

## Book Reviews

Edited by John W. Kleiner and Helmut T. Lehmann. *The Correspondence of Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg*, vol. 2 (1748-1752). (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1997. xix + 316 pp. \$39.50)

The second volume of the English translations of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's correspondence has appeared, covering the years 1748 to 1752. Like the first it provides rich information about the life and times of this important early Pennsylvania Lutheran pastor. With this volume, Kleiner and Lehmann have completed their work translating the first volume of the original German edition by Kurt Aland, *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Muhlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika*, vol. 1, 1740-1752 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986). More volumes by Kleiner and Lehmann are scheduled to appear as they continue to work through the other volumes published by Aland, which will eventually cover Muhlenberg's entire life (i.e. until 1787). This work contains 61 letters (incoming and outgoing correspondence), including two which Aland missed. Further, it contains ten letters written during periods not covered in Muhlenberg's published journals, namely for September 1751, and January, April, September, November, and December 1752. (See Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans. and eds., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, vol. 1, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942).

The Kleiner and Lehmann volume contains an introduction, followed by the letters (each with a helpful summary by the editors), and then indexes for scriptural references, names, and places (but unfortunately not for subjects). In the introduction the editors explain the project, methods, and important themes reflected in the letters. For them the most important themes are Muhlenberg's intervention in the New York Lutheran church (for which there are 13 letters), the growth and development of the Halle-sponsored Lutheran church (from two pastors and two catechists in 1748 to eight pastors and two catechists in 1752), early documentation of the Lutheran Ministerium begun in 1748, and the severe physical and emotional strains Muhlenberg endured while constantly traveling long distances over difficult terrain in all seasons to serve the many scattered, often quarreling Lutheran flocks. Part of the strain also came from the pressure and sometimes lack of support from

Halle and London. (There are 23 letters between Muhlenberg and the Halle-London sponsors in this volume).

But there is more. One important theme throughout these letters is the constant tension from internal and external pressures to Muhlenberg's Lutheran flocks. He and other Halle pastors had to deal with numerous challenges and quarrels from individuals and factions within their own congregations. Further, the competition with non-Hallensian Lutheran pastors was fierce, and Muhlenberg denounced these people vociferously. He wanted to build and control an ordered, disciplined establishment sponsored by Halle and London. In spite of constant pastor and teacher shortages, Muhlenberg would only accept Lutheran helpers under these terms. Competition with the sects, especially the Separatist printer Christopher Saur in Germantown, was at times maddening to Muhlenberg, since they seemed to have every advantage in tolerant Pennsylvania. Worst of all were the Moravians, who provided the biggest challenge to the early Halle-sponsored Lutheran church in the colonies. In 1751, Muhlenberg described the religious war with this group in an important letter to Johann Philipp Fresenius who held the chief Lutheran post in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

Additionally, this volume covers issues such as the distribution of books and medical supplies from Halle, Muhlenberg's attempts to start a printing press, several long descriptions of the Pennsylvania religious landscape, his assessments of the newly-arriving Halle pastors, his close but separate relationship to the Swedish Lutherans and Muhlenberg's views of his ideal Lutheran church in the colonies – i.e. one of order and discipline, free of sectarian and Moravian influences, with clear lines of authority and boundaries. Also included are Muhlenberg's views on marriage, “vagabond” preachers, and the sins of early Pennsylvanians. He says very little about the German Reformed population.

In short, this is a valuable collection of letters which reveals now in English a great deal about religious culture and life in and around early Pennsylvania. The critical apparatus is good and is designed to extend and supplement rather than duplicate the apparatus in the original German edition by Aland. The book documents the triumphs, doubts, and exhaustion of Muhlenberg and his co-workers, as they struggled to build a strict, denominational establishment in what was for them a confusing, lost, and immoral environment of religious pluralism and freedom in Pennsylvania. The next volume promises more of the same.

Aaron S. Fogleman, *University of South Alabama*

Edited by Lillian B. Miller, Sidney Hart, and David C. Ward.

*The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family. Volume 5: The Autobiography of Charles Willson Peale.*

(New Haven and London: Yale Univeristy Press, 2000. Pp. xli. + 489. Index Pp. 513. \$75.)

Charles Willson Peale may be the only mortal to have enjoyed three resurrections. The first was by his own hand, the hand that wrote the *Autobiography*. His great-great-grandson, Charles Coleman Sellers, affected Peale's second resurrection, writing more books about his progenitor than Charles de Tolnay devoted to Michelangelo. Lillian B. Miller, late editor of *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale* and three related encomia, resurrected Peale a third time believing, as she was wont to say, that he was a "great man." Had she known the entirety of the Peale-Sellers archive at the outset, would she have been disabused of such an unsubtle notion?

To use any collection of published papers intelligently it is useful to know the editorial history. However convenient it is to have written documentation in published form with scholarly footnotes, in regard to the *Selected Papers* the caution is: *caveat lector*. The editorial history begins with Murphy D. Smith, the manuscripts librarian at the American Philosophical Society when large numbers of the Peale-Sellers Papers were deposited. At that time he assembled a typescript finding aid. The finding aid was not comprehensive, however, but was only intended to assist readers. Furthermore, two collections of Peale/Sellers family letters have never been catalogued.

In conversation with Murphy (October, 1993) he told me that when Miller began the project in 1973, she did not come to the archival repository for the first seven years. She deputized instead an editorian assistant whom Murphy remembers as being Rose S. Emerick. Emerick failed to peruse all the primary source material, using instead his finding aid. Consequently, as Murphy expressed it, "They just kept asking for the same darn things." Here was Miller's initial blunder. Because she was an absentee editor, she was unaware of a trove of information about the Peale and Sellers families contained in letters written by Escol Sellers. Escol, born in 1808 and possessed of a phenomenal memory, bore witness to the doings of the family museum as well as the decline of his uncle Raphaëlle. But it was the "same darn things" that were filmed for the two-volume set of the Microfiche Edition. The printed introduction to this set made a very misleading assertion: "this Micro-

fiche Edition...constitutes a complete collection of located Peale materials.”

There are also problems with the editing and presentation of *The Selected Papers* themselves. The first volume was published without checking galley proof against the original manuscripts, so that one cannot trust the words as they have been transcribed, especially since Peale's crabbed handwriting is hard to decipher. When Sidney Hart and David C. Ward joined the staff, this editorial oversight was corrected. But their more considered and trustworthy presence presented other problems. It is now clear that their judgment was often at odds with Miller's; and while she lived, she prevailed. At her death, Hart and Ward pulled the manuscript of the *Autobiography* back from the press. The consequence is that the editorial point of view shifted, one notable example being their disagreement over the cause of Raphaelle's death. They wisely dismiss Miller's hodgepodge explanation which includes alcoholism, then offer the psychological non sequitur that the cause of Raphaelle's death is "irrelevant" to his interactions with his father. Their solution is their own application of insights garnered from cultural history. But this only elevates the background to distract us from the gimp. Whether on account of alcoholism, as Charles Willson Peale maintained and Miller believed, or heavy metal poisoning, as Gordon Bendersky, M.D., and I have argued, Raphaelle's declining health was a source of constant concern, considerable friction, and more than a little guilt on his father's part. It is telling that Peale's letter book for 1825, the year of Raphaelle's death, is missing. A measure of Peale's ambiguous feelings is that it took him nearly a year to notify Raphaelle's youngest sister of his death. As David R. Brigham has rightly observed, Raphaelle's relationship to his father is "a case study in the breakdown of the Enlightenment ideal of domestic harmony."

What kind of a man was Charles Willson Peale? In his *Autobiography* he fancies himself a stand-in for the Vicar of Wakefield. But his Revolutionary War activities alone give the lie to this construction. In a city where many thousands of moral Quakers embraced pacificism, Peale *published* his proposal to blacken the houses of anyone unwilling to join the patriots' side. He personally, physically removed Joseph Galloway's wife, Grace, from her house when her husband fled the city. On account of his confiscatory activities — from which he reaped significant monetary rewards—for the radical Whigs he had to carry a billy club. Nor would he forego his slaves. The Vicar of Wakefield character, hardened by repetition until it has become embedded in the literature as fact, is at variance with Kenneth Silverman's shrewd observation

that in reality Peale was Philadelphia's "Robespierre."

Peale's *Autobiography*, his atrocious syntax and spelling notwithstanding, is his cunning attempt at self-creation. His life is in line for a revisionist biography. The paradox is that this task is now made easier on account of the wealth of damaging information in the footnotes of the *The Selected Papers*. However one is predisposed to approach the Peale family saga, what can be said is that *The Selected Papers* constitute a remarkable resource if used with caution, and supplemented by visits to the APS to examine what is omitted. Collectively the volumes represent the fullest account we have of one family's life in America from the mid-eighteenth century to the time of Peale's death in 1827. In this enterprise it is Peale's copious letters, his diaries, Escol's testimony, and the carefully garnered footnote material that will be of import. Least helpful is Peale's *Autobiography*, long the staple of his partisan gatekeepers. Fortunately, because the project is finished, future scholars are free of this censorious grasp.

Phoebe Lloyd, *Texas Tech University*

**By Karin Wulf. *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia.***

(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000, Pp. xix, 217, index.

Cloth \$39.95)

This is a valuable contribution to the history of women and the family in early America. Karin Wulf has thrown revealing light on the lives of unmarried women in eighteenth-century Philadelphia and concludes that they were far more significant than a motley collection of poor widows and unhappy spinsters. In fact, Wulf argues, the number of unmarried women grew noticeably in Philadelphia during the late colonial era and developed a self-conscious presence that literally challenged the hegemony of marriage as an institution. For too long, according to Wulf, social historians of women and the family have stressed the normative aspects of women's lives - focusing too narrowly on marriage and dependence - what Wulf calls "the essentializing of marriage." Lost in this rush to place women in dependent marriages, Wulf claims, was an increasing tendency, at least in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, for women to deliberately to choose "blessed singleness," thus defying the otherwise patriarchal, masculine norms around them.

In making her case, Wulf supplies census data claiming that women headed up to a fifth of Philadelphia households in the late colonial period (although these snapshot glimpses of household structure do not

reveal how *long* women stayed in such living arrangements) and a growing number of women who never married (although these rates rarely exceeded 10%). Philadelphia, it turns out, was quite hospitable to single females; it had a diverse, tolerant Quaker population with an ethic of equal partnerships rather than gender hierarchy, and an urban economy that fostered the labor and independence of unmarried women.

Amid all these numbers and percentages lies the critical question of motivation: even if growing numbers of Philadelphia women headed households or remained single, were these in fact positive *choices* or simply unwelcome circumstances - born out of the loss of husbands or economic necessity? Wulf is convinced that these women not only made proactive choices to be single, but they did so in a conscious effort to view marriage in a brand new light - as "only one possible choice."

Drawing on almanacs, religious tracts, literature (mostly from England), and letters and diaries, Wulf uncovers new female voices who appear to be less than content with the institution of marriage. Wulf organizes most of the chapters around detailed accounts of individual Philadelphia women whose life stories, she believes, represent the varied ways in which unmarried women staked out their ground and produced "countering discourses and ideologies" that contrasted a "worthy and noble spinsterhood" against "the frivolity of marriage."

We meet women such as Martha Cooper who, Wulf notes, as a young girl copied into her commonplace book the poem, "Choice of a Companion." While the poem clearly suggests that a good marriage requires a thoughtful choice, in Wulf's hand Cooper's apparent endorsement of the poem (presumably because she copied it down) soon turns into evidence of "a public barrage of marital critique." It is worth noting that in repeatedly referring to this poem, Wulf in every case simply invokes the shorthand "Choice," revealingly ignoring the final word in the title, "Companion," - the search for which was almost certainly considered as important goal for young women as the employment of careful choice. Indeed, as one presses on in *Not All Wives*, one wonders if the repeated invocation of "choice" is reflective of a presentist agenda seeking to find an appealing "alternative discourse" in colonial Philadelphia to what was otherwise the normative world of marriage. Likewise, a chapter on Elizabeth Norris's "theologically inspired singleness" - based in part on the religious retreat Norris created for Quaker women as "an alternative to the household" - becomes less impressive when one remembers that in fact most female ministers married.

Wulf deserves credit for recovering these intriguing and little-known voices. Their concerns certainly suggest some of the origins of the "mar-

riage trauma" that nineteenth-century social historians have detected among women after their weddings. The loss of freedom - both economic and legal - was, no doubt, a deeply felt issue for women considering marriage. They certainly were "not all wives" in colonial Philadelphia, but as suggestive as this book is, neither were many of them self-conscious proponents of an alternative to marriage.

Daniel Blake Smith, *University of Kentucky*

Edited by Andrew R. L. Cayton and Frederika J. Teute. *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*.

(Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, The Newberry Library, and the Historic New Orleans Collection, 1998. Pp. xiii, 391. Bibliography, Index. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95)

The "essence of a frontier is the kinetic interactions among many peoples, which created new cultural matrices distinctively American in their eclecticism, fluidity, individual determination, and differentiation" (2). Thus concludes Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredricka Teute in their introduction to *Contact Points*, a collection of eleven articles on American frontiers that, when read individually, certainly reinforce that conclusion. But when read collectively, they portray not regions differentiated in character but a dramatic set of common elements that directed the cultural confluences and divisions of the era. This excellent collection is intended to stimulate further historiographical revision to the frontier thesis first enunciated by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893; in the end it does much to help integrate New Frontier history with that grand narrative, thereby opening new venues into an old problem.

Take, for example, James H. Merrell's and Jane T. Merritt's opening articles on the Pennsylvania frontier. Merrell is the only contributor to directly confront the grand narrative, and he concedes that it harbors a "truth about the divide between Indian and colonist, a barrier these peoples had built and one they could not, would not, tear down" (21). In his story of the multicultural Indian village of Shamokin along the Susquehanna River, Merrell describes the mobility of Native Americans that created a fluid social setting, the resulting suspicions between Indian groups, the role of Fort Augusta in creating a permanent Euramerican presence among the Indians, the aloofness of Moravian

missionaries to life in the town, and the incessant efforts of Euramericans to create cultural segregation. Merrell's Shamokin is eclectic and fluid because of circumstances rather than individual determination; indeed, individual actions betray desires to remain culturally distinct and distinctive, resulting, by 1762, in Indian rejection of Euramerican ways because "I am not as you are, I am of a quite different nature from you" (59).

Merrell's portrait is reinforced by Merritt's study of language and power on the Pennsylvania frontier. Establishing a new cultural matrix was incredibly difficult, according to Merritt, because of the barriers in language, particularly metaphors. Many opportunities existed to overcome those barriers – in interracial households, captivities, and adoptions, diverse cultures could have been blended; and women, traders, and hunters or both races were situated to broker cultural new grounds. But, as in Shamokin, there remained an ideological barrier: ideas of ownership, economic activity, even gender contributed to its permanence. Even when one side acquiesced to the other's cultural ways—for example when Native Americans adopted European metaphors of women and gender—the results were not the bridging of cultural differences but the weakening of women's roles in Indian society.

Themes from Pennsylvania's frontiers resonate across other frontiers explored in this collection. Claudio Saunt's study of Creek Indians and gender roles in the Old Southwest elaborates on Merritt's understanding of the loss of women's power within Indian society. William B. Hart's study of "race" along New York's frontier demonstrates how Delawares and Senecas, among other Indians, gradually understood the racialized views of Euramerican settlers. In his study of Cherokee-British relations along the Carolina frontiers, Gregory Evans Dowd finds British officers determined to force those of different color into deference.

Similarly, in articles on the Ohio River valley, the Old Northwest and the Upper Louisiana, identities based on race, gender, and ethnicity play central roles. Stephen Aron's study of early Kentucky portrays a region in which whites and Indians accommodated each other early, only to see that cultural matrix unravel as whites demanded protection of agricultural fields from roaming herds of Indian livestock, as Indians rebuffed missionaries whose conversions threatened emasculation, and as white views of patriarchy collided with Shawnee acceptance of female control over agricultural production and ceremonial life. Examining dress, customs, ideas of rank, regional origins, and even food, Elizabeth Perkins describes a region on both sides of the Ohio River that, despite its mul-

ticultural character, was shaped by preconceptions and cultural barriers. Andrew R.L. Cayton's story of civility in the 1795 Treaty of Greenville demonstrates how very far apart Indians and Euramericans were in their definitions of civility and patriarchal deference, even though both seemingly practiced versions of each. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy employs gender to determine why two communities along the Wisconsin frontier developed differently; a fur trading town that became culturally syncretic and a lead mining town that rejected Indian cultures and peoples. John Mack Faragher's contribution is a study of Missouri's frontiers and the ways in which cultural mixing devolved into ethnic cleansing as the territory became incorporated into the United States.

The final essay adds still another dimension to the narrative as Jill Lepore explores how King Philip's War became part of Indian and Euramerican histories in the nineteenth century. Her story returns to an idea that Merritt posed for the Pennsylvania frontiers – that in their mythic representations of noble savages and righteous colonists, Euramericans and Indians appealed to ideal images to compel proper behavior. By the nineteenth century, as Lepore explains, myths again helped shaped compliance, this time to the Indian removal policy advocated by the federal government.

The articles are well-written, and the editors expertly introduced and organized the collection. With maps and illustrations that nicely fit the essays, readers will be pleased with *Contact Points*. Still, the collection does raise issues that should leave future frontier historians hesitant to follow the same course. First, were frontiers “the most distinctive of American landscapes,” (2) as the editors propose in the introduction? The qualities of ethnic, gender, racial, ideological, and even historic memory were in flux everywhere during this period, and, as Perkins notes in her essay, the answers lie “not in the proximity of the forest, but in the problem of identity in a fluid social setting” (206). Second, while multiple studies of frontier areas are useful, they do not replace a synthesis of *the* frontier; and while the editors insist that there was no one frontier experience, the recurrence of themes throughout these essays suggest that there were common frontier experiences that had more in common with the grand narrative of the frontier than one would assume.

Craig Thompson Friend, *University of Central Florida*

Edited by Dorothy Twohig. *The Papers of George Washington, Retirement Series*, vols. 3 & 4.

(Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1999. Vol. 3 pp. xxiv, 523, Index. Vol. 4 pp. xxvi + 603, Index)

In these, the last volumes of the *Retirement Series*, George Washington shows himself to be a man attempting to disengage from public life. His primary concern was Mt. Vernon; its care, operation, and future. Volume 3 opens in September 1798, with a rather testy letter from Washington to his farm manager, James Anderson: "I am too much hurried and perplexed by the variety, and importance of the correspondence which I am thrown into, by recent & unexpected events, to find time to be answering long letters of complaint & remonstrances, at my expressing a sentiment at any time, respecting matters in which my interest is deeply concerned; when a personal conversation of five minutes would, at any time, in the Morning, at any of the Farms – or on the Road, answer the purpose equally, or better" (3:1). The important correspondence to which Washington alludes concerns the negotiations and maneuverings behind his appointment as commander in chief and his insistence, against President Adams's wishes, that Alexander Hamilton be appointed senior major general.

The threat of war with France drew George Washington back into public life and back to Philadelphia, where he met with Hamilton and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to make officer recommendations for the new regiments recently authorized by Congress. These officer candidate lists have already been published in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, with the exception of the Virginia list, which is published in Washington's papers. The list includes a candidate's name, residence, and remarks. John Stewart of Richmond elicited a spectrum of opinions: "wishes a Captaincy of Cavalry – no recommendations. Good for nothing." This assessment, from Edward Carrington and William Heth, was not shared by Washington, who added "would make a gd Of." (3:231). In some entries, partisanship is evident, with notations such as "federal" and "Friends to Government." This trip to Philadelphia was the only time he ventured far from Mt. Vernon during the span of the *Retirement Series*. During his stay he did find time to visit with old friends, especially Elizabeth Willing Powel, who assisted him with purchasing appropriate gifts to take back to his family in Virginia.

After his return to Mount Vernon, until to the time of his death, Washington maintained an interest in public affairs. He corresponded frequently with Hamilton, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, and

Secretary of War James McHenry. His concern about growing Antifederalism caused him to actively recruit candidates for the 1799 elections in Virginia. In his appeal to Patrick Henry, he asked "ought characters who are best able to rescue their Country from the pending evil to remain at home?" (3:318).

Washington's affection for his family was coupled with prudence, as shown in his letter to Lawrence Lewis, the husband of Nelly Custis, regarding their future inheritance. Washington knew that the Lewises wished to settle nearby, but that purchasing land would be expensive. He also saw such a purchase as "inexpedient," "when a measure which is in contemplation would place you on more eligable ground . . . that in the Will which I have by me, and have no disposition to alter, that part of my Mount Vernon tract . . . containing about two thousand acres of Land . . . is bequeathed to you and her jointly. . . . You may conceive, that building, before you have an absolute title to the land, is hazardous. To obviate this, I shall only remark that, it is not likely that any occurrence will happen . . . that would alter my present intention . . ." Washington then assured Lewis that he would reimburse them for building costs if he did change his mind. He went on to discuss the operation of the farm: "although I have not the most distant idea that any event will happen that could effect a change in my present determination, nor any suspicion that you, or Nelly would conduct yourselves in such a manner as to incur my serious displeasure; yet, at the same time that I am inclined to do justice to others, it behoves me to take care of myself, by keeping the staff in my own hands" (4:314).

As part of his preparation for writing his will, Washington compiled a list of all of his slaves, including the dower slaves that Martha Washington brought with her to the marriage. The list is extensive, totaling 317, and includes names, ages, and remarks. The latter covers location, name of spouse, and whether the slave was owned by Washington, his wife, or Penelope French, whose life interest in land on Dogue Run he had acquired. Washington freed his slaves in his will upon Martha's death, providing for those too elderly, infirm, or too young to support themselves. He stated that "to emancipate them during [her] life, would, tho' earnestly wish[ed by] me, be attended with such insu[pera]ble difficulties on account of thei[r interm]ixture by Marriages with the [dow]er Negroes . . ." (4:480). This restriction created a situation not surprising to the modern reader, but apparently unanticipated by Washington - his slaves eagerly anticipated the death of his widow and she quickly freed them herself as she feared poisoning. Washington's will is a detailed, lengthy document, to which the editors have supplied

extraordinarily complete annotations. The will contained an enclosure, prepared by Washington, in which he listed the lands he directed his executors to sell. He provided a description of each, an assessment of its quality, and a recommended price. In some cases, he himself had recently surveyed the tracts. This thoroughness is also apparent in the farm plans that Washington drew up just 4 days before his death. This document, prepared before he became ill, covers fencing, crop rotation, composting, and the penning, feeding, and stabling of livestock. It is the work of a man who fully intended to actively manage his property.

Volume 4, the last in the *Retirement Series*, closes with Tobias Lear's diary and journal accounts of George Washington's death on December 14, 1799. Lear, Washington's secretary, describes a man, who, to the moment he died, maintained his dignity, saying to his doctors "I feel myself going, I thank you for your attention; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me, let me go off quietly; I cannot last long" (4:550).

The annotations in this series are extensive, going beyond strict identification to include explanations and summaries of events. The text of brief correspondence, such as routine replies, is incorporated into the footnotes. In some cases, the annotations are quite lengthy, The February 1, 1799 letter from James McHenry gives his opinion on how Washington's new uniform should be styled, followed by general remarks about Congress and the army. The notes, however, contain the transcription of several candid letters exchanged between Washington and McHenry on the merits of a proposed officer, prompted by a note enclosed with the original letter from McHenry.

Overall, the indexing of the volumes is good. Like most indexes, it is easy to locate people and places, less so to find entries for subjects. The phrases "letters to" and "letters from" are used to indicate both a transcription of an actual letter and a mention of a letter within other text. This device, while saving index space, is annoying, as it requires the reader to examine each entry to determine if it is an actual letter from or to the person in question.

*The Papers of George Washington* will eventually be available in CD-ROM edition. It will include items omitted from the volumes, such as accounts, routine orders, foreign language documents for which contemporary translations were published, and other "ancillary materials." Because the CD-ROM will not, according to the project's website, include the annotations, it is not a viable substitute for the volumes. Libraries that wish to have all of Washington's papers will thus have to purchase both formats of this valuable work.

Laurie A. Rofini, *Chester County Archives*

By Graham Russell Hodges. *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and New Jersey, 1613-1863*.

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. Pp. xii, 413, Appendix, Notes, Bibliography, Index, Cloth \$45.00, Paper \$18.95)

Work on the history of African Americans in New York and New Jersey has been going on for sometime now. Much research has been done on the Hudson Bay area of New York in the early period of the nation's history. Here A.J. Meyers has led the field. Research and volumes have been written about Central, Western, and Southern Tiers of New York State by Milton Sernett, Lillian Williams, Ralph Watkins, and Charles Pete Banner-Haley. There are of course others but we can now welcome the research and findings of Graham Russell Hodges to the ever-growing group of scholars pursuing studies of African Americans in the area. What he has to report in *Root and Branch* should be of great interest to scholars in those areas as well as students and laypersons. Hodges concentrates his attention on African Americans in New York City and the New Jersey environs. Thus he is able to capture the wide diversity of African Americans coming in from Africa, the Caribbean, as well as other colonies and states.

In this regard, Hodges takes note that African Americans in New York and Monmouth County in the early colonial period represented roughly 20% and 15% of the population respectively. This is important because it debunks the long held notion that there were few African Americans in these two areas. This has especially been a canard with respect to the rural areas. Research by scholars over the last three decades has definitively proven this to be wrong. The task since then and now is to show how the African presence in the early period and the subsequent African American presence in the 19th century have shaped the cultures and enriched the region. To this end Hodges has done an exemplary job.

The fact that New York and New Jersey in the early period engaged in slavery should come as no surprise. What is interesting was the kind of slavery that developed. Unlike the South (although there were some similarities to the Chesapeake area), these two northeastern states were societies with slaves rather than slave societies, a distinction that has been lucidly made by recently by Ira Berlin. Berlin's analysis, however, for the north region owes much to Hodges and thereby demonstrates the quality and importance of Hodges' work. Throughout this book Hodges covers in sharp detail the emergence of slavery by various European countries culminating in the British Crown's dominance of the

trade and how Africans fared under its domination. He painstakingly points out that African-descended people were not mere objects acted upon and overwhelmed with slavery's oppression. Black people in *Root and Branch* actively resist whites, bring culture forms that enrich, and shape the larger culture, and add a presence that could hardly be ignored.

One of the many strengths in Hodges's work is the way in which he integrates larger developments such as the impact of the American Revolution and the gradual emancipation of blacks from slavery into a whole story. This aids the reader in appreciating the complexity and depth of the Revolution and post-Revolutionary periods on African Americans. With so much scholarly attention focused on the growth of the peculiar institution in the South in the nineteenth century, it is often forgotten that slavery and freedom were contentious issues in New York and New Jersey. Final emancipation was not granted blacks until 1827 in New York and 1830 in New Jersey. Even with that, African Americans, for the most part lacked the right to vote and other rights accorded citizenship.

Even more overlooked is the emergence, by 1830, of "a genuine black community, only hinted at in the colonial and Revolutionary periods." (225) A small but active black middle class in New York and New Jersey appeared and was committed to abolition and the securing of the civil rights. For the poor blacks in the cities, a culture developed around the rough and tumble world of taverns and dance halls while their counterparts in the countryside celebrated the four-day holiday of "Pinkster," a fascinating religious/agricultural/cultural blend of African and European traditions.

These are but a few of the riches that can be discovered in Graham Hodges's *Root and Branch*, an extensive study that mines social, political, and intellectual history. In the end, Hodges sees African Americans struggling for their rights and engaging the larger white population in a conversation that "spoke with an American tongue and inspired by an African soul." (270) Scholars of African Americans in these two states are indebted to Hodges's reconstruction of the early years of these states' histories. The task now will be to meet the standards set in this work for the later periods of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Charles Pete Banner-Haley, *Colgate University*

By Margaret Hope Bacon. *Abby Hopper Gibbons: Prison Reformer and Social Activist*.

(Albany: State University of New York Press, Albany, 2000.

Pp. xvii, 217. Notes, Bibliography, Index. Paper \$19.95)

This is the story of Abby Hopper Gibbons (1801-1893), a dedicated activist and lifelong reformer who was involved in the major issues of her day: abolitionism, women's prison reform, poor relief, women's rights, social purity, and female education. As a linear chronology of one woman's life, Margaret Hope Bacon's book documents the origins of Gibbons' political work in the context of the radicalism of Hicksite Quakers, the gender ideology and morality of American Victorianism, and the social concerns of middle class whites during the nineteenth century.

Abby's father, Isaac T. Hopper, had a singular impact on the direction of her life. Bacon begins this book by analyzing his commitment to political reform. Born into a New Jersey Quaker family and a resident of Philadelphia during the Revolution, Isaac Hopper (a tailor of modest means) became an early abolitionist who arranged manumissions for runaway slaves by indenturing them to local farmers. Unlike many Quaker philanthropists who had no desire to interact with those who benefited from their largesse, Isaac Hopper had many friends within the local free black community. Hopper was also active in the Guardians of the Poor and the Philadelphia Prison Society; all these concerns infected the lives of his children who followed his example of Christian charity and social agitation.

Born into a large family and in a household "often augmented by the presence of her father's proteges: escaped slaves, released prisoners, and 'fallen women,' " Gibbons' exposure to activism began early. Her father's social reform and her mother's service as a Public Friend in the Quaker meeting set a standard of political activity and female leadership that she followed throughout her life. Her reform work continued even after she married James Gibbons in 1833 and began having children. Though wedded to the Victorian notions of "true womanliness," Gibbons was able to combine her activism with her domestic duties as a wife and mother. Despite financial losses, personal tragedy with the death of three children, and estrangement from her husband later in life, Abby Gibbons never lost her desire to alleviate social ills.

Gibbons' radicalism, particularly over slavery, did not dissipate with age; She eventually left the Society of Friends because of their timid support of abolitionism. Though other Quakers such as Lucretia and

James Mott would continue to assert that only moral suasion and non-violent resistance would end slavery, Abby Gibbons changed her mind, and by the late 1850s, she believed that nothing short of armed resistance would end the "peculiar institution." Despite her Quaker origins and practice of wearing plain clothing throughout her life, Gibbons was a strong supporter of the Union cause and worked actively to defeat the South. Serving as a nurse during the war and a member of the Sanitary Commission, Gibbons' provided essential services and supplies to Union troops.

Gibbons was part of the growing number of middle class reformers active in the dominant social issue of the mid-nineteenth century. She counted many leading activists and intellectuals among her friends including, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia and James Mott, Angelina and Sarah Grimke, Lydia Maria Child, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Blackwell, Henry Ward Beecher, John Brown, and Horace Greeley. Gibbons was also the founder of many reform organizations including the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, the Women's Prison Association, the Industrial School for German Girls, the Home for Discharged Female Convicts, the New York Infant Asylum, the Colored Home of Washington, D.C., the Veterans Labor and Aid Society, the Isaac T. Hopper Home, and the Bedford Reformatory.

As part of the SUNY Series on Women, Crime, and Criminology, this book addresses Gibbons' path-breaking work among female prisoners in New York State. Her father's employment with the New York Prison Association provided Gibbons' a new avenue of reform to improve the conditions of imprisoned women. Construed as less deserving because they had violated the Victorian ideals of womanly purity and goodness, female felons faced much harsher treatment than their male counterparts, both in and outside of prison. Gibbons' involvement in prison reform and the concerns of women prisoners would be a life-long cause and would lead her to a plethora of reform initiatives and lobbying efforts at the state and national level.

Bacon does an excellent job of capturing the character of Abby Hopper Gibbons and the wide range of her activities and networks during a long life filled with social service, benevolent aid, and political reform. This book is informative, accessible, and easy to read, and it would be of interest to Quaker scholars, nineteenth century social and women's historians, and practicing Friends - anyone with an interest in the prodigious, even Herculean, achievements of a social reformer.

Janet Moore Lindman, *Rowan University*

By Alfred L. Shoemaker. *Christmas in Pennsylvania*.

(Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1959; reprint with New Foreword by Don Yoder, 1999. Pp. Xxix, 162. Notes, Bibliography, Index. Cloth \$19.95)

Memories are at the heart of *Christmas in Pennsylvania*. the word (or one of its derivatives) occurs four times in the first sentence on page one, and the chapters that follow are filled with accounts of (mostly) fondly recollected traditions. Near the end of the 1959 first edition, Alfred L. Shoemaker observes sadly "How regrettable that not more of so rich a Christmas folk tradition as we have presented in this volume . . . is incorporated in our present-day celebration of Christmas in Pennsylvania" (131). Four decades later, with toy outlets near every mall and business reports routinely featuring interviews with store managers whose holiday sales (starting in November) are widely understood to spell success or failure for the entire year, the vantage point from which Shoemaker offered his assessment of bygone days has acquired its own nostalgic haze. One of the discoveries to be made in *Christmas in Pennsylvania*, is that such wistful laments are by no means new. "There comes to us, over the waste of years, pleasant memories of Christmas cheerfulness and unrestrained joy," wrote Henry Harbaugh, a Franklin County native, in 1858 (1). The lore may have varied, but it is clear that for many Pennsylvanians over the past two centuries Christmas traditions have been linked to powerful childhood memories.

The material Shoemaker culled from newspapers, dairies, letters, memoirs, and interviews – focusing primarily on Pennsylvania Dutch traditions – is grouped into two main sections. The first, "Open-Hearth Christmases," presumably emphasizes customs from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – though Shoemaker actually manages to recover relatively little Pennsylvania material from the earlier years. A short chapter on Christmas Mummies, is followed by a longer group of accounts of "Barring Out the Schoolmaster," detailing the tenacious efforts of pupils to win a vacation by locking out their teacher in an era when a Christmas holiday had no place in the official calendar. The first section also includes recollections of making metzel soup ("a portion of sausage, pudding or small cut of spare ribs" [15]) and earning Christmas money by gathering hog bristles to sell to a brush maker or saddler; it contains descriptions of various Christmas candies ("Matzabaum, Moshey, and Bellyguts"); and it offers a brief discussion of the lore celebrating the beneficial powers of "Christmas Dew."

The second (and longer) section of the book, "Woodstove Christ-

mases,” reports customs that sometimes remained vital into the early years of the twentieth century – and even down to the present. There are, of course, numerous references to Christmas trees (the earliest located by Shoemaker dates from 1821) as well as colorful accounts of the items with which they were decorated – from apples to eggshells, from pretzels to toys, from tinsel to electric lights (which adorned a Doylestown tree as early as 1885). In one chapter, Shoemaker reprints several vivid accounts furnished to a Lancaster newspaper in the mid-1870s by an anonymous correspondent who described the most elaborately decorated trees he encountered in his excursions around town. Other chapters record allusions to the decorative pyramids erected by the Moravians as early as the mid-eighteenth century and discuss the elaborate *putzes*, or creches, fashioned for the holidays in churches and homes. Here, too, one can find references to a wide assortment of Christmas traditions – from the containers used to hold gifts, to various kinds of cookies (lebkakes and apees, sand tarts and Dutch cakes), to the boisterous nineteenth-century street revels associated with the “Carnival of Horns” in Philadelphia and “Firecracker Christmas” in Pittsburgh until these Calathumpian activities were banned by municipal authorities.

Two of the longest chapters bring together references to figures popularly associated with Christmas. One gathers accounts that help to show how the Pennsylvania Dutch *Christ-kindel*, the Christ Child as gift-bringer, was gradually metamorphosed into Kriss Kringle, and, eventually, into the rotund and genial figure of Santa Claus. The other explores traditions associated with the Belsnickle, an ambiguous costumed figure armed with a switch. Rural Belsnicklers, Shoemaker observes, generally made their rounds alone, bringing nuts and cookies for good children and “frightening and punishing the disobedient” (75). Urban Belsnicklers, on the other hand, were likely to be gangs of masked youths who, much in the manner of Mummies, entertained (or sometimes terrorized) the townspeople with their songs, pranks, and demands for holiday treats.

While the lore is generally fascinating it is not always tightly and persuasively organized and the accounts are perhaps too often left to speak for themselves. Occasionally one is likely to get bogged down in items that are stitched together in a more or less chronological order, often with limited introduction and minimal interpretation. Fortunately, several lucid essays by Don Yoder help place the material in a larger framework. The 1959 edition opened with Yoder’s insightful discussion of the range of Christmas observance (and non-observance) in early Pennsylvan-

nia. Now, that original introduction joined by a new foreword and a substantial afterword that offers Yoder's charming recollections of his own childhood Christmases and then moves on to provide a broad review of the scholarly literature on Christmas-related topics that has appeared over the past forty years. Readers interested in grappling with the significance of Christmas customs may want to add Stephen Nissenbaum's elegant 1996 study *The Battle for Christmas* to Yoder's helpfully updated bibliography, but, such minor quibbles aside, Yoder's thoughtful essays and Shoemaker's rich materials combine to make *Christmas in Pennsylvania* an indispensable work for anyone interested in this subject. It is good to have it back in print in a richly illustrated new edition.

John S. Patterson, *Penn State Harrisburg*

**By David Contosta. *Lancaster, Ohio, 1800-2000: Frontier Town to Edge City.***

(Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999. Pp. xxi + 333)

Community histories are numerous, but good ones are uncommon commodities. Lancaster, Ohio, which celebrated its bicentennial in 2000, is fortunate in its chronicler. A versatile scholar whose books include *Suburb in the City* (a history of Chestnut Hill in Philadelphia), Contosta writes here with a mixture of personal affection for his home town and scholarly insight about its past, present, and possible future. His book is sure to be welcomed in Lancaster and useful to scholars.

Names after its Pennsylvania counterpart, Lancaster grew originally because of its location, midway along Zane's Trace in Central Ohio. Because of its early access to canals that connected it indirectly to New Orleans and embrace of transportation innovations such as railroads, trolleys, and the motor car, Lancaster enjoyed prosperity (founded largely on such industries as glass, paper, and natural gas) and steady population growth well into the twentieth century. During the late nineteenth century its downtown gradually became a showplace and nearby mansions a source of civic pride. Despite a population approaching 25,000 in the "golden age" of the 1950s, Lancaster remained a quintessential county seat with the look and feel of a small town.

In a compact volume of fewer than 300 pages of text, amply and beneficially illustrated, Contosta covers a wide range of topics. Much of this work is devoted to a chronologically organized discussion of demo-

graphic changes, industrial and commercial history, civic affairs, and infrastructure improvements. Local boosterism, entertainments, anniversary celebrations, architectural highlights, and changes wrought by suburbanization after World War II receive due attention. Contosta includes vignettes of Lancaster notables, among them a cluster of politicians of statewide influence, Civil War General William T. Sherman (who was a local hero if not quite a native son), and publisher Malcolm Forbes, whose single year in Lancaster in 1941 engendered lifelong affection for the town and a major spread on Lancaster in a 1947 issue of *Forbes Magazine*. He also offers suggestive comparisons between Lancaster and other Ohio communities and sheds light on this conservative town's shift from Democratic dominance before World War I to Republican loyalties thereafter.

The examples Contosta employs to illustrate his major generalizations about continuity and change in Lancaster mirror those of dozens of like-sized communities. As such, they make less compelling reading than his account of topics that most local boosters would prefer he ignored. These include the nativism and racism, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, and the well-intentioned but hapless urban renewal efforts of the 1960s and 1970s, in response to the economic challenge posed by population growth and commercial development on the town's periphery. As these topics suggest, Contosta is too good a historian to ignore the underside of life in a paradigmatic midwestern town. But he is no muckraker. Contosta's narrative is so matter of fact and understated that this reader wished it had more color and bite.

This book is likely to adorn many coffee tables in Lancaster. But it will also attract students of small town America and scholars weighing the impact on cities of the suburban thrust since World War II. Contosta is intrigued by the concepts of "edge city" and "galactic metropolis" identified with the work of journalist Joel Garreau and geographer Pierce Lewis, respectively. He believes that urban sprawl post 1960 represents the emergence of either a new city on the borders of Lancaster, or Lancaster's status as one of many "stars" in "the swirl of shopping districts, office complexes, and neighborhoods that now characterize central Ohio" (p. 266) - or perhaps both.

Although I am less convinced than Contosta that either of these tropes works better in explaining what has happened in Fairfield County over the past half century than the simple phrase "urban sprawl," the issue is an important one and his take on it merits consideration. When at the close of the book Contosta poses questions about the future of

downtown in Lancaster and how denizens of the increasingly populated hinterland between Lancaster and Columbus will identify themselves in the 21st century, he is asking questions that will interest anyone who wonders whether small towns can possibly have a future as bright as their past. In this way, as well as in its capable rendering of one town's story, *Lancaster, Ohio, 1800-2000* is much more than an ornament for a coffee table.

Michael J. Birkner, *Gettysburg College*

**Edited by Howard Harris and Perry K. Blatz. *Keystone of Democracy: A History of Pennsylvania Workers.***

(Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999, pp. xiv, 361)

This volume is the first book to present a detailed overview of the history of Pennsylvania workers from the colonial era to the present. Its six chapters, written by prominent labor historians, provides a description and analysis of Pennsylvania's diverse labor force and its relationship to pertinent national and state developments. This subject has broader implications, however, because "Pennsylvania workers have been at the heart of American labor history for over two centuries" and their story "is representative of the history of all working people in the United States."

Four threads provide unity for the book and transform it from a series of "stand alone" chapters into an integrated narrative about the experiences of Pennsylvania workers and their responses to them. The authors explore the diversity and changing nature of the composition of the working class and its ways of living. They also investigate the effects of technology on the workplace and on the roles of workers in American society. In addition, the contributors analyze the effects of government policies on workers and labor unions and examine the participation of workers and labor unions in the political system.

The activities, ideas, and significance of major labor leaders receive much attention in the text and others are covered in a series of keystone vignettes. William Sylvis and Terrence Powderly represent the reform unionism of the late 19th century, and profiles of Thomas Kennedy, Van Bittner, and Philip Murray provide insights into the activities of prominent figures in the United Mine Workers and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Female labor leaders such as Amy Ballinger and Min Matheson also receive attention. The authors describe the

major labor conflicts such as the Homestead Lockout of 1892, the strike wave of 1919, and the labor upheavals of 1946 while including coverage of more recent, less well known, strikes of glass workers, hospital workers, and employees of Wilkes-Barre and Pittsburgh newspapers.

The coverage of deindustrialization in the 1970s and 1980s illustrates some of the general characteristics of the book. The authors place this process in a historical and geographical context, discuss its causes, and analyze its character and aftermath. In addition to using the steel industry as a major case study, they also provide profiles of the closing of Leslie Fay dress factory in northeastern Pennsylvania, the shutdown of the Piper Airplane factory in Lock Haven, and the end of Volkswagen production at its New Stanton automobile factory.

The struggle for democracy depicted in this volume emphasizes the attempts by workers to upgrade their conditions through unionism, strikes, and mainstream politics. For example, Mark McCulloch describes the era from 1940-1970 as the Glory Days when Pennsylvania workers won "industrial citizenship" by obtaining good jobs at decent wages. This agenda did provide the focus for many labor leaders and labor unions, but some labor activists, especially in the 1920s and 1930s, sought to broaden the labor program as Pennsylvania emerged as a leading venue for experiments in "industrial democracy," with James H. Maurer and John Brophy as its key advocates. Led by Maurer, Reading workers built a powerful labor movement and a strong socialist movement which featured important strikes, the election of socialists to prominent local and state political posts, and the publication of the *Reading Labor Advocate*. In central Pennsylvania, John Brophy, president of District 2 of the United Mine Workers, proposed the Miner's Program to democratize both the union and American society. He advocated nationalization of the coal mines, the establishment of a viable labor party, and the building of a union controlled by its membership. In pursuit of these goals, Brophy established cooperatives, operated a labor education program, and supported third party political candidates. Realizing the power and wealth of big business, both Maurer and Brophy sought allies among religious reformers, progressive intellectuals, and labor activists. These efforts produced networks of support, but the counter currents proved too strong as conservative politicians, big businessmen, and business unionists triumphed. In spite of their defeat, advocates of industrial democracy contributed to the forging of the "keystone of democracy."

The book concludes with an overview of the current challenges pre-

sented to labor organizers, labor unions, and labor leaders by the emergence of a new national economy, a new global economy, and a new labor force. The service sector and high tech have displaced the industrial sector as the primary wealth producing and employment producing spheres in the national economy. The global economy features industrial production by low wage labor, the important role of multinational companies, and the migration of capital, consumer goods, and labor across national borders. These developments have produced a new labor force with more women, African Americans, Hispanic, and Asian workers than in the industrial era. To cope with these new circumstances, labor leaders have begun to rethink their agendas and tactics and have turned to labor-management cooperation, employee owned enterprises, and corporate campaigns to aid workers and to reinvigorate the labor movement.

This book is a valuable addition to the scholarship of both state history and labor history. Academics, workers, and the general public will be informed by its comprehensive coverage of the role of workers in society. This volume also provides a solid foundation for more specialized studies which will enrich our understanding of the past, and hopefully, help us to forge a more democratic future for the Commonwealth and the nation.

Irwin M. Marcus, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*

**By Craig Phelan. *Grand Master Workman: Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor.***

(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000. Pp. 294, Bibliography, Index. Cloth \$65.00)

Craig Phelan's history of the relationship of Terence Powderly to the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, the inclusive workers' association that flourished in the 1880s, seeks to reclaim Powderly's contemporary reputation as a gifted leader and tireless advocate for the rights of working people in the formative years of monopoly capitalism. Relying on Powderly's papers, Knights' documents, and labor newspapers of the era, Phelan contends that traditional and revisionist labor historians have unjustly banished Powderly to the margins of irrelevance to the American labor movement. Phelan's corrective portrays Powderly not as the ineffectual autocrat conventionally dismissed by labor scholars but as a visionary yet pragmatic propagandist and administrator who struggled to reconcile his devotion to democratic principles against the over-

whelming demands inherent in marshaling a national organization.

A native Pennsylvanian, Powderly (1849-1924) was born and raised in Carbondale, one of twelve children of Irish Catholic immigrants. As a railroad machinist in Carbondale, Wilkes-Barre, and Scranton, Powderly internalized a republican faith that employers and workers formed a community bound by mutual respect and the equitable distribution of social and economic power. Like many others, however, Powderly was jolted by the depression of 1873-1877 and concluded that working people needed collective responses to the emerging power of organized capital. As Greenback-Labor Mayor of Scranton for three terms beginning in 1878, and as a local and national leader of the Knights, Powderly refined his belief that workers' desperation was not a function of personal failure but of the concentrated power of economic elites.

Phelan documents Powderly's contributions to the steady growth of the Knights after he was elected Grand Master Workman in 1879. His exhaustive lecturing and writing oriented American workers to the Knights' philosophy of inclusion for all producers (except Asian immigrants, the Order's one glaring prejudice) regardless of skill level, sex, or race. Knights assemblies were defined not by trade but by territorial jurisdiction, driven by the assumption that skilled and unskilled workers faced common problems. Membership exploded to 700,000 in 1885, after Knights led a successful work stoppage that forced railroad boss Jay Gould to strategically withdraw wage cuts imposed on his southwest lines. Powderly was catapulted to demigod status and the Order took on a false aura of invincibility among American workers, including skilled craftsmen who used the Knights to build the trade union movement. The tension between craft identity and territorial jurisdiction later played a central role in the disintegration of the Knights.

The Knights' illusory power evaporated during a wave of poorly planned and under-financed militant job actions (including a disastrous second strike against Gould) during the Great Upheaval of 1886, a period marked by the deaths of seven policemen in the Haymarket disaster in Chicago. Powderly, fearful of bankrupting the Order's chronically bare treasury with frivolous strikes, pleaded with workers not to play into the hands of the nation's first Red Scare, in which organized capital's institutional forces (law, police, and media) exploited the volatility of the Upheaval to turn public opinion against labor. This capitalist mobilization, says Phelan, was the key element in the Knights' demise. By the end of the 1880s, the workers' solidarity that flourished

under the Knights had been marginalized by the exclusionary craft orientation of the American Federation of Labor, shattering the Order's vision of a cooperative producers' commonwealth.

The identification of institutional historians with the narrow "job consciousness" of the AFL, Phelan suggests, caused them to denigrate Powderly's contributions to the American labor movement. Robert Hoxie, Selig Perlman, Norman Ware, and Gerald Grob, among others, ignored Powderly's lifelong immersion in industrial society and portrayed the Knights as backward-looking utopians unwilling to accommodate, as was the AFL, corporate capital accumulation and managerial control of production. Moreover, recent studies of the Knights in selected communities devalue the Order's national framework and therefore understate Powderly's role. Important as these studies are, says Phelan, to write off Powderly and the national organization is to misinterpret the scope of the Order's crusade to reshape the culture of the national economy.

Critics will fairly note that Phelan downplays Powderly's actual shortcoming, especially his vicious excoriation of real and imagined radical opposition within the Order. But Phelan clearly states his intention to re-establish Powderly as a positive force in the history of American labor, and he succeeds. His analysis of Powderly's assessment of the omnipresent power of organized capital, a power underestimated by virtually all contemporary reformers, is particularly important. Anyone interested in the philosophy and tactics of current community-based workers' campaigns will benefit from revisiting Powderly, who could "never reconcile himself to the idea that the labor movement served no higher function than improved wages, hours, and working conditions for those fortunate enough to belong to a skilled trade." (248)

John Hennen, *Morehead State University*

By Thomas R. Heinrich. *Ships for the Seven Seas: Philadelphia Shipbuilding in the Era of Industrial Capitalism.*

(The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1997. Pp. x, 290. Price not given)

This is how industrial and social history – this is how the best of history – ought to be written.

*Ships for the Seven Seas: Philadelphia Shipbuilding in the Age of Industrial Capitalism* is a very valuable work. Well after New York had bypassed Philadelphia in population and commerce and shipping, Philadelphia (and Camden, Chester and Wilmington) shipyards on the

Delaware were the principal shipbuilders in the United States and, for short periods, in the entire world. "The American Clyde" was a current phrase in those times, Philadelphia having temporarily surpassed the giant shipbuilding industry along the Clyde in Scotland. The extent of production and of financial prosperity grew and faded, dependent as most of these firms were on government contracts, especially during the Civil War and the two world wars of the 20th century; but they also depended on orders from private owners and other corporations, and on foreign governments on occasion. For various and shortsighted reasons, governmental legislation and regulations have consistently neglected the desirable development of an American merchant marine. Still shipyards such as Cramp, Neafie & Levy, New York Shipbuilding Corporation (in Camden), Sun Shipbuilding (in Chester), and Hog Island during World War I (after 1930 the site of the present Philadelphia airport) gave employment and established the careers of tens of thousands of Philadelphia workers. All of this was gone during our lifetime, including the Navy's own Navy Yard. Despite its melancholy ending, this is a highly interesting history.

This book's importance exists on various connected levels. In its way it is an excellent compliment to Philip Chadwick Foster Smith's largely pictorial and beautiful *Philadelphia On the River* (1986). It is a model of industrial history since its author is thoroughly knowledgeable of the complex and detailed mechanics of ship construction and of its materials, including his very impressive knowledge of British and German shipbuilding of the period – all of it rendered in impressively clear prose. It is a model of social history, first, because of its descriptive qualities: its coverage of the lives and of the working conditions of the tens of thousands of shipyard workers; second, because of the often regrettable and painful struggles between workers' unions and the owners. It is also a model of financial history – again, written with a swift and sure pen about an otherwise recondite and wearisome topic, of how patriarchal management slowly changed to corporate management, and how this affected the financial situation of various shipbuilders. Any collector, private or institutional, of books about the history of Philadelphia must have this one. Its keel is laid true; its text is riveting; the plates of its hull fit perfectly; its outfitting (meaning in this context: its style) is beautiful. Readers of this review must excuse these maritime figures of speech. They are inspired by this reviewer's impression of this book which obviously lingered long after he put it down.

John, Lukacs, *Phoenixville, Pennsylvania*

By Eric C. Schneider. *Vampires, Dragons and Egyptian Kings: Youth Gangs in Postwar New York*.

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Pp. xx, 334, Notes, Index, Cloth \$29.95)

Eric Schneider, in his vividly written study of youth gangs in New York City in the period after World War II, demonstrates that a historian can bring new light to the study of a topic that has received most attention within criminology. The strength of Schneider's book is a detailed and intelligent analysis of the social and historical context that shaped the gangs' functions and activities. More than any other book that I am aware of, *Vampires* moves back and forth between the leisure, violent, sexual, and economic behavior within gangs, on the one hand, and the geographic, economic, racial, ethnic, and other factors that were the social context for the behavior.

The heart of the book lies in an examination of the ways that the fighting gangs were central to the formation of male identity for youths in many lower-class neighborhoods in the fifteen years after World War II. Within the gangs, adolescent boys constructed and tested their manhood. Those who were willing to fight had "heart" and won respect: those who failed were "punks." The gang activities took place within a youth culture of popular music and a presentation of self through clothes, an argot, graffiti, and a recognizable walk. Women were outside their culture. Some boys might be attracted to a "good" girl (which could provide a path to exit the street life of the gang); girls associated with the gangs were "lays," and gang rapes, performed in the order of reputation in the gang, were common. While members could find confirmation of masculinity within the gang, the confirmation was precarious and subject to repeated testing.

At the same time, Schneider places the 1950s gangs in a historical context. In a society in which many youths could once find identity in blue-collar jobs, such jobs were leaving the city, and young men with minimal education could no longer find confirmation of masculinity in the dead-end jobs now available to them. The public schools, which seemed to prepare them for the dead-end jobs, challenged their masculinity by expectations that they would be docile and obey the rules. Of central importance, geographic boundaries separating racial and ethnic groups were in flux. The middle classes moved to the suburbs; blacks and Puerto Ricans flocked to the city, creating new ghettos; and urban renewal (and removal) disrupted neighborhoods. With boundaries in flux, teenage gangs, often with the approval of adults, fought to main-

tain old or new boundaries and repel newcomers. They could define themselves as heroic defenders of their racial or ethnic group.

Schneider argues that, in the 1960s, gangs changed because the social context of street life was different. In that decade, street gangs declined for a number of reasons: the spread of heroin use (which created a less violent culture among some youths), the attempt of groups like the Black Panthers to recruit gang members to radical politics, the Vietnam War that pulled many young men into the army, and the programs of the "War on Poverty" that often reached out to young men with offers of jobs or other perks. When gangs reemerged in the 1970s, the "war on drugs" had made drug dealing an attractive activity for youths. In this context, the meaning of boundaries changed: now protected boundaries were the area that a gang claimed for purposes of sales rather than racial or ethnic boundaries. An important argument in the book, then, is that city gangs are not a constant, replicating themselves each generation. Instead, they decline, increase, and change to reflect the historical shifts in the economy, urban geography, government policies, and other factors.

No brief summary can capture the complex argument of Schneider's book. Nor can a summary convey the clarity and vividness of the style, or the way that the many anecdotes make the argument concrete and lure the reader to keep turning the pages. This is a book of interest to historians of the city, race, ethnicity, and lower class culture, as well as to the criminologist, students of urban policy, and anyone who enjoys good history.

Mark H. Haller, *Temple University*