

BOOK REVIEWS

Simon P. Newman. *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. Pp. xi, 148, notes, bibliography, index, acknowledgements, cloth \$47.50, paper \$18.95.)

The poor of Philadelphia were under great scrutiny by the city's middling and upper classes during the late eighteenth century, who categorized them into deserving – hardworking but in need because of misfortune – and undeserving poor – unwilling to work and lazy in the eyes of authorities. In his book *Embodied History*, Simon P. Newman succeeds in bringing the city's poor to life and in giving the reader an insight into their hardships, diseases, poverty, and, to a lesser extent, their ways of resistance against their social superiors.

The first three chapters of the book deal with the encounter between the poor and the authorities of institutions such as the almshouse, the hospital, and the prison. According to Newman, with the rising number of urban poor in the late eighteenth

century, “middling and elite Philadelphians set about imposing control over impoverished bodies, thereby defending social order and hierarchy” (p. 9). All of these institutions were “designed to render subordinate bodies passive and then to regulate and even remake” them into members of the community acceptable to the middling and upper sort and into productive citizens of the early republic (p. 9).

The next three chapters—focusing on runaway, seafaring, and dead bodies—approach Philadelphia’s poor from a different angle, emphasizing how “the lower sort imagined and used their own bodies in opposition to the construction of these bodies by their betters” (p. 11). Analyzing runaway advertisements in newspapers such as the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Newman draws a colorful picture of those who stole themselves from their masters. These advertisements give an indirect glimpse of the struggle over the bodies of slaves and servants between the slaves or servant and their master. Servants and slaves expressed defiance to their masters in speech patterns, hairstyle, or way of dressing, all of which would then become part of the descriptions in runaway advertisements. Sailors, who worked in an often deadly and oppressive environment, used their bodies to proclaim pride in their profession, their religious beliefs, their patriotism, and their sweethearts in the form of tattoos. The last chapter “Dead Bodies” illustrates how Philadelphia’s poor celebrated life in defiance of the ever-present death in the form of diseases, work-related accidents, and malnutrition, regardless of their age and gender or if they were laborers, servants, runaways, or sailors.

Newman’s *Embodied History*, however, is not without shortcomings. Much of the life of poor in Philadelphia remains hidden: their day-to-day strategies for survival, their tavern culture, and social networks, and the underground economy into which many of the poor tapped in times of need and economic hardship. The poor also resisted extensively against those institutions that were designed to control them, especially when it came to the shift in poor relief from outdoor help that enabled poor families to maintain their independence from institutionalization. The most disappointing chapter is “Villainous Bodies.” Newman ignores the moment of punishment. At the whipping post and on the gallows, state power met the bodies of the poor with violence and terror and in front of a large crowd. In the 1780s, Philadelphians saw an unprecedented number of executions, sparking an intense debate about what types of punishment were suitable for a republic and an opposition to corporal and capital punishment. As a result, public labor – men working chained together in the city’s streets – became a major

penalty because reformers believed that such punishment would turn the so-called “wheelbarrow-men” into productive and republican citizens. Much to the reformers’ distress, however, many wheelbarrow-men managed to escape, often with the help of bystanders or visitors. While the experiment with public labor was short-lived, such public display of the bodies of the poor by authorities to the “benefit” of all seems a perfect example for Newman’s argument of how the middling and upper sort sought to redefine the bodies of the poor.

Despite these limitations, Newman’s book *Embodied History* is an enjoyable read with many detailed examples and quotes that make the narrative interesting, informative, and entertaining at the same time. Because of its length and accessibility, it is also an excellent choice for undergraduate classes to give students an introduction into the lives of the lower sorts in early America.

GABRIELE GOTTLIEB
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Edited by Craig D. Atwood and Peter Vogt. *The Distinctiveness of Moravian Culture: Essays and Documents in Moravian History in Honor of Vernon H. Nelson on his Seventieth Birthday*. (Nazareth, PA: The Moravian Historical Society, 2003. Pp. vi, 297, paper \$29.95.)

Included in this excellent festschrift for Vernon H. Nelson, retiring after four decades as director of the Moravian Archives, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, are fifteen essays and source studies; the volume concludes with a sixteenth essay, a biographical appreciation of Nelson and bibliography of his writings. The authors range from established scholars to representatives of a cadre of younger scholars devoting their research talents to the fascinating history of the Moravian Brethren, the continuation of a venerable Protestant denomination with roots prior to the Magisterial Reformation of the sixteenth century, namely to the *Unitas Fratrum* of 1457.

The essays are organized into three sections: 1) Moravian Aesthetics and Liturgy; 2) Moravians in the New World; and 3) Zinzendorf and Moravian Theology. The editors admit that these categories are somewhat artificial, as several essays could well have been classed otherwise than they now stand. With some limited exceptions, the essays are solidly historical. Many are

based directly on documents contained in the Moravian archives and present English translations of significant sources. Commendably, they present not only the translations (uniformly well-done) but also the German originals, with one exception.

In the first section, Nola Reed Knouse (with the aid of C. Daniel Crews) presents a translation of a little-known hymn (1544) derived from the Bohemian Brethren, with two musical settings. Craig D. Atwood prints translations of key litanies from the eighteenth century, with an explanation why such litanies are important for understanding Moravian theology. Two memoirs of early Moravian musicians in North America, Simon Peter and Johann Christian Till, are introduced and published, by C. Daniel Crews and Alice M. Caldwell, respectively. Paul Peucker, who will replace Vernon Nelson at Bethlehem, provides a biography of an obscure Moravian painter, Johann Jacob Müller (1712–1781), known primarily through a poem written in his honor in 1744.

In the second section, an interesting number of documents from colonial America are presented in translated form. They include a detailed travel diary of a trans-Atlantic crossing (Beverly P. Smaby), a sermon by August Gottlieb Spangenberg describing the attractions and problems of the communal economy of Bethlehem (Katherine Carté Engel), a financial account of an Indian convert (Mark A. Turdo), and the autobiography of a Moravian missionary (Katherine M. Faull). The last-named account by Johann Georg Jungmann, as Katherine Faull indicates, is especially appealing for its human interest. She appears, however, not to have noticed that it was first published in Germany in 1811 in the *Christliche Zeitschrift für Christen* (1811), in English translation in *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Vol. VI* (1814), and in *Der Deutsche Pionier* (1869–70). In addition to the documents in this section, Carola Wessel discusses the methods and difficulties of communication between the Moravian missionaries on the Ohio frontier and their superiors in Bethlehem and in Germany.

The final section begins with a study by Peter Vogt on Count Zinzendorf's sabbatarian theology. (He favored Saturday as a day of rest and worship as well as Sunday.) Dietrich Meyer, the noted German expert on Moravian studies, explains why the Moravians considered themselves to be a theocracy governed by Jesus Christ. James D. Nelson examines fundamental Moravian doctrines, based on a close study of colonial documents. A popularly-written and undocumented summary of Count Zinzendorf's theology is contributed by Arthur Freeman, whose life's work on the topic was published in 1998 as *An Ecumenical*

Theology of the Heart. Finally, a study of the attractive English Moravian leader James Hutton, based on Hutton's contacts with Swiss intellectuals influenced by the Enlightenment, is presented by Dieter Gembicki.

Few errors were noted, other than minor typographical flaws: the title of a journal (p. 288) is misspelled (*Der Reggebogge* instead of the correct *Der Reggeboge*); the book by Beverly Smaby is wrongly attributed (p. 297) to The Pennsylvania State University Press instead of the correct University of Pennsylvania Press. It is regrettable that no index was provided for the book.

This anthology of writing can be recommended as a solid contribution to the now burgeoning field of Moravian studies. Those interested in colonial American history, whether cultural, religious, economic, or material in nature, will find here much of value.

DONALD F. DURMBAUGH

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Judith L. Van Buskirk. *Generous Enemies: Patriots and Loyalists in Revolutionary New York*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. Pp. 272, 17 illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, acknowledgements, cloth \$35.00.)

During the War for American Independence, a casual visitor to New York City might have expected to find rigorously enforced boundaries between Patriots and supporters of King George. The city was the British Army's headquarters and an island (figuratively speaking) of royal government in a sea of rebel states and garrisons. Whig and Tory observers portrayed New York as a besieged fortress town, noted the privation that the war had brought to civilians in nearby counties and to Loyalist refugees within the city, and suggested that the two groups had become irreconcilable enemies.

As Judith Van Buskirk observes, however, human relationships in and around New York City remained more bilateral than Patriot and Loyalist propagandists would admit. Using Loyalist claims, legislation, newspapers, church records, memoirs and correspondence, Van Buskirk demonstrates that traditional social and economic ties were stronger than divisive new political allegiances. Women routinely crossed enemy lines to visit family members or to serve as nurses for imprisoned relatives. Enterprising civilians carried goods and information to kinsmen or trading partners on both sides of the line; indeed, smuggling was so common that the region became a virtual "free enterprise zone" during the war

(p. 120). Meanwhile, imprisoned British and American officers, who saw one another as part of an “international confraternity of gentlemen,” moved freely within one another’s encampments, living comfortably and socializing with other gentry until they returned home on parole (p. 73).

Officials and partisans of the opposing governments tried to prohibit or at least protest such unpatriotic relations. Parliament and state legislatures banned trading with the enemy and imposed pass laws on cross-border travelers, while soldiers in the Continental Army protested the preferential treatment given to captured British officers. (Van Buskirk argues that a 1780 court martial sentenced Major John Andre to death partly to avoid a mutiny of enlisted men against their insufficiently patriotic officers.) Their efforts were mostly in vain, as officers of the opposing armies were reluctant to interfere with what Robert Livingston called “communication so remote from politics” (p. 127). In fact, the Continental and British armies came to rely on cross-border commerce to feed their troops and acquire intelligence.

The war did disrupt one set of traditional relationships: those between masters and slaves. In 1779 British garrison commander David Jones offered freedom to all slaves from rebel states who fled to New York City, and several thousand bondsmen availed themselves of the offer. This growing community of freedmen worked as teamsters and privateers, and adopted new surnames, fancier clothing, and a self-assured manner. Van Buskirk asserts that these runaways inspired future generations of slaves to “cross . . . new lines to freedom” but she provides little evidence to back the claim (p. 154). Indeed, she notes that New York’s elite was so alarmed by the mass abscondence that they adopted a conservative policy toward slavery at the war’s end. The state legislature did not pass a gradual emancipation law until 1799 and did not ban the institution altogether until 1827.

Van Buskirk concludes that New Yorkers and their neighbors were able to preserve through the war most of the bridges of kinship and commerce they had built during the colonial era, and that the civilities that British, Loyalists, and Patriots showed one another allowed the opposing sides to effect a speedy reconciliation after the Treaty of Paris. Despite much bloodthirsty anti-Tory rhetoric, the New York legislature allowed Loyalists to buy back confiscated real estate and recover their political rights through petition. Meanwhile, ex-Loyalists ingratiated themselves with the war’s victors by publishing testimonials about their secret wartime relations with Patriots.

The author makes a compelling case for the porousness of enemy lines during the Revolutionary War, and usefully complicates Edward Countryman

and Gordon Wood's interpretation of the Revolution as a radical social upheaval. Yet I suspect that the bridges of Patriot-Loyalist interaction that Van Buskirk describes cannot bear all of the interpretive weight she places on them in her conclusion. Cross-border travel and commerce were commonplace during the war because they served the interests of army commanders, and Patriots and Loyalists were civil to one another in part because each faction had an armed force protecting their interests. If New Yorkers achieved a rapid postwar reconciliation, it was more likely due to the massive exodus of Loyalists from New York City – over 30,000 civilians left the United States through the city in 1783 – than to their close wartime ties with Patriots. Lawyers and legislators could afford to be merciful to former Tories because so few stayed behind. Had many Loyalists remained in New York after 1783 and pressed their property claims, it is unlikely that moderate Patriots would have been able to treat their old enemies with any sort of generosity.

DAVID A. NICHOLS

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Michael P. Gabriel. *Major General Richard Montgomery: The Making of an American Hero*. (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002. Pp. 277, notes, bibliography, index, cloth, \$47.50.)

Based on his dissertation, Michael P. Gabriel offers the second biography of General Montgomery to be published in the past ten years. Gabriel's book combines traditional narrative with the more recent trend of tracing the evolution of Montgomery's image in the decades following his heroic and tragic death at the walls of Quebec in December 1775. Montgomery's early life is rich in adventure and Gabriel does an effective job tracing his life from his boyhood in a distinguished Irish family, to a career in the British army and service in the 17th Regiment of Foot during the Seven Years' War, to his immigration to New York where he married Janet Livingston.

Readers will find the sections on Montgomery's service during the Revolutionary War to be the most interesting. Montgomery was first elected as a delegate to New York's provincial congress from Dutchess County. Though he accepted the choice of his peers, Gabriel points out that Montgomery struggled with conflicting loyalties; after all, "Britain was his homeland, and most of his family still resided there" (p. 70). Even after

Lexington and Concord, Montgomery hoped that peace could be restored between the colonies and Britain.

Within days of George Washington's appointment to command the American army, Montgomery was appointed to the rank of brigadier general, along with seven others. Montgomery first served under General Philip Schuyler until health problems forced his retirement to Fort Ticonderoga; this left Montgomery in command of an army whose mission was to secure the Canadian border from British invasion. According to Gabriel, Montgomery struggled to unify his command, which was plagued by rivalries between troops from different colonies, poor discipline, and a lack of supplies. Montgomery led the invasion of Canada in the fall and early winter of 1775, and oversaw the successful siege of St. Johns before moving on to Montreal and Quebec. Overall command did not help to improve Montgomery's overall assessment of the war. He suffered from "homesickness," which "spawned in him a harsh assessment of human nature and reinforced his desire to return to private life" and his wife (p. 105).

Montgomery followed up the successful siege of St. Johns with the capture of Montreal, though low re-enlistments threatened his move to take Quebec as soon as possible. Gabriel clearly defines Montgomery's overall strategic goals, though readers may be disappointed that he does not integrate General Benedict Arnold's movements through the Maine wilderness into his analysis of the broad strategic considerations of the campaign. More detailed maps would also have helped the reader follow Montgomery's movements through to the climax of the campaign at Quebec. Readers will better appreciate the harsh conditions that Montgomery and his men endured throughout the campaign, a story that is typically reserved for Washington and his men at Valley Forge.

Montgomery's attack on Quebec on the night of December 30, 1775 not only ended the Canadian invasion, but left him dead on the field, after being struck in his thighs, groin, and face. In his assessment of the attack on Quebec, Gabriel balances criticism of Montgomery's planning with placing the attack in proper context. Montgomery exposed his command to being destroyed piecemeal and underestimated the ease of attacking with four separate assault columns. Gabriel even suggests that Montgomery's "great desire to return home clouded his judgment and provoked him into an unnecessarily risky assault" (p. 168). In his favor, Gabriel contends that Montgomery did have the proper training to lead the assault, and contrary to critics his plan did not violate military maxims.

Gabriel closes his study with a chapter on the evolution of Montgomery's place in the early Republic's collective memory, which has become quite common in recent studies of such notable Civil War generals as Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. Though Montgomery tends to be thought of as a "secondary figure," Gabriel asserts that throughout the Revolution, and beyond, he rivaled in importance some of the more notable Founding Fathers. Americans cited Montgomery's service to the cause to rally support during difficult times and praised his willingness to give up "rural retirement" and his life for his country. After the war, he continued to represent the ideals of public virtue and self-sacrifice, which were crucial to the success of a young republican society.

Michael P. Gabriel has made a significant contribution to military history as well as the history of the American Revolution. On both counts this book helps to restore an important military leader to his rightful place alongside such notable commanders as Nathaniel Greene, Horatio Gates, John Paul Jones, and Francis Marion.

KEVIN M. LEVIN
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Jon Kukla. *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. Pp. x, 430, appendices, notes, acknowledgements, index. cloth \$30.00.)

A Wilderness so Immense joins a growing number of works written at the bicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase. Jon Kukla takes his readers on a whirlwind tour exploring the diplomatic intrigues, duplicity, and blunders which prompted Napoleon to sell Louisiana to the United States for a paltry \$15 million in 1803. From the American Revolution to the secessionist schemes of American settlers in the Mississippi Valley, from the French Revolution to the successful slave revolt in Haiti, Kukla follows the international events that led the United States into possession of a "wilderness so immense."

It was not foreordained that the United States would erect an empire on the North American continent. A seemingly endless configuration of empires and protectorates could have emerged west of the Appalachian mountains. France had designs on a super colony stretching from Canada through the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys to New Orleans; the British remained

interested in New Orleans through 1815; and finally, it was only with the reversals of war in Europe in the 1790s that Spain abandoned its plans for a buffer state in the lower Mississippi Valley protecting the gold and silver mines of Mexico from American expansion. From the 1780s through 1815, American statesmen from George Washington to James Madison believed that the continuation of the American Union hinged upon American control of the lower Mississippi Valley. The Mississippi River and the port of New Orleans were vital to western commerce, and American officials knew that the imperial power which controlled the lower Mississippi Valley could exercise ultimate influence over settlers through the entire trans-Appalachian West.

From 1785 through 1794 American diplomats made scant progress in convincing their Spanish counterparts to sign a treaty which would recognize American rights to navigation of the Mississippi River and the right of deposit at New Orleans. Without American rights to both, federal officials feared that American settlers in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee might just remove themselves from the American Union. Finally, in 1795, with war in Europe intensifying, Spain agreed to the Treaty of San Lorenzo, conceding to American demands for rights on the Mississippi. Yet even with the Treaty, all was not well in the lower Mississippi Valley. Imperial officials, diplomats, and the motley assortment of settlers in the trans-Appalachian West all recognized that Spain was a decaying power whose hold on its colonial possessions was slipping. In 1800 Spain, now effectively a puppet-state of France, secretly ceded Louisiana to Napoleon. As rumors of the retrocession grew, American officials and statesmen became increasingly concerned that the erratic and unpredictable Napoleon controlled such a strategically vital place on the North American continent.

While American diplomats cut through the swirl of diplomatic rumors concerning the retrocession, Napoleon laid plans to re-enslave Haitians who had successfully rebelled against their French masters. A new French colony joining both sides of the Mississippi River would supply food and lumber to France's empire and its Caribbean jewel, Haiti. In late 1801 France sent a fleet with a combined 40,000 men to crush the slave rebellion. They failed miserably, despite unimaginable ruthlessness employed by the French in their efforts to destroy resistance. Making matters worse for Napoleon, troops that he had earmarked for securing Louisiana had to be diverted to Haiti, while troops in Haiti destined for Louisiana instead died in Haiti. Napoleon's plans for a new North American empire died at the hands of former Haitian slaves who refused to give up their freedom.

Napoleon recognized that without Haiti, Louisiana was worthless. Fearing that he would lose Louisiana to the British or the Americans, or that in the event of war Britain would blockade if not seize Louisiana, Bonaparte decided to use Louisiana to finance his next round of wars. In March 1803, James Monroe, minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary, set sail for Paris to meet with diplomat Robert Livingston and negotiate for American access to the Mississippi and New Orleans. As Napoleon knew, if Monroe failed in Paris, he had authority to go to London and begin negotiations for an Anglo-American alliance against France. When American negotiators bid for the Mississippi River and New Orleans, Napoleon offered to sell all of Louisiana instead.

Readers may tire from the repetitiveness and diversions that sometimes mar an otherwise well-written and interesting narrative. Kukla's five page description of the New Orleans fire in 1788 adds little to his story, while his account of Spanish emissary Diego Gardoqui's 1786 mission to the United States needlessly quotes the bulk of letters sent home by members of the Continental Congress containing an account of the negotiations with Gardoqui and the precarious state of the American Union. Nonetheless, non-specialists sorting through the pile of works marking the Louisiana Purchase anniversary will be well-served by Kukla's patient narrative.

JOHN CRAIG HAMMOND

University of Kentucky

Elise Lemire. *"Miscegenation": Making Race in America*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. Pp. ix, 204, notes, bibliography, index, acknowledgements, cloth \$35.00.)

This fine book uses literature and political tracts to analyze white responses to interracial sex from the early days of the Republic through the end of the nineteenth century (with a brief concluding discussion on current views). Rooting her discussion of racial attitudes, beliefs, and theories in the history of European thought and European and American experience, Lemire focuses on moments in which grotesque depictions of black/white sex proliferated.

Lemire posits that these occurred particularly when black status was most fluid and ambiguous, and that these depictions worked to undermine black aspirations of equality, thereby limiting black mobility. Furthermore, she suggests that these images helped to create and reinforce the racial categories so

crucial to maintaining white supremacy. Because African-American features were distorted to make them ugly and undesirable, these materials reinforced and aggravated racial stereotypes. And since beauty was therefore racially determined, same-race sexual preference must be biological, and interracial sexual desire unnatural. While not always clear whether these portrayals reflected concerns that interracial sex would be the frightening result of black equality, or were instead used to *prevent* black equality – a means or a feared end – Lemire’s discussion of such literature in the new republic, the abolitionist era, and the civil war years persuasively document her claims.

Founded on the liberal presumptions of natural rights and democratic rule, the new republic confronted the contradictions of a race-based society. Wouldn’t black people, endowed with the same rights, desire white spouses? By highlighting previously unremarked upon interracial liaisons, illustrated here by polemics about Jefferson and Hemings, Federalists were able to argue against the extremes of liberal democracy that made such liaisons conceivable. Jefferson himself furthered their racial arguments; by defining white beauty as the ideal in his *Notes*, he helped “create an [white racial] identity based on aesthetic competencies demonstrated through one’s sexual desires” (p. 29). (One wonders, however, given the “fact” of the white ideal, why African Americans would not also desire whites, which would therefore also identify them as white.) All this served to legitimate and maintain a race-based culture within a liberal democracy that espoused equality. Meanwhile, depictions of interracial sex served also as erotica, offering fantasies that explored forbidden desires.

In these cases, race-based sexual preference was defined as a question of taste. Emerging science also posited it as biological. Here, Lemire uses James Fenimore Cooper’s novels as a vehicle for exploring notions of “blood” and Linnaean science that naturalized racial differences. By the early nineteenth century, interracial sex had become “amalgamation,” the mixing of two discrete substances.

Even in the North, most states banned interracial marriage, something opposed by many abolitionists as a violation of black legal equality. Their opponents, anxious about abolition’s perceived threat to their economic and social status, seized on this as an opportunity to discredit it, flooding the press with images of interracial sex (fueled by women’s new public presence in abolitionist meetings). Emphasizing the undesirability of such mixing, these images caricatured African Americans as noisome, gross-featured brutes. They served their purpose, provoking white protests and riots. And

again, they served both to reinforce white identity through sexual preference and to titillate with hints of the forbidden.

Abolitionists themselves hastened to assure the public they did not desire intermarriage, reinforcing notions of race as good taste (so one could safely change the law without real consequence). Lemire also uses theories of polygenesis and Poe's "Murders in the Rue Morgue" to remind us of the endurance of race as a biological and hierarchical condition, and the definition of interracial sex as a crime against nature.

By the coming of the Civil War, some abolitionists did embrace interracial marriage as the best means of challenging racism. Additionally, a Northern military triumph would intensify the threat to white supremacy in the improved status of black people. Both provoked a new wave of black caricatures and demonizations of interracial sex. It is here that "miscegenation" appears for the first time: the unnatural mixing of races, i.e. species. But even well-meaning interracialists, here represented by Louisa May Alcott's "M.L.," perpetuated the supremacy of the white ideal. Alcott not only makes her African-American hero light-skinned, he is barely physically present in the story. Thus science and aesthetics combined once more to emphasize the natural undesirability of black people to whites, and therefore to reinforce whiteness as "the understanding . . . that certain features imagined as 'white' are more attractive than others" (p. 142).

Lemire concludes with a discussion of the current use of the term "interracial sex," which she argues is equally racist as it still presumes biological difference. While this seems less persuasive, not least because the historical phenomenon is important precisely because (putative) race is the issue, her musings are as interesting and provocative as is her historical discussion. Lemire has produced an important and convincing book.

CHERYL GREENBERG

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Thomas F. Curran. *Soldiers of Peace: Civil War Pacifism and the Postwar Radical Peace Movement*. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003. Pp. ix, 204, bibliography, index, cloth \$45.00.)

Thomas F. Curran poses the prospective reader's question early in his book: "Why, then, study Civil War pacifism at all?" (xi). He proceeds to tell the

intriguing story of what he terms the “perfectionist pacifists,” and to demonstrate why this story is worth telling. In doing so, he manages to relate perfectionist pacifists to a wide range of reform movements in the nineteenth century, providing breadth and context for his excellent exposition of these men and women who advocated for justice, opposed the use of military force in the Civil War and its aftermath, and frequently suffered for their efforts.

The perfectionist pacifists, Curran argues, carried on antebellum postmillennial reform tendencies as they sought to restore first-century pacifist Christianity. Led by Alfred Love, a Progressive Friend from Philadelphia, whose pacifist vision dominates the book and the movement, they created the Universal Peace Society in 1866 (Universal Peace Union after 1868) to advance their beliefs in human perfectibility and the possibility of ending war by society’s complete allegiance to God’s commands. Although the UPU continued through World War I, Curran finds its ideology firmly centered in individualistic pre-Civil War reform and not Social Gospel/Progressive concerns of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The first half of the book deals primarily with the perfectionist pacifists’ reaction to the Civil War, which for them “accentuated all that was wrong with the fabric of the U.S. government” (p. xiii). Love and his colleagues split with the U.S. Christian Commission over its willingness to aid the war effort, and with Garrisonians who abandoned nonresistance during the war. Conscription created the greatest crisis for pacifists, and Curran provides a helpful view of the draft from the nonresistants’ perspective.

When Peace Democrats also took up the antiwar banner, Love and his allies refused alliance, finding little appeal in what they perceived as the Copperheads’ insincere religious and peace rhetoric. The perfectionist pacifists favored disunion on moral grounds, holding this position in the face of charges of “sympathizing with Rebellion and Copperheadism” (99). Curran hints at similarities between attacks on Civil War pacifists and charges of lack of patriotism in more recent wars, and developments since his writing only make these connections more starkly apropos.

A devastating civil war discouraged many postmillennialists, but had a different effect on the perfectionist pacifists, according to Curran. Having no illusions about the Kingdom’s coming by agency of a government enamored of the “God of battles,” they viewed the war’s devastation and the failures of military Reconstruction as evidence that the country might then have been ready to join in efforts “to realize a world in which the laws of God ruled supreme” (108). In the Universal Peace Union, under Love’s leadership,

activists 3,000 to 4,000 strong at their peak (only about 400 actively participated) addressed issues including war and peace (advocating popular referenda on warmaking), Indian affairs, temperance, the single tax, and capital punishment. Like Garrison's prewar antislavery movement, the peace movement under Love's leadership advocated a wide range of reforms, too wide argued single-issue peace proponents.

Decades of peace advocacy resulted in disillusion with U.S. entry into the Spanish-American War, and Curran describes the downward trajectory of the UPU, ejected from its Philadelphia quarters in Independence Hall in 1898 for alleged sympathy with Spain. By the dawn of the twentieth century he describes "a society of elderly people" (p. 185) which essentially died along with Alfred Love in 1913, although it continued operations until 1920.

Curran ably catalogues the futile efforts of the perfectionist pacifists, but neglects the opportunity to detail what he terms one of their few accomplishments, arbitration in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania coal strikes. He finds ideological resonance with later peace efforts, unconvincingly suggesting that early perfectionist pacifists had impacts on Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. by way of their nineteenth-century correspondence with Leo Tolstoy. Curran is on safer ground when he concludes that the UPU's primary importance lies not in its successes, but in its continuation of antebellum perfectionism into the twentieth century. Successes were few, limited by the perfectionist pacifists' tendency to tackle too broad an array of issues, to disagree on interpretations of God's law, and, like most restorationists, to make too harsh a distinction between themselves and those who failed to embrace their efforts to remake the world. Curran's own success is in relating this wing of the peace movement to numerous other reform efforts, and in convincingly reminding us that, while the Civil War marks a crucial watershed in our history, it did not completely separate intellectual currents and human yearnings of the antebellum era from the periods that followed. In assessing, and perhaps participating in, current efforts aimed at peace and justice, we do well to recall his reminder and remember the pioneers he chronicles.

ROBERT D. SAYRE

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Harold W. Aurand. *Coalcracker Culture: Work and Values in Pennsylvania Anthracite, 1835-1935*. (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press,

2003. Pp. vii, 158, map, photos, notes, select bibliography, index, cloth \$36.50.)

No other quote better captures the human condition in Pennsylvania's anthracite region than the following by a coal operator in 1887 in reference to several men who were eighty-plus years old and employed as "slate pickers" in his colliery: "There was good feeling toward the men, and as long as they reported for duty we felt like keeping them on. As we made money out of them, we do not want to push them away" (p.103).

Aurand's *Coalcracker Culture* concisely explores both the evolution of an industry and a distinctive culture defined in response to it in an area of the United States that was the font of free enterprise capitalism and survived into the twentieth century only as a result of the welfare state: Pennsylvania's anthracite coal region. The book is a very important contribution to a growing body of anthracite history and literature that is rooted in both in scholarship and folklore. It adds to growing evidence that anthracite history goes beyond a "regional" matter as so often is deemed the case. *Coalcracker Culture* complements the contemporary view among some historians of industry, labor, and deindustrialization that anthracite is but one more example of larger American history replete with its boom-to-bust economics and resultant social impacts.

Fundamentally, the history of anthracite differs little from that of many American industries ranging from steel, to railroads, to garment and textile production, to the savings and loan insolvencies of the 1980s, to the high-tech boom-to-bust of the 1990s, to the Enrons, Inc. of the early twenty-first century. Shortsighted investment decisions, outside ownership interests, maximization of profit with little or no investments in communities and workers, and transitory capitalization focused narrowly on immediate and substantive returns are characteristics that have transcended many American industries. Though anthracite may well fit patterns similar to the history of other American industries, Aurand discusses perhaps its most distinguishing feature: its cartel orientation with a few large operators who controlled production, supply, transportation and labor costs and, thereby, secured their profits.

What is most unique about this book is that it explores how people – culture in the broader sense – reacted and developed a value system in response to industrial conditions over which they had no control. As Aurand points out, because the anthracite mineworker "traded his life for a job" it was

apparent that “the relative consistency of the work experience forged a set of persistent values that all ethnic groups shared” (pp. 69, 94). In the face of danger, the ever-present threat of workplace accidents and death, chronic underemployment, and corruption distinctive cultural values emerged that are, at the same time, enlightening and disturbing. These include a commitment to family and community along with “cheating” to allow one to secure more for one’s self; toughness in the face of adversity along with “extreme macho masculinity”; reciprocity along with “learning to distrust others”; a quiet pride along with a sense of inferiority; and, a strong work ethic along with excessive consumption of alcohol (pp. 125, 106).

The one organization to which mine workers could turn – or so they thought – for fairness and equity was the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Yet, Aurand points out that miniscule union pension payments, the insolvency of the Anthracite pension fund, and the relative higher status of bituminous mineworkers shattered this trust over time. It should also be pointed out that the very real corruption of District One (anthracite) that led to prison sentences for several of its leaders in the aftermath of the 1959 Knox Mine Disaster further eroded rank-and-file trust in the UMWA. So did the 1969 murders of union reformer Joseph “Jock” Yablonski, his wife, and daughter in Clarksville, Pennsylvania. Indeed, an inherent culture of corruption had permeated the UMWA and several of its districts. The suspicions held by ordinary mineworkers about the integrity of their union were very much justified and resulted in a complete overhaul of the UMWA’s leadership in the early 1970s.

Aurand’s well-founded arguments would be even more enticing if they did not suddenly end in 1935. With few exceptions, anthracite history seems to somehow just stop at about the Great Depression or World War II. Some recent scholarship – such as Tom Dublin’s *When the Mines Closed* – have delved into what happened to post-industrial anthracite Pennsylvania. Yet, Professor Aurand probably is not quite finished in publishing his vast and deep array of knowledge on this topic.

From leisure readers, to folklorists, to undergraduate and graduate students, *Coalcracker Culture* is a wise choice and an informative read. The history and culture of anthracite Pennsylvania are highly celebrated today. In his distinguished style, Harold Aurand helps to explain why.

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David Walbert. *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. x, 258, epilogue, appendix, notes, index, cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.00.)

Americans have had a complex, and often conflicted, relationship with agriculture, farmers, and the rural countryside. Thomas Jefferson saw small landholders as the foundation for democracy and, for subsequent generations of Americans, farmers have occupied a unique status in American society. As cities grew, the countryside became the purifier of urban evils, a place where traditional values of morality, honesty, and hard work lived on.

During the twentieth century, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania came to represent the mythical “garden spot” in the minds of Americans. It had physical beauty, farmers lived there, it was close to large urban centers, and it was home to a settlement of Old Order Amish. Lancaster County embodied a mix of agrarian romance, nostalgia, thriving agriculture, suburbanization, tourism, progress, and cultural uniqueness.

As American society became more urban and increasingly removed from its rural past, interest in Lancaster County grew. During the 1930s, tourists from nearby cities such as Philadelphia, New York City, and Baltimore discovered the Amish and Pennsylvania Dutch culture. Initially tourism was low key and relatively benign but that changed as more people learned about Lancaster County and as local citizens realized the economic potential of tourism. Traffic into the area increased dramatically after World War II as festivals and increasingly sophisticated advertising campaigns attracted more and more visitors.

The Old Order Amish were a major tourist attraction because their lifestyle appealed to urbanites. While these tourists had no interest in becoming Amish, they were drawn by a sense of nostalgia and to the Amish values of family, community, and God. The Amish did not encourage tourism but their passive nature meant they did not actively or publicly protest these intrusions. Those who promoted the Amish used symbols of food, sex, and magic to enhance the appeal of the normally placid and staid Amish sect.

People promoting Lancaster County made few attempts to understand or explain why the Amish lived as they did. This approach fostered an image of the Amish akin to that of animals in a zoo or freaks in a sideshow. To those looking in, the Amish were innocent children who continued to live in the past. They were interesting to observe but offered little of value to a society intent on progress and modernization.

Tourism brought permanent changes to Lancaster County. More tourist sites brought more traffic which brought new highways, creating a spiral that fed upon itself. But those who want to point to tourists as the source of Lancaster County's problems will not find great satisfaction in Walbert's analysis. He shows that the population growth that threatened farm land with its suburban sprawl was fueled, not so much by outsiders, but rather by locals who wanted their piece of the countryside.

Tourism and suburbanization reveal the disjunction between rural and agricultural. At one time, these concepts were essentially the same but as the twentieth century progressed, Walbert shows how different they became. Rural came to mean open space, which meant golf courses were "rural" under this new definition. People in Lancaster County moved to the suburbs to have a rural life but they also wanted protection from the noise, odors, and disruptions of actual farm operations. Farms ceased to be places of production and consumption, they became places to be consumed.

By the end of the twentieth century, these changes led to a showdown between the proponents of preservation and those who advocated for more development. This rift revealed a fundamental contradiction as people universally spoke of the need to preserve farm land but rarely made strong efforts to do so. Only when enough people believed further development threatened their own future did they act decisively.

Lancaster County was facing the ultimate dilemma as tourism, suburbanization, and development threatened to destroy the very thing that created them. Could a community live on the memories of what once was? Would the celebrated rural values of honesty, hard work, family, and responsibility continue to exist when there was no more rural? Or, to pose a more fundamental question that was rarely asked—were these values ever unique to rural areas?

Walbert deftly weaves themes of rural and urban, the desire for and cost of economic success, our infatuation with the agrarian myth, and our willingness to exploit others whose lifestyle is satisfying to observe even though we have no desire to live it. He concludes by illuminating the hypocrisy on all sides of the debate over places such as Lancaster County. Preservationists, who live in homes on land that was once prime farmland, seek to preserve a commodity that loses its life when it is only preserved. Tourism promoters cloak their greed in a rhetoric of helping the Amish by increasing knowledge and understanding of their lifestyle.

A minor criticism of the book is that discussions of Pennsylvania Dutch and Amish cultures blur and run together. Walbert never clearly explains the differences and at times it appears they are one and the same yet they are not.

A strength of the book is the treatment Walbert offers of the Amish. He neither romanticizes them nor does he see them as irrelevant antiquities. He portrays them as people who are also struggling with change and even as they attempt to stay above the fray, they are also drawn into the complex and often unsatisfying world of politics, cultural conflict, and economic pressure. Overall, this book is very well written and contributes immensely to the debate revolving around preservation, the agrarian myth, and groups such as the Amish who are not exactly what they appear to be.

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David Schuyler. *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1940–1980*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. Pp. 230, appendix, notes, index, cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.)

In *A City Transformed* historian David Schuyler describes Lancaster's experience with urban renewal under its Redevelopment Authority. A scholar on historical architects and landscape designers, Schuyler does a fine job of narrating Lancaster's twentieth-century experience with revitalizing its downtown and southeast residential neighborhoods. Schuyler argues that the city assigned different priorities to each area. He says while "the condition of the homes of Lancaster's African-American population was not a paramount concern to City Hall, the fate of the central business district . . . was more compelling" (p. 37).

After the Second World War, Lancaster's downtown, like so many other American downtowns, faced serious problems such as declining buildings and property values, congested traffic and parking, and competition from suburban malls. At the same time, the city tackled the challenge of revitalizing the southeast or Seventh Ward, an area of urban blight home to many low-income and minority residents. Using newspaper archives, oral history interviews, and publications of the Lancaster City Planning Commission and the Redevelopment Authority, the author demonstrates that

the city's answer to both of these problems amounted to large-scale clearance. The city fathers miscalculated when they failed to foresee how suburban malls would defeat efforts to resuscitate the Lancaster Square central business district. And they also were shortsighted in how white opposition to proposed public housing projects doomed relocation of displaced minorities from the southeast neighborhoods.

Thus the story of Lancaster repeats familiar sagas of other American urban areas. What is new about Schuyler's study is that it is of a middle-sized Pennsylvania city during the postindustrial era. It enhances the corpus of Pennsylvania urban planning studies such as John F. Bauman's 1987 study *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974* and Carolyn Adams' 1991 critique *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division, and Conflict in a Postindustrial City*. The Lancaster experience, like that of Philadelphia, was one of historical determinism, argues Schuyler. "As a result of the lack of investment in buildings and infrastructure during the Great Depression and World War II, many older commercial buildings had deteriorated to the point of obsolescence; many residences, which lacked even the most rudimentary sanitary facilities, became unfit for human habitation. The junkyards and hazardous industries that stood in close proximity to homes in the southeast, represented serious threats to the well-being of residents. Given these conditions, there is no doubt that redevelopment and some demolition was necessary" (p. 229). On the other hand, Schuyler says that it was "the kind of urban renewal" undertaken that made it difficult for urban planning to succeed in Lancaster. I doubt that. Lancaster Square will never be the business hub it used to be because suburban malls are here to stay. Breaking down opposition to public housing is hopeless as long as citizens keep saying "not in my backyard." Schuyler proves, like other historians, that spending money and having the best crafted plans cannot speed social change. Lancaster is one more example why the crucibles facing American cities remain formidable.

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