

Book Reviews

By E. Digby Baltzell. *Sporting Gentlemen: Men's Tennis from the Age of Honor to the Cult of The Superstar*.

(New York: The Free Press, 1995. xii, 420 pp. indexed, \$30.00).

In *Sporting Gentlemen* E. Digby Baltzell, Emeritus professor of History and Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and author of *The Protestant Establishment*, argues that the history of tennis mirrors the rise and decline of the influence of an American upper class in setting the social and moral standards of society. Adopted from the public school system in England by such men as Endicott Peabody, headmaster at Groton School, and epitomized by President Theodore Roosevelt, this “morals-manners-generating community” took root between 1880 and the First World War. It established an ethical ideal of honor, sportsmanship, and good behavior that, in general, according to Baltzell governed conduct in this country until the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the moral and societal decline of the 1960s.

At the heart of the upper class in America was the game of tennis. Played in the beginning almost exclusively by the interconnected families of the “400” and the social register, it was dominated in the beginning by the “first families” of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. It quickly became an important part of the upper class social scene and was played in exclusive clubs on the eastern seaboard—culminating in “tennis week” at the Newport Casino in Rhode Island, where the United States Men’s Singles Championships were held between 1881 and 1914. It was also a collegiate sport that flourished especially at Ivy League colleges. Nearly all of the early champions, men like Richard D. Sears of Boston and James Dwight of Philadelphia, learned tennis at their club, preparatory school, and college.

Tennis in the amateur period, even down to modern champions Arthur Ashe and Stan Smith (who bridged the transition into today’s open era, heavily dominated by money) was governed by a gentlemanly code of good sportsmanship. Winning for many players was not the only consideration. What counted even more was how one played the game and conducted oneself during the match. Except perhaps for Fred Perry, son of a British labor M.P., through the second world war, winning at all costs in tennis, or any other gentlemanly athletic endeavor, was not a major goal of the Anglo-American upper class code. John MacEnroe-like tantrums, foul language, even the questioning of line calls were unusual and always in bad taste.

Leadership by an American upper class produced more than a “leveling up” in society generally, when the entire nation strove to live by its gentlemanly code of honor; such leadership was also in some sense responsible for the golden age of tennis, 1920-1950. During these great amateur decades artistry

could flourish. The all-court game, using every tennis stroke, complete with strategy and drama, and requiring nerves of steel, allowed some all-time great American players to develop every facet of their game. In Baltzell's estimation the most brilliant of these players was Bill Tilden. A tennis genius, Tilden exhibited all of the complex, often contradictory, characteristics of greatness, including great arrogance as well as extraordinary gifts. But even Tilden believed unquestionably in the gentlemanly code of honor.

In Baltzell's view, the 1960s and 1970s mark one of the great divides in American history, as well as in the evolution of tennis. Although there were earlier signs, the assassination of Kennedy, campus riots, increasingly boorish behavior, and the breakdown of law and order generally signaled the waning of the values of a society led by its upper class. The age of gentleman amateurs was replaced by the "new age of the bullet and the bullhorn." (p. 12). The golden age of class-led democracies with an overall "leveling-up" effect ended. In its place emerged a totalitarian age of one-dimensional mass-man, which has produced an overall "leveling-down."

Starting in 1968, the era of modern, open professional tennis has become, in Baltzell's view, a microcosm of the country's retreat from the values of an upper class. This retreat is epitomized by the outrageously boorish court behavior of Jimmy Connors and especially James MacEnroe, by the crassness of Billie Jean King, and even by the ugliness of the two-fisted backhand and the lack of imagination displayed by most recent players. Tennis has become dominated by the demands and schedules of television and big business, and one-dimensional young men and women, programmed from their preteen years by parents and private coaches to hit tennis balls like robots, do it all for money. The one exception to this stereotype is MacEnroe himself, who, Baltzell recognizes, is driven by the same "rage for perfection" that impelled Bill Tilden. Clearly Baltzell deeply regrets that MacEnroe, who recognizes the sham of dollar-driven society and supports the amateur code because of the greater expression it allows players, ultimately falls short.

Sporting Gentlemen is both a penetrating study of modern American society and a comprehensive and analytical history of tennis. Baltzell himself is a life-long tennis player, and either competed against or knew many of the players he depicts. Finally, *Sporting Gentlemen* is a brave book. Baltzell is not afraid to take a stand, arguing persuasively for the gentlemanly ideals of the upper class. Such civility has served tennis well for almost a century; let us hope that its memory and example (in such men as Arthur Ashe and Stan Smith) continues to moderate the sport's commercialization.

Ralph J. Crandall; *Director, The New England Historic Genealogical Society*. Dr. Crandall played varsity tennis at the University of Southern California as an undergraduate; he then decided to receive his doctorate in history there instead of becoming a professional tennis player.

Edited by E. Willard Miller. *A Geography of Pennsylvania.*

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.

Pp. xvii, 406. \$75.00 Cloth, \$25.00 Paper).

Pennsylvania geography's inimitable authority, Penn State Professor Emeritus E. Willard Miller, has produced another outstanding reference work in *A Geography of Pennsylvania*. A third of the text he has written himself. The rest was written by Ronald F. Abler, Roman A. Cybriwsky, Rodney A. Erickson, Peirce Lewis, Ben Marsh, Richard D. Schein, Anthony V. Williams, Brent Yarnal, and Wilbur Zelinsky. The volume is a fitting companion to *The Atlas of Pennsylvania* (Temple University Press, 1986), which has more elaborate graphics but shorter essays. Most of *A Geography's* essays have the benefit of statistics derived from the 1990 U.S. Census.

"The past is not a key to the future" announces the preface, although summaries of the past infuse all twenty-one of the chapters. Why do Miller and his collaborators take this view? Because they believe change is a more certain factor than continuity, that economic changes shape geographical changes, and that there is a contrary or compensating factor at work which causes shifts in activity sites and types of activity.

The essays are placed in four parts: "The Natural Landscapes," "The People," "The Economy," and "The Cities." "Natural Landscapes" includes geology, water, forest, and climate, but not flora and fauna. Part two, "The People," includes demographic analyses, political geography, and recreation and tourism. The six essays within "The Economy" cover the field well, although banking, high finance, and flow of capital are not specifically discussed. The chapters grouped under "The Cities" describe location, growth, and internal structure, and conclude with enlightening essays on Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

Although only Part two is entitled "The People," the human dimension is stressed throughout the work. This is conspicuous in the studies of manufacturing and services because statistics of employment classifications provide most of the data rather than figures specifically showing the end products, the goods and services. Wilbur Zelinsky reveals the nature of this problem when he tells of having to use employment figures because of the steel industry's reluctance to release geographic data.

Occasionally other compromises on source materials appear. Altered definitions of urban criteria, made by the federal government in 1960, had to be projected back to 1790 by manipulation in order to state where Pennsylvania's cities stood in relation to the rest of the nation. In his excellent essay on services, Abler had to write from industry statistics rather than occupations data because the former is a better package; this skewed his results by understating total service sector employment. Several bibliographical references to John Florin's study of western expansion from 1683 to 1850 also

imply reliance on another approximate statement of a complicated subject.

In his chapter on politics, Anthony Williams concentrates on major elections. He introduces us to the importance of the "friends-and-neighbors" factor as one of the recurring universal forces, but scandal and exposure of corruption do not receive consideration as a constant. Williams's dating the "republican hammerlock" at 1860 may be questioned; the mid-1890s is usually preferred.

For this reviewer, the greatest contribution of the book is the coverage of the last fifty years, a time still in need of reliable generalizations and obstructed by imprecise concepts like "decaying infrastructure," "soft landing," and "deindustrialization." Viewing farm and industrial unemployment and the growth of service sector employment as two separate progressions is very important. In tracing the decline of Pennsylvania's steel industry, Allan Rodgers favors the inertia theory rather than explanations based on management errors or union greed, which figure prominently in the works of others who have dealt with the topic. Also, Willard Miller alerts us to the temporal gap between Pittsburgh's first and second Renaissance movements, as well as the revival of the bituminous coal industry between 1961 and 1979.

Rising beyond the human dimension to abstract levels are Pierce Lewis's "American Roots in Pennsylvania Soil" and Wilbur Zelinsky's "Cultural Geography." Both chapters seek to find the parameters of what I would term Pennsylvania-ness; both are brilliant, well argued, and opinionated.

A Geography of Pennsylvania will give the historian a wide perspective on the state. Willard Miller and his collaborators are to be especially congratulated for their realism. They have not catered to journalistic pressure by arguing for pie in the sky, as some otherwise reputable scholars have in the past, most notably W. W. Rostow who anticipated "self-sustaining growth."

Louis M. Waddell, *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*.

By James Horn. *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake*.

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. 461 pages. \$55.00).

"Virginia and Maryland," asserts James Horn, "were *immigrant* societies: down to the final decades of the century the majority of settlers were born and raised in England, a factor that had far-reaching consequences for social development in the two colonies (p. 11)." *Adapting to a New World*, Horn's fine study of the profoundly *English* ways of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, not only emphasizes continuities rather than disjunctures between old- and new-world societies, but also offers an excellent synthesis of the past twenty-odd years of scholarship on the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

Because so many colonists viewed the new world “through English eyes,” Horn argues, their dominant cultural assumptions exerted a more profound influence than environment on emerging Chesapeake society. Thus although new world material conditions may have differed substantially from those that settlers left behind, the inherited cultural language they brought with them remained the same. By comparing local English societies including the Vale of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, and central Kent—areas that produced large numbers of Chesapeake settlers in the seventeenth century—to lower Norfolk and Lancaster counties in Virginia, Horn explores the evolution of English cultural continuities on American soil.

The book is divided into three parts. Parts I and II follow similar organizational strategies by first sketching out broad contextual overviews of English and Chesapeake societies and then undertaking a more in-depth analysis of specific local cultures. In “The English Context of Emigration,” the author examines the national and local factors that influenced emigration, focusing on the English origins of Chesapeake settlers through broad descriptions of the emigrants, their geographic origins, and their motivations for leaving England. Specific case studies from the Vale of Berkeley and Kent provide a richer portrait of the social backgrounds of the emigrants. Part II, “The Formation of Chesapeake Society,” follows the same organization for the Chesapeake by first offering an interpretive overview of the development of seventeenth-century Chesapeake society and then returning to a local level to examine the settlement of lower Norfolk and Lancaster counties. Part III forms the real core of the book, and adopts a comparative approach to illustrate particular themes in both English and Chesapeake societies: attitudes toward sex, marriage, family, and community; work experiences; the domestic environment; patterns of crime, social protest, and rebellion; and the spiritual worlds of established religion and popular belief.

While the author immediately makes a strong case for the English aspects of emerging Chesapeake society, he also establishes that the early history of the Chesapeake is really about the disjunction between changed material conditions and attitudes inherited from across the Atlantic. Thus, “inherited values and norms were not easily translated into accepted patterns of social and political behavior as practiced in England. There was no readily available template whereby English society could be duplicated in America. What emerged were improvisations and accommodations” (pp. 15-16). In addition, as Horn is quick to point out, local culture should not be overlooked, and broad regional similarities cannot disguise the rich diversity of highly localized cultures which contributed to English—and Chesapeake—society. “Emigrants brought local cultures as well as broader regional identities with them to America. They came from a multitude of ‘counties’ in the Southeast, West County, and Midlands” (p. 120) and brought the memories of these varied

cultural landscapes with them to the new world. Still, although the Englishness of these local and regional identities united Chesapeake society and formed the basis of a provincial culture that was unique to the region, this Chesapeake-wide culture was also undergoing a process of formation, and an “interpretation of the English history of the region was being shaped during the period itself” (p. 435).

Adapting to a New World is an important book. James Horn’s superb study firmly places the development of early America in a transatlantic English context and constitutes a major contribution to the already rich body of scholarship on the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

Gabrielle M. Lanier, *University of Delaware*

By Alan Tully. *Forming American Politics: Ideals, Interests, and Institutions in Colonial New York and Pennsylvania*

(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, 566 pp).

Alan Tully’s book is a comparative study of two colonies, New York and Pennsylvania—colonies very different in their origins and in the configuration of their ethnic interests, but similar enough in legislative development to justify studying them together as part of a coherent mid-Atlantic political unit. Both colonies early developed representative assemblies whose members equated the institutional rights of the legislature with the popular rights of the people they represented. From the end of the seventeenth century onwards both assemblies were driven by political factions, whose members maneuvered for dominance within the institutions and then appealed for support at elections through the rhetoric of popular rights.

There was relatively little turnover among the representatives so the legislative factions were essentially groups of oligarchs. But the voters did not seem to see any contradiction between oligarchical government and the recognition of popular rights, in part because no one could think of any better arrangement of representation, and in part because the oligarchs themselves were responsive to constituent demands. Legislators thought of themselves less as “classical republicans” or “liberal democrats” than simply as entrenched political leaders articulating some popular rights.

The book is divided into two parts. Part one is a political narrative covering five chronological periods, from early settlement until the eve of the Revolution. Each chapter in this part develops a theme illustrated by selected episodes, often well-known disputes that illustrate the kinds of popular appeals the disputants made in the period. One section of the chapter covers New York another covers Pennsylvania. A third section compares the two. Chapter one covers the establishment of the two governments, Chapter two the promotion of popular powers by the assemblies. Chapter three, on “the pursuit of popular

rights" covers legal trials that propelled some factions into popular causes. Chapter four, on legislative organization, discusses factions, and Chapter five, on the electorate, discusses factional appeals to the public in electoral contests.

Part two is an analytical treatment of material in the earlier narrative, and it reinforces three points: 1) most of the important political decisions were made at the provincial level, rather than by imperial authorities on the one hand or local politicians on the other; 2) most of these decisions were made by the oligarchs and their thinking was not seriously influenced either by mob actions or judicial decisions; 3) among the oligarchs party/factional rivalry came to be recognized as both legitimate and useful in the protection of popular rights.

Forming American Politics is a very solid addition to the history of the mid-Atlantic colonial region. At one level it reminds us of the complexity of local politics in the two largest mid-Atlantic colonies; at another level, it ought to encourage colonial historians to redraw the lines of the liberalism-classical republicanism arguments in which we are now engaged.

Having acknowledged the book's well-merited importance, I do have quibbles. Some of the passages in the second part of the book are pretty dense, and a few were so vague that it was a tough job linking them to the analysis. Another quibble concerns the organization of Part one: focusing on a different component of legislative growth to illustrate each time period distorts the overall development of the components themselves. A chapter stressing legal cases followed by one covering a later period and stressing the organization of factions followed by one on a still later period on elections suggests that these aspects of popular politics developed in chronological order, which, of course, they didn't. I have to admit, however, that I can't think of an alternative organization that would be better. Finally, concentrating on the rhetoric of politicians rather than the needs of their constituents and the ways they went about meeting them leads the author to minimize the importance of matters which, until well into the eighteenth century, were handled by local or imperial institutions rather than by the assemblies.

But these are simply suggestions I'd like to make to the author or points I'd enjoy arguing with him. They should not obscure Alan Tully's real achievement in writing this useful and interesting book.

Alison G. Olson, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Edited by Beverly Runge. *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series*. Volume 10 (March 1774-June 1775).

Charlottesville and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1995.
Pp. xxii, 657. \$55.00.

Edited by W. W. Abbot. *The Papers of George Washington: Confederation Series*. Volume 4 (April 1786-January 1787).

Charlottesville and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1995.
Pp. xxxv, 585. \$47.50.

In each of these volumes Washington was witnessing the unraveling of government as he had known it, but in neither case could he know just how radical the following years would be. As the Colonial era ended Washington's correspondence reveals concerns about his lands in Pennsylvania and western Virginia—at Round Bottom, Dogue Run, and Millers Run—and his continuing attempts as a landlord to exact payments from tenants. He wanted the Virginia Proclamation of 1754 sustained, not declared null and void by the royal governor. He was concerned with the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia and with the import/export ban levied by the Congress in which he participated meeting in Philadelphia, September, 1774. The reader is treated to Washington's monthly cash accounts, to his views on resistance, to the Fairfax Resolves, and in April, 1775, to what was perhaps the first request to him for a commission in the new American Army—from Alexander Spotswood. The final 225 pages is a cumulative index to all ten *Colonial Series* volumes.

The 479 pieces in the *Confederation Series* volume, of which Washington wrote 251, demonstrates his growing concerns about the weakness of the Confederation government. David Humphreys, Henry Knox, and Benjamin Lincoln particularly kept him informed of the New England commotions—the Shaysites in Massachusetts, the Exeter riot in New Hampshire, and the reaction to paper money in Rhode Island. James Madison and John Jay wrote long letters about the need for stronger government while Henry Lee, William Grayson and others reported on the Confederation Congress. Washington endorsed open navigation on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, berated the British for failure to comply with treaty agreements, expressed concern about the Western Reserve settlement, wrote that the economy was sound, and emphasized his deep aversion to slavery. Most of the shorter letters deal with Washington's personal needs—the acquisition of workmen, seeds and plants, animals, and supplies to operate his plantation including an endless stream of guests at Mount Vernon.

Washington sincerely did not want to attend the triennial meeting of the Order of Cincinnati in May, 1787, and then said he could not then attend any other convention in Philadelphia. The first mention that he had been proposed as chair of the Philadelphia constitutional meeting appears in a letter from

Horatio Gates on January 19, 1787. Washington was deeply affected by the deaths of Tench Tilghman and Nathanael Greene. He corresponded with Robert Morris and other Philadelphians as well as with Lafayette and other European military colleagues. In the summer of 1786 he wrote about sorting through his papers, an act seemingly as amazing to him as to us in terms of the volume still remaining after all that the papers had been through during the war years. He manifested his optimism when he wrote to Theodorick Bland that “it is assuredly better to go laughing than crying thro’ the rough journey of life” (p. 120).

As we have come to expect, the editing of this series is as superb as the publishing. The footnotes are consistently informative, often as intriguing as they are revealing. These volumes, with their companions in this massive project, cannot help but lead us to a much more complete understanding of the people and events of this momentous time in history.

Frank C. Mevers, *New Hampshire State Archives*

By Judith McGaw, ed. *Early American Technology: Making & Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850.*

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Pp. x, 482. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper).

The eight essays on early American technology in this volume are each intriguing; they form, though, a perplexing whole. The collection is dedicated to Brooke Hindle and an introductory essay by Robert Post reviews the field of the history of technology since Hindle’s original call for greater attention to technological developments prior and coincident to industrialization. A reprint of Hindle’s influential 1966 article follows. In that essay, Hindle sought the roots of American technical innovation in the colonial experience; argued for a broad notion of technology as the “making” and “doing” of things; and summoned historians to elucidate the “exhilaration” of technological advances apart from the social forces that give rise to and shape initiatives.

The empirical essays that proceed Hindle’s article do not quite follow in his footsteps—which makes the whole somewhat bewildering. The essays certainly encourage new interest in technological matters for the pre-industrial period; a valuable and exemplary bibliographic piece by Nina Lerman alone induces greater appreciation of early developments (this essay supplants Hindle’s bibliography of 1966). But the rest of the articles part company with Hindle—all but one are about “doing” and not “making”; all but one are about resistances to technological change; and since daily life is so emphasized, there are no heroic or exhilarating moments of innovation here.

Tools, machines and manufacture are the staples of history of technology study. Only one essay deals with such conventional subject matter. Carolyn

Cooper describes the early development of wood planing and turning devices. The other articles are about practices ("doing"). For example, in a fascinating essay, Susan Klepp shows how certain medical beliefs contributed to family size limitation. The skipping of menstrual cycles was thought to be unhealthy; prescribed herbs, roots and other pharmaceutic concoctions often induced abortions. Similarly, Sarah McMahon provides a fine overview of food preservation practices between 1750-1850, highlighting the changing roles of men and women in this household activity.

With one exception, progress is also not a theme in these works. In the only heroic piece, Donald Jackson celebrates early gains in turnpike and road construction techniques. Otherwise, Michal McMahon shows how pollution control measures were resisted in colonial Philadelphia when waste products in Dock Creek threatened public health; Patrick O'Bannon, explains how small-scale brewers in the city did not innovate with new technologies to produce lager beer; Robert Gordon, how customary production arrangements in the anthracite coal regions of northeastern Pennsylvania grievously endangered both workers and the environment; Carolyn Cooper, how patent fees and suits slowed the adoption of new wood planing and turning machines; and Judith McGaw, how tool ownership and use was actually limited in the eighteenth century Middle Atlantic region (although differences prevailed between older and newer settled areas and among different ethnic groups).

There is a great deal to admire with these essays, whether in Sarah McMahon's or McGaw's imaginative use of probate inventories or Klepp's insightful reading of medical tracts. Still, the whole seems oddly framed. Readers of this journal will find the volume of particular interest, since all the articles deliberately focus on the Middle Atlantic region and primarily on Pennsylvania.

Walter Licht, *University of Pennsylvania*

By Anneliese Harding. *John Lewis Krimmel: Genre Artist of the Early Republic.*

(Winterthur, Delaware: A Winterthur Book, 1994. Pp. 268. \$50.00).

John Lewis Krimmel was not a major figure in the history of Art, or even within the more restricted world of nineteenth century American painting, but his career is worthy of this fine scholarly volume written by art historian, Anneliese Harding, and richly illustrated in the Winterthur tradition. While not the first painter of genre subjects in America, Krimmel was the first of our artists to devote his career to this branch of painting. Because of his very short career and his small output of paintings, he is not as well known as William Sydney Mount, a next generation painter, and the first truly successful American genre artist.

Born in Germany in 1786, Johann Ludwig Krimmel emigrated to America in 1809, settling in Philadelphia where he had been preceded by his businessman brother, George. Coming from a middle-class background, his decision to become an artist, at age twenty-four, was a surprising one. His career lasted only eleven years, ended by a fatal swimming accident in Germantown. Few documents illuminate his life or his career. The major source are his sketchbooks which are now in the Winterthur library. Like many artists of his period he used his sketchbooks to note events and happenings. No one knows why Krimmel turned to genre painting, but his early sketchbook images indicate a focus on ordinary life, an approach common in England and on the continent, but not yet followed in America. These sketchbooks have been invaluable to the art historian because they contain studies of passages that appear in other of Krimmel's works including watercolors in the "Svinin Portfolio." Pavin Svinin was a Russian diplomat stationed in Philadelphia from 1811 to 1813 who amassed a portfolio of 52 watercolors, now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which were assumed to have been his work. Research done for this book conclusively shows that a number of these are Krimmel's which Svinin, no doubt, purchased from the young artist.

Krimmel was German-born, and while on family business returned to Germany from 1816 to 1818. There he was exposed to continental art, but he mostly looked to English sources for his paintings. He copied paintings by John Burnet and many of his compositions were influenced by the works of David Wilke which he knew through the prints of Abraham Raimbach. Like the thorough scholar she is, the author is meticulous in tracing the antecedents of Krimmel's paintings as well as placing his career within the context of American painting. In addition to the well-written text, there are four very useful appendices. One analyzes Krimmel's estate, the second and third trace the history and contents of the Winterthur-owned sketchbooks and the Svinin Portfolio. The last discusses "Paintings of Disputed Attribution."

The book's format is very helpful. Margins are wide enough so that footnotes are placed beside the noted text, making it very easy to refer to the notes without losing your place. Illustrations are placed in logical relation to the text as well. There is also a fine bibliography and a good index. One problem is that the book is not as well bound as it might be. The binding of the review copy sprung when the book was first opened (on a flat surface!)

To anyone interested in 19th century Pennsylvania history, Krimmel's paintings of the Fourth of July celebration at Center Square or of the election day at the State house are basic to our iconography. Now we can all rejoice that the creator of these works has found a sympathetic, tireless researcher who has brought the artist John Lewis Krimmel into historical focus.

Irwin Richman, *The Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg*

By Tony A. Freyer. *Producers Versus Capitalists: Constitutional Conflict in Antebellum America*. Constitutionalism and Democracy Series.

(Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Pp. x, 250. \$37.50.)

Tony A. Freyer's many books concentrate on the themes of law, economic development, and federalism. In *Forums of Order* (1979) and *Harmony and Dissonance* (1981), Freyer examined the history of federal jurisdiction over private rights, such as debtor-creditor relations and property transfers, and the consequent promotion of economic development. In *Regulating Big Business* (1992), a comparative study of antitrust in the United States and Great Britain, he again investigated the key role of federal law and regulation in the development of national business practices. And in his book on school desegregation, *The Little Rock Crisis* (1984), Freyer struggled with the limits of federal power to achieve real and sustained change in local discriminatory practices. Though the scene in *Producers Versus Capitalists* has changed to a regional case study of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, Freyer revisits many of the themes and issues that mark his earlier work. But instead of describing the, by now, familiar ways in which law and the federal system facilitated economic development, Freyer here shows how law at the local level was used to counter, temper, and restructure the onslaught of liberal capitalism. By cutting against the well-known story laid out most famously by Morton J. Horwitz in his *The Transformation of American Law, 1780-1860* (1977), Freyer brings new perspective to the on-going debate over the transition to a capitalist economy in the early nineteenth century.

An introductory chapter provides an overview of Freyer's thesis, which is then illustrated in four thematic chapters on debtor-creditor relations, taxation, eminent domain, and railroad accidents. As the title suggests, Freyer sees the antebellum economic contest as between producers ("small-to-middling scale proprietors of business") and capitalists ("Large merchants and corporations") (4-5). Here, he follows the political economists of the period, or, more accurately, Paul Conkin's description of them in his book *Prophets of Prosperity* (1980). While capitalists gained financial and political power "through risk, economies of scale, and . . . influence," producers countered with the "constitutional ideal" and "evangelical Protestant moralism" (5, 9-10). The constitutional ideal held that "there should be no centers of unchecked legal or practical power of some people over others" (quoting Willard Hurst, 18). The Supreme Court, particularly under Taney, gave practical legitimacy to this "ideal" by giving the states control over their local economies in areas where Congress had not acted. Luckily for producers, this transferred economic conflict largely to the state legislatures and the local courts, thereby giving producers a palpable home field advantage over their capitalist foes.

That advantage played out in similar ways in the four areas Freyer examines.

The “associational economy,” through accommodation loans, preferential creditors, and negotiability, allowed producers to successfully resist merchant control, especially from out-of-state creditors. Corporate accountability was maintained through taxation and regulation of fees. Assessment of property values at the local level mitigated much of the powers corporations gained through eminent domain. And in railroad accident cases, courts and juries often favored passenger safety and property rights over the fellow-servant rule and negligence doctrine. Ironically, Freyer concludes, the success of the producer class in taming capitalist values only legitimated economic development over the long term.

Freyer succeeds when he demonstrates that federal and state appellate rulings which facilitated economic growth met steadfast and successful resistance locally. His discussion at this level dovetails well with F. Thornton Miller’s recent work on Virginia legal culture (*Juries and Judges Versus the Law: Virginia’s Provincial Legal Perspective, 1783-1828* [Charlottesville, 1994]). But Freyer’s own broader interpretation fails to persuade. Partly, this is a result of the book’s poor prose. More often, though, Freyer assumes what he should prove. He relies for too much on secondary sources to provide and support the categories of analysis he should develop himself. The overarching categories of producers and capitalists are particularly suspect and simplistic. As he admits at points, both producers and capitalists could subscribe to the same overarching values of the “constitutional ideal” and “Protestant moralism.” If this is so, we still, in the end, do not know how entrepreneurial capitalism triumphed over the associational economy, except to say that the process was negotiated. Readers who desire a mid-Atlantic version of Horwitz’s New England-biased *Transformation* will also be disappointed. Freyer truly sees these four states as a “federal system in miniature,” and thus glosses over much that might make this regional story unique. Nevertheless, *Producers Versus Capitalists*, by virtue of its unique local perspective, adds an important dimension to our understanding of law and the economy in the antebellum period.

Jacob Katz Cogan, *Princeton University*

By Nancy L. Gustke, *The Special Artist in American Culture: A Biography of Frank Hamilton Taylor (1846-1927)*.

(New York: Peter Lang, 1995. Pp. 231, \$51.95 hardbound).

Language changes and words acquire new connotations which can render an apparently logical title misleading. In today’s lexicon, for example, “Special Artist” is most likely to be one who is physically or mentally challenged. Frank H. Taylor was a newspaper illustrator or a “Special.” We are told that usually the caption under a newspaper engraving would read “From sketches by our Special Artist.” Frank Taylor, who was essentially self-taught, was able to support

an upper middle-class life style by doing illustrations for newspapers and books (especially travel guides), and as an author and occasional publisher of his own works. Peripatetic as a young man, he followed stories over a goodly portion of America. After joining the staff of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* in 1893, he concentrated his work there and in New York's Thousand Islands where he had long maintained a summer home. In 1905 he wrote and illustrated the first souvenir guide of Valley Forge and in 1911 the city of Philadelphia commissioned him to write and illustrate *Philadelphia in the Civil War 1861-1865*, his best known publication.

Working as a newspaper illustrator, preparing travel guides for railroads and resorts, Taylor was a player in movements that were shaping aspects of American popular taste, but he was an able practitioner who could adjust his output to the times, not an innovator whose work was pivotal within his field. His was a skilled career that can be divided between his New York-based period when he traveled for many publications and his more sedate Philadelphia phase where his life revolved around summers at "Shady Ledge" in the Thousand Islands, work, family, and the Philadelphia Sketch Club. His was a life worth knowing about and we thank author Gustke for rescuing Taylor from almost total obscurity.

The book, while generally well written and exhaustively researched, suffers from several flaws. The most important of these is that documentary material about Taylor's life is spotty and only a small fraction of his artistic output is known. Accordingly there are awkward gaps in the story and many impressionistic conclusions. Second, the author strives, perhaps too valiantly, to make Taylor's life central to his times and to emulate the principals of Leon Edel whom she quotes in her introduction. Unfortunately, Taylor's documentation and world are not the spheres of Henry James, Edel's most famous subject. James was a giant, Taylor was not. Often background information overwhelms the subject. This is especially true when the author describes the Thousand Islands during Taylor's lifetime. Her analysis of the artistic scene in Philadelphia in the years before Taylor's birth is also of questionable value.

All of the illustrations are half tones which are grouped together as a portfolio. Since they are printed on the same stock as the rest of the book one wonders why they were not integrated into the text. It is awkward to constantly shift between text and example. The quality of reproduction is uneven. The reproductions of the black and white illustrations are often murky and the reproductions of the "lovely watercolors" are muddy. The book cries for color illustrations of Taylor's, apparently fine, later watercolors.

In a small book at \$51.95 we can expect a better physical presentation in support of the author's considerable efforts.

Irwin Richman, *The Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg*

By Mark H. Rose, *Cities of Light and Heat: Domesticating Gas and Electricity in Urban America*.

(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.
Pp. 229. \$34.50, Cloth.)

This is a book, quite literally, about the domestication of a set of technologies. As late as 1900 in the United States, only the wealthiest and most well established of urban residents used either piped in gas or centrally generated electricity for household purposes. Electricity, in particular, still retained about it an aura of mystery. Today, by contrast, control of our domestic environment through use of gas and electricity consuming appliances is an ubiquitous a feature of contemporary American life and can all too easily be taken for granted. Yet how did the extraordinary technological ensembles represented by gas and electric utility systems become so tightly integrated into the warp and woof of people's ordinary lives? What has really changed as a result and what has not? What has been the role played by human agency? Can any given individual or even set of individuals be said to have really directed the process?

In addressing these questions, this volume seeks to situate the emergence of an energy-intensive society in the United States in political, social, and cultural context. As told by Rose, the story is one of new ways of doing things and seeing the world both altering and being subtly insinuated into older patterns. For the period 1860 through 1940, developments in the two Midwestern cities of Kansas City and Denver receive the bulk of attention. For the years after World War II, the focus shifts and Rose furnishes a brief overview of developments in the country as a whole.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Rose asserts, demands for uniform pricing and service extensions on the part of politically active wealthy and upper-middle-class urban residents in both Denver and Kansas City left utility companies no real choice but to turn to strategies of mass production and consumption. Yet at the same time, desires for gas and electricity consuming appliances did not arise entirely spontaneously. In order to be accepted, new technologies and ways of carrying out daily activities had to be aggressively marketed to diverse publics. "Agents of technological diffusion" included not only utility managers and sales people but real estate developers, architects, educators and even home economists. Such figures as Denver gas company salesman Roy G. Munroe and wealthy Kansas City real estate developer J. C. Nichols played highly active roles in encouraging "wealthier householders to equate gas and electric appliances with comfort, convenience, environmental control, and the anticipated elimination of dirt and disease from their surroundings" (145).

In general, Rose contends, the selling of utility services proceeded along conservative and highly gender-bound grooves. Kitchen and household

appliances were marketed directly to women as means of fulfilling traditional roles or to men as protectors of women. In so doing, such salesmen, educators and other agents of diffusion both appealed to and reinforced traditional gender roles. Despite the assorted energy crises of the 1970s and early 1980s and the rise of concerns over the impact of energy systems on the natural environment, Rose finds that such agents of diffusion have continued their work. At the same time, the “ideas about hygiene or comfort and the unique responsibilities of women and men for protecting the built environment” to which such agents appealed at the beginning have persisted as well (201).

This book is really admirable in its striving to bring together rich veins of scholarship in urban history, business history, and the social and gendered construction of technology that have much to say to one another but too seldom do. Rose’s success is mixed. Accounts of events in Kansas City and Denver are well researched and richly textured. But his contention that during the early years of the twentieth century, “politicians and their policies were preeminent” in shaping patterns of utility development in the two cities is simply not borne out even by the evidence of conflict, entrepreneurial initiative, and mutual accommodation which he himself adduces. In the volume as a whole, discussions of technological change are largely relegated to footnotes and not well integrated into the analysis. Too often, technological and even political events and trends appear to come out of nowhere. Conceptual frameworks could also be more clearly and precisely specified. Such cavils notwithstanding, this book represents an ambitious and insightful contribution to our understanding of cultural as well as material worlds that are still very much with us.

Charles Jacobson, *Washington, D.C.*

By Helen C. Camp. *Iron in Her Soul: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the American Left.*

(Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995, Pp. 396. \$40.00 [hardcover], \$28.00 [paper].)

Through the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, civil authorities thought Elizabeth Gurley Flynn to be an extremely dangerous woman. From 1906 until 1964, most Americans identified her with two of the most persecuted groups in the country’s history, the Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist party. Songs were written about her; she inspired workers at some of the nation’s most dramatic industrial conflicts; she was a strong advocate of free love, carrying on a long affair with Italian anarchist Carlo Tresca; and she received an honored state funeral in the Soviet Union when she died there at the age of 74 in 1964. Still, until now, she had never been the subject of a full-scale biography. Helen Camp’s book helps resurrect this fascinating woman

and also illuminate the long agony of the American Left in twentieth century America.

By far, the most exciting part of Flynn's story is her early years. She made her first appearance as a spellbinding labor orator while not yet sixteen, attracting the attention of Broadway producer David Belasco and future novelist Theodore Dreiser. The accomplished child of working-class Irish socialists, Flynn very early passed up individual opportunities to dedicate herself to labor struggles. Before she was twenty, she had traveled the country, delivering speeches and assisting workers on strike. During the next two decades, Flynn married, bore a son, separated from her husband, and took up residence with Carlo Tresca, all the while adding to her reputation as the "rebel girl." Facing jail on numerous occasions, Flynn developed a shrewd sense of the power of the state. Perhaps most interesting here is Camp's account of legal maneuverings of Flynn and Tresca to avoid adding to the count of Wobbly martyrs during the World War I era "Red Scare." Although both suffered in reputation as a result of avoiding jail and deportation, they survived to play important roles in labor struggles and the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s.

Personal tragedy and physical maladies caused Flynn to disappear for a decade, but she reemerged with the dramatic labor upsurge in the mid-1930s. Always feeling the need to be part of a Left organization, the only available option that for her captured the spirit of the Wobblies in the Depression was the Communist party. Flynn spent the next three decades as a major functionary in the party, helping it reach its acme but remaining loyal even at its nadir in the McCarthy era. Indeed, when many of the more independent-thinking communists bolted amid Khrushchev's revelations and the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, Flynn made a list of the party's historic errors, but refused to join others who denounced the "god that failed." Camp's biography captures the intricacies of the party's politics at that critical turning point, but she is less satisfying in her explanations of Flynn's decisions to remain loyal.

Overall, Flynn's extraordinary life illustrates the hurdles facing dissent in the United States. Confronting bouts of repression from the state, sacrificing family and personal life to the cause, and suffering the physical and mental tolls paid by radical activists suggests how amazing it was for any radical to merely survive six decades of activism. We owe a debt to Camp for carefully reconstructing the life of one of those survivors.

Ken Fones-Wolf, *West Virginia University*

By Charles Pete T. Banner-Haley, *To Do Good and To Do Well: Middle-Class Blacks and the Depression, Philadelphia, 1929 -1941*.

(New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993. 212 pp. 55.00.)

To Do Good and To Do Well is a welcome addition to our library of Pennsylvania history. The colonial and early Federal period of Black Philadelphia's history has received much attention from historians, while the early twentieth century has been rather neglected. Banner-Haley's revision of his 1980 dissertation, therefore, fills a major gap in our knowledge of African-American life during a pivotal decade in American history. Unlike Vincent P. Franklin's seminal work, *The Education of Black Philadelphia, To Do Good and To Do Well* restricts itself to one part of the black community, the middle class. Banner-Haley's study does touch upon education, but it is more concerned with issues of race, class, culture, and politics.

To Do Good and To Do Well is divided into six chapters. Chapter one examines "black intellectuals and the black condition" from a national perspective. Here the ideologies of thinkers like W. E. B. DuBois, Carter Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier, and others are summarized brilliantly so that the reader is acquainted with the political and social ideas that influenced the Philadelphia black middle class. Chapter two is about how the black middle class responded to the Depression. Banner-Haley writes that "the common note that all of Philadelphia's black middle class sounded was the need for jobs for Black people." But the middle class was divided on what political party offered the best solution to unemployment. Black intellectuals were polarized into the anti-Roosevelt or Republican camp (represented by *Philadelphia Tribune* editor Eugene Washington Rhodes, Judges J. Austin Norris and Edward Henry, and Armstrong Association official Wayne Hopkins) and the "pro-Roosevelt" faction (represented by Arthur Huff Fauset, Crystal Bird Fauset, and *Philadelphia Independent* editor J. Max Barber.) The political response of black Philadelphians, Banner-Haley contends, was complicated by the black bourgeois dilemma: how to "maintain a class consciousness which was not always in touch with the lower class masses [while] asserting a racial consciousness which might alienate them from the dominate white society." This seems to be the central issue of the book, for during the Depression, hard times narrowed the social and economic differences between middle class and lower class blacks.

The remainder of the book explores this issue. Chapter three, "The Culture of Race Relations," looks at the situation from a popular culture standpoint. The author uses two black Philadelphia newspapers—*The Philadelphia Tribune* and the *Philadelphia Independent* to evaluate black middle class values as expressed in popular entertainment such as radio shows, comic strips, motion pictures, and popular novels. Banner-Haley later states that there is another way of measuring cultural response: "Black Philadelphians . . . turned inward

and relied on their own community organizations: churches, social clubs, and self-improvement organizations, to break the racial barriers.” Given the important relationship between black lodges, fraternities, and sororities and the black middle class, one wishes the author had taken a closer look at these groups to see, for instance, if the Great Depression caused them to become “social” and more “self-help” oriented. Here a study of the elitist Philadelphia Pyramid Club would have provided a sharper insight into black middle class response.

Chapter four: “The politics of black culture in Philadelphia”, investigates three sources of 1930s political expression: the black clergy, the Democratic Party, and the National Negro Congress. Ministers like R. R. Wright, Marshall Shepard, George Becton, and Father Divine are discussed here but the author does not deal with major congregations such as Mothel Bethel and St. Thomas A.M.E. Church and how the Depression affected them. It is also puzzling how the author could describe this epoch without mentioning developments in local Philadelphia politics such as the rise of the North Philadelphia Civic League, and the ill-fated 1935 campaign of Reverend J. E. Philpot, who was the first African American to run for mayor of Philadelphia.

Chapter five focuses on Democrat Crystal Bird Fauset and her husband, National Negro Congress president Arthur Huff Fauset. These well-written and documented profiles of two important but neglected historical figures show the author at his best. The relationship of the Communist Party to black Philadelphians is included in the discussion of the National Negro Congress and some space is given to blacks’ observations on international events such as the invasion of Ethiopia and the rise of Nazi Germany.

The final chapter summarizes the book without giving a satisfying conclusion. We are left to wonder how Philadelphia’s black middle class changed from 1929 to 1941. What were the lifestyle changes that occurred; did black socialites have to go to work, did families forgo Atlantic City vacations, debutante nights, and cotillion balls, did the switch of political allegiance from Republican to Democrat cause a “generation gap” between old and young middle-class blacks? Not all the answers to how Philadelphia’s black bourgeoisie dealt with the Depression are given in *To Do Good and To Do Well*. Nevertheless, Banner-Haley has produced an important study of the Depression in a major Northern city. In doing so, he has broken ground for other historians to further explore issues of class and race in twentieth-century Philadelphia.

Eric Ledell Smith, *Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission*

By Carl F. Bowman, *Brethren Society: The Cultural Transformation of a "Peculiar People."*

(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Pp. 491. \$19.95 paperback, \$65.00 hardcover.)

This work is an account of people living in the Anabaptist tradition and calling themselves Brethren. It goes from the time the first eight were baptized in the German river Eder in 1708 until the present day. By the 1730s all or virtually all members had come to Pennsylvania. At the time of the Revolution, there were more than thirty congregations and perhaps 1,300 members. Long popularly known as Dunkers or Dunkards, they adopted the name German Baptist Brethren in 1871 and Church of the Brethren in 1908.

According to Carl F. Bowman, a professor at Bridgewater College, there have been four chief elements in Brethren faith and life. The first, was a "childlike faith" which vehemently rejected all formal creeds in favor of the entire New Testament. Exactly what it said about the specific activities of Christ and the apostles was to be their sole guide. Second, they advocated a simple life passed in a unity which they believed a true understanding of the New Testament would make possible. Third, strict obedience to the will of Christ, as revealed to them in the New Testament was necessary, as was the discipline of members who disobeyed. Fourth, they professed a daily testimony to their faith by nonconformity with the world.

For the strict member, much flowed from these elements of faith. The Brethren baptized only adults, and only by trine immersion face forward in a flowing stream. Nonconformity meant plain living. Males wore beards, but no neckties. Females wore their hair plain, covered their heads, and used no jewelry. Brethren had no carpets in their houses and no bells on their horses; nor did they vote, hold office, or take oaths. They avoided dances, picnics, and photographs, as well as observances of birthdays and the Fourth of July. They had little or no sympathy for most other churches and their members, whom they considered Christian in name only. As for colleges and theological seminaries, they only weakened or destroyed the true faith of those who attended them. In their Brethren's plain meetinghouses (once they stopped worshipping in houses or barns), there were no musical instruments, choirs, bells, pulpits, Sunday schools, revival meetings, offerings, or benedictions. Strongly opposed to the "hireling preachers" of other churches, they relied on largely impromptu preaching by their own members, selected because of their experience and good repute. One of the major experiences of Brethren life was the love feast, with its feet washing, solemn meal, and communion.

Although in some respects their polity was congregational, from about 1750 on the Brethren had an annual membership meeting. Its decisions, reached only by consensus, were intended to be binding on each congregation and all members on matters deemed central to the faith. Sometimes its actions were advisory in nature rather than prescriptive.

By about 1850 changes occurring within and without Brethren ranks began to challenge cherished beliefs and practices. For example, many members left their tightly knit Pennsylvania and Maryland communities for places west and south where they interacted with people who did things quite differently. As public education became more common, Brethren youth everywhere attended public schools and learned more about the secular culture around them than their parents ever had. After about 1850 progressive-minded Brethren, usually former schoolteachers, began publishing church periodicals, which routinely urged their readers to review their faith, retaining those things which were indeed central to it, but opening their minds to ideas and practices which were not. The first college founded under Brethren auspices was Juniata, in 1876. By 1900 there were eight such institutions.

As a result of these and other developments, by the 1880s virtually every Annual Meeting was presented with requests to review existing practices and either reaffirm or change them. Year after year conservatives and progressives vigorously debated. Often, a decision of one year would be reopened in the next. Especially after 1900, and usually one step at a time. Annual Meetings abandoned the nonconforming practices of earlier days, in most cases not by repealing them outright, but rather by entrusting matters to congregations and individual members. A telling sign of the times was the election in 1914 of a prominent Brethren minister and educator, Martin G. Brumbaugh (1862-1930), to the governorship of Pennsylvania. Brethren were becoming less and less a "peculiar people."

Professor Bowman's thesis is that "the Brethren have possibly moved "farther, faster, during the last 150 years than any religious group in America," adding that "they have certainly changed more dramatically than any other Anabaptist-related group." (p. 19) A useful chronology in an appendix provides the details of the changes between 1888 and 1979, use of the latter year does not mean either that the Brethren have died out or that their serious attempts to apply traditional Brethren articles of faith to contemporary problems have ceased.

This work is based heavily upon many primary sources, including surveys of and interviews with twentieth-century Brethren, opinions drawn from Annual Meeting minutes, and church periodicals. Professor Bowman uses the primary sources to allow Brethren along the way to explain and defend their positions in their own words. He uses them with skill and fairness in a critical and yet sympathetic way. He proves himself an investigator who has clearly mastered his subject.

Brethren Society has taken its place along with the works of Donald F. Durnbaugh and others as scholarly and lasting treatments of the Church of the Brethren.

Charles H. Glatfelter, *Adams County Historical Society*

By Deborah Vansau McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. 551 pp., cloth, \$49.95, paper, \$24.95).

Deborah McCauley looks at mountain religion and the faithful both in terms of macro-level institutional and religious history, and the micro-level of intimate Holiness worship services. She introduces us to humble men and women who feel called upon to exemplify the life of Christ and to gently encourage others to do so. The book is well-written, a blend of clear academic writing and the rich testimony of mountain people who present their view of the spiritual and material world.

McCauley finds the divide between mainstream American Protestantism and mountain religion in the differences in value systems between the broader culture and mountain culture. The author brings out what is unique and precious in mountain religion, and it is what is quintessentially Appalachian. It is a premodern mentalite, a set of values that marks Appalachian culture as distinct from the American mainstream. These premodern values include: humility; egalitarianism; tolerance; informality; simplicity; the non-compartmentalization of life; and a celebration of what is spiritual, emotional and spontaneous. In terms of mountain religion this translates into: unsalaried preachers, who are "called" to service and have no formal training; small congregations where one is known personally in and outside of church; emotional expressions of faith; the absence of a church hierarchy; participatory worship; and humbling "footwashing" services.

McCauley analyzes, and effectively dismantles, the construction of stereotypes associated with "mountain religion." She addresses: the assumption that Appalachia was a static society; mainstream Protestants' insistence that mountain people were "unchurched"; caricatures of ignorant preachers; mountain people's supposed "fatalism"; and, needless to say, the snakehandlers. She points out that the stereotypes originate in the disassociation of urban and broad-valley mountain people from those who remain close to the traditional mountain egalitarian and non-materialistic ethic. Two critical notes: McCauley does not elaborate on the effect of modernization, nor does she address the impact of industrialization on church life in the coal camps.

A particular strength of the study is the full integration of women in the narrative. Even without a disparate, fully developed discussion of gender issues in the text, the study as a whole offers much information about such issues. McCauley notes women's freedom to preach and to take leadership roles in the church, and the long tradition in mountain churches of using "inclusive language." Certainly, much more could be said about the genderedness of mountain religion, and just as certainly, that would be another book.

Beyond even the value of the content, the book's value lies in McCauley's approach to the subject and methodology. McCauley's words reflect a sensitive

and scholarly interpretation of, and respect for, mountain religion and the mountain people who live and breathe it. McCauley undertook her research in the sources with an eye to a general cultural bias that values what is modern and denigrates what is premodern. Whatever our world view, whether it be totally modern, or harboring a few vestiges of premodernity, it is necessary for scholars of Appalachia to be able to identify the perspectives of sources, and be aware of their own bias. In short, this book would have been a different book, if the author had not interpreted the culture it describes on its own terms. We would have had yet another sensationalized account of ranting preachers and snakehandlers. Instead, we have a thorough account of the institutional history of religion in Appalachia, a thoughtful treatment of the lives of the faithful among mountain people, and a model of scholarship that explores a subject "with care and an open heart." (p. 34).

Glenna H. Graves, *Midway College*

By David J. Fowler. *Guide to the Sol Feinstone Collection of the David Library of the American Revolution.*

(Washington Crossing, PA: The David Library, xv+515 pp. \$60.00 plus \$3.00 shipping; available from the Library).

In 1974, in a beautiful rural landscape overlooking the banks of the Delaware at Washington Crossing, businessman and philanthropist Sol Feinstone opened the David Library of the American Revolution, named after the Biblical freedom fighter. A member of the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, the Library has endeavored to collect on microfilm manuscripts from all over the world available for the study of the revolutionary era. It also has a good collection of books and journals of the period, and the Evans microfilm series of Early American Imprints. The Library supports an annual fellowship in early American military history and hosts a wonderful picnic for the Philadelphia Center each May. Researchers should call ahead to the genial and knowledgeable librarian David Fowler to reserve one of a limited number of microfilm readers and to inquire about the collection.

In addition to endowing the David Library, Feinstone donated his extensive manuscript collection to the American Philosophical Society. Fowler has now catalogued this collection—also available for use on microfilm at the David Library. His guide is a model of how such a collection should be inventoried. There is a 135-page index of both dates and every conceivable name and subject. Items are catalogued by author or generating institution (such as state governments) and described, frequently in detail if the document is interesting or important. There are three alphabetically arranged sections corresponding to three stages at which Feinstone collected the manuscript. Something by every leading figure of the revolutionary era can be found, notably over two

hundred documents authored by George Washington.

Browsing through the guide is a feast, a panoramic overview of life in late-eighteenth century America. Treats include the correspondence of Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine—the former a revolutionary army doctor from Dorchester, Massachusetts, the latter a schoolteacher from Maine. Their musings on the Revolution are interesting, if not the equal of their more famous namesakes. Other random gems include George Washington's proposal for a monument to the American Revolution (#1834), Tobias Lear's gossip on life in Philadelphia in the early 1790s (#s 774-782), and Jedidiah Huntington's reflections on army life in the Revolution (#s 584-599). Last but not least, Ruth Hopkins of Providence, Rhode Island, (#1908) noted that in response to the Stamp Act riots in Boston of August, 1765, "'Tis Impossible to Discribe the Terror of the People, But Matrimony seems to Flurish much among the Elderly Ladys." While it is not likely that materials from the Feinstone collection will form the core of a major book or article, researchers on any topic dealing with America from roughly 1750-1800 should consult Fowler's splendid guide before submitting a manuscript for publication. Sol Feinstone has provided the grist for many mills.

William Pencak, *Penn State*