Book Reviews:


(Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990. Pp. 236. $27.50.)

The cry of “100 percent Americanism” drew millions of native-born white Protestants into the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Unlike the Klan of Reconstruction, the revived Klan attracted members in both southern and northern communities as it tapped the fears and suspicions many held towards Catholics, Jews, blacks, and immigrants. In Steel Valley Klan, Jenkins tells the story of the Klan’s rapid rise and fall in Youngtown, Ohio and surrounding communities during this period.

This study meticulously recounts how the Klan built its membership in the Mahoning Valley by preying upon the moral concerns of pietistic Protestants. Through such fronts as the Civic League and the Citizen, the Klan cloaked its bigotry in the clothes of moral rectitude and law enforcement, allowing it to wield considerable political influence. In the election of 1923, Klan-endorsed candidates prevailed in the Youngstown mayoral race, won six of seven city council seats, and secured a majority on the school board. In a number of neighboring communities, the Klan was equally successful in affecting electoral results.

Having achieved victories at the polls, the Klan believed “the millenium” was at hand. However, enforcing strict adherence to the blue laws and conducting vice raids were often more than public officials were either willing or financially capable of providing. Internal divisions within the Klan proved to be problematic. A “debilitating struggle . . . over what to do about Catholics, Jews, and foreigners” (p. 108) plagued the organization. The most strident members were forced to compromise in their efforts to enact ordinances against aliens and restrictions on Catholics teaching in public schools. As Jenkins argues, “It would appear, then, that there were two Klans. Many of those who joined in 1923 sought Protestant moral dominance only, not Protestant hegemony” (p. 109). Moreover, rumors of irregularities in Klan finances tarnished its image as an organization committed to moral reform, further deepening divisions within its ranks.

But the failure of the Klan to create “a city on a hill” in the Mahoning Valley resulted from more than these difficulties. The Klan met fierce opposition from the Italian and Irish communities. Ethnic resistance resulted in violent confrontation when the Klan attempted to stage a march in Niles. Determined to stop the parade, the Knights of the Flaming Circle, an anti-Klan organization, effectively employed physical intimidation to turn back the Klan. In the wake of the Niles riot, Klan membership in the Mahoning Valley rapidly declined.

Although local in its focus, Jenkins’ study challenges the thesis Kenneth Jackson advanced in his 1967 work The Ku Klux Klan in The City, 1915-1930. While Jackson maintained the Klan was primarily composed of lower middle-class WASPs whose status was threatened by immigrants, Jenkins concludes that Klan members in the Mahoning Valley “were not marginal in their
socioeconomic status" (p. 83). He convincingly supports this assertion with data derived from a partial membership list of the Klan in the Youngstown area. Jenkins also disputes the belief that Klansmen were primarily religious fundamentalists. It was pietistic Protestants' desire for civic reform that increased Klan membership in the Mahoning Valley, not a shared agreement over Christian doctrine or church structure.

Only through additional community studies of the Klan will historians come to better understand the popularity of the Invisible Empire in the 1920s. Steel Valley Klan provides an excellent model for such future research.

Timothy P. Lynch, College of Mount St. Joseph (Cincinnati, Ohio)


These volumes continue the high standard of excellence in research and editing exhibited thus far in this series by Paul Smith and his dedicated staff who have produced eighteen volumes in sixteen years. Consistent with their policy throughout the series the editors have published all extant letters except brief duplicates which are included in footnotes to a parent item. Also appearing rarely are notes for speeches or odd notes kept by Secretary Charles Thomson.

These 1,450 letters are of particular interest in that they deal with the period immediately following ratification of the Articles of Confederation--by Maryland--on March 1, 1781. More than a quarter of them were written by delegates from Virginia. Why the southern commonwealth produced such prolific writers (or why Virginia's documents have been particularly preserved) is not altogether clear. While James Madison, notably prolific, attended throughout this period, his fellow delegates Theodorick Bland, Jr., Joseph Jones, and Edmund Randolph wrote almost as often. Pennsylvania delegates of this period--Samuel Atlee, George Clymer, Joseph Montgomery, Thomas Smith, and Henry Wynkoop--wrote rarely since Congress was meeting in Philadelphia. The Quaker State, however, served as the focus of attention in many letters, when it devalued its currency in 1781, or because its western territory was in controversy with Connecticut during most of this period.

Issues addressed in the letters of 1781 generally tended to be more substantive than those in letters of 1782. Military matters loomed large in 1781 as writers followed the actions of Nathanael Greene at Guilford Court House, Ninety-Six, and Charleston, and the course of
George Washington as events took shape in New York and then at Yorktown in Virginia. It is clear that Congress thought that Washington would attack the British at New York City and that they became concerned not only that he failed to do so but that he also proceeded slowly in converging on Cornwallis. While many believed that the victory at Yorktown would conclude the military conflict, a nervousness about resurgence of warfare is more than evident in 1782.

Perhaps as much ink was used to bewail the economic plight of both Congress and individual delegates. Their relief at the appointment of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance in May 1781 appears so strongly in the letters that the reader can almost make out an audible sigh of relief. At last some organization had come to rescue their finances. Soon thereafter, John Laurens arrived with a loan from France in the form of guns, clothing, and cash, deprecating currency stabilized as did prices, and Congress incorporated a national bank. The financial picture appeared to improve through the winter of 1781-1782, but then seemed to deteriorate again by the summer of 1782.

The financial burden of being a delegate only exacerbated the continuing problem of sparse representation. Several states were more often represented by one delegate or none rather than the minimum of two required for voting. This concern ran continually through letters back to the governors. Most delegates in Philadelphia remained in constant want of funds from home to meet their personal needs just as Congress required funds to maintain the army and the government.

With the decline in military activity and the apparent improvement in the nation's financial condition, more and more personal matters found their way into the letters of 1782. But so did a variety of lingering concerns: boundary disputes over the western lands and particularly over the Vermont territory claimed jointly by New York, New Hampshire, and the Vermonters; Vermont's application for statehood; and the needs for more complete representation, more revenue, and better communication. Almost in desperation, the congressmen sent out four of their own—Jesse Root of Connecticut and Joseph Montgomery of Pennsylvania to the eastern states, and George Clymer of Pennsylvania and John Rutledge of South Carolina to the southern states—as emissaries to the statehouses during the summer of 1782.

For the most part, these letters are succinct, straightforward news reports or questionnaires without much subtlety or contrivance. Few display extensive literary talents. Coding sometimes used for security is explained in editorial notes. To be sure, the publication of these letters, so much improving on the previous edition by Edmund Burnett, opens the way to a much more complete understanding of Congress and of the whole era of 1774-1789.

Frank C. Mevers, New Hampshire State Archives
Historians have long noted the paramount importance of geographical movement in African-American history, especially in the twentieth century, when African-Americans transformed themselves from an overwhelmingly southern and rural to a predominantly northern and urban people. A recent outpouring of black migration studies focusing outwards in time from the Great Migration, the first major wave of this massive internal migration unleashed by the onset of the First World War, has reached the point that, as editor Joe Trotter notes, it can now be viewed in its own right as a distinct subfield of historical scholarship. The historiographical essay and six articles in this collection, written by some of the scholars most responsible for the emergence of this new subfield, provide a suggestive sampling of evolving perspectives and interpretations.

Trotter’s introductory essay traces the historical study of black migration from the turn of the century to the present. Ghetto formation was the organizing principle of research and interpretation for the generation of Civil Rights’ era scholars confronted by the outbreak of riots in the northern inner-cities during the 1960s. This has given way to a split focus on a) the connection between black migration and the proletarianization of a black, urban working class and b) black migration as a dynamic process rooted in southern black kin, friendship and communal networks. Shifting emphasis from “why and where” black migrants moved to how they went about doing it, scholars have uncovered elaborate, sophisticated, and flexible networks of information and assistance, and have begun to investigate migrants’ creative role in the whole process of movement and adaptation.

As might be expected in an anthology of this nature, the selections are uneven in quality. Articles on black migration to Norfolk, Virginia, Richmond, California and the coal fields of southern West Virginia broaden the geographic scope of inquiry beyond the major industrial metropolises of the Northeastern and Midwestern states but afford only minor insights into the phenomenon itself. Three of the articles, however, are excellent. Noting how migration studies have traditionally focused on the experiences of working-class males, Darlene Clark Hine speculates about how shifting black female migrants to the center of study may alter our understanding of migration history. Unanswered questions about “the gender dimension of black population movement” (p.147) as Trotter calls it, raise a whole range of intriguing issues. What role, for example, did domestic violence play as a “push” factor. What role did female migrants, their attachment to the South cemented by the great number of children left back home, play in the “southernization” of northern culture. Or, what role did black women, because of their central role in the kinship, information, and migratory networks, play in channelling fellow migrants to specific destinations in the North, South and West?

Starting from the assumption that black migrant laborers working in the Chicago stockyards made rational decisions about where to cast their workplace allegiance based upon race rather
than class interests, James Grossman offers new insights into the relationship between black laborers and northern unions. Grossman elucidates how black workers found better links to jobs and employees through the black church, press, and Chicago Urban League rather than through northern unions which they perceived as “white institutions.” Providing the outlines of the larger synthesis that editor Joe Trotter suggests might be emerging, Peter Gottlieb integrates the insights of the new migration scholarship in a superb overview of black migration in the twentieth century. Noting the similarities and differences in patterns of black migration before, during, and after the Great Migration, Gottlieb contrasts the hopeful migrants of the Great Migration era with the “refugees” who fled the post-Second World War South, where mechanization and the commercialization of agriculture had eliminated the age-old need for black agricultural laborers.

The articles offer other indications of the extent to which historians’ understanding of the Great Migration has changed in recent years. Challenging certain time-honored assumptions, the authors expose how early chroniclers exaggerated the role labor agents played in bringing migrants North, call into question the extent to which the boll weevil and floods “pushed” black agricultural laborers off the land, and uncover enduring links between home communities and those who cast their lot in the north. As an overview of a field in transition, this is a valuable and deeply thought-provoking anthology. It is a rich, if uneven sampling of this fascinating subfield of historical scholarship.

Charles Hardy III, West Chester University

(Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1991, Pp. 214. $35.00.)

In Composing a Life, her study of five twentieth-century women, Mary Catherine Bateson reminds us that “storytelling is fundamental to the human search for meaning, whether we tell tales of the creation of the earth or of our own early choices.” Ira Brown has done us a favor by outlining the story of yet another notable woman who has too long sat on the shelf of obscurity. The last dozen years have brought us remarkable studies of remarkable women. Margaret Hope Bacon, in Mothers of Feminism, has introduced us to many of the women who formed Mary Grew’s “network”, her sounding boards and role models for composing or inventing a life in a world that expected women to waltz to a more sedate tune. Now Ira Brown has invited us into a closer examination of Mary Grew.

After a few pages on her New England birth, early education and her family experience as the child of a staunchly abolitionist Baptist minister, Brown launches into an almost day-by-day, event-by-event chronicle of Grew’s participation in the public events of her day. From her involvement in the early 1830s in the Philadelphia Female Anti-slavery society, to her religious
justice analysis of the Civil War, to her involvement in the 1877 founding of Philadelphia's New Century Club, Brown is intimate with the details of the life of this remarkably independent women, for he has located, and carefully read and cited, an admirable number of obscure sources. He is, at many points, able to tell Grew's story in her own words, or in the words of those who knew her. We read sketches of her interactions with Philadelphia Congressman William D. Kelley; we get her hints of faint humor in her correspondence with her friend Elizabeth Neall Gay. In short, Brown has reconstructed for us a great deal of the interaction between Mary Grew and her colleagues.

In Brown's very painstaking approach, however, lie some of the weaknesses of the study. It is almost as if Brown is too intimate with the details of Grew's life, almost as if the biography takes us so close to her life that it doesn't tell us her story. Even in his final chapter, which he titles "In Retrospect," Brown does not place Grew in context, does not invite us to think of her life in the ever-growing fabric of our understanding of women's lives, of the relationship of those lives to other women's lives, to men's lives, to larger forces in the modernization process against which her life is shaped. Brown might have done better to give us fewer of such details as the exact address of the home where she died (p. 170) and more hypothesis about the meaning of her life, both in the setting of her own time, and in the setting of modern scholarship about women and the dynamics of their public and private lives. Even though "psycho-history" is somewhat suspect, this reader was left wishing Brown had risked a bit more speculation about the inner life of Mary Grew and that he had exercised more broadly a scholar's perogative of viewing a subject from the analytical and critical distance offered by time. Still, if any future scholar chooses to take another look at what made Mary Grew tick, Ira Brown has provided a fine roadmap with which to reconstruct her path.

Emma Jones Lapsansky, Haverford College


Which buildings, which neighborhoods, which public spaces reveal the character of a city? As David Harvey notes in his concluding essay in this book, elites have worked hard to make certain that the landscape of cities reflects the authority of the centers of power. A generation ago, for example, financial institutions dominated the view from Federal Hill overlooking Baltimore, crowding out even institutions of local and national government. Today, Harborplace, "a center of leisure and consumerism" pervades much of the view. But this book is not about the dominant institutions and their markers of authority and power. Rather, it takes us into sections of the city where laboring men and women struggled "for the dignity of working lives and a vision of social justice and equality" (p. vii).
The Baltimore Book grew out of an innovative social history bus tour that emphasized a “people’s history” of Baltimore. It has maintained the characteristics of a tour guide, with maps included, presenting important sites of social and political struggle with sketches of the men, women, and organizations behind those struggles. Beginning with the Camden Yards and the railroad strike of 1877, the tour takes the reader to Hampden-Woodberry (a mill village); the black neighborhoods in old West Baltimore; the sweatshops and craft-union halls of the East Side; the docks, rowhouses, flophouses, and factories of the harbor; the massive steel and shipbuilding plants in Sparrows Point; and the racially contested new suburban neighborhoods of the West Side. Along the way, there is a brief stopover at Evergreen House, the mansion of B&O Railroad President John Garrett, and a concluding view of the centers of power from Federal Hill. The authors (or should I say tour guides) are both professional and amateur historians who provide a lively and readable overview of the people, the forces, and the events that stamped these neighborhoods with a particular character independent of the dominant political history of Baltimore. These overviews are laced with vignettes, photos, oral histories, and copies of documents which add a rich texture to the stories.

Because some chapters focus on particular activities and peak periods of struggle, there is a certain discontinuity for historians expecting a more thorough social history of Baltimore. At times, the geographic movement of the tour also jarringly transports the reader in time. Similarly, portraits of neighborhoods at times take on a “snapshot” quality. The chapter on Old West Baltimore, for instance, introduces selected landmarks from various stages in the long history of African-American movement building or the social and demographic changes that affected that neighborhood over a century. The same could be said of the chapter on Hampden-Woodberry. With eleven different tour guides, however, a certain degree of uneveness reflecting varying points of emphasis is only to be expected. Moreover, it is also one of the charms of the book that neighborhoods can be presented through a variety of local voices.

This work is a model for local and public history. It should appeal to many different audiences while serving as a reminder to many neighborhood groups of the relevance of their own pasts to a larger political and social history. Nearly ten years ago, I took a similar industrial history bus tour in Philadelphia, and have lamented its subsequent disappearance. I could never look at the city the same way again. When I next visit Baltimore, I will take The Baltimore Book with me, certain that it will help me appreciate parts of the city I have heretofore ignored. Ken Fones-Wolf, Institute for Labor Studies, West Virginia University
George Atherton served as president of the Pennsylvania State College from 1882 until his death in 1906. While he is regarded as Penn State's "second founder" and his leadership kept the college afloat during difficult times, his most important work according to Roger Williams was in the national arena. Atherton played a critical role--largely behind the scenes--in securing Congressional passage of the Hatch Act in 1887 and the second Morrill Act in 1890. Both pieces of legislation helped to assure survival of the land-grant education movement. Atherton also served as founding president of the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, that not only wielded significant political influence but wrought much needed curricular standardization and reform.

Congress had established land-grant education in 1862 with the passage of the first Morrill Act, which made federal land available for sale by the states. The proceeds endowed one or more institutions of higher learning in each state that promised to include agriculture, engineering, and other utilitarian subjects in the curriculum and to put a college degree within the financial reach of a broader segment of society.

Williams notes, as others have before him, that by the 1880s the land-grant institutions had made little headway. Congress had all but abandoned them, and they were the targets of mounting criticism from nearly every quarter. The Grange, for example, asserted that they were not doing enough to help the ordinary farmer. Private colleges questioned their scholarly credentials. State lawmakers used them as political footballs.

Williams departs from previous historiography when he rejects the notion of inevitability—that these institutions, as products of an increasingly democratic society, would inexorably overcome these obstacles and carve out a major role for themselves in higher education. He declares that "the land-grant colleges turned the corner around 1890... not because the institutions were destined to do so in response to some vague national demand but because certain individuals were resolved to create the means—through federal legislation and through and organization of peer institutions—for the colleges’ sustenance” (p. 9). Foremost among these individuals was George Atherton, who for more than two decades quietly worked with both Congress and his peers to assure the land-grant movement’s survival. Williams relates this aspect of Atherton’s career in detail.

The Hatch Act gave agricultural experiment stations (most of which were components of land-grant colleges) annual federal appropriations, But the act also paved the way for federally subsidized research in many other academic disciplines. The second Morrill Act provided ongoing federal aid for general instruction and prompted the states to begin or reinvigorate similar support.

It would be wrong to say that Atherton’s role in all of this has been mostly forgotten; the fact is that his efforts were never widely recognized even in his own day. Atherton never sought the
fame that was his due, and so has been virtually ignored by successive generations of scholars. Williams has put things right. His is not a panegyric; his research is meticulous and his arguments convincing. And in spite of the fact that the book grew from a doctoral dissertation, it is beautifully written. It should be read by all those interested in the growth and development of higher education.

Michael Bezella, Penn State University


Charles Willson Peale remains a scholar's delight. An extra-ordinary man in every sense of the word, his careers were artistic, scientific, entrepreneurial, military, agricultural, and cultural. He knew almost everyone worth knowing during the Revolutionary and Federal periods, and he established an impressive artistic dynasty. Coupled with his other accomplishments was his enormous energy as a letter writer and record keeper. His papers have survived, essentially intact, and have for many years been housed in a user friendly institution, the American Philosophical Society. Many of them have been published. His first and most important chronicler was a descendant, Charles Coleman Sellers, late Librarian of Dickinson College. A man of taste and academic integrity, Sellers is represented in this volume commemorative of his forbearer's 250th birth anniversary with two short pieces: "The Portrait of a Little Lady, Charles Willson Peale's Henrietta Maria Bordley" and "Good Chiefs and Wise Men," a study of "Indians as Symbols of Peace in the Art of Charles Willson Peale."

As in any collection of essays there is some overlap and variation in approach, quality, and value. Contributors, in addition to Sellers, include Jules David Prown, the Paul Mellon Professor of Art History at Yale and David Steinberg, a doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania, a scholar of great promise who occasionally falls victim to the jargon of his discipline in one of his two essays "The Portraitist as Divine." Steinberg's study "The Artist in His Museum" is beautifully handled and does indeed provide "New Perspectives" on a very well known work.

As an historian with a long time interest in Peale, this reviewer was especially taken with the first three essays which explore and elucidate the birth of an artistic career, "Generous Marylanders" by Robert J. H. Janson-LaPalme. It examines the Marylanders who paid for Peale's study in England. Jules David Prown's "Charles Willson Peale in London" is masterful and Karol Schmiegel's "Encouragement Exceeding Expectation" is a fine study explaining the importance of the Lloyd-Cadwalader patronage to the establishment of the Artist's Philadelphia career.

Probably the newest insights in the volume are found in Therese O'Malley's "Charles Willson Peale's Belfield: Its Place in Garden History," and David C. Ward's "Charles Willson Peale's Farm Belfield: Enlightened Agriculture in the Early Republic," both of which study areas of the Peale career often overlooked before.
The editors have done a fine job of selecting, arranging, and editing the collection which along with a well written introduction reads almost like a monograph. The book's $49.95 price is surprising in that the illustrations are all in black and white. And while the illustrations are well chosen and numerous, they are all clustered, which, of course, is awkward when you read the text and need to refer to the illustration. Occasionally the illustration format is too constricted to allow for a clear understanding of the details being described in the text. These small faults aside, this is an important volume on the career of an increasingly appreciated figure in American History.

Irwin Richman, Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg

Edited by H. M. Scott, British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution.


There are many studies concerning the diplomacy of the American Revolution. The "classics" of Bemis, Morris, and Van Alstyne concentrate, in many respects, on the military and diplomatic achievements of American leaders and allude to the "exceptionalist" thesis: namely, that America would ultimately defeat the British during the War of Independence, would arise as the "paragon of republicanism" during the late eighteenth century, and would thus display to the world her cultural and ideological superiority. Scott's study is of great value, for he extensively explores both American and European diplomatic problems from the British viewpoint. In twelve chronologically and topically arranged chapters, Scott develops suggestive theses about the strategies, blunders, and successes of British diplomats, about Britain's inability to negotiate an alliance with a major European power after the Seven Year War, about her efforts to stop France from entering into an alliance with America in 1778, and about British concessions to America resulting from the 1783 Paris Peace Treaty.

This study contains fine chapters about the legacies and strategies of British diplomacy during the middle years of the eighteenth century. The author well shows that confusion was a dominant feature of British foreign policy after 1763 and that various leaders and institutions were responsible for its conduct and implementation. Parliament only demonstrated sporadic interest in foreign affairs, thus enabling the monarchy, the northern and southern departments, and the secretary of state for the American colonies to exercise considerable influence in this realm. Scott argues, that British diplomacy frequently was determined either by George III or his intimate advisors or even by career diplomats, who often were poorly prepared for their positions. Another post 1763 legacy is that both George III and inept diplomats poisoned relations with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus leaving Britain with no ally on the continent. Scott explains that the efforts of British foreign ministers to discredit France at any propitious opportunity, a strategy which is referred to as the "Old System," was a most significant legacy. The author also
demonstrates that even prior to the eruption of the American Revolution, the concept of the "Old System" was applicable to the Americas, for the British clashed with the French over problems concerning Canada, Newfoundland, and the West Indies.

Impressive accounts appear about the major diplomatic activities of the War for Independence and about the negotiating of the 1783 Paris Treaty. According to Scott, between 1775 and 1777, Britain succeeded in suppressing the rebellion in the colonies and keeping France out of the war in America; however, between 1777 and 1779 Britain failed to prevent France from becoming involved in the conflict in America. Like Jonathan Dull, Scott argues that the defeat of the British at Saratoga, the diplomatic success of Benjamin Franklin in concluding the 1778 Franco-American pacts, and the completion of the French rearmament program, explain why France intervened against England during the American Revolution. The author maintains that having encountered a world-wide struggle with France and having experienced defeats during the American Revolution, Britain surrendered at Yorktown in 1781. The book contains an incisive analysis of the Paris Peace Conference, and a prudent assessment of the political and economic ideologies and the enigmatic behavior of the Earl of Shelburne. The author explains how Shelburne's friendship with Franklin and his conciliatory policy towards America enabled the newly created republic to acquire vast amounts of land between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. However, by emphasizing the British context of the American Revolution, this fine study well might disappoint American readers who expect to find extensive accounts of Benjamin Franklin and those of other prominent American diplomats of the revolutionary era. Scott concludes that blunders in foreign policy both in Europe and in America led to the decline of British diplomatic and military prestige between 1763 and 1783, but that during the eras of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars Britain would regain her status in both realms.

This work is a masterful analysis of British diplomacy during the last half of the eighteenth century and undoubtedly will be recognized as the authoritative study in the field. The book contains cogently reasoned and developed theses and is lucidly written. It contains detailed footnotes and a massive bibliography which reflects Scott's research of primary sources in British, American, and European archives. This reviewer believes that maps and a glossary would have greatly enhanced this book.

R. William Weisberger, Butler County Community College

Edited by Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan. Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire.


This excellent volume consists of nine important essays on the newer scholarship about the British Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As the editors indicate, their
book is "traditional in spirit, pluralist and multicultural in approach" (p. 30). The expansion of England is considered not from the perspective of the home country, but the essays focus instead "upon the area of interaction among the component parts of imperial systems" (p. 9). A distinguished group of authors examine such topics as the role of Germans, Dutch, and Scotch-Irish settlers in the colonies, including Pennsylvania, the relationship of Ireland and Scotland to the empire, and the resulting effect of the colonies on British society.

The most impressive aspect of this fine collection is the uniformly high quality of each essay. The authors write clearly and with insight about their topics. Specialist and non-specialist alike can learn much from what they have provided. A. G. Roeber's essay on the Germans and the Dutch, and Maldwyn Jones's well-crafted treatment of the Scotch-Irish, will have particular interest for students of Pennsylvania history. James H. Merrell's exploration of colonial-Indian contact is well done, as is Philip D. Morgan's essay on Africans and African-Americans. In a particularly brilliant contribution, Michael Craton evokes the vanished world of the British planters in the West Indies. The story of these "reluctant creoles" (p. 314) includes such well-known figures as Sir Francis Drake and Henry Morgan. References to Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Jean Rhys indicate the range of Craton's sources and the richness of his narrative.

Both Ireland and Scotland responded in different ways to English expansion. Nicholas Canny provides a fascinating analysis of how the English treated Ireland as "a marginal kingdom" (p. 66). Eric Richard's discussion of Scotland within the Empire shows how Scots pursued economic and cultural opportunities "in a dynamic response in part to their provincial status in the British imperium" (p. 70). Across the Atlantic, J. M. Bumstead depicts Canada as a diverse cultural and geographical society that had not yet formed a nation.

In the book's concluding essay, Jacob M. Price asks "Who Cared About the Colonies" in Britain itself. The answer is that those with an economic stake in the colonies cared to some degree, but that emotional and national loyalties to the empire were less compelling. The actual impact of colonial interests on British policies was, like the colonies themselves, a matter of marginal influence.

The original idea for this book came from the late Stephen Botein of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The editors have brought his conception to reality in a masterful way. Beyond the scholars at whom this book is aimed, it should soon be an indispensable volume for graduate students in the United States and Britain. A paperback version at an early date is amply justified. Nothing is more difficult to do in the historical profession than to complete a collaborative work. Professors Bailyn and Morgan have performed that task and done the even more impressive feat of producing a model example of historians working at the top of their form.

Lewis L. Gould, University of Texas at Austin


Although Dennis Clark's larger agenda in *Erin's Heirs* is to assert both the substance and strength of the larger Irish-American ethnic community in the United States from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, his primary focus of inquiry is the Irish-American community of the City of Philadelphia during that period. As one of the nation's largest and oldest Irish enclaves, Philadelphia's Irish-American community provides Clark with an entry into one of America's most enigmatic ethnic groups. Clark presents his examination of Philadelphia's Irish community through a series of essay centered on the themes of "Identity," "Association," "Communication," and "Leadership." Collectively, these themes, according to Clark provided the basis for organized forms of Irish association during the course of their presence in Philadelphia. Each theme is explored in several biographical vignettes of Irish-Americans who excelled under these particular aspects of social and associational life. He also includes a section on the history and state of academic studies in Irish and Irish-American subject areas, again with specific emphasis on Philadelphia archival resources and scholars. Ultimately, Clark's work is a plea for future attention to both the traditions and heritage of the Irish-American community and the social forms which it has taken through the years, as well as a notice of its continued vitality, and, finally, a call for future studies in the areas for which his essays provide an entree.

Clark has relied heavily on oral interviews and hence his study is skewed towards the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Information on earlier decades of Irish community life is often presented in summary fashion due to lack of specific first-hand accounts of early organizations and prominent personalities within the group. Thus, parts of the several essay often read as a throwback to earlier apologetic literature, with lists of prominent early Irish residents and leaders in Philadelphia, and a concentration on the elite associations, such as the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Sections detailing the struggles of the Irish nationalists in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and early years of this century, as well as his discussions of the Northern Ireland "Troubles" are, conversely quite strong and informative.

As a volume devoted to a specifically Irish tradition, however, Clark frequently fails adequately to define that particular tradition or its transformation in America in terms that would deliniate it from the many other ethnic cultures evolving in Philadelphia, particularly during the nineteenth century. For instance, while Clark correctly states that the few social ties the early, primarily Irish, dock workers had were "some vague affinities of the social abstraction called class and the even more elemental bonds of ethnic identity" (p. 66), he fails to explore how this trait, common to many other "ethnics" in Philadelphia's working-class population, lent itself to a particularly "Irish"ethnic evolution. Likewise, the author's note that the poetry found in the pages of the Irish press was "in keeping with the interests of a people with a rich tradition of ballad and folk poetry" (p. 111), also begs the point. Other European-American ethnic papers also routinely published such poetry, especially the Slavic press, leaving one to wonder what its larger significance was for the evolving Irish-American ethnic identity and what influence such publications...
had in maintaining ties among the highly dispersed Irish population in Philadelphia.

In short, what one fails to see through these essays is the connection between the Irish "tradition," that Clark posits as crucial to the Irish-American community, and the evolution of a particularly Irish-American ethnic identity, that necessarily had to be created in Philadelphia rather than carried directly from Ireland. Despite many fine essays in this volume, one is left with a curious sense of wonder at precisely how these people and events described related to the average Irish-American in Philadelphia and his or her sense of community and identity, since many of the people and institutions he discusses are in the end directed to the larger American society, or back to Ireland itself, rather than directly at their fellow-Irish in the city of Philadelphia.

Despite this, Dennis Clark has in a very real sense provided a thorough, well-documented, introduction to the largely non-religious component of Irish social institution, which can only provide a firm base for future studies of larger Irish institutions such as the Catholic Church or of Irish communities in other cities, large or small, throughout America.

Maureen A. Harp, *University of Chicago*

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In *Breaking the Bonds,* Merril Smith establishes the ambitious goal of determining "what kind of problems arose in troubled marriages" and of analyzing "how men and women coped with marital discord" (p. 2) especially in southeastern Pennsylvania which encompasses populous Philadelphia and Chester County. To accomplish this, Smith studied hundreds of divorce petitions, other legal documents, newspapers, almshouse dockets, and prescriptive literature. She concludes that, as in the present day, married couples fought and parted over sex, money, and abuse.

Throughout, Smith stresses that the underlying cause of such marital discord was Americans' changing ideas of marriage. Between 1730 and 1830, Pennsylvania society found itself in transition while others advocated the newer companionate format based on respect, reciprocity, and romance. Much as Robert Griswold and Elaine May argue for the Victorian and post-Victorian eras, Smith maintains that changing expectations of marriage during the late eighteenth century created marital discord when "one partner, usually the wife, anticipated a marriage based upon the new ideals and her husband expected a traditional patriarchal one" (p.6). Such disagreements led to a range of responses, including unhappy marriages, extramarital affairs, separation, desertion, and divorce.

There is no doubt that after 1776 a growing number of people who had promised to be "true & faithful" until death reneged on their vows in one fashion or another. And certainly an
analysis of Americans' changing expectations of marriage offers a too-often-overlooked perspective. But scholars seem to disagree on when changing expectations began to affect American marriages; was it the late eighteenth century, the Victorian era, or the post-Victorian period? Also, focusing on the tension between old and new views of marriage ignores such other important causal factors as industrialization, urbanization, women's changing roles, and a social ethic that valued freedom and happiness. For instance, Smith's chapter on desertion fails to discuss the pull of the nearby West on disgruntled spouses, while her chapter on sex side-steps the role of interracial liaisons in causing marital disruption.

In addition, this is largely a study of white, Protestant Pennsylvanians. Smith is sensitive to the issue of social class, but generally slights ethnicity, race, and religion (except for infrequent mention of a Quaker case or two). Yet, it is unlikely that changing expectations of marriage affected such groups as Roman Catholics or people of color as much as they did white, native-born, Protestant Pennsylvanians.

Readers are left to wonder if similar, or very different sources of marital malaise affected marriages between Native Americans, recent immigrants, Roman Catholics, slaves (both before and after Pennsylvania adopted gradual emancipation in 1780), and free blacks, who were especially numerous in Philadelphia. Documents do exist; in 1795, a Native American and a Roman Catholic each petitioned for divorce in Pennsylvania courts. Ministers' and slave-owners' records are another potential source of information.

Smith offers considerable insight into the meaning of the "separate spheres" doctrine to early American marriages. She also brings together a significant array of early Pennsylvanian documents and public statements concerning marriage and divorce. And, she provides the first comprehensive study of marital breakdown in early Pennsylvania. These are no mean achievements and she deserves congratulations for them.

Glenda Riley, Ball State University

By Cheryl Lynn Greenberg. Or Does It Explode? Black Harlem in the Great Depression.


Ralph Ellison ends his classic Invisible Man with his anonymous central character fleeing an apocalyptic scene described by Ellison in violent, occasionally phantasmagoric language. It is the Harlem riot of 1935, and it is exactly where Cheryl Greenberg begins her story of Harlem in the Great Depression. Subsequent chapters recall the grim history of joblessness, homelessness, soup kitchens that preceded the riot. Others relate the New Deal programs and rising political consciousness that followed in its wake.

Greenberg's heavily documented, richly textured monograph fills an important void in African-American history. While numerous excellent studies exist illuminating the African-American

As her title reveals, this book focuses more on political than social history. Greenberg states forthrightly that it concerns unemployment, relief and political action. Despite the political focus, she refers to Harlem households altering family structures to accommodate long-term unemployment, and she examines, albeit briefly, Depression-related topics such as health, crime, and delinquency. Throughout the book Greenberg acknowledges the differential impact of the depression on men, and women.

Nevertheless, her main object is to relate how ubiquitous job discrimination, high levels of black joblessness and poverty associated with the Great Depression spawned rising black politicization and the emergence of a "political culture." Not strangely, a similar politicization occurred in Philadelphia in the 1930s. Much of the book, therefore, explores the changing social and political role of traditional black institutions, such as the church, beneficial and philanthropic organizations, the Urban League and the NAACP. Greenberg argues that by lifting the burden of direct relief from these bodies, the New Deal significantly freed them to fight against discrimination and inequality rather than hunger and homelessness.

This is neither about triumphant democracy, nor the awakening and empowering of the downtrodden. Greenberg's narrative culminates in the black politicization achieved in the 1935 "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign. But, she argues that blacks gained relatively few jobs from the mass picketing of white-owned stores. If anything, the action galvanized communists, black churches (led by the minister of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.), together with the NAACP in a united front against job discrimination.

The gains were so few that in 1943 despite the defense and war mobilization another riot erupted in Harlem. Harlem had few manufacturing concerns with military contracts. Therefore, President Franklin Roosevelt's 1941 Executive Order 8802 produced only marginal increases in Harlem employment. By 1943 Harlem was politicized, but still very poor.

What did happen in Harlem in the 1930s? Greenberg concludes that against the enormity of the Great Depression Harlemites utilized time-honored strategies rooted in the malleable African-American family and the black church. Harlem was not radicalized by the depression experience. However, to repeat her thesis, by illuminating the oppressive effects of discrimination and social segregation, and by demonstrating conclusively that political action could be at least somewhat effective in wringing concessions in housing and relief from the white power structure, the Great Depression and the "liberalizing nature" of the New Deal awakened the political consciousness of Harlem.

While Greenberg provides a valuable, impressively detailed account of an African-American community mobilizing to combat economic and political oppression, organizing soup kitchens,
taking in boarders, mounting protest, and occasionally furiously exploding in riot, the dimension of implosion is missing. Indeed, this is the same Harlem that between 1930 and 1945 moved from being Alain Locke's and James Weldon Johnson's "center of race pride and race building," to Claude Brown's "shit plague." Could it be that the Great Depression forced marginalized Harlem to turn more inward, to plumb the depths of a community's increasingly scarce economic resources, to riot and finally to desperately embrace the New Deal and the Democratic party? Could the politicization Greenberg discusses, including the fight for Harlem-targeted New Deal welfare programs and public housing, have actually deepened the pattern of ghettoization that Osofsky found present in 1930? Recall that in the mid 1930s some Philadelphia black leaders actually feared that public housing would result in what they described as the "Harlemization" of the city's black community.

A discussion of this implosion aspect is wanting from what is otherwise an excellent history. For readers of Pennsylvania History Greenberg has provided invaluable perspective on the shaping of a black community situated only 90 miles from Philadelphia. Although Harlem lacked the basic industrial complex of Philadelphia or Pittsburgh, from what evidence exists the Great Depression experience of black families in Gotham differed not that much from the experience of those in Pennsylvania's two great cities. Greenberg has provided a model for more complete studies of the Great Depression and African Americans in those cities. For this and all the other reasons mentioned in this review, I highly recommend Or Does It Explode? as an important, useful, and superbly written book.

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WILLIAM G. SHADE is Professor of History and Director of American Studies at Lehigh University. His many publications on nineteenth century American history include *Banks or No Banks: The Money Question in Western Politics, 1832-1865* (Wayne State University Press, 1972). Shade is a former editor of this journal.

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