

Book Reviews

By Francis S. Fox. *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Ordeal of The American Revolution in Northampton County, Pennsylvania.*

(University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. Pp. xix, 156, afterword, abbreviations, notes, index, \$29.95)

According to Francis Fox, the American Revolution—at least as it was waged and experienced in Northampton County, Pennsylvania—was anything but the ideological revolution described so eloquently years ago by historian Bernard Bailyn. Indeed, as Fox's work implies, few, if any, Northampton county residents—many of whom were uneducated backwoods farmers and entrepreneurs—had any awareness of English opposition thinkers like John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Nor were these locals driven by intense commitment to lofty, English-derived ideals of liberty. Rather, for these Pennsylvanians, the Revolution—and in particular the social and economic upheaval the state's political turn towards what Fox labels as extremism generated—was first and foremost about grabbing at opportunities that had appeared seemingly overnight. In Northampton, as Fox's book makes abundantly clear, individual, and not collective, interests drove people's participation in and commitment to war. This was, in short, a highly personalized, if not flagrantly opportunistic revolution.

The book's format mirrors these themes. Following a short introduction where he offers readers a broad overview of the county's response to the Revolution, Fox sets out to "bring the Revolution alive" through a series of individual "sketches" of fifteen local men and women—English, German, Scots-Irish, and African-American—who were "caught up in it" [p. xix]. Fox, a talented storyteller, uses these mini-biographies to spin a fascinatingly intimate portrait of an intensely personal and often divisive revolution that was reshaping the political and social worlds of the Pennsylvania interior. And as his stories make clear, this was a conflict with few heroes and many victims. Among the less-than-heroic is man-on-the-make Robert Levers, a former clerk to Richard Peters in the land office turned Northampton county farmer,

who tapped into the momentum of the radical movement in Pennsylvania as a way to discredit his political rivals in the county and obtain political and military appointments that elevated his social standing. Here too is John Wetzel, an ex-Moravian, who used radical policies such as the Test and Militia Acts as vehicles through which to act out the "fierce grudge" [p. 73] he held against these and other German sectarian peoples whose religious beliefs dictated their role as nonresisters during the war. Wetzel harassed his sectarian neighbors and attempted to seize their property; his goal was to drive them from the region. As Fox's sketches make clear, the radical politics that prompted the rise of men like Levers and Wetzel also resulted in the marginalization, if not victimization, of many of their neighbors. Indeed, it seems as if almost anyone in the county who was unwilling to fully support the radical movement in Pennsylvania risked being labeled a Tory and persecuted as an outcast. There was no room for dissent in the charged atmosphere of revolutionary Northampton County.

Fox's sketches offer many interesting insights into the way the Revolution was experienced by individuals in the Pennsylvania interior. Without question his stories come down hardest on the radicals. He emphasizes repeatedly how the coming of revolution, and the power vacuum it created, offered ambitious individuals the opportunity to remake themselves in ways that would advance their personal interests. By calling themselves revolutionaries, some Northampton men were able to define liberty in their own selfish ways. Thus, the Revolution in Northampton County was, by Fox's telling, an interconnected series of machinations that allowed some residents to advance by stepping, and sometimes even stomping, on their neighbors.

At the same time, these sketches—undoubtedly the book's greatest strength—are also its greatest weakness. Material—especially about the imposition of radical policies in the county—is often repeated from chapter to chapter. Some sketches too—most especially that of the enslaved African-American woman Phillis—are so fragmentary and incendiary that they seem out of place when set in the midst of the other, more comprehensive and nuanced mini-biographies the book contains. More significant, these sketches sometimes get in the way of the larger story Fox is trying to tell and undermine the book's continuity. For example, although many of his profiled people reappear as actors in the stories of their neighbors, Fox makes no concerted attempt to link them together in any systematic way. Each sketch remains largely separate in and of itself, leaving the reader with the task of try-

ing to recreate the networks of association that linked many of these people together on the local level. These sketches leave one wondering too about the impact ethnicity had on these local conflicts. A number of stories offer tantalizing snippets of what appear to be intense inter- and intra-ethnic antagonisms. Yet these apparent social fractures are left mostly unexplored and the reader is left wanting to know much more about exactly how these apparent ethnic rivalries—especially within the county's German community—influenced the sharpness of the revolutionary response in Northampton.

In the end, however, despite interpretive challenges posed by the book's format, Francis Fox writes an engaging and highly personalized account of the American Revolution in the Pennsylvania interior. And as his work makes clear, the Revolution was first and foremost a war—not about ideas—but about people, their personalities and ambitions, as well as their fears, resentments, and even hatreds.

Judith Ridner, *Muhlenberg College*

By Joyce Appleby. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.*

(Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000, paperback 2001. Pp. xi, 322, notes, index. \$16.00 paper.)

Each generation of Americans has made specific contributions to the national experience. The "baby boomers" promoted civil rights and cultural change. Their parents solved the Great Depression and won World War II. In *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans*, Joyce Appleby contends that "working out the terms of democracy and nationhood became the self-imposed task for the first generation..."(p53). It was this generation, the first born after independence, which articulated what the United States came to stand for.

The themes that the author presents are not new to her work. As she has in much of her previous scholarship, Appleby describes how democratic ideals spurred an evolving capitalism that, in turn, reinforced the development of a progressive, egalitarian society. The quest for representative government broadened economic horizons and sparked personal ambitions. By tearing down traditional barriers to status such as deference and inherited rank, the first generation promoted individual achievement, particularly through commerce. Many facets of early nineteenth century American society reflect the ramifications of this growth. To exemplify her thesis, the author has gathered an impressive collection

of autobiographies. Adeptly weaving these personal accounts into engaging stories she demonstrates how ordinary Americans were able to achieve extraordinary success.

What emerges is the picture of a nation in motion. Appleby delineates a population characterized above all else by a quest for wealth. It was a nation comprised of a growing collection of communities similar to those described by Paul E. Johnson and others during the past twenty-five years. By eliminating constraints that had restricted colonial America, independence enabled the first generation to pursue new opportunities. Plentiful and accessible western land served as a constant stimulus for economic development. An unprecedented number of Americans were able to become landholders. New commercial opportunities further promoted a market economy. Maritime enterprises produced the nation's first millionaires. Cotton enriched southern planters. Manufacturing rewarded eager entrepreneurs. Likewise, new career choices, including law, medicine, school teaching, journalism and publishing, and preaching provided viable alternatives.

Accompanying the economic expansion was the advent of a new middle class. Mobility and autonomy undermined patriarchal authority and family obligations. Changing sensibilities blurred traditional social distinctions. Individual talents, skills, and initiative became the prerequisites for community standing. Politically, the shifting realities significantly expanded the democratic ideals established by the previous generation. Participatory government grew as constituencies broadened and voter qualifications fell. By rejecting their parents' deferential methods the first generation encouraged partisanship. This facilitated the rise of popular government and generated additional economic expansion. Reinforcing the evolving values were numerous voluntary community associations that formed. Among the more important of these were church groups that promoted the new social order through spiritual and reform movements. The end product was a nation that staunchly identified itself as self-reliant, enterprising, democratic, and socially concerned.

Appleby proposes that the pivotal event for the first generation was the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800. The election repudiated the Federalist principles of the previous decade and accelerated the transformation of traditional colonial attitudes into the democratic, grass roots capitalism advocated by the first generation. Jefferson's presidency "...popularized a strict constructionist view of the Constitution that minimized the range of national institutions and inhibited the use of

federal power" (p.31). The change enabled Americans to pursue their own interests and well-being. Of course, eventually the agrarian interests of southern planters collided with the commercial interests of northern entrepreneurs and reformers.

While Appleby provides a thought provoking perspective, her celebration of the evolving American experience is not completely convincing. Unquestionably, she has described an important element of the early nineteenth century American population but there are other significant populations that have been almost entirely neglected. The source of the problem lies in what is also the strength of the work: the collection of autobiographies. Rather than offering a cross section of early nineteenth American society the accounts detail only the lives of successful white men, most of whom were from the north. There are no women. There are no African-Americans, slave or free. There are no poor or immigrants. Paul Johnson's Patch family is of no consideration. Also absent are the Rockdale laborers described by Anthony Wallace. In short, there is a whole other America functioning apart from Appleby's "first generation". While successful white men may have steered the ship of nation, they had wives, daughters, laborers, less successful neighbors, and even slaves who helped them chart America's course.

Along a similar line, the author provides little background information about the colonial order or the election of 1800. It is, therefore, difficult to understand why and to what degree the first generation differed from its predecessors. Periodically the author refers to the "old elite" or "traditional colonial values", but rarely does she detail what those concepts reflect. Instead the reader must merely accept the author's viewpoint. There is also little analysis of the various forces that preceded Jefferson's election. As has been detailed many times, most recently by Bernard Weisberger (*America Afire*) and Joanne Freeman (*Affairs of Honor*), the election was the culmination of powerful and deep ideological divisions within the nation. An assessment of the role that those divisions played in creating the first generation remains a question unanswered by the author. Freeman also provides an interesting alternative to the author's picture of Jefferson. As she has many times in the past, Appleby depicts Jefferson as a progressive leader who ushered in expanded democracy and a new market economy. Freeman, on the other hand, suggests that Aaron Burr better reflected the shifting attitudes and values of the first generation.

In some ways this publication retells an old story: great white men forged the nation's identity. However, through her collection of autobi-

ographies Appleby makes a notable addition to that story. She demonstrates that enterprising, opportunistic, ordinary men were equally responsible for determining what the nation became. The author's ability to present her extensive scholarship through easily flowing prose and a comfortable writing style contribute to the strength of the work. While *Inheriting the Revolution* is certainly not a definitive assessment, it is a study that serious scholars of the early national period should consider.

Paul E. Doutrich, *York College of Pennsylvania*

By Barry Alan Joyce. *The Shaping of American Ethnography: The Wilkes Exploring Expedition, 1838 – 1842*.

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001, Pp. xiv, 196, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth).

The *Shaping of American Ethnography* illuminates an early chapter in the evolving discipline of Anthropology in America. The subject of the chapter is the Wilkes Expedition of 1838 – 1842, a venture purportedly organized and financed to elevate the scientific and economic stature of the United States. Joyce does an admirable job connecting the ultimate accomplishments of the expedition to ideological and political issues, as well as delineating its connection to the emerging branch of American ethnology. Joyce's insightful examination of the expedition is derived from expedition journals, from published accounts, and from scientific proceedings.

Two themes are woven throughout the six chapters of Joyce's book. The first pertains to developing a framework within which members of the expedition characterize their cross-cultural experiences of what one might call the "ethnographic other." Central to their framework is an understanding of the cognitive and ideological models and the prevailing epistemology employed by the expedition members. As Joyce apply points out, these models were based on two sets of culturally constructed opposites: the images of the wild American Indian and the docile African slave, and the concepts of savagery and civilization. Together these two sets served to evaluate and compartmentalize indigenous populations encountered during the expedition. Joyce's skillful juxtapositioning of members' observations and opinions in reference to these two sets of opposites throughout the book serves to further delineate their cultural and conceptual models of humanity.

The second theme emphasized the scientific interest in the classifica-

tion of indigenous populations according to morphological features such as skin color, stature, and especially skull morphology. For the 19th century scholar, these qualitative features were essential for the defining, describing, and understanding the origins and spread of human populations. And since the expedition was operating within a pre-Darwinian paradigm, which itself was lacking in its understanding of human biology and evolutionary forces such as mutation and genetic drift, variability in human appearance could only be qualified in descriptive terms (races).

An ancillary and equally important task of expedition members was to collect linguistic data in order to establish connections between populations scattered across thousands of miles of the earth's surface. Since linguistic research was more objective in its approach, it lacked the politically and racially charged terminology employed by early 19th century ethnologists and proved to be more accurate in its conclusions.

The outcomes of the expedition are drawn together in the final chapter. Joyce examines each of the significant works by Wilkes, Pickering, and Hale in order to place it in its historical and cultural context. In this chapter Joyce further expounds on the implications of the expedition and its role in furthering American nationalistic ambitions. This proposition is certainly one that will elicit debate amongst historians and political scientists.

Of particular interest to me was the connection between Hale and Franz Boas, a German scientist, turned ethnologist. All anthropology students become familiar with Boas in cultural theory and the history of anthropology. However, until reading Joyce's narrative of the expedition, I was unaware that Hale knew Boas or that he actually played a role in directing Boas' research in the Pacific North West.

I agree with Joyce's characterization of Wilkes and Pickering's narratives as gross exaggerations that were not taken seriously by later anthropologists to be correct. In a just released 5th edition of *Human Variation: Races, Types, and Ethnic Groups* by Stephen Molnar (Prentice Hall), there is mention of Samuel Morton's *Crania Americana* but not of Charles Pickering's *Races of Man and Their Geographical Distribution* (1848). The omission of earlier research is also systematic of later generations of anthropologists. Indeed Boas himself was very critical of his earlier predecessors and was somewhat hesitant in citing what he believed to be erroneous research. Joyce's assessment that methodology and theory are both temporally and culturally dependent is also correct.

In the final analysis, Barry Alan Joyce has successfully composed an

extraordinary narrative that highlights an episode in the emergence of 19th century American ethnology. Joyce's conclusion that the Wilkes Expedition exemplified the prevailing paradigm, which not only filtered their observations but also limited their understanding of their data and their cultural conclusions is accurate and well supported by his copious examples. *The Shaping of American Ethnography* is a book that anyone interested in the history of Anthropology in America should read. I feel Joyce's book will also appeal to historians interested in issues pertaining to 19th century racism and colonialism. Joyce's book also reminds me of our sometimes imperfect youth and our appreciation for having survived it.

John P. Nass, Jr., *California University of Pennsylvania*

By Julie Winch. *The Elite of Our People: Joseph Willson's Sketches of Black Upper-Class Life in Antebellum Philadelphia*.

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000,

Pp. xvi, 196, notes, bibliography, index. \$60 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

By every measure, Joseph Willson was a remarkable individual. The son of a white southern planter and a free woman of color, Willson was a person of education and means who arrived in Philadelphia during the turbulent 1830s, intent on entry into the city's African American upper class. In 1841, he published a small pamphlet entitled *Sketches of the Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia*, which presented his view of the virtues and vices, the manners and morals of the elite of black society. Both Willson and his pamphlet are the subjects of Julie Winch's *The Elite of Our People*. Willson's pamphlet comprises nearly forty pages of the 119 page text; the remainder is Winch's lengthy and informative "Introduction", which places both author and pamphlet in perspective.

Joseph Willson wrote to two audiences simultaneously. His *Sketches* present Philadelphia's aristocrats of color, to borrow Willard Gatewood's phrase, for the approval of a skeptical and prejudiced white community by distancing his subject(s) from working class rabble. At the same time, Willson addressed the black elite themselves, chastising them for their shortcomings, divisions and the dissensions which undermined the progress of the race. In one of the more useful sections, the author notes the strength and vitality of literary, educational, and artistic institutions within the black community, drawing a parallel to the cultural achievements of the white intellectual elite. In the process of celebrat-

ing African American accomplishments under the tutelage of the “better sort,” Willson exposed deep-seated class divisions within the black population. These divisions exist within any race or social group, the author noted correctly in an effort to demonstrate an affinity between the white and black upper classes in the city. He seems to have been aware of the difficulty in sustaining such a case in the minds of his white readers.

The pamphlet itself strikes me as less noteworthy than the man and the community from which he sought approval. It is a brief, selective and impressionistic description of the black elite and its achievements in America’s second largest city, long on verbiage but short on information. *Sketches* actually reveals more about Joseph Willson’s attitudes than the object of his interests. The work is in the jeremiad tradition, offering criticism while encouraging improvement and uplift. While a curious artifact from the times, Willson’s treatise pales in comparison to works like Daniel Walker’s *Appeal*, Frederick Douglass’s *Autobiography*, or even a later work like W.E.B. DuBois’s *Philadelphia Negro*.

Julie Winch’s detailed introductory essay, by comparison, is more useful and interesting in assessing Willson, his life and motivations, and the pamphlet and its reception in the city. As one might expect, Winch brings to bear her deep familiarity with antebellum Philadelphia and its peoples in an informed and illuminating narrative that is in itself an important contribution to the scholarship on nineteenth century race relations. Her remarks not only place Joseph Willson’s *Sketches* in an appropriate historical context, they complement the period piece and move beyond its shortcomings to provide a nuanced assessment of Philadelphia’s free black community. Readers will benefit from her impressive research into the Willson family’s heritage and the social realities of the Philadelphia they inhabited.

Dennis B. Downey, *Millersville University*

By Sally McMurry. *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns*.

(University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.)

Sally McMurry describes her book as a “local story concerned with the particulars of landscape evolution in a specific geographical location,” Somerset County, Pennsylvania (xviii). Her story begins with “A Forest People” settling in southwestern Pennsylvania as early as 1780. They became a farming people who created a rich agricultural land-

scape with cultural aspects and particular architectural designs that would evolve and coexist with the rise of coal mining and industrial influences until the year 1940. The book grew out of an award-winning Vernacular Architecture Survey conducted by the staff of the Somerset Historical Center (a site of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).

Thoroughly documented and handsomely illustrated, the book relates the story of westward moving Germans, Scotch Irish and English settlers, mostly the former, as they "carved a built landscape from their wooded environment" (xv). The land where they settled was crossed by two important Indian trails that eventually became important land routes to the Ohio Valley (and brought the ill fated English General Braddock and future General Washington into the region during the earlier French and Indian War). For decades, the roads remained for decades almost impassable and "a most painful ride" but settlers overcame the dreadful conditions and developed the land. Here they built their log cabin homes, bordered their properties with fences that "communicated messages of regularity and control as well as neighborly responsibility and respect for others property" and lived by "hunting, sheltering travelers and making maple sugar" (2, 4, 5).

Maple sugaring, a key element in the frontier era economy, was a skill originally passed down from Native Americans. Pre-industrial rural life in Somerset County was conducted in a cultural context dominated by the values of sociability, shared work, and community-sufficiency. These values were realized and expressed in early Somerset County vernacular buildings.

Though the book portends to be a saga of Somerset County from 1780-1940, the author concentrates most heavily on these rural architectural structures of the nineteenth century. Beginning with rude log cabin dwellings consisting of a single room, she traces the evolution of house and barn structures. Architectural choices remained quite limited as year by year the more affluent families "proclaimed their status in measured tones, slowly modifying external appearances. Fencing indicated property boundaries, frequently seen in "stake and rider" or "post and rail fences" Boundaries expressed hierarchy because they set off real estate holdings.

Like the rest of rural America, the nineteenth century brought vast changes to Somerset County, particularly with the advancements in transportation and communication. Still, a decidedly Pennsylvania German flavor dominated and permeated the rural scene. Agricultural

change accelerated and the number of farms more than doubled. A wider range of garden crops was in evidence. A growing number of saw mills appeared and mining became an industry. The author devotes interesting references to all of these as well as changing working conditions and the new interaction that came about with the lumber and mining industries and communities. Roads, new farms, mills, shops, and churches appeared much more prominently. As the new landscape emerged, miners and railroad builders would transform it yet again.

"The twentieth-century coal-patch towns in the Somerset County landscape bespoke coal's power unambiguously" (144). But the author claims the farmstead was much more enigmatic. Some of its elements extended the nineteenth century pattern of selective local response to new response. But other elements of the farmscape strangely obscured some underlying realities. The highly visible star barns are an exemplary case. Their size and finish belied the modest scale of most Somerset County farmers. The rise of the star barn owed much to coal money, and arguably functioned as much to separate farming families from miners and coal patches as to reflect a high level of agricultural activity" (114).

Despite the rise of coal towns, the county remained decidedly rural. Industrialization, for better or for worse, gradually caused the county's population living on farms to decline. Yet within this general scheme, dairying, poultry and beef cattle increased. By 1929, a few Somerset County farms were described as "dairy farms" but most were either "general, "self-sufficing," or "part-time farms" (118). Still, the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture termed Somerset as one of the "newer dairy counties" (120). Farming became more thoroughly mechanized, labor more thoroughly integrated and diversification diminished, communal work atrophied" (127). Rural Somerset County slowly moved away from the past.

Architectural structures and their construction make up the most unique and fascinating portion of the book, including barns, churches homes and an array of outbuildings that sustained and accommodated changes in agriculture. Simple houses gave way to more substantial, larger, more elaborate structures, including the "banked two story house," and the "double decker porch," which were the most striking architectural developments of the period. These particular structures represent the mind set of Somerset's prosperous elite. With minute detail and dimension, the author describes both the interior and exterior of prominent Somerset County farm houses.

Barns were the most prominent buildings, the classic "Pennsylvania

barn" being the most common. Many more barns than houses were built and handsomely decorated. Most in evidence were the "cathedral" and "star barns" which still adorn the countryside. More elaborate farms had one of these prominent circular stars which decorated the gable end of the barn. By the end of the period, the twentieth century farmhouse showed an architecture of industrialization that expressed the values of standardization, class differentiation, consumerism, and orientation toward the national rather than the local. Twentieth century alterations offered even more changes. Mechanization allowed more land to be cultivated, the tractor accelerated this trend, and dairying was adopted by more and more.

A significant strain that runs through the book and to which the author devotes full accounts and conclusions is the difficulties facing women in and through the various changes that were to come to the county from its early beginnings when a patriarchal gender structure persisted and prevailed. Men and women might cooperate, but cooperation did not automatically translate into ideas of gender equality. Rural society was not so open to independent opportunities for young women – or to autonomy for wives. The contrast between grand barns and modest houses paralleled the relative power of men and women on the farm. The devaluation of women's work and the more emphatic gender division of labor had visible consequences in the farmstead's buildings. Yet this visual demotion of the house did not necessarily imply that women's status "worsened" from the nineteenth into the twentieth. Men's work had always had more prestige and status than women's.

Somerset County continues as an important agricultural county. Over 200,000 acres of the county remained in farmland in 1997, and the value of farm products increased markedly. Mechanized milking facilities and computerized feeding systems are in common use. The county remains a rural place, "and a lovely one at that, a place of refreshing breezes, pastoral scenery, and breathtaking mountaintop views" (160).

Well researched, documented, and neatly divided into three sections dating from 1780 to 1940, Sally McMurry claims to search for deeper meanings than just the mythmaking and traditional historical approaches to Somerset County. She finds a different and more significant understanding in architectural structures "that are evocative; richly textured testimonies to the lives and skills of generations of vernacular builders" (xvii). Architectural historians will find her statistical analyses of note and interest. Myth enthusiasts and old time story tellers will

not. Her book centers mostly on architectural structures of houses and barns, scholarly presented and statistically sound. Within the limitations of her study she has rejected more than slight references to the colorful mainstream history of the county as well as some of its real and legendary characters which might well be a part of *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns*. Nevertheless, the author accomplishes her purpose and leaves the reader enlightened about Somerset County's architectural landscape as she marginally reaffirms its rural significance and captivating beauty.

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By Robert N. Rosen. *The Jewish Confederates*.

(Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. Pp. xxiii, 517. Cloth \$39.95.)

In his preface to this fascinating work, Robert Rosen candidly admits that his surface themes might well appear "uncomfortable" to his liberal or "politically correct" brethren. In truth, the contents clearly reveal that, like their white Southern Christian counterparts, the tiny resident Jewish population of about twenty five thousand out of over six million whites, overwhelmingly supported Dixie's struggle to dismantle the Federal government. Furthermore, many Southern Jews owned slaves or participated in the horrifying slave trade while some of the South's rabbis defended both slavery and secession. Yet at the same time that Rosen acknowledges such facts, he also examines the overlying motivations underlying such strong adherence to the unsuccessful Confederate cause by Southern Jewry.

Rosen divides his work into four rather chronological sections. Part I describes the overall acceptance, acculturation, and assimilation that antebellum Jews had experienced in the South where they resided primarily in urban centers such as New Orleans, Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah. And he describes the careers of two Sephardic born Jews, David Levy Yulee and Judah Benjamin as illustrations of two such individuals who absorbed "The Free Air of Dixie," which enabled them—contrary to the harsh and restrictive experiences common to their European brethren—to be readily accepted among the Southern elite. Yulee became a wealthy landowner, merchant, railroad builder, and senator from Florida while Benjamin, from Louisiana, not only attained wealth and a senate seat from his state, but later achieved his greatest promi-

nence as attorney general, secretary of state, and secretary of war for the Confederacy. The book's next section centers on the direct and generally popular participation in the Civil War itself by approximately two thousand Jews. Rosen notes that a significant number of these participants served with distinction as "Hebrew officers" including Major Joseph Proskauer (uncle of a prominent New York attorney and judge), Captain Julius Ochs (father of the famed New York Times publisher Adolph Ochs), Dr. Simon Baruch (father of financier Bernard Baruch), and the feisty seventy-year old Captain Levi Charles Harby of the Confederate Navy. This portion also contains battlefield experiences of Jewish soldiers, and includes mention of those unfortunates who perished in combat.

The volume's later chapters focus on other topics. The third section, "The Jewish Confederate Home Front," portrays the displacements and sufferings endured by Jewish congregations, and by individual Jews as the South's hopes for victory diminished, and with such disillusionment an accompanying rise of anti-Semitism. But amidst this atmosphere of anxiety, chaos and collapse, the author focuses on the humanitarian activities in Richmond by Phoebe Yates Pember and the fortunes of Charleston-born Eugenia Levy Phillips, an outspoken partisan once arrested for spying in Washington, D.C. and subsequently detained in New Orleans for heckling Union occupying forces. The book's final portion examines the disillusioning and dislocative effects that Southern Jews experienced during the postwar Era of Reconstruction (1865-1877). An interesting "Epilogue" scrutinizes the later careers of several of Rosen's previously cited "Israelites" as well as continued remnants of anti-Yankee sentiment that carried into the twentieth century.

Mr. Rosen, a resident of Charleston, South Carolina, who has previously published histories of his city, has definitely performed an indefatigable and exemplary task in assembling a vast array of primary and secondary sources to embellish his writing. Complementing his commendable text are a wealth of relevant illustrations, including individual photographs, and a welcome explanatory glossary, which mainly comprises Hebrew or Yiddish terms.

It is difficult for this reviewer to cite significant criticisms regarding the splendid work achieved by the author. An admittedly minor suggestion would be that a map be included as an illustration which encompasses the area of Civil War belligerency and that shows battlefields cited in the text. It is also hoped that Rosen's concern that liberal co-religionists might find his generally impartial attitude toward the Confederacy

objectionable will not materialize, and that readers will judge this work for great merit it deserves. *The Jewish Confederates* represents an engaging and expansive portrayal of a small, yet singular, group of Americans and their involvement in one of this nation's most determinative and monumental conflicts.

Sheldon S. Cohen, *Loyola University Chicago*

By Robert P. Wolensky, Kenneth C. Wolensky, and Nicole H. Wolensky. *The Knox Mine Disaster, January 22, 1959: The Final Years of the Northern Anthracite Industry and the Effort to Rebuild a Regional Economy*.

(Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999. Pp. 164.)

January, 1999 marked the fortieth anniversary of the Knox Mine Disaster, a remarkable event that took twelve lives and dealt a death blow to underground anthracite mining in the Wyoming Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has commemorated this anniversary through the recent opening of a major exhibit at the Anthracite Heritage Museum and the publication of *The Knox Mine Disaster*. Both the exhibit and the book do justice to an event that should not be forgotten. This book, in particular, is noteworthy both for its detailed original research and its success at placing the specifics of the disaster within a larger historical framework. It does an excellent job at explaining the disaster in light of the recent economic history of anthracite mining in the region's northern field and then proceeds to consider its broader consequences in terms of subsequent regional redevelopment efforts. On both fronts, the authors offer a rich and revealing account of a sordid set of events.

For those unfamiliar with the event, the Knox Mine Disaster occurred in Port Griffith, Pennsylvania, when mining operations under the Susquehanna River veered too close to the floor of the river, the ceiling of the workings "cracked," and the river came gushing into the underground maze of mines that extended from the workings of the Knox Mining Company. In January 1959 a thaw caused the river to swell to flood level, which, coupled with reckless mining practices, led to the tragedy.

The Wolenskys reconstruct the events leading up to the fateful day, the dramatic escape and rescue of most of the miners trapped by the river's torrent, the remarkable story of the effort to seal the breach, and

the investigation and court cases that resulted from the disaster. Combining oral history, contemporary newspaper accounts and photographs, and subsequent state investigations and trials, they tell the story in dramatic fashion and make it come alive once again for readers.

But the book offers more than a gripping story, for the Wolenskys also provide a thoughtful analysis of the causes of the disaster. They highlight first the disaster's short-term causes, the specific negligence of company officials, local officers of the United Mine Workers of America, and state inspectors that permitted mining to proceed in areas that were supposed to be off limits. They demonstrate conclusively that the UMWA district president, August Lippi, was a silent partner in the Knox Mining Company, thus an owner of the very company with which he was supposed to negotiate on behalf of union miners. Even more telling, the Wolenskys place the tragedy within the context of the growth of a contract system, whereby the large corporate owners of mining rights leased mines to small-scale operators who made a profit by evading the provisions of their union contracts and taking risks in their mining practices. The contract system in anthracite operated much like the sweating system had in major urban garment centers at the turn of the twentieth century. It fostered a ruthless cutting of corners that workers paid for through reduced wages and increased dangers at work.

We are in debt to the Wolenskys for their hard-hitting exposé of the causes and consequences of the Knox Mine Disaster. We are particularly fortunate to have an account that demonstrates the systemic causes of the tragedy. Certainly there are individual villains in the tale, but the larger picture offers the important lesson to take from this account. The competitive pressures generated in an industry in decline led to corrupt and ruthless practices that took the lives of innocent miners and delivered a death blow to the industry on which the economy of the Wyoming Valley was built. It is a story the authors remind us that we can ill afford to forget.

Thomas Dublin, *State University of New York at Binghamton*

Edited by John F. Bauman, Roger Biles and Kristin Szylvain. *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth Century America.*

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Pp.xiii, 288, bibliographic essay, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

From Tenements to the Taylor Homes is an excellent compilation of articles on 20th century housing policy. The editors of this volume have put together a collection of concise, well-written pieces by leaders in the field of urban history. This book will serve as an integral text in undergraduate and graduate courses in urban history and urban policy for years to come.

The edition is organized chronologically, beginning in the late 1800s and tracing policy through the early 1980s. Some of the articles provide new perspectives on urban history, while others are useful synopses of important works in the field. The selections on the emergence of housing policy in the 1910s and 1920s are particularly innovative. John Garner contributes a revisionist account of the rise of community planning in these years, arguing that the British-born "Garden City" movement has been given too much influence in shaping American housing development. In contrast to Europe, American industrialists, hoping to house their workers and profit from undeveloped land, were the leaders in the movement to build new communities.

Eric Karolak analyzes the emergence of a national housing policy during World War I. In his excellent article, he describes the discourse created by housing advocates to support the development of working-class housing in the late 1910s. To secure their program, housing reformers de-emphasized the moral and health aspects of housing development, and argued that housing was necessary to the success of the war mobilization effort. The irony, Karolak notes, is that just as advocates succeeded in creating a program, the war ended and the rationale for government supported housing was extinguished. These efforts did, however, set precedents for future public/private partnerships.

Central to the emergence of a national housing policy, Janet Hutchinson argues, was Herbert Hoover during his term as Secretary of Commerce. Through his support for professional, voluntary and commercial housing organizations, Hoover played a vital role in the development of the American philosophy of single-family, suburban, homeownership. Hoover's early advocacy of zoning, planning and building

standards was instrumental in the development of modern, large-scale suburban communities. Like other businessmen, Hoover saw homeownership as a bulwark against socialism, and as a means to secure economic growth. He supported the rationalization of the home construction industry and the growth of the home furnishing industry. The housing programs of the New Deal, particularly the FHA, built upon this legacy.

Wendell Pritchett, *City University of New York*

By James P. Quigel, Jr. and Louis E. Hunsinger, Jr. *Gateway to the Majors: Williamsport and Minor League Baseball.*

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.

Pp. xv, 190, appendix, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

For baseball fans and laymen alike, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, conjures up images and memories of Little League Baseball and World Series for youngsters. James P. Quigel, Jr., and Louis E. Hunsinger, Jr. in *Gateway to the Majors* offer a valuable reminder that Williamsport also has enjoyed a long and impressive history of local and minor league baseball. In the process of charting the city's baseball tradition they provide an excellent microcosm of sports development in northcentral Pennsylvania and, indeed, in the United States in the past century and a half. In addition to dozens of photographs of players, ballparks, and local dignitaries, they furnish cameo biographies of players, publicists, businessmen, and civic-minded citizens responsible for establishing a unique civic identity and international status as "Baseball Town, USA." As early as 1865 the Williamsport Athletic Club, a town team, drew large crowds competing against other town teams and regional rivals.

The success and popularity of these clubs gave rise to semipro teams. Williamsport and nearby Lock Haven developed a fierce rivalry, scouting, recruiting, and paying the best available sandlot talent. John Montgomery Ward, later an outstanding player for the New York Giants and the brains and energy behind the Players' League in 1890, played for Lock Haven, among other teams, before joining Williamsport's Portboys. The success of the semipro Portboys encouraged them to enter the professional Pennsylvania State League in 1886. Unfortunately, though the league earned a reputation for its competitive play, the Portboys were disbanded when financial troubles killed the association after a single season. William "Kid" Gleason, subsequently a second baseman for the Philadelphia Athletics and manager of the infamous Chicago "Black

Sox," was among those who entertained Portboy fans that year.

The collapse of the Pennsylvania State League failed to diminish local enthusiasm for baseball. In the next decade or so, city and corporate teams eclipsed the popularity of their professional predecessors. Williamsport's YMCA team not only set the standard for baseball in the city, but also developed fans throughout Pennsylvania. Even more successful were the Demorests, sponsored by the Demorest Sewing Machine Company, which established itself as one of the leading independent teams in Pennsylvania. In an exhibition game, the mighty Demorests played well against the New York Giants and their ace hurler, the "Hoosier Thunderbolt" Amos Rusie, before succumbing, 8-3. Quigel and Hunsinger view the demise of the Demorests at the end of the 1897 season as the termination of Williamsport's golden age of amateur and semipro ball.

The birth of the Williamsport Athletic Club's "Billies" in 1903, a team that often played against, among others, the top barnstorming black teams such as the Cuban X Giants, launched the city's modern professional age. Joining the Tri-State League with its financial shenanigans, the Billies (or "Millionnaires" as they came to be known), did well until 1910 when their talent dissipated. Despite the Billies' demise, the city witnessed a resurrection of town- and corporate-sponsored teams. Even during the heyday of the Tri-State league, town, church, and company teams flourished. After 1923 they became the prime attraction. The popularity of these teams encouraged boosters to once again forge a professional team, this time in the New York-Pennsylvania League. The authors' chapter on "Boosters, Promoters, and Promotions," provides wonderful insight into a community's quest for a civic identity. Bowman Field, today the second-oldest operating minor league ballpark in the country, was constructed in 1926. Its steel and concrete configuration, typical of stadiums built in the first two decades of the twentieth century, became, in the authors' words, "the gateway to the majors" for many a player. Named after J. Walton Bowman, president of the Williamsport Grays in 1929, the field hosted such greats and future greats as Oscar Charleston, Satchel Paige, and Jimmie Foxx. The authors survey the field's origins, evolution and transient personnel, including long-time groundskeeper, Alfred (Al) Belandi. Bowman Field was the scene of the fabled "potato" incident in 1987 when Williamsport Bills catcher, Dave Bresnahan, with a runner on third, uncorked an apparent pickoff throw into left field. When the runner on third tried to score, Bresnahan tagged him out. It was quickly

discovered that Bresnahan had heaved a potato over his third baseman's head in an effort to deceive the runner. The runner subsequently was ruled safe at home, Bresnahan was ejected and fined, and he briefly became a public celebrity.

Quigel and Husinger provide a succinct overview of Williamsports' successes and failures in the New York-Pennsylvania league between 1923 and 1945. Highlights of this period included the elevation of league teams from Class B to Class A, the introduction of legal baseball on Sundays in 1934, and the influx of Cuban players during World War II when American players were in military service.

Though post-World War II Williamsport experienced a boom in interest in minor league baseball, it also witnessed rapidly revolving franchise affiliations. The city became a minor league home for, among others, the Tigers, Pirates, Phillies, Mets, Astros, and Red Sox before the expiration of its Eastern League affiliation in 1991.

The authors lay out the history of amateur, semipro and minor league baseball in Williamsport in a straightforward and sober manner. Few humorous anecdotes and personal scandals are included. But for readers intrigued by the grip which baseball in general and minor league baseball in particular has exerted on the American psyche, Quigel and Hunsinger provide answers and details. The authors write both to describe the city's baseball past and to stimulate interest in continuing it. Whether or not they achieve their second goal, they admirably achieve the first.

Serious baseball fans and scholars will lament the absences of notes. The authors are content to supply a "notes on sources" sections and a four page appendix of major league players between 1877 and 2000 who once played for Williamsport teams.

G. S. Rowe, *University of Northern Colorado*

By Donald B. Kraybill and Carl F. Bowman. *On the Backroad to Heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren.*

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. Pp. xvi, 330, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Authors Donald Kraybill and Carl Bowman have undertaken a detailed sociological look at four Old Order Anabaptist groups. The groups they selected to investigate were the Hutterites, Amish, Mennonites, and Brethren. As the researchers pointed out to the casual observer, these groups would appear to be one and the same, but close

observation brings out striking differences as well as similarities.

The groups all have in common that they come out of an Anabaptist background stemming in most cases from 17th century Germany, Switzerland, and Austria—the Brethren are slightly later. These Anabaptist groups suffered greatly from the European authorities which drove them to unite and rely on their own group for survival; the authors give a capsulated history of each sect. This persecution stimulated these groups to immigrate to the American colonies and practice their religious beliefs. Once in the colonies, differing opinions began to emerge which led to the splintering of the movements. Those who held closest to the earlier beliefs and traditions were dubbed Old Order. It is these four Old Order groups that Kraybill and Bowman investigate. Their research is impeccable and was done over an extensive period of time involving annual meetings, interviews, as well as numerous papers, documents, and writings.

The title, *On the Backroad to Heaven*, underlines much of the thought of the book. These Old Order groups feel that they have a daily struggle as they await the coming millennium and that their religious beliefs have placed them on this back road to heaven. To keep themselves from going astray, they have rejected modernism, as well as teachings of the Enlightenment, and have pursued a road that is determined by biblical teaching. They have adopted a life style that places great emphasis on tradition, conformity, and submission.

To accomplish the preservation of their nonconformist ways, these groups have built “a fence around the sheep” (page 73), which includes their manner of dress, conveyance, language, education, and various other methods of separating the Old Order from what they consider to be a sick and evil world. The leaders look at technology, not as a blessing, but as a cursed trap leading the flock from the road to heaven. One of the great problems that most church leaders have is finding a way to accommodate technology within the framework of their beliefs, and here is where we see some of the greatest differences among the four groups.

One of the fascinating parts of the study was comparing and contrasting of the four Old Order groups. The Hutterites cloistered lifestyle and their restrictions on private property stand in stark contrast to the other groups. The Mennonites and Amish share similar views but differ greatly on the use of automobiles, church structure, and the practice of shunning. The Brethren have come closest to making

accommodations with the modern world, and in many ways, face some of the greatest struggles.

The researchers do an excellent and a sympathetic job in describing the struggle of the church leadership in each group to preserve and disseminate to the following of the true meaning of their respective faith. In all cases, this training starts at birth and through a series of critical moments, the young are brought into the fold. The ultimate moment comes with adult baptism and acceptance into the church. The discussion of social intercourse, both within and without, provides an inside view of a relatively contented people thriving in separation from an outside world of flux and change. The writers in many ways present a refreshing view of the Old Order groups, but as they point out, this is a life that take a lifetime of preparation and submission (*Gelassenheit*) to the community, adherence to the rules of the church (*Ordnung*), and separation from the larger outside world. The Old Order clings to pre-industrial thought and has grounded their very identity on protest of the modern world.

Some of the most compelling parts of the book are the chapters dealing with the Old Order ongoing efforts to preserve their way of life. The writers would like to have the reader view the Old Order as an ethnic group similar to Koreans, African-Americans, etc. I found this the least convincing of their arguments. The authors point out that the Old Order has found its greatest moment in protesting the 20th century; however, the 20th century holds out great danger to the Old Order, and that is commodification. There exists the possibility that Old Order people and their symbols will simply become an object of mass consumption, and their cultural practices will continue—not from religious conviction, but as a result of market expectations.

The concluding paragraph best sums up the Old Order position. "Old Orders contend that the backroad to heaven requires living in stable communities that restrain individualism and limit choice—communities that offer guidance from their storehouse of collective wisdom. Such communities, they argue, provide identity, security, meaning—and, for the most part, happiness. And while others may agree that some self-sacrifice, sharing, and suffering is noble, even necessary for the common good, the pilgrims on the backroad to heaven contend that such virtues cannot be left to the whims of personal preference but must be shaped by fellow travelers and inspired by a holy vision."

David L. Valuska, *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania*

By Irwin Richman. *Pennsylvania German Arts: More Than Hearts, Parrots, and Tulips.*

(Altglan, Pennsylvania; Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2001. Pp. iii, 160. Bibliography, Index. Paper \$29.95.)

Irwin Richman, long-time professor of American Studies at Penn State Harrisburg has compiled an excellent study of Pennsylvania German arts. Having come from a different background, he developed his interest and knowledge of the subject through his academic studies, professional career, and association with his wife's family—the Steigerwalts. He pays tribute to their profound influence in his "Acknowledgments" and presents them as examples of Pennsylvania Germans in various other passages.

In a brief introductory passage, Richman accurately defines the Pennsylvania Germans as having come to America before 1800, primarily from the Palatinate in what is now southwestern Germany; Alsace, conquered and now ruled by France; and German-speaking cantons of Switzerland. The "church people," Lutheran and Reformed (the latter currently a part of the United Church of Christ) emigrated especially for economic reasons. Sectarians, such as Mennonites, Amish, and Schwenkfelders, he claims, came to Pennsylvania for "religious freedom" (p. 10), though, really, they too had financial motives. The author is careful to point out that, in addition, there were small numbers of Roman Catholics, Jews, and Huguenots who had been Germanicized. Occasionally, he notes the relationship of religious groups to the art that adherents produced, as when describing "Fraktur" (pp. 11-12).

Except for architecture which Richman has discussed elsewhere, his beautifully and colorfully illustrated account is comprehensive. He begins with "Fraktur," which he defines as "Americanized illuminated manuscripts" (p. 11), including birth, baptismal, and other types of certificates. These are distinctively Pennsylvania German. From "Fraktur," he moves on to various kinds of art on paper and then to woodwork, pottery, glass, metals, and paintings—both "fine and folk" (pp. v and 33). Where relevant, he notes the influence of acculturation, especially when discussing English Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Queen Anne furniture (pp. 76-77) that, nevertheless, revealed fine German craftsmanship. The paintings and inlays on much of the furniture and other artifacts emphasize the characteristic Pennsylvania German art forms, such as the "Hearts, Parrots, and Tulips," as well as stars. Many of the drawings by Lewis Miller and Hattie Brunner indicate the social history of the Pennsylvania Germans, for example, their early use of the

Christmas tree. (See pp. 20 and 22.) The author introduces each kind of artifact and then provides a description of almost every example. For many, he identifies the craftsperson, artist, or group that developed the artifact, explains its use, and specifies at least approximately when it was created. A large number of the artifacts that the author includes are in the Heritage Museum of Lancaster County, while some are in other depositories, and private collections.

A few readers might quibble about certain aspects of this book. Although Richman identifies and illustrates typical Pennsylvania German artistic symbols, he does so with only occasional explanations of their meaning. His interpretation of Franz Kline's abstract black on white "Four Square" as a representation of Pennsylvania's "winter landscape" (p. 156) suggests that his reluctance was wise. Although Kline was a genuine Pennsylvania German, Richman includes other artists and craftspeople who arrived in the United States well into the nineteenth century, which is past the chronological deadline for Pennsylvania Germans. Some scholars also would have excluded the Moravians who came to Pennsylvania by way of Saxony from non-German areas of Europe and who did not use the Pennsylvania German dialect. These criteria would have eliminated one of the most talented eighteenth century painters, Johann Valentine Haidt. (See pp. 135-36.)

The volume's scholarly paraphernalia includes a bibliography of books (but no articles) that were written by the last two generations of scholars and an index dominated by craftspeople and labels of artifacts. The author does not cite specific sources of his information about the creators of the art that he discusses.

This book is the "third in a series of four books being produced by the Heritage Museum of Lancaster County and Schiffer Publishing, Ltd. . . ." Although the publisher touts it as "A . . . Book for Collectors" (frontespiece), it is more than that! The illustrations that Richman includes and the text that he provides will be useful not only to collectors but also general readers, and scholars of Pennsylvania German culture also will learn much from it.

John B. Frantz, *The Pennsylvania State University*, University Park

By Phebe Earle Gibbons. *Pennsylvania Dutch.*

(Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books. Pp. xx. 380, appendix, \$16.95 paper.)

This current edition of *Pennsylvania Dutch* is a long overdue reprint

of the original work written by Phebe Earle Gibbons and first published in 1872 by J. B. Lippincott & Company. This reprint is of the 1882 edition of Gibbons' book and it contains a modern Introduction written by Don Yoder. Yoder is an authority on the Pennsylvania Dutch in his own right and his Introduction offers many excellent insights into the life of Gibbons and her methods of research and writing.

Phoebe Earle Gibbons was a Quaker who lived in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania through most of the 19th century. She married Dr. Joseph Gibbons in 1845. He was the son of Daniel and Hannah Gibbons. Daniel and Hannah were the most famous Underground Railroad agents in all of Lancaster County and they played an important role on the Underground Railroad, as it ran through eastern Pennsylvania. Living in Lancaster County, Phoebe was surrounded by many Amish and Mennonite neighbors. Her ability to speak German along with her quiet Quaker mannerisms, allowed her to attend many gatherings of these two groups. This permitted her to make detailed studies of the beliefs and lifestyles of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Many of the research techniques she used in her studies would later become standard practices in cultural anthropology and sociology. Yoder compares her techniques to the early work that Margaret Mead did in the south Pacific (iii). Using ethnographic practices such as living among her subjects and objectively recording her observations, Gibbons wrote descriptive narratives filled with vivid and insightful details. Nothing escaped her eye. She especially dwells on foods and food preparation, clothing styles, linguistic features, religious beliefs, and social customs. Always the ethnographer, Gibbons records her observations, but rarely passes judgment on them. One of the research methodologies she employs, in order to gain information, is to live among the groups about whom she is writing and attend their religious services, weddings, funerals, barn-raising, harvest festivals, and group food preparation activities. Her descriptions of the food eaten by the different sects of the Pennsylvania Dutch contain especially vivid descriptions. One can almost smell the apple butter cooking over open fires, or taste the raisin pies fresh from the oven. Her analysis of linguistic similarities and differences is done in a perceptive way and is among the very first studies to attempt to do so with the Pennsylvania Dutch. She also writes with great insight on the roles of the sexes in the societies she studies, and, once again, her approach is a forerunner of that used by 20th century anthropologists and sociologists.

Gibbons devotes about 70% of her book to the study of the major groups within the Pennsylvania Dutch universe. While most of her ener-

gies are given to an analysis of the Amish and the Mennonites, she does give credible descriptions of the traits, major customs and historical backgrounds of the Dunkers, the members of the Ephrata Cloister, the Moravians and the Schwenkfelders. Each of these studies follows a set pattern of discussing the history of the group, their primary location in Pennsylvania, festivals, foods, and unique features. After covering the "Dutch" people, Gibbons turns her attention to the lives of the Irish and Welsh miners who lived in the Scranton area. As was her custom, Gibbons lived among these two groups gathering information and making observations. One of the techniques that she used in her study of these two societies was to consider some feature of their lives, such as the observance of a holiday, and contrast the way each group celebrates the holiday. She does display some tendency to support stereotypical attitudes, especially when she writes about the Irish.

The final two chapters in the book are the result of her visits to Ireland and England in 1881. While in each of these countries she lived with families representing different strata of society. She is especially interested in rural life. Her descriptions of farming techniques, schooling, diet and the role of religion in the life of the farmers there are quite detailed. Of particular interest is her observation in the change of the rural diet in Ireland away from total dependence on potatoes to that of American produced corn meal in the latter half of the 19th century. She also does a fine job in highlighting the relationship between the landowning British and the tennant Irish farmers. The inequities she describes are a harbinger of the Irish move for independence in the 20th century.

The book concludes with a rather lengthy appendix. It covers a wide range of subjects related primarily to the Pennsylvania Dutch. She uses a somewhat modern case-study approach here to detail dialectical differences, political leanings, features of personal life, superstitions, and holidays.

The strength of Gibbons' work lies in her analytical and descriptive abilities. She clearly has a talent to get to the heart of an issue. One of the real contributions she makes is the way in which she discusses the role of women and children in the societies she covers. Both of these have received little attention in early historical works. The weakness in her work is that she attempts to paint too broad a canvas. Although she does a fine job in her descriptions, the reader is left with a desire to learn much more. Despite this problem, *Pennsylvania Dutch* is a quick and delightful read. One can easily see how it much have influenced more

contemporary works such as *The Pennsylvania Dutch* by Fredric Klees and Don Yoder's writings on this group.

William S. Switala, *Duquesne University*

By John Keegan, *An Illustrated History of the First World War.*

(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001. Pp. 409, annotated bibliography, index, 440 illustrations in color and black and white, 15 maps, \$50 cloth.)

John Keegan has put together a very accessible account of the First World War which, while thorough, does not overwhelm those less than familiar with the causes, conduct, and results of the conflict. His prose is seamless; his verbal portraits are illustrative; his explanations are clear. Yet the illustrations are the selling point for this book. Keegan, and his assistants, have utilized posters, paintings, photographs, and cartoons, as well as maps, to illustrate the visual representations of the war, and the use of visual communication for the purposes of explanations of the conflict to the civilians and the development of morale on the home fronts. Interspersed within the text are vignettes on specific topics, or aspects of the war, such as: medicine, uniforms, women at war, aviation, zeppelins, submarines, and tanks. These verbal snapshots of a specific aspect of the conflict are also illustrated, making the information easily accessible and understandable even to those with little knowledge of the times.

The most notable accomplishment of the author is the comprehensive coverage of all aspects of the war. In succinct but vivid sections, he discusses the more familiar and the mostly obscure operations within a framework which is both chronological and topical. He discusses, for example, war plans, the battle of the frontiers, war beyond the western front, the year of battles, the breaking of armies, and the American role, and, as a result, an Armageddon. Featured within these sections are discussions of the problem of the Czech legion, the battles of T.E. Lawrence, the Alpine campaigns, the British in Palestine, the Japanese in the Pacific, the campaign in Finland and the German campaigns in Africa. He uses the captions on the interspersed photographs and other illustrations to explain a setting, or provide a brief biography of a general or politician, further enriching his discussion of the leading people and events of this time.

Keegan begins his account with the statement that "Europe in the summer of 1914 enjoyed a peaceful productivity so dependent on inter-

national cooperation that a belief in the impossibility of general war seemed the most conventional of wisdoms". From this beginning he unravels the intertwined strands of national interest and concern which proved the conventional wisdom to be seriously flawed. He pictures the hopes and confidence with which the first contingents went to war, and the ways in which both hope and confidence were shattered by the problems within the plans for and conditions of war. Of particular relevance was the revolution in military organization and firepower, whose influence was not reflected in the strategies developed in the war plans of the various countries. Many of these problems were neither recognized, nor remedied until a series of mutinies in 1917 made those responsible for the prosecution of the war efforts begin to change the conditions under which the war was fought. New weapons were deployed, and new strategies were developed with some success. However the political events of 1917 and their effects are also illustrated, i.e. the revolutions in Russia, and the entrance of the United States as a belligerent power. The author discusses the tragedy that this war was for Europe, from the disintegration of empires, to the loss of a generation of men, killed or wounded by the weapons of this war, or dead of disease from the life endured in the trenches.

The scope of the book is comprehensive. It contains a well crafted account of a very complex conflict, which is made accessible, but not simplified nor turned into a formula. The wealth of illustrations, some not previously published, make visual a conflict which is often overshadowed by the Second World War. All of these elements contribute to a valuable resource for those who have an interest in or a teaching field which encompasses the Great War.

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

By Sam Wineburg. *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past.*

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001. Pp. Xiv, 255.

\$69.50 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

It is not often that a historian is asked to review a book by a cognitive psychologist, but Sam Wineburg is a psychologist who cares deeply about how history is taught and learned. He believes that much of the recurring debate about the inability or unwillingness of students to learn the essential facts of history is misplaced. Historians and critics of education have been bemoaning the sad state of factual historical

knowledge in school-aged children for nearly a century. He believes that history is much more than a collection of agreed-upon facts. The assumption behind the essays collected here is that "history teaches us a way to make choices, to balance opinions, to tell stories, and to become uneasy—when necessary—about the stories we tell" (ix). History, he argues, "holds the potential, only partly realized, of humanizing us in ways offered by few other areas in the school curriculum" (5). His research into the cognitive processes of learning history suggests that "historical thinking, in its deepest forms, is neither a natural process nor something that springs automatically from psychological development." Mature historical thought, Wineburg argues "goes against the grain of how we ordinarily think," which is why it is "easier to learn names, dates, and stories than it is to change the basic mental structures we use to grasp the meaning of the past" (7). Wineburg wants to use the insights gained from cognitive research to more successfully challenge and change these basic mental structures—the assumptions, biases, stories that we (students and faculty alike) bring to the study of history.

Historical thinking of the sort that Wineburg wants to encourage "requires us to reconcile two contradictory positions: first, that our established modes of thinking are an inheritance that cannot be sloughed off, and, second, that if we make no attempt to slough them off, we are doomed to a mind-numbing presentism that reads the present onto the past" (12). Based on his psychological research he concludes that presentism is not "some bad habit we've fallen into," rather it is "our psychological condition at rest, a way of thinking that requires little effort and comes quite naturally" (19). Demanding only that students know and retain the facts and dates of history does little to transport them to the foreign land that is the past or to challenge their assumption that the past was like the present. Cognitive research, Wineburg suggest, reveals that the "learner brings to instruction a mixture of beliefs and conceptions, some true and others stubbornly false, through which new information is filtered" (44). Applying this insight to history, Wineburg suggests that even before a student enters his or her first history class he or she has a fund of historical narratives and stories to draw on. The challenge for the teacher is to find ways to transform the students' received knowledge of history.

Many of the chapters in *Historical Thinking* have been published previously, but in specialized journals in psychology and education where historians are unlikely to encounter them. This volume not only

collects them, it also strengthens Wineburg's arguments since the essays both build upon and supplement one another. Several essays provide detailed examples of his testing and interview procedures in attempting to discover how history is learned, analyzed, and retained. Although his accounts ring true, the sample sizes are small. I am not a cognitive psychologist, but his work seems well grounded in the scientific literature on cognition. Wineburg sees his task as applying this body of research to the special case of teaching and learning history. Consequently, he devotes several chapters to the "challenges" facing both students and teachers.

Wineburg, for example, analyzes the different ways historians and students understand both texts and primary documents. As expected, teachers and students approach textbooks and primary documents differently. What is interesting, however, is that his cognitive research tries to get at the deeper understanding of both historians and students and, in the process, to find ways for historians to teach students how to work with texts and documents in a fashion that is closer to that of the historian. He reports on research, for example, that asked both historians and students to discuss the steps they go through to analyze a text or a document. He argues that by better understanding the complex and different ways of reading by historians and students, the historians can better design classroom exercises to move students out of their received knowledge and toward a deeper historical understanding of the past.

In another intriguing essay Wineburg examines the phenomenon of collective memory and what he calls "collective occlusion." "Collective occlusion is the flip side of collective memory. It speaks to that which is no longer common knowledge, no longer easily retrieved or taken for granted" (242). These are the stories that happened but that are, over time, lost to collective memory. They are not erased from the historical record, but they, for one reason or another, are blocked from becoming part of the common currency of historical memory.

Wineburg hopes that "by shedding light on how adolescents make sense of the past," his research will enable historians and teachers to "better engage their historical beliefs, stretch them, and call them, when necessary, into question" (250). Historians who read *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts* will find themselves, as I did, thinking about their classes for next semester and how they could use Wineburg's research to structure classroom and writing exercises to better engage students' interest in the past and to enhance their ability to think critically about history. Wineburg's book is almost certainly not the last

word on the cognitive processes involved in teaching and learning history, but historians who adopt Wineburg's suggestions will almost certainly be more successful in conveying the richness and importance of the past.

Daniel J. Wilson, *Muhlenberg College*

By Nina Reid-Maroney. *Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740-1800: Kingdom of Christ, Empire of Reason.*

(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001. Pp. xv, 199, bibliography, index. \$62.60 cloth.)

The Philadelphia Enlightenment and Benjamin Franklin are so interconnected that you can hardly think of one without the other. Nina Reid-Maroney would like to dispel that notion. While Franklin was indisputably a key figure in the city's intellectual world, his ideas were not typical of Philadelphia's scientific community. The enlightened circle he helped create rejected his religious ambivalence and instead devised a Christian Enlightenment that was uniquely American. Shaped by the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century, the Philadelphia Enlightenment was Calvinist at its core as its participants insisted that the remarkable scientific truths constructed by human reason be tempered by the reality of fallen man and the need for God's mysterious grace. Benjamin Rush, the author insists, was a far better representative of this enlightened circle of men.

Reid-Maroney maintains that the Philadelphia Enlightenment was fundamentally tied to the Presbyterian splits during the Great Awakening. Both Old and New Side leaders tried to employ Newtonian scientific discoveries to bolster their position as educated Christians. Natural philosophy was not used to simply rationalize Christianity, but "rather it was supposed to make the heart and mind of the believer more susceptible to the operations of divine grace." (154) Men like Francis Alison and Ebenezer Kinnersley embody for the author the main ideas and attitudes of the Old Side. Concerned that "enthusiasts" were clouding the mind with superstitions, these men sought to study and promote natural philosophy as a calm and contemplative way to connect with God's harmonious power. Following in the tradition of John Bartram, these Old Siders carved a middle way between enthusiasm and Deism by arguing that science could clear the mind and guide the observer towards divinity but it could not be fully trusted without the reality of grace. The author uses these Old Side Presbyterians as a historiograph-

ical counter to the Old Light Congregationalists of New England. While the Old Lights moved rapidly towards rational Unitarianism, the Philadelphians never abandoned their Calvinism.

New Siders like William Tennent, Samuel Blair, and Robert Smith also employed Newtonianism to fit their evangelical needs. The Presbyterian schism forced New Side academies to examine the "new learning" as part of their curriculum for ministerial training. Scientific knowledge, these men proclaimed, opened the mind and heart to the divine spirit. These Philadelphians found common ground with the Old Siders by stressing the necessity of grace in illuminating the human power of reason. However, thinkers such as Smith placed more emphasis on the importance of the "new birth" and had an even greater skepticism of the utility of the senses in determining truth.

The author uses the Calvinist perspective of both sides to explain why Scottish Enlightenment ideas gained such a following in Philadelphia. Benjamin Rush and other enlightened scientists were introduced to Scottish ideas through the Edinburgh medical school. While most scholars focus on the influence of Scottish moral and political philosophy on Americans, Reid-Maroney insists that Scottish natural science was the conduit for the other ideas. Philadelphians, and particularly New Siders, embraced medical study because it emphasized the "diseased" and fallen nature of humanity. The doctor, like the Calvinist minister, could lead people towards healing and redemption, but only God could fully heal the sick and convert the believer. Natural philosophy thus acted as a metaphor for moral and spiritual regeneration in the early republic. Benjamin Rush and Samuel Smith saw in the new nation a continuation of enlightened learning and a promise of universal redemption through the mysterious workings of divine grace.

The author's focus on natural philosophy is indeed a refreshing departure from the more prevalent studies of the moral and political aspects of the Enlightenment. She is correct in pointing out that science often acted as the foundation for colonists' political and moral philosophy, and thus should be treated as fundamental to American intellectual life. It is unfortunate then that she did not expand her brief discussion of the connections between natural philosophy and the "science of government." Members of the Philadelphia Enlightenment were often leaders in the revolutionary struggle against Great Britain and their scientific beliefs undoubtedly played a role in their understanding of and approach to those events.

Philadelphia's Enlightenment is a welcome addition to a growing

body of literature on religion and the Enlightenment in America. Reid-Maroney's study offers a nice balance to the numerous works on particular Philadelphians, especially Benjamin Franklin, who did not hold typical Enlightenment beliefs. Indeed, the author often tries to draw such a large distinction between the Philadelphia circle and Deists like Jefferson, Allen, and Franklin that she misses an opportunity to connect her Calvinists to the larger Christian Enlightenment that developed similarly in other colonies. She suggests that the Philadelphia Enlightenment diverged from its New England counterpart due to the fact that Old Light Congregationalists moved towards Arminianism and Unitarianism while the Old Side Presbyterians maintained their Calvinism. While it is certainly true that several Old Light intellectuals veered from their Calvinist roots, men like Joseph Bellamy and the "New Divinity" adherents, as Mark Valeri points out, continued to wed Enlightenment ideas to a Calvinist faith tradition. Although one wouldn't expect a book on the Philadelphia Enlightenment to include substantial discussions of other regions, a greater acknowledgment of these broader movements would have added historiographical significance to her study. As it stands, however, Philadelphia's Enlightenment is a well-researched and well-written examination of the "intellectual hub" of colonial America.

Leslee Gilbert, *St. Mary's University*

By Ned Landsman. *From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture 1680-1760.*

(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997, paperback 2000.

Pp. xiii, 223, notes, bibliography, index, \$16.95 paper.)

Instructors of American history will welcome the decision to issue a paperback edition of Ned Landsman's *From Colonials to Provincials*, originally published in 1997. He has succeeded in producing a well-argued, elegantly-written book with a textual length of less than 200 pages. Although he remains anchored in the eighteenth century and resists the temptation to see the period in terms of the subsequent American Revolution, his discussion of the changing cultural and intellectual landscape clearly demonstrates why the American colonies would later contemplate separation even as they exalted in their British provincial identity. Landsman's argument will satisfy scholars; its brevity will please undergraduates.

Landsman argues that during the first decades of the eighteenth cen-

tury, the American colonies became more, not less, British. These new "provincials" guarded their liberty jealously, becoming more determined to claim "the historic rights of Englishmen." Extending Perry Miller's argument in *The New England Mind*, Landsman states that provincial thoughts and attitudes were not limited to the New England clergy. Rather, the author demonstrates that these attitudes were widespread and found among men and women throughout the colonies, especially in the middle Atlantic.

Through seven chapters, the author outlines how colonies that William Byrd described in 1690 as being "at the end of the World," became interconnected with Britain's other provinces. (p. 31) The settlement of Pennsylvania and the reordering of the New England hierarchy after King Philip's War in 1675, combined with increased transatlantic communication to draw the American colonies into a provincial world of enlightenment, religious awakening, and oppositionist political thought. Through his earlier work, Landsman is well acquainted with the Scottish enlightenment and he concludes that Scottish philosophy played an important part in making the colonies a more integral part of the first British Empire. Irish and Scottish immigrants coming through Philadelphia and migrating into all of the American colonies, except New England, also aided the integration. For Landsman, Scottish evangelicals helped extend the impact of the Great Awakening and philosophers championed the idea of American ascendancy within a reconfigured British Empire. As the author suggests, the Scots, as provincials themselves, liked the idea of the periphery supplanting the center in the formation of a political and cultural empire.

The connection between Great Britain and the American colonies was made stronger by the world of print that connected the two together. By 1740, thirteen colonial newspapers (five in Boston alone) transmitted news from around the empire. The proliferation of newspapers also made possible the dissemination of oppositionist ideas. Writings springing from the English opposition, like Cato's Letters, circulated widely and led to the assertion that liberty was a fragile and rare commodity that must be protected.

Landsman picks up the theme of the fragility of liberty in his discussion of public virtue and the role of an established church. William Livingston's *Independent Reflector* became an important source for public-minded citizens interested in promoting public virtue and protecting the colonies from a world in which liberty was all too rare. Landsman asserts that much of this public virtue was defensive. The British

Empire, the colonists believed, was surrounded by examples of authoritarianism. The threat to liberty became all too real, however, when Britain proposed to appoint an American bishop. Livingston's Reflector and Boston's Charles Chauncy both concluded that an established church was incompatible with the protection of liberty.

A central feature of this new provincial world was the impact of Enlightenment ideas. Landsman construes the term "Enlightenment" broadly. In his mind, the American Enlightenment included not only the contributions of the philosophes, but the musings of ordinary people. Natural law and reason could be applied not only to political philosophy and scientific discovery, but new religious expressions and the public and private virtue of urban tradesmen and women. Philadelphia, according to the author, stands out as the "most Enlightened city in America." (p. 71) The Quaker belief in the inner light blended with Latitudinarianism to produce a more radical social philosophy. The anti-slavery movement was just one consequence of the impulses produced.

In his discussion of the Great Awakening, Landsman focuses on the Middle Atlantic and the impact of the revivals on organized churches within the region. The Presbyterians, in particular, split apart in response to the "enthusiasm" of Gilbert and William Tennent and others. Although the revivals made inroads among the non-elite in other colonies, they made little impact in the Pennsylvania and New York backcountry. In describing the reaction against the Awakening, the most interesting section concerns the debate between Jonathan Edwards and Charles Chauncy, an advocate of Old Light religious demeanor. While Edwards championed a passionate revival of the spirit, Chauncy feared disorder. Like the Latitudinarians, Chauncy believed the rational expression of religious sentiments best served society and God. Landsman resists the temptation, however, to lump all evangelicals together or present them as wholly hostile to learning and enlightenment. Even Gilbert Tennent, whose sermon, *Dangers of An Unconverted Ministry*, was used to condemn the worldliness of revival opponents, later admitted that learning and reason were not impediments to grace. The author's discussion of the political leanings of both the Old Lights and the New Lights underscores the idea that being an enthusiast did not automatically confer democratic leaning, and being a traditionalist did not mean one could not challenge authority.

Although the author suggests that this transformation to provincialism occurred in all the colonies, most of his evidence concerns the mid-

dle Atlantic. Although he uses evidence from other colonies, especially New England, Landsman relies on the writers of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey to prove his thesis. Ideas, like immigrants, came first to the Middle Atlantic. Just how much these new ideas influenced the artisans in Philadelphia is still unclear. A good example of this latter point is Landsman's discussion of the rise of freemasonry. The author does an admirable job of tying the origins of the secret society to the growing belief that one's virtue should be tied to one's usefulness. Hard work, sobriety, and thrift became attributes of a virtuous elite and urban artisans and farmers. One wonders if urban artisans, other than Benjamin Franklin, saw themselves as exemplars of virtue or men just trying to earn a living to feed their families. With the exception of Franklin and Nathan Cole, a farmer profoundly affected by George Whitefield's preaching, the ways in which the non-elite internalized the changes in American society are more suggested than demonstrated.

Those minor criticisms aside, this is a book packed with insights and provocative suggestions. Landsman's discussion of Esther Burr and her relationships with her friend, Sally Prince, her husband, Aaron Burr, Sr., and her more famous father, Jonathan Edwards, should provoke some enterprising scholar to more examine more closely this multi-faceted woman. The bibliographic essay is excellent and comprehensive. Landsman has filled a great need in America historiography, and his book should quickly become a standard for those seeking a fuller understanding of eighteenth century America.

Patricia Norred Derr, *Kutztown University*

By Lee Miller. *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony.*

(New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001. 362 pp. \$25.95.)

The central tenet of this book is that the "Lost Colony" planted on Roanoke Island in 1587 and found missing when its governor, John White, returned in 1590, need not remain lost to history. The fate of the 117 settlers can be deduced from the existing evidence, argues Lee Miller, and the task is not an option, for it involves not merely a scholastic mystery but a great human tragedy that cannot be left unsolved. Claiming to put more faith in the reliability of some of the original sources than previous investigators, and relying on the results of recent excavations and her own skills as an ethnographer, Miller recounts a process of detection through which she claims to have discovered and solved not merely a single mystery but several intricately related ones.

Miller concludes that the lost colonists were doomed from the start;

that they were not so much planted on Roanoke Island as marooned there; and that those intending their demise knew that a colony on the island was unsustainable in large measure because of the great cruelty and perfidy shown toward the peoples of the area by Capt. Ralph Lane, the military commander on Roanoke in 1585-86. Miller attributes Lane's bizarre behavior—he executed the local ruler most able to defend and sustain him, for example—to both jealousy and emotional instability, but she prosecutes the case much farther than that. It was nothing less, she asserts, than “a case of mass murder.” (p. 132) Among the small fry, she indicts Simons Fernandez, the experienced captain who failed to allow the Roanoke-bound colonists to obtain salt and other supplies in the Caribbean and refused to carry them as far as their intended destination, the shores of Chesapeake Bay where abundant resources and unsullied prospects of trade might have sustained them. But for Miller, a focus on the tragedy that occurred in North America obscures the real nature of the plot as well as its target and its mastermind. It makes no sense, she claims, to imagine that anyone harbored great animus against the 117 settlers or their governor. She believes instead that the Roanoke venture was destroyed in order to bring about the fall of its main benefactor, Sir Walter Raleigh, a courtesan who had risen too high and too fast and had interfered with the aspirations of others. Who, then, she asks, “among his enemies was powerful enough to bring him down?” (144)

The search for answers carries Miller and her readers on fascinating excursions into both the intrigue-filled court of Elizabeth I and life among the peoples of what today is coastal North Carolina. It is set in the tense atmosphere of a looming war with Spain and, in the end, identifies not only the alleged author of the plot against Raleigh and Roanoke but also the whereabouts of the missing colonists (neither of which will be revealed here, in deference to an author's understandable hope that reviewers will not divulge the solution to what is meant to be read as a mystery). The story is an interesting one and the proposed solution is, indeed, possible, but the case is not persuasive. As Miller admits, this intricately fashioned argument turns upon the acceptance of the notion that Fernandez was paid or otherwise induced to abandon the colonists on Roanoke. If, as other scholars have held, he was merely interested in getting back to the Caribbean as quickly as possible so he could engage in the lucrative plundering that White had forbidden on the outbound voyage, there is no need to go searching for plots and villains. In addition, to accept Miller's solution, one must agree with her

dismissal of the arguments of historians such as Edmund S. Morgan and David Quinn, who picture the entire episode largely as an illustration of the lack of English preparedness for the encounter with the New World.

The speculative conclusions are not the only unusual features of this book, however. To make it read more like a modern mystery novel or thriller than a traditional work of scholarship, the author chose to write in the present tense, to employ a quirky and colloquial narrative style that relies on sentence fragments and isolated words, and to italicize quotations from original documents. An unfortunate decision. These tactics can be used to make a narrative more vivid but when taken to excess they become irritating as well as confusing. Consider this example: "On every side misfortune. But wait! All is not lost: for Manteo called to them in their own language. Stopping, turning, the people of Croatoan stare in disbelief. These English clothes of his. And then recognition." (128) It is not just grammatical pedantry that inclines us to use sentences that contain both subjects and verbs, not to mention such things as parenthetical phrases; it is the way our language communicates best. To argue that a complicated story may be better conveyed by flouting the conventions of written English than by exploiting them shows a stunning disrespect for the beauty and power of language. Nor is Miller able to sustain the exercise throughout, but is forced in places into frustrating shifts of tense and style. No wonder most authors of the kind of best sellers Miller seeks to emulate, manage quite nicely with complete sentences and the simple past tense.

Questionable composition and tendentious reasoning are serious flaws but not necessarily fatal ones. Readers can find entertainment here as well as enlightenment. Although the author has dared to draw conclusions some may consider unsupported by the evidence, she has, at least, thoroughly considered the evidence and has catalogued it in no fewer than 50 pages of notes and bibliography (a somewhat incongruous conclusion to a book designed not to seem scholarly). Thorough research and expansive concept are, thus, the book's principal virtues and, of course, the unmasking of the villain still entices.

Robert W. Matson, *The University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown*

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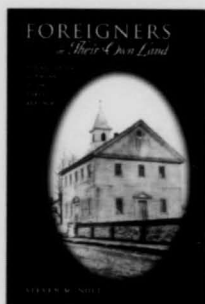
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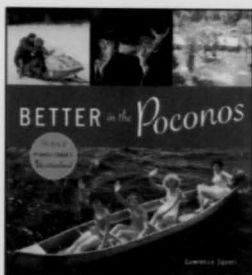
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