

Book Reviews

By Rosemary Moore. *The Light of Their Consciences: The Early Quakers, in Britain, 1646-1666.*

(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, Pp. xiii, 414. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth)

Rosemary Moore provides a welcome addition to early Quaker studies. Since 1964, when Hugh Barbour's *Quakers in Puritan England* was published, many works expanding the analysis of Quaker origins have appeared. Following Barbour's efforts to explain the Quaker religion within the context of the Puritan Revolution came studies by Larry Ingle and Richard Bauman. Works by Christopher Hill, Barry Reah, and David Underdown have also placed Quakerism in the context of the Revolution to explain its radical political and social consequences. Rosemary Moore's work fits within the former group, although she uses works that focus on politics and society to flesh out the larger part of her study.

Moore opts for an early start : she thinks the sect began either 1646 or 1647 when George Fox first met Elizabeth Hooten and enlisted her support in his work. While Hooten was the first woman to lend support, his encounter with Margaret Fell led to a long-standing relationship and, after the death of her first husband, ultimately marriage to the "mother" of Quakerism. Moore places the Quaker origins in the English midlands. Real growth came first in the north in Lancashire and Yorkshire from 1653 before expanding to the vicinity of London and elsewhere by 1656. Before the leaders of Parliament were aware of the expansion in the south its leaders feared Friends. The strange activities of James Nayler - whose entrance into Bristol in 1656 seemed a blasphemous parody of Jesus's entry to Jerusalem traditionally celebrated on Palm Sunday - provided an opportunity to strike a blow against Quakers in general. In addition, Nayler's assertion that Christ was within him had Parliament prosecute and severely punish him in an attempt to stamp out the sect before it could spread. Alarmed at the reaction to their group as a result of Nayler's trial, Quaker leadership sought to bring the enthusiastic nature of their sect under control, restrain some of its outbursts, impose order on its charismatic aspects, and start Quak-

ers down the path of respectability and sobriety for which they would become known in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Familiar as much of Moore's account is, her analysis of pamphlets year by year helps focus attention on changes in Quakerism as they developed, not on events as set out in accounts edited later, for example George Fox's *Journal*. She effectively demonstrates the shattering effect of Nayler's actions. Fox and other early Quaker leaders had come uncomfortably close to Nayler's beliefs before the movement gradually backed away from his position. In response to external and internal pressures, the leaders developed meetings to deal with business affairs of the movement. By 1666, the year George Fox was released from prison, these efforts to bring stability to what a formerly unruly group had provided the base for orderly management of Quaker affairs. Thereafter, Fox promoted a meeting structure that still endures.

Moore is especially effective in clarifying actors other than Fox among early Quakers, avoiding reliance on his journal because of later editing. There is also a helpful essay on research methods. Less useful are the many cross references in the text to other chapters that would have been better confined to the notes or left out entirely. Still, this is a worthwhile investigation of early Quaker origins, albeit without the verve of authors like Barbour and Reah.

Arthur J. Worrall, *Colorado State University*

By Francis Jennings. *The Creation of America, Through Evolution to Empire.*

(Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.)

Deep in thought and elegant in style, the last volume written by one of the grand masters of Colonial and Revolutionary American history sums up his decades of historical revisionism and can rightfully be considered the last will and testament of the historian whose Covenant Chain series literally revolutionized the field of Native American studies more than two decades ago.

In the preface, Jennings states that his book is "an effort to tell the Revolution for the Adults." *The Creation of America* is not a standard historical reference book. In Jennings' own words, "it differs from the fairy tales in the ways that bills at Christmas differs from the gifts of Santa Claus." For Jennings, traditional textbook interpretations of the American Revolution are the interpretation of something that never

happened. Not an abrupt break but evolution, not a single event but a series of often hardly related incidents, not universal but regional, not the invention of a new democratic paradigm but a perpetuation of English imperial political forms and traditions - these are the essential qualities of Jennings' American Revolution.

Jennings' Revolution resulted from the inherent conflict between the center of the English Empire and its peripheries. Thus, while analyzing growth and evolution of colonies within the imperial framework, Jennings argues that "the Revolution was an episode in the history of an empire that the seceding colonies had helped to create and with which they identified themselves." (p.4) As a result, while new policies emerged in the form and function of a new United States empire, being cheerfully and vitally youthful in its form but structurally and functionally imperial in its inherent essence.

Stressing the real political character and sometimes even literally down-to-earth interests (such as land acquisitions) of the Revolution and revolutionaries, Jennings argues that the eighteenth-century American rhetoric of liberty was often nothing but a camouflaged war propaganda. Studying the whole population of the Colonial America, Jennings points that liberty was variously distributed in the Revolution. Deriving from and redefining the traditional rights and freedoms of Englishmen, newly acquired American liberty was limited exclusively to the white male citizens of the new Republic, whereas African Americans and Amerindians were excluded. Once again, pointing at the existing continuity between the Republic's present and imperial past, Jennings demonstrates convincingly that such exclusion was not a colonial invention but a skillful adaptation and reinterpretation of the traditional English notions of civility as oppose to barbarism and Christianity as oppose to heathenism.

Thus, according to Jennings, the American Revolution appears to be evolutionary rather than a break with tradition, for violence was as essential and part of the revolutionary tradition. Moreover, viewing the American Revolution within a larger imperial framework, Jennings argues that it was not a uniquely American phenomenon, but rather a part of the greater fight for preservation and expansion of the traditional realm of royal prerogative. Unlike in the colonies, secession was not an option for Englishmen in the metropolis; therefore in England the struggle took form of reforming Parliament's representation, fighting for the freedom of press, achieving immunity for parliament's members, securing the rights for the trial by jury, and, last but not least, the eman-

cipation of chattel slaves. As a result, by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, substantially new liberties were added in England.

The American Revolution resulted in more ambiguous achievements, such as a strengthening of slavery, increased attacks upon tribal Indians and even against British Canada, and securing political rights and liberties for only a privileged portion of people.

Jennings' source materials are secondary. His work is an analytical synthesis of exciting interpretations and not the result of original archival research. Jennings admits that *The Creation of America* is an essay rather than a standard text or monograph. Looking for alternatives to current mythology, trying to write a history of all American people, insisting that this book is "not so much revisionist as a choice of existing but neglected interpretations" (p. 6), Jennings rejects mainstream history in favor of an alternative synthesis his own research has pointed to over the years. This book is a political statement as well as the last presentation of Jennings' personal historical, political, and humanitarian credo. It undoubtedly contains errors and the author admitted this (p. 318). *The Creation of America* is a controversial invitation to a dialogue. It can be recommended to a wide supplemental text by those of us who want to shake up our students.

Alexander Krivosov, *The Pennsylvania State University*

Donna J. Rilling. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850.*

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. Pp. xii, 260, notes, bibliography, index. \$45 cloth.)

Historians have long been intrigued by the burst of entrepreneurial energy that drove the nation-building process after ratification of the Constitution. American ships opened Asian ports, and, despite the embargo on European trade accompanying the Napoleonic wars, America launched early manufacturing, and, as Rilling points out, homebuilding in Philadelphia as in New York and Baltimore flourished. Indeed, it was in 1811 that New York designed what became the greatest grid in the world, a plan that envisioned carpeting Manhattan Island with thousands of sturdy middle-class homes, and, as it turned out, tenements as well.

Rilling is not the first to explore the homebuilding phenomenon of the early republic. Stuart Blumin recounted it as part of his brilliant *Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City*,

1760-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1989). Elizabeth Blackmar in *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1958* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1989) deciphered how New York's elite Knickerbockers channeled merchant fortunes into a bonanza of landlord profits. Meanwhile, Billy G. Smith *The 'Lower Sort': Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1900), and Sean Wilentz *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford, 1984), among other historians of the "republican tradition" remind us that it may have been the artisans and mechanics – Jefferson's so-called "bone and sinew" – who paid the ultimate price for the hectic pace of modernization wrought by capitalism.

Rilling, however, reveals that many artisans, especially Philadelphia's home building craftsmen, escaped such victimization. Her highly textured examination of Philadelphia's house building industry discloses that the Quaker City represents an exception in terms of real estate development and the impact of modernization on the house-building artisan class. In *Making Houses* Rilling traces the journey of Philadelphia carpenters from generalist craftsmen/mechanics of the 1790s to, specialist contractors and subcontractors, window and door makers, lumberyard managers, plasterers, glaziers, and brokers of the 1850's. Rather than leave her actors amorphous, she skillfully personalizes them, prosopographically, so that throughout the book we comprehend the process of home building and change through the real lives of John Munday, Warnet Meyer, Moses Lancaster, John McCarter, John Sharples and others whose successes and failures recapitulate the mercurial career trajectories of these early builder capitalists.

Rilling artfully transforms the seemingly mundane process of erecting early nineteenth century vernacular brick row homes into a fascinating saga. Once she has fit her artisan cohort into the frenetic world of early national homebuilding and capitalism, in succeeding chapters she explores in great depth the diurnal business activity of city master builders including the importance of securing critical building materials such as lumber, brick, limestone, and marble; the fashioning of windows, sashes, and doors; and lastly the digging of basements; fitting of joists and rafters; and the final assembly of the house itself. At each step the artisan capitalists confronted an endless quest for credit usually involving the need to negotiate exchanges of labor for materials; they faced as well hazards of weather, uncertain transportation, and the vicissitude of local and national economies.

Rilling makes a number of solid points that considerably illuminate the leap from a eighteenth century constrained mercantile economy to

the turbulent proto-capitalism of the mid-nineteenth. Her book nicely complements Blumin's broader portrait of marketplace capitalism in *The Emergence of the Middle Class*. At the same time, by emphasizing the exceptionalism of Philadelphia, her book underscores the danger of generalizing about urban development based on the experience of any one city. Philadelphia house builders, she explains, unlike New York's, operated in a milieu created by plentiful land and a unique system of ground rents. Ground rents – central to the story – allowed landowners, i.e., “ground lords,” to retain ultimate land ownership for a modest rent selling to builders or homeowners all rights to the land. The purchaser essentially exercised sovereignty over the land. A modest rent, made valuable building lots available to young artisan builders, and promoted the construction of affordable two and three-story brick row homes.

In Philadelphia, argues Rilling, master builders – often only recently journeyman – not wealthy elites as in New York – seized the homebuilding initiative. Homebuilding, in fact, employed a significant segment of the city's workforce. Artisans, Rilling contends, operated in the vortex of the young entrepreneurial economy. Taking advantage of ground rents, they built on speculation anywhere from five to fifty units of housing, took great risks, developed legal institutions, improvised credit practices such as book debt and labor exchange, and utilized kinship and religious connections.

Rilling stresses the complexity of this early capitalist homebuilding industry. Her builders were artisan carpenters, sign painters, lumber dealers, and other assorted young men on the make. Risk produced upward mobility, but, in the face of chronic cyclical downturns, failure as well. Moreover, modernization, technical innovation, and specialization inevitably wrought change. By 1850 Philadelphia artisans had left a deep imprint on credit and building practices and on the speculative real estate industry itself. Specialists and brokers, for example, now ran lumber and brickyards, dominated door and window fabricating, plastered ceilings, and did other interior finishing. However, just as historian Philip Scranton has demonstrated for Philadelphia's textile industry, so in the world of house building, generalists survived plying their carpentry craft in 1850 much as they had in 1800.

Rilling offers a highly textured account of a vital, but previously undocumented, chapter in Philadelphia city building. It is a solid contribution to the broader genre of urban history that expands our understanding of the city-building process as well as the key artisanal role in

shaping nineteenth century capitalism. Focused on process, Rilling, however, deals only obliquely with another crucial facet of the house-building story. She notes that artisan builders erected "affordable" housing for low-income workers literally in the rear and shadow of staterier middle-class row housing facing principal streets. Yet, she says little about how the new sanitary technologies, heating, gas lighting, running water, specialized carpentry, and modernized management impacted housing costs and contributed to widening the existing class differentiation and segregation of housing. Philadelphia like other industrial cities had a severe tenement house problem that in the minds of post-Civil War progressive reformers belied the city's reputation as a City of Homes. This, of course, goes well beyond the scope of a book that on its own greatly expands our knowledge of Philadelphia and its distinguishing feature, the ubiquitous row house.

John F. Bauman, *Muskie School, University of Southern Maine*

By Nina de Angeli Walls. *Art, Industry, and Women's Education in Philadelphia.*

(Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 2001. Pp. xxiv, 182, bibliography, index.)

In the historiography of American higher education institutional histories are a dime a dozen. Often written by a senior faculty member at the college or university in question, they usually appear at the time of an important anniversary. Nina de Angeli Walls does not teach at the Moore College of Art and Design, but she has written what amounts to the sesquicentennial history of this Philadelphia college for women. Founded in 1848, it was known as the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (PSDW) until 1932 when it was renamed to honor Joseph Moore, Jr., a banker and philanthropist who left it three million dollars. What began as a school of commercial design gradually became a more comprehensive institution, adding courses in art education and the fine arts in the 1880s. The Philadelphia business community lent its support, hoping that the school's alumnae would free the city's manufacturers from their dependence on expensive imported designs. Along with the Pennsylvania Museum School of Industrial Art and the

Philadelphia Normal School, PSDW widened the circle of institutions in the city providing vocational education for unmarried, white women of limited means. But before long it also enrolled daughters of the middle class searching for a respectable way to augment their education, if not their income.

As its title promises, *Art, Industry, and Women's Education in Philadelphia* contributes to our knowledge of Philadelphia history, women's history, and the history of higher education. It does so mainly for the time when board member John Sartain, followed by his daughter Emily and grandniece Harriet, set the course for PSDW. Beginning in 1886, these two women served for six consecutive decades as principal and dean respectively. Urban historians may welcome the book's brief treatment of the business climate in nineteenth century Philadelphia or its analysis of native born and immigrant aspirations. They may also appreciate the detail it supplies about an educational institution that has become a fixture in one of America's oldest cities. But women's historians and historians of education are far more likely to value this book.

The way the student body changed at PSDW between 1880 and 1930 gives historians of education new evidence regarding the development in America of a hierarchical educational system. In the mid-nineteenth century secondary schools and colleges often competed for the same students because a high school diploma had yet to become a prerequisite for college admission. Classes at PSDW routinely included adolescents, youth, and adult women. But by 1900 the age range of the school's student body had become much more restricted. Young teens and mature adults were left out because PSDW now understood itself to be a post-secondary educational institution. Just about all its full-time students were under twenty-five in the 1920s. The state of Pennsylvania gave PSDW the right to award a bachelor's degree for the first time in 1933, and by the late 1950s most if not all of its students were candidates for a degree. These changes transformed the school, but Walls does not do enough to connect them with the rise of credentialism in American education. For example, she attributes the homogenization of the student body in the 1920s to "new state laws" that she neither identifies nor analyzes. She does a better job with PSDW's efforts to recruit immigrant, minority, and working-class women. Harriet Sartain tried to tap the potential represented by more Italians and Jews living in Philadelphia, and the evening classes that she introduced in the 1920s were directed specifically at workingwomen. African Americans, on the

other hand, fell outside the scope of her vision, and it would be the end of the twentieth century before minority students would comprise one-fifth of the school's student population. In fairness, it should be said that in this regard PSDW was not unlike many other private institutions of secondary and higher education.

Walls is at her best as a historian of women. Her passion for this subject is evident throughout the book, which makes a solid contribution to the historiography of life options for American women. Of course, the questions Walls asks are hardly original. What did most white women want from an extended formal education and what, in fact, did it give them? Did more schooling help them raise a family and/or make a living? Nevertheless, she gives us some interesting, if not surprising information. Between 1880 and 1930 most PSDW alumnae used the training they received to become better wives, mothers, consumers, and citizens. Some translated their education into paid employment in fields like textile design, fashion design, advertising, and teaching. A few entered the world of the fine arts as painters or illustrators. It was not uncommon for PSDW graduates to move in and out of the paid labor force depending upon what was happening at home. Their PSDW education gave them options. As Walls puts it, they "pursued an astonishing variety of careers in combination with, or instead of, marriage and child rearing."

Walls's enthusiasm for her subject arises in part from her own family history. Her grandmother, Marguerite Lofft de Angeli, illustrated and wrote many children's books. But she was not a PSDW alumna, and the paragraph that Walls devotes to her career seems a bit out of place. At the same time Walls could have done more with the school's decision in 1971 not to admit men. Aside from the fact that Joseph Moore's bequest limited its freedom, the school seems to have been less open to coeducation because of its vocational mission. There are occasional redundancies in the book, the result perhaps of its once having been a doctoral dissertation, parts of which first appeared as freestanding articles in two professional journals. But *Art, Industry, and Women's Education in Philadelphia* tells a good story, and historians of higher education for women should find it especially interesting.

William W. Cutler, III, *Temple University*

Edited by Catherine Clinton. *Fanny Kemble's Journals*.

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 200. Pp. 210, index. Paper \$16.95)

Although she became a theatrical sensation during her two-year acting tour in the United States (1832-1834), British actress Frances A. Kemble (1809-1893) became even more renowned for her belletristic endeavors. Privileging the pen over the boards, Kemble suggested that an "actor is at best but the filler up of the outline designed by another,—the expounder, as it were, of things which another has set down; and a fine piece of acting is at best . . . a fine translation" (p. 58). A best-selling author in the United States and England during her life, Kemble published six memoirs, eleven volumes in total. Her prose passionately addresses slavery, the need for women's economic independence, sexual and racial politics, regional differences, gender demarcations, and female subjectivity. A serious intellectual, Kemble's life was first examined in Margaret Armstrong's pioneering 1938 biography and, later, in great-granddaughter Fanny Kemble Wister's comprehensive 1972 work. Similarly, Kemble's first journal has been reprinted, edited by Monica Gough in 1990; Elizabeth Mavor's fine compilation of Kemble's American journals was also released that year. This tradition continued when Kemble's most enduring memoir—her 1863 journal written from the Georgia plantation—was reprinted, accompanied by her daughter's own memoir and an illuminating introduction by Dana D. Nelson, in 1995. However, not until *Fanny Kemble's Journals*, deftly collected and edited by Catherine Clinton appeared, did contemporary readers have the opportunity to study a wide range of issues tackled in Kemble's voluminous memoirs.

This comprehensive collection, enhanced by a thorough scholarly introduction by Kemble's most recent biographer, Catherine Clinton, affords everyone from feminist scholars to nineteenth-century historians, particularly revisionist historians of slavery and the Civil War era, an opportunity to peruse excerpts from this intensely private (but very public) woman's lifetime writings. Clinton's carefully compiled and meticulously edited collection traverses the span of a century and contextualizes Kemble's early theatrical days (1828-1832), her observations of American life (1832-1833), her volatile marriage to Philadelphia socialite Pierce Butler and consequent birth of two daughters (1834-1838), her introspective four months on Butler's Georgia plantation (1838-1839), her disastrous divorce and ensuing economic difficulties (1840-1867), and her tranquil final years (1868-1893). An observant

writer, Kemble affords contemporary readers a welcome glimpse of the complexities of a culture teeming with change, offering us not only the view of one woman's life, but as Clinton observes, "a ringside view of the nineteenth century" (p. 1).

Clinton's introduction and expansive selection provides a concise and detailed overview of Kemble's life and times to situate the journals in their cultural, and personal, milieus. The third of five children born to Charles Kemble and Maria-Therese DeCamp Kemble, Fanny Kemble inherited a legacy of Shakespearean theatrical nobility upon her birth in 1809. She began her acting career at the age of nineteen as Shakespeare's Juliet in an attempt to forefend creditors from her father's Theatre Royal Covent Garden. Kemble's performance met with great success, although she wrote, "[M]y head and heart are engrossed with the idea of exercising and developing the literary talent which I think I possess" (p. 22). Three seasons later, she reluctantly traveled with Charles Kemble to "that dreadful America" (p. 53), where she became an international theatrical sensation. The uncompromising observations of American culture she recorded there, despite a whirlwind tour, caused her to note with characteristic wit that she "lived pretty much at the rate of three years in every one" (p. 82).

In 1834, at the age of twenty-four, Kemble retired from the theatre owing to her marriage to Pierce Butler (1810-1867), who was slated to inherit the second largest slave plantation in Georgia. After the birth of their second daughter in 1838, the family traveled to Butler Island and St. Simon's Island in Georgia so that Pierce could govern his newly inherited plantations. Fanny, repulsed by slavery, yet aware that her "hands would be in great measure tied," firmly believed in the power of "personal influence" as an ameliorating force (p. 91). Immediately upon arrival, she established a slave hospital and attempted to obliterate the sexual exploitation and subjugation endured by the plantation's slave women, "innumerable petitioners" who flocked in with "urgent entreaties and pitiful stories" :

[M]y conscience forbids my ever postponing their business for any other matter; for, with shame and grief of heart I say it, by their unpaid labor I live—their nakedness clothes me, and their heavy toil maintains me in luxurious idleness. Surely the least I can do is to hear these, my most injured benefactors; and, indeed, so intense in me is the sense of the injury they receive

from me and mine, that I should scarce dare refuse them the very clothes from my back, or food from my plate, if they asked me for it. (p. 122-3)

However, Kemble's repeated attempts at intervention failed; her remonstrations to her husband met with resistance and the couple grew increasingly estranged.

After a series of separations in Philadelphia, Kemble sailed alone for England in 1845. The couple divorced four years later after acrimonious litigation. Guardianship of the children enabled Butler to keep Kemble relatively estranged from her daughters until they reached the age of twenty-one, despite Kemble's relocation to the United States owing to the divorce proceedings, where she remained for most of the 1850s. This discord briefly resurfaced during the Reconstruction era when Kemble's younger daughter, Frances Butler Leigh (1838-1910), sharing her father's pro-slavery and Confederate sympathies, would pen a counterattack on her mother's abolitionist *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* (1863), with the radically different *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation* (1883).

Providing an expansive scope of Kemble's life and times with illuminating selections gleaned from each of her six memoirs, Clinton provides many excerpts from Kemble's Georgia journal to centralize the collection, as they deftly illustrate the interstices of race and gender that shape Kemble's subjectivity, particularly in those entries following the Civil War years. Kemble's later journals are devoted to the discussion of women's economic independence, female equality, and London's homelessness. Accordingly, her memoirs mediate the global and the individual; Kemble unequivocally scrutinizes herself as readily as the world around her. Describing her 1868 return to Philadelphia's Butler Place, her "former 'house of woe,'" Kemble writes, "I am occasionally seized with a bewildering sense of surprise, and overwhelmed, with a sudden flood of reminiscence and association, feel almost inclined to doubt my own identity" (p.198-99). In 1877, Kemble made her last voyage to England in order to join her daughter Frances and her family, and was frequently visited by her elder daughter, Sarah Butler Wister (1835-1908) and her family until Kemble's death in 1893. A remarkable woman and attentive writer, whose birth heralded the century and whose death closed it, Kemble recorded the nineteenth century, to return to Clinton's observation, in such a "captivating, conversational style" (p.1), that contempo-

rary scholars of history and literature will not only find themselves thoroughly engaged in Kemble's discussion, but indebted to Clinton for such a stellar sampling of Kemble's legacy, one that traverses time through the space of the page.

Michele L. Mock, *University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown*

By Susan Wells. *Out of the Dead House: Nineteenth-Century Women Physicians and the Writing of Medicine.*

(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001. Pp. ii, 306, notes, bibliography.)

Susan Wells describes her book not as a medical history but as "an intervention into the rhetoric of science." (10) She is most interested in how "scientific texts," in this case medical writing by women physicians in the last half of the nineteenth century, "constitute social practices and knowledges." (10) Based primarily on the writings of women associated with the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania (WMCP), Wells analyzes these texts to discover how these women physicians negotiated their place in a virtually all male profession hostile to their very existence. She describes and analyzes the literary and rhetorical tropes by which these women challenged, subverted, and sometimes triumphed over the male medical establishment. She sees the doctors she studied as emblematic of the ways in which women physicians were forced to carve out spaces to practice their profession.

Wells regards these medical texts as perhaps the largest body of scientific writing by women in the nineteenth century. The texts are diverse and range from medical theses to commencement addresses, prize competition essays, journalistic accounts of European medicine, and banquet toasts. In each case, Wells analyzes the literary and rhetorical strategies medical women used to ensure that their voices would be heard. In some cases that meant disguising their identity and gender with the cloak of anonymity or initials, and in others appropriating traditionally male roles such as giving the banquet toast. She uses these varied texts as sources for understanding how these women created and maintained identities as physicians in the face of the unrelenting hostility of their male counterparts.

Beginning with the conversations between physicians and patients and with medical histories, Wells finds considerable evidence of the ways in which medicine was gendered in the late nineteenth century. By analyzing surviving records at the Women's Medical College of Philadelphia

and the nearby all-male staffed Jefferson Hospital, Wells is able to tease out some of the ways in which male and female physicians interacted with the male and female patients. She finds that the women were more likely to recognize the importance of conversation as part of the therapy offered by the physician and that patients found it easier to talk to female doctors. Wells also analyzes the medical theses written by the women at WMCP and by the students at the all-male University of Pennsylvania Medical School. While she concludes that the women did not write a different kind of science in their theses, they did present themselves differently, as "heroic doctors, inheritors and inaugurators of an honored tradition," rather than apprentices, as did their male counterparts. (120)

Much of the book is devoted to an examination of the work and writings of three women physicians—Ann Preston, Hannah Longshore, and Mary Putnam Jacobi. Wells uses in the writing to explore the ways in which women's understanding of themselves as physicians evolved over a half-century. An early graduate of the Women's Medical College, Preston went on to become the first woman to hold a chair in medicine in the United States and to serve as Dean, both accomplishments coming at the Women's Medical College. Hannah Longshore was another early graduate of WMCP who practiced for some forty years. Mary Putnam Jacobi is perhaps the best known of the women Wells examines. In addition to her study at WMCP, Putnam Jacobi also studied in Paris, where she wrote a series of medical letters published in the United States, won the distinguished Boylston Prize for Medical Writing from Harvard in 1876 for an essay on menstruation, and went on to a distinguished career in New York. Wells argues that Preston "saw her work as a physician as essentially connected to her gender," while Hannah Longshore "continually constructed temporary connections between received ideas of femininity and her shifting scientific commitments." (188) Mary Putnam Jacobi, however, "combined a steadfast refusal to essentialize her gender with a steady curiosity about what it meant to write and practice as a woman physician." (188) The different ways they performed gender was related both to their own personalities and experience as women physicians and to the slowly changing context of American medicine in which they practiced.

Wells concludes by offering a reading of the controversy that surrounded the efforts of female medical students to gain access to clinical lectures at Pennsylvania Hospital. When the women medical students attended for the first time in 1869, the male students jeered and

harassed them and a riot nearly ensued. Eventually a compromise was achieved in which women could attend once a week and certain medical procedures would not be demonstrated in front of a mixed audience of medical students. Wells reads this incident as evidence of the way in which "women's entry into medicine required a realignment of complex economies of medical vision." (201) Women needed to see the body and the procedures enacted upon it if they were to be physicians, and women needed to be seen as doctors.

Although Wells undertakes a literary and rhetorical analysis of women's medical writing connected in some fashion with the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, she also provides striking evidence of the difficulties facing women physicians in the late nineteenth century. By exploring the ways in which women both hid and displayed their gender in their medical writings, Wells enables us to better understand the strategies by which these determined women negotiated their medical education, their sense of themselves as women, scientists and physicians, and their medical practice in the face of unremitting hostility from the overwhelmingly male medical profession.

Daniel J. Wilson, *Muhlenberg College*

By Joe William Trotter, Jr., *River Jordan: African American Urban Life in the Ohio Valley.*

(Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998. Pp. xvi, 200, Notes, bibliography, index. \$29.00 cloth, \$17.00 paper)

By showing the connections between the effects of deindustrialization and the continuing transformation of rural southern blacks in the face of racism, Joe William Trotter, Jr. – Mellon Bank Professor at Carnegie Mellon University and director of the Center for African American Urban Studies and the Economy (CAUSE) - contributes greatly to our understanding of urban problems. For many African Americans the Ohio River was symbolized as the River Jordan and the pathway to the promised land. In the urban centers of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville and Evansville, African Americans were able to bridge the chasms of race and class that separated them, creating a new community of a new urban working class.

Trotter has several specific objectives in the book. Most importantly, he emphasizes the role of black workers and black urban life under com-

mercial, and later, industrial capitalism. His study documents the gradual emergence of the black middle class and its small elite, including the relationship of black workers and their role in the growth of cross-class black institutions and social and political movements. For Trotter, both elite and working-class blacks explore the development of interracial alliances at different points in time, accenting both the limitations and advantages of class and racial consciousness under different phases of urban capitalist development. Finally, his study highlights similarities and differences in the social history of the Ohio Valley cities and shows how these factors influenced the development of African American life.

In Pennsylvania, state regulations constricted African Americans. In 1837-38 a Constitutional Convention restricted voting to white males, twenty-one years of age and older, when previously African Americans voted in Pittsburgh and elsewhere in Pennsylvania. Enemies of black suffrage buttressed their case with the decision of s Bucks County Court of Quarterly Session, which held that "A negro in Pennsylvania has no right of suffrage." By restricting African American suffrage in the Upper Ohio Valley, Pennsylvania caused that population to decline, the Federal government was the culprit. Keeping slavery out of the Northwest Territories also meant few blacks would live there.

In Ohio and Cincinnati, the German born population increased from only 5% in 1820 to an estimated 15% to 20% of the total by the 1850s. By 1860 over 40% of Cincinnatians were of German birth or German parentage. Supplementing the expansion of the German population was the influx of people from Ireland, raising their number to nearly 12% of the city's total between 1850 and 1860. Although the Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery north of the Ohio River, the state Constitution and the laws of Ohio and Indiana contained discriminatory provisions against free blacks. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made it more difficult for blacks to settle in the upper Ohio Valley.

Racism in the region achieved its most powerful expression with organized efforts to rid the region and nation of free people of color. Formed in 1816 the American Colonization Society (ACS) was basically a movement to remove free blacks from the country. Branches of the organization spread throughout the Ohio Valley. Although its constitution advocated "volunteer recolonization" of blacks to Africa, ACS members believed that blacks and whites could not peacefully co-exist as free people on American soil.

Blacks came to the Ohio Valley in increasing numbers in the twenti-

eth century. By 1918, in western Pennsylvania, black steel workers had increased from less than 3% to a total work force of 13%. Labor agents from Cincinnati also traveled South to recruit black workers. Yet despite the increased demand for workers during the World War I era, Louisville's black population declined by 61% during the war years. With the opening of World War II the blacks responded to the wartime injustice by organizing the National March on Washington Movement (MOWM). A. Phillip Randolph and Walter White of the NAACP urged the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to implement employment in defense industries. After the war, blacks in all urban centers urged the FEPC to be retained in all commercial and industrial centers. Blacks remained, and remain an important segment of the population in all the major Ohio Valley cities, like their white co-workers, they too have suffered from and fought deindustrialization, and now try to adopt the post-industrial world.

Victor B. Howard, *Morehead State University*

By Charles L. Blockson. *Philadelphia 1639-2000* [Black America Series]

(Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2000. Pp. 160.)

"When I write about history, I attempt to paint a visual tapestry for the reader, as if I were present at the moment when the event occurred." This quotation from Charles Blockson's autobiography [*Damn Rare: The Memoirs of an African American Bibliophile*] aptly describes his latest book. Published by Arcadia Publishing, a leader in publishing regional and local history, *Philadelphia 1639-2000* is indeed a rich visual tapestry of images about the history of black Philadelphia. A native of Norristown and a graduate of Penn State, Blockson is internationally regarded as the "dean" of black history in Pennsylvania. For more than forty years he has been collecting memorabilia, books and artifacts on the black experience. Since 1977 he has authored an impressive number of books on Pennsylvania and American black history, especially dealing with the Underground Railroad.

One of two books dealing with Pennsylvania in Arcadia's Black America series, this publication allows Blockson to reach an audience, not necessarily African American, interested in regional history. Some of the readers of Blockson's *Philadelphia 1639-2000* will be seeing the images

and photos from Blockson's collection at Temple University for the first time. Those familiar with Blockson's past work, however, will recognize much redundancy. For example, the photograph of Lena Horne on page 103 can also be found on page 72 of Blockson's book *The Journey of John Mosley*. The photo of the Negro baseball team the "Philadelphia Stars" on page 113 turns up on page 98 of the Mosley book too. Other unidentified photos appear from the Mosley book so frequently that the current book is a "visual tapestry" similar to the earlier book. A complete list of image sources and an index would have made this book more "user friendly."

The story of Philadelphia's African Americans is one that Blockson knows and recites superbly. But, he has attempted to do too much in a short book, and the narrative is uneven at best. Only five pages are devoted to the period 1639-1776, twenty to 1776-1800, thirty-eight to the nineteenth century, and over a hundred to the twentieth. The book sacrifices exegesis for illustration, those looking for an in-depth chronological history of black Philadelphia will not find it here. Blockson belongs to the school of African American historians emulating Carter G. Woodson that emphasizes their contributions to American society. It is in his biographical sketches of important Philadelphia African Americans that Blockson shines. His description of the Dutrieulles, a catering family originally from Haiti, is fascinating. The sheet music of "South Street Saturday Night" by L. Vassor Wade is a intriguing item of popular culture that documents the history of South Street alongside the novels of William Gardener Smith and David Bradley. Overall, the book attempts to balance for the social, political and religious history of blacks in the Quaker City. Blockson's ability to uncover what is rare, unknown, or forgotten in black history is one of his great strengths as a historian. As is his capacity to write for a general audience. Blockson has much to teach both adults and young people about Philadelphia history and his latest book serves a good introduction to his life-long research.

Eric Ledell Smith, *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*.

By Julianna Puskas. *Ties that Bind, Ties that Divide: One Hundred Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States*.

(New York and London: Holmes and Meirs, 2000. Pp. ix, 444, Photographs, Notes Bibliography, Index.)

In her work, Julianna Puskas presents a meticulously researched, well-

written, and comprehensive study of Hungarian emigration and immigration to America. Since the definition of a Hungarian is quite complex, her task was not easy. The polyglot Kingdom of Hungary included not only Magyars, but Germans, Slovaks, Romanians, Ruthenians, Croats, and Slovenians. In addition, religious diversity prevailed. Although Roman Catholicism was the predominant faith, Byzantine Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Jews, Lutherans, and Calvinists also formed influential minorities. This diversity was compounded when Hungarians came to the United States. Consequently, they were "...culturally and socially more stratified than any other new immigrant groups." (307) Puskas attempts to address these diverse groups while placing greater emphasis upon the Magyars.

Puskas is a native of Hungary and has spent most of her life in that nation. However, she has strong personal and academic ties to America. This familiarity with both lands allows her to present an all-encompassing study of the Hungarian immigration experience. This is an objective, scholarly study that refrains from philopietism. The manuscript was written in Magyar and skillfully translated by Zora Ludwig as part of the Ellis Island Series, edited by Ira Glazier and Luigi de Rosa.

Ties that Bind, Ties that Divide presents the Hungarian ethnic experience using both macro and micro approaches. Puskas integrates the vast literature on European migration to America with particular studies of local communities on both continents. The book is divided into four distinct but nonetheless interconnected sections. Puskas studies Hungarian society at the time of the mass emigration before describing establishment of Hungarian ethnic communities in the United States from the 1880s to the 1920s. In the third part, she discusses both assimilation and attempts at ethnic retention among Hungarians who remain in the United States. Part four details the post-World War II Hungarian immigration to America. Puskas' understanding of both the Hungarians' homeland and the new destination allow for the achievement of the goal of a truly comprehensive immigration study.

In her exploration of the Hungarian migration and settlement in America, Puskas affirms that it was indeed a complex process. Especially telling is her account of remigration. Since the objective of many emigrants was economic gain in America, it was not uncommon to make multiple trips between Hungary and America. Puskas shed new light on how this process – further complicated by the ethnic, religious, and class diversity of Hungarian immigrants – effected on both the American ethnic communities and the villages in the homeland. Consequently,

Puskas believes that we must see emigration/immigration as interactive process between the homeland and the new nation. The effects on each were multifaceted and cannot be categorized as singularly positive or negative consequences.

Thanks to remigrations most peasant immigrants could retain stronger local and religious identification than nationalist. Their experiences in the homeland and the discrimination in America allowed for the development of a Hungarian-American identity. Once this identity was established, however, assimilation began by the 1920s. Like most Eastern European groups, the dual factors of restrictive United States immigration policies and a second generation coming of age in America hastened Americanization. Puskas also skillfully examines another factor. Many Hungarian-Americans did not want to identify with an enemy nation of the United States during both World Wars.

In Part IV, Puskas demonstrates the uniqueness of post-World War II Hungarian immigration. Hungarian displaced persons (DPs) were often viewed as Nazi sympathizers, rather than victims of the conflict. Further alienating the 45-ers from the previous generation of Hungarian-Americans was the perception that the newcomers saw themselves in a higher social class. Yet while they may have been so in Hungary, they were often forced to accept menial jobs in America. The postwar Hungarian-American experience became even more unique following the 1956 uprising, as political emigrants fled the homeland for America. The 56-ers were often members of the intelligentsia and students. In contrast to the 45-ers, they were welcomed in America as freedom fighters. However, since their cultural background differed from both the original immigrant families and the 45-ers, the Hungarian-American ethnic community was further complicated.

While this is clearly a scholarly work in its research and theoretical approach, Puskas's book is also of great value to anyone interested in America's ethnic heritage. The book is quite readable and any confusion that may be encountered is due to the complexity of the Hungarian-American ethnic experience and not to any shortcomings in writing or translation. The text is well documented and very valuable to anyone desiring to further Puskas' research. As with any book that attempts to be all encompassing, the author must choose to document certain topics at the expense of others. More information on the relations among the many ethnic and religious groups who migrated from Hungary may have been added. Also, the interactions of Hungarian-Americans with other ethnic and cultural groups would have been worthwhile. Such

criticisms, however, do not lessen the quality of the book or diminish its significance in the field of American ethnic studies. Puskas has provided two important contributions: a definitive work on Hungarian-Americans and a new perspectives on remigration, ethnic identity and recent European immigration.

Paul J. Zbiek, *King's College*

By John W. Orr. *Set Up Running: The Life of a Pennsylvania Railroad Engineman, 1904-1949.*

(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. Pp. Xvi, 376. \$38.50 cloth.)

In Pennsylvania Railroad parlance, a locomotive fireman was "set up running" when he passed his qualifying examination to become an engineman (a term the PRR used to distinguish a locomotive engineer from mechanical, civil, and other kinds of engineers). Oscar P. Orr hired out to the railroad as a fireman in 1904 and was set up running five years later. He was continuously in engine service, except for a small time out due to high blood pressure, until his retirement in 1949. As a youth, John W. Orr had many lengthy discussions with his father about the latter's work experiences, these, along with recollections from other veteran railroaders who knew "O. P.," form the basis for this book. The son tells an immensely entertaining and enlightening story, not because O. P.'s life on the high iron was filled with drama, but rather because his father's experiences were for the most part so ordinary—reflective of tens of thousands of other railroad employees nationwide. The book offers us a glimpse into the everyday lives of railroaders whose day-to-day labors have been almost entirely overshadowed by the lives of presidents and other assorted moguls who managed the railroad companies.

O. P. Orr was born in Centre County's Nittany Valley in 1883. He took a job as a fireman at the electric generating station in nearby Bellefonte until an acquaintance convinced him that he should seek more rewarding employment shoveling coal for the PRR, then the nation's largest railroad system. The young man began by firing road freights out of Sunbury. He earned promotion to engineman in 1909 and started a yard job in Williamsport. In 1910, Orr successfully bid on a road freight assignment between Ralston and Tyrone, taking him over the Bald Eagle Branch and a portion of the Elmira Branch. Later this run was extended

to cover the distance between Altoona and Southport (Elmira, New York). Still later he handled freights between Enola (Harrisburg) and Southport. One saw shorter periods of service running passenger trains 510 and 511 through the Bald Eagle Valley, freights on various branch lines, and yard jobs again in the Williamsport area. The book contains a lot of operational detail, including extended descriptions of O. P.'s experiences at the throttle of some of the PRR's most famous classes of steam locomotives. (He had little use for the legendary class I1 Decapods, liked the M1 Mountain-types but found them slippery, and loved the largely unheralded L1s Mikados.) There are also a host of colorful anecdotes involving many of the personalities O. P. met and worked with on the railroad, ranging from the fireman who refused to stand up after the train was in motion for fear of falling off the locomotive, to the conductor who oiled the rails adjacent to his own train to prevent it from being passed by a rival New York Central train. The description of O. P.'s tribulations on Christmas Eve of 1936 in getting a freight over the Elmira Branch in the face of a raging blizzard is a gem; it also demonstrates how seriously the PRR and its employees of that era took their commitment to customer service. Through Orr's eyes, we also get brief glimpses of Ralston, a tiny community whose fortunes rose and fell with those of the railroad and where O. P. resided from 1910 until his death in 1953.

Hard work, obedience to the rules, and due respect for authority won for O. P. a reputation as a "company man," but in the best sense of that term. He believed that he owed the Pennsylvania his best effort as an employee, and in return the railroad was obligated to treat him fairly, which it seems to have done overall. O. P. had no time for slackers, although he worked alongside countless indifferent train crew members during his forty-five years. "The Company must make a profit in order to run trains over the rails, and they must satisfy the customers that use the service being offered," he told his son. "If these customers aren't receiving the proper service, they're bound to look for other means of transportation. [Employees] would wake up one day and wonder what happened to their jobs. Not today or tomorrow, maybe, but that will be the eventual outcome." O. P.'s dedication did not blind him to the errors of management, or practices that were wasteful or inefficient. For example, he often complained—all the way up to the road's mechanical engineers in Altoona—about the PRR's penchant for small locomotive tenders that resulted in too-frequent stops for coal and water, or the folly of its preference for man-killing hand-fired engines long after other lines

had adopted automatic stokers. A few years before his retirement, O. P. even discouraged his son from considering a career with the PRR. "The railroad is no good," he said, without further explanation. As we learn more of Orr's philosophy, and his day-in and day-out experiences in working for a giant corporation, we are offered a fresh perspective on railroad labor.

This book is so interesting that most readers will probably forgive the factual inaccuracies it contains. (Indeed railfans, who typically delight in ferreting out the tiniest errors, will likely take perverse pleasure in reading this book just for its miscues.) Nevertheless, the manuscript would have greatly benefited from more rigorous fact-checking. For example, the author mistakenly locates the town of Warriors Mark in the Bald Eagle Valley, and states that the top of the grade in that valley was at Vail tower, whose operator controlled the interlocking there. In fact the summit was about five miles east at Dix, where the interlocking was controlled by Eagle tower. He puts the northbound grade on the Elmira Branch between Ralston and Leolyn at a staggering 3 percent instead of about 1.1 percent, gives the wrong date for the dissolution of the Elmira Division, and refers to a non-existent Bald Eagle Division when he means the Tyrone Division (of which there is no mention.) These kinds of mistakes should not mar the overall quality of *Set Up Running*, which is quite simply one of the liveliest and most informative works of railroad history to come along in many years.

Michael Bezilla, *The Pennsylvania State University*

By Robert E. Weir. *Knights Unhorsed: Internal Conflict in a Gilded Age Social Movement*.

(Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000. Pp. 228, notes, bibliography, index.)

When the Panic of 1873 first hit, the Order of the Noble and Holy Knights of Labor was still a tiny, secretive association based in Philadelphia. Over the next few years the Order quietly became a refuge for a scattering of union leaders, mostly in the bituminous coal regions, and with a concentration around Pittsburgh. From those origins, the Order spread throughout the country starting in the 1880s. Its attractiveness was in the flexibility of its organizational structure and its ideological promise. It could be whatever its members wished to envision. It was at once a radical challenge to the capitalist system, a bread and butter

union, and a ritualistic fraternal organization. By the mid-1880s, it encompassed thousands of Local Assemblies, with at least 750,000 individual members. Even these huge numbers understate its influence, as Local Assemblies tended to be relatively small-scale group, more steering committees for community activism than comprehensive mass organizations. Why then did the Knights of Labor collapse within only a few years?

Robert Weir's incisive new book addresses this enduring question through a semi-biographical approach, one that examines the careers of several key members of the Order within the larger context of Gilded Age social movements. In an earlier book, Weir gave a superb account of the cultural underpinnings of the Order. As he showed, this neglected aspect of Knightly organization could explain much about the strength and durability of this most dominant organization for social change of the Gilded Age. Indeed, as he argued, for the Knights, "Fraternalism...was the sine qua non of organization building" (*Beyond Labor's Veil*, Penn State Press, 1996, 63).

In his new book, Weir goes beyond the cultural ties of the Knights to explore the extent to which those ties translated into recognizable organizational sinews. Using this approach, he has created a nuanced description of the strengths and weaknesses of the Knights as a social movement. He provides an inside look both at how talented individuals rose through the Knights, and of the ways in which the institution itself limited what they could do. Weir places each of his subjects on the context their ideological aspirations, their concrete organizational impact, and their ultimate demise as Knights.

The tension Weir draws between the KOL's promise and limitations are perhaps illustrated best in his story about organizer and KOL Executive Board member Joseph R. Buchanan. Weir argues that Buchanan deserves substantial credit for the first great victory by the Knights, the win over railroad owner Jay Gould that led to the massive growth of the Order in the mid-1880s. In the battle with Gould, Buchanan was the glue between railroad employees who demanded immediate support for their strike, and the KOL's National Executive Board members, who feared such a risky step. Buchanan stood in the middle. He convinced the railroad employees to remain in the Order while the National Board made up its mind, and he convinced the National Board to coordinate its efforts over all the organized roads. Gould surrendered upon receiving word that no KOL-organized railroad would handle his cars until he settled with his employees. Here is labor history with a nicely refined

focal point, one resting not solely on the forest, nor the trees, but on the redoubtable forester (76-79).

As with his other case studies, Weir then takes his focus back to Buchanan's troubles in the larger organization. Buchanan's brilliance in the field failed to shield him from national-level factionalism and infighting. Although the victory over Gould helped to push the Order to national prominence, by the time of its great expansion, Buchanan had been forced out at the national level. And so it was for many of the Order's organizers. Leonora Barry's success as an organizer of women raised her to the national level, but her success as a *woman* organizer sealed her fate among national leaders. Lower level leaders such as Henry Sharpe, John Brophy, and Daniel Hines shared similar career trajectories. Indeed, one message to take from this book is that the older the Knights of Labor became, the more likely it was to eat its young — rarely a successful evolutionary strategy.

Weir deserves credit for mastering the vast jumble of Knights of Labor official correspondence and related sources. His familiarity with this material allows him to definitively rule on several points long squabbled over by scholars of the Knights. He weighs in on the so-called "Home Club," the faction within a faction of the New York Knights that had an disproportionate influence on the larger organization. Weir neatly encapsulates both the ideological underpinnings of the Club and its effective role within the Knights: "At its core," he writes, "the Home Club was Lassalleian and anarchist, but its *modus operandi* was opportunism." (24) He also takes on the Knights' head man Terrence Powderly himself, with a balanced account that neither forces him too implausibly close to sainthood, nor requires him to be responsible for the Order's failures or ultimate downfall. Again, he puts the case nicely, contrasting Powderly to his successor John Hayes, a Home Club member and major informant for Powderly's detractors: "Powderly was merely vain, manipulative, and unpleasant; Hayes was a thief, a blackmailer, an extortionist, an embezzler, and an egomaniac. In the clash between the unlikable and the amoral, the latter won." (163)

Still, although Weir catalogs the structural problems of the Order with skill and subtlety, he carefully refrains from blaming only those internal issues for its ultimate failure. Even had the Knights been blessed by perfect and selfless leadership, he argues, it faced external enemies fully sufficient to explain *why* it declined. To his credit, though Weir engages with social movement theory, he refrains from imposing a simple Iron Law on his subject. In his hands, the Knights remain a dis-

tinctly human organization, and he tells the story of *how* it failed because of the follies, foibles, and personalities of the people running it.

In one sense, the book's structure seems to undermine its purpose, though not fatally: the focus on individual leadership in the relatively narrow context of national-level organizational politics leaves a somewhat thin sense of what was at stake in this factionalism. A better sense of how leaders functioned in the Local and District Assemblies even as they interacted with the national Order may have helped to strengthen the book as an account of the KOL as a social movement. Of particular interest to readers of *Pennsylvania History*, the specific geographical roots of the Order in Pennsylvania go untended. As a result, the book leaves the reader ungrounded in the local or regional efforts that first propelled KOL leaders upward, and continued to bind them to old obligations.

In conclusion, Robert Weir has focused an intense light on this most important, but persistently elusive Gilded Age institution as both an institution and a social movement. His work is original in its method, and important in its conclusions. It should be of interest to labor historians, and anyone interested in social movements, the Knights of Labor, or the Gilded Age in general.

Andrew B. Arnold, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

By Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Keystone: The American Occupation of Okinawa and U.S.-Japanese Relations*.

(College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2000. Pp. xxiii, 197, Notes, Cloth, \$34.95)

Keystone is an in-depth study of the problems surrounding the reversion of control of Okinawa to the government of Japan following the Pacific campaigns of World War II. The author, using recently declassified documents, attempts to explain the problems in postwar relations which were founded in wartime conditions and their immediate aftermath. In doing so, he focuses on Okinawa, its people and government, its relationship with Japan, its site as the culminating battle in the Pacific War, and the subsequent American occupation. The problems and policies of the occupation, the attitudes of major players in all of their respective offices, and the role these attitudes played in United States-

Japanese relations are the heart of his analysis.

Most Americans are unaware that the American military constituted the postwar government of this province of Japan for twenty-seven years long after the occupation ended for the rest of the country. Issues which underlay this continued control centered around the fear of a resurgent Japanese military power should the American military withdraw from the island, and of Okinawa's strategic location in the East Asian-Pacific area during the Cold War. As the problems of the postwar period became apparent, some American officials were concerned with the reliability of the Japanese as allies and feared that the government of Japan would adopt an attitude of neutrality.

Whether the American occupation and control constituted a new development in colonial control, or whether the Japanese held residual sovereignty became an issue in United States policy considerations. The fact that the United States governed Okinawa meant that actions could be taken with American forces based on the island without consulting other governments. Yet, Japan was regarded as an ally, and an ever more important one as the Cold War intensified. Should the United States govern this territory, or would control of the island become rancorous issue in our relations with Japan? Given Japan's strategic geographic location, and the desirability of regional stability, this issue colored policy discussions for much of the period.

When the issue of the reversion of Okinawa was raised by the island's people, it became an issue in their elections. As nationalism revived, the Japanese government, also concerned with wartime alienation of territory (an issue which still informs Japanese-Russian relations) began to insist that the issue of residual sovereignty be addressed. Veterans of the Pacific campaigns, particularly those who had fought on Okinawa, had strong views. Many American veterans opposed reversion; these included many in the policy levels of the military and government.

Okinawa reverted to Japanese control in 1972. The reversion was difficult to negotiate for many reasons: the fragmented nature of the ruling Japanese Liberal Democrat Party, the desire of the people of Okinawa for a major role in decisions affecting the island and the American presence there, and lack of agreement in the various agencies of the American government. Not all issues and interests were resolved effectively. The continued need for consultation on issues affecting the island remains. Okinawa remains the keystone of the American base system in the East Asian-Pacific area.

The author focuses on American foreign policy; this book is number

six in the series on foreign policy and the presidency from the Texas A&M Press. Since this study is the core of the author's dissertation, it contains extensive bibliographic references and notes. He deftly handles complex issues of diplomacy and security, making them accessible to the interested public, as well as to those with academic focus in this area. The issues which he investigates are well illustrated, the portraits of the key figures well drawn, but most importantly, he allows the novice in Japanese government and politics to follow the developments with understanding. While his explanations are thorough, he does not overwhelm the reader with detail. Most importantly, he stays with the analysis, not allowing the text to wander into interesting but irrelevant information.

Katherine K. Reist, *University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown*

Carla Mulford, editor, *Teaching the Literatures of Early America.*

(New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1999. Pp. xii, 402, extensive bibliographies. Paperback, \$22.00.)

In recent years, the field of early American studies has grown closer, in method and content, to literary studies. In a departure from the social scientific, quantitative methods of the 1960s and 1970s, an increasing number of early Americanists have adopted literary topics in their research and pedagogical work. Many historians, some of whom were leaders in the social-science oriented methods popular a few decades ago, have now turned their skills to mastering literary sources, studying colonial autobiographies or captivity narratives, utilizing poetry or ballads in their research or exploring the importance of the rise of the early American novel. Likewise, a survey of the syllabi of courses in early American studies, conducted by viewing the web sites of the American Studies Association of Society of Early Americanists, discloses how closely traditional historical and literary topics are combined in many undergraduate and graduate courses.

But as we acknowledge that changing historiography, we are also faced with a serious question: where do we get information on the wide variety of primary and secondary sources available? Many of us likely look back at high school or undergraduate American literary courses that moved through the colonial period as quickly as possible, giving perhaps a day or two to Ann Bradstreet's poetry or Benjamin Franklin's autobiography, running through a Jonathan Edwards sermon on the

way to the Transcendentalists and Walt Whitman. How then can we hope to do better for the students in our own early American seminars, American history survey courses, and other classes?

The answer to that quandary lies in *Teaching the Literatures of Early America*, a volume in the Modern Language Association's Options for Teaching series edited by Penn State Professor Carla Mulford. The volume offers an excellent state-of-the-field overview that explores both available literary sources and the state of early American literary studies. As the title and publishing organization suggests, the volume is a work by and for literary teachers. But the essays, attractively presented and carefully planned out, will also be a resource for those who teach early American history but who want to enrich their course syllabi with relevant literary sources.

The first part of the collection, titled "Issues, Themes, Methods" is divided into four topics which reflect the expanded field of early American literature. "Beyond the Boundaries of the Americas", the first section, includes essays by James Rupert on "The Old Wisdom: Introducing Native American Materials"; Amy E. Winans on "Diversity and Difference in African American Writings"; Sharon M. Harris on "Early Women's Texts"; Pattie Cowell examines "Figuring Multicultural Practice in Early American Literature Classrooms"; and Carla Mulford on "Resisting Colonialism".

The next two sections take nationality as their core issue. In "Spanish and French Colonial Writings" we are reminded that the English who settled in North America were not the only Europeans on the continent, and the essays allow for comparative study of the cultures who were transplanted to the Americas. E. Thomas Shields, Jr. and Dana D. Nelson explore Spanish writings, while Rosalie Murphy Baum examines "Early French North American Writings". Essays on the writings of British North America follow, with David S. Shields exploring "The Literature of England's Staple Colonies" juxtaposed against Philip F. Gura's look at "The Literature of Colonial English Puritanism." Frank Shuffleton examines "The American Enlightenment and Endless Emancipation", and Nicholas D. Rombes writes on "Federalism and Conflict".

The third grouping within the collection explores genre studies, areas that may be familiar to many who have taught courses in early American studies, but which are presented here with intriguing twists that could greatly enhance courses. For example, Kathryn Derounian-Stodola's essay on captivity narratives provides helpful insights on sources that have grown popular for classroom use as many have discovered or re-dis-

covered these writings in light of the recent scholarship of John P. Demos and others. Jeffrey H. Richards's "Early American Drama and Theater", on the other hand, examines at an often-ignored area of the early American arts. These essays, as well as William J. Scheick on poetry, Joseph Fichtelberg on prose fiction, and Gregory Eiselein on autobiography, are an important overview of the possibilities of using early American literature in the classroom at the same time that they provide an important state of the field perspective for the researcher who wants to pursue these topics further.

The second part of *Teaching the Literatures of Early America* presents pedagogical problems and solutions from various perspectives. Russell Reising explores possibilities for "The Early American Literary Survey"; Karen E. Rowe presents ideas for "Gender, Genre, and Culture: a Two-Quarter Graduate Seminar"; José F. Aranda Jr. gives a cross-cultural perspective in "Common Ground on Different Borders: A Comparative Study of Chicano/a and Puritan Writers". Dennis D. Moore follows suit with "From 'The Melting Pot', to Multiculturalism". Finally, Gary L. Hewitt's essay "New Worlds, 1450-1750: A Historian's Perspective on the Study of Colonial America" gives one scholar's perspective on how to use the documents discussed in earlier essays within the context of a colonial history survey.

The collection that Mulford and her colleagues have created here is indeed impressive. Many readers might cringe at words like "pedagogy" or even "teaching", but here those ideas are presented in essays that are crisply written, interesting, and that show impressive scholarship. As well as being resources for literature teachers, these essays might well be presented to an interested student beginning his or her own research and wanting an overview of materials available or to the reader who wants a better grasp of what is available in early American literary sources. This collection, indeed, holds much for the historian who wants to present the culture of early America in richer detail.

If one is to find fault in the essays in this volume, it is that some of the important work done by historians in rediscovering or interpreting some early American literary sources is not included. For example, Frank Shuffleton's essay on the Enlightenment portrays that intellectual movement in the colonies as the work of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and their circles, but does not look at the recent historical scholarship that has shown its widespread importance to men and women of middling and lower ranks. The study of autobiography could be greatly enhanced by the inclusion of William Moraley's mem-

oir (*The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant*. Edited by Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith. University Park: Penn State, 1992) and all that it reveals about social class and region in early America.

These few criticisms, however, do not detract from the fact that Mulford and her colleagues have produced a much-needed, clearly-written study of early American literature that will be of great use to both those teaching the topic (or neglecting to teach it) in American history surveys, colonial history classes, and graduate seminars, as well as graduate students seeking an overview of early America's literary history. *Teaching the Literatures of Early America* is a work that deserves widespread attention and, in time, a second and subsequent editions to keep us abreast of the state of the field.

George W. Boudreau, *Penn State Capital College, Harrisburg*