and relationships to the goals of order, stability, and harmony. Examining legal actions for slander or oral defamation, Wall illustrates the power of community norms by highlighting the importance the colonists placed on their reputations and the fear of public disgrace. She argues that slander, functioning as a “normative restriction” in early American culture, “established community standards of behavior, guided personal conduct, checked deviance, and prodded reform” (p. 40). The colonists took slander seriously because financial success depended on a good reputation, neighbors ostracized those with injured reputations, and a blackened reputation inflicted deep, personal pain.

Having demonstrated the preeminence of community values in colonial America, Wall devotes the final two chapters to the multiple ways the community influenced colonial married life and childrearing. For example, local law and custom bolstered parental consent for marriage, neighbors intervened in adulterous marriages, and colonial officials routinely mediated between quarrelling spouses. The colonists accepted and even encouraged community oversight of marriages for the sake of order,
morality, and economic interest. But colonial Americans paid a heavy price: the community encouraged marriage stability, but subordinated the private, emotional side of marriage to its public uses and ignored or failed to understand a couple's psychological needs.

Wall believes that childrearing, especially the widespread practice of "putting out" children into other people's homes, illustrates best the community context and ambiguities of family life. Putting out functioned as vocational training for children with property, poor-law apprenticeship for those without property, and surrogate parental care in the face of family disruptions. In a footnote, Wall mentions that a family crisis or disruption accounts for almost all cases of putting out, thus providing a far more convincing explanation for the practice than Edmund S. Morgan's oft-repeated but dubious interpretation that Puritans put their children out because they loved them too much and feared spoiling them.

Wall concludes *Fierce Communion* with a twenty-four page "afterword" covering the period between 1750 and 1830, which synthesizes the various socio-economic, religious, and intellectual factors responsible for America's first "domestic revolution": the rise of the "modern" family characterized by privacy, individual autonomy and rights, companionate marriage, domesticity, personal happiness, and romantic love. This section, based as it is on secondary works, seems tacked on and is oddly out of place in an archival-based monograph.

Historians of the early American family will be disappointed in this slim book. Although the first four chapters are based on a wide assortment of rarely consulted primary sources, Wall adds little to what we already know about the dominant role of community values in regulating colonial American families and lives. What is conceptually novel—but also the source of one of the book's major flaws—is Wall's effort to generalize about the early American family. Guiding her research design is the explicitly stated assumption that because all of the colonies agreed on the preeminence of community values and prized stability and harmony, one is justified in treating colonial family life as a single homogeneous unit. But by lumping all the colonies together, Wall ignores temporal changes within regions—the relationship between seventeenth-century Chesapeake community and families was radically different from its eighteenth-century counterparts—and also obscures differences between regions. Comparison of the rates of prenuptial pregnancy, for example, reveals that sexual relations between men and women were less strictly regulated and infractions such as fornication punished far less severely in the Chesapeake than in New England. While one can sympathize with Wall's frustration that "historians can barely conceive the most banal sentence about life in colonial America before burying it beneath a welter of regional qualifications and counterexample" (p. viii), ignoring significant regional differences does not advance historical knowledge.
A second major flaw in Wall's study is the lack of any quantified evidence to support her analysis and conclusions. Wall is aware of this problem and admits that she relies "heavily—too heavily, many will think—on individual examples and observations," but fails to rectify the deficiency except by observing lamely that her examples "suggest a great deal" (p. x). The problem with this methodology is readily observable in her chapter on putting out. Wall claims that putting out was "widespread" (p. 97) and is thus representative of colonial childrearing practices. But Wall also states that putting out occurred mostly to children who were orphaned, abandoned, or impoverished—surely an unrepresentative cohort of the colonial population, and one that changed over time and by region. In short, the traits of the hedgehog—here, an impulse to subordinate all chronological precision and regional distinctions to one big idea—mar this well-researched and occasionally informative book.

E. Wayne Carp, Pacific Lutheran University

By David Brion Davis. Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations.


This short volume contains the William E. Massey Lectures in the History of American Civilization presented at Harvard University by David Brion Davis in 1989. Taking off from the by now classic questions of why the American Revolution had such a short half-life as a model for modern revolutions and why "a nation created by revolution ... should become in time the world's leading adversary of popular revolutions" (p. 3), Davis successively considers meanings of equality during the American Revolution, American reactions to the French and St. Domingue Revolutions, and subsequent American attitudes towards revolutions and wars of liberation, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In his opening lecture, Davis, following Edmund S. Morgan, Morton White, and others, stresses the limited conception of equality in revolutionary America. To a large extent initially shaped, according to Davis, by their "fear of enslavement" by the British government, that conception included a passionate rejection of the ideas that one civilized polity should be subjected to another or that legally sanctioned or hereditary social distinctions should bar any free men, in Morgan's words, from "seek[ing] and demand[ing] a better place" (p. 11) in the world. Notwithstanding "sharp differences of opinion regarding black slavery," (p. 19) American leaders also mostly thought that "God created all men as members of the same species, with the same basic nature" (p. 13) and that all people were therefore "entitled to equal respect as human beings" (p. 19). But their understanding of equality by no means extended to the beliefs "that men were born with equal talents and endowments, or that governments should take from the rich and give to the poor, or even that all adult
males should be entitled to vote or hold office” (p. 19). Impressively few American leaders, moreover, were as yet fully sensitive to the contradictions implicit in the fact that “the equality of some Americans, such as upwardly mobile white males, depended in a dialectical way on a comparison with an inferior Other” (p. 24), specifically in those places with a continuing commitment to chattel slavery “on the permanent degradation of African-Americans” (p. 49).

In his final two lectures, Davis explores the ways this limited conception of equality with its explicit emphasis upon the sanctity of private property, including property in slaves, shaped American responses to subsequent revolutions. Thus did widespread early enthusiasm for the French Revolution give way to disillusion as its Jacobin leadership first revealed disturbing tendencies towards social levelling, political totalitarianism, and violence and then, with events surrounding the St. Domingue Revolution, “became associated with slave emancipation and revolt” (p. 38). As Davis shows, however, the reaction against the French and St. Domingue Revolutions did not negate “the desire of Americans to extend and fulfill the promise of their own Revolution” (p. 60). At the same time that some Americans, like the abolitionists, vowed to transcend “America’s Revolutionary traditions” (p. 62) by expanding the conception of equality, Americans continued to display a “remarkable receptivity to the idea of revolution” (p. 73). From the Hispanic American Wars for Independence in the early nineteenth century to the Cuban Revolution in the 1950s and 1960s, Davis stresses, Americans, moved by a powerful urge “to regenerate the United States by making it the model for revolutionary movements throughout the world” (pp. 79–80), have “greeted news of foreign revolutions” with “continuing enthusiasm and hopeful expectations” (p. 73).

If this volume succeeds in showing that American responses to revolution have been far less hostile than many commentators have often suggested, it makes little effort explicitly to address the problem of the limited appeal to revolutionaries of the American Revolution as a model. Part of the answer may lie in Jefferson’s perception, referred to by Davis on page 70, about the importance of preparation for self-government, and part in the long-established social conditions that, far more than the millennial traditions emphasized by Davis, inspired the “sense of boundless possibility” (p. 35) that underlay and seemed to justify the secular utopianism and the more cautious expectations of social progress that formed such a conspicuous theme in American culture beginning at least a generation before the American Revolution. Many readers will wish that Davis had explored more systematically and fully his intriguing suggestion that “the antithesis of slavery” was “not simply freedom” but “a fully acknowledged equality with the master or master class,” but few will fail to appreciate the author’s subtle awareness, manifested throughout the volume, of the complexities of his subjects.

Jack P. Greene, University of California, Irvine


Through his study of armories built in American cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Robert M. Fogelson provides an engaging if somewhat disheartening insight into American social history. In his analysis architectural elements become the concrete means of demonstrating an evolution of social attitudes about public disorder. This book, then, is not architectural history in the sense that it offers a thorough analysis of styles or a critique of taste. Nevertheless, it demonstrates how architecture can function as compelling evidence about social values otherwise revealed in the written record of the past. In the case of many armories, their bold physical features have survived much longer than the class values that determined their form.

Fogelson contends that armories erected in the 1850s and 1860s lacked architectural characteristics that set them apart from other large buildings. A striking change in armory design emerged in the aftermath of the draft riots of 1863 and the railroad strike of 1877. A castellated style gained popularity because it provided protruding cornices that enabled guardsmen to fire from protected positions upon mobs in the streets below. The new armories were designed to impress the public as fearsome and impenetrable. Their dominant features included heavy stone walls outfitted with battlements, massive towers, and small windows high above the street. These designs prevailed until changing social attitudes in the early twentieth century resulted in decidedly modified designs. The book's numerous illustrations demonstrate well the trend toward and away from an architecture of intimidation.

Although much of Fogelson's material is drawn from developments in New York, Pennsylvania cities provide a considerable portion of his evidence. Indeed, Pennsylvania had more armories than any other state. They were built in response to the same currents of class antagonism found in industrial cities throughout the United States and were marked by the same architectural features.

Fogelson explains that whereas eighteenth-century Americans thought public uprisings served to check unresponsive authorities, their republican successors of a century later judged riots as antithetical to popular government. In a republic grievances should be redressed at the polls. Given increasing incidents of labor violence, national guard units of the late nineteenth century recruited from the upper and upper-middle classes, taking only those workingmen who rejected pro-labor views. Labor leaders such as Samuel Gompers protested the transformation of the guard into a force intended to oppress workingmen.

In such a social atmosphere, armories were designed to be larger, to provide elegant accommodations for their upperclass officers, and to be defensible from within against mobs assumed to be bent on acquiring the arms and munitions stored there.
The cost of such elaborate armories rose dramatically and large corporations were encouraged to pay much of this cost. When the Thirteenth Regiment at Scranton, Pennsylvania sought in 1899 the help of local iron, coal, and railroad companies to build a $250,000 armory, it finally agreed to issue bonds which the corporations purchased, thus subjecting the Thirteenth to the will of its bondholders. More than one-third of these bonds were purchased by the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad. Everywhere guard units and their buildings bore the imprint of society's most powerful arrayed against the threat of disorder from below.

Guardsmen and their leaders had a deep fear of class warfare, and architects shared their views. Architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler found the medieval features of the new armories irrelevant to modern warfare, but the editor of *American Architect and Building News* thought them appropriate to the kinds of conflict he was certain would arise. Chicago's notable firm of Burnham and Root maintained that conditions in cities matched closely those for which medieval castles were designed.

Against these grim revelations of a society divided, Fogelson provides also an account of the demise of the castellated style. By the second decade of the twentieth century most architects had abandoned medieval styles for classicism. Of greater importance, improving conditions for labor eased class tensions, armories took on the role of community center, and the guard itself became a federal as well as a state force, intended to protect Americans against foreign threats rather than against each other.

This new conception of armories and the guard emerged in the Progressive Era, though Fogelson does not mention Progressivism, what the passing of castellated armory design reflects of the Progressive temper, or if his findings contribute any new perspective on Progressivism. One wonders if by such omission Fogelson did not miss an opportunity to address a larger issue. The book suffers from another omission in that references in the text relating descriptive material to illustrations appear only in two chapters focused on architectural features, whereas chapters describing many of the same armories in somewhat different contexts lack such references. This inconvenience to the reader does not, of course, diminish the substantial contribution made by Fogelson's study. His book adds a rich dimension to the social and architectural history of urban America.

Norman O. Forness, *Gettysburg College*


David R. Contosta's *Philadelphia Family* was inspired by, underwritten, and completed with the full cooperation of the surviving members of the Houston-Woodward family. It is very much an old fashioned production, resembling as it does a
memorial volume (complete with photos from family albums) celebrating the rise and prospering of one of America's (or at least Philadelphia's) leading aristocratic clans. The result, as one might expect, is a rather anodyne production which economically covers the family history from its rise to prominence with the railroad fortune of Henry Howard Houston, the intermarriage between Houstons and Woodwards, and the various business, civic, and personal activities in and around Philadelphia which involved both the founders and subsequent generations of the family. Contosta's thesis is that the Houston-Woodward family was an anomaly among Philadelphia's gentlefolk because its members took public roles (as reformers, legislators, office holders) instead of simply tending to their own fortune as was the custom of the city. Contosta does not pursue this thesis too vigorously and while the Houstons and Woodwards kept busy it is hard to say that their activities (with the possible exception of holding public office) differed much from the normal run of civic and cultural concerns among their Philadelphia brethren. In any event, Contosta is largely interested in unreeling a narrative based on the sources at hand so there is a marked lack of analysis about such questions as the process of class formation and the culture of the American aristocracy from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century.

Nonetheless, despite, and perhaps because of, Contosta's refusal to raise larger issues it is likely that his book will have a long shelf life and prove valuable to future scholars. A conscientious researcher, Contosta has mined the archive of an elite family and pulled out examples of upperclass behavior and folkways which will provide illustrations for historians working on larger topics involving the political, social, and cultural attitudes of the American aristocracy. One example of the kind of piquant detail which is found in A Philadelphia Family is that at the outbreak of World War I the hitherto strongly pro-German family crated up all its Dresden china, rowed out from their Maine summer house into the Atlantic and ceremoniously dumped the collection overboard. Historians interested in World War I might also want to note an exceptional series of letters from two of the family's cousins regarding their experience in service and under fire.

David C. Ward, Smithsonian Institution


Robert Asher and Charles Stephenson have assembled an important collection of essays that examine the impact of racial and ethnic diversity on labor movements in the United States. They assert that it is "commonplace to view the labor force of the United States as being usually fragmented by ethnic and racial divisions." These fourteen case studies of labor organizations between 1835 and 1960 somewhat reinforce this traditional image of fragmentation. But these essays, which do not deal
with Pennsylvania subjects, also help to revise older notions to a considerable extent by presenting countless instances of ethnic and racial unity.

Solidarity was seldom achieved with ease. Excellent essays by Gary Gerstle, Horace Huntley and Altagracia Ortiz reveal how difficult it was to create alliances between workers of different races and backgrounds. Gerstle draws upon his research in Woonsocket, Rhode Island in the 1930s to demonstrate that a union of French-Catholics and immigrant Belgian radicals—the Independent Textile Union—lasted only for a few years. At first workers united behind the radical visions of the Belgians but then fell apart when Catholic leaders made a determined effort to recapture their co-religionists through their own ideas of "corporatism." Gerstle felt that the Catholic vision transferred the idiom of the family from the home to the workplace in an attempt to regulate capitalism and, thus, used vernacular interests more effectively than the political rhetoric of the Belgians. He argued that this expression of ideology on the part of Catholic workers disproved arguments by historians that labor protest in the 1930s was pragmatic and aimed at family survival rather than visionary. But it is by no means clear from Gerstle’s account if the political dimension of Catholic ideology actually superceded the vernacular one. Certainly the reaction of many of these same workers to blacks in their workplaces and in their neighborhoods in places like Cicero, Illinois in the 1950s or the Canarsie section of Brooklyn in the 1970s suggests that there were definite limits to their idealism.

The theme of fragmentation is also developed in essays on the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers in Alabama and Puerto Rican garment workers in New York City. In the late 1940s the Alabama workers split over the issue of race according to Horace Huntley. Whites left their black leaders and accused them of "left wing" activity. Black locals were eventually excluded from the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In New York in the 1940s and 1950s Italians and Jews who had built the International Ladies Garment Workers Union proved reluctant to grant Puerto Ricans an equal status in their organization. Puerto Ricans were consistently paid lower wages than Jews and Italians and excluded from leadership positions in the union itself.

When unity and solidarity were attained, the collection demonstrates that enlightened leadership played the decisive role. Rudolph Vecoli’s essay on the 1919 Lawrence strike revealed how the Industrial Workers of the World used organizers who could speak immigrant languages to bring an ethnically diverse workforce together. Prior to 1920 in Chicago James Barrett found that Irish and Slavic workers could merge effectively in the packinghouse industry because union leaders organized them carefully on a neighborhood basis rather than in the plants, although they were unable to integrate blacks into the same organizations. Among members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, unity was created between blacks and Filipinos despite deliberate attempts by employers to racially mix their workforce.
Intellectuals and skilled workers with organizing experience were frequently the type of leaders that were best able to foster solidarity out of diversity. John Laslett's contribution to the book confirms this theme by focusing upon Scottish immigrant miners in the 1860s in northern Illinois. Similarly Steve Brabson uncovers evidence that skilled British and Irish militants from abroad were instrumental in leading Poles, Ukrainians, and native-American co-workers in the formation of the United Autoworkers in Detroit in the 1930s. Brabson's findings reinforce a growing literature that suggests the central role of the skilled toiler in the organizational drives of the Depression Decade.

Asher and Stephenson offer abundant evidence of the difficulties in bringing workers together into meaningful movements. Divided labor markets and gender differences further complicated the ethnic and racial barriers that pervaded the American labor force. The impulse to unify was continually met by divisive tendencies. This collection shows how heroically workers from many background continually struggled to overcome all that separated them.

John Bodnar, Indiana University, Bloomington

By Lee Soltow. Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798.


Economic inequality intensified in the United States during the 1980s. The top forty percent of families rode the crest of the wave of prosperity while the bottom two-fifths either tread water or slipped beneath the tide. Currently, one out of every seven Americans lives below the poverty line. While these developments stimulated relatively little concern among the voting populace, scholars have engaged in a lively debate about the level and the changes in economic inequality in America during the past few centuries and, in particular, the impact of industrialization on the distribution of material resources. In that tradition, Lee Soltow has written an important book in which he measures the distribution of wealth and income in the United States in 1798, compares it with other time periods in both America's and Europe's history, and speculates on the relationship between wealth and the ratification of the U.S. Constitution.

Soltow selected 1798 because of the unique census of wealth available for that year and because we know little about the nature of inequality in the new nation. The first federal direct tax of 1798 produced a descriptive inventory and a monetary assessment of every dwelling, barn, mill, wharf and all other physical structures in the country. These rich yet little used records, which also identify owners, are still extant for 62 of the nation's 359 counties. Employing a sophisticated statistical strategy, Soltow drew a sample of 28,044 owners and 45,400 properties from the tax list.
Soltow discusses some of the problems with the data set, including his inability to assign to individuals the value of the property they owned in counties or states in which they did not reside. Another shortcoming which Soltow ignores, but which a number of early American historians have discovered, is that tax assessors generally missed a great number of people, primarily the poor. Both factors mean that the distribution of wealth measured by Soltow underestimates inequality, thereby adding support to most of his general arguments.

Soltow's major finding is that economic inequality was substantially greater in late eighteenth-century America than many scholars have believed. It is possible only to highlight a few of the book's important conclusions. First, the distribution of real estate in 1798 revealed that only half of the adult free males owned real property; that the richest ten percent of taxpayers controlled nearly half of the wealth; and that inequality was greater in urban than in rural areas and larger in the South than in the North. Second, inequality in America increased slightly between 1774 and 1798 and then remained essentially constant for the next half century. Third, despite considerable inequality, relatively more people owned land in America than in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. Fourth, the distribution of income, as estimated from housing costs, affirms the conclusions about substantial economic inequality and suggests that a great number of Americans lived in very crude shelters in 1798.

These findings have far-reaching implications. Soltow undermines the hoary myth that pre-industrial America was a land of equality and nearly unlimited opportunity for free white men. Indeed, a considerable number of both white and black Americans led a meager material existence. Linking inequality and political economy, Soltow adds support to the argument that the majority of Americans eligible to vote probably would have cast their ballots against ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Finally, Soltow questions Jeffrey Williamson and Peter Lindert's contention that industrialization intensified economic inequality. The last argument, however, is among the weakest in the book. Soltow does not compare the distribution of wealth in 1798 with any year during the height of industrialization. Nor, because his data are least sensitive to changes among the poorest parts of the population, can he accurately evaluate the effect of industrialization on the working classes.

Lee Soltow has written a very valuable book which makes a vital contribution to the continuing debate about the history of inequality and material conditions in America. With 112 tables, 20 figures, and 13 appendices, the book relies heavily on statistical analysis, which unfortunately will limit its appeal among humanist scholars. Still, the book has a great deal to say not only to economists but also to social historians interested in questions about equality and to scholars who focus on material culture.

Billy G. Smith, Montana State University


Thanks to the imaginative work of Gary Nash, Sharon Salinger, Marcus Rediker, Daniel Vickers, and a host of other colonial historians, the early American worker has emerged from a period of relative neglect to take up a prominent place in historical accounts of eighteenth-century America. With the publication of *The “Lower Sort”: Philadelphia’s Laboring People, 1750–1800,* Billy G. Smith joins the ranks of these early American labor historians with a vital and compelling account of life among the lower ranks of Philadelphia’s working people during the last half of the eighteenth century.

The “lower sort” of Smith’s account were the mariners, laborers, cordwainers, and tailors who together made up nearly half of the white male inhabitants of America’s premier port city. Their lives, which Smith recounts from an impressive array of public documents—tax lists, probate inventories, poor relief registers, and much, much more—were, with few exceptions, hard and marked by a constant struggle to establish and maintain the economic independence that was the goal of small producers throughout eighteenth-century America.

Beginning with an evocative tour of the Delaware River port as seen through the eyes of Peter Carle, a Dutch immigrant laborer, and Susannah Cook, a widow who supported her family by taking in other people’s wash, Smith sets the stage for a remarkable look at the lives of the laboring poor. After 1750, Smith tells us, Philadelphia grew rapidly into an immigrant city as thousands of German, Irish, and Scots-Irish men and women rushed to take advantage of the rumored opportunities of the “best poor man’s country.” While some found the competency they sought, most among the lower sort did not, and Smith tells their story in intimate detail. The book is, in fact, a virtual catalogue of the vagaries of laboring-class life.

Disease and the fluctuations of the urban economy shaped the lives of the laboring sort more than any other factors. The immigrants who came to the city brought European and shipboard diseases with them and these imported pathogens mixed with the local disease environment to create the highest urban mortality rate (between 4 and 5 percent of the population died each year) in colonial North America. Only the relatively balanced sex ratios, youthful marriages, and remarkable fecundity of eighteenth-century Philadelphians kept the Quaker City from rivaling the Chesapeake as a colonial charnel house.

But, if high morbidity and mortality rates defined the biological limits of life in Philadelphia’s back alleys and suburbs, Smith reminds us that most laboring-class Philadelphians lived out their foreshortened lives more concerned about the vagaries of a paradoxical economy than the illness and death that they viewed as a natural part of life. Between 1750 and 1800, Philadelphia was the wealthiest city in America and its patterns of wealth-holding and consumption at times even surpassed those of its
counterparts in England. Yet, despite the growing prosperity of many in the city, the lower sort languished near the limits of subsistence. For the mariners, laborers, shoemakers, and tailors of Philadelphia, prosperity touched their lives only briefly during the early and late 1750s and then not again until the mid-1790s; in the forty years in between, they survived on the second incomes of wives and children, on the extra income of boarders, and, increasingly, on the public charity of out-relief and the city poorhouse.

In those increasingly desperate years of want and uncertainty, Smith reveals that many laboring-class families lived little better than the inmates of the city jail or almshouse, their diets composed largely of grains in times of crisis, their clothing threadbare, and their living quarters cramped and nearly unfurnished. This, then, was the everyday world of the laboring poor during the Seven Years War, the Revolution, and the early years of the new nation. It was a world dominated by penury and limited occupational mobility; a world that placed great physical and psychic strain on individuals and threatened the economic and emotional fabric of laboring-class family life.

There is much more to this book than a very brief review can acknowledge; the concrete details of laboring-class life and the statistical appendices alone will insure it a wide readership among early American and labor historians. Some will take issue with Smith’s demotion of politics in his account of laboring-class life: popular politics was, after all, precisely about the very dependency in which the lower sort lived. But, issues of interpretation aside, we are all in his debt for the compelling picture of laboring-class life that he paints in such clear, empirical terms.

Ronald Schultz, University of Wyoming

By Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln.

(New York: Chicago Historical Society in association with W.W. Norton & Co., 1990. Pp. xii, 179. $35.00.)

For nearly a century, the Chicago Historical Society has collected, through purchases and donations, numerous artifacts and images of the “Civil War-era.” The core of the collection was purchased in 1920 from Charles F. Gunther, a local candy manufacturer and Civil War memorabilia collector and buff. He had even retrieved some of the bricks from the Confederate Libby Prison in Richmond, Va., for HIS museum! From these “countless” paintings, prints, photographs, maps, costumes, and memorabilia, six hundred were chosen by the curators and consultants as a museum exhibition with the catchy theme: A House Divided: America In The Age Of Lincoln. Arranged by topic (as listed below), it will be exhibited for ten years.

This handsome volume is a collaborative effort between the Society and Eric Foner, (Olivia Mahoney is associated with the Historical Society.) Well known for his studies in the Middle Period. Foner has written a brief survey of the “Age of Lincoln”
which he interprets as encompassing 1840 until 1877. It contains one hundred and fifty black-and-white and twenty-five full-color photos of the exhibition's "most striking images." The purpose of the book is to prolong and deepen the "intellectual and emotional experience" of the exhibition and to "stand independently as a narrative of the Civil War era. . ." (p. x)

Produced by the large staff of curators at the Society, the volume is a technical, hence, visual delight. The pages are eight and one-half inches wide and the outside margin is three inches, which allows the illustrations to be juxtaposed with the narrative and more space for the full-page color images—as if one is in an interpretive museum. There are seven "chapters/topics." The first four, "The Peculiar Institution," (15 pages); "Lincoln's America," (15); "The Slavery Controversy," (17); and "The Impending Crisis" are a survey of slavery, the anti-slavery movement, economic and industrial development in the North and the West, and the sectional controversies of the pre-war decade. The Civil War topics are "The First Modern War," (33); "War, Politics, and Society," (20); and "The War's Aftermath" (8). After each chapter there is a brief biographical sketch, with illustrations, of important (and local) people; for example, Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, John and Mary Jones (an African-American Chicago businessman and his spouse, both active abolitionists), Stephen A. Douglas, U.S. Grant, and Mary R. Livermore (a Chicago Sanitary Fair organizer during the Civil War).

The themes of the book and of the exhibition are that slavery was the primary cause of the sectional conflict and Lincoln's career, which "both reflected and helped to shape many of the significant developments . . . in Northern life" (p. x). The title A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln and the front jacket illustration, an 1852 painting of a slave auction, stress those themes. That slavery was "a life of incessant toil, brutal punishment, and the constant fear that their families would be destroyed by separation" (p. 9) is made more real by the exhibit's illustrations. Foner seldom lapses into the abolitionists' term for the South as the "Slave Power" (p. 53). This is balanced with an occasional comment on the ill treatment of northern African Americans and legal bars to their rights. The emergence of Lincoln is succinctly developed and the images of the war add another dimension to one's comprehension of those complex times.

Overall Foner's narrative is conceptually even-handed (although the emphasis is upon the North), and well written. Considering the space limitations and that it is intended for non-professionals only, it is excellent.

A "Checklist of the Exhibition," by topic, is also included. Each entry includes all known information about the object, including artist, maker, or author; artist's birth and death dates; and catalogue number. All dimensions are listed as well as copy negative numbers for materials in the Society's Prints and Photographs Collection. There is an index and a poor map of the major Civil War battle sites.

J.K. Folmar, California University of Pennsylvania

(Wilmington, Delaware: Kalmar Nyckel Foundation, 1989. Pp. xii, 225. $9.95.)

In maritime history there are numerous examples of sea captains whose legends will forever be associated with the name of the ship that they sailed. Henry Hudson and his HALVE MAEN (Half Moon), John Paul Jones and BON HOMME RICHARD, and Francis Drake and GOLDEN HIND are examples of such relationships. In *A Man and his Ship*, C.A. Weslager proposes that Peter Minuit and KALMAR NYCKEL ought to be added to the list. While his effort is not completely successful, Weslager does convincingly argue that Minuit deserves more credit for the role he played in the settlement of colonial America, particularly Delaware and Pennsylvania.

In some ways *A Man and his Ship* is two short books. The first, which is the stronger of the two, is a brief biography of Peter Minuet. Weslager clearly admires his subject. Minuit is characterized as a deeply religious man who acted out of well reasoned conviction. He was also an energetic, aggressive entrepreneur in the purest capitalistic sense. The author persuasively argues that the role Minuit played in the settlement of colonial America has been minimized over the years. Minuit is primarily remembered as an authoritative Dutch administrator who slyly swapped a handful of trinkets for Manhattan Island. Weslager identifies the flaws in this legend and contends that Minuit deserves at least equal recognition for his efforts to initiate Swedish settlements along the Delaware River. Minuit came to New Netherlands as a simple businessman. He became governor of the colony only after demonstrating his entrepreneurial skills. Though he was a capable, perhaps even far-sighted, leader, Minuit became entangled in a political dispute with opportunistic investors. Discredited by Dutch authorities, he, along with several countrymen, convinced Swedish authorities to invest in the New World rather than in African copper mines. It was Minuit who conceived of and designed a plan for a Swedish colony along the Delaware. And, it was Minuit who ably led the first Swedish mission to the New World. The chapters pertaining to Minuit’s activities on the Delaware are enlightening and provide the book’s most important contributions.

Though *A Man and His Ship* succeeds as a biography, it falls a bit short as maritime history. Chapters detailing the life of the KALMAR NYCKEL are interesting but not compelling. Likewise, the ties between the man and the ship are limited. The ship was in service for about twenty years, just four of which were spent under Minuit’s command. Additionally, during a portion of those four years, Minuit was unable to sail. In fact, he died midway through his only trans-Atlantic mission at the helm of KALMAR NYCKEL. While the ship may have been a prize in its day, descriptions of accommodations on board and sailing apparatus are sketchy. There is also very little information about the crews that sailed the ship. These are not oversights by the author.
but simply the product of limited extant documentation. Nevertheless, the story of the
ship is not completely satisfying.

One of the strengths of this book is the diligent research done by the author. Though there are relatively few endnotes, Weslager provides several pieces of previously unavailable primary material. For the first time, various Swedish, Dutch and German archival records have been transcribed and are offered in this book. Weslager incorporates much of the material into a usually easy flowing narrative. The KALMAR NYCKEL passenger lists, which appear in the three appendices, will also aid future researchers, especially genealogists.

On the negative side of the ledger Weslager, like many biographers, is captivated by his subjects. To his credit, the author generally recognizes that his attachment may color his objectivity and warns the reader. Still, the sentimentality is, at times, irritating. The author also occasionally gets bogged down by insignificant details. While some scholarly debates aid the narrative, there are others that might just as comfortably have been offered as endnotes.

A Man and His Ship is a useful book. The author has contributed to a fuller knowledge of Peter Minuit and the role he played in the settlement of colonial America. While this work is not a deeply probing analysis, it is a well researched, adequately written monograph that contains bits and pieces of valuable information which will assist future scholars.

Paul E. Doutrich, York College of Pennsylvania


In his 1828 guidebook, James Kirke Paulding wrote that travelling is “the most exquisite mode of killing time and spending money ever yet devised by lazy ingenuity” (p. 4). By the early 20th century, Americans vacationing in large part would lose those qualities to Teddy Roosevelt’s “strenuous life” and, by mid-century, to backpacking in real wilderness. It would also become commercial and a mass phenomenon. Disneyland, Elvis Presley’s Graceland, and visits to massive shopping malls are telling statements about our century.

But for a few decades between 1825 to 1885, a prosperous and genteel middle class used its new-found surplus cash, its leisure time, and its quest for a uniquely American landscape to travel by stagecoach, steamboat, and railroad. Entire families lugged their trunks and satchels filled with myriad changes of clothes, and accompanied by servants, to take the American Great Tour up the Hudson River, into the Catskills, with a stay at Lake George and then split off along the Erie Canal to Niagara Falls or into the White Mountains and down the Connecticut Valley.
Romantic literature and dramatic paintings conferred value on the scenes, where visitors expected to escape from ordinary life and enjoy spiritual renewal through contact with a transcendent reality in the form of a sublime waterfall, mountain peak, or giant redwood. They zealously followed directions in guidebooks for fear of missing the perfect sight or appropriately emotional response. It was the American version of religious pilgrimage to sacred places on a grander scale than elsewhere.

Sacred places could also be trivialized. Niagara Falls, for example, became surrounded by a "fixed fair" that paralleled the marketplaces at European cathedrals and shrines, or souvenir enterprises that would soon beckon visitors at Estes Park at the entrance to Rocky Mountain National Park. At its worst, 19th century American tourism was buying sensation and consuming fantasy. The attraction of Mammoth Cave had to be "created" by special lighting and music. Most tourist places had to be invented as desirable to vacationers seeking enlightenment and renewal. Since the dangers of wilderness and Indians were recent memories, Americans were not naturally attracted to raw nature. The search was instead for the pastoral. Thoreau's Walden Pond, for example, was thoroughly domesticated.

John F. Sears of the Roosevelt Institute in Hyde Park, New York, takes readers on their own grand tours past Niagara Falls, into Mammoth Cave, the domesticated sights along the Connecticut and Hudson Rivers, a visit to the Willey House disaster site in the White Mountains, through Yosemite and the big trees, and Yellowstone's unexpectedly bizarre geysers. He also probes the largely unconscious tourist mystique. Sears gives equal time to extremely popular visits to prisons and asylums, "soothing retreats from the turmoil of the unruly city" (p. 93), as examples of America's superior progress at benevolent reform. The winding avenues and paths of the rural cemeteries on Mount Auburn in Cambridge or Greenwood in Brooklyn became America's first public parks. They anticipated the great urban parks, but Olmstead receives slight attention. Nor are zoos mentioned. Tourist itineraries also included the grimy eastern Pennsylvania coal mining town of Mauch Chunk, perhaps anticipating 20th century "living history" sites. "Coal appeared jewellite to nineteenth-century visitors" (p. 201). But as tourists, Americans "traveled in search of picturesque scenery, not social reality" (p. 204).

Sears is on target when he emphasizes the impact of Edmund Burke on the American sublime but he makes no mention of the power of Capability Brown's garden park imagery, William Gilpin's decorative picturesque of "blasted trees," or of George Claude's sepia filters to improve upon nature. By his use of Mircea Eliade's penetrating insights into sacred nature, Sears contributes to our understanding of the power of mythic nature for Americans, but he does not develop the connection between landscape and nationalism.

This is a revelatory book for anyone who has travelled to the great American scenic places. It is like the uncovering of a national imagination that still is our intellectual, spiritual and emotional baggage. Sears concludes that, "Like our great

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national pasttime, baseball, they [tourist places] unify us, and provide us with a common experience which appears at once mythical and trivial and thus provokes us to both awe and irreverence" (p. 216).

John Opie, New Jersey Institute of Technology


(Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 332. $29.95.)

Steven Riess' City Games is the eighth book in the important University of Illinois Press historical series on Sport and Society, initiated in 1986. Reiss' work, like the first volume by Melvin Adelman [A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820–1870], focuses on the influence of urbanization on sport and the impact of sport on the process of urbanization. Riess claims that the city was both "the site of sport and . . . an organic environment whose changing element shaped and were shaped by sport" (p. 2).

Riess organizes his volume around three eras of urban history: the walking city (1820–1870); the industrialized radial city (1870–1960); and the suburbanized metropolis (1945–1980). He concentrates on the second period using most of his examples from New York-Brooklyn and Chicago with some attention devoted to Boston. No other cities are central to his discussion, although Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are noted to a small extent. For instance, discussion of sport in Brooklyn is deemed more vital than Philadelphia and Pittsburgh combined.

Riess is clearly more interested in sport in the industrialized radial city of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than in either the earlier walking city or the more recent suburbanized metropolis. With a wide acquaintance with secondary sources at the expense of primary ones, he concentrates on the less often discussed underside of sport—the bachelor subculture involved in sports such as billiards; political bosses and their control of commercial, spectator sport such as horse racing; organized crime and its dominance over boxing; and slums and the need for recreational space. We learn, for instance, that Philadelphia fans rioted at a fixed fight in 1904 and that Boo Hoo Hoff was a Philadelphia hoodlum involved in boxing in the 1920s and 30s. City Games is not, however, about boxing, billiards, or even baseball in urban America. While we learn less about the sports themselves or those who participated in or watched them, we learn a great deal about how the political, economic, ethnic, and spacial structure of major cities influenced sport. We see more clearly how political interests benefitted private sport concerns and how often facilities were products of the free enterprise system working in cojunction with urban politicians.

City Games is more engaging when the author does not overplay the use of statistics. The best writing is in the introduction, where he lays out his theme, and in
the conclusion. In the main body of the text we are sometimes overwhelmed with statistical data at the expense of a more compelling prose. From a stylistic viewpoint, Riess might have better used footnotes or an appendix for his extensive use of statistics such as the percent of successful 1940s boxers who ended up working in taverns, 27.3 percent (p. 112), the number of lanes, 6.5, per bowling alley in Chicago in 1926 (p. 77), or the number of New York boys, 63,901, who participated in the Public School Athletic League long jump in 1914 (p. 162). With an emphasis upon statistics at the expense of a more lively narrative, the expert in urban history or sport history might be willing to persist in reading the work, but the general reader may be less inclined. Scholarship should not be accessible only to scholars.

Increasingly, historians have focused on the three concepts of social class, race-ethnicity, and gender. *City Games* has done justice to the first two but not the third. The reader will learn little about urbanization and women's sport. We learn much about the bachelor subculture, the social class structure of baseball, and the ethnic controversies over city park development, but we are left in a void about women's sport. Riess devotes a section to the bicycle and its influence on the escape from urban reality, but he devotes a mere three sentences (p. 64) on its impact upon Victorian women, dress, and sport participation—a lost opportunity to discuss urbanization and women's sport. Two sentences are devoted to women's tennis (p. 59). Considerably less than five percent of the 20 pages of photos deal with women's involvement, while about a quarter of the space is devoted to lower-class male sport.

A worthy addition to sport and urban history, *City Games* reveals the need for in-depth studies of sport in specific urban settings. Riess might have contributed even more by doing for Chicago what Adelman has done for New York City and what Stephen Hardy has done for Boston in his *How Boston Played* (1982). Who will do the first major study of sport in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, or cities of lesser size? Who will provide us with greater insights into the development of ethnic, religious, and status group sports in urban America? Who will explain how and why women's sport developed? A reading of Steven Riess' *City Games* should spawn new ideas for research, including future dissertations. The Riess foray into urban sport has helped give direction to this aspect of social history, but more local history is needed before another synthesis is fashioned.

Ronald A. Smith, *The Pennsylvania State University*

Janet L. Coryell. *Neither Heroine nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland.*
(Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990. Pp. xv, 177. $22.00.)

The subject of several biographies, numerous articles, six media productions, and two lawsuits, Anna Ella Carroll, nineteenth-century political pamphleteer and self-proclaimed military tactician receives a thorough investigation at the hands of Auburn University history professor Janet L. Coryell. The author has examined

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Carroll’s work as a writer, her actions as a woman working within the restrictions placed upon her, and her treatment at the hands of historians who used her life story to support their ideological positions. Coryell began, hoping to find a likable heroine. She does not, finally, like Carroll, but does concede her status as a legitimate historical figure.

Born on Maryland’s eastern shore in 1815, Carroll was the daughter of Thomas King Carroll, distant kinsman of Declaration of Independence signer Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The short term her father served as governor of Maryland and his financial ineptitude in many ways determined Carroll’s career as a political writer and patronage seeker. Her first book, The Great American Battle (1856), championed the cause of the newly created Know-Nothings and affirmed her own nativist stand. She later found in Abraham Lincoln a target for her patronage demands and in his beliefs, a new subject for her political writings. She also penetrated the inner circle of the War Department and negotiated an agreement to write pamphlets supporting the war efforts of the Union.

Until recently, however, most historians have been less interested in Carroll’s political propaganda than in her involvement with the Tennessee River Campaign of 1861–62. Convinced that Union plans to invade the Confederacy could only be successful by using the Tennessee River rather than the more heavily fortified Mississippi, Carroll drew up elaborate documents detailing her strategy. According to the legend that Carroll assiduously worked to promote, Lincoln embraced her plans with enthusiasm, ordered the attacks on Forts Henry and Donelson, split the Confederacy, and saved the Union. Carroll would spend the rest of her life fighting to claim authorship of the strategy and seeking compensation. A conflicting claim by a Mississippi riverboat pilot did not deter her, and by 1876 she was demanding $250,000 from the government in payment.

She was not without her supporters. Her cause was a natural for the increasingly vocal suffragists, for example, who defended her as the victim of a government dominated by men. But in June 1885 the United States Court of Claims ruled against her, and nothing done in her behalf from then until her death in 1894 could change the outcome.

Interest in her case did not die with her, however. In the most valuable and engaging parts of her biography, Coryell analyzes the popular and scholarly writings of Carroll’s defenders and her critics that continued well into the twentieth century, including the accusation of one biographer that the work of another was a “collaboration by communists” (p. 120). The author also settles the question of Carroll as “Lincoln’s Unknown Soldier” or “The Great Unrecognized Genius of the War of Rebellion.” Coryell credits both Carroll and the pilot for articulating the Tennessee River campaign plans, but agrees with those who believe that the strategy already had been studied and even accepted by the War Department. “As far as either one of [the
claimants] materially affecting the outcome of the war,” Coryell writes, “[they] were too late in their actions” (p. 88).

More important, the author sees Carroll’s story in the context of women’s history. As it has received legitimacy, Coryell believes, Carroll’s contributions have taken on a different character. The author moves beyond her subject as a victim and describes her as a “notable historical persona” whose writings alone deserve study (p. 122). Coryell also champions Carroll’s ability to understand the societal restrictions placed on women, to work within them, and be taken seriously. She becomes, then, “not a simplistic figure of downtrodden womanhood but rather a woman of active political involvement, laboring for causes she believed in, using the methods available to her” (p. 124). The story is engaging, exhaustively researched, and well told.

Robin Donaldson Coblentz, *Johns Hopkins University*


On 30 May 1987 a group of scholars met to share their hard earned research about the demography of early Philadelphia. The resulting collection brims with a sense of progress. Twelve of the papers are technically adroit reports on various aspects of Philadelphia’s life—birth, death, mortality, marriage, immigration, and social structure. Six papers are attempts at synthesis or advise about how such a synthesis could be achieved. The original research is the strength of this valuable collection.

Many authors open rich sources and make significant and provocative findings. Marshall Becker takes issue with the argument that the European Delaware Valley settlers were engaged in the invasion of America. Based on literary and archaeological evidence, Becker concludes that the Lenape, who occupied virtually all of southeastern Pennsylvania, were foragers who lived in small bands, not villages. They had a contact population of about 450 individuals.

In her superb overview of “Demography in Early Philadelphia, 1690–1860,” Susan Klepp shows that Philadelphia’s demographic facts differed dramatically from those of many other early modern towns. Mortality rates decreased in Philadelphia as the population increased. The first period in the city, lasting from 1690 to 1720, was “a demographic disaster” (p. 92) in which town dwellers, disproportionately male, experienced high death rates and low birth rates. Birth rates rose sharply in the second period from 1720 to 1759, but death rates remained high. During this first seventy year period, the city’s significant population growth was due entirely to immigration.

After 1760, as Philadelphia grew into a congested town of over 20,000 people, death rates began to fall and birth rates remained high until 1820. Births exceeded deaths by 37 percent. “This development of a positive rate of natural increase is quite

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startling from the perspective of eighteenth-century European cities,” observers Klepp. “It should have been impossible for a rapidly growing city to have a surplus of births over deaths and declining mortality rates.” This is the best essay in this collection.

Five essays deal with immigration. Based on analysis of unused sources, these essays add new accuracy to estimates of the number of Europeans entering the city. Marianne Wokeck charts the numbers of German-speaking and Irish based immigrants arriving per year. Farley Grubb, Edward C. Carter II, and Hans-Jurgen Grabbe exploit sources on immigrant flows and how these immigrants became servants in the colony. Through masterful use of census and probate records, Jean Soderlund charts black involuntary (slave) and voluntary immigration into the Philadelphia area. Voluntary black migration after 1780 exceeded previous involuntary (slave) migration.

A number of other articles demonstrate the continuing openness of Philadelphia society and the vitality of its laboring classes. Lucy Simler and Paul Clemens closely analyze the 1783 Pennsylvania census that linked census and tax data and that was particularly detailed in regard to Chester County. They find clear evidence of the development after 1750 of an important labor pattern in Chester County: the growth of a significant population of cottagers who lived on landholders’ land in exchange for contributing their labor seasonally. In 1750 there were only 183 cottager households, but by 1783 their number grew to 1,330 or some 28 percent of all Chester County households. Billy G. Smith examines the family life of Philadelphia’s urban “lower sort” during the same period. He shows that laboring fathers gave women and children the respect and autonomy their vital economic and social contributions to household survival deserved. Yet these households were disfigured by divorce, violence, desertion, and premature death “on a considerable scale” (p. 331).

Robert Gough examines the openness of Philadelphia society from the top in his demographic analysis of the families of the richest 2.5 percent of the male population in 1775 and 1800. On the whole, Gough finds that the wealthiest Philadelphia families did not engage in wealth and status preserving strategies like the British gentry. On the other hand, Louise Kantrow argues that some 200 colonial families did eventually emerge as a privileged aristocracy with demographic peculiarities. Finally, Ira Rownewaike examines the small Jewish population in Philadelphia in 1830. Jews worshipped in two synagogues in the city but, in testimony to the city’s openness, “were highly dispersed throughout the city and suburbs.”

This book also contains short essays by Henry Gemery, Russell Menard, Robert Wells, Ned Landsman, and a longer essay by P.M.G. Harris offering guidance and advice about social science technique, definitions, and theory.

The researchers in this collection know how to count bodies and how to assess the significance of their findings. Most are less interested in mentalite’, culture, and volition. Helpful in this regard are the observations of Ned Landsman who points out that “ethnic identifications in the eighteenth century... were not fixed in quite the way that is sometimes supposed” (p. 173). People who left for Philadelphia from the
Irish port of Ulster could be Irish, Scots, Scots-Irish, or English, depending not only on their backgrounds but also on how they wished to identify themselves as evidenced by where they settled, with whom they married, and with whom they associated. The same could be said for the "Germans," whose ethnic and religious identifications were certainly as various and as freely chosen. Religious identifications were as fluid. And as the conflict between Gough and Kantrow over the coherence of the upper class suggests, even class membership was partly a matter of self-identification.

The essays in this collection carefully and creatively count Philadelphia's total population by fixed categories of social science analysis. They are less impressive determining how Philadelphians sorted and identified themselves or describing their motives and purposes. Even discovered anomalies like Philadelphia's decreasing mortality rates, the area's cottagers, or the area's attractiveness to immigrants of variegated ethnic and religious origins are left unexplained or given perfunctory social science explanations. Nevertheless, this is a good collection, embracing some real gems.

Barry Levy, University of Massachusetts at Amherst


Kenneth Kreitner examines a five year period, from 1897 to 1901, in the town band activities and community life of Honesdale and Wayne County. His choice of this Northeastern region of the state for a study of the town band movement is attributed to Honesdale being both his hometown and home of the Maple City band, the community band through which he received his first exposure to music. He selected the years 1897 to 1901 for detailed study because the turn-of-the-century was both the peak of the American town band tradition and an important period in Wayne County's transition from a transportation center to an industrial center.

Kreitner combines an interest in town bands, cultivated by involvement with the Maple City band as a cornetist and conductor, with his training as a musicologist, to reconstruct a time and place where the town band was an integral part of the social and cultural life of its community. He uses census records and newspaper accounts, as well as, photographs and documents preserved by the Wayne County Historical Society, and other sources, to develop a representative picture of bands in turn-of-the-century Pennsylvania. The research is well documented and Kreitner is careful to distinguish fact from conjecture as he relates events and influences in this chronicle of band activities in this area.

A major portion of the work is devoted to the bands of Honesdale, the population center of Wayne County. Kreitner documents the personnel, instrumentation, repertoire, and role within the community of three brass bands active in Honesdale between 1897 and 1901. The Honesdale band and Lawyer's band, both founded before the
turn-of-the-century, were consolidated into the Maple City band (a forerunner of the present organization) in 1900. The inclusion of information gathered on the Equinunk band, Lake Como band, Pleasant Mount band, Hawley bands, Beach Lake band, and Gouldsboro band along with evidence that suggests nine other bands were active in Wayne County at the turn-of-the-century demonstrates that the town band movement was not a phenomenon unique to Honesdale.

Kreitner's work documents the significance of town bands to the communities of Northeastern Pennsylvania. There is no reason to assume that the band activities evident in this area at the turn-of-the-century were significantly different from the musical life of hundreds of communities across the nation during this time period. The importance of the town band as a social and cultural institution in the early twentieth century is emphasized by the author. His book provides insight into the background of the men who formed these organizations, the variety of functions performed by town bands, the cultural value of a band to its community, how bands were financed, and the pride which communities felt for their bands.

The turn-of-the-century was a time of significant band activity in the United States. The first two decades witnessed the development of the modern concert band through performance tours by prominent professional bands led by Gilmore, Sousa, Pryor, and others, as well as the adoption of the band as a significant performance organization in public school music programs. Kreitner also provides some perspective on the transition from the brass band, an ensemble made possible by the development of the piston valve in the mid-nineteenth century and popularized in the United States by the use of military bands during the Civil War, to the modern concert band.

Pennsylvania has a substantial history of support for community bands as is evident from the continuing activity of organizations such as the Allentown band, New Holland band, Ringgold band (Reading), Repasz band (Williamsport), Silver Cornet band (Franklin) and many others. While many of Pennsylvania's continuous town bands keep records and accounts of their history, few document activities in as much detail as provided by Kreitner's focused study of band activity in Wayne County. Discoursing Sweet Music is a valuable and readable account that confirms the significant relationship between music and society in an era that is often regarded as symbolic of Americana.

O. Richard Bundy, *The Pennsylvania State University*