

Book Reviews

By James Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers. The Cultural Origins of North America.*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.)

Natives and Newcomers. The Cultural Origins of North America is a new book by James Axtell, one of the founders of modern ethnohistory as an academic discipline and author of several major historical works: *The European and the Indian*, *The Invasion Within*, *After Columbus*, and *Beyond 1492* among them. This provocative new volume is a collection of fifteen of Axtell's essays and papers on a variety of subjects dealing with the sources, character, and consequences of cultural encounters between the Native North American nations and European newcomers which took place during the colonial period (the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries). Under one cover, it combines previously published and well-known chapters, such as "The Invasions Within" or "The Rise and Fall of the Powhatan Empire" (Chapter 2); "Making Do: Trade in the Eighteenth-century Century" (Chapter 5), and "The Spanish Incursion," (Chapter 9). Although this book covers a rather wide range of topics, it is united by Axtell's persuasive use of cultural ethnohistorical methodology.

In general, *Natives and Newcomers* is yet another attempt to reevaluate the normative stances of a so-called "Moral History of Indian—White Relations" from the perspective of cultural ethnohistory. The main line of Axtell's argument can be summarized as an attack on moral history of Indian-White relations. For Axtell, the ethnohistorical approach of a cultural encounter between two interacting and active societies should be substituted for a moral history of conflict and invasion. Trying to stay away from contemporary ideological and cultural stereotypes, Axtell avoids generalizations. Refusing to use "the White and the Indian" terminology of cultural conflict which emphasizes ethno-racial civilizational divide, Axtell prefers the more neutral and less emotional terminology of "the Native and the Newcomer", a vocabulary of cultural encounter, where different but equal actors are united

through sharing the same geographical stage: the North America. Assuming that cultural differences between the participating agencies are taken as a pre-condition of the encounter, the major parameters defining the direction of historical investigation are those of the time and partners, namely: who enters the stage when and who their co-actors are. Not immediately apparent but the essential difference between the terminology of "Whites and Indians" and "Natives and Newcomers" is that the latter does not prescribe permanently fixed roles: at times, whites can be natives and Indians can act as newcomers.

In Axtell's own words, the Natives-to-the-Newcomers meetings were not those of worlds but of people, nations and individuals. Axtell is trying to persuade the reader "not only . . . that the cultural changes wrought by the encounter were mutual, two-way if not always equal, but to treat all the contestants fairly, with as little favoritism of axe-grinding as possible"(ix). Not "the Whites" but individuals representing Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, Russian, and English nations and cultures, not "the Indians" but Inuits, Iroquios, Powhatan, Micmac, and Pequot were cultural encounter's participants. Finally, in a broader perspective, Axtell suggests we examine not just North America in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries but also Asia, Africa, and Near East as arenas of such encounters as well.

Axtell attempts to explore how, in what ways, and to what degree both sides—Natives and Newcomers—perceived, conceptualized, contextualized, internalized, adopted, and exploited each others images, cultures, beliefs, as well as economic and social practices. According to Axtell, cultural encounter could result in contact, consumption, conversion, or clash, all of those with consequences affecting every participating actor. He emphasizes that both the Native and the Newcomer sides were active and self-conscious contributors to this process of exchange of cultures, beliefs, and values. At the same time, the character and nature, the aims and objectives of their participation differed tremendously, since Natives and Newcomers joined this exchange for different political, economic, and social needs. Importantly, they have entered it bringing different cultural norms and expectations. Thus, Natives' and Newcomers' reactively changing identities, being built on strong cultural contacts, eventually formulated historical changes in North America.

Among the major issues addressed in the book are those dealing with the initial contacts, communications, trade and gift giving, social and sexual encounters, work and labor, religious and cultural conversion,

military clashes and captivity, disease and mortality. According to Axtell, cultural encounters between the Natives and the Newcomers can be presented as a chain of mental and physical *Contacts*, from imagining to attempting to communicate to "the Other" (Part I of the book). Such contacts were leading to the material *Consumption*, interpretation, and internalization of the culture encountered, as represented by trading in the sixteenth century, to the first consumer revolution in the seventeenth century, and trade in the eighteenth century (Part 2). This cultural consumption could lead either to cultural and religious *Conversion*, adoption of and adaptation to the encountered cultural (Part 3), or to the *Clash* between the Native and Newcomer cultural, spiritual, social, and material values (Part 4). In any case, the major *Consequence* of such cultural encounters was what Axtell calls the Columbian Mosaic (Part 5).

Thus, Axtell examines the North American religious and cultural landscape in a multiplicity of Native American and European dynamic cross-cultural interactive contexts. Fierce competition characterized the regional cultural exchange at some times, reciprocity and friendly contacts at others. Importantly, native populations played independent and crucial roles in such cultural encounters. By viewing history through "the bifocal lenses", avoiding over-generalizations, dealing with not Indian and European, but specific groups of natives and colonists, emphasizing the independent Native and Newcomer identities, cultural interaction and change, and also investing Natives with active agency while calling for sympathy and justice for colonists, Axtell insists that accepting not guilt but responsibility for the past constitutes a constructive historical approach.

Considering the breadth of chronological, geographical, and subject topics discussed in the book, it is unfortunate that Axtell decided not to "attempt to access the social and cultural roles of involuntary immigrants from Africa." (p. xi) Also, while it is easy to agree with Axtell when he calls for a well-deserved sympathy and justice for colonists, is it not clear whether he is asking for granting a blanket historical moral amnesty regardless of time, place, and action. Would this be just a judgmental moralistic history in reverse? Nevertheless, *Natives and Newcomers* is not a book which will leave its reader indifferent. This is an excellent collection of provocative essays which can be suggested to a wide readership audience and can also be recommended for use in the classroom, since its will surely help to initiate a passionate discussion on a subject of immense historical, cultural, and ideological importance.

Alexander A. Krivonosov, *The Pennsylvania State University*

By William Henry Flayhart. *The American Line. 1871-1902.*

(New York: W. W. Norton. 2000. Pp. 403. \$39.95.)

There now exist three magnificent books about the maritime history of Philadelphia, and I have had the privilege of reviewing each of them. *The American Line 1871-1902* is a magisterial addition to Philip Chadwick Foster Smith's album-like *Philadelphia On The River* (1986) and to Thomas R. Heinrich's *Ships for the Seven Seas: (Philadelphia Shipbuilding in the Age of Industrial Capitalism* (1997). *The American Line* is a history of transatlantic passenger steamships built (though not always) in Philadelphia, ordered, financed, and managed by a Philadelphia-based company, led by Clement A. Griscom, Sr. Its author, Professor of History in Delaware State University, a renowned maritime historian. His knowledge of the history of transatlantic passenger traffic of the period is great; the style of his writing is remarkable; and his publishers chose to produce a beautifully printed and illustrated book.

We know that, relatively soon after the establishment of the United States, the former primacy of Philadelphia was replaced by New York not only in population but in the volume of its commerce, including of course shipping. Then, both before but especially after the Civil War, the American merchant marine declined rapidly. However, there occurred a renaissance of the maritime industry of Philadelphia, lasting for about a quarter-century. One of its elements was the existence of the reliable and massive shipbuilding facilities along the Delaware waterfront, foremost among them Cramp's (though there were three or four other remarkable ones too). The other was the founding of the American Line in 1871. Its charter, granted by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was issued "for the purpose of establishing a line off first class steamships to run between Philadelphia and Liverpool, the steamers to be constructed in American shipbuilding yards, and as entirely possible of American Materials."

The American Line ship first was the then exceptionally modern and large "*Pennsylvania*" (1873), steam-powered but still carrying (for awhile) auxiliary sails. Many others were built, culminating perhaps in the bit "*St. Paul*" and "*St. Louis*" more than twenty years later. They remained in service for another twenty years (not to speak of their employment by the Navy during the Spanish-American War). But by 1890 the weight of the operations had been transferred to New York. There remained the (alas, often forgotten) American Line vessels, the "*Merion*" and the "*Haverford*", more modest, less luxurious, but very comfortable and dependable, sailing between Philadelphia and Liver-

pool even after the American line went out of business.

"*Merion*" and "*Haverford*" their names reflect not only their Philadelphia provenance but also the choices of Clement A. Griscom, originally a Hicksite Quaker, who rose high in the great North Atlantic world of finance and shipping. The history of his financial and shipbuilding career is interesting in itself, a period piece: he deserves a good biography. (His son, eventually an American diplomat, did write an autobiography, with material about his father). There were plenty of difficulties, of which the most dramatic and picturesque ones were breakdowns, shipwrecks and rescues, described in a fascinating chapter by Flayhart. Yet the main problems were not material or technical but financial. From the very beginning the American Line depended on government subsidies, not to speak of its reliance of support from the Pennsylvania Railroad (their boards of directors were often intertwined). Eventually the American Line merged with the Red Star Line, since it had become evident that to rely wholly on American ships manned by American crews and under the American flag was not feasible. The result was the International Navigation Company, a kind of combination of both; and after that, the grand plan to establish a tremendous trust of North Atlantic passenger shipping, leading to the International Mercantile Marine in 1902. What followed was decline and fall, (oddly reminiscent of the disaster of the Pennsylvania Railroad after its much-touted merger with the New York Central, about sixty years later.) Griscom was, in many ways, a shrewd and responsible man; but he had had no compunction about shifting his Philadelphia operations to New York; and the merger that he helped to engineer failed to work. The greatest competitor of his conglomerate was the White Star-Cunard Line whose grandiloquent and monstrous "*Titanic*" sank in 1912—within the same year Griscom, felled by a stroke, died. There may be a moral in this.

Perhaps Flayhart should have devoted a little less space to the complications of finance, especially during the merger negotiations; perhaps he should have devoted more space to a topic that remains to be still written: the practices and conditions of how passengers and immigrants were landed and examined and received at the Philadelphia docks during the five decades before 1920. These—very relative shortcomings do not really matter. "A good book," said Samuel Johnson, "is opened with expectation and closed with profit." This is the very least this reviewer can say in praise of Professor Flayhart's rather magnificent volume.

John Lukacs, *Phoenixville, Pennsylvania*

By Stuart Leibiger. *Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic.*

(Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999. Pp. x, 284, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$35.00.)

The years surrounding the adoption of the Constitution witnessed several of the most productive political collaborations (and collisions) in all of American history: the intermittent friendship of Jefferson and Adams; the great collaboration of Hamilton and Madison, followed by their stunning clash' and nearly forty years of intimate cooperation between Jefferson and Madison, the closest team of all. Each of these associations has been closely studied, sometimes at book length, which makes it all the more surprising that scholars have entirely overlooked the friendship that Stuart Leibiger judges perhaps the most critical of all. Without it, he suggests, "the founding might not have succeeded" (3), and *Founding Friendship* turns a careful eye to its fabric as well its results.

Traveling different roads through the early years of the Revolution, George Washington and James Madison did not meet until the war was nearly over. They began to work together only when they both returned to Virginia in 1783 and Madison, as leader of the state assembly, managed several projects for improving the state's rivers, an enterprise in which Washington took a keen interest. By October 1785, however, common interests had sealed a genuine friendship. The younger man was often at Mount Vernon, and Washington began to address his letters 'My Dear Sir' and to close them with affection, devices he employed only with intimate friends. Then, during the next ten years, as each man was affected by the other, the friendship deeply influenced the making, ratification, and successful launching of the Constitution.

If Washington would one day prove an "aegis" essential to Alexander Hamilton's program for shaping the infant nation, he was hardly less essential to Madison's earlier project of getting it launched and establishing its tone—and this is not to mention the influence the general surely had on stiffening his friend's commitment to a vigorous new system. Madison put Washington at the head of Virginia's delegation to the Constitutional Convention and played perhaps the leading role in persuading him to attend, understanding that his presence could be critical to the meeting's success. Washington supported Madison throughout the federal convention and insisted that the latter must attend the Virginia ratifying convention, where all of Madison's debating skills might not have carried the closely divided meeting if everyone

had not been conscious of the great commander's quiet but unequivocal support. And as the Constitution went into effect, Madison was Washington's most intimate advisor on protocol, relationships between the branches, interpretation of the Constitution, and a host of other matters, so much the leader of the House of Representatives and Washington's informal minister that he would draft the first inaugural, the House of Representatives' reply to the address, the president's response to the reply, and even Washington's response to the reply of the Senate.

This great collaboration, through its most productive years, was very much a product of shared visions. Washington, like Madison, was conscientiously concerned that the new government should be republican in character and tone, and both of them believed that this implied a good deal of executive deference to the people's representatives in the management of domestic concerns. Madison, like Washington, was committed to a vigorous and genuinely independent executive branch. Still, their large agreements did not stretch across the whole of the enormous range of worries, hopes, and plans that moved the nation's early leaders. Neither was the fabric of the friendship such as could endure the disagreements that eventually emerged. In some of the most interesting chapters of the book, Leibiger shows that the collaboration and the warmth that underpinned it did survive Madison's collision with Hamilton over funding, assumption, and the national bank. Washington still turned eagerly to Madison for help in founding the federal city and advice about his wish to retire after a single term. In August 1792, however, the president learned of Madison's role in encouraging Philip Freneau to come to Philadelphia to found the *National Gazette*, which carried opposition to administration policies to the public. Madison could never bring himself to blame George Washington for the disastrous course in foreign and domestic policy that he perceived in the years after 1793, attributing the great man's errors to the Federalist advisors who surrounded him entirely after Thomas Jefferson retired as Secretary of State (an isolation to which Madison himself contributed by declining an administration post). But Washington assumed responsibility for his administration's programs, particularly in foreign affairs, and could not separate increasing opposition to those programs from disloyalty to his person. Even through the public war about neutrality, the two remained on excellent terms. Washington returned to opening his letters with the more formal "Dear Sir," but he continued to close with affection, to ask for Madison's advice, and to encourage Madison's courtship of Dolley. Only in the aftermath of the Whiskey Rebellion, when Madison took

public issue with Washington's condemnation of the Democratic-Republican societies, did the president lose confidence in the friendship, which collapsed in a public argument over the ratification of Jay's Treaty. Washington ended the correspondence. After his retirement, they never met again. Though Madison was never bitter or condemnatory, Washington, in his correspondence, never mentioned Madison again.

Founding Friendship is a solid study of a critical relationship that has been almost wholly overlooked. Leibiger joined a thorough mastery of the secondary scholarship with close, revealing readings of the sources. He succeeds, not only in recounting the course and contributions of the great collaboration, but in probing the personalities involved. He deepens our understanding of the policies and politics of these critical years while giving us a rare account of the nature of political friendship during the founding.

Lance Banning, *University of Kentucky*

By Michael F. Holt. *The Rise and Fall, of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War.*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. xviii, 1248, notes, bibliography, index.)

Michael F. Holt's *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party* is an extraordinary book, over two decades in the making. It is a grand narrative, proceeding chronologically from the party's roots to its demise, whose principal focus is the Whigs' electoral vicissitudes, and of politicians' efforts to get themselves and other Whigs elected. Despite the book's title, Holt places greater emphasis upon the party's demise. As he states in his preface (p. xii), Holt originally intended to write a book that began with the Whigs' failed 1844 presidential bid, but realized that he needed more than a single chapter to account for the party's origins.

Rise and Fall succeeds in several important ways. Holt clearly demonstrates—in ways better than anyone else does—that antebellum politics at the state level mattered. He provides a near complete account of those state elections, between the 1830s and 1850s, in which the Whigs seriously contended for office. Drawing not only on the work of other scholars, Holt also provides notable insights to state contests based upon his own very extensive primary source research. Students of Pennsylvania's antebellum politics will find this book indispensable, as they have

with Holt's 1969 classic, *Forging a Majority: The Formation of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh*. Amazingly, Holt is well informed on not only the Whig factions in every state, but also many of the Democratic factions. More significant, Holt integrates his staggering research of state and national politics. *Rise and Fall* contains the most comprehensive account of the congressional controversies and negotiations that led to the Compromise of 1850. Holt's accountings of the presidential elections from 1836 to 1856 are superb (especially those between 1844 and 1852), and will certainly be consulted and cited by scholars for years to come.

Rise and Fall builds upon the intellectual framework of Holt's 1978 book, *The Political Crises of the 1850s*. Despite some different emphases, and a few endnotes acknowledging the ways that his thinking has shifted in the past two decades, there remain many similarities between these two books. In both volumes, Holt describes a healthy two-party system in which the Whigs and the Democrats were competitive in most states. The parties were distinguished from each other by their issues and constituencies, and did best in getting their supporters to the polls when the differences between the parties were the most explicit. When the differences between the parties became blurred, voters lost interest. Whigs from both sections agreed to disagree on slavery-related questions, and emphasized those issues regarding the economy, foreign policy, executive power, and the social order on which they concurred. Likewise, the Democrats also de-emphasized their sectional differences and stressed those issues on which they were in accord.

As with many historians who have written before him, Holt shows how the slavery and territorial questions caused factional discord among northern Whigs, divided Whigs sectionally, and disrupted the Second Party System. He maintains, however, that the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the northern public's reaction to it, were not solely responsible for the Whig party's collapse. As destabilizing as this bill was, Holt claims that for months after its 1854 passage most northern and southern Whig leaders saw no need to desert their party nor did they feel it necessary to separate into sectional parties. Further, most northern Whigs continued to resist fusion with Free Soilers.

Preceding the northerners' protests over the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and with white southerners' resentment over northern remonstrations, Holt argues that other issues unrelated to slavery, such as economic prosperity, state constitutional revision, prohibition, and nativism, coalesced and assisted in the Whig party's disintegration. Besides the Republican

party, the initially bisectional American or Know-Nothing party took advantage of this political vacuum, and in many parts of the country, the Americans became the fastest growing party in 1854 and 1855. It was during these years that the Whig party “bled to death” (839), its ranks in the North being “far more vulnerable to incursions by new prohibition, nativist, and antislavery parties than were Democrats” (959). Where they persisted in the South, Whigs continued as a hopeless minority.

The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party is a marvelous achievement. Nevertheless, some readers will be disappointed that Holt did not address some issues further. Despite stating in his preface that his is not a book about political culture or political ideology (ix), a closer examination of the Whigs’ ideology would strengthen one of Holt’s points: that the Whigs were not bereft of ideas (which some scholars from a half century ago argued [105]). Given that Holt has certainly looked at more Whig sources than any other historian, he undoubtedly could have enlightened us regarding nuances and variations in Whig thinking that other scholars have missed. Also, because Holt emphasizes political insiders’ activities, readers may wonder about the party’s appeals. Though Holt succinctly explains the party’s positions at the beginning and the end of the book, his detailing of elections often obscures the appeals that Whigs may have had for voters, how those appeals varied by place, and how they may have changed with time.

Although Holt skillfully depicts the interplay between politicians and parties, some readers may find that he interprets politicians’ behavior and rhetoric as excessively calculating, and lacking in moral purpose. The politicians he describes frequently evaluate circumstances by asking, “How might this issue effect the other side?” or “Will this issue win us more votes?” For example, following the introduction of the Nebraska Bill in early 1854, moderates argued that climate would prevent the expansion of slavery into federal territories, and that Whigs of both sections ought to oppose the bill to maintain sectional harmony. Free Soiler and Stewardite Whig politicians would have none of this. Holt explains that they eschewed the moderates’ approach to the bill because Free Soilers and Sewardite Whigs “wanted to stress the real threat of slavery expansion in order to increase Northern opposition to the gill” (816). In this instance, Holt does not take into account any moral outrage that politicians might have had regarding the spread of slavery, or their fears regarding the Slave Power—sentiments he believes were widespread among the northern public.

The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party is a remarkable book, but one that will likely find readers expecting too much out of it. Certainly any book with this title and thickness will have readers anticipating answers to all the Whig party's difficult questions. Fortunately for historians who enjoy studying the Whigs, there is still more work to be done.

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Edited by Robert Conrad. *In the Hands of Strangers: Readings on Foreign and Domestic Slave Trading and the Crisis of Union.*

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. Pp. xvii, 516, index. \$45.00.)

The legacy of 250 years of slavery and another century of segregation on racial relations remains critical. The paradox of slavery and freedom was, as President Abraham Lincoln eloquently stated in his Second Inaugural Address, the major cause of the Civil War, a thesis endorsed by current scholarship. Today the issue of reparations for slavery raises the question of not only restitution for past wrongs but of the present inequities for people of African descent in the New World. The strength of Robert Edgar Conrad's *In the Hands of Strangers* is that an engaging collection of sixty-seven documents that places the momentous issue of slavery in historical context.

The tripartite format of the anthology is innovative and extensive. Section one, "The African Slave Trade, Legal and Illegal," is combined with "The Internal Slave Trade of the United States" and "Conflict and Crises of the Union on the Road to Civil War." Usually these rubrics are separated and fragmented, but joined together they provide important continuity and consistency. He has chosen a wide variety of genres, including manifestos, memoirs, poetry, travel accounts, letters, and journalism. Authors include slaves and masters, apologists and abolitionists. Most of the documents—all original sources — are not well known and thus offer originality. The editor does provide a short introduction for each section and a brief overview for each document. Nineteen contemporary illustrations add a rich visual component to the text. A more analytical introduction with more on the changing historiography would have been useful in explaining how and why interpretations have changed over time. Primary sources can after all be read in different ways. Nonetheless the strength of the book is in the documents, and Conrad has assembled a first rate collection.

In the Hands of Strangers is a moral indictment of white brutality toward blacks very similar to that of antebellum antislavery agitators. As Conrad writes, "The documents concentrate generally on the cruelty and humiliation associated with the buying and selling of human beings, a remarkable type of behavior that has existed for millennia." (xiii) Not unlike Theodore Weld's *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of Thousand Witnesses* published by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1839, Conrad too assumes (although not with Weld's invective) that the reader will be persuaded by the abundant first hand evidence. The evil of the slave trade and slavery is indeed clear to us today. For most white Americans before 1865 racial equality under the law was, however, not a given because white supremacy was dominant and ubiquitous throughout the republic.

What ought the modern reader gain from this anthology? "My personal answer," Conrad states, "is that the people who endured these experiences (or feared them throughout their lives) were often severely damaged, even demoralized by their experience, and so we need to know as much as possible about such events that we may better understand ourselves and who and what we are and have been as a people." (xiii) Although the principal protest of black abolitionists and slave revolts are included, the editor does not develop the theme of cultural resistance in the form of religion, family, music, and various African survivals. Did not racial oppression and cultural assertion exist in a mutual give and take? Unlike much of the historical writing since the 1970s that stressed the resilience of African American communities (e.g., John Blassingame, Eugene Genovese, Herbert Gutman, Albert Raboteau, James and Lois Horton, to name a few), Conrad (not unlike Stanley Elkins) sees damage and demoralization. It would be instructive if Conrad was more explicit in evaluating the dialectic between slavery and freedom, exploitation and resistance.

"The African Slave Trade, Legal and Illegal" has powerful examples of the Atlantic traffic that the United States outlawed after January 1, 1808 but that continued well into mid-century. Portuguese and English slave traders justified their endeavors in the name of God, civilization, and profit. As William Snelgrave, a British slave trader, explained in 1734, "When [slaves] are carried to the Plantations, they generally live much better there, than they ever did in their own Country; for as the Planters pay a great price for them, 'tis their interest to take care of them." (28) Eyewitness descriptions of the Middle Passage are as horrific as Steven Spielberg's brilliant cinematic recreation in *Amistad*. The mix of docu-

ments—including speculators and smugglers, African chiefs and insurrectionaries—over four hundred years record the fateful diaspora of as many as twelve million Africans to the Americas of whom large numbers died on route.

The forced migration of one million Africans from the southern seaboard states into the trans-Appalachian West during the cotton boom of the first half of the nineteenth century is the subject of "The Internal Slavery of the United States," a topic at the forefront of current scholarship. Forced sales of families, slave breeding, coffles and slave drivers, kidnapping of free blacks, and auctions—distressing subjects that filled Harriet Beecher Stowe's influential *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—document the internal slave trade. As Frederick Douglass protested in his famous "The Meaning of the Fourth of July for the Negro" (1852), ". . . while so much execration is poured out by Americans upon those engaged in the foreign slave-trade, the men engaged in the slave-trade between the states pass without condemnation, and their business is deemed honorable." (194) Yet two years later a Boston minister Nehemiah Adams in a sympathetic view of slavery indicated that the separation of families by sale was lessened because "maternal attachments in slave mothers are singularly short lived." (223) The belief in the racial inferiority of people of African origin is a constant theme in the defense of slavery.

Much to Conrad's credit, he includes important but not always well-known sources in "Conflict and Crises of the Union on the Road to Civil War." There are sixteen fascinating pages on Charles Lamar, a promoter of a new African slave trade during the 1850s. Essential evidence on the critical period of sectional discord includes Texas annexation, the Mexican War, Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, "The Crime against Kansas," and the Dred Scott decision. In addition to pro-slavery and anti-slavery sources, the colonization of freedpeople attracted attention from high officials, including President Lincoln as late as 1862. *Harper's Weekly* featured sensational stories on Margaret Garner and Amy Spain, slave women. The former, a fugitive, killed her daughter rather than return her to bondage; the latter in South Carolina died bravely for her support of the Union army. These intriguing documents not only illuminate the past but also promote racial justice in the present.

Lawrence B. Goodheart, *University of Connecticut/Hartford*

Edited by Martin H. Blatt, Thomas J. Brown, and Donald Yacovone. *Hope & Glory: Essays on the Legacy of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment.*

(Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001. Pp. xxii, 336, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

This excellent compilation of fifteen previously unpublished essays emerged from Boston's 1997 centennial commemoration of the Augustus Saint-Gaudens bas-relief monument to the 54th Massachusetts Regiment and its commander, Robert Gould Shaw. The 1997 event, as Martin Blatt points out, in turn owed its success to the movie *Glory* and the widespread public interest in African-American soldiering it inspired. Hollywood and popular culture again drove the historical enterprise, the result in this instance being a valuable collection of historical/cultural analyses that shed light not only on the 54th Massachusetts but the milieu in which it was created and its broad impact in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The essays are divided into three sections, the first of which examines the background and the wartime activity of the 54th. The second recounts ways in which the 54th and Shaw were remembered and commemorated in the nineteenth century, and includes several interpretations of Saint-Gaudens's work. The third section focuses on twentieth-century treatments of the regiment in music, poetry, cinema, and in Civil War reenactment. The editors have done an excellent job in their choices for inclusion and in determining the order of the essays, which are uniformly well written, interesting, and frequently provocative.

James Oliver Horton strikes the theme of African-American manhood in the initial essay, a theme recurring at several points in the book. The 54th gave visible expression of a need among black men to assert their manhood in the face of societal representations of blacks as helpless dependents, and marked an official culmination of the earlier work of black vigilance committees, militias, and slave rescuers. The theme of the establishment of manhood continues in Donald Yacovone's insightful piece on the privations suffered by black soldiers and their families because of the soldiers' self-perceived manly effort to receive pay equal to their white counterparts, and in the final essay by Cathy Stanton and Stephen Belyea, who find in Civil War reenactment a latter-day effort to establish and reinforce manhood.

Robert Gould Shaw spoke to the need of many nineteenth-century Americans, especially the Boston elite, to view the Civil War not simply as a contest of male force but as a triumph of ideas and moral vision.

Joan Waugh's superb essay sets Shaw and his own quest for manhood in the context of his reformist family and the Christian reform circles in which they moved. The Saint-Gaudens work and its 1897 dedication was, Waugh makes clear, the culmination of the sacrifice of the Shaw family women to do their patriotic duty to their country and the memory of Robert.

David Blight draws attention to the perilous state of African Americans in the late nineteenth century as a result of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (which James Smethurst argues was the practical end of southern Reconstruction), and the sectional reunion that left blacks everywhere marginalized. In that context the 54th and the Shaw memorial stood nearly alone in representing, as Blight puts it, not only a "contribution to the story" of American ideals of freedom, but a commentary about "our national promises and betrayals, about the civic ideology at the heart of our society, and about the *transcendence* that makes all tragedy meaningful."

Examination of racial attitudes in the later nineteenth century helps turn the second section into a treasure trove of social history. Marilyn Richardson examines the art of painter Edward M. Bannister and sculptor Edmonia Lewis, African Americans who were the first to render artistically Shaw and members of the 54th. Richardson concludes that Shaw became representative of the 54th because blacks lacked individuation in the eyes of whites. In Saint-Gaudens's work, Shaw is "a unique and exalted equestrian figure; his troops are a marking chorus of honored symbols." Kathryn Greenthal counters that Saint-Gaudens deserves credit for working with the Shaw family to ensure that the monument would be a tribute to the soldiers of the regiment as well as to Shaw. Kirk Savage acknowledges the racism of Saint-Gaudens, but counters Albert Boime's thesis that the work reflects the artist's racism. Rather, Savage believes Saint-Gaudens rose above his ideology to provide a new kind of Civil War memorial, one that captured the essence of individual black soldiers, a sentiment shared by Thomas Cripps.

How these individual black soldiers have been depicted and what difference these depictions have made is at the heart of this book. James Smethurst notes that blacks of the late nineteenth century focused on these men and saw them as harbingers of hope for civil rights and societal inclusion. Thomas Brown indicates that progressive Bostonians believed that Saint-Gaudens's rendition of the 54th had helped to restore the beacon to the city upon a hill. And Helen Vendler, in a delightful essay connecting the two centuries in question, reminds us

that Robert Lowell's 1960 elegy, "For the Union Dead," "the single great poem" to issue from Shaw's death, has "St. Gaudens' shaking Civil War relief . . . stick[ing] like a fishbone in the city's throat," a modern judgment on Boston's racial climate.

The role of the movie *Glory* in expanding public memory of the 54th dominates the last section of the book. Martin Blatt offers the obligatory critique of the movie's uses and misuses of history, but lauds *Glory* for heightening public consciousness of the presence and contributions of black Civil War soldiers. Without the movie, he posits, there would have been little backing for a grand centennial celebration in 1997, and this book likely would not have seen print. Blatt and Thomas Cripps agree, however, that the movie perpetuates stereotypes and has little place for the truly individual black man. Yet, as Stanton and Belyea conclude, *Glory* has, on the remembered battlefields of modern reenacting, encouraged blacks to regain their history and enabled black males to participate in the "unapologetic masculinity" that is Civil War reenacting. These black baby-boomer reenactors, "caught between the desire to participate fully in traditions of manhood and the awareness that American structures of power have been arrayed against them," join in an "unfinished struggle" in ways unknown to their white counterparts.

Hope and Glory is a very good book, the fulfillment of the editors' intention to provide a prism through which to see in fuller detail the intricacies of nineteenth and twentieth-century American society illuminated by the 54th Massachusetts. In its American studies approach, it is a gold mine for social and cultural historians. Beyond these, however, one wonders who its audience will be. Many drawn to Civil War studies will not get far into the book's social and cultural analyses before asking, "What does this have to do with the Civil War?" In doing so, they will have reversed the really relevant question and this book's major insight: "What does the Civil War (and the 54th Massachusetts) have to do with all that follows?" So much. So very much.

Robert D. Sayre, *Millersville University*

By Russell F. Weigley. *A Great Civil War: A Military and Political History, 1861-1865*.

(Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000. Pp. 642, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.95 cloth.)

When asked to review this book the question that came to mind was "is there a need for another one volume history of the Civil War?"

Indeed, Russell Weigley one of America's outstanding military and Civil War historians, but what could Weigley provide us that would shed more light on that epoch struggle. It did not take long to dispel any concerns over the value of this new offering. Professor Weigley combines conventional Civil War era political/military history with his broader knowledge of American military history, comparing 19th century to 20th century military thought. In addition, Weigley injects fresh anecdotal material that reinvigorates old stories.

There are many sub-themes that run through the book: command and control issues, race relations, African-American involvement and political decisions that changed the face of American society. His treatment of the military commanders, of both sides, is straightforward and critical. Weigley delves into the causes for the war, examining President Lincoln's and the North's commitment to save the Union. In contrast, Weigley presents an iconoclastic view of the Confederacy and Jefferson Davis, challenging the myth of "the solid South."

In discussing southern nationalism, Weigley contends that deep fissures developed in the southern façade, visible in the lack of unanimity of support for secession and states rights. One of the keys to states rights was the rampant sense of individualism, and according to the author this individualism was about to undo the southern nation by the spring of 1863. Further exacerbating the problem was the Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Weigley contends that Davis did not possess the mental flexibility to be a great war time president. His unyielding sense of duty, and commitment to his oath of office shackled the Confederate president and stopped him from coming to terms with reality.

Confederate General Robert E. Lee receives both high praise and an admonition for being too Napoleonic. Weigley contends that Lee was always looking for one grand battle that would destroy the opponent. In attempting to win that one battle, Lee led his army against the northern forces suffering manpower losses the south could not endure. Weigley praised Lee for his outstanding tactical skills, which earned him a "place in the pantheon of great generals whatever his flaws." (265)

In dealing with Union general officers, Professor Weigley applies the same professional standards in evaluating their performances. George B. McClellan is depicted as lacking the passion for fighting the war. Ulysses Grant receives high marks for his handling of the Vicksburg campaign, but is criticized for his inability to coordinate all his armies to bring constant pressure on the Confederates. William Tecumseh Sherman endures the same criticism, but Sherman, as well as Confed-

erate General Joseph E. Johnston, receive high praise for their brilliant tactical maneuvers during the Atlanta campaign.

President Abraham Lincoln comes through the study with high marks. The author argues that Lincoln was so dedicated to saving the Union, that he was ever willing to break the law to do so. Lincoln felt that the Constitution provided him with extraordinary powers and he was not reluctant to use them. His suspension of habeas corpus, manipulation of the border states, tempering and managing the abolitionist demand for the freeing of the slaves, and his finesse with Congress were all exercises in patience, power, and control. The President was fearful that the Civil War would degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle and Lincoln wanted to control the war. Lincoln's handling of the slavery issue is a good example. His cautious political fear of the divisiveness of abolition gave way to a strong commitment to save the Union by making the struggle a war to make men free. Weigley provides a thorough account of African-American involvement in the war from contraband to soldiers and sailors.

Weigley chronicles the Congresses as well. Federal acts included measures for a transcontinental railroad, a national banking act, a homestead act, income tax, development of the greenback and the beginning of the draft in the United States; all profound and all changing the course and power of the federal government.

Weigley has written an exhaustive one-volume work on the Civil War. His unvarnished analyses and his often thought provoking conclusions provides the reader with new insights into old problems. You may not always agree with his conclusions, but it would be hard to disagree with the thought that this is an extremely well researched and written study and it will stand the test of time as it takes its place amongst the best single volumes of the period.

David L. Valuska, *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania*

By Richard B. Drake. *A History of Appalachia.*

(Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2001.

Maps, illustrations, photos, bibliography; xi + 292 Pp. cloth
\$29.95.)

Pennsylvanians rarely regard themselves as "Appalachian." Yet fifty-two of the Commonwealth's sixty-seven counties are designated as part of Appalachia by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC); more counties than in any other state in the two-hundred thousand square

mile region stretching from southern New York to northern Mississippi. Historians and social scientists, curious as to why Pennsylvania tends to be outside of the broader Appalachian psyche while, at the same time, intricately part of its history and culture, will find Richard B. Drake's *A History of Appalachia* worth reading. Indeed, readers will discover common economic, social, and political characteristics that rationalize much of the Keystone State—exclusive of the portions of its central and all of its southeastern counties—as part of this unique region.

In a richly detailed survey of Appalachia's history, Drake argues that central and western Pennsylvania were closely associated with the Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley of Virginia until the early 19th century. Then, with its rapid industrial development, immigration and anti-slavery stance, Penn's Woods "drifted away from the more southern story" (vii). Drake suggests that the Civil War solidified this growing distinction. Northern Appalachia, and particularly its urban areas, benefited from the war while its more rural and agrarian central and southern regions saw poverty and isolation—conditions that would persist well into the 20th century.

From the 1940s to the 1970s, Appalachians migrated in great numbers as a way to solve their economic problems. The War on Poverty paved the way for the creation of the ARC in 1965. ARC's initiatives were designed along two major models; a) the culture of poverty model that created programs such as Head Start to move people out of poverty's cyclical nature, and; 2) the capital investment model that invested in education, transportation, and health care infrastructure to grow the region's economy. Many of the programs still exist in one form or another and their relative effectiveness is subject to debate in Pennsylvania as in other parts of the region. Drake's discussion could be enhanced, however, by investigation of a curious Appalachian phenomenon: a region so often ascribed to the fountain of free enterprise capitalism and individualism—the coal industry and the self-reliant mountaineer among the best examples—has survived, in large measure, as a result of the welfare state and public policies.

Drake's social history is comprehensive. He surveys the region's past from its earliest known human occupation to its present state of affairs and he defines and discusses each Appalachian sub-region. He touches on industrial, folk, as well as political history that is particularly appealing as it paints the region as largely conservative with few exceptions. In the twentieth century, for example, Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Ronald Reagan won ample majorities in most parts of the region. Yet,

Albert Gore, Sr., and his son, Albert Gore, Jr., enjoyed distinguished political careers as progressive and liberal voices from Tennessee (though Gore, Sr., was defeated in 1970 by a conservative opponent and Gore, Jr., failed to carry his home state in the 2000 presidential election). The concluding chapters provide an assessment of the "new Appalachia" and an engaging psychosocial discussion of "The Appalachian Mind." Another strength is that the text ties Appalachian history to several common themes, among them: its distinctiveness as a region, its economic dependence on outside capital investment, extraction, and, resulting colonization, and, its extremes and complexity as exemplified by pockets of wealth amidst large-scale poverty.

On balance, however, the text tends to concentrate on central and southern Appalachia more than its northern reaches; scant discussion is provided regarding Pennsylvania's anthracite region, for example, and its Appalachian characteristics. Moreover, the text contains several factual inaccuracies. These include the 1969 (not 1968) election for UMWA president between W. A. "Tony" Boyle and Joseph A. "Jock" Yablonski and the subsequent murder of Yablonski and his family in Greene County, Pennsylvania (p. 206); the election of Arnold Miller as reform candidate for UMWA president (1972 not 1971, p. 206 ad; the date associated with the Knox Mine Disaster near Pittston (1959 not 1969) in the northeastern corner of the state (p. 201). The author fails to mention the Meadowcroft Rock Shelter in Washington County. This important archaeological site has yielded evidence regarding North America's earliest known human presence. Its significance was recognized in 1999 by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's placement of a State Historical Marker. Finally, the author doesn't mention the 1961 Area Redevelopment Act signed by President Kennedy. The legislation's roots lie with two prominent Pennsylvania Congressmen and an Illinois Senator. It pumped millions into the Appalachian economy paving the way for federal economic development policy in the region that culminated with the creation of ARC.

Drake is uniquely qualified to author this important history. He is professor emeritus of history at Berea College in Kentucky and was a founding member of the Appalachian Studies Association. Historians and social scientists interested in a sweeping history of Appalachia with a sociological, economic, and occasional psychological twist will benefit by reading Drake's commendable work.

Kenneth C. Wolensky, *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg*

By Gary Okihiro. *Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II.*

(Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999. Pp. xiv, 182, notes, index, photographs, with an afterword by Leslie Ito. \$35.00 cloth; \$17.50 paper.)

It may appear unusual for a journal, which focuses on the mid-Atlantic region to review a book about the experiences of Japanese Americans during World War II. After all, virtually all Japanese Americans at the outset of war lived in California, Oregon, and Washington, and the notorious exclusion and internment orders promulgated by the U.S. government covered those from the West Coast. Gary Okihiro's account of the Nisei—second generation Japanese Americans—who managed to leave the internment camps and attend college from 1942 to 1945 shows, however, that by the end of the war members of this ethnic group lived in many areas of the nation. Moreover, the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council (NJASRC), the group which facilitated this process, was based for most of the war in Philadelphia, at the headquarters of the American Friends Service Committee.

Okihiro, who has written widely on Asian American history, says that he was reluctant to write yet another book about internment. He was persuaded to do so, however, after reading the warm and very personal correspondence between Nisei students, who overcame great obstacles to attend college, and the staff members of the NJASRC, whose logistical work made it possible. So in this brief, well-written book, Okihiro allows the 5,000 or so Nisei college students and the small group of NJASRC workers to tell the stories of their backgrounds, their college life and other wartime experiences, and their feelings about what they endured and what they accomplished.

An opening chapter discusses the early Japanese American immigrant experience and the history of anti-Japanese racism which culminated in the Roosevelt Administration's indefensible exclusion and internment orders. Okihiro then turns to the establishment of Student Relocation Council by university officials on the West Coast, in conjunction with leaders of the YMCA, YWCA, and AFSC. Schools such as the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Washington had many Nisei students enrolled, and college officials wanted them to be able to continue their education. While they could not convince the military authorities to exempt students from exclusion, they persuaded the Army and the War Relocation Authority—the agency that administered the internment camps—to allow students, under certain condi-

tions, to leave the camps to attend college further east.

The Council took on the arduous tasks of persuading colleges to accept Japanese Americans, of advising individual students about appropriate college, of helping students gather transcripts, recommendations, and other necessary paperwork for the admissions process, of arranging for places to live in or near the colleges, and of providing or advising on financial aid. As one can imagine, these tasks were quite difficult to accomplish, with the students torn away from their high school or previous college communities, with confusing and even contradictory military regulations in place, and with many other obstacles.

Okihiro is at his best in conveying the wide range of experiences of these students. Some were disappointing, as in the forced removal of six Nisei from the University of Idaho due to racist community pressure. But far more were uplifting, such as the account of the warm welcoming committee at Phillips University, the full scholarships provided by Grinnell College, the election of a Nisei at Oberlin College as student council president within weeks of his arrival, and the refusal of the president of Park College in Missouri to bow to the demand of the mayor that Nisei students be expelled. Typical was the student who later recalled that her college gave her the "most wonderful, horizon widening experience I ever had." While the largest numbers of wartime Nisei students went to midwestern state universities, the Quaker-oriented, Philadelphia-area colleges of Swarthmore and Haverford were among the more popular East Coast destinations.

Okihiro is always attentive to different experiences based on gender, and his discussion of this issue yields some expected and some unexpected conclusions.

Aside from providing the first book-length work on the subject since Robert O'Brien's *The College Nisei* (1949), Okihiro places his narrative in a wider historiographical and theoretical context. He is particularly interested in showing that the relations between the students and their supporters in the NJASRC constitute part of an understudied history of American anti-racism. Thus he describes the backgrounds and motivations of those who worked with the Council, such as Swarthmore College president John Nason, who chaired its board, Marjorie Hyer, a mid-Atlantic field secretary of the AFSC who helped convince colleges to accept Nisei, and Thomas Bodine, a Quaker from Philadelphia who worked for the AFSC and the NJASRC. Okihiro emphasizes that their support for Nisei students stemmed from forthright opposition to the racist treatment of Japanese Americans. The significance of the humane

reactions of anti-racist whites (and African Americans) to exclusion and internment has only recently begun to impact the voluminous literature on these events.

But Okihiro is well attuned to the complexities involved here. On the one hand, he makes clear that this anti-racist activity was not simply a gift to the Nisei students, but that the students used these "patrons" to wrest what they could from a racist environment. On the other hand, Okihiro recognizes that supporters of the Nisei students had to work closely with the War Relocation Authority, the very agency which enforced the racist internment order, and thus had to be very careful about criticizing government policy. Moreover, NJASRC staff at times counseled Nisei students to avoid socializing with each other, on the grounds that such associations might provoke a backlash. This counsel (which the students often ignored) could be seen as an attack on Japanese American ethnicity, of course. Rather than attacking the NJASRC as collaborating in oppression, however, as some historians have done, Okihiro advances the more historically situated idea that anti-racists had to fight their battles based on a "calculus of initiatives and constraints." His analysis is compelling, in my view.

Okihiro supplements the correspondence he located with over two dozen oral history interviews, and with a wealth of material provided by helpful college archivists. He freely acknowledges that there are collections he did not fully exploit, including the AFSC archives themselves, and I am sure he would agree that his study is suggestive rather than exhaustive. Indeed, *Storied Lives* should help stimulate local studies of the reception of Japanese Americans in colleges away from the West Coast, as well as more attention to the history of anti-racist activism more broadly. With its focus on the lives of college students, the book is well suited to classroom use.

Robert Shaffer, *Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania*

By Anthony Summers. *The Arrogance of Power: The Secret World of Richard Nixon.*

(New York: Viking, 2000. Pp. xv, 640, notes, source notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

When Richard Nixon died in 1994 many people, critics and friends alike, were stunned at the outpouring of national grief. For a few weeks that April the career and life of Nixon was the subject of wide and nearly

unfettered praise. A few months later the commemorative Nixon stamp that the U.S. Postal Service issued was a financial failure as Americans refused to buy it. These two examples are indicative of the extremely strong and mixed legacy that Nixon leaves to the American people. While in office he implemented a number of new and important initiatives and policies that have had long lasting affect. Yet, at the same time, he did great harm to the political culture of the nation as he self-destructed.

Such complexities, however, matter little to Anthony Summers. Starting with a jacket cover design that uses a dark background and highlighting to emphasize Nixon's beady, shifty eyes, Summers offers the reader one of the most unbalanced, negative portraits of the 37th President of the United States ever put to paper. Given the number of enemies Nixon made in his long career this presentation is an accomplishment of sorts. A former reporter for the BBC, Summers has previously written biographies of Marilyn Monroe and J. Edgar Hoover as well as a book on the assassination of John F. Kennedy. It says a good deal about Summers and his approach that a reference to the "secret" life of his subjects is part of the subtitle of each of his biographies.

This tabloid-like background is brought full to bear. Nixon turns out to be everything that society holds in the negative. He was a liar, a cheat, a philander, a drug abuser, a problem drinker (if not an out-and-out drunk), and a wife beater who was impotent and psychologically unstable. In addition, he took bribes, helped manufacture evidence in the Alger Hiss trial, dabbled in astrology, was connected to organized crime, and came close to treason in pursuit of the presidency in 1968. He was not a good poker player, and even cheated at golf. Summers clearly does not like Nixon.

There are two major problems with the portrayal that Summers is trying to make. First, there is the extremity of the portrait. The Nixon that Summers gives is so despicable and nasty, it becomes difficult to take the author seriously. Nixon emerges as a man with no redeeming qualities at all. In fact, he is quick to question the credibility of those who suggest any type of counter position. Historian Irwin Gellman, who won the Pulitzer Prize for a study of New Deal diplomacy, is dismissed as a "Nixon defender" from Orange County, California. Apparently living in a region with a reputation for being a bastion of conservatism eliminates any professional credibility in the study of Republican presidents. More importantly, Summers often lacks the evidence he that he needs to make his case. The depiction of the Nixons' marriage is a

perfect example. Summers suggests that their marriage lacked closeness and that they considered divorce. These chapters depend on the comments by observers. Many of them, like members of the White House press corps, were not in a position to know what transpired in the inner sanctums of the Nixon household. Summers also uses a good deal of questionable source material often from Nixon's political opponents who clearly have an axe to grind. He tries to present his study as one with a solid foundation of evidence. In an effort to give his account credibility, he has had a number of documents reproduced that he used in his narrative. There are, however, a number of minor errors, that taken together suggest that Summers was not as careful in his study as he would have his readers believe. Nixon's valet was Cuban not Spanish. Claude Pepper was not a congressman from Florida but a Senator. He later served in the House of Representatives. Thirty-five men had been President prior to Nixon, not thirty-six. Grover Cleveland served two separate terms. Summer's statement that Nixon was the first President in a hundred years to work with a Congress controlled by the opposition would have been news to Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Nixon was actually the first President never to have a majority in either house during his entire stay in office.

Perhaps most glaring is the absence of any discussion of policy or even a sophisticated explanation of politics. Summers is mainly interested in presenting "the parts of him that he and his supporters have preferred to conceal" (p. xv). Now Summers clearly did not intend to write a book examining weighty issues and a review faulting him for doing something he had no intention of doing is hardly fair. But if he wants his book to "destroy forever the image Nixon sought to make his legacy" and show us how the President's "personal torments came to have such a damaging impact on fifty years of American history," which is how the notes on the dust jacket describe his purpose, then it would strengthen his case to show that the Nixon legacy includes no substantive accomplishments, or that they are merely the product of Republican propagandists. Otherwise, much of his study, even if true, matters little in assessing the importance of this President.

Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Texas A&M University—Commerce*

By Brian Apelt. *The Corporation: A Centennial Biography of United States Steel Corporations, 1901-2001.*

(Pittsburgh: Cathedral Publishing, University of Pittsburgh, 2001. Pp. ix, 547. \$29.95 cloth.)

The Corporation is a decidedly top-down history of the U.S. Steel Corporation, now USX. It is written in a breezy, upbeat journalistic style with lots of one- and two-sentence “sound bites” for the full-paragraph-challenged reader. The book is slick and glossy with numerous illustrations, but it is by no means a whitewash job. Although Brian Apelt, whose career has been primarily that of a journalist and corporate communications staffer, offers but modest historical analysis, he does provide the reader with a solid chronology of major corporate-level developments over time, which he adequately sets within the broad currents of the twentieth century. One of the nicest features of the volume is hidden away inside the dust jacket. Sharon Yeck has provided a detailed, and very visually understandable, flow chart of major US acquisitions and divestitures over the corporation’s 100-year history. Hopefully libraries, which tend to throw out dust jackets, will find ways to preserve this aid by possibly folding and gluing it inside the back cover of the book.

Apelt divides his story into twenty chapters, at roughly two per decade, beginning with the pre-corporation Carnegie Steel era. He proceeds through the 1901 formation of the nation’s first billion-dollar corporation and the appointment of Judge Elbert Gary as chair of the executive committee and later of the board and his consolidation of the corporation during its first quarter century. The reader is treated to a chapter on the federal anti-trust suits filed against USS, which were eventually resolved in the corporation’s favor, and the company’s role in World War I. This in turn is followed by discussions of the Great Depression, the coming of unionization, and World War II. Major themes developed in the second half of the century include the costs of labor contracts, environmental regulations, and foreign competition, which often undercut sales by means of “dumping” low-priced steel on the American domestic market. Apelt also notes the corporation’s various attempts at diversification into non-steel areas in the 1960s and 1970s, including mining, transportation, plastics and chemicals, construction, and even real estate. Eventually during the late 1970s and 1980s, many of these divisions were sold off as unrelated or unprofitable “snoozers.” At the same time, Chairman David M. Roderick was not above acquiring new ventures, if they could be seen as profitable and

serving as a source of financial stability for the increasingly unsteady steel market. The purchase first of Marathon Oil Company in 1982 and later in 1986 of Texas Oil & Gas Corporation, combined with the increased "rationalization" or downsizing of outmoded and unprofitable steel facilities, meant that by the end of the century between two-thirds and three-quarters of the corporation's revenue came from the energy side of the business, with the remainder coming from traditional steel making. With this shift of emphasis came a name change in 1986; thenceforth the corporation would be called USX. "X" had been U.S. Steel's New York Stock Exchange symbol since 1924.

Apelt's approach to telling the USS story is to do so largely through the eyes, words, and actions of the corporation's highest-level executive officers, especially the dozen chairmen of the board over the course of the twentieth century. In addition to their roles in the main corporate story line, most of these individuals also get a several page, side-bar feature that summarizes their contributions and delves somewhat more deeply into their personalities. Apelt has tended to draw primarily on corporate publications, position papers, and the public record of newspapers and court cases for much of his source material. Without footnotes it is impossible to say with any precision to what corporate board minutes, executive memoranda, or planning documents he may also have had access. In addition he has utilized general interest secondary sources ranging from such traditional chestnuts as Ida Tarbell's *The Life of Elbert H. Gary* (D. Appleton and Co., 1925) and Arundel Cotter's *United States Steel: A Corporation with a Soul* (1921) to Christopher Hall's more recent *Steel Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the U.S. Steel Industry* (St. Martin's Press, 1997). However, Apelt's use of the scholarly literature is modest. He was also able to interview recent corporate executives and some current workers, and the volume is better for the insights that they provide.

What this all means is that generally this is a book about corporate formation and policies—labor relations, foreign competition, environmental regulation, but not a book about what it was really like to work in a USSS steel mill, how the corporation affected the local plant communities and the families that lived there, or about the technology of steel making. To be fair, Apelt does allude to the implications of strikes for workers, the impact of war on those who went off to fight and those who remained at home to work—both women and men, and the effect of the 1948 killer smog that descended upon Donora, Pennsylvania, along the Monogahela River thirty-five miles south of Pittsburgh to note but three examples. Unfortunately, for the most part, we get few names,

nor do we learn the inner thoughts of hourly wage earners throughout the book. It is only in the final chapter, where the author treats an “energized” and “upbeat” workforce pulling together in quality assurance programs, that we really see the faces of the USX workforce, and then only in this limited context. One might have wished for a little more “bottom up” history to balance the corporate side of the scale. Although, again to be fair, Apelt does suggest that management was often slow to recognize the need for technological modernization and initially at least failed to fully understand the need for enhanced environmental controls even in the face of the very real additional costs they entailed.

Apelt does have an eye and an ear for the revealing historical example and the catchy turn of phrase. Thus, along the way the reader is treated to the following cocktail tidbits among others. During WWI, USS produced 75,000 kegs of horseshoes for Allied steeds and 200,000 tons of “book wire” for binding government documents. At a stockholders meeting, CEO Irving Olds once responded to a woman’s question on the role of a corporate chairman by saying, “A chairman performs the same function as a piece of parsley on a dish of fish” (p. 211), before going on to describe his duties at length. CEO Benjamin Fairless was apparently famous for his “short cigar” routine. Upon entering a room he would search about among his ashtrays, and after finding an appropriate cigar stub, he would stick it in his mouth saying, “With these new salaries, you just can’t ignore short cigars” (p. 221). And, ironically, the 48” diameter pipe used for the Trans-Alaskan pipeline designed to bring oil to “energy-hungry” Americans was fabricated by Japanese steel makers, although USS did get the contract for the “shoes” that supported the elevated sections.

In 1901, U.S. Steel shipped somewhat over eight million tons of steel employing well over 168,000 workers; a century later less than 20,000 workers shipped nearly eleven million tons of steel product. USS, now USX, has come a long way, and Brian Apelt has told the story of that journey through many of its twists and turns with an admirable eye for the main event. *The Corporation* is a useful addition to the spate of centennial histories that have been published of late, and USX is to be thanked for having supported the project. From an academic history perspective, it would be even more helpful if they would now throw open their archives and support one or more detailed scholarly studies of the firm using Apelt’s work as the jumping off point.

Stephen H. Cutcliffe, *Lehigh University*

By Lance and Robin Van Aukens. *Play Ball! The Story of Little League Baseball.*

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. Pp. XVii, 243, appendices, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Harold Seymour published *American Baseball: The Early Years* in 1960, the first in a projected four-volume series. His work not only demonstrated that serious scholars could profitably examine American baseball, but that the history of the game offered creative ways to explore American history in general. Seymour's seminal publications stimulated a rash of works which looked at American society through the lens of "The American Game." Pictorials, biographies, reminiscences, encyclopedias, compilations, and team histories poured off presses, deepening our understanding of the evolution of the game as both sport and business, and demonstrating its symbiotic relationship with social, economic, technological, and racial trends in the larger society. The Little League and its impact on American youth were not neglected.

From such popular-selling works as Richard Woodley's accounts of *The Bad News Bears*, Jim Brosnan's *From Little League to Big League* (1968), Bill Geist's *Little League Confidential* (1992), and Greg Mitchell's *Joy in Mudville* (2000), Americans learned of the place of Little League Baseball in the lives and dreams of generations of young Americans. As early as 1954 there was an *Official Encyclopedia of Little League Baseball* (compiled by Hy Turkin). In the past twenty years, Little League managers have described their successes and failures in print, umpires have offered reminiscences and tips for successors, parents have shared their experiences both in serious and amusing veins, and instructors have put forth advice on training and drills. In addition, league officials and non-officials alike have published advice for parents' and players' conduct. All this in addition to team histories. At least three publications on Little League baseball are scheduled for the current year, or have recently appeared. In sum, publications on Little League Baseball have become something of a cottage industry.

Play Ball! Is the best account of the evolution of Little League Baseball now available, replacing *A Promise Kept: The Story of the Founding of Little League Baseball* by Carl Stoltz (as told to Kenneth Loss, 1992), who originally conceived the idea for Little League Baseball. The Van Aukens, with their advantage of personal experience at many levels in the League, access to its archives and records, and the perspective of time, have revised and amplified on Stoltz's story. And considering the physical, emotional, and intellectual energy they have invested in Little

League Baseball (Lance Van Auken is the present director of media relations and communications for Little League Baseball), they do a sterling job of providing readers a reasonably comprehensive, objective, and entertaining account of the League's history.

Little League Baseball currently is the largest organized children's sports program in the world. Conceived by Stoltz in 1939, it grew rapidly to nearly 800 programs in 1951, to 27,400 teams and 5,500 leagues in 1961. By 1990, 39 different countries were involved; today, 104 are. An offshoot of Little League Baseball, The Little League Softball program boasts more than 390,000 participants. Moreover, there are now 1,500 "Challenger Division" teams which, since 1989, have provided opportunities to play for mentally and physically disabled children.

The authors carefully trace the proliferation of youth baseball leagues. A Senior League was created in 1961 for thirteen to fifteen-year-olds, Big League Baseball for sixteen to eighteen-year-olds in 1968, and a Junior League for thirteen-year-olds in 1979. They do not limit themselves to the Little League baseball as played by young boys. They chart the challenge to male domination by young women, the rise of Little League Softball programs for girls after 1974 and the expansion of that program in 1985 to permit boys to compete with girls. They also describe the rising popularity of Senior League Softball in 1974 and a Big League Softball Division in 1978.

The Van Aukens do not skirt controversy or overlook the organization's internal squabbles. They take particular care, for instance, to trace Stoltz's contribution to Little League and his growing disenchantment and eventual defeat in 1955 at the hands of those with a different vision. Despite their obvious admiration for Stoltz, the Van Aukens give fair shrift to all concerned, laying out the facts and letting readers make up their own minds regarding the often bitter struggles within. The Van Aukens also fairly describe the racial tension that led to the secession of South Carolina from the organization in 1955, the growing resentment of domination by Far Eastern teams, efforts to skirt organizational policies in order to field stronger teams, legal battles that forced Little League to reassess its policies on gender, and the disenchantment and eventual withdrawal of Taiwan in 1997.

One of the joys of the book is being reminded of "firsts," the first world series, the first national sponsor, the first foreign teams to participate, the first no-hitter and perfect game, the first female to compete, the first African-American player to start, the first all-black team, the first fatal injury to a Little Leaguer, and so on. These firsts are not mere

minutia, the stuff of trivia contests; they are milestones of America's changing priorities and values since 1939, and its evolving practices and expectations.

The book is not without weaknesses. Chapter one is a rambling summary of baseball to 1938. Granted, it attempts to cover a complicated story, embracing a huge chunk of geography and a broad expanse of time, but the Van Aukens' account will please few readers entirely. Also, the organization and design of the book encourages duplication. Events are repeated on two and sometimes three pages. One learns in three separate places, for example, that Chris Drury pitched his Trumbull, Connecticut, team to the title in 1989, beating Taiwan. In addition, the Van Aukens are much more interested in covering the teams and players who've participated in the world series than they are regular season play. Williamsport, Pennsylvania, and events there are their primary focus.

These are minor quibbles, however. The Van Aukens' work is clearly written, profusely illustrated, attractively designed, and full of valuable appendices. The fourteen appendices catalogue everything from international participants by years, to "notable Little Leaguers," to winners of various Little League National Awards. There are also lists of champions by year for the various divisions within The Little League: Junior League Baseball World Series champions, Senior League Baseball World Series Champions, and Big League Baseball World Series Champions.

Not only will readers who have or have had children in Little League Baseball enjoy the Van Aukens' efforts, but so will readers interested in baseball generally. Theirs is a handy reference book which is fun to read or simply to thumb through.

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By Murry Nelson: *The Originals: The New York Celtics Invent Modern Basketball*

(Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Press, 1999. pp. Viii+ 229, illustrations, maps).

This book is must reading for basketball fans. Nelson, a professor of education at Penn State and an avid basketball player himself, has written a scholarly book that will also appeal to those who want to see the glory days of the 1920s live again. Basketball was becoming respectable in the twenties and receiving attention from major newspapers and

sportswriters for the first time. The New York Celtics — so named because most of their players were of Irish ethnicity although Jews and Slavs were also on the roster — dominated the sport and won over 90 per cent of the 100-plus games they played each year. Pennsylvania historians will be glad to learn that a good number of the various basketball leagues and teams — which seemed to go in and out of existence every couple of years from the early twentieth century until the Celtics disbanded in 1928 — were located in eastern Pennsylvania in towns accessible by railroads from the coal regions to Philadelphia to Reading and Chester. Players jumped from team to team based on how well they would be paid: when the Celtics began paying its stars \$10,000 a year, that raised the price of fielding a team to levels the sport could not support and the early leagues folded.

Nelson's history is as fast-paced as the Celtics games must have been. Among its strengths: the short biographies of basketball players, whose lives encapsulate the experience of Americans who used sports to rise in the world; a well-written account of the rough style of playing then predominant, which involved far more passing than dribbling, and in which made the primary goal of most referees was to stay out of the players' way; and the significant presence of Jewish basketball players and teams. Players were frequently nicknamed according to ethnicity ("the Swede") and yet basketball, like sports in general, served as a means of Americanization. Nelson situates basketball in its local, ethnic, and even neighborhood context so that his history will also be useful to students of American culture and urban history who don't know a zone defense from a full-court press.

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