Book Reviews:

By Bruce Levine. *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War.*

(Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992, 378 Pp $34.95)

By Michael F. Holt. *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln.*

(Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, 365 Pp. $35.00)

Since the 1950s, writing on the coming of the Civil War has been dominated by specialized monographs and essays on relatively narrow, but often exceedingly significant, points. One of the major revisionist thrusts has come from the now graying “new political history” that incorporated quantitative analysis and theories drawn from the social sciences and shook-up traditional arguments with an iconoclastic emphasis on the effects of ethnicity and religion on the transformation that produced the Republican party in the 1850s and consequently played a significant role in bringing on the Civil War. Although the new view, which incidently resurrected the importance of Pennsylvania in the process, received hearty support from one of the foremost of the older generation of Civil War scholars, Roy F. Nichols, most specialists remained skeptical. In the 1970s they were joined in their criticism by proponents of the “new labor history” (that soon became the “new social history”) who charged the “new political historians” with ignoring the significance of class and ideology and of propounding an ethnocultural interpretation that in the specific case of the Civil War diminished the importance of the slavery issue and perpetuated the lax moral vision that characterized the previous generation’s “Revisionists.” Consequently, while the “new political history” and the “new social history” should have been conciliatory, they have not coexisted comfortably and have often been at swords point. These two books and their authors invite a comparison of these two approaches to the coming of the Civil War.

Bruce Levine’s monograph, *The Spirit of 1848,* typifies the “new labor/social history” tying together working class formation in nineteenth century America, the “Old Immigration” of Germans and Catholic Irish, and the conflict over slavery which precipitated the American Civil War. Levine argues that the “spirit of
1848”—the “Broad sociopolitical current: he terms “radical democracy”—that animated the revolutions of 1848 was carried to America by the exiles and nurtured by the German-born craft workers in the United States where they mixed this “international tradition” into the ideology of the antislavery movement.

Dissociating his study from those of both the filialpietistic Germans earlier in this century and the more recent “ethnocultural argument” that he believes “glosses over the actual social construction of ethnic identity, culture, and values over time,” Levine contends “that ethnic (religious and national) cultures were heavily freighted with both socio-economic and political significance” (pp. 281, 9-10). “The German American response to a range of ethno-political stimuli—from European news through nativist, temperance and sabbatarian agitation in the United States—was also mediated by socioeconomic realities, including class identity” (p. 10).

The book is divided into four parts. The first, “Fleeing the Old World,” focuses upon the socio-economic crisis of the German states in the mid-nineteenth century that led both to emigration generally and to the revolution whose failure sent Levine’s 48ers to the new world. In this he emphasizes the importance of handicraft workers in sustaining the democratic movement central to the events of that year and their rejection of the transition to capitalism that was transforming the German economy. “Some of the most active and enthusiastic champions of change displayed as little love for the forces of capitalist development (or “moderism”) as for the despised “ancien regime” (p. 6).

The second section, “Adjusting to the New,” details the general importance and distribution of the German immigrants geographically and in the work force, the variety of political outlooks among them, and the activities of various labor organizations or Arbeitervereine. In these chapters Levine examines diversity, but emphasizes the importance of the skilled Germans in the urban, non-agricultural sector, the dominance of this group among the fraternal Turnvereine and the importance of the democratic idea—or “cooperative vision”—for the strikes of the 1850s. He argues that the Turners were primarily skilled craftsmen who embraced Tom Paine and “tended to be Freisinnigen”—”religious liberals,’ rationalists, “free-thinkers”—who identified with the Enlightenment, denigrated supernaturalist doctrines, and harbored deep suspicion of organized churches and clerical hierarchies” (p. 93). Consequently they fought bitterly with the conservative Lutherans and German Catholics as well as the “American Puritans” they encountered in the
New World.

In parts two—"Slavery and the People's Land"—and three—"The Second Fight for Freedom"—Levine details the response of his German-Americans to the slavery question, the Republican party, and the Civil War itself. Although he shows awareness of a variety of views, Levine again emphasizes the radical element of 48ers reasserting radical democracy against the Kansas-Nebraska Act and then playing a leading role in the antislavery wing of the Republican party. In the antebellum crusade against slavery, the skilled craftsmen were more radical than their wealthier countrymen and within Republican ranks the Levine's "German plebeians" were clearly to the left of the party's middle-class center.

The Spirit of 1848 amply demonstrates that "radical democracy" was far more important that most traditional scholars, following the old assimilationist historians, have allowed. Were that all Levine wished to say on the subject of antebellum America his message would be without exception. The book is quite readable, informative and often persuasive. Levine convincingly shows the radicals among them had roots in 1848 and flourished in America, that some German Americans were radical opponents of slavery and supporters of Lincoln, and that these men came disproportionately from the urban skilled workers who made up an important element of the nineteenth-century American working class. Yet, in putting all of this forward, he consciously creates a counter-myth in which his German-Americans serve to make up a "usable past" for people like himself legitimizing the self-image of the labor left.

Too often he lets his German immigrants stand for most German-Americans. He uses "some" and "many" but shies away from dealing in the relative importance of the various groups he discusses and those he gives short shrift. Levine leaves the impression that conservative Lutherans and Catholics made up a minority element among German-Americans. He also chooses to ignore the large number of German-Americans residing in the United States in places like Pennsylvania before the mass migration of the mid-nineteenth century and the relationship between the newcomers and the older "Dutchmen" although he does leave the impression that these conservatives may well have fit the stereotype.

Levine seems more interested in documenting the existence of his group of radical craft workers and registering their interest in antislavery than of weighing their relative importance in the antislavery movement or the Republican party.
Beyond a rather vague description of the "radical democratic" of his urban craftsmen, he fails to elucidate their ideology and its precise relationship to the "slavery issue." What exactly did the German-American radicals oppose about the Kansas-Nebraska Act and where on the antislavery spectrum did the radical, German-American, urban, craft workers stand?

In this book and in his two other recent publications which generalize his views without further enlightening their readers on these matters, Levine asserts that his work and that of other "new social historians" supersedes the studies of the realignment of the 1850s of the "so-called ethnocultural school" that "minimize the importance . . . of both class identities and substantive political issues," most particularly the opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act in bringing on the Civil War.¹ It was a simple matter and seemingly everyone since James Ford Rhodes has been in Carl Becker's words "too clever by half" in finding causes other than slavery for the Civil War which Carl Schurz himself called "a great struggle between two antagonistic systems of social organization."²

One of whose who just can not see the world so clearly as Professor Levine is Michael F. Holt who has also published two other studies of antebellum politics and is one of the "new political historians" explicitly criticized by Levine.³ Holt's newest book contains nine previously published articles augmented by a new essay on the death of the Whig party, and a thoughtful introduction appraising his present position on crucial questions concerning the coming of the Civil War. The references to Holt by critics like Levine would not prepare the neophyte reader for the rich substance of these essays. In fact, the long essay on the Democratic party, that Holt acknowledges to be the least original of these essays, is extremely judicious and reveals the author's tendency to carefully weigh the relative importance of causative influences and his quick perception of the most important questions.

The drift of Holt's perspectives has been in the direction of a rather traditional concern with the manipulation of the system by elites. In this interest, he resembles Nichols whose work on the Democratic party seems to have provided a model for Holt's studies of the Whigs popularity and demise. The three essays here on the doomed party are extremely persuasive pieces of political analysis that emphasize political rather than social or economic explanations.

Holt clearly believes that voters are rational fellows and, as these essays show, he never doubted that they cared about the thickness of their pocket books. Yet, he
also knew that they were quite capable of killing one another for reasons that Adam Smith or Karl Marx might find irrational. It is rather sobering to remember that when Holt wrote an excellent study of the Antimasonic and Know Nothing parties neither were adequately integrated or even mentioned in most available discussions of antebellum politics and the Know Nothings were dismissed as an unimportant element in the political calculus of the 1850s. Re-reading these essays emphasizes the fact that at the time Holt was far more interested in political analysis that took into consideration the socio-economic context than in framing some sort of essentialist explanation that emphasized ethnicity. Further, all of these essays on the 1850s show that the question of slavery was never far from his interest, but that Holt like others writing the “new political history” was fascinated by the phenomena of racist antislavery, the implications of which had been all but ignored by historians of the coming of the Civil War.

In the “Introduction” Holt criticizes the reductionism of “zealous proponents of the ethnocultural interpretation” and specifically denies that he ever “posed an exclusive ethnocultural interpretation” (pp. 12, 19). These essays reinforce that claim while strongly reaffirming the central arguments of his earlier work in relation to “The Problem of Civil War Causation” as he calls his excellent essay review of David Potter’s, *The Impending Crisis*—a book that demands a more critical reading than it has generally received. In asking why the Civil War that came in 1861 came when it did, Holt focuses, as he must, on “the chain of specific political events that precipitated it” (p. 11). In reconstructing that “chain,” he (and the other advocates of “the new political history”) reject “as illogical and unpersuasive the traditional argument that antislavery and antisouthern outrage provoked by the Kansas-Nebraska Act drove northern voters from the Whig party,” and argues “instead that the surging Know Nothing movement gutted Whig voting support” (p. 9). At another point, he asserts that “the evidence is indisputable that ethnocultural issues and tensions had a decisive impact in permanently converting a substantial majority of northern voters against the Democracy” (p. 13). In contrast to Levine, Holt insists that “antipathy toward white slaveholders, not sympathy for black slaves, impelled northerners” to resist “the Slave Power’s plot to subvert republican values” (pp. 314, 320). The South, as Potter argued, “terrified” about “Republican propaganda and Republican toleration” of abolitionists activities like John Brown’s raid, seceded to protect its *herrenvolk* conception of republi-
can liberty, equality, and self-determination. Clearly, Holt does not deny the importance of slavery to the process, in fact the form in which the issue was politicized is central to his interpretation.

In his emphasis on providing a “usable past,” Levine seems “engaged more in justification than in explanation” as was David Potter of the earlier revisionists and their critics. Perhaps this, rather than the usually cited differences over quantification and the ethnocultural interpretation, most clearly differentiates the “new labor/social historians” from the “new political historians.” When it comes to statistical manipulation, Holt is a minimalist; and, clearly, he never held the views Levine ascribes to the ethnocultural school. Furthermore, his interpretation could easily absorb every bit of information provided in *The Spirit of 1848*. But one doubts that this would satisfy Levine.

On the other hand, Levine’s work in both this book and his more general studies does not approach the analytical rigor Holt assumes necessary for an adequate explanation of the coming of the Civil War. Ironically, neither author actually deals with questions of class and both in their discussions of the subject are crude economic determinists, with Levine substituting occupational groupings for class and Holt postulating “economic men” sensitive to the slightest fluctuation of the price index and contemplating the marginal cost of going to the polls. Nonetheless, Holt knows what a political explanation of the Civil War would involve and his work has immensely improved our understanding of the process that produced the Second American Revolution.

William G. Shade, *Lehigh University*

**Notes**


2. Levine quotes Schurz in *Half-Slave and Half-Free*, 15. Nearly all of this book is devoted to a discussion of the contrasting economies and societies of the North and the South.


5. Kristen Renwick Monroe, *Presidential Popularity and the Economy* (New York: Praeger, 1984), surveys the political science literature to that date and shows that the findings are much more ambiguous than Holt argues.
Editors Note: We invited two historians, by coincidence both at the University of Texas, to review a significant work of popular history.


After producing distinguished biographies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Somerset Maugham, and Winston Churchill, Ted Morgan has written the first installment of a two-volume interpretation of the way in which North American society developed from the Ice Age down to the modern era. A native of France who became an American citizen, Morgan brings a trans-Atlantic perspective to the subject. This book deals with the appearance of immigrants from Siberia around 15,000 B.C. and concludes with the land policies of the young United States of America. Morgan offers a lively, well-written treatment of these events that mixes social history with a hefty dose of the analytic concepts associated with Frederick Jackson Turner. The resulting volume should attract a wide popular audience. Readers of *Pennsylvania History* will find that Morgan's account touches on their state's early history at many key points.

Morgan has endeavored with notable success to emphasize the role of ordinary individuals in the historical processes that he describes. In addition, he has visited the geographical locations where the story took place. Accordingly, the text has a number of striking vignettes about the people who spent their lives in the wild of North America. The chapter on the Quaker Frontier becomes a mini-biography of William Penn. The treatment of the Walking Purchase of 1737 is told with evident sympathy for the Indians whose lands were the prize of white avarice. Because so much of the French and Indian War took place in Pennsylvania, Morgan's depiction of the frontier in 1750 often discusses the state's role in the climactic imperial confrontation in North America.

The narrative is very even-handed about the deeds of Indians and Europeans alike. Morgan describes the human plight of the Native Americans and their inability to stop the historical forces that overwhelmed them. His interpretation of how the westward expansion of whites occurred is very much in a Turnerian vein. "What made America was not just the hinterland, and not just the frontier," Morgan contends, "but the tension and interaction between the two" (pp. 13-14). Morgan may underemphasize the effect of ideas from Europe and settled areas of North America on the western settlement process in his faith in the egalitarian impulses of the frontier.

Morgan’s story sometime bogs down in a welter of names and places. A few chapters
are simply digests of traveler's accounts of frontier visits. Scholars will find the book's notes frustrating to consult. There is no adequate bibliography and the sources Morgan has used reflect relatively little of what is called "the new western history." General references to entire books or a whole manuscript collection for a single quotation hardly constitute adequate documentation. The publisher has not served Morgan or his readers well in that respect.

Nonetheless, the book is consistently interesting, especially for Morgan's connections between the events of his study and the development of American nationality. It will be fascinating to see how Morgan deals with the history of the West in the nineteenth century in his concluding volume.

Lewis L. Gould, University of Texas at Austin

Wilderness at Dawn is an ambitious book. In five hundred pages Ted Morgan seeks to describe and explain the American encounter with the "frontier" from the first crossing of the Bering Straits in 15,000 B.C. to the closing of the Federal Land Office in 1946. In addition to this monumental task, Morgan sets himself the equally imposing goal of synthesizing in a readable form the enormous (and to non-scholars often impenetrable) literature published on this vast subject in the past generation. In doing so, he attempts to bridge the gap between social history and the older narrative tradition of American historiography. If, as was perhaps inevitable given the scope of his goals, Morgan's aims in Wilderness at Dawn exceed his grasp, the result is nonetheless an enjoyable and occasionally provocative retelling of a fascinating tale.

Because of the conflicting perspectives of social and narrative history, efforts to combine them are fraught with difficulty. While social history succeeds best in recapturing the particular lives of ordinary people, narrative, by contrast, is best suited to depicting the grandeur of historical events and movements. Morgan's attempt to reconcile these conflicting approaches is not entirely successful. At times his dedication to detail and particularities renders his narrative choppy and episodic; at others his pursuit of narrative leads him to make breathtaking generalizations and omissions. In an effort to contain these contrary impulses, Morgan employs the overarching concept of the "frontier," both as a literal place where Europeans confronted the "wilderness" and its aboriginal inhabitants and also as an idea of freedom and opportunity which enticed and challenged all immi-
grants to America. The “frontier” was simultaneously a physical place and a state of mind.

In arguing that a unique American civilization was forged on the frontier, Morgan harkens back to Frederick Jackson Turner’s theory of a century ago. Unlike Turner, however, Morgan posits the existence of numerous and often overlapping frontiers. In different chapters he describes frontiers of empire and ethnicity—Spanish, French, Dutch, English, and Black (Colonial South Carolina)—as well as frontiers of the mind—Puritan, Salzburger, Quaker, and Manorial (Tidewater Virginia). In these sections the book perhaps works best as chapter-a-night bedside reading. Read in one sitting, the stories of arrival and idealism followed by contact, conflict, and compromise become confusingly repetitive. The place and names change but the story remains the same.

Morgan weaves social history into his narrative through the skillful use of exemplary characters. This book is peopled with Americans whose individual choices inadvertently shaped our history. Some of these names, like Cartier, Winthrop, Penn, Stuyvesant, and Byrd for example are familiar but others are new. Cabeza de Vaca and Mary Ingles survived Indian captivities several centuries and several thousands of miles apart. Charles Woodmason and Gabriel Sagard sought to bring “true” religion to the “savages” (both European and Indian) of the South Carolina and Canadian frontiers. The Indian shaman ‘Pope’ and the free black fisherman Thomas Jeremiah led (or planned) revolts in seventeenth-century New Mexico and revolutionary Charleston. Morgan is a wonderful storyteller and through these characters he brings the past to life.

The land itself is another character in the narrative. In the process of his research Morgan personally visited all of the sites he mentions and his descriptions provide the reader with a vivid and tangible sense of place. For those who stop to read roadside historical markers, this book would be a welcome companion on a cross-country journey.

The book succeeds best as a narrative in its final one hundred pages. The settling of the old Northwest territory (as well as Kentucky and Tennessee) provides Morgan with a canvas wide enough for him to use his broad brush to best effect. The unsung heroes of this story are the remarkable men who marked the bounds of Jefferson’s “empire of liberty.” Surveyors such as Rufus Putnam and John Mullet braved trackless wilderness, bitter weather, and hostile Indians who knew that where surveyors went settlers followed. Their stories, told in letters to the Government Land Office, make fascinating reading. Morgan is to be commended for bringing this neglected source to light. Like Turner before him, Morgan finds the northwest a congenial place for his modified “frontier thesis.” Unburdened by the European (or African) cultural baggage of the trans-Atlantic immigrant, the
trans-Appalachian pioneer was the most purely American. Morgan, like Turner, largely neglects the settling of the old Southwest (Alabama, Mississippi, etc.), thus ignoring the fact that slavery was also a frontier institution.

While scholars will quibble with Morgan about errors of detail and particular omissions in his work, *Wilderness at Dawn* also deserves to be considered as a whole for what it says about Americans and their past. Here Morgan again parts company with Turner. For Morgan the Indians were not merely impediments to progress and a challenge to be overcome (as they were for Turner) but Americans with their own distinctive vision and goals. Morgan's frontier is therefore a story of worlds lost as well as gained. Similarly, where Turner felt that the "liberating" effects of the frontier were a positive force, Morgan is less sanguine. Throughout *Wilderness at Dawn* emphasis is placed upon the process through which the land was taken from its original possessors. Through treaty, purchase (whether fair or foul), financial speculation, conquest, or imperialist presumption, the continent was divided into private property and weighed in the scales of the market.

Two hundred years ago, Hector St. John de Crevecœur described "the little mysteries of self-interest" that guided frontier settlers. Fifty years later Alexis de Tocqueville coined the word "individualism" to describe the Americans he met. In *Wilderness at Dawn* Ted Morgan likewise reminds us that for most Americans the "Pursuit of Happiness" meant the pursuit of private economic gain. Turner's frontier of liberty was also a frontier of cupidity.

Robert Olwell, *University of Texas at Austin*


Every serious student of early American history should read Alison Olson's *Making the Empire Work: London and American Interest Groups, 1690-1790.* The book provides a thorough analysis of the role various non-governmental institutions—merchant associations and religious denominations were the most important—played in imperial affairs. Equally important, Olson adds to our understanding of the origins of the American Revolution by explaining how and why the influence of these interest groups waned in years...
after 1760, thus helping to create an institutional vacuum in which misunderstanding and mutual distrust could thrive. Richard Johnson in the predictably effusive dust jacket blurb writes "A magnificent work. . . . It is a magisterial synthesis of an important and neglected topic. . . . A very fine book, one that will long stand as the definitive study of its topic, and as a major contribution to our understanding of the workings of England's Atlantic relationship in the 17th and 18th centuries." In this case the effusiveness is well warranted. Olson's drama plays out in an introduction and four chapter clusters. The introduction serves the customary function of clarifying terms and summarizing argument. "Interest groups," Olson notes, defies precise description, so she lists the four types she sees having existed, in order of their chronological appearance in imperial affairs. Kinship groups had some influence early, but were soon supplanted in importance by legally chartered institutions and uncharted voluntary associations representing economic, religious and ethnic groups. In the second half of the 18th century public opinion lobbies like the Bill of Rights Society began to appear. Olson's primary argument is a simple one: an essential cement of the empire during its "heyday" was cooperation among interest groups and governing officials on both sides of the Atlantic. "Substantial numbers of Americans," she writes, identified with English interest groups and through them had an informal and effective voice in the making of English decisions that affected them; they cooperated with the British government because they were getting what they wanted out of it." When this cooperative pattern disappeared the empire collapsed.

Chapters one through three constitute an integrated unit and bring the reader up to 1690. Before then transatlantic connections were highly personalized, uneven, and unpredictable. For example, Olson notes, colonial interests "had virtually no say in the drafting of the Navigation Acts" and no "real influence on the backstairs deliberations preceding the creation of the Dominion of New England" (p. 49). Chapters four, five and six constitute a second chronological unit. They discuss, in order, the development of English interest groups up to 1714, the organization of American interests in the same time period, and the relationships between colonial governors and interest groups on both sides of the ocean. It was during this quarter century that the London coffee houses grew, the newly formed Board of Trade learned to rely on interest groups for information and advice, and a general habit of transatlantic non-coercive cooperation began to mark imperial relationships.

The heyday of cooperation, according to Olson, lasted a full third of a century. Chapters seven, eight and nine chronicle the years roughly from 1720 to the mid-1750s,
again focusing on the interrelationships among American interest groups, their London counterparts, the colonial governors, and imperial officials in England. Colonists and their home connections helped shaped regulations concerning customs and the use of paper money, often determined appointments to colonial offices, successfully sought legislation favorable to ethnic and religious groups, and in general acted as advisors, not adversaries, to government. Olson, who is careful not to overwhelm the reader with too many examples, uses the respective cases of Governor Gooch in Virginia and Governor Belcher in Massachusetts to illustrate the complexities of the system.

The final unit is about decline. Chapters ten through twelve cover the coming of revolution and the effect of revolution on interest groups. The bureaucratizing of the imperial administration, accession politics, increasingly frequent confrontation of enforcement of policy and ideological changes all worked to destroy the pattern of cooperation. After independence the various lobbies went their separate ways and Olson's drama ends.

A few random comments. I find almost nothing to criticize Making the Empire Work. It's brief (only 187 pages of text), clearly written, effectively organized, jargon-free, judicious, and thoroughly convincing. Some readers may think it too old fashioned—Olson's work supplements that of imperial historians like Charles Andrews and Leonard Labaree—to deserve such high praise, but the imperial historians have stood the test of time well and Olson ranks with the best of them. Finally, readers of Pennsylvania History have special reasons to appreciate the volume. It contains a good deal about the colony's early years and is especially rich on the subject of transatlantic Quaker relationships.

Jere R. Daniel, Dartmouth College

Edited by John Kaminski & Gaspare Saladino. The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution Volume X.

(Madison: The Society Press, 735 PP., 1993. $50.00.)

This is the final volume of the trilogy in this series dealing with Virginia's ratification of the Constitution. Volume VIII, XI, and X are cumulatively indexed in this volume. It is, nevertheless, a volume that, like most from this project, can well stand alone. It clearly answers the question of what kept Virginia from being the tenth rather than the ninth state to ratify.

The convention having met in Richmond on June 2, this volume resumes the story
on June 12 with the beginning of debates on negotiations with Spain over navigation of the Mississippi River. Virginia’s geographic location, buttressed by her direct interest in Kentucky’s even more direct interest in the river, provoked several days of debate on a subject not of high priority to the delegates meeting in New Hampshire. The Virginia delegates wrangled for hours and days over the maintenance of a standing army, the longevity of terms of office, and the extent of the proposed government’s power in the proposed ten-mile square seat of government. Also serving to extend Virginia’s convention was a violent hailstorm on June 13th that brought debate to a halt early that Monday. Virginians found that they shared Pennsylvania’s hesitancy to embrace a standing army and that, like her, they were an exporter of produce from neighboring states and thus jealously guarded their own commerce and commercial facilities.

The worry and frustration felt by James Madison is apparent in the substance and tone of his answers to the antifederalist arguments of Patrick Henry and William Grayson. Henry argued that Pennsylvania’s convention had been tricked into its positive vote, an argument answered in the Pennsylvania Mercury by “A Federalist” and retrieved by the editors for inclusion here [Author’s italics]. Virginia’s debates are made more poignant when it is remembered that George Mason and Edmund Randolph were two of only three Philadelphia conventioners who refused to sign the proposed constitution upon its adoption. Both Mason and Randolph appear throughout this volume. Mason’s comments are concise and incisive. Randolph, serving as governor of the commonwealth, comes across as the voice of compromise, the doubter who nonetheless persuaded enough of his colleagues that the constitution represented the best in a non-perfect world. The vote in favor of federalism was close and it was too late to make Virginia the enacting state. However, the delegates celebrated as though it was, with parades, candlelight, food, and vigilance, all now fully documented by these editors who have combed repeatedly through seemingly inexhaustible sources.

The documentation, as we have come to anticipate in this series, is superb. To add to the information in this massive volume and to present some documents in their original format the publishers include a four-card set of microfiche containing more than 1,000 frames. The editors and publishers deserve commendation for including calendars of 1787 and 1788 and for utilizing the end papers to depict territorial geography and final vote distribution. The general introduction, bearing largely on the question of Mississippi River navigation, is extremely helpful. The final touch to creating a totally independent volume would have been an introduction, even though
brief, to the debates between June 2 and June 12. No matter. To hear these Virginians debate is truly worth the read.
Frank C. Mevers, New Hampshire State Archives


Few topics have remained as controversial as Andrew Jackson's policies toward the Indian tribes of North America, and few are so pivotal to understanding nineteenth-century American culture. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. completely ignored the issue in his landmark study *The Age of Jackson* (1945), while thirty years later Michael Rogin considered it an essential physical and psychological element in *Fathers and Children* (1975). In more recent years, William Anderson edited a concise collection of essays specifically on the Cherokees (*Cherokee Removal*, 1991), while this author has written about the leading opponent of that removal (Jeremiah Evarts) in *From Revivals to Removal* (1992). Despite these and other works that have traced the struggle between various indigenous peoples and white settlers, this slim volume by anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace is most welcome.

Wallace's study has several significant features for anyone seeking a concise presentation of the issues involved in Andrew Jackson's Indian policies. Most noteworthy, as befits a volume by an anthropologist, are his sketches of tribal cultures and folkways that created a world little understood and rarely appreciated by Jacksonian Americans. In parallel chapters, Wallace outlines the changing worlds of whites and Indians, wrought in turn by Pennsylvania anthracite and industrialization on the one hand and by trade and population changes on the other. Add to this the politics of land deals and intercourse acts, along with missionary ventures that sought to effect cultural change, and you have a volatile mix that often drove government Indian policy in conflicting directions.

The heart of Wallace's study is a concise summary of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the subsequent removal efforts, the most traumatic of which was the Trail of Tears that led west of the Mississippi to what became Oklahoma Territory. Throughout his narrative Wallace documents the various treaty negotiations, the evidence and implications of fraud practiced by government officials, and the various intratribal conflicts which
those officials encouraged and upon which they preyed. In so doing he develops with considerable nuance the implications of those policies and effect they had on all concerned. It is not a pretty story, but one that Wallace tells with a sensitivity to the world of antebellum America. In a concluding chapter he looks beyond that world to consider the long-term effects of removal. Exploring theories of race and civilization, Wallace examines the impact each had on the disciplines of history and anthropology. All in all, this is a volume that bulges with potential. Anyone interested in a concise summary of these troubling events, or teachers after a valuable classroom tool, will do well to read this book. John Andrew, Franklin & Marshall College


Some 132 years after President Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the blockade of the 3000-mile Confederate coast in 1861, Robert M. Browning, Jr., has published the first comprehensive monograph of this often-neglected initiative. Concentrating on one of the four Union blockading squadrons, *From Cape Charles to Cape Fear* presents the case history of blockade activity from Virginia to North Carolina.

The blockade has not enjoyed its rightful place in American history. The popular conception of this phase of the Civil War has focused on the glamor of daring Confederate blockade runners performing almost mythical feats and escapades, not on the largely unsung Union blockaders who patiently waited outside Southern harbors and sounds. Rhett Butler of *Gone with the Wind* fame is far better known today to the general public than the names of the four Union admirals who successively commanded the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

To redress this imbalance, Browning painstakingly reconstructs and evaluates the myriad aspects of the blockade: strategy, execution, effectiveness, international implications, and impact upon the Confederacy, as well as the frequent estrangement between Union Navy and Army in their joint military expeditions against the enemy. He also examines the inter-related components of the blockade rarely encountered in the battle-oriented approach of earlier works: the Union ships, their men, black “contraband” sail-
ors, construction, coaling, supplies, and repairs. The book’s cast of characters includes a full crew, Commander-in-Chief Lincoln, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, various Bureau Chiefs, officers, and common seamen.

Browning’s conclusion rings true. “Uncle Sam’s web feet” (the Union Navy, in Lincoln’s picturesque phrase) systematically starved the South to death. The blockading policy of the Anaconda Plan culminated in January 1865 with the second and successful attack on Fort Fisher, which had safeguarded Wilmington, North Carolina, the Confederacy’s last operating Atlantic port. With the capitulation of this Confederate Gibraltar, the South was deprived of its marine-transported supplies and surrendered three months later. No fledging nation could afford the loss of 1,504 vessels and still expect to win a war. As much as Grant’s Army of the Potomac hammered away at the South, the Union naval blockade, in a less publicized fashion, ground it down.

The book’s strengths lie in Browning’s massive research and his interpretative scholarship. He has harvested the bounty of many heretofore unpublished sources, along with both standard and more obscure materials. His use of the many Record Groups at the National Archives is particularly impressive. Insofar as historical documentation can attest, Browning proves his case.

The weaknesses of this volume are its inadequate maps and misleading tables. For example, the Fort Fisher map (p. 127) lacks a scale, sufficient precision, and the position of the Union fleet. The fort itself is represented by a thin line. Better maps throughout would have improved this book. Similarly, Table 3, “Percentage of Repairs by Facility and Year” (p. 165) gives the misleading impression that the Portsmouth (NH) Navy Yard had no role in this vital work, although the wartime Portsmouth Yard repaired and refitted many ships, including the USS Minnesota, damaged in the second Fort Fisher fight. A more reliable table would provide the actual numbers of ship repairs for each Union yard. It seems likely that repairs of short duration were handled in Union yards (such as Norfolk and Baltimore) closer to the action along the Confederate coast, while the more complex and time-consuming work was undertaken further up the Atlantic.

To provide variety and a fresh voice in place of the numerous dry quotations from the Official Records and unpublished material from the record groups, Browning might have drawn more abundantly from the lively contemporary Union press. Northern newspapers offered many trenchant editorials on the naval picture and frequently reprinted blockade duty officers’ and sailors’ letters, sources which dramatize the historical narrative.
These few reservations aside, every future historian treating the Union blockade will need to consult *From Cape Charles to Cape Fear*. Browning has convincingly argued that the Union blockading squadrons, both independently and in consort with Union Army operations, played a more crucial role in winning the war than has been previously believed. He has properly elaborated the long-overlooked but indispensable role of the Union Navy in the defeat of the Confederacy.

Richard E. Winslow III, *Portsmouth (NH) Marine Society*

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By Anne C. Rose. *Victorian America and the Civil War.*


The Victorians, asserts Anne C. Rose, "were unable to find contentment" on the eve of the Civil War, in spite of material prosperity, leisure for reflection, and richly textured family lives. They longed for "a defining event" that "would allow flawed human beings to come to terms with themselves." They therefore fashioned the Civil War into "a vehicle of spiritual resolution" (p. 236). The Civil War—as reality, as metaphor, as present tense, as memory—pervades this compelling study, but is not the focus of it. *Victorian America and the Civil War* is rather a study of the creation of a collective Victorian personality, or in the words of the author, "a history of consciousness."

The utilization of collective biography is more commonly associated with social or political than with cultural history, but in Anne C. Rose's hands it makes a very effective tool. Her subjects are sixty-one men and fourteen women born between 1815 and 1837, some of them major public figures, each of them known to historians, and all of them, she claims, "middle class in the sense that they pursued white collar occupations" (p. 3). Her sources include published letters and diaries, memoirs, biographies, and for sixteen of her subjects, unpublished manuscript collections. The Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William Sherman rub spiritual shoulders with feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton and actress Anna Cora Mowatt. Jay Cooke and Andrew Carnegie share the pages with Ely Parker, a Seneca tribe member who became head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and former millworker Lucy Larcom. (The inclusion of Carnegie and Cooke as part of the "middle-class" is startling, but they certainly did exemplify one aspect of Victorian culture.)

In five of the six chapters, successively on religion, work, leisure, family, and politics, Rose analyzes how the Victorians dealt with roles that were for the first time in American
society becoming distinct from one another. Each includes a section on the meaning of the war. In a few instances, as in the chapter on religion—which is otherwise a model of analytical clarity—the connection seems contrived. The sectional crisis that preceeded the war, she argues, illustrates the ways in which “churches less effectively sustained public dialogue,” so that “the Victorians turned to partisan contests, government initiatives, and ideologically charged debate” (p. 66). At other times, the technique is very effective, particularly in the chapter on work, in which she notes that the Civil War offered ambitious but ambivalent men (and some women) a chance to grasp at individual achievement at the same time that they secured the common good.

A richly textured and complex study, *Victorian America and the Civil War* deserves an attentive audience. (This is not to say that nineteenth century historians will always find themselves nodding in agreement of the involvement of fathers in the day-to-day emotional life of families exaggerated.) However, the fact that there is room for disagreement on various issues does not diminish the author’s achievement. The book is a significant addition to our understanding of Victorian culture.

Margaret Marsh, Temple University

By W. Bruce Leslie. *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University,” 1865-1917.* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1993. Pp. 284, $45.00.)

*Gentlemen and Scholars* is an excellent study of four colleges—Princeton, Swarthmore, Franklin & Marshall, and Bucknell—in the years between the Civil War and World War I. Professor Leslie particularly attempts to demonstrate that this period, which, for the past 25 years, has been dubbed by educational historians as the “age of the university,” was also the “age of the college,” and that liberal arts colleges, as well as research universities, successfully found their own niche in American education during these years. Since three of the four schools are in Pennsylvania, and since there are numerous other independent liberal arts colleges in the state which may have similar backgrounds, historians of Pennsylvania should find this book very useful.

Until the last few years, most historians have accepted Lawrence Veysey’s view, presented in his well-received 1965 study, *The Emergence of the American University,* that the founding and development of research universities in this period was a most welcome and
necessary development since American colleges in the post-Civil War era were dying anachronisms burdened with irrelevant and fixed curricula, sectarian boards of trustees, faculties composed of poorly paid ministers, carefully restricted lifeless campuses, and little support from the public. It was the universities, not the colleges, according to Veysey, which responded to the enormous social and economic changes in late nineteenth century America.

Professor Leslie, on the other hand, has carefully painted a very different picture of colleges from that of Veysey and others—a picture of increasingly wealthy, well-attended, vibrant institutions slowly shedding their early denominational and/or ethnic ties, and serving important regional and local publics. Leslie documents, for example, how these colleges developed a distinctive curriculum which retained some of the prescribed curriculum of earlier years, but also incorporated electives and specialization; and how these colleges developed a distinctive collegiate life which increasingly appealed to upper-middle class and upper-class Protestants.

These colleges had been founded and nurtured by denominational groups which, in several cases, apparently had more interest in supporting secondary or theological education than collegiate programs. Leslie analyzes how the colleges slowly shed their academies and secondary departments and became the type of independent institutions with which we are acquainted today. Leslie reminds us that none of this was foreordained; indeed, if American colleges had not proven to be useful and resourceful, they could have disappeared in the wake of the development of high schools and universities. However, Leslie shows how the growing desires of the middle and upper classes for pre-professional training and a collegiate experience helped these and other similar colleges to grow and prosper.

_Gentlemen and Scholars_. is full of provocative ideas about the connections between the world of higher education and the rest of American society, and it makes a fine contribution to the history of American higher education and to American social history. Professor Leslie apparently spent approximately twenty-five years on this work, and it shows. He should be congratulated, and we should be grateful for his research, his analysis, and his staying power.

David M. Stameshkin, _Franklin & Marshall College_

During the 1950s, Abraham, William and Alfred Levitt started work on a massive suburban housing development near Philadelphia in lower Bucks County. This housing development, along with an earlier Levittown built on Long Island and a later one in New Jersey, came to symbolize for many the ills of the new post war society. However, for their tenants, the developments offered unprecedented opportunity to reach the American dream of home ownership. Barbara M. Kelly's brief and sympathetic examination of the original Levittown erected in 1947, in Long Island, New York, provides some interesting new insights to this much-studied undertaking. The author explores the development of the suburban community through three stages: its initial rental stage; its conversion and expansion to tract housing for families usually shut out of the housing market stage; and its emergence as respectable middle class housing stage. The book focuses on the houses themselves, and fits into the genre of housing studies associated with Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright. Unlike historians, sociologists and geographers who have studied Levittown, Kelly focuses on the home as artifact and is particularly interested in the changing nature of domestic space in these houses.

The suburban communities with their four room Cape Cods, and later Ranches, were built by the Levitts in response to the massive housing shortage facing America after World War II. The builders initial effort, supported by government subsidies to the developer and innovative mass production building techniques, centered on erecting single family rental homes. That soon changed, however, as FHA/GI benefits along with lower housing costs, opened up unprecedented opportunities for blue collar workers to purchase suburban housing.

After repeating the familiar story of how Levittown came to be, and exploring the responses to that community, Kelly concentrates on the heart of her study, "a cultural history of the built environment of a subdivision suburb" with special attention given to "the forms of the houses as they evolved over time" and the "process by which the design of those houses interacted with the lives of their residences to reinforce the cultural consensus of postwar American" (p. 18). She not only explores how the houses personified the familial cultural norms of the 1950s, but also demonstrates how the Levitt-built dwellings represented male priorities in the 1950s. The book's most important contribution, however, is its discussion of owner initiated modifications to the houses and how those re-
lected not only lifestyle changes of the occupants but mirrored what husbands and wives really wanted in a house, thus explaining the book's subtitle.

Kelly also explores the changing nature of Levittown, from a working class suburb to a more middle class one, a transformation that Kelly sees as terribly significant. Indeed, the book emphasizes that the FHA/GI programs which promoted Levittowns were successful not only in providing much needed housing and promoting stability among a potentially volatile working class, but helped redefine class by allowing working class Americans to experience home ownership for the first time in their lives.

Overall this book is successful, although its celebration of the government's role in bringing home ownership to the working classes should be tempered with the acknowledgment of what such developments did to cities and urban society. Moreover, Kelly's argument about the role of housing policies in redefining class would have been more convincing had it acknowledged other economic and social developments of the 1950s which might have influenced such a redefinition. Still, this is a useful addition to the history of Levittown and of domestic architecture and culture.

Robert B. Fairbanks, University of Texas at Arlington


Professor Curran combines sociological theory with a historical narrative and analysis which takes account of the character of the coal industry and the policies of the United Mine Workers as well as detailing the passage and implementation of federal coal mine health and safety legislation. His theoretical paradigm, in contrast to the consensual and class models usually employed by sociologists, focuses on historical context. He concludes that in a few eras the combination of major disasters and industrial prosperity and employment security produced remedial legislation. These laws reflected the dual need of the system to placate workers and to maintain existing economic and social arrangements. In practice, as implemented by the federal bureaucracy, this legislation brought limited improvements to coal miners, but failed to create safe working conditions in the coal mining industry.

Although Daniel Curran focuses on the two decades following the passage of the
Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, he provides an overview of earlier developments including the Organic Act of 1910. The Progressive Era and the New Deal produced a spate of reforms, but only the Organic Act of 1910, which created a Bureau of Mines in the Department of the Interior, focused on coal mine safety. Even this legislation, prompted by the Monongah disaster and responsive to the growing coal industry and its need for a stable labor force, provided little aid to miners as the bureau lacked funding and the authority to conduct health and safety inspections.

Passage of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act of 1941 and the Federal Coal Safety Act of 1952 reflected some renewed interest in safety legislation, but the major coal operators and John L. Lewis focused on developing a closer relationship based on a modernized industry with a reduced labor force receiving high wages and fringe benefits. Finally, a conjunction of events led to the passage of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. A flourishing coal industry and a stable labor force combined with an explosion in Consol Number 9 in Farmington, West Virginia, produced this important legislation which extended the enforcement potential of the Bureau of Mines by empowering it to enter the mines and levy fines for violations. Even in this case, however, legal loopholes, minimum fines and an unwieldy bureaucracy stifled effective enforcement. These deficiencies and the explosion at Scotia Number 1 in 1976 led to the Amendments Act of 1977 which consolidated enforcement efforts and extended coverage to virtually all mines. However, the Reagan era, with its deregulatory focus, brought setbacks for coal mine safety as inspectors issued fewer citations and assessed smaller fines while fatality and injury tolls mounted. This record contrasts with the much better performance of the European mining industry. Daniel Curran emphasizes coal mine safety in his coverage of the 1970's and 1980's, but he also gives some attention to the coal industry and the United Mine Workers.

This valuable survey of national coal mining health and safety legislation interweaves a theoretical paradigm and a historical framework and provides convincing evidence that the federal government has failed to mount an effective campaign to reduce the death and injury toll of coal mines. Pennsylvania developments receive no special attention, but the coverage enhances our knowledge of the industry and the United Mine Workers and heightens our appreciation of the dangers of coal mining which sometimes produced major disasters such as Darr mine in Jacobs Creek, Pennsylvania, where 239 miners died in December 1907. Professor Curran concludes his book on a pessimistic note by recalling our shameful record in coal mine safety while leaving a glimmer of hope with a passing reference to the Clinton administration.

Irwin M. Marcus, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

After a few hours of rugged driving, the westward-bound traveler finally leaves the mountains of central Pennsylvania and descends into the hill-and-valley topography of western Pennsylvania. The flatter middle west still lies 50 to 100 miles further west. For most people the complexity of western Pennsylvania’s terrain obscures any sense of physical unity for the region. The Allegheny River flows north to south across three-quarters of western Pennsylvania, but even this broad river fails to create a regional feeling, as many rivers do elsewhere in the world. Western Pennsylvanians, author Mike Sajna notes, typically know only a specific stretch of the river; the rest remains dimly appreciated.

Rivers have always been central to the human experience. They have often “served as symbols for the flow of life” (p. ix). Photographer Jim Schafer and writer Sajna each had fond childhood memories of family recreation in the upper Allegheny River Valley. Like many who watched the water flow by, they had wondered about those river stretches which came before and after the segments familiar to them. They set out to learn more about the river that held important associations for them. And they wished to share their appreciation with fellow western Pennsylvanians.

The glossy coffee table format of their book serves this purpose well. Schafer’s large, color photographs invite bookstore browsers to flip through the book. Additional historical, black and white photographs and simple captions may entice some to explore the text, but the photographs close the sale.

Sajna’s clear, accessible text is more ambitious than that of the typical, popularly-oriented river book. Eschewing the standard source-to-mouth downriver sojourn, the author strives to present the Allegheny from many different perspectives. Sajna artfully weaves anecdotes, interviews, contemporary descriptions, biographical portraits, historical vignettes, and geological discussions into a colorful, informative, yet formless pastiche. Sajna is particularly interested in native American and eighteenth century pioneer topics. Regrettably, no themes are explicitly developed. The reverse geographical progression of chapters from Pittsburgh to the river’s origins deep in the mountains and the tripartite division of the river (into a lower civilized, middle primitive, and little known northern tail above the Kinzua Dam) provide some order, but fail to hold together adequately the many chapters and topics.

At the book’s beginning, end, and subtitle (*Watershed of the Nation*), Sajna advances
the grand theme that the story of America can be glimpsed through the life the Allegheny River (valley). Glaciers, native Americans, European explorers, pioneers, and adventurous rivermen share the author’s valley with rapacious lumbermen, industrial capitalists, politicians, and governmental bureaucrats. Both positive and negative aspects are recounted. Industrial pollution and the dislocation of the Seneca Indians from their reservations for the creation the Allegheny Reservoir (to protect Pittsburgh from flooding) receive equal billing with canoeing the “primitive” river and descriptions of flora and fauna.

However, like its location in the book, Sajna’s terse thematic assertions serve mostly as bookends to hold together his collection of stories. The unwillingness to develop larger themes throughout the text sidesteps the opportunity, which this attractively crafted book offers, to ask a popular audience to ponder the issues that the Allegheny River poses about western Pennsylvania in the past, present and future. Unfortunately, too many readers will treat this volume the same way that they use remote control channel selectors to graze television’s fare. Entertainment value will not lead to thoughtful consideration of issues without more explicit thematic guides.

Edward K. Muller, University of Pittsburgh


Suburb in the City tells the story of Chestnut Hill from its colonial beginnings as a self-sufficient village to its present predicament as an old, relatively affluent former railroad suburb within the borders of an even older and declining city. David Contosta, a professor of history at Chestnut Hill College, blends narrative history with statistics and oral interviews to relate the district’s physical changes and its subsequent social texture and tensions, in particular since the middle of the nineteenth century.

Contosta traces Chestnut Hill’s historical development in four overlapping stages that have unfolded in different parts of this large northwestern section of Philadelphia. The gateway village consisted of farmers and craftsmen who lived along Germantown Road before the middle of the nineteenth century, serving both their neighborhood and those passing in and out of the commercial city of Philadelphia. The railroad arrived in 1854 and changed Chestnut Hill forever. It created the so-called romantic suburb of North Chestnut Hill, a neighborhood of wealthy families residing with their servants in sumptu-
ous suburban villas and taking frequent rail trips to the industrial city where the men made their small fortunes and women and children enjoyed high culture and consumerism. In the 1880s, Henry H. Houston, a successful entrepreneur, inaugurated the third phase, the planned suburb of Wissahickon Heights (now called St. Martin's), when he extended this living pattern—and another rail line—into western Chestnut Hill. Houston and his descendants left little to chance. Rather than sell lots Houston built large architect-designed houses for rent and thereby secured both the value of his property and the tenor of the neighborhood. He reinforced this influence by underwriting such local institutions as an Episcopal church and a cricket club. The automobile was the shaping force during the fourth, and present, phase. In conjunction with other social and economic factors that have transformed American cities and suburbs in the last half of the twentieth century, it today threatens Chestnut Hill's stability.

Chestnut Hill's transformation from a relatively self-contained community of farmers and craftsmen to an affluent railroad suburb is a familiar American story. Chestnut Hill's distinctiveness as a suburb, however, rests not in its transformation but in its political predicament of having been within Philadelphia's borders ever since in 1854 the original city and the surrounding county were consolidated as a single governmental entity. Thus the book's title, *Suburb in the City*. This status was a mixed blessing at times, but it meant that Chestnut Hill, unlike suburban communities on the Main Line, enjoyed little self-determination. It could not raise taxes, zone land, provide services, and take other actions that afford citizens a sense of control over the quality of their neighborhood's environment. Often the problem of being a relatively sparsely populated residential neighborhood physically remote from City Hall led residents to feel overtaxed, under-represented, and cheated on services and gave rise to cries of secession—some as recently as 1988.

At the turn of this century, during Chestnut Hillers' heyday of financial might, small groups of citizens were able to buy what they wanted, paving some of their own streets, for example, and buying (and dismantling) a nearby amusement park that they believed drew an undesirable element through their community. Since World War II, however, residents have had to be more resourceful, cooperative, and engaged in the city's political life in order to preserve their neighborhood's quality. Chestnut Hillers in recent decades have coped with the dilemma of being a fashionable suburb in a declining city by developing what Professor Contosta calls a "quasi-government" of interacting citizen groups composed almost exclusively of volunteers. He draws heavily on newspaper accounts leav-
ened by lively oral history to relate this tale of recurring reform and reaction (or at least alternate periods of “progress” and apathy). This is perhaps the most interesting and valuable part of this book, and probably will make it an important source for future historians of Philadelphia and its environs.

Equally useful is Contosta's description of Chestnut Hill's two societies. Since the middle of the nineteenth century Chestnut Hill's affluent homeowners have determined the area's reputation as an outpost of Philadelphia's elite. Contosta points out, however, that a large servant class staffed Chestnut Hill's many mansions, giving rise to two societies, separated by unbridgeable social, religious, and ethnic differences. The number of servants declined as educational and economic opportunities increased after World War I, but their offspring remained in many pockets of Chestnut Hill. Consequently Chestnut Hill's image of affluence, civility, and homogeneity, like so many images, is partially correct but not totally accurate.
Linda A. Ries’ straight-forward and comprehensive guide describes the type and extent of photographic resources contained in each of the State Archive’s record and manuscript groups that contains images. Ries provides a capsule history of each of the various governmental departments, bureaus, agencies, offices, and commissions at the beginning of each record group entry. Likewise she identifies the source and significance of the manuscript collections. These introductions help orient the user to the wider holdings of each record or manuscript group.

A sixty-page index provides the user with access to the record and manuscript group entries. Even a casual perusal of the index reveals the wealth of the Archives’ photographic collections, which include images dated as early as 1851, and the value of Ries’ guide. For example, views of Ephrata Cloister are located in three separate record groups and four manuscript groups. However, the index fails to cite three ca. 1900 views described in the entry for RG-15, the Records of the Department of Justice, a location most researchers would probably not immediately investigate for photographs of an eighteenth-century religious commune.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in industrial and labor history, the history of African-Americans and other ethnic groups in Pennsylvania, or other aspects of the commonwealth’s rich and varied past will find that this guide greatly facilitates location of photographs in the Archive’s vast holdings. As a public historian active in historic preservation and cultural resource management I was impressed by the scale and scope of the Archive’s holdings and of the relevance of these images to my daily work. The nearly 22,000 images produced by the Department of Highways offer an unparalleled visual record of the development of Pennsylvania’s highway system, while the holdings of other record and manuscript group promise to offer equally valuable views of buildings, places, and people, augmenting traditional written documentary sources.

Patrick W. O’Bannon, Kise Franks & Straw, Philadelphia


This is a study of the politics of urban renewal rather than of politics and urban renewal. The author devotes numerous pages to details of electoral campaigns and polit-
cal wrangling between City Hall and the State House, but much less analysis to the physical city, save for a few downtown projects. To be sure, there is a familiar recounting of the difficulties of piecing together plans for the Prudential Building or the Governmental Center, but for the most part the new buildings that replaced large, deteriorating sections of the old Boston receive little attention. What assessment O'Connor offers of residential renewal, the livability of the block and neighborhood, generally harkens back to Herbert Gans' condemnation of the demolition of the West End, *The Urban Villagers* (1962). It also echoes John Mollenkopf's *Contested City* (1983), particularly his analysis of the divergence of rhetoric and reality—the promise to residents of rehabilitation and, when necessary, assistance in relocation, on one hand, and the failure of the planning process in addressing the needs of the poor on the other.

This clarification of the subtitle should not detract from the author's accomplishment, a lucid explication of the urban politics in the post-World War II years. If *Building a New Boston* has a hero, it is John B. Hynes, the almost anonymous city clerk who defeated the mythic James Michael Curley in the mayoral elections of 1949 and 1951. An exemplar of the "new politics" that supplanted the machine and extended ties to the business community, Hynes dreamed of a gleaming new Boston comparable to the revitalized Pittsburgh. Yet this decent man was also "a novice, a well-meaning amateur" (p. 288) who proved unable to deal effectively with the state legislature and, ultimately, to translate hopes into buildings. His successor, John F. Collins, perfected what Mollenkopf has termed a "progrowth coalition" and placed control of the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) in the hands of Edward J. Logue, who brought to fruition a number of projects stalled during the Hynes administration—the Prudential Center, the parking garage under Boston Common, the Central Artery, and Government Center—and unleashed a range of new projects, including neighborhood renewal. Although Logue believed that his plans for residential Boston were sensitive to the needs of the people, O'Connor demonstrates that the centralized planning of the BRA generated conflict with both white and black neighborhoods. Excepting the South End brownstones and other housing targeted for gentrification, Boston applied clearance surgery to residential blight, not the "penicillin" that, as John F. Bauman has argued in *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal* (1987), was prescribed in Philadelphia.

O'Connor concludes with the observation that his is a tale of two cities. On the most obvious level it is the contrast between the old, deteriorating Boston of the immediate post-World War II years and the prosperous new Boston of the title. On another level,
however, the author casts in opposition the white, moneyed, professional downtown and the minority and ethnic white population buffeted by and resistant to urban renewal in the outlying wards. Although at least some of its proponents hoped that urban renewal would “lessen the differences between these two Bostons,” the demolition and new construction ultimately “created an even greater chasm than ever before”—but race and class had replaced religion and ethnicity as the principal differences separating the metaphorical cities (p. 295). Among the many unintended consequences of urban renewal, this is perhaps the most significant.

David Schuyler, Franklin & Marshall College

By David R. Contosta. The Private Life of James Bond.

When most of us hear the name “James Bond,” we think of the suave and ruthless agent of Her Majesty’s Secret Service immortalized in the novels of Ian Fleming. David Contosta’s The Private Life of James Bond is an excellent account of the man for whom the fictional Bond was named. The real Bond wasn’t a spy, but he was an adventurer of sorts—an adventurer of the mind. He was one of Pennsylvania’s last “gentlemen naturalists,” and he was a great one. What John and William Bartram did for flora in the Carolinas, James Bond did for birds in the West Indies.

James Bond the naturalist was born into a blue-blooded Philadelphia family in 1900 and educated in England at Harrow and Cambridge. Trained to follow in his banker father’s professional footsteps, the young James soon discovered that the business world was not for him. He became a fulltime naturalist while still in his twenties. Although he was affiliated with Philadelphia’s Academy of Natural Sciences, he remained an independent scholar for the rest of his life, living off of a modest inheritance. His university training was in economics rather than natural history. But a passion for ornithology that went back to his childhood, as well as an acute sense of observation and a painstaking regard for detail, soon gained Bond a reputation in the scientific community.

Most of Bond’s work was done in the West Indies. He described himself as a “zoogeographer,” and was primarily interested in the origins, migrations, and habitats of that region’s birds. His contributions were groundbreaking. He was the first naturalist to discover that the birds of the West Indies are of North American rather than South American
origin. He compiled an exhaustive *Check-List of Birds of the West Indies* which he supplemented regularly until his death in 1989. And as early as 1936 he argued for the necessity of bird sanctuaries and a complete ban on the commercial collection of exotic animals. He was an advocate of environmentalism before environmentalism was popular.

It was Bond's *Birds of the West Indies* that earned him a compliment which always irritated him—the namesake of Ian Fleming's spy hero. Fleming, a resident of Jamaica, later confessed that "one of my bibles was, and still is, *Birds of the West Indies* by James Bond, and it struck me that this name, brief, unromantic and yet very masculine, was just what I needed and so James Bond II was born . . . ." (p. 107). Bond's wife was rather amused by the subsequent notoriety, and even wrote a delightful book entitled *How 007 Got His Name* recounting some of the more humorous consequences arising from the "double identity" of her husband. James was not amused.

David Contosta is to be complimented for this elegant account of James Bond's life. Bond the ornithologist may have been a less dashing figure than Bond the secret agent, but the former's achievements in the area of natural history are far more worthy of recognition than the latter's exploits. Those scholars interested in Pennsylvania's rich legacy of "gentlemen-naturalists" will relish this book.

Kerry S. Walters, *Gettysburg College*
Pennsylvania Historical Association
Program
Wilson College, Chambersburg, PA
Thursday and Friday October 28-29, 1993

Thursday Morning:
Phi Alpha Theta Undergraduate Papers
Graduate Student Roundtable: Students completing dissertations on Pennsylvania topics from Pitt, Penn State, Penn and Temple.

Thursday Luncheon:
William C. Pencack, Penn State/Ogontz. "Educating the Female Elite: The Ogontz School for Women."

Thursday Afternoon:
The Military in Late Colonial America Papers:
R.S. Stephenson, Univ. of Virginia, "An Extreme Bad Collection?: Anglo-American Military Society in the Ohio Valley, 1754-1765."
Charles E. Brodine, Jr., Department of the Navy, "Pennsylvania Hostility Towards the British Army, 1758-1761."
Moderator: Van Beck Hall, University of Pittsburgh

Industrialization in Late Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania Papers:
Brian Black, Managing Editor, American Studies, "The Persistence of Oil on the Brain: Can the History of Pennsylvania's Oil Boom Reach Deeper."
Commentary: Carl I. Meyerhuber, Penn State at New Kensington
Culture and Consumption in Twentieth Century Pennsylvania.

Papers:
Curtis Miner, Johnstown Area Heritage Association, "Touring the Smokey City: Pittsburgh and the Twentieth Century Tourist, 1920-1965."
Commentary: Charles Cashdollar, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Moderator: Jack Larner, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

DINNER:
Philip Scranton, Rutgers-Camden. "Conceptualizing Pennsylvania’s Industrializations."

FRIDAY MORNING:
Labor and the Working Class in Late Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania

Papers:
Irwin M. Marcus, Indiana University of PA, "Ferment in the Coal Fields: Tioga County, 1865-1900."
George A. Turner, Bloomfield University, "The Anthracite Coal Hospital at Ashland."
Commentary: Perry Blatz, Droleve
Moderator: Rosalind Remer, Moravian College

Pennsylvania Politics During the Later 18th Century

Papers:
Paul D. Newman, University of Kentucky, "Fries and the Hot Water War."
J. Walter High, Drexel University, "Thomas Coombe, Loyalist."
Moderator: Susan Klepp, Rider College

Pennsylvania Culture and Religion in the 18th Century

Papers:
Stephen L. Longnecker, Bridgewater College, "Radical Pietistic and Tolerance in Early Pennsylvania."
Aaron Fogleman, University of South Alabama, "German Culture Transfer to Colonial Pennsylvania."
Commentary: John B. Frantz, Penn State University
Moderator: Beverly Smith, Clarion University

LUNCHEON:
Gary Gallagher, Penn State, "The Great Valley in the Civil War."