

Book Reviews

By Roger Lane. *Murder in America: A History*.

(Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997. Pp. 399.)

Perhaps we are about to enter a new season of synthesis for studies of criminal justice. In 1993 Lawrence Friedman published *Crime and Punishment in American History* and now Roger Lane has produced a history of murder. It may be an indication that we are early in our effort to historicize explanations of crime and punishment that Lane begins his new book not with a thesis, or even a well-focused question, but rather with two “sets” of questions. Lane explains that he plans to look at how the justice system has worked as well as explore the social and historical conditions that drive the homicide rate up or down.

Such questions demand answers based on quantitative evidence and Lane is well equipped to provide it. His research on crime goes back to 1967 when he published *Policing the City*, a study of Boston. A decade later he changed his venue to Philadelphia and produced *Violent Death in the City* and then *Roots of Violence in Black Philadelphia*. Unfortunately, Lane must write this national history of murder without the coherent body of data he had in Philadelphia. *Murder in America* works best when lane summarizes his own work in Philadelphia. He is shakiest when trying to understand the South or the Midwest where a shortage of deeply researched studies into the operation of crime in particular jurisdictions hinders synthesis. There just are not yet enough local studies to support analysis at the national level equal to Lane’s own work on Philadelphia.

This lack of local studies can lead even a sophisticated author into facile explanations for complex problems. Lane invokes honor almost reflexively, an easy explanation for violence carried out by a “bachelor subculture.” He explains southern courts’ protection of slave defendants’ due process rights as a reaction to abolitionist agitation, a conclusion more easily debated than believed. According to Lane, Mississippi prosecuted the murderers of Emmett Till because of the state’s “dependence on federal money and outside investment,” (262) an explanation contradicted by the best study of the affair, Stephen J. Whitfield’s *A Death in the Delta*. *Murder in America* uses only one of all the lynching books available, Fitzhugh Brundage’s *Lynching in the New South*. And Lane chooses a less innovative conclusion for Brundage’s evidence than did Brundage. While *Lynching in the New South* argues that areas in the South with lower lynching rates must have had more confidence in law than high-lynch areas, Lane insists whites lynched because they feared the voting power of blacks.

Nonetheless, *Murder in America* is useful. Lane intends his book for an audience more popular than academic. There are no footnotes and Lane re-

tells sensational murders in American history from John Brown to the Lincoln assassination to Leopold and Loeb to Charles Manson to the Unabomber. This will be a great book for undergraduate readers. And Lane carefully roots murder in American history, writing a kind of perverse history of America. Teachers of American history survey classes can assign this as a supplementary reading confident Lane's assertions and conjectures will provoke lively class discussions. Lane's book is also useful for charting the state of scholarship on violence today. Though unfootnoted, Lane does append serviceable bibliographic essays for each chapter outlining the state of violence scholarship today.

Lane begins *Murder in America* by comparing himself and all historians of crime and violence to detectives. All of the historian-detectives now "working the case" of American homicide can take pleasure in knowing that clues remain to be pursued. In the meantime, they have a helpful new source for their classes.

Christopher Waldrep, *Eastern Illinois University*

By Margaret Marsh and Wanda Ronner. *The Empty Cradle: Infertility in America from Colonial Times to the Present.*

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Pp. 344, \$29.95.)

American and European social historians have examined the subject of fertility and fertility regulation extensively in conjunction with studies of demographic transition and of family functions, roles, and relationships. They have analyzed the decline in birth rates since 1900, motives for, and methods of, family limitation, the role of women's agency in this process, and cultural responses to variations in the fertility rates in different social groups. Yet despite contemporary interest in reproductive issues, and a widespread though unfounded perception that the incidence of infertility is increasing in the United States, no comparable historical perspective has emerged on this topic.

The Empty Cradle offers such a perspective through a careful and comprehensive investigation of the social, cultural, scientific, and medical dimensions of infertility from the colonial period to the late twentieth century. Early Americans viewed childlessness as a personal misfortune, more a manifestation of God's will than a matter of public or societal concern. A "barren" woman might pray and consult family, friends, or a midwife rather than turn to a physician for assistance. This view began to change in the post-Revolutionary era as infertility was gradually medicalized—redefined as a medical condition or a disease for which therapeutic intervention was indicated.

The development of new technology and instrumentation made experimental medical and surgical treatments for this condition available, and women actively sought these therapies. Although earlier physicians targeted congeni-

tal physical abnormalities as the likely cause of infertility, by the late nineteenth century, the era of the so-called "New Woman," gynecologists often attributed the problem to inappropriate female behavior, for example, the diversion of reproductive energy into intellectual and/or career aspirations. New knowledge of reproductive endocrinology clearly indicated that men could also be infertile, but medical practitioners found it difficult to accept this fact, and husbands remained reluctant to see themselves as even partially responsible for childlessness until well into the twentieth century. Hence, as in the case of family limitation, women took the initiative in seeking solutions for this problem, even to the extent of undergoing extensive treatment themselves in order to protect their husbands' self-esteem.

Several particularly interesting sections of this volume challenge current assumptions about the novelty of late twentieth-century reproductive technology and the ethical issues surrounding it. Descriptions of donor insemination efforts at the end of the nineteenth century, so-called ovarian transplantations performed in the early twentieth century, and in vitro fertilization experiments in the 1930s clearly document the antecedents of both current techniques of assisted reproduction and the controversy provoked by these procedures.

Marsh and Ronner, sisters, who are respectively an historian and an obstetrician-gynecologist, note the scarcity of explicit evidence regarding the direct impact of infertility in the past. However, they have drawn creatively on diverse primary sources, including diaries and letters, memoirs, medical literature and records, and popular periodicals to produce an interesting historical analysis of the cultural aspects of this topic along with clear explanations of relevant scientific and medical issues and procedures. Their study addresses a significant topic in the history of gender, the family, and health and medicine. It illustrates how American families and physicians have responded to infertility in the context of changing social and cultural attitudes, and it locates contemporary debates about reproductive technology in a solid historical context.

Linda W. Rosenzweig, *Chatham College*

By Robert B. Gordon. *American Iron 1607-1900.*

(Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Pp. xi + 341, \$49.95.)

This study of iron manufacture in "North America" (actually the United States as far west as Missouri, plus St. Maurice in Quebec) is a very worthy addition to the new series of Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, edited by Merritt Roe Smith. Gordon brings together in a single work not only a thorough summary of what is known about the history of making

iron, but a wealth of new information mined from extensive research in widely scattered and long forgotten or overlooked sources. Indeed, there seems little about the processes of smelting, fining, and shaping of iron that he has not covered in detail. Being a professor of geophysics and applied mechanics at Yale, he brings to the subject knowledge and perspectives that few historians can match, in language easily understood by persons lacking technical training. Even so, readers steeped in the humanities may find some of Gordon's patterns of organization, occasional abrupt changes of subject, inattention to chronology, and lack of narrative style annoying.

Gordon fails early on to explain where he is headed. Instead, his first chapter, "Iron," plunges into an assortment of topics whose relationships to one another are not always clear. The third chapter, "The Rise of American Iron, 1720-1860," presents an excellent overview of when and where ironmaking developed before the Civil War and would have made a good opening chapter. Chapters two, and four through eight, are all well-written, rich in detail, and filled with information and insights about ore, fuel, and other natural resources; smelting with charcoal; converting pig iron into wrought iron; the substitution of mineral fuels (anthracite, bituminous coal, and coke) for charcoal; steel production; and the shaping of iron and steel. Chapter ten gives a succinct account of technological and other forces leading to the subsumption of iron by steel in the closing decades of the 19th century. Chapter eleven, "The Industrial Archaeology of Iron," briefly discusses thirteen extant ironworks sites that are open to the public and "either unusually well preserved, well interpreted, historically important, or illustrative of the geographical settings of ironmaking."

Chapter Nine, "Iron Quality," and Appendix A, "Metallography," though not tied in well with earlier chapters, explain the difficulties of ironmasters making iron before the chemical and related processes involved were understood or before techniques other than "eye-balling" existed for measuring and testing the quality of iron. Appendix B supplies useful charts on quantities and types of iron produced in 1840 and 1856 and includes limited comparative data for later years. The work also includes a useful glossary of terms and an essay on early treatises on ironmaking. The end notes and list of primary sources provide invaluable leads and hard-to-locate information for further research.

The publishers are to be congratulated on a book that is remarkably free of errors; the author for effectively enhancing his text with well-chosen illustrations that further the reader's comprehension rather than simply decorate.

Gerald G. Eggert, *The Pennsylvania State University*

By Francis Jennings. *Benjamin Franklin: The Mask and the Man*. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996. Pp. 240. \$27.50.)

Francis Jennings strikes again. His latest book pulls no punches in its depiction of Benjamin Franklin as a masked man. Looking behind the benevolent exterior projected to future generations in *The Autobiography* and folklore, Jennings centers his analysis around Franklin's "towering ego" (p. 16), on a man who took merciless revenge on enemies and whose vanity expanded proportionally as the venues in which he could exercise his undeniable genius widened. Like everything Jennings writes, his work on Franklin will be controversial. He would have it no other way: his introduction includes an "Addendum" conspicuously framed in a box (p. 23) that describes Robert Middlekauff's recently-published *Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies* (University of California Press, 1996) as "deficient in research and unreliable in interpretation," especially in its "unprofessional discourtesy" in failing to cite any of Jennings' own substantial corpus on eighteenth-century Pennsylvania!

Yet for all his cantankerousness, Jennings is the latest, as well as the most lively and provocative of scholars who have pointed out that old Ben was anything but the avuncular Everyman portrayed by numerous impersonators (when will the Elvis nuts start telling us Ben is alive too as he was seen at a festival at Penn's Landing!). The political wheeler-dealer who emerges from William Hanna's *Benjamin Franklin and Pennsylvania Politics* (Stanford University Press, 1964) and Cecil B. Currey's *Road to Revolution: Benjamin Franklin in England* (Doubleday, 1968) is the man Jennings portrays as working at different times with the Proprietary, Quaker, and royal government factions before turning against all of them and emerging at the head of the new nation's most radical internal revolution. Readers of Lorette Treese's *The Storm Gathering: The Penn Family and the American Revolution* (Penn State Press, 1992) will not be surprised by the account of William Penn's greedy, manipulative heirs, cheaters of the Indians whose selfishness led to frontier violence, in whose actions in the 1740s and 1750s Jennings rightly sees a parallel to imperial policies in the 1760s and 1770s where the colonies were perceived in terms of how they could add to the wealth and consolidate the power of those back home. Nor will the feudal characteristics of the Penn proprietary, which typified the Middle Colonies and shaped their distinctively internal revolutions seem strange to early Americanists. Jennings cites Maryland and Delaware (p. 17) but the New Jersey and New York landlords could easily be included: see Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin, "Feudalism, Communalism, and the Yeoman Freeholder: The American Revolution Considered as a Social Accident," in Stephen Kurtz and James Hutson, eds. *Essays on the American Revolution* (University of North Carolina Press, 1973). For much of his life, Jennings has been the voice crying in the wilderness against consensus

history and the glossing over of atrocities against Native Americans: he needs to recognize that he is now the grand old man at the head of a sizable contingent that is fast becoming the new consensus among younger historians.

In one major respect, Jennings is more perceptive than the left-wing historians with whom he is in general sympathy. He is far more critical of the so-called “democratic” regimes which emerged during the Revolution, especially in Pennsylvania, and suppressed dissent. Calling attention to “the Dictatorship of the Presbyteriat” (p. 198) and Lenin’s admiration for the American Revolution (p. 201), he notes how the new state government disfranchised something like half its inhabitants. Yet even Jennings has his heroes: the Quakers. They strove to maintain peace with the Indians, failing that voted money for “the king’s use” the proprietor ought to have accepted instead of using it as a political weapon as the frontiers burned, and tried to maintain an honest neutrality in the Revolution. I must say, try as I can, it is hard to argue with Jennings here.

Where I will not argue but propose an alternative concerns Franklin the scheming egotist. Jennings recognizes this: Franklin “did not achieve commanding mastery in politics *until* he began to reflect the resentments against exploitation of ordinary people” (p. 16). But having recognized this other Franklin, Jennings gives him short shrift. His Franklin is like Robert Caro’s Lyndon Johnson (*The Years of Lyndon Johnson* [Knopf, 1982]), a consummate politician who wheels and deals, a J. R. Ewing (from the TV series *Dallas*) in real life. Missing from Jennings’ and Caro’s portraits is the fact that whatever their motives—including a powerful desire for a positive image in history, which has done the world a lot of good (consider Richard Nixon’s and Ronald Reagan’s negotiations with Communist leaders)—both Franklin and Johnson stand out not because of their undeniable chicanery and vindictiveness, but because they put such ignoble means at the service of humanitarian ends. Franklin the humanitarian emphasized by Michael Zuckerman in his *Almost Chosen People: Oblique Biographies in the American Grain* (University of California Press, 1993) is the one remembered in popular culture precisely because he was able to transcend the sordid provincial political milieu which facilitated, paradoxically, from the mid-1720s until the eve of the Seven Years’ War, perhaps the most politically harmonious and economically prosperous province in British North America (Alan Tully, *William Penn’s Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726-1755* [Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977]).

Although Jennings accentuates the negative far more than the positive, his is a side of the many-faceted Franklin which we cannot ignore. If Franklin is, as we like to claim, the prototypical American, the poor boy who makes good and does good, we need to recognize that the skeletons of racism, ethnic prejudice, political corruption, imperialism, and hubris that lurk in his closet

constitute a good deal of our own. And when it comes to rattling the hidden bones, Francis Jennings has few peers.

William Pencak, *The Pennsylvania State University*

Edited by Thomas Slaughter. *William Bartram: Travels and Other Writings*. (New York: The Library of America, 1996. Pp. 701. \$37.50.)

In this volume editor Thomas Slaughter offers a collection of William Bartram's writings, drawings and observations from his travels between 1773 and 1776. The product is a rich account of the vast wilderness that once dominated the south Atlantic region.

William Bartram was one of America's first environmentalists. It was a designation he inherited from his famous father, botanist John Bartram. The younger Bartram's passion for nature is reflected on every page of his travel account. His descriptions and unusually detailed drawings provide a vivid picture of colonial America's flora and fauna. From reports about thunderous alligators to commentary about the aroma of wildflowers, his field notes are fascinating. Bartram also provides a thorough discussion of the indigenous population that inhabited the locales he visited. He obviously admired the balance between man and environment achieved by the Native American population. Additionally, Bartram's writing style, while perhaps a bit tedious for the modern reader, is, nevertheless, lucid and at times engaging.

What emerges in this volume is the picture of a contemplative observer who marveled at all of nature's majesty. In many ways this collection, though not as expansive, is comparable to Jefferson's *Notes of Virginia* or the journals of Lewis and Clark.

While the editor has done a fine job collecting and presenting material, he might have included some cursory explanatory commentary. A biographic sketch, much like Slaughter provided in his recent article about Bartram (*Pennsylvania History*, Fall 1995) would have been worthwhile. Likewise, a brief account of European relations with the Native American populations that Bartram encountered would have been enlightening. Nevertheless, the editor has produced a significant research tool for any scholar who wishes to understand better the wilderness of early America.

Paul E. Doutrich, *York College of Pennsylvania*

By Steven C. Bullock. *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840.*

(Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Pp. xviii, 421. \$49.95.)

Steven C. Bullock divides his narrative of early American Freemasonry into three epochs: "aristocratic hierarchy," "republican equilibrium," and "democratic individualism" (p. 318). Freemasonry both reflects and shapes the important characteristics of these eras.

Bullock connects the spread of Freemasonry before the Revolution to the Anglicization of colonial elites. Masonic activities, such as those of St. John's Lodge in Philadelphia, were borrowed from Britain as part of the elites' efforts to create solidarity among themselves and distance from common people.

Freemasonry changed while expanding rapidly between 1760 and 1825, the period which receives Bullock's fullest attention. At Lodge No. 2 in Philadelphia and elsewhere, a preference for "ancient" as opposed to "modern" Masonic ritual triumphed, and the background of the brothers became more middling. "Republican Masonry" celebrated inclusivity and recognized individual merit. According to Bullock, it functioned to spread scientific learning, Christian morality, and mutual assistance, especially into newly settled regions of the nation. At the same time, Masonic membership was a distinction. "[P]ost-Revolutionary Americans rejected aristocratic domination," Bullock argues, "but few sought to jettison completely the ideal of a leadership group distinguished by particular qualities" (p. 318). Correspondingly, during these decades "higher ranks" exploded within the fraternity. Striving to ascend from Royal Arch to Knight Templar to Knight of Malta accommodated the individual's growing achievement orientation. Bullock also believes that the attraction of higher ranks included their role as private spheres, which in turn led brothers from the restrained emotionalism of eighteenth-century gentility towards nineteenth-century romantic sentimentalism.

The success of Freemasonry contributed to its eclipse. "[I]ts emphasis on emotionally charged loyalty and distinction," Bullock writes, "created tension with the fraternity's public portrayal of itself as disinterested leader and practical helper" (p. 273). Evangelical religion challenged Masonry's secret, quasi-religious initiation rituals, and Jacksonian-era democracy questioned the worldly favoritism shared by Masonic brothers. In the late-1820s and 1830s Antimasonry had some fleeting political successes, including election of a governor in Pennsylvania. But more significantly, Bullock feels, by mobilizing newly-legitimated public opinion, it discredited Masonry culturally, and the fraternity lost most of its membership. "The Jacksonian-era assault on Masonry domesticated it," Bullock concludes, "pushing it further into private life and taming its power as a very public symbol of the Republic and its virtues" (p. 318).

Bullock's framework recalls that of his mentor, Gordon S. Wood, in *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992)—Wood's "republicanism" succeeds "monarchy" as the societal type in the era of the American Revolution, only to be succeeded by "democracy" in the nineteenth century. Bullock is careful not to ascribe to republican Masonry the ideologically-charged term "radical." But the Masonic brothers who are central to the Revolution's transformations are white, propertied males (notwithstanding a brief discussion of unofficial Masonic organizations in Boston of women and blacks). The slaves, jack tars, and women said by Wood's critics to be the real radicals in the American Revolution are in the background. Bullock also connects the decline of Masonry in the 1830s to the strength of evangelical religion, which Wood highlights, not to changes in material conditions.

Bullock's argument may not convince all readers. But his research is exhaustive, his argument learned and subtle, his prose clear, and his insights numerous. *Revolutionary Brotherhood* is a major work of historical scholarship.

Robert J. Gough, *University of Wisconsin—Eau Claire*

Edited by Dorothy Twohig and Philander D. Chase. *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series. Volume 7 (October 1776-January 1777)*.

(Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997. Pp. xxx, 599. \$55.00.)

Edited by Dorothy Twohig and Mark A. Mastromarino. *Volume 5 (January-June 1790)*.

(Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. Pp. xxxii, 758. \$57.50.)

Edited by Philander Chase and Frank Grizzard. *The Papers of George Washington: 13 August - 20 October 1776. Volume 6*.

(Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. Pp. xxxiv, 680. \$47.50.)

These are just several of the most recently produced volumes from this huge project to publish nearly everything written by or received by George Washington. The editors, working at the University of Virginia, have rightly broken the task into five series, with multiple volumes in each series. Two series are now complete—the Diaries and the Colonial. With the staff working on the other three series simultaneously—the Revolutionary War, Confederation, and Presidential—new volumes continue to come out of the press.

There is something wonderful and almost unique in the world of historical editing in regard to the 1776 volume. It picks up as Washington and his force are leaving the scene of White Plains, above New York City, knowing

that to stay and defend the forts would probably wreck the American force, and carries through the famous attack at Trenton, New Jersey. We all are familiar with Washington's decision to attack at midnight as he had reason to believe that the Hessian troops might be less prepared to resist following their revelry of the previous evening and we all know that the attack was a success. Also well-known is Washington's legitimate concern that his troops' enlistments were about to expire and his determination to do what he could to entice them to stay with the cause and with the army. What, then, seems so unexpected as one reads this volume is the anticipation, almost anxiety, that builds for the reader, not as to the outcome but rather as to the mechanism by which Washington will accomplish his objectives. One approaches this volume as another historical edition but leaves with a thrill that the chase has been won but not without some personal cost to Washington the hunter. He has to cajole his troops and to some degree his officers. He has to keep in touch with the realities imposed by his own forces, by the enemy forces, and by the vagaries of Congress. We see in these three months the variety of Washington's personality traits. That he uses different tones in communicating with different ranks of troops becomes obvious. He realizes his subservience to Congress and even expresses it explicitly. He states clearly in one letter that not all the money in the world would be enough to get him to do his job but that the principle makes it worthwhile. He does not understand the reasons behind delays or shortages but he deals successfully. With them he clearly gets exasperated but forges ahead using every one of the few tools at his disposal. By early November he was "wearied almost to death with the retrograde motions of things" and wondered if his employers really cared. He felt almost betrayed when the British captured General Charles Lee, on whose leadership he was counting heavily, but he carried on in spite of that loss, the poor weather, and the short rations. He referred to news of the loss of Lee as "melancholy intelligence," a phrase not used today but one which succinctly tells all. This volume, to sum up, is a real "read."

Following that, the two volumes in the presidential series read very much like historical editions. Together they reproduce about 950 pieces, mostly letters, of which about 250 are from Washington. About 150 of the others are applications for governmental positions, most of which Washington did not answer and very few of which resulted in jobs being offered. The year 1790 saw the economy still recovering from hard times of the mid to late 1780s. Few events during the year were significant. Settlement of the government into daily operation was a major call on Washington's attention and he was, once again, the right person for the task. He spent a lot of time selecting people to fill various positions but he was never hasty in his choices. He dealt with Indian conflict on the frontier, especially in Washington County, Pennsylvania, attended as Rhode Island celebrated its belated ratification of the

Constitution, and established precedents in the way he dealt with petitions from individuals. These included Thomas Bird of Maine, who wanted a pardon for an offense for which a jury had found him guilty, and Robert Aitken, a Philadelphia printer who sought reimbursement for printing Bibles at the urging of Congress only to be plagued with a large supply of unsold copies. Washington signed the funding act and authorized spending to create the new Federal city. In May Washington was severely ill. As word of his sickness spread, many sent him messages which, if not directly about illness, certainly included paragraphs hoping for his speedy and full recovery.

In these volumes, as in all from this project, the editing is superb, meaning that it is just enough to keep the reader in line chronologically (with references forward and backward to pertinent items) as well as informed subjectively as to what the writer is talking about when the information is not precisely spelled out. These volumes are not overly edited. There is enough notation to inform but not too much to overwhelm or to stifle interest or readability. The publications themselves display all the most current attributes as to quality of paper, binding, printing, format, and design. All who make this happen, particularly the editing and publishing staffs at the University of Virginia, but also the Editorial Board, the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Historical and Publications Commission can be proud of the Washington Papers.

Frank C. Mevers, *New Hampshire State Archives*

By George D. Rappaport, *Stability and Change in Revolutionary Pennsylvania: Banking, Politics, and Social Structure*.

(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996. Pp. 276.)

Twenty-five years ago this reviewer read George Rappaport's study as a 1971 completed dissertation at New York University, ten years ago as a revised manuscript seeking a university press publisher, and now as a published title of The Pennsylvania State University Press. This, *Stability and Change in Revolutionary Pennsylvania . . .* is a mature, well-executed product having benefited from scholarly reflection and time. This study builds historical analysis around the concept of social structure, and it applies distinct social-scientific models to historical evidence. Overall, Rappaport challenges historical scholarship of the 1960s and 70s that focused on ideology and placed eighteenth-century Pennsylvania on an agrarian-localist, commercial/cosmopolitan polarity. He also concerns himself with the broader complexities of integrating "theoretical considerations into the center of the historical discourse" and to having historians "think theoretically."

Rappaport divided his study into two parts: "The Social Structure of Revolutionary Pennsylvania" (Chapters 1-5), and "The Bank of North America

and the Problem of Change” (Chapters 6-9). In Part One Rappaport describes and analyzes the social structure of Pennsylvania, 1740-1790, by looking at such typologies as families, communities, political parties, social classes, and voluntary associations that form various spheres of the social order. In examining the processes of change in a traditional society the author finds early signs of capitalism and modernity. He accounts for the absence of coercive institutions like the European church, state, and military. Pennsylvania’s economy was not yet capitalist, Rappaport concludes, although the political sphere was more “modern than either the economy or the social arena” (p. 132). The organizational framework of the party system, argues Rappaport, “was derived from the associational system” (p. xii). Additionally, in noting the dispersal of political power, the author depicts a stratification largely built around the interaction of three politically active social classes, consisting of urban merchants, petty-commodity-producing farmers, and artisans. The urban ruling class was dominant. Rappaport applies this social structure analytical model in part two of this book.

In Part Two, which contains narrative chapters, Rappaport introduces a case study of the actions and motives of the individuals and social groups associated with the establishment of the Bank of North America. Here he covers familiar ground on the first public debate on the nature and significance of commercial banking in the United States. He analyzes the creation of the Bank by the Continental Congress and its incorporation in Pennsylvania, the bank’s campaign to protect its local monopoly and its opposition to land bank schemes, the Constitutionalist Party’s effort to abolish the Act of Incorporation, and the counter-effort of Robert Morris’ pro-Bank faction to survive the loss of the charter and then restore it. What is new here, however, is how Rappaport manages to use his discussion of the social tension existing between capitalist and noncapitalists, of the emergence of a powerful modern organization, and of the class demands being channeled into Pennsylvania’s political parties to clarify the perceptions and motives of the participants. The picture drawn is one of the “simultaneous maturing of one social order and the birth of another” (p. 223). As Rappaport recounts in his “Afterword,” the 1780s struggle over the Bank of North America presages the process of modernization that the United States was to experience over the next two hundred years.

Rappaport’s social science outlook and methodology as well as his prodigious research into both primary and secondary sources greatly augments the scholarly value of this carefully documented and presented study. His account includes three useful appendices on the operations of the Bank of North America, on “Methodology Used to Analyze the Discount Ledger” of the Bank; and, a list of the English language newspaper articles and pamphlets covering the bank war in Philadelphia between 1784-1787. Thomas Paine, he notes,

contributed eleven such essays.

In sum, this is a book of many virtues. *Stability and Change* is likely to be required reading for all who want to know more about the creation of commercial banks in the United States in general and about the battle over Philadelphia's Bank of North America in particular. There is one small flaw—the surname of Timothy Matlock is Matlack (pg. 89, 90, 95, 103, 118). Otherwise, readers will find this book on a major event in national history a worthy addition to the growing list of titles published by Penn State Press on Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary era.

Roland M. Baumann, *Oberlin College*

By Lloyd Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolutions.*

(Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Pp. 416, \$39.95.)

The Marquis de Lafayette's return to the United States in 1824-25 stirred up patriotic emotion on an almost incredible scale. Local committees and bands of state militia men escorted the aging "General" around much of the country. He was greeted with all sorts of dinners, ceremonies, and balls organized by Revolutionary War veterans, local mayors, social elites, university officials, and ordinary citizens. The visit encouraged Americans' nostalgia about the Revolution, of course, and advanced various political interests, but it also affirmed some positive elements in American political culture and civic life. In France Lafayette's popularity with "the crowd" was similar and resurfaced astonishingly in the crisis of 1830. Lafayette practiced public relations on a level that is difficult to describe, not unlike his close friend George Washington.

Kramer's narrative is, partly, a series of reflections on the historical artifact that Lafayette helped to create, namely the image of himself as a hero of liberal revolutions. Many of his contemporaries found this image embarrassing or worse. Lafayette's self-definition failed (by conventional standards) in the viciously partisan and ideologically twisted politics of revolutionary France. He did not have Alexis de Tocqueville's sociological perceptiveness about America or France. (An interesting chapter compares their respective versions of America.) Kramer shows that, despite his limitations, Lafayette had some fundamental insights into popular political culture; yet he also leaves some unanswered questions as to why the public "text" of Lafayette's life was such a compelling one.

In rich detail the book explores the cultural dimensions of Lafayette's life and personal networks between 1815 and 1830. Lafayette served as a mediator between the *Two Worlds* of America and Europe, offering hospitality to Americans in France and writing letters of introduction for French visitors to

America. He recognized intellectual and creative talent, and responded especially to individuals with liberal, Romantic sensibilities. He connected with an impressive variety of writers and social activists, helping several with their careers, as they in turn helped him define himself and promote his causes. This scholarly investigation also reveals a man of emotional and moral depth. Lafayette had real friendships with several women intellectuals, one of whom was Frances ("Fanny") Wright, the early feminist, critic of slavery, and advocate of sexual freedom.

Lafayette worked for "liberty" and "equality." He made it a point during his 1824-25 tour to Savannah Georgia to visit privately, but not secretly, with an old slave he had known during the Revolution (all "persons of color" having been banned from the public ceremonies). With remarkable consistency, on two continents, over half a century, during times of great upheaval and personal loss, Lafayette fought for human rights, political self-determination, and moral dignity for men and women of all ranks of society. If his efforts appear superficial, in light of prevailing historical interpretation, the author suggests that this may be due more to the incoherence of our politics than Lafayette's.

Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *University of Baltimore*

By Rosalind Remer. *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic.*

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1996. Pp. 224. \$34.95.)

Literacy, reading, printing and publishing have become important topics in the history of the early republic. Richard Brown, David Hall, Stephen Botein, William Gilmore, James Green, Judith McGaw, and many others had produced works which describe and analyze the desire of Americans for newspapers, pamphlets, and books and the technological and organizational developments that resulted from attempting to meet the demands of these consumers. If "reading becomes a necessity of life," how could authors, publishers, and printers meet these new demands?

Rosalind Remer provides part of the answer to this question. Her detailed examination of Philadelphia book publishers between the 1790s and the early 1830s indicates that profit-oriented publishers replaced technically proficient printers in directing a rapidly growing publishing industry. These new directors with access to capital began to systematically develop markets, experiment with new cost-reducing technology, and tailored their lists to meet specific demands from consumers. These developments indicated a major shift from the central position of the printer as publisher to his new role as printer as the manufacturing ally of the publisher. Remer's work not only details the

shift in direction and control but also provides valuable insights on the increasing importance of journeymen labor, the growing difficulties of journeymen in becoming masters, and the rapid development of printers who would be working an entire lifetime for wages. Indeed, her chapter on "Young Adventurers, Master Printers and Men of Capital," is one of the best short pieces on these developments within a single craft that I have ever encountered. Remer, in addition to her insights on the role of the laboring man, also provides an analysis of the new methods of raising capital used by the rising publishers and their developing and often controlling relationships with printers who had previously been publishers themselves or in a more egalitarian relationship with their publishing associates. As printing became technologically advanced and more factory-like in nature, the master printers concentrated on preparing the texts submitted to them by publishers who raised the money and developed the network of contacts and salesmen through whom they met the growing demands of the American consumer for their reading materials.

Remer handles her complex material in a lucidly written, well researched, and argued narrative that makes her work a strong entry in the Early American Studies series just begun by the University of Pennsylvania Press. She, in her relatively short account, cannot cover all the topics raised by other authors. Her description and discussion of how the publishers used new marketing techniques and salesmen to produce "forced trade" and to service "distant markets" would have been much stronger if she could have provided, for these market areas, the sort of information Gilmore presented in his work on the Vermont towns. That this would have forced her to prepare another book indicates the difficulties in deciding on what topics can be covered in a single work. Her work should be read by anyone interested, not only in Pennsylvania printing and publishing, but also by scholars investigating labor, business and technological history.

Helping to prove her point about the separation of printing and publishing, the University of Pennsylvania Press has produced a beautifully printed book which they take pride in noting has been set in Galliard type, but this reviewer could find no indication of who actually printed it. Things have indeed "progressed" since the early 1790s.

Van Beck Hall, *University of Pittsburgh*

Edited by Karl Raitz. *The National Road.*

(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xviii + 492 pp., illus., maps, \$34.95.)

The National Road is an absorbing book, with 13 essays that easily trigger readers' recollections of roadside America and lead them into deeper thoughts regarding technological change and overland mobility. For generations Ameri-

cans have been sharing their memories of the road, right back to America's original main stem inland, the National Road of 1806, from Washington to Wheeling and westward. A metaphor of the American urge to move on, a gangplank for immigrants, a conduit for diffusing vernacular building forms, a piece of linear nostalgia: 'Road' is all of these things to Raitz and his co-authors.

The National Road essays, mostly by cultural geographers, celebrate this particular artery but, even more, roads in American life. Following three introductory essays are sections on the construction, the image and the heritage of The Road. The book gets off to a strong start with broad, interpretive overviews, holds up well through the politics and technology of early construction, yields to description rather more than I would like in the Interstate era, and then becomes decidedly clinical in the heritage section as it tails off into minutiae. I expect that nostalgists and heritage conservationists may find, rather, that the book accelerates to a strong conclusion. There is considerable repetition, but this offers context to all readers, even those who choose not to read every chapter. Compromising well over 400 pages in large format, *The National Road* is perhaps 20 per cent longer than it needs to be.

Peirce Lewis' opener ("The Landscape of Mobility") is a persuasive review of successive technologies, as a 'rambunctious population was pressing rapidly inland' (p. 12). In "The Idea of a National Road," Joe Wood communicates the perception of vastness; The Road symbolized America facing its own west in 1806. Craig Colten shows the railway's challenge to The Road, and the motor car's challenge to the railway, and speaks of roadside services and strip development overtaking the old downtown focus after 1920. John Jakle's work with travelers' accounts gives personality to The Road and pleasure to the reader. Articulate, educated people rated hostelries, counted vehicles, or noted how the rural landscape began to square up with the geometry of the survey. Several authors contemplate the variety of scales, and resultant tensions, from the intimacy of The Road in the 19th century to the remoteness demonstrated by I-70.

In addition to dozens of photographs, Raitz presents a fine series of block diagrams (pp. 50-57), and (with Grady Clay) sketches 'the natural history of the National Road' (pp. 368-69). Lewis muses over genre paintings of young people leaving home, and Thomas Schlereth gives us a portfolio of 16 road-related paintings well known to American audiences. The bibliography is sound; J. B. Jackson's work is underrepresented, and Charles Whebell's important paper on corridors (*Annals AAG*, 1969) could be included, but otherwise little is absent.

I congratulate Raitz and his colleagues, including George Thompson at the Press, on the publication of a complicated book on a most worthwhile subject. *The National Road* is a first-rate demonstration of current thinking in

cultural and landscape geography, and an excellent celebration of America's tradition of being on the move.

Thomas F. McIlwraith, *Department of Geography, University of Toronto*

By David L. Schuyler. *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852*. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Pp. 320, \$35.95.)

He had risen to the top of his profession (a line of work he had largely created) when he drowned in a Hudson riverboat accident at the age of 36. Andrew Jackson Downing's death brought to a halt the astounding undertakings that would have made his spot in history undeniable. In the attractive and insightful *Apostle of Taste*, Schuyler gives us the first fully developed biography of the landscape architect, designer, and writer. With a delicate eye to the problem of shortened life, Schuyler casts this book in a way that contextualizes the man with the time, culture, and landscapes that he helped to create. The product establishes Downing's importance in defining 19th century ideas of taste and particularly in defining nature's role in American life.

By achieving this task, *Apostle of Taste* performs the difficult task of making "high" or elite culture pertinent to the larger American story. In so doing, Schuyler also places Downing as an important bridge in the history of American environmentalism. Although unstated, Schuyler clearly places Downing as the link between the agricultural ideal of Thomas Jefferson and the planned environmentalism of Frederick Law Olmsted towards the close of the nineteenth century. Previously, this link was traced almost solely through transcendentalism and the Hudson Valley painters. Thanks to Schuyler, this important shift in viewing nature as aesthetically gratifying can be traced from the ideas, writings, and plans of Andrew Jackson Downing.

As in the case with any artist, Downing's life is best traced through the works that he created. Through the use of exhaustive research, Schuyler presents the reader with a wide sampling of Downing's sketches, plans, and designs. This is particularly important in the examples of Downing's unfinished work. The Capitol Mall in Washington, D.C., is the most monumental of these. Despite bureaucratic difficulties with the project, Downing was well on his way to making this site a national emblem and symbol to nature's aesthetic importance in American life. His life and achievement were the only motivators for such an expenditure, and upon his death the project was halted and eventually altogether altered. Additionally, Downing and others were instrumental in calling for the construction of a large, natural area or park in New York City. Downing would have almost certainly designed Central Park, which opened ten years after his death. Instead, Olmsted teamed with Downing's former assistant, Calvert Vaux.

In contextualizing Downing's life and ideas, Schuyler uses the designing and managing of nature as a vehicle to better comprehend American life before 1850. The appreciation of natural forms and history was a hallmark of stability and refinement for the young American culture. European romantics had introduced the enlightened idea that nature need not only be viewed as a foil to human's progress. The careful appreciation of nature became a sign of good taste, and it was Downing more than any other figure who would find ways to bring these forms into American life. Through books, particularly *The Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, and especially his editorship of the *Horticulturalist*, Downing dedicated his life to making his ideas part of the fabric of American life. Schuyler argues that the idea and image of such tasteful decoration was available to every American through print and imitation, even if they lacked the means to purchase or implement it.

This biography fills a long-standing void and will prove engaging reading for any historians of the period. However, the vast amount of visual evidence combine with the material and personal history of Downing to make *Apostle of Taste* a must for scholars of architectural and landscape history.

Brian Black, *Gettysburg College*

Ed. by Michael J. Birkner. *James Buchanan and the Political Crisis of the 1850s*. (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1996. Pp. 215, \$29.50.)

Were it not for the secession crisis of 1860-61, historians would pay as much attention to James Buchanan as they do to Presidents John Tyler, Chester A. Arthur, or Grover Cleveland. But, of course, the threat to the Union riveted Buchanan to the center stage of history. Despite Philip Klein's apologetic biography, historians have ranked Buchanan among the worst of our presidents. This volume of six essays stems from a symposium at Franklin and Marshall College to commemorate the two-hundredth birthday of James Buchanan. The result of this volume is not to rehabilitate Buchanan's career. Instead the essays explain more deftly the reasons for Buchanan's failures and how those failures led the most serious catastrophe that ever threatened the Union.

Michael Birkner opens the volume with a well-written, concise biographical sketch of Buchanan. For those looking for a quick review of the Pennsylvanian's formative years, political experience, and personal attributes, this is an excellent chapter to read.

From there the essayists turn to a more severe scrutiny of Buchanan's presidency. Buchanan defenders argue convincingly that his and Lincoln's policies in the secession crisis were identical. Consequently, to give Buchanan a fair hearing, historians should examine the president's full tenure. This is what the essayists in this volume do.

William E. Gienapp offers a model comparative history of Buchanan's and Lincoln's roles as president. One of the ironies of this era is that Buchanan had considerably more political experience than Lincoln, but turned out to be the inferior politician as president. Gienapp compares the quality of each president's cabinet, the decision-making process of each administration, the relationships of each man to his party's leaders and to Congress, and the ability of each to articulate public policy. In all areas, Buchanan is found wanting. This is the most damning, but also the most analytical essay in the volume.

Mark W. Summers, who has made a career in exposing corruption in the mid-nineteenth century, examines Buchanan's public relations activities. Lacking a public relations staff in the nineteenth century, presidents relied upon the partisan press. Newspaper editors were the apologists for the parties and were rewarded with federal and state patronage, e.g., printing contracts. Summers details Buchanan's use of patronage to influence the press, but demonstrates that here again Buchanan was out of his element. Personal differences with key editors resulted in political divisions and a weakened presidency.

Peter Knupfer directs our attention away from Buchanan as a maladroit politician to a more fundamental current in the politics of the 1850's. Using the scheme of "generational politics", Knupfer argues that Buchanan was out of touch with a new generation of voters. "Buchanan made himself a symbol of the declining Jacksonian generation" and his policies reflected the "outlook . . . of a party system in disrepute" (153).

Robert E. May's essay is the most sympathetic to Buchanan. It contends that Buchanan adhered to international law in discouraging the American filibusters who wished to annex Nicaragua. Michael Holt's essay reexamines the 1856 election, but focuses more on the Know-Nothings than the Buchanan Democrats.

In all, these essays convince the reader that Buchanan will remain permanently, as Robert E. May writes, "fettered in the presidential cellar."

W. Wayne Smith, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*

By Sarah S. Thompson. *Journey From Jerusalem: An Illustrated Introduction to Erie's African American History, 1795-1995.*

(Erie: Erie County Historical Society, 1996. Pp. 98. \$9.95.)

In the past, Pennsylvania historiography has been less than egalitarian in its treatment of African Americans, focusing (and some would argue justly so) on the Keystone State's major black communities in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The 1990s, however, have seen the beginning of a different trend with publications about smaller, significant and lesser known Pennsylvania communities. These include Richard E. Harris's *Politics and Prejudice: A History of Chester (PA) Negroes* (1991), Emerson I. Moss's *African-Americans in the Wyo-*

ming Valley 1778-1990 (1992), James T. Williams' *Northern Fried Chicken: A Historical Adventure into the Black Community of Scranton, Pa.* (1993) and Alice Roston Carter's *Can I Get A Witness? Growing Up in the Black Middle Class in Erie, Pennsylvania* (1991).

Even more ambitious and splendid in coverage than Carter's book is Sarah S. Thompson's *Journey From Jerusalem*. Thompson states that "in the early years of the nineteenth century, the area of Erie north of Sixth Street and West of Sassafras Street was known as 'Jerusalem.' Some of the city's earliest African American residents lived in this area" (p. 2). Whereas Carter's book was clearly an autobiographical tract, Thompson's book is aptly "an illustrated introduction to Erie's African American Community, 1795-1995." While Carter engages occasionally in nostalgia, Thompson strives to deliver an objective but informative history of black Erie based upon primary archival sources, oral history interviews and meticulous examination of numerous secondary sources.

Journey from Jerusalem is presented chronologically in six parts, covering a variety of topics ranging from the town's early settlement to how the community coped with racial discrimination; from African Americans at work and worship to the current paradoxes of political protest versus compromise. Important episodes such as slavery, the Underground Railroad, and African Americans in the Battle of Lake Erie are described as an integral part of Erie's history. Politics, sports, education, housing, women's activism are all covered here. In this respect, Thompson clearly follows the lead of social historians who emphasize the experience of everyday men and women. A fine essay by local historians Karen James on genealogy provides fascinating information about the Wright and Bladen families of Erie. The book is richly documented and concludes with an extensive bibliography.

Yet more than anything else, the reader will be attracted to *Journey from Jerusalem* because of its illustrations culled from the archives of the Erie County Historical Society and the collections of individual Erie citizens. Page after page of black and white photographs bring black Erie to life for the reader. This is a beautiful book.

Although admittedly neither an academic study, a reference book on "black firsts", nor a "coffee table book," *Journey from Jerusalem* is a good introduction to black history in northwestern Pennsylvania. We need books like this now for Allentown, Johnstown, Reading, Lancaster, York, and Harrisburg. Then we can say that geographically-speaking, Pennsylvania black historiography is truly egalitarian.

Eric Ledell Smith, *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*

By Chester G. Hearn. *Six Years of Hell: Harpers Ferry During the Civil War*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. Pp. xiii + 319. \$29.95.)

Chester G. Hearn, who lives in Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania, has written seven historical works concerned with various aspects of the American Civil War: his latest, *Six Years of Hell*, is a standard, narrative military history of the strategic area in and around Harpers Ferry, with minimal discussion of the residents of this town, who suffered direly because of its perceived importance to both Union and Confederate military and political leaders.

In 1794, George Washington sealed the ultimately tragic Civil War fate of Harpers Ferry by deciding to locate a new national armory in this town, which was located at the juncture of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers in what was then northwestern Virginia. As a result, when the Civil War began, this area found itself located on the border of Confederate Virginia and Union Maryland, with Pennsylvania only thirty miles to the north. Because of its strategic location and arsenal production, this otherwise undistinguished area became a significant cockpit of the war, and the people of the region, whatever their political sympathies, found themselves frequent victims of Union and Confederate deprivations upon noncombatants.

The miseries the people of Harpers Ferry began unbeknownst to them on July 3, 1859, when John Brown arrived under the alias of Isaac Smith; Hearn relates the tale of how Brown prepared for his raid and ultimately his capture of the armory in October of that year, his surrender to Colonel Robert E. Lee, his trial and (on December 2nd) execution. For those not familiar with the details of these events, Hearn provides sufficient information, including the observation that the witnesses to Brown's hanging included John Wilkes Booth and "Professor" Jackson (who would return to Harpers Ferry as general Stonewall Jackson).

Hearn points out that the voters of Harpers Ferry sent two pro-union delegates to Virginia's Secession Convention in early 1861 because the townspeople recognized that their economic basis was arsenal production for the Union; although Virginia initially voted to stay in the Union, the delegates reversed their votes after the events at Fort Sumter. Thus the town and surrounding environs became crucial to Confederate military and political aims. Fairly quickly, Jackson captured the town, and Hearn explains the controversy between Lee and Jackson over how to proceed. This early in the war, Lee aimed at a defensive posture, hoping to bring Maryland into the Confederacy, while Jackson wished to go on the offensive. Lee prevailed, and Jackson left Harpers Ferry after attempting to destroy anything of military value, including Baltimore and Ohio railroad tracks and connecting bridges to the town.

Hearn then relates in sometimes tedious detail how the town changed military hands several more times, for a total of fourteen, from Brown's raid to

the end of the war. At least fourteen different Pennsylvanians having significant military roles. For Hearn, however, the most intriguing character on the military aspect of this story was a Marylander, Colonel Dixon S. Miles. The author weaves a fascinating web of mystery around Miles's actions, blunders, and ultimate humiliation as commander of the Union's Harpers Ferry garrison in 1862. Was Miles simply an inept West Point graduate who let his disdain for volunteers and politically appointed commissioned officers ruin his military acumen or was he actually a traitor, who deliberately gave up his garrison? Hearn chooses to let the reader decide.

Six Years of Hell is written for those with a deep military interest in the Civil War. Hearn provides the academic accouterments of extensive citations, a bibliography (unfortunately not annotated), and a thorough and helpful index. His book will appeal to those who are interested in detailed military narrative and analysis.

Randolph M. Kelley, *Community College of Allegheny County, Allegheny Campus*

By Eric Mills. *Chesapeake Bay in the Civil War.*

(Centreville, MD.: Tidewater Publishers, 1996. Pp. 328. \$29.95.)

This book begins with an excellent map of the Chesapeake Bay region. The map repays study, reminding us of the Chesapeake's vital importance during the Civil War. To control the Bay meant not only having free access to Annapolis and Baltimore, but also a clear route to the Potomac and James Rivers, and thus to the capitals of both the Union and the Confederacy. These cities, and a few others, are labeled, but the map identifies far more rivers, sounds, and bays. Although many of the book's episodes occur on dry land, this is truly the wartime history of the Bay and its tributaries.

Eric Mills has packed his narrative with a colorful assortment of smugglers, swashbucklers, partisans, and prisoners, amply illustrated with photographs and drawings from contemporary periodicals. We meet Baltimore engraver Levi White, whose wartime career as a "special agent for the Confederate Ordnance Department" (p. 160) included several close encounters with federal troops; Commander Franklin Buchanan, the first superintendent of the United States Naval Academy, who reluctantly resigned his commission to join the Confederacy and ended up commanding the ironclad C.S.S. *Virginia*; and Hetty Cary, Baltimore's "reigning belle" (p. 65) and a staunch pro-Confederate.

Mills, a journalist and author, has a gift for spinning a lively tale. Among the finest is the elaborate Confederate plot to capture the Federal steamer *St. Nicholas*, featuring the heroics of Richard Thomas "Zarvona," who boarded the vessel in Baltimore dressed as a French woman. As Mills explained,

“Zarvona” had recently returned home from fighting with Garibaldi in Italy, and “was a good man to have as an ally when trying something crazy and bold” (p. 59). Later, Mills notes that although a Virginia captain failed to receive credit for a particularly successful guerrilla raid, he would eventually become famous “because he would act again in the spirit of Zarvona, Wood, and Beall” (p. 226). Despite occasional references to Union military activities, and even less frequent mention of home front life along the Chesapeake, this book is really the story of those Chesapeake men whose “spirit” moved them to fight for the Confederacy in their own back yards. Mills is at his best when he gives a particular episode sustained attention, rather than when he stitches together shorter anecdotes which are only connected by chronology. Thus, the strongest chapter is devoted exclusively to the development of ironclad vessels, culminating in the famed duel at Hampton Roads.

It is never entirely fair to criticize an author for not writing a different book, but historians expecting a true analysis of the region’s wartime experience will be disappointed by this volume. Mills is content to present episodes and characters without much attention to the sorts of questions which customarily interest professional scholars. Thus, there are no larger questions posed or interpretations presented. We do not learn if an individual’s experience or a particular event was characteristic of larger patterns or merely an aberration. Dozens of seemingly relevant topics, particularly those concerning life on the Chesapeake homefront, are ignored. This is not to suggest that the book is a superficial treatment. Mills has dug deeply into a range of primary materials, generally relying on the war’s *Official Records* and numerous published narratives by the participants. But even these choices of sources (summarized in brief bibliographic essays rather than formal notes) reveal a preference for the engaging narrative, rather than the analysis which he would have found in the relevant historiographic literature.

J. Matthew Gallman, *Loyola College in Maryland*

By Diane Zimmerman Umble. *Holding the Line: The Telephone in Old Order Mennonite and Amish Life*.

(Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Pp. xix, 192.)

This book examines the response of Old Order Mennonites and Amish in Pennsylvania’s Lancaster County to a new form of technological communication, the telephone. *Holding the Line: The Telephone in Old Order Mennonite and Amish Life* emerged from Diane Zimmerman Umble’s dissertation research at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. Interdisciplinary in approach, this communications study also draws from the history of culture and technology, ethnography, and sociology. In

addition to relevant monographs on technology and religion, Umble employs diverse primary materials, including local newspapers, telephone company archives, reports to Pennsylvania regulatory agencies, church records, letters, diaries, and oral interviews. Interviews are essential to Umble's study since, given their oral tradition, few documents about Amish telephone debates survive. Before her Old Order interviewees would answer questions, they invariably asked Umble, who possesses Mennonite ancestry, "Who are your people?"

Traditionally face-to-face communication, both verbal and silent, defined the parameters of peoplehood for Lancaster County's Old Order communities, which have their roots in the Anabaptist movement of sixteenth-century Europe. At the opening of the twentieth century, Sunday worship, home visitations, and a network of personal communication made it possible for Old Order people to intimately know all members of their congregation. The Amish, for example, held Sunday services, on a rotating basis, in members' homes, which were built to sit two people. "It was difficult" in Old Order communities, notes Umble, "for an individual to hide his or her deeds, whether good or bad."

Potential access to the telephone posed a threat to traditional Old Order communication and community. Old Order critics feared the telephone would erode the principle of separation from the outside world, promote individualism at the expense of community, and undermine social harmony. Conversely, some Old Order people were attracted by a new technology that could increase profits by providing market information, conserve time by eliminating unnecessary travel, and save lives during medical emergencies. For the Mennonites, debate over the telephone culminated in compromise at the 1907 Weaverland Conference: only church leaders were prohibited from owning telephones although all members were advised that they would be better off without the new technology. Less flexible, Amish authorities in 1910 ruled against personal ownership of telephones by members, contributing to a permanent schism. Nonetheless, discussion about accommodations to modernism never ceased. In the 1930s, for example, the Amish began to allow limited access to community telephones domiciled in shanties outside the home.

Rooted in solid research, informed by thoughtful analysis, and presented in an engaging manner, *Holding the Line* constitutes a significant contribution to an important topic, the impact of the telephone on life in rural America. My only caveat risks criticizing the author for not writing a different book: ellipses punctuate Umble's commentary on more recent decades. Nevertheless, as contemporary Americans contemplate limiting their progeny's access to television and the Internet, they will gain perspective by considering Umble's thesis "that rejection of mainstream culture involves constant negotiation to hold the line."

William M. Simons, *State University of New York at Oneonta*

By Philip Jenkins, *Hoods and Shirts: The Extreme Right in Pennsylvania, 1925-1950*.

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Pp. 343. \$29.95.)

Hoods and Shirts increases our knowledge of an important topic which has been the domain of journalists, partisans, and scholars focused on national movements and figures. While the extreme Left has attracted considerable scholarly attention, including a recent spate of informative and stimulating local studies, the historiography of the extreme Right in the United States suffers from a relative dearth of historical works and includes few recent local studies. Thus, Jenkins, who analyzes an important venue of the extreme Right during a fairly long and eventful era, points the field in a fruitful direction. He focuses on the Philadelphia area in the 1930's with more limited attention to other parts of the state and to earlier and later periods. However, Jenkins transcends a narrow monographic framework by linking local and statewide developments to the national and international context, comparing the extreme Right of the pre- and post World War II eras, and analyzing the connections between the leadership, ideologies and organizations of the extreme Right and those of mainstream society.

Jenkins presents a detailed study of the Italian Black Shirts, the German-American Bund and the Christian Front in the Philadelphia area in the 1930's which includes coverage of national figures such as William Dudley Pelley, Fritz Kuhn, and Father Charles Coughlin, but focused on local leaders, organizations and activities. Jenkins increases our limited knowledge of the Italian Black Shirts as he emphasizes its widespread appeal and importance while noting its contribution to the development of the Bund and the Front. These groups used meetings and rallies, boycotts, and media campaigns aimed at ethnic, religious, and political groups to generate, ephemeral, but widespread public support. Their leadership and membership often overlapped as did their ideologies, tactics, and enemies. They often expressed fears about the direction of American society and condemned subversive elements. Usually, Jews and Communists held a special place in their pantheon of evildoers, especially in the versions of the Bund and the Front. However, other dangerous elements also received attention, including Roosevelt and the New Dealers, CIO leaders and strikers, and international bankers. To counter these menaces many Italians looked to Mussolini, Germans to Hitler, and Irish to Father Charles Coughlin. The extreme Right sought to combine Americanism and adherence to foreign leaders and ideologies, but this delicate balance proved unsustainable especially after Pearl Harbor. However, in the late 1930's, particularly in Philadelphia, many Pennsylvanians joined organizations or displayed sympathy for the extreme Right. At times, this stance provoked confrontations as rightists battled Jews, African Americans, and their allies.

Although Philadelphia is the focus of this book, other areas receive some attention, particularly Pittsburgh and Reading, where ethnic, religious, and class factors undergirded movements affirming “traditional values” and opposition to strikes and Left extremism. This coverage expands the geographical focus of the study and provides examples of diversity and disagreement within the extreme Right. Most of the book deals with the pre-war era, but some attention is devoted to post-war developments and to a comparison of the extreme Right in the two eras. Although the post-war movement lacked the membership, respectability, and influence of its predecessors, its leaders could take solace from the incorporation of elements of their ideology, especially anticommunism, into mainstream movements. While the “red menace” theme provided continuity between the two eras, important shifts are also visible. The threat posed by Jews and Catholics received less attention from the right while the race issue, particularly fear of African Americans, became more prominent. New cultural issues arose, with abortion providing a rallying point for the far Right of the 1990’s. In spite of these changes, the extreme Right persisted although less in organizational structure and more in common ideology and leadership.

Philip Jenkins has written a valuable book which combines a case study within a wider chronological and geographical framework and an analysis which fits the extreme Right into developments in twentieth-century American society. Seventy five pages of notes attest to the depth and breadth of his scholarship as he used archives, contemporary accounts, and secondary studies. Nevertheless, readers expecting the coverage indicated in the book’s title will be somewhat disappointed. They will find an excellent case study of the Philadelphia area in the 1930’s, but less information about other parts of the state, the 1920’s, and the post-war era. This imbalance results less from deficiencies of the author, than from the current state of scholarship. Appropriately, Jenkins concludes his book with a call to scholars to provide the other local studies which will serve as the foundation for a more detailed and nuanced history of the extreme Right in Pennsylvania.

Irwin M. Marcus, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*

Theodore Rosenof. *Economics in the Long Run: New Deal Theorists and Their Legacies, 1933-1993.*

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Pp. 240. \$34.95.)

The disastrous collapse of the United States economy in the 1930s left economists grasping for explanations and government policy makers searching for solutions. Following the massive spending generated by World War Two and the post-bellum prosperity that continued for nearly three decades, “stagflation” in the 1970s and sluggish growth in the 1980s and 1990s left

analysts still very much uncertain about this century's economic trends. Orthodoxies exploded by the Great Depression gave way to the Keynesian doctrine that has, in turn, been riddled with doubts by unsettling recent developments. As dramatic fluctuations have made the "dismal science" seem decidedly unscientific, the certainties of not so long ago now appear chimerical.

Rosenof examines the dramatic economic fluctuations of the last sixty-five years with particular attention to the impact of New Deal theorists on fiscal policy. Rosenof focuses on arguably the four most influential economists of the 1930s and discusses the effects of their published work on the nation's long-term economic development: John Maynard Keynes of Great Britain, whose seminal *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* revolutionized economic thought for much of the rest of the century; Gardiner Means, whose highly influential *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (co-written with Adolf A. Berle) was largely supplanted by Keynes's work; Alvin Hansen, dubbed the "American Keynes" in the 1930s and widely recognized for his theory of secular stagnation; and Joseph Schumpeter, an Austrian opponent of the New Deal whose advocacy of entrepreneurialism attracted renewed attention from supply-side theorists during the Reagan years. Hansen and Means, who generally shared a belief in the critical importance of public investment to forestall another economic collapse of the Great Depression's magnitude, feuded over the shape of New Deal policy during the 1930s and for years afterward; Means and Schumpeter found common ground in their aversion to Keynes's dominance of the field while disagreeing on the value of investment by the private sector. In the author's view, these ideological battles contributed to the acceptance of a "short-run Keynesianism" that predominated in policy circles until the economic upheavals of the 1970s.

Rosenof's work is a blend of intellectual and economic history that tells a fascinating story with policy implications relevant to the present day. Indeed, the author's discussion of New Deal economists underscores the significance of the evolution of economic intelligence in recent decades and provides a useful framework for understanding the current policies constructed by President Clinton and his first Secretary of Labor, Robert Reich.

Roger Biles, *East Carolina University*

Edited by Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson. *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century.*

(Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996. Pp. 368. \$49.95.)

If an author's greatest fear is to be ignored, a close second would be to become the subject of an intense and penetrating scrutiny in which one's assumptions, methodology, goals, and biases are laid bare. The over seventy researchers who contributed to the Pittsburgh Survey—the classic early twenty

century investigation of life and labor in Pittsburgh—experienced a bit of both. Intent on analyzing urban industrial society in a way which would lead to its reformation, they must have been keenly disappointed to see so few of their prescriptions followed in the years after their landmark 1906-1909 study. But if the surveyors' reform agenda remained largely unimplemented in their own time, their work has been reappraised ninety years later with remarkable thoroughness.

By the early twentieth century, Pittsburgh had become the epicenter of American industrialization and the worst case scenario of the ills wrought by such unfettered economic development. A team of investigative journalists, social scientists, and policy analysts descended upon the city in 1906 to study these woes and figure out what could be done about them. Their findings, presented in six volumes, numerous articles, and speeches between 1909 and 1914, grimly indicted the city and especially its powerful industrialists for the degradation of the environment and the harsh exploitation of working people. But along with the critique came a blueprint for reform.

Though much of what these reformers sought did not come to pass in their own lifetimes, the Pittsburgh Survey was extraordinarily influential in shaping perceptions of Pittsburgh and urban industrial society, both then and later. Two of the volumes, Margaret Byington's *Homestead: Households of a Mill Town* and John Fitch's *The Steel Workers*, have become classics. *Pittsburgh Surveyed*, edited by Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, scrutinizes the Pittsburgh Survey as closely as these researchers once examined Pittsburgh and Homestead. It aims to assess the influence of the Survey on sociology and social investigation as well as to examine the accuracy of its portrayal of Pittsburgh and its impact on the city.

The contributors to this effort do this and much more. Wasting few words and pulling fewer punches, they highlight both the pioneering contributions of the Pittsburgh Survey and how the political agenda and biases of the researchers affected their work.

Situating the Survey in the history of the social sciences and social reform, Martin Bulmer, Stephen Turner, and Steven Cohen explore its impact on the field of social work and Progressive political reforms. Edward Muller dissects the Survey's ambiguous sense of what Pittsburgh meant geographically while S. J. Kleinberg evaluates its middle class notion of the family. Margo Anderson revisits Byington's research while Maurine Greenwald explores the impact of the drawings and photographs that accompanied the Survey's findings. These intelligent essays reflect how far the social sciences have come since the Survey and will be especially valuable to graduate students and academics.

The last five essays assay the Survey's historical portrait of Pittsburgh and contemplate why its reforms were not embraced by a wider polity. John Bauman and Margaret Spratt speak to the civic activism that motivated environmental

reform and the Survey's limited impact on urban planning and politics. Joel Tarr's essay captures why these reformers were unable to effect greater environmental change despite the stark nature of the city's ecological problems. Richard Oestreicher, Laurence Glasco, and Ewa Morawska probe the validity of the Survey's findings on workers, African-Americans, and Southern and Eastern European immigrants. These carefully nuanced essays are worth reading for their many insights into Pittsburgh as well as their incisive appraisal of the Survey.

Pittsburgh Surveyed conveys just how much urban America, the social sciences, and political discourse have changed since the Pittsburgh Survey. Its critique of the Survey's methodology could prove useful to city planners, foundation officers, and community activists as well as historians. I, for one, was chagrined at the number of truths I've accepted that *Pittsburgh Surveyed* debunks. Oestreicher, for example, offers an important corrective to the view that the U.S. Steel Company's domination in Homestead after the 1892 lock-out was all pervasive while Morawska makes clear just how much the researchers' own world view affected their interpretation of immigrant Pittsburgh. This respectful debunking allows for a more sophisticated sense of Pittsburgh and the social sciences to emerge. It's a must read for anyone interested in the history of Pittsburgh or a better understanding of the social workers, sociologists, and reformers who comprised turn-of-the-century progressivism. *Pittsburgh Surveyed* is also an exceptionally well-produced volume, nicely designed with high quality graphic presentation.

Rob Ruck, *Pittsburgh*