

BOOK REVIEWS

*B*ernard Bailyn. *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. Pp. x, 185, notes, illustration credits, index, cloth \$26.00.)

In this thoughtful collection of essays, the renowned historian Bernard Bailyn emphasizes both that the American founders were provincials and that their creative work was marked by ambiguity along with genius. These five essays are written in Bailyn's characteristic prose—lucid and vigorous yet graceful and elegant—and the book is richly, effectively illustrated with pictures that offer persuasive visual confirmation of the arguments Bailyn makes verbally.

The essence of the book lies in its first chapter, "Politics and the Creative Imagination." Bailyn borrows a nice insight from the art critic Kenneth Clark on metropolitan and provincial art and applies it to politics in the Revolutionary age. Clark contended that once it became well-established in cultural centers

over time, metropolitan art became stuffy, repetitive, overrefined, and self-absorbed. Art on the periphery or the provinces developed without those drawbacks and often returned simplicity and directness to what had become too elaborate and ornate. Provincial artists, Clark contended, brought a vital energy and intense vision to their work. Bailyn sees a remarkable similarity at work in the political imaginations of Revolutionary America as the provincial colonists streamlined a British metropolitan politics rife with embellishment, obtuseness, irrelevance, and corruption. The very provincialism of the American founders—the contrasting pictures of the houses and portraits of individual elites in Britain and America bring the differences home dramatically—was essential to their creative political imagination. Lacking a firm rooting in metropolitan society, not feeling bound to the existing order, Americans challenged that order and, in Paine's phrase (and Bailyn's title), prepared to begin the world anew. "[W]hat conditioned and stimulated the Founders' imagination . . . was the fact that they came from outside the metropolitan establishment" (p. 35). From provincial America the founders saw "something atrophied, weighted down by its own complacent, self-indulgent elaboration, and vulnerable to the force of fresh energies and imaginative designs" (p. 35). This provincial assault on the metropolitan core re-ordered the world so that liberty was now best situated and protected in America. Protecting the liberty created by and defined in the Revolutionary struggle became the great task of early national Americans and that legacy forms the basis of this book's subsequent chapters.

Genius and ambiguity are themes especially well chosen when dealing with Thomas Jefferson, a figure about whom it is difficult to find much new to say. Bailyn calls him "simultaneously a radical utopian idealist and a hard-headed, adroit, at times cunning politician" (p. 47). Jefferson feared concentrated power—whether British or Hamiltonian Federalist—yet himself had an instinct for power as well as considerable administrative and political talents. More than his other contemporaries, Jefferson "explored the ambiguities of freedom" and remained both the voice and the conscience of Revolutionary ideology. Jefferson consistently saw a vision in its purest form, "conceptualized and verbalized it brilliantly, and then struggled to relate it to reality, shifting, twisting, maneuvering backward and forward as he did so" (p. 47). Bailyn's conclusion about Jefferson reverberates more broadly as a reflection of the Revolution itself: Jefferson "sought to realize the Revolution's glittering promise, and as he did so he discovered the inner complexities and ambiguities of these ideals as well as their strengths, and

left a legacy of compromise and incompleteness which his critics would forever assail” (p. 59).

A superb chapter on *The Federalist* amplifies some themes Bailyn developed in a piece on the Constitution as the ideological fulfillment of the Revolution from his 1990 essay collection *Faces of Revolution*. Bailyn places the papers in their historical context as one of four stages in the creation of the Constitution. Noting, as he did in his 1990 piece, that the aim of the series was to update the Revolutionary ideology and shape it into an effective plan for governing a nation, Bailyn argues that the Constitution which *The Federalist* explained was a document very different from the one we have come to know because subsequent amendments (those of the post-Civil War era especially) have “fundamentally altered the scope and meaning of the Constitution” (p. 105). Are the papers still relevant today? Yes, says Bailyn, because they still speak to Americans’ concerns with political power and with the fundamental tensions in the political system over the proper balance between liberty and power. Thus, although they describe and defend a Constitution since greatly changed, *The Federalist* “still speak to us directly . . . [as] a practical commentary on the uses and misuses of power” (p. 125).

Two other essays nicely illustrate the book’s key themes: a chapter on Benjamin Franklin and the interplay between idealism and realism in his Paris diplomacy and in the ways Franklin came to symbolize America, and a concluding chapter that traces the mixed reception of the nation’s founding ideals abroad, a reception marked by the very tension and ambiguity the founders themselves grappled with at home. In each piece Bailyn underscores his theme of provincial America providing examples for a metropolitan world.

It is no criticism to say that these brief essays are more provocative and suggestive than definitive, more a set of ruminations than sustained and developed arguments. Bailyn wants readers to think (or re-think) certain features of early American history as well as contemporary America and to keep asking themselves, as the founders did, why things are as they are. As both a call to and an example of this perpetual curiosity, the book succeeds splendidly by providing a stimulating launch pad for the creative imagination.

TODD ESTES
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Chad Montrie. *To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003. Pp. xv, 264, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.)

According to accepted wisdom, best articulated in Samuel Hays' *Beauty, Health and Permanence* (1987), suburban middle-class organizations, such as the Sierra Club, set the agenda and led the fight to protect the environment in the post-World War II era. This monograph challenges that wisdom. Taking issue with Hays, Chad Montrie argues that "local people" deserve credit for leading the opposition to strip mining in Appalachia. This interpretation mirrors the prevailing trends in the historiography of civil rights which maintains that grassroots action determined the movement's success. Unfortunately, in the case of strip mining, the end result was unsuccessful. Though "common people . . . pioneer[ed] environmental concern" (p. 201), Montrie concludes that once the struggle moved to the national arena, Congress responded more favorably to the "reasonable" requests of high-profile, well-funded lobbies that willingly compromised with the strip mine industry. As the distance between the grassroots and national environmental groups grew, the demand for abolition of surface mining transformed into regulation and the result was the weak, loosely enforced federal Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977. In short, the suburban middle-class interest groups actually weakened and undermined the more resolute agenda of ordinary Appalachians.

In addition to this historiographic confrontation, Montrie questions the view of activists, particularly those of the 1960s, as radicals. Essentially rooting their actions in a version of American republicanism that recognizes the sanctity of private property and embraces the Lockean philosophy of natural rights including the necessity to rebel, Montrie correctly argues that, however militant their actions, strip mine opponents were hardly radical or revolutionary. This assertion, nonetheless, points to a broader political issue central to the surface mining debate. While opponents claimed their rights as farmers and residents, strip miners rested their claims on their proprietary rights as mineral owners. Ironically, though this contest over whose "property" was paramount steered the abolitionist position, mainstream environmental groups used this as leverage to obtain regulation rather than abolition.

At the heart of Montrie's work is a series of case studies that examine the movement to abolish strip mining in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West

Virginia, and Kentucky. Though they shared a common goal, each state contained its own individual collection of activists. From those who saw strip mining as an environmental hazard, or as a threat to their livelihoods, to those who thought it a sin against God's creation, these activists all shared the idea that miners who profited at the expense of the "public good" committed a fundamental wrong. While this belief, in the minds of those who favored prohibition, justified open rebellion, their multifaceted local nature opened the door for state and federal officials to offer weaker regulatory bills to the more visible, national conservation organizations. This, in the end, pitted prohibitionists against regulation advocates, and divided the movement.

Complicating this already volatile mix was the role of coal miners themselves. While surface miners rejected any measure that threatened their jobs, deep miners argued that a ban would increase employment in the mines and that those displaced would be reabsorbed in expanded deep mines. Caught in the middle was organized labor. Though the West Virginia Labor Federation (a chapter of the AFL-CIO) claimed that it was "wishful thinking" for proponents of abolition to believe that deep mining had the capacity to re-employ those dislocated, it favored a ban if "new safeguards were not adopted by the legislature" (p. 116). Contrary to the AFL-CIO's ambivalence, by the mid-1970s the United Mine Workers readily accepted regulation out of fear that the abolition movement, which represented an immediate threat to existing jobs, would gather strength should the federal government fail to address any of the regulators' concerns. According to UMW officials, the question was not whether to ban stripping, but to control its worst effects. Virtually all miners, nevertheless, decried the environmentalists who cared little about employment, but only wanted to protect the land's "aesthetic" value.

Despite his insistence that the grassroots drove the anti-strip mining movement, Montrie does recognize the role that other groups, in particular the antipoverty warriors of the 1960s, played in the formation of such local organizations as the Appalachian Group to Save the Land and People. By the latter part of the decade, however, when AGSLP formed, most antipoverty workers were not locals, including those in Pike County, Kentucky, where AGSLP had its most famous stand. What impact did the influx of middle-class activists—those same types of people Montrie claims undermined the movement—have on the fight to halt stripping through community action programs, Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA), and the Appalachian Volunteers? Since many have remained in the region since the 1960s and still

work for social justice, are we to assume that they are now the “grassroots”? Perhaps, on the other hand, middle-class activists had a more significant influence, positively or negatively, than Montrie recognizes. Moreover, what impact did other grassroots movements of that time, such as eastern Kentucky’s Roving Pickets, have on the dynamics of the strip mining controversy? Though issues surrounding the War on Poverty are not his primary concern, Montrie’s omission of significant secondary sources concerning the antipoverty movement, especially in eastern Kentucky, reveals a significant hole. At one point, the author employs a title of an article concerning AGSLP and the anti-poverty workers in his text, but fails to provide the citation in his notes or bibliography. An error such as this poses larger questions concerning research quality.

To Save the Land and People, nevertheless, provides an intriguing look at interest group politics and environmental history. It shows us that the field upon which various organizations compete to assert their agendas is far from level and that organizing for change at the grassroots is only the start of a long arduous battle.

THOMAS KIFFMEYER
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Steven M. Nolt. *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. Pp. x, 238, notes, bibliography, index, cloth \$33.00.)

Building on recent work by such colonial and Revolutionary era scholars as Marianne Wokeck, Aaron Fogelman, and A. G. Roeber, Steven Nolt traces the evolution of Pennsylvania German political and religious culture from the earliest days of the Republic through the antebellum period. This clear, concise, and well researched book argues convincingly that German Americans were the first large group of non-Anglo European “others” who simultaneously resisted cultural assimilation but sought political accommodation in the process of becoming American. They did so in the period of the early republic, an era typically ignored by major immigration studies as a dead spot in the flow of newcomers. As Wokeck and Fogelman have shown, the tide of German immigration that settled “Greater Pennsylvania” ebbed and flowed from the 1710s to the 1750s. Fogelman and Roeber explored the

political and religious culture that first generation immigrants and second generation German Americans developed by the Revolution. Nolt contends that the third and fourth generations continued to create their own American identity precisely during the age of government building and religious awakening when the new nation defined itself.

Pennsylvania Germans, rural Lutherans and German Reformed from the new nation's most polyglot state, "pioneered the process of ethnicization-as-Americanization" that subsequent waves of non-British-stock immigrants would undergo in the United States (p. 5). Blending immigration, ethnic, political, and religious history, Steven Nolt argues that Palatines, Hanoverians, and Hessian Protestants (among others) created the "Pennsylvania German" ethnicity in colonial America first by ascription from their mainstream Anglo-American hosts and then made it their own. They crafted a unique culture consisting of shared political ideals regarding the meaning of America—formed from their cultural interaction with the mainstream in the colonial and revolutionary contexts—and religious institutions that sustained German culture and folkways and stirred ecclesiastical debates about "liberty, democracy, American identity, and community and church boundaries" (p. 7). As such, the Pennsylvania Germans illustrate the "paradox of Americanization." Nolt argues that "what Pennsylvania Germans did with the common notions of American political and religious identity, and how they employed such notions (in ways often different from those of their neighbors) . . . had made them Americans without assimilating them" (pp. 2, 7, 9).

In his first two chapters Nolt describes the development of Pennsylvania German political culture after the war. He contends that through the rhetoric and reality of the Revolution and its political, economic, and religious aftermath they transcended their "peasant republicanism" to conceive of political liberty in positive, as well as negative, terms. Although Pennsylvania Germans were slow to seek office, Nolt argues that their democratic, localist orientation was a positive assertion of American liberty rather than a backward or reactionary cultural defense mechanism. Pennsylvania Germans framed their political arguments "in patriotic American rhetoric that joined ethnic parochialism and national intention—claims that assumed both an identification with the United States and a commitment to define what that identification meant. Pennsylvania German separatism would be increasingly and perhaps somewhat paradoxically linked to larger visions of American purpose" (p. 43).

Nolt's best example of this paradox lies within the story of the German Reformed "Free Synod" schism in the 1820s, found in one chapter among four detailing religious culture. When the Synod of the Reformed Church of the United States, a body heavily influenced by Anglicized New York Dutch, proposed to open a new seminary in Frederick, Maryland using the English language, many Pennsylvania German Reformed churches recoiled. A Montgomery County congregation resolved "we consider such undertakings as aristocratic, robbing us of our liberty and [it] appears extravagant, [and] in it we see no benefit for the German congregations." A Kutztown church resolved "we have declared our congregations from now on independent and free" (p.75). They democratically applied the rhetoric of republicanism to retain local and ethnic control of their churches and their spiritual lives, thus claiming their American right to remain German. German Evangelical Lutherans did not experience the drastic schism that the Reformed and other Second Great Awakening denominations experienced, but rather continued the ecumenical process of ethnicization with their Reformed neighbors begun in the eighteenth century. In *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, A. G. Roeber described the Lutherans' development of a German-American political culture; in *Foreigners in Their Own Land*, Nolt does the same for the Reformed. But Nolt takes care to show the complexity of Pennsylvania German political and religious culture, revealing that like all Americans, they were divided between notions of liberty and order, localism and centralization, spiritual individualism and clerical bureaucracy.

This powerful book could have been made even stronger with more attention to Pennsylvania German political history. Nolt's political account thins after the War of 1812, yet he richly narrates the religious story to the middle of the nineteenth century. One also wonders why he chose to end his story then, when the Pennsylvania Germans' American identity, both political and spiritual, faced the test of the American Civil War. These quibbles aside, this is an impressive and important work in Pennsylvania German history. It will measure up to the high standards set by recent historians of that genre. Scholars in the larger fields of the early republic, American religious, and ethnic history will find it equally valuable.

PAUL DOUGLAS NEWMAN
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Roger D. Simon. *Philadelphia: A Brief History*. (University Park: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2003. Pp. viii, 144, appendices, paper \$11.95.)

Simon's wonderfully illustrated and written book should serve as the entry into Philadelphia's history for a variety of audiences: the high school and college students for whom it was intended, but also for tourists, inhabitants, and scholars. Indeed, it is hard to imagine a better short history of an American city. Whether Simon is dealing with Benjamin Franklin or late-nineteenth-century immigrants, with the city's nineteenth-century industrial growth or its equally notorious political corruption, with sports teams or museums, no significant element is omitted. All the critical elements are given brisk and appropriate treatment, none too long or too short.

Paradox infuses Simon's account and Philadelphia's history. Begun as the "City of Brotherly Love," Philadelphia has endured racial and ethnic hostility at least since the eighteenth century, culminating in the bombing of the MOVE community in the late twentieth. A city filled with beautiful parks, landmarks, and public works projects, large parts of the city are now wastelands, monuments to its peak population of over two million in 1950 and sad reminders of deindustrialization. The city graced with Benjamin Franklin's numerous public improvements accomplished by voluntary associations of citizens is also the city whose nineteenth-century political corruption prompted not only muckrakers such as Lincoln Steffens, but even New York's own boss George Washington Plunkett, to criticize a dominant Republican machine that paid the rent on the Democratic Party's headquarters to provide the appearance of real opposition. The elegant waterworks situated at the foot of the Art Museum were a response to eight yellow fever epidemics the city endured between 1793 and 1805; a century later, public health was so neglected that the city's mortality rate was nearly twice the national average.

Simon places blame for the city's faults squarely on two groups: an irresponsible elite and the equally selfish politicians who took their place. He echoes sociologist Digby Baltzell's thesis (see interview in *Pennsylvania History*, 1996) that a Quaker-based upper class rejected the public for the private and the cities for the suburbs, preferring flight to fight in accordance with the religion's pacifist tenets. The politicians who replaced them similarly lacked the social conscience that bosses and their minions demonstrated elsewhere in America—Pennsylvania Republicans were so hidebound they even refused to accept New Deal assistance when it was made available. The New Deal finally changed things somewhat, and Simon cites the great

accomplishments of mayors Joseph Clark and Richardson Dilworth in the 1950s as examples of what civic-minded administrators could, and can, accomplish.

Despite acknowledging Philadelphia's problems—many of them caused by a flight to the suburbs encouraged by federal highway dollars, inequitable taxation, an unresponsive state government, and bank lending patterns—Simon correctly points out that Philadelphia has not gone the way of Detroit, Newark, or other once-great urban metropolises. The city's freeways for the most part do not destroy neighborhoods, skyscrapers are limited to a segment of downtown, and miles of attractive eighteenth and nineteenth-century housing remains intact. Working and middle-class people can still afford to buy houses and rent apartments in most of the city. Health, once the city's bane, is now one of its glories as world-class hospitals and medical training abound. Still, crime and poverty are rampant.

The son of a Philadelphia businessman, Simon's love for his native city appears in both his praise for its good points and his anger at its correctible—through enlightened government at all levels—defects. Useful appendices include a list of notable buildings still standing in the city, which should encourage those who care to make sure they survive the wrecker's ball.

WILLIAM PENCAK

The Pennsylvania State University

Steve Mellon. *After the Smoke Clears: Struggling to Get By in Rustbelt America*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002. Pp. 192, index, cloth \$29.00.)

It was not until the latter third of the twentieth century that social scientists coined the term “deindustrialization.” In reality though, this economic and social phenomenon could trace its roots at least to the 1920s in selected pockets of industrial America, such as the coalfields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. What Steve Mellon dramatically captures in *After the Smoke Clears* is the often painful and difficult human condition left in the wake of deindustrialization. When industry downsizes, moves offshore, invests overseas, or simply closes because of market conditions or Wall Street investment decisions, what happens to communities and people? This book provides a glimpse.

Do not look here for intellectual analyses or cerebral discussions of how and why the United States deindustrialized. Rather, in these pages ordinary people in Homestead and Braddock, Pennsylvania; Lewiston, Maine; Matewan, West Virginia; and Flint, Michigan tell their stories of struggle and survival when major industries pulled out or shut down. *After the Smoke Clears* is at once a social history and a reflection on the everyday impact of America's transition from the "old economy" to the "new economy." Indeed, the first-hand insights of ordinary people are the book's greatest strength.

Anyone who has ever visited a town like Homestead or known people from it can immediately relate to *After the Smoke Clears*. People like Mike Stout of Homestead, Mary Ward of Blackberry City, West Virginia, Bob Keith of Flint, Michigan, and Bob Davis of Lewiston, Maine dramatically reveal another less spoken side of the reality of American economics. People, their lives and livelihoods, and entire communities experience upheaval in the wake of deindustrialization. The resultant personal and social problems and attempts to overcome them are both troublesome and inspiring. Mike Stout tells of how unemployed steelworkers found themselves trapped in a system of failure and frustration; of how "within four years of the place [steel mill in Homestead] shutting down, I had eighty-one guys that I knew of personally who died of strokes, cancer, heart attacks [and] suicides." Wilfred Moreau in Lewiston, Maine describes losing his good-paying job at a local mill when it closed, then working as a human traffic signal on roadway construction jobs for less than half the pay. Bob Keith of Flint, Michigan, once the bedrock of General Motors, tells of how his hometown was rated one of the ten most dangerous in America by the mid-1990s due to soaring crime rates and large-scale unemployment and underemployment.

Until recently, such firsthand experiences of the American working class were rarely the subject of scholarly research. Workers who rode (and continue to ride) the wave of deindustrialization were seldom heard from and even less understood. Economic transition, such as that experienced in the American economy in the latter third of the twentieth century, has its costs. There are, as there have always been, two sides to the story of free enterprise capitalism. For all the good that the "new economy" and free trade may do in advancing technology, improving the delivery of services, and opening new markets, there is a downside. *After the Smoke Clears* tells of the downside. Or, rather, the people who experienced the downside tell of it in this insightful book.

To understand deindustrialization, historians, social scientists, and public policymakers would be well served by reading several contemporary works.

These include, among others, *The Deindustrialization of America* by Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison (New York: Basic Books, 1982); *When the Mines Closed* by Thomas Dublin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); *Look for the Union Label* by Gus Tyler (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995); *Fighting for the Union Label* by Kenneth Wolensky et al. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); and an important series of investigative articles that appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in the early 1990s entitled “America: What Went Wrong?”

Added to this list, however, must be *After the Smoke Clears*. This book has been needed for a long time.

KENNETH C. WOLENSKY

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Charlene Mires. *Independence Hall: In American Memory*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. Pp. xviii, 352, notes, index, cloth \$37.50.)

Scholarly attention to public memory has steadily increased since the 1980s in a variety of disciplines. Charlene Mires’s *Independence Hall: In American Memory* is an important addition to the growing body of literature on how popular history is actively made, remembered, preserved, and sometimes forgotten. In *Independence Hall*—public building and contents—Mires convincingly demonstrates that the landmark State House in Philadelphia was not frozen in its eighteenth-century past. It was not just a historic building holding civic and cultural center functions throughout the nineteenth century, either. In studying the “simultaneous processes of constructing and preserving a building, the nation and memory” (p. xiv), she writes about its longer, more complex history, one full of contradictions, and takes readers beyond the story of the nation’s founding (namely, the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution) to present-day tourists at Independence National Historical Park. The oddity of what is missed about Independence Hall, concludes Mires, has been the way “successive generations have struggled to define the essence of American national identity” (p. viii).

In describing the connections between collective memory and history and going well beyond the works of earlier writers, Mires offers readers, over ten finely tuned chapters, a new focus—namely, how new generations of

Americans became aware of their history. We see more clearly now how the Pennsylvania State House served as a place for protest and celebration, and how the events that followed in this urban environment created opportunities for memorializing the past, advancing the ideals of liberty and equality, and stabilizing a disorderly society through restoration. For example, the 1824 visit of Marquis de Lafayette led Philadelphians to think about restoring Independence Hall. This was done, Mires explains, to restate the nation's founding ideals and to use the building to fulfill its ritual function. Afterwards, beginning in the 1830s, Independence Hall and its grounds served as a stage for labor union protests over workers' rights, for legal battles over the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act and slavery, for Philadelphia's nativist politicians, and as a symbol of Union. Of special interest is her recounting of how the U.S. Marshall's Office, up to 1854, used the second floor of the State House to hear six fugitive slave cases (pp. 95–99).

In telling this heretofore under-explored nineteenth-century history and in opening the door for constructing pluralist interpretations, Mires makes a number of salient points. She shows that Independence Hall served as an "active workshop of practical politics" (p. 33) and that it was a "place defined by political, social and cultural struggles over the memory of those events" (p. xiv). This revered symbol of the American Republic was, then, always a work in progress. Mires's vignettes for the twentieth century (Ralph Nader, Progressive Citizens of America, and others) are also grandly presented.

Overall, *Independence Hall: In American Memory* is a comprehensive, highly detailed, very readable, and well-illustrated monograph. This building biography not only takes direct aim in accounting for the many important events over two centuries that had been largely lost from public memory, but also regularly asks the relevant question of who were at different times the defenders of liberty. In doing so, Mires has skillfully broadened our understanding of how national buildings like the symbolic Independence Hall provide "assurance that the nation can be managed and sustained" (p. 181) and at the same time have a "role in constructing and perpetuating memory" (p. 279).

Mires's excellent historical treatment (Chapter 6) of the Liberty Bell and its many journeys is an unexpected bonus. Strange as it may seem, the more "free-ranging and unregulated" Liberty Bell became a more popular patriotic symbol of nationhood than Independence Hall, because it was able to transcend "time and place to represent the American ideal of liberty" (p. 167). In the Cold War era the much-traveled "venerable relic" joined its architecturally rich "historic home" in civilizing the urban area when the National

Park Service created a large national historical park in 1951, frequently referred to as "America's most historic square mile."

Mires has succeeded in creating an expansive model for the interpretative histories yet to be written on other prominent historic sites in Pennsylvania and the mid-Atlantic region. Thus, this title is highly recommended for anyone interested in the field of cultural studies and Pennsylvania history. Mires tells us more than most historians about "when and why societies are willing to spend the money necessary to keep historic buildings in repair" (p. xvi), and about the consequences of selective historical site interpretation in defining a city and a nation.

ROLAND M. BAUMANN

Oberlin College

Matthew C. Ward. *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003. Pp. x, 329, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index, cloth \$34.95, paper \$21.95.)

The Pennsylvania backcountry has come into its own in recent years as a focus for early American historiography. Books by Michael McConnell, James Merrell, Jane Merritt, Patrick Griffin, and Gregory Evans Dowd have made the case for viewing the Pennsylvania frontier as a laboratory for ethnic identity formation and race relations in colonial North America, and all of these works share a common thread in their description of this region's transformation from an intercultural frontier into a war zone marked by racial violence and segregation by the 1750s. Into this already crowded room strolls Matthew C. Ward, with a new military history of the Seven Years' War informed by the latest ethnohistorical scholarship on the subject. Ward's twist on this familiar story is his wider regional perspective, which treats backcountry Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania as a single unit of study. This conceptualization makes sense, as the native and colonial populations in this region paid little heed to the colonial borders that separated them and often shared bonds of cultural affinity and kinship across such lines. The resulting narrative covers some familiar ground, but it also offers important insights into the social evolution of backcountry society that help explain why the Seven Years' War was so destructive there.

Ward's story shifts between describing the major military engagements of the war in western Pennsylvania and Virginia (Braddock's March and Defeat, the Forbes Campaign, Pontiac's Rebellion) and examining the impact those hostilities had on local populations. According to him, the backcountry was more volatile and vulnerable during wartime than eastern provinces because it lacked a stable elite and was ethnically and religiously divided. Most colonial settlements along the Pennsylvania-Virginia frontier were barely a generation old in the 1750s, and their inhabitants were recent immigrants without strong ties to locality or neighbors. These circumstances created a great deal of economic competition, social division, and institutional instability in the backcountry. When colonial officials and British officers tried to mobilize manpower and resources for the war effort, they were thwarted by the settlers' refusal to defer to social betters. One imagines Braddock and Forbes, trying to wheedle horses and supplies out of the uncooperative populace, muttering "A wagon! A wagon! My kingdom for a wagon!" as they went about their work.

Ward's Indians approached the war with greater unity of purpose. Ward describes their raids against backcountry settlements as a campaign of "psychological warfare" that "represented a new response to European contact" (p. 55). Just how new such tactics were is debatable; much the same could be said of King Philip's War eighty years earlier. Nevertheless, Ward's conclusions about the impact of this guerilla-style warfare on the backcountry are indisputable: a breakdown in political and social authority, economic disruption, and panicked depopulation. By the time provincial governments got around to constructing frontier fortifications, barely any settlers were left in the backcountry to defend.

Ward's examination of provincial military service in the war is clearly inspired by the social military history of Fred Anderson and Harold Selesky on colonial Massachusetts and Connecticut, respectively. New Englanders serving in the Seven Years' War came from ethnically and religiously homogeneous communities that dated back to the seventeenth century. Backcountry Pennsylvanians and Virginians, on the other hand, lacked the group identity and cohesion that grew from common roots and shared values. They often refused militia service or deserted quickly after enlisting, even when local elites recruited and commanded them. Such behavior was unimaginable in Anderson's and Selesky's New England, where stable social hierarchies provided plenty of manpower and enthusiasm for the war. When British general John Forbes described his backcountry recruits as

“a gathering from the scum of the worst of people in every Country,” (p. 91), he was not far from the mark, at least in terms of their diverse backgrounds and penchant for drunkenness and insubordination.

Ward has provided a highly readable and interesting look at the back-country during a calamitous time. His attention to the social circumstances of this region and his explicit comparisons of it to the more widely documented wartime experience of New England helps explain why the war had such a profound impact on the evolution of the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier. Never stable to begin with, this region fragmented under the pressures of war, giving vent to the kind of interracial violence that continued to plague it through the Revolutionary era.

TIMOTHY J. SHANNON
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R. William Weisberger, Wallace McLeod, and S. Brent Morris, editors. *Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic: Essays Concerning the Craft in the British Isles, Europe, United States and Mexico*. (New York & Boulder: Columbia University Press, East European Monographs, 2002. Pp. xxviii, 942, index, cloth \$43.00.)

Freemasonry—as first an association of craftsmen, and later a secretive society predicated upon moral, religious, philosophical and scientific aphorisms, geared toward truth and charity—has proven a powerful, and at times, volatile influence upon society and polity. Seeking to explain and edify its character, editor William Weisberger organizes a wide and international set of authors and essays to discuss the breadth and depth of Freemasonry. As a self-professed “study of Atlantic history,” the work attempts to place the social, philosophical, religious and scientific histories of Freemasonry into conversation, tracking the development of and opposition to speculative freemasonry across “vast amounts of historical and geographical” terrain (p. xvii). As an evocation of the history of Freemasonry and as an invaluable teaching tool about the history and development of the Craft, the collection is unequalled. To claim, however, that this is a work of Atlantic history severely overstates the case. The work, as its afterword by historian Seymour Drescher implies, offers a good start, but never places the essays or authors in conversation with one another, never offers a “systematic” comparison or

study of Freemasonry as a transnational organization (pp. 938–939). Thus, what the reader gets is less an Atlantic history of Freemasonry and more a useful set of individual, *national* histories of Freemasonry.

Organized in a succession of five parts, the text examines the development of Freemasonry throughout the Atlantic World, including the British Isles, Europe, the United States, and Mexico. The first of the five parts examines the development of Freemasonry in the British Isles, paying particular attention to the birth of the Scottish Grand Lodge, to the role of music in Freemasonry, and to the multifaceted impact of individuals and the Craft upon the enlightenment. Beginning with the development of the Scottish lodges and drawn from the dissertation of Lisa Kahler, we see the internal developments of speculative Freemasonry as it moved from an organization of skilled craftsmen to become a social institution. Highlighting the first localized transitions from “operative” to “accepted” lodges, and then wider development of a Grand Lodge of Scotland, Kahler’s three chapters build to a crescendo that highlights the changes within the Scottish lodge, and highlights both the mutual and exclusive developments of Scottish and English lodges. Particularly interesting are the shifting patterns of membership in the Edinburgh and Canongate Killwinning, where the increased presence of gentry, professionals, and non-stonemasons in the latter lodge seem to foretell both the move to accepted lodges and the rise of the Grand Lodge itself (all pages of import). A study of the connections among several Edinburgh lodges and the Musical Society reveals not only the importance of music to the early lodges, but the cross-class and community associations, and philosophical parallels between the Lodges and the Musical Society of Edinburgh. The section on the British Isles finishes with three deeply researched essays scrutinizing the etymology of Freemasonry, examining the pivotal role played by James Anderson in the initial years of English Freemasonry, and highlighting John Theophilus Desagulier’s role as “cultural broker between Speculative Freemasonry and the early English Enlightenment” (p. xviii).

Moving to the European side, the seven essays of part two highlight the development of the Craft throughout western and eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire and Russia. Revealing the movement of Freemasonry across the English Channel, two of the seven essays detail the powerful and international role of La Loge des Neuf Soeurs. Nicholas Hans casts Benjamin Franklin as the prime influence behind the Parisian lodge, while R. William Weisberger places the French lodge in a broader perspective, studying both the scientific and philosophical membership and philanthropy of the Nine

Sisters, while emphasizing the connections to American masons and the *Americanophile* quality of the French Lodge. The subsequent essays move Freemasonry further into Europe, with examinations ranging from a study of the influences of Freemasonry on the Italian Carbonari through the eyes and work of Lord Byron, to a Habermasian study of the True Harmony Lodge of Vienna and the Lodge of the Three Stars in Prague, detailing their various social and cultural endeavors, and highlighting the interaction of the social world of the lodge with the public, political sphere. The final essays of the section follow suit. An essay on the political life and exploits of Hungarian Freemasonry by Zsuzsa Nagy traces Freemasonry from the eighteenth through the twentieth century, detailing not only the elite membership but the social reforms and political battles waged by an institution rendered illegal in 1795. Peter Mentzel and Lauren Leighton, respectively, move Speculative Freemasonry further east, detailing the power and pitfalls of nationalistic Freemasonry during the 1876 and 1908 Ottoman revolutions, and the influence of Freemasonry upon Russian poet V. L. Pushkin, and in turn, his influence upon Russian Masonry.

The third section, divided equally between Revolutionary/Early Republic Masonry and Anti-masonry, finally moves the study across the Atlantic, though the connections betwixt and between European and American Freemasonry take a backseat to a hagiography of great American masons. Building from the work of Dorothy Ann Lipson, the first part of the American section attempts to uncover the influence of Freemasonry upon American political culture. Beginning with Fred Lamar Pearson, we focus not on the vital role played by average masons, but the intellectual contribution of “heroic revolutionary Americans” who were at the same time practitioners of the Craft. Franklin, Dickinson, the Adamses, the Randolphs, Hancock, Chief Justice Marshall, and Washington highlight Pearson’s who’s who of the Revolutionary generation. These men, these masons, and the Craft they practiced left an indelible mark upon post-Revolutionary society. In a similar vein, Freemasonry, as Stephen Bullock argues, formed a cultural glue that held together the continental officer core, while class outstripped fraternity in the choice of Revolutionary sides. After the Revolution, as Richard Rutyna and Jay McPherson’s essays announce, Freemasonry played a pivotal role in social mobility but was not the source of American symbols—the Pyramid and the Eye. The final five articles of the section detail the structures, beliefs, and fears of anti-Masonic sentiment, and the progress of Freemasonry through the twentieth century. Punctuating this section are Tony Fels’s study

of the Gilded Age San Francisco lodge as a mechanism for cultural and social conversation between Jewish and Protestant members; and the evocative study by Paul Rich and David Merchant of Islamic reactions to the Shrine's appropriation of Muslim symbols and the discomfort with which many conservatives—Islamic or otherwise—respond to the orientalism and perceived religiosity of Masonic activities.

The concluding section of essays underscores the importance of Freemasonry to Mexico, placing the rise of Freemasonry in conversation with urbanization and examining the course of “associationalism” and volunteerism in Mexico. Of the three essays, the final two offer interesting critiques of the “pessimism” of Robert Putnam and Francis Fukuyama about the course of associationalism in our time (p. 726). Placing the central tenets of Putnam and Fukuyama in a transnational context, the authors argue that while Americans may be “bowling alone” such is not the case in Mexico, where NGOs and private associations continue to play a major role in democracy. It is with these essays that the collection moves closest to a transnational study of Freemasonry.

While several of the essays work toward a transnational vision of Freemasonry, the text as a whole does not deliver. While falling short of its intentions, and in spite of its editorial gaffes—“*boughts*” instead of *thoughts* throughout the editor's introduction—*Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic* offers a deeply researched collection of national histories of Freemasonry, and proves an invaluable source for information regarding the development and transformation of the Craft, concluding with a rich bibliography of primary and secondary sources and international libraries ripe for new transnational research. Despite its shortcomings, *Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic* offers much to the expert and the novice alike, proving a valuable step toward studying human institutions and organizations outside the bounds of the nation-state.

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Darwin H. Stapleton and Donna Heckman Stapleton. *Dignity, Discourse, and Destiny: The Life of Courtney C. Smith*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004. Pp. 7, 253, notes, bibliography, index, cloth, \$45.00.)

Reading the biography of Courtney Smith by Darwin and Donna Stapleton is like entering a time warp, to a time and place where White Anglo-Saxon Protestant men still dominated every aspect of American life. As a college professor and then as president of Swarthmore College, Courtney Smith flourished in an era before the great paradigm shifts of the late 1960s and early 1970s changed the country forever.

Smith was born in Winterset, Iowa in 1916, where his family was active in the local Presbyterian Church. Life was good for the Smiths until Courtney's father, who had done well as a businessman and bank president, died in 1929 just two months after the Wall Street crash, leaving his family in difficult circumstances. His mother moved Courtney and his sister to an apartment in Des Moines, where the children attended public school.

Courtney's record as an outstanding student launched him on his upward path. Entering Harvard in the fall of 1934, he was always careful to dress appropriately, "in an understated, impeccably fine, although limited wardrobe of flannels and herringbone, similar to that of the more affluent private school students" (p. 22). He took up pipe smoking and created a network of friends and acquaintances, which, along with his careful attire, became lifelong habits that helped him to rise in the right circles, despite his Midwestern background. Courtney's marriage to Elizabeth "Betty" Proctor was also a good choice. A Smith College graduate, she was from a wealthy, well-connected Boston family, and throughout their years of marriage she played the role of the devoted helpmate who had no career of her own.

Of utmost importance to Smith's later success was his becoming a Rhodes Scholar in 1938, an experience that was cut short the following year by the outbreak of World War II. In 1953 he became the American Secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Program, after having helped to found the Woodrow Wilson Fellowships. By then he had earned a doctorate in English literature from Harvard, had served as a Naval officer during the last year and a half of the war, and had become a member of the English Department at Princeton University.

Frank Aydelotte, a Harvard graduate who had headed the American Rhodes Program before Smith, recommended Courtney for the presidency of

Swarthmore College. Aydelotte himself had been president of Swarthmore (1921–1940) and had transformed it from a small and rather undistinguished Quaker institution in suburban Philadelphia into one of the top liberal arts colleges in the United States. Taking the helm at Swarthmore in 1953, Smith continued to use his vast networking skills to remain a leader in American higher education and soon began moving in exalted social, economic, and political circles in the Philadelphia region.

Smith was an unapologetic elitist at Swarthmore, and he took a personal interest in attracting faculty from elite academic backgrounds: “He strongly favored those with Ivy League and British training and readily dismissed those from state universities” (p. 88). He also insisted on admitting students of the highest academic caliber from the best secondary schools. In this way, he believed, Swarthmore students and faculty could provide intelligent leadership for the community, the nation, and the world beyond.

Smith viewed the ideal student and the ideal faculty member as being much like himself. Such a vision had little room for cultural or intellectual diversity, however much Smith trumpeted the values of academic freedom and community dialogue in the best tradition of Quaker equality and open discernment. Although Smith remained a member of the Presbyterian Church, he admired the Quaker emphasis on community and its tradition of allowing everyone to express his or her opinion as a way of reaching “a sense of the meeting.”

When it came to controversial social issues, Smith believed that the college community, including students, should study each issue carefully and consider the consequences of any actions. He was therefore dismayed by what he considered to be strident, emotional, and uninformed student criticisms and demands as expressed in the student newspaper or in campus demonstrations. Particularly upsetting to him was the position of Swarthmore’s Afro-American Students Society, which demanded to have a continuing independent voice in campus affairs that flew in the face of the traditional “consensus-seeking style” at Swarthmore. The group threatened “direct action” if the college did not meet its demands for increased enrollment of black students.

Smith managed to keep cool during this period, but as tensions were mounting, Smith died of a massive heart attack at age 52 in January 1969. How he would have dealt with the new realities of higher education, with its calls for greater cultural diversity and its strong challenges to a Eurocentric view of the world can never be known. For anyone who wishes to understand

the academic world that directly preceded the paradigm shifts of the 1960s, the Stapletons' well written and well researched biography of Courtney Smith is essential reading. It is a model academic biography.

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The "Great Strike": Perspectives on the 1902 Anthracite Coal Strike. (Easton, PA: Canal History and Technology Press, 2002. Pp. vi, 137, biographical notes, paper \$10.00.)

Contemporary opinion leaders treated the 1902 anthracite coal strike as a landmark event. The savvy president of the United Mine Workers Union, John Mitchell, and the vigorous new president of the United States, Teddy Roosevelt, appeared to demonstrate that statesmanship could resolve large-scale conflicts between labor and capital without the violence, military intervention, and repression that had characterized strikes of the previous generation like the 1877 railroad strike, the Homestead steel strike of 1892, or the Pullman car boycott and strike of 1894. A work stoppage that threatened a crucial energy supply had been settled with reasonable outcomes for all parties. Thus, strikes, like other social problems, could be solved through rational discussion and compromise. For the punditocracy and many subsequent historians this ideological reaction to the strike set the tone for what was to become Progressivism.

This volume consists of six essays written for a conference on the hundredth anniversary of the strike. The authors seek to place the big event into a local context or to analyze retrospectively its particular aspects. In the first essay Robert Jasonow sets a context with an assemblage of both descriptive and statistical information about the anthracite region. Each of the other essays focuses on a single topic.

Joseph P. Kerns treats the strike as "a benchmark in the history of American journalism" as well as labor history (p. 29). He argues that John Mitchell's carefully-orchestrated efforts to increase public support for the strikers anticipated modern public relations campaigns with their choreographed rhetorical strategies pitched to multiple publics.

Lance Metz uses local press accounts to demonstrate in detail how rank-and-file strikers systematically enforced the moral code of working-class sol-

idity and thereby sustained the strike long enough for Mitchell's appeals to public opinion to take effect. His strike is less a triumph of conciliation and compromise than of the efficacy of unrestrained working-class militancy.

Robert P. Wolensky analyzes the system of subcontracting within the mines as a symbol of the underlying conflict between owners' desires to increase productivity and the union's desire to maintain uniform union standards.

Robert G. Healey examines the operators' arguments during the strike in light of the economics of the industry. The operators, he argues, were not necessarily the disdainful autocrats depicted in the contemporary press. Rather, their intransigence and apparent disdain for public sensibility were a function of their awareness of underlying economic problems in the industry that would lead to its collapse in the next generation.

Finally, Joseph M. Gowaskie critically re-evaluates John Mitchell as a union leader. Gowaskie suggests that Mitchell was hardly the boy wonder that some contemporaries felt him to be and that his decisions as union president were at least partially responsible for the precarious state of the union during the decade after the 1902 strike.

All of these essays are clearly written and competently researched. Nonetheless, I am not sure whom the authors see as their intended audience. The essays are too academic to appeal to the general reading public, but also too narrowly focused to challenge or entice academic historians who are not specialists in the region or the particular topic of the essay. For the most part the essays do not engage major historiographical or interpretive debates in labor, social, economic or political history. The result, unfortunately, is a book that is less than the sum of its parts.

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Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, editors. *An Uncommon Time: The Civil War and the Northern Home Front*. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002. Pp. ix, 351, about the contributors, index, cloth \$45.00, paper \$25.00.)

An Uncommon Time presents a dozen essays, plus an editors' introduction and a brief concluding summary by J. Matthew Gallman, focusing on various aspects of the northern home front during the Civil War era. Edited by Paul Cimbala and Randall Miller, the collection adds to the growing body of literature on a

topic that had been sorely under-investigated. Prevailing themes addressed throughout the volume include the meaning of the war for Northerners and the impact of the war before and after. The volume is part of Fordham University's "The North's Civil War Series," of which Cimbala is the series editor.

Earl Hess and Alice Fahs contribute studies of the ways in which wartime print media depicted the war. Hess devotes his attention to newspapers, illustrated weeklies, and photographs, while Fahs studies popular war literature. Both agree that these media offered romanticized images of the war, reflecting the ways in which the northern public perceived combat rather than war's brutal reality.

Essays by Melinda Lawson, Michael Green, and Adam I. P. Smith each address various ways that Northerners interpreted the meaning of patriotism for the Union cause. Lawson looks at Jay Cooke and his role in Civil War bond drives. She concludes that Cooke successfully shaped a sense of national patriotism in the tradition of classical liberalism, an alternative definition of loyalty based on self-interest. In doing so, he and his agents raised a considerable sum of money for the federal government while building a personal fortune for Cooke. Green revisits the free labor ideology that cemented the early Republican Party and finds that once in power the party found it difficult to turn the ideology into a working program. Smith, on the other hand, reveals how during the war the Republicans, the party in power, gave patriotic meaning to voting for their party while using the political process to advance the Lincoln administration's war policies.

Peter Parish's essay reminds us of the central place religion took in shaping the worldview of nineteenth-century Protestant America. Religion helped northern Protestants understand and interpret the war in ways that often resonated with secular and political arguments for the war. Bryon Andreason, however, delves into the dark side of this merger of the secular and the sacred in his investigation of the response of midwestern Protestant churches to Democratic partisanship among the clergy. Andreason suggests that we cannot fully understand the limits of dissent in the North without looking at the power of local social institutions in matters of repressing political opposition to the Republican Party and its policies.

Michael Conlin, on the other hand, looks at Joseph Henry's struggle to keep the Smithsonian Institution above political partisanship. Still, the Institution's secretary would enable the scientific resources of the Smithsonian to be used to help the Union cause. Thus, the Smithsonian's

program during the war shifted from one of basic applied research to one dedicated to practical military application.

Rachel Filene Seidman adds to the growing body of literature on northern women during the war in her study of the meaning of “dependency” for three different groups of women: antebellum middle-class reformers, wartime working-class women, and women seeking the release of male relations from the Union army. She concludes that the question of women’s dependency on men allowed women “to play a role in public, political debate” (p. 188) rather than limiting women’s activity in the public sphere.

Lex Renda, John Syrett, and Kyle Sinisi all explore the limitations of political innovation during and after the war. Despite the circumstances of war and emancipation, Renda shows how the state of Connecticut failed to convince a majority of voters to support black suffrage. Syrett discloses how Northerners’ support for confiscation of rebel property stimulated support for emancipation, but it failed to serve as a basis of a way to reform the postwar South or to assist the freedmen. Sinisi’s study of Kentucky’s war claims suggests limitations to the notion that modernization of the relationship between the federal government and the states resulted from the war.

In his “Afterward” J. Matthew Gallman proposes several avenues for future research on the topic of the northern home front. While some readers might question the organization of the volume, few will disagree with Gallman’s assessment of this volume’s valuable contribution to the study.

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