

BOOK REVIEWS

*A*llen Cohen and Ronald L. Filippelli. *Times of Sorrow and Hope: Documenting Everyday Life in Pennsylvania during the Depression and World War II, A Photographic Record*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003. Pp. xviii, 265, appendices, notes, resources, and selected bibliography, cloth \$ 45.00.)

Between 1935 and 1943, photographers working for the Farm Security Administration and later for the Office of War Information took over 160,000 still photographs of American life. Initiated by Rexford Guy Tugwell, an advisor to President Franklin Roosevelt who aimed to sell the New Deal's agricultural program, the project gave employment to some young unemployed camera men and women, some of whom became the leaders of their field over the next fifty years. Led by Roy Stryker, a colleague of Tugwell at Columbia University, the Farm Security photographers included Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, John Vachon, Marjory Collins, Dorothea Lange, and Ben Shahn, who also gained fame as one of the great painters of the mid-twentieth century.

What Allen Cohen and Ronald L. Filippelli have done is to give the reader an introduction to a series of pictures taken in Pennsylvania. The bulk of this volume contains 150 representative photos showing all aspects of life in Pennsylvania during the eight years of the project. *Times of Sorrow and Hope* also contains a guide to six thousand other pictures placed on-line at the Pennsylvania State University Library web site (<http://www.libraries.psu.edu/>). From this web site, the researcher can also go into the Library of Congress to view other photos in the FSA-OWI collection.

In addition to the 150 photos, Cohen and Filippelli have written two essays, one on the history of the Depression and World War II in Pennsylvania and the other on the Farm Security Administration's photography project. Miles Orvell, who teaches at Temple University, wrote a forward on the history of documentary photography in the first half of the twentieth century. Professor Orvell's essay is particularly useful for setting the work of Stryker and his colleagues beside the earlier work of Progressives Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, who used pictures of poor and disadvantaged Americans to promote reform. Orvell points out that by the time of the Depression the Progressives had been replaced by the Modernists, who were less interested in using the camera as a tool for social change. The rise of the New Deal, however, led to a renewed interest in the plight of the common man and woman.

In their history of Pennsylvania during the era of the FSA-OWI, Cohen and Filippelli make use of recent scholarship to give some background on the state between 1929 and 1945. Economically and socially Pennsylvania was divided into many parts. It had one of the largest farm populations of any of the eastern states, but at the same time was heavily dependent on mining, small-scale manufacturing, and some very large industries. Each of these populations was hit differently by the economic crisis and the war. But Cohen and Filippelli point out that the state's long-term economic decline was evident even before the Depression began and even as the state went into its wartime revival.

In their discussion of the photos produced by the FSA, the authors emphasize several prominent features of its work in Pennsylvania. Because the whole project developed as part of an agricultural agency, the great bulk of the photographs are of farm areas. There are a large number of pictures of Pittsburgh and other industrial towns, but far fewer views of Philadelphia than its status in the state would warrant. Because the FSA, like most New Deal agencies, attracted liberal-minded activists, the pictures tend to be of common people living in dire circumstances, laboring at hard low paid jobs, or

engaging in recreational or social activities that did not take a lot of money. Certainly there was no intention of any kind of objectivity in these pictures. As with Riis and Hine, the photographers had a mission and that was to use their cameras as instruments of social change.

Allen Cohen, a retired librarian at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and Ronald L. Filippelli, who is a professor of Labor Studies at the Pennsylvania State University, have done an enviable job in bringing this material to the reader. For Pennsylvanians who love the history of the commonwealth, this book is a nice addition to a growing literature about the state's recent history and provides a useful introduction to the work of the Farm Security Administration. *Times of Sorrow and Hope* has a fine selection of photographs from the camera men and women who worked in the state, organized into the several areas that they worked. Its three essays, especially the one written by Professor Orvell, give the reader a survey of an important part of Pennsylvania's material culture. The bibliography allows the reader who wants to know more about the topic to explore it further. Because of the introductory essays and the appendixes, Cohen and Filippelli have created something more than the usual coffee table book; it is a contribution to the scholarship of Pennsylvania.

HERBERT B. ERSHKOWITZ

Temple University

Joel A. Tarr. *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003. Pp. viii, 281, notes, contributors, index, cloth \$32.00.)

Joel Tarr's fine collection of essays chronicles the environmental consequences that ensued when men of capital combined technological innovation, engineering genius, a large immigrant workforce, and the presence of bounteous natural resources to make southwestern Pennsylvania the industrial "workshop of the world." Bituminous coal fueled the region's industrialization while magnificent river systems and rail lines in the river valleys served as transportation arteries that moved raw materials and finished product in and out of the region. The opening chapters establish the physiographic characteristics that distinguish this region and its environmental history and provide an overview of how decisions made over the course of two centuries

created the urban-industrial landscape of Pittsburgh we see today. Edward K. Muller argues that the engineering of the rivers and industrial development of riverfront land reduced their importance in the region's collective sense of place. On some levels that was true, but ethnographic research conducted throughout the region over the past two decades indicates that working class people living in the industrial river valleys retained a vital recreational and aesthetic connection to the rivers, polluted though they were.

Subsequent essays peer behind the "hell with the lid off" caricature that had been justifiably imposed on Pittsburgh by 1900. They reveal the largely elite-dominated political process through which Pittsburghers confronted their deleterious environmental condition. A chapter on the political evolution of water and wastewater treatment recalls that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the city suffered an appallingly high typhoid death rate. We learn that despite evidence linking the disposal of sewage overflow with typhoid (particularly in immigrant and African-American neighborhoods—an early case of environmental injustice), and despite the approval by voters of a bond to fund a state-of-the-art filtration system, Public Works Director Edward Bigelow feared that acknowledging the problem would "discourage investment in the city."

Similarly, Angela Gugliotta chronicles the halting but successful challenge to the city's notoriously severe air pollution problem. In the century preceding the "Pittsburgh Renaissance," defined in the public mind by cleaner air, smoke had been seen as a sign of the area's economic strength, and the health problems associated with it perceived as either necessary evils or, more speciously, simply denied by elites who knew better. Gugliotta argues that action was ultimately taken only when Pittsburgh elites led by the Mellon family determined that the city's infamous smoke problem was inhibiting the vitality and diversification of the region's economy. Likewise, Nicholas Casner writes about the pervasive problem of acid mine drainage. The 1905 Pennsylvania Purity of Waters Act exempted the coal industry from discharge restrictions, a clear recognition of its economic importance and the political power of coal barons in state politics. Interest in sealing abandoned mines came only because highly acidic water drawn from the region's streams continually corroded pipes and pumps of area manufacturers, imposing an insufferable financial burden on industrial users of this public resource.

That water, air, and land *were* public resources, not private dumping grounds, was a fairly stunning revelation in the mid-twentieth century. So

was the idea that their degradation would have to be remedied not only by individual action (exemplified in the conversion from coal to natural gas for domestic heating), but also by stiff legislative action urged by the public. After decades of presuming that the greater public good was always served by unfettered industrialization and unplanned growth (the lamentable failure of city fathers to adopt plans for the preservation of green space is covered here as well), it fell to the post-war generation to confront the ugly reality that unregulated industrialism had undermined the future of southwestern Pennsylvania. The same industrial system that had allowed men to amass fortunes, had built skyscrapers, won world wars, and helped generations of residents to make a good living, had also compromised the capacity of the future generations to do the same. It had violated the integrity of those things that belong to all, that sustain life itself.

As distinguished environmental historian Samuel P. Hays reminds readers in a final essay, the region achieved much in the 1960s and 1970s when the spirit of participatory democracy brought demands for change bubbling up from below. And then, he argues, Pittsburgh seemed to surrender its commitment to environmental progress. This seems perfectly consonant with recent American political and cultural history: for the past twenty years we have largely abandoned notions of the public good, the *common wealth*, and what possible good the federal government—the ultimate instrument of the collective public welfare—might accomplish in the interest of the health and welfare of the majority of its citizens.

In the end, *Devastation and Renewal* advances our general understanding of the essential links between human economy, public policy, and the natural environment that for too long have either been forgotten, discussed separately, or simply presumed unworthy of attention with respect to Pennsylvania's urban industrial environments. These essays shatter that myth, demonstrating convincingly that that very human place, long hallowed for its importance in Pennsylvania's industrial-economic history, is equally significant for what it says about our evolving relationship as Pennsylvanians and Americans with the natural world.

CHRIS J. MAGOC
Mercyhurst College

Dick Thornburgh. *Where the Evidence Leads: An Autobiography*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003. Pp. xii, 385, index, photos, cloth \$35.00.)

In November 2003 several hundred people attended a conference in Hershey, Pennsylvania entitled: "Leadership Lessons Learned: The Thornburgh-Scranton Administration 25th Anniversary Symposium" co-sponsored by the University of Pittsburgh's Institute of Politics and the Dick Thornburgh Archives. Present were public officials from various levels of government, former members of the Thornburgh administration, policy wonks, an occasional political scientist or historian, and people genuinely interested in the workings of government and public policy. To Dick Thornburgh's credit, he had put together this twenty-five year retrospective to analyze and discuss what had been learned from managing one of the largest and most complex state governments in the nation.

Many Americans may remember Dick Thornburgh as a tough-minded Attorney General who served the Reagan and first Bush administrations and secured federal indictments in such high-profile cases as the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI). To most Pennsylvanians he is probably best remembered for his level-headed handling of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island (TMI) near Harrisburg in March, 1979. Indeed there were peaks in Thornburgh's very public career that caught the attention of the public and the media. And, there were valleys too: he lost a bid for a Congressional seat in 1966 and came up short in what initially looked like certain victory in a 1990 U.S. Senate race. Yet what is most striking about Thornburgh's life story, whether one agrees with his politics or not (and he insists that he defies any labels), is a consistent record of professional public service. *Where the Evidence Leads*, which debuted at the 25th Anniversary Symposium, is likely to be of much interest to historians and students of politics and public policy, political scientists, public officials, and those intrigued by their life stories as well as others.

Anyone who has observed or lived it knows that Pennsylvania politics is a particularly rough-and-tumble business. Besides his 1966 run for Congress and his involvement in the state constitutional convention of the late 1960s, Thornburgh's major foray into state politics was his successful 1978 run for governor against "the dark underside of Pennsylvania government" (p. 74). His autobiography details his administration's work to clean up corruption in

Harrisburg and professionalize the bureaucracy, grow the commonwealth's stagnant economy through innovative programs such as the Ben Franklin Partnership, deal with the TMI crisis and its long-tailed aftermath, and implement fiscally prudent policies in state affairs. Few historians could argue against these being noteworthy accomplishments.

Following two terms as governor (1979–1986), Thornburgh's final quest for elected office came in 1990 when he lost to Harris Wofford in a race for a U.S. Senate seat vacated by the tragic death of John Heinz. Thornburgh devotes a chapter to this nationally scrutinized race. While he thoroughly analyzes his defeat and Wofford's triumph, one is left with the understandable impression of sourness at defeat. Yet Thornburgh moved on.

Where the Evidence Leads is thorough in discussing his professional career as a federal official, from a "racket-busting" U.S. Attorney representing Western Pennsylvania, to a U.S. Attorney General who savored the enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act, to a brief stint at the United Nations. Indeed, Thornburgh's national and international occupations remain very compelling especially given that few Pennsylvania-bred politicians have ventured so far and wide.

On balance there are times when *Where the Evidence Leads* seems to hold back. For example, Thornburgh mentions a growingly strained relationship with Senator John Heinz and his staff, though he does not go into detail. Likewise, he hints at occasional snags with John Sununu, chief of staff in the first Bush White House, but he does not discuss much beyond the periphery. His analysis of efforts as governor to revitalize Pennsylvania's economy does not take into full account the impact of larger national and international economic trends such as free trade policy and its impact on Pennsylvania's manufacturing base, factors over which governors have little, if any, control. And, the book could benefit from a basic one or two page chronology of his life.

The ease with which Thornburgh relays his humanness—as in the tragic story of the death of his first wife and the struggle to carry on with a young family—makes this autobiography highly readable. So does his range of discussion that reveals his sense of humor, passion for baseball, and first-person insights on Harrisburg and Washington politics. Perhaps what best emerges from the book, though, are the diverse abilities of Thornburgh who holds title to being an engineer, lawyer, politician, public servant, bureaucrat, prosecutor, student and practitioner of policy, community activist, father, and husband.

It is hard to imagine that this autobiography could have been written without detailed record keeping, a sound memory for details and events, and a reflective ability to interpret people, places, and events. Indeed, it is much easier to write about the past when those who lived it are not around to critique what is written. In Thornburgh's case, lots of people who lived the history that he discusses remain active in a variety of arenas. He deserves credit enough for being willing to put it all out there to allow others to decide, as he puts it, "where the evidence leads."

KENNETH C. WOLENSKY

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Thomas R. Ryan, editor. *The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz: Portrait Painter of the Early Republic*. (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster County Historical Society, 2003. Pp. xii, 178, bibliography, contributors, exhibition, credits, index, cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.)

In 2003, the Lancaster County Historical Society, the Heritage Center Museum of Lancaster County, and Franklin and Marshall College's Phillips Museum of Art collaborated to present an exhibition on Jacob Eichholtz. A native of Lancaster, Eichholtz was a prominent portraitist between about 1805 and 1842, producing more than eight hundred paintings. In the twenty-first century, his work is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the National Museum of Art. *The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz* reproduces in color more than one hundred of these paintings and contextualizes them with five scholarly essays.

The two longest and most general of the essays are by the book's editor, Thomas R. Ryan, who was also curator of the exhibit. Ryan outlines the progression of Eichholtz's career: from journeyman metalsmith to self-taught painter (with a few weeks of instruction from Gilbert Stuart), and from Lancaster to Philadelphia and then back to Lancaster. In the other essays, David Jaffee closely examines Eichholtz's account books; Peter S. Seibert clarifies several attributions regarding Eichholtz's work; and Carol E. Faill briefly discusses Eichholtz's skills as an artist.

One general theme of the essays is the importance of historical place and time in shaping Eichholtz's development. Robust economic growth in southeastern Pennsylvania at the beginning of the nineteenth century enabled

Eichholtz to prosper as an artisan while developing artistic skills, for example by painting signs and tinware. After about 1810 he became a full-time portraitist, responding to a growing demand from new political and entrepreneurial classes in a state capital prospering from provisions sales for westward migrants and modern transportation links to Philadelphia, at the point when that city was the "Athens of America." Newly-created local institutions, like Franklin College in Lancaster and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia, supported Eichholtz's career progression.

In a related theme, the essays emphasize how Eichholtz's paintings represented their subjects in ways the sitters wanted, to show their success and taste, rather than in ways that showed Eichholtz applying European standards. In Ryan's words, "Eichholtz recognized that the widespread desire to mark social standing and commercial success fueled the passion for portraits, and he fanned the flames" (p. 112). For example, in an 1827 portrait Eichholtz shows Mrs. John Frederick Lewis, the wife of a successful East India merchant, in an elegant silk dress and casually leaning on a marble-topped table with gold-stenciled decoration.

Eichholtz also actively created himself. The son of German immigrant tavern keepers, he attended the "English School" at Franklin College, progressed from craftsman to artist, and showed upward socio-economic mobility (already by 1810 he was among the highest 15 percent of taxables in Lancaster). Eichholtz carefully announced these personal qualities at the outset of his career as a portrait painter: an 1810 self-portrait shows a serious, well-dressed young man firmly but sensitively grasping a handful of paintbrushes. In 1832, Eichholtz again carefully represented himself by building a large and fashionable home/gallery/studio in Lancaster. Eichholtz's life embodies the liberal spirit, fusing capitalism and egalitarianism, that Andrew Shankman has recently identified with Pennsylvania Jeffersonians in *Crucible of American Democracy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004). In fact, in politics Eichholtz was a Jeffersonian, and in 1810 he painted a portrait of Lancaster's Simon Snyder, a prominent Jeffersonian and state governor from 1808 to 1817, which undoubtedly helped further the artist's career.

Going beyond the essays in *The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz*, there are possibly other themes for examination in Eichholtz's work, such as representations of gender and family. The portraits reproduced in the volume of Elizabeth Wurtz Elder (1825) and Mrs. Victor Rene Value (c. 1830) show the mother-centered and affection-displaying characteristics frequently identified with the "Republican family" of the early nineteenth century. Indeed, as Ryan points

out, some of Eichholtz's "most poignant and convincing portraits" (p. 149) were those of his own children, such as Benjamin West Eichholtz (1826).

The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz is a well-produced volume, with numerous illustrations of comparable portraiture by artists other than Eichholtz and of documents and objects associated with his life. Its essays are thoughtful and well documented, but also engaging and readable. It should interest art collectors and local historians as well as scholars interested in the social, political, or cultural history of the first half of the nineteenth century. At \$19.95 the paperback edition is a great value!

ROBERT J. GOUGH

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Robert F. Ensminger. *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America*. Second Edition. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. Pp. xvii, 348, illustrations, maps, paper \$28.00.)

As the author's introduction states, the "Pennsylvania barn has long been admired in Canada and the United States as one of the outstanding vernacular farm structures" (p. xv). One need only tour certain rural sections of Pennsylvania, particularly in the southeast, to find this to be true. There, against a backdrop of seven mountains reaching north and south as part of the Appalachian Range, interspersed with thick forested foothills, lay the pristine beauty and rustic allure of a fielded countryside. Its well-manicured farms were the home of singularly exquisite barns whose style accompanied eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pioneers westward and became the pattern for barns as far away as the state of Washington.

Ensminger captures, in every intimate and intricate detail, the precise structure and the evolutionary changes that give the Pennsylvania barn its unique character. Yet this is not a book for everyone, particularly not the average reader taking up a book at random. This is a book to be read with study and deep thought—a repository of minute and intricate procedures that have necessarily been used in building secure barn structures. It provides detailed accounts of why, over time, certain additions were made and other features removed. The key element, Ensminger asserts, in both the original models and the subsequent changes, is the forebay, an upper-level extension over the stable doors of the lower level.

In southeastern Pennsylvania, forebay bank barns had become dominant by the end of the eighteenth century. The author supports the theory that these barns had a distinct prototype in Switzerland, a view that some reject in favor of the concept of a unique American development. But he provides evidence “of the virtual replication of European forms” in Pennsylvania: barns in which the ground floor was reserved for stables and the second level served as a threshing floor and mow space, with a forebay along the entire length of the barn (p. 10). Still, in America differences emerged. “Although the settlers arrived with the cultural heritage of their homelands, the melting pot nature of the frontier exposed them to a variety of ideas and techniques they could select and incorporate into their houses and barn-building practices as they adapted to their new environment” (p. 24).

During his research, the author came upon other types of standard barns, which are interesting variations of the Pennsylvania barn. One example is the gabled forebay barn, which appeared late in the developmental process and had no generic connection to Old World examples. Further, as evolutionary steps occurred, the choices of ethnic and religious groups, such as the English, Amish, and Mennonites, as well as individual barn builders, became clear. Amish builders from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, are still constructing barns in the original way and took this version of the Pennsylvania barn when some of their numbers migrated west of the Mississippi. The author enlivens his architectural discussion with historical vignettes of the quaint and distinctive customs of the Amish, Mennonites, Quakers, Scots-Irish, and various Germanic religious groups. While all contributed to the diffusion of the Pennsylvania barn, the Mennonites were particularly effective in its relocation. Settlers from New England and New York State and immigrants directly from Europe also played roles.

The author is to be commended, not only for his thorough and painstaking research, but for his love of barns and his dedication to their preservation. He has traveled extensively in the United States, Europe, and Canada in search of information, and has thoroughly documented his sources. The book is heavily illustrated with detailed photographs and also includes helpful maps and diagrams. The serious student will be especially interested in the thorough explanation of the layouts of the barns.

The first edition of this book represented “the first scholarly attempt to integrate and update the relevant research about the Pennsylvania barn’s origin, development and diffusion—those aspects which have produced the distinctive landscapes that are characterized and sometimes dominated by its

presence" (p. xvi). This new edition stems from the author's recognition that the continued loss of these barns may soon make it impossible to study and record important details about their construction and evolution. New and critical information that was not included in the first edition is published here.

This is a significant work. One senses from its beginning that the author's foremost interest is the preservation of the Pennsylvania barn. He presents his material with skill and accuracy, even intensity. Though very technical in places, the book is a repository of facts and figures that the author insists must not be forgotten. One easily completes the book with a strong feeling of its noteworthiness and a renewed appreciation of the Pennsylvania barn.

WILLIAM TRALL DONCASTER, JR.

University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown

Gregory T. Knouff. *The Soldiers' Revolution: Pennsylvanians in Arms and the Forging of Early American Identity*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004. Pp. xxiv, 312, index, cloth \$45.00.)

In seeking to reconstruct the lives of those persons who fought for and against the Revolution in Pennsylvania, Gregory T. Knouff hypothesizes that "motivations were numerous and varied but all firmly rooted in the people's localist outlooks and particular understandings of what constituted their communities" (p. 36). Whether rank-and-file militia, Continentals, loyalists, African Americans, and/or Native Americans, conflicting visions of community, the author repeatedly asserts, gave form and meaning to their identity and lay at the root of their decisions to fight for or against the rebellion. Those of the Revolutionary persuasion, as a second dominant theme, constructed what the author calls the "localist white male nation" (p. xiii) through their wartime combat experiences and the realization of universal white male suffrage as a legacy of the Revolution. Knouff considers this construction to be the most significant development of the era, predicated on white male Revolutionaries' disdain for the "Otherness" of Tories, Indians, and African Americans. White maleness thus emerges as the chief player in what Knouff "asserts" as "a model of American freedom/American exclusion." This "construction of white male national identity and political privilege . . . allowed for different imagined communities of white men that could

conflict and yet coexist," an identity apparently so unchallenged since the Revolution "that concepts of the localist white male nation have yet to be disentangled from U. S. national identity" (pp. 284–85).

What readers of this study receive are the author's hypothetical assertions about the nature and character of the fighting in Pennsylvania (and elsewhere) that get transformed by repetition into the book's conclusions. The author claims to predicate his findings on his reading and textual analysis of such extant primary source material as Revolutionary War Pension files and the records of the Loyalist Claims Commission. Knouff states that he "soon discovered a vast range of motivations and experiences among enlisted men" (p. 293). He does not indicate how many pension or commission files he actually went through, and he decided not to quantify his findings, apparently because "quantitative evidence can sometimes be more obfuscating than enlightening," thereby making it "difficult . . . to infer qualitative motives and worldviews from only quantitative sources" (p. 294). Just a "plurality of soldiers' experiences," Knouff goes on to admit, "ultimately revealed the importance of their localist outlooks" in support of his conclusions (p. 294). As such, he might have discussed in some detail the many commentaries that were at odds with his analysis. Without that kind of presentation, readers cannot be sure whether the author's impressions, opinions, and conclusions have a secure base in the source material that he has investigated.

Along the way, the author makes assertions with virtually no evidence to sustain them. The British, for example, decided at some point to "treat the enemy army as a respectable opposing standing army" rather than a treasonous rebel force (p. 131). As a consequence, British regular forces were apparently more merciful with captured patriot soldiers than were bands of Tories. Given the thousands of Americans, including numerous Pennsylvanians, who died on the notorious British prison ships in New York harbor, this assertion seems to stretch credulity. So too does the author's implication that what has been "dubbed the 'Paoli Massacre'" (p. 151) was something less than a wholesale slaughter, since such behavior apparently does not square with the author's opinion that brutality was not the norm among fellow white European and Euro-American combatants. Nor was the Wyoming Valley massacre apparently really a "massacre," even though the author quotes a reliable source that the Indian-Tory force took 227 out of an available 232 scalps—fortunately "the Indians did not take out their vengeance on these few captives" (p. 169). The only real massacres were apparently those carried out by white males at such places as Gnadenhütten in the Ohio country in 1782.

No doubt the slaughter at Gnadenhütten was beyond barbaric, but combatants of every persuasion engaged in such horrid destruction of other human beings during the Revolutionary War. To pick and choose what does or does not represent a “massacre,” especially without attempting to define that term in the context of its times, can make for arbitrary, even possibly agenda driven argumentation, as opposed to well-reasoned analysis.

Specialists will find useful information in this volume. The challenge will be to keep reading amid so much argumentation by repetition, regardless of what the extant body of source material may have actually said. Some may well approve of Knouff’s handling of the evidence, but faith in his personal interpretations and construction of reality will be a much needed requirement throughout. For this reviewer, the case as argued in *The Soldiers’ Revolution* deserves much additional scrutiny before final conclusions of any kind can be drawn.

JAMES KIRBY MARTIN
University of Houston

Russell L. Johnson. *Warriors into Workers: The Civil War and the Formation of Urban-Industrial Society in a Northern City*. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003. Pp. xii, 388, appendices, selected bibliography, index, cloth \$55.00.)

In this original and intelligent book, Russell Johnson asks us to reconsider the ways we approach the meaning and effects of the Civil War on soldiers, the home front, and American society. He does so by looking closely at Dubuque, Iowa, from its prewar days of commercial promise and then doldrums as the Panic of 1857 ruined prospects and secession took away Mississippi River traffic, through the war years when the economy shifted into manufacturing. After the war an industrializing urban environment increasingly prized regimented work patterns and favored the captains of industrial capitalism even as it still celebrated Victorian ideals of individual responsibility, thrift, sobriety, and morality. Johnson’s principal, and most controversial, argument is that the mostly working-class and immigrant young men from Dubuque who went off to war, whether by voluntarism or compulsion, became “new men” because of their service. In becoming soldiers, they learned the habits of factory-like discipline and moved to

clock-time work rhythms. The army thus served as a school for socialization as much as an instrument of war. This process, Johnson continues, worked especially to the advantage of the commercial and industrial civic elite in Dubuque, who before and during the war had feared the working-class and immigrant young men for their supposedly roustabout social behavior, "corrupting" Catholicism, Democratic party associations, and unstable family relations; this elite now gained a more passive work force. At the same time, organized relief for soldiers enlisted women in the cause, providing them the discipline of focused activity. It also helped reinforce distinctions between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor in parceling out assistance to families and directing aid to soldiers. Yet, for all their sacrifice and supposed new habits, the veterans gained little in the postwar economy and society. They proved less mobile in every respect than those who had not joined the army, being more likely to stay in Dubuque and less likely to rise in the economic and social hierarchy. So much for a new birth of freedom for them.

Johnson's intricate analysis of the politics, social relations, occupational patterns, and military enlistment invite other scholars to follow his lead in linking soldiers and society and assaying the personal costs and gains from war. Especially important is his effort to place the transformation of work at the center of discussions about the war. If he sometimes tilts toward a Beardsonian conclusion of the war as a second American revolution in terms of the take-off of industrialization in places like Dubuque, he does remind us that we need community studies of northern places to gauge social and economic changes wrought or affected by the war. Johnson's focus on Dubuque also invites scholars to shift the analysis of industrial capitalism and work from the preoccupation with New England to other regions and to appreciate how many northern places like Dubuque were on the cusp of industrial transformation when the war came. Readers also will find much to emulate in Johnson's discussion of opposition to war that was framed in terms of local ethnic and class needs, as several recent studies of Pennsylvania communities also have shown.

For a book so useful in focus and findings, some problems remain. Johnson's reliance on census and occupational data impedes his ability to enter the postwar workers' world to find out what they thought about their service and sacrifice and the extent to which they viewed their wartime experience as beneficial. One wonders if such men joined veterans' groups, became more engaged in community concerns, and understood and appreciated their lives in new ways, or if they resented their lack of opportunity and economic

condition, became alienated and isolated, and sank into alcoholism and depression. Studies elsewhere suggest both patterns emerged, with no single behavioral outcome marking veterans. Johnson alludes to soldiers developing their “own forms of resistance” to the regimentation of army life, but he does not much describe such resistance or follow it into the postwar years to discover any roots of a separate workers’ consciousness or an alternative value system that counted upward mobility less important than family, friends, and faith. Nor does he say much about how families adjusted to the return of the supposedly new men.

All this said, Johnson’s book marks a major advance in the increasingly crowded field of “the Civil War soldier.” Unlike so many historians, he tracks soldiers’ lives over time, however incompletely, rather than beginning the story with Fort Sumter and ending it at Appomattox, and he grounds them in a specific place. He also ties soldiers and home front in an ongoing narrative of expectation, exchange, engagement, and sometimes even estrangement. Students of Pennsylvania’s experience in and with the war would do well to apply Johnson’s method in an effort to realize what Walt Whitman once thought impossible, namely, getting “the real war into the books.” Johnson makes the war real in new ways.

RANDALL M. MILLER
Saint Joseph’s University

Kyle S. Sinisi. *Sacred Debts: State Civil War Claims and American Federalism, 1861–1880*. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003. Pp. xvi, 208, appendix, bibliography, index, cloth \$50.00.)

This is an odd book, one that explores the little-known history of post-Civil War state and government bureaucracy, the definition of federalism after the war, and the application of that bureaucracy and federalism to the issue of state indemnification for wartime expenses. Sinisi himself likens his unusual subject to “the still-living widows of Confederate veterans, who continue to surface in quirky human-interest segments in the contemporary news media. The war claims and the widows have thus become mere footnotes and trivia to the war itself” (p. 172). This good-natured jab at the significance of his own work aside, Sinisi’s book clearly provides us with more than a simple footnote to the Civil

War. It challenges some major historiographic trends regarding the nature of Gilded Age government and explains how, in essence, the northern states worked with Washington to pay for their involvement in the Civil War.

According to the author, previous scholarship on both state and national government during the post-Civil War era has mainly argued that corruption, graft, and fraud were commonplace. Sinisi admits, even as he targets the work of Daniel Elazar, Ballard Campbell, and Mark Summers in particular, that major scandals certainly create the impression that "the Gilded Age was a time synonymous with corruption and government held hostage by Robber Barons," but adds that "the history of the claims allows for a more nuanced view of postwar administration" (pp. 172–3). By examining the process of how three states—Missouri, Kentucky, and Kansas—went about applying for federal money to pay for expenses incurred during the war, Sinisi simultaneously introduces the reader to the convoluted world of nineteenth-century state and federal bureaucracy and the advent of modern lobbying; he also proposes the fairly novel concept that both state and national governments were led primarily by men who responded to the popular will (particularly for financial retrenchment), worked efficiently, and resisted temptations to exploit the claims process for personal or partisan profit.

This is not exactly a new thesis. Richard Bensel argued a similar point in *Yankee Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), but Bensel's analysis was not directed toward the question of bureaucratic efficacy per se, nor on the various states and certainly not on their claims for indemnification. Sinisi thus expands upon Bensel's general idea that the Civil War caused a growth in centralized authority that ultimately gave rise to the modern American state, and makes a stronger case for the morality and steadfastness of government officials. Perhaps more significantly, *Sacred Debts* argues that dual federalism survived the fiery test of the Civil War remarkably well. States—northern states, at least—still held considerable power and could successfully challenge the federal government on issues of importance to them. The problems they faced in retrieving federal monies after the war, however, also stemmed from the fact that their leaders believed they retained significant autonomy and represented special cases that demanded extenuation of federal war claims regulations. Hence, in the instances of Missouri, Kentucky, and Kansas, claims agents in Washington, state governors, and national legislators seemingly worked under a vacuum-like mentality that mistakenly led them to believe that their states' claims were pre-eminent

among all others. They failed to cooperate with other states in their quests for Civil War monies, and, as Sinisi adroitly portrays, fell victim to their own “local political, economic, and military concerns,” which frequently interfered with swift and full claims redemption. Kentucky’s leaders, for instance, suffered from a persecution complex, one that stemmed from that primarily Democratic state’s “strained relations with a federal government led by the supposedly malicious Republicans” (p. 180). Kansas’s attempts to recoup federal funds were repeatedly hampered by its relative recent statehood, the inexperience of its government, and its proximity to the frontier. Indian raids, it seems, attracted more attention from state officials than citizens’ claims for damages incurred during Confederate General Sterling Price’s 1864 raid.

Sinisi has provided us with a long overdue analysis of a heretofore neglected and important topic of Civil War and Gilded Age history. The author’s writing style is smooth and his research is exhaustive. Indeed, one marvels at the tenacity (and steadfastness?) required to review countless dry clerks’ records in the various state and national Treasury, Quartermaster, and Congressional files. The inherent dryness of these sources does, unfortunately, carry over to a degree in Sinisi’s text, but dogged readers will be rewarded for their efforts. Another quibble involves the states selected for the study; why concentrate on the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, and Kansas? This question is never adequately answered. Although Sinisi proves his points well using the examples of these three states, the reader is left wondering whether their experiences really represent those of more decidedly “northern” states like Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, or Ohio. Nonetheless, *Sacred Debts* is an important and unique contribution to our understanding of Civil War era federalism and the origins of modern state and federal bureaucracy.

CHRISTIAN B. KELLER

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Helen Tangires. *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. Pp. xx, 265, notes, selected bibliography, index, cloth \$45.00.)

This book, with a pretentious title and an overblown thesis, is a fascinating and well written discussion of public markets—not the market of the

“market revolution” but the places that supplied food to the emerging urban areas of nineteenth-century America. With an entire chapter on Philadelphia and many other references to that city, *Public Markets* should prove of interest to readers of *Pennsylvania History*.

On the dust jacket and in the preface and introduction, Helen Tangires writes about some weighty problems concerning our current food supply and consistently praises public food markets for their attempts to regulate this process. In making this argument she insists that they reflected Americans’ long attachment to the idea of a “moral economy” that resisted the inducements of rampant—root hog or die—capitalism. At the same time, she argues that the public markets are the key to understanding the nature of civic culture—at least in the cities—of nineteenth-century America.

Throughout the rest of the book, Tangires gives her readers a long illustrated lecture on the public markets, mostly those in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, with references to New Orleans, St. Louis, and several smaller cities. This is entirely descriptive and not bound to the thesis she set forth initially. Because the book is so descriptive, it is almost impossible to summarize. Essentially her story, or several stories, relate to the work of William Novak on local regulations of the quality of life in American cities and to Louis Hartz on the role of government in Pennsylvania in the early nineteenth century.

Markets like early corporations were initially a public trust. They were created by urban governments to serve a public function and circumscribed by sets of regulations to enhance the public welfare. But alas, order gave way to competitive chaos that most economists and historians refer to as “the market.” Butchers began to go out on their own. Entire market places in Philadelphia went private and organized as corporations. Railroads began to mix transportation and wholesaling. Everything grew and new technologies like refrigeration had to be embraced. And so did the changing patterns of consumption and the use of credit. One of the best stories Tangires tells is about the introduction of rooms in public markets designed to allow middle-class women shoppers to relax on wicker furniture and have access to a public telephone.

In the end there was a response to *laissez-faire* and a return to regulation during the Progressive Era. Yet, the story of the public markets is really one of accommodation. They faced competition from corner stores and eventually supermarkets. Although there are only a few today, public markets continued to exist into the twentieth century alongside their competitors. In her

conclusion Tangires notes: "That grocery stores and later supermarkets, replaced the public market obscures the larger, more complex history. Despite the mid-nineteenth century collision between the ethos of the moral economy and the manifestations of a capitalist market economy . . . ultimately public markets revealed both their resilience and adaptability" (p. 205).

But this is the story of almost all of the elements of the American economy in the nineteenth century. Tangires is not an economic historian and the economics of this set of changes are all but ignored. She is administrator of the Center of Advanced Study of Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art. To a very great degree, after the forward and introduction, this is a wonderful commentary on the ninety images—everything from paintings to postcards—that dominate the book. It does not matter that she fails to define what she means by "civic culture" or the "moral economy" or that she never specifies what was different about public markets in the United States from those she refers to indiscriminately over several centuries of European and Latin American history.

WILLIAM G. SHADE

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Daniel Mark Epstein. *Lincoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington*. (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004. Pp. xv, 379, sources and notes, acknowledgements, index, credits, cloth \$24.95.)

Linking Walt Whitman to Abraham Lincoln comes as no surprise; Whitman's heartfelt poem "O Captain, My Captain!" and tragic elegy "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed" are required reading in U.S. Literature surveys for their reminiscences of the fallen President. But Daniel Mark Epstein's *Lincoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington* constructs a narrative that links the two men more intimately and equilaterally through the concerns of their day, the connections of their mutual acquaintances, and the mutual respect and admiration each held for the other. Part historical account, part dual biography, and part rhetorical interpretation, Epstein's book is suffused with lyrical language and poetic vision that marked his previous work as both a poet and a biographer of artists Edna St. Vincent Millay and Nat King Cole.

Lincoln and Whitman divides into three main sections: "Discoveries and Inventions" primarily addresses the reception of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and its influence on Lincoln's election rhetoric; "The War of the Rebellion" articulates Whitman's and Lincoln's common connections within the Civil War context; and "*Drum-Taps*" recounts Lincoln's death and Whitman's reaction as the poet published his latest volume of poems. All three sections couch these discussions against a backdrop of political turmoil, literary creation, and personal strife that enveloped both men. Epstein uses letters, diaries, newspaper accounts, and scholarly research to create a story of Lincoln's and Whitman's movement to Washington DC and their interconnection in the history of the moment. Chapters shift back and forth between Lincoln's presidential ambitions and Whitman's poetic achievements, Lincoln's political career and Whitman's literary one, to demonstrate the similar temperaments of both men (even as their political positions often differed) as well as the interlocking nature of their respective spheres of influence. Epstein does a nice job, for example, of relating Whitman's dependence on political favors to obtain employment in Washington while he helped care for wounded soldiers at various hospitals. Similarly, Epstein's discussion of Lincoln's lyrical rhetoric also enlightens the reader. And he expands Whitman's love for Lincoln beyond the two dedicated poems to present a far richer view of the poet's vision of Lincoln and the war. *Lincoln and Whitman* communicates a clear reverence for these two men yet also replicates the chaotic surroundings that engulfed them, Lincoln for his anti-slavery beliefs and wartime decisions and Whitman for his exuberantly sexualized poetry. Epstein is careful not to overindulge in praise, showing us their human failings as well as their successes. He clearly demonstrates the importance of these two men not just to mid-nineteenth-century America but also to each other. As well, his portrayal implicitly argues for the inseparability of the literary and the political, seeing both as common quests for truth and justice and revealing how Lincoln was a poet politician and Whitman a political writer.

At times, however, Epstein's eagerness to connect these two men as kindred souls leads to overstatement. He indulges himself by expressing thoughts in Lincoln's or Whitman's voice that are not substantiated elsewhere. While we might allow poetic license on such occasions, we must understand that hard evidence to support these speculations does not always exist. Further, Epstein's claims regarding Whitman's effect on Lincoln's prose similarly lacks corroboration. While his title suggests that we see Lincoln and

Whitman as parallel figures orbiting different public spheres to equal effect, his narrative often seeks to intersect these orbits through a series of interconnections between colleagues that resembles a game of “Six Degrees of Separation.” But while the details may be overstated, Epstein’s spirit is genuine. Whitman and Lincoln are crucial figures within the political, cultural, and literary history of the period, and their influence cannot be overstated; *Lincoln and Whitman* demonstrates their importance as thinkers, writers, and actors on the stage of Civil War America. Epstein’s account captures the essence of Lincoln and Whitman, bringing these men alive for a general readership of nineteenth-century American history.

DAVID E. MAGILL

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John Bezís-Selfa. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 279, notes, index, cloth \$39.95.)

To manufacture iron in colonial and early national America entrepreneurs needed enormous sums of capital and strong managerial skills, but their biggest challenge was the workforce. They not only had to recruit and train artisans, but then hold on to them and keep them working hard at a time when workers were notoriously casual about punctuality, prone to getting drunk, and resistant to steady work rhythms. Furthermore, highly skilled ironworkers were well aware of the leverage their skills provided. If conditions were onerous and managers oppressive, the artisans could slacken their pace or just leave. With so much land available, and economic independence and autonomy held up as the only proper status of free men, holding men to wage labor, even under favorable terms, was a continuous struggle. Bezís-Selfa employs the concept of “industrious revolution” to analyze the process by which adventurers (as Bezís-Selfa prefers to call them) organized and disciplined a labor force under those conditions. For such a revolution to take place the entrepreneurs had to offer incentives and, more importantly, the workers had to care enough about what such incentives could offer to respond. The book’s collateral theme is the importance that slavery played in the industry and in the process of an industrious revolution. In an exhaustively researched study, the author juxtaposes management-worker relations

in both North and South, throwing into sharp relief, despite the distinct labor systems, remarkable similarities in the unfolding industrious revolution among both free and enslaved skilled ironworkers.

In the colonial era, adventurers in all regions relied heavily on bound, convict, and slave labor. White servants were always problematic. By the time they were properly trained their terms had expired, and they rarely stayed on. Slaves gave producers more reliability and predictability. Although primarily associated with the Chesapeake, slave and bound labor also played a major role in the mid-Atlantic colonies. Even with this system, skilled artisans were capable of exerting leverage over their employers and masters needed incentives to get the workers to exert themselves. The response was the system of overwork, whereby slaves producing above a set quota were paid something for their effort, giving them a greater sense of value and self-worth.

After about 1760 adventurers had more leverage with their artisans. Bezis-Selfa argues that northern slavery functioned as a disciplinary tool that placed a limit on workers' bargaining power. There was always the potential threat of replacing them with slaves; even on short notice, owners might lease slaves. Owners relied heavily on fines and began to control workers' alcohol consumption. The evidence also suggests greater interest among workers in consumption. More free workers were indebted to the company, which helped keep them working, and owners complained about the goods workers and their wives wanted stocked at company stores.

Consumption as an incentive played an obviously narrower, but nonetheless vital role for southern slaves. After the Revolution, southern slavery was "domesticated." The decline of the slave trade led more iron furnaces to allow slaves to form families, providing slaves a greater incentive to stay put and to exert themselves for the overwork payments that provided small margins for their families. Iron works also leased large numbers of slaves who left families on plantations. Still, skilled slaves were somewhat empowered and used their position to exert some leverage with owners, or even customers.

After 1800, in the mid-Atlantic, with indentured servitude rapidly disappearing and slavery gradually declining, manufacturers had to come to terms with a free labor force and make accommodations that secured enough workers and output. Artisans continued to use their scarce skill to extract favorable terms from managers, in wage rates and collateral benefits. In the North there was a more reciprocal relationship between workers and owners. Owners, no longer having the option or the threat of turning to bound labor, advanced an argument of mutual interest to hold their work force. Politically, they needed

the votes of their men to help secure protective tariffs. They also promoted evangelical Christianity and temperance to discipline their workers. In the latter cases, Bezís-Selfa argues the owners were not acting cynically to manipulate their men, but truly believed in what they were doing. Equally, he argues that workers largely accepted what the owners were offering. It coincided with their own notions of who they were and their aspirations.

Iron making, by its nature and its setting, required carefully detailed records of its workers, including wages paid and even consumption patterns. Remarkably a large body of this material has survived, and while the industry has been explored from numerous perspectives, Bezís-Selfa has added new insights in this meticulously researched and carefully argued study.

ROGER D. SIMON
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Peter Krass. *Carnegie*. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2002. Pp. xi, 612, notes, selected bibliography, acknowledgments, index, cloth \$35.00, paper \$19.95.)

All hail, King Steel! As presidents fretted their brief hours on stage, Gilded Age America was made anew, and by none more than the Scots handloom-weaver's son, Andrew Carnegie. Here, in a lively rendering, Krass has given general readers a life of Carnegie that should outlast his ingots.

Carnegie was one cocksure, compact, striving packet of energy. Working his way up from the textile looms through telegraph offices and railroad boardrooms, he found his truest calling in steel: the strongest, finest, and cheapest in the world. Nothing and nobody could beat Carnegie Steel—not even J.P. Morgan, the only financier with the capital to produce a serious rival or, in the end, buy Carnegie out. The black smoke of prosperity that rose from around Pittsburgh was made with the ingenuity of bookkeepers and engineers, innovators for whose achievements their employer would get the credit, and it was made too at the expense of employees, blinded, maimed, and exploited. But it was Carnegie's hand that directed all or, more aptly, both hands; for Carnegie never did anything by halves. He was a passionate giver and an implacable getter, barely touched by conscience betimes, unhindered by a surfeit of scruples, often wrong, and almost never in doubt. He bought what he wanted, presidential candidates included, and in his passion

to do things right would have blown one of his lagging steelworks sky high—as once he threatened to do. Writers, poets, politicians on both sides of the water cherished his friendship and welcomed his largesse, which could be considerable. Rarely did a robber baron who did so well end by doing much good. Five foot three, the steelmaker was a colossus by century's end, hated (rightly), admired (even more rightly), and as his benefactions poured forth in his retirement years, loved. Historians should love him, too, if only because he kept so many of his letters, which, to judge from the excerpts here, have the spark and fires of an open-hearth furnace.

Better studies of Carnegie's business career readers will surely find. There are fonder biographers, and, consequently, much blinder ones, than Krass. *Carnegie* draws a complicated picture, engaging and repulsive at turns. No historian will read this book for the politics, about which Krass has some odd ideas (the stealing of Pennsylvania in the 1888 election, for instance, or James G. Blaine's being Secretary of War, or William McKinley's chairmanship of the Senate Ways and Means Committee, or the precise time when Abram Hewitt was mayor of New York: and how Germany's government could have been cash-short because of the funds it put into the Boer War, when the combatants were the Boers and the British, is unfathomable). Let stylists fret sentences like, "Ah, money," or phrases like "he was acquiescing to their desires to expulse the union" (p. 226). Let Shakespeare scholars cackle over awkward analogies between Carnegie and King Lear, Macbeth, and Prospero. These are blemishes nowhere near as fatal as the flaws in the steel that Carnegie palmed off on the American navy. A figure of such reckless energy can afford a little reckless intensity in the describing, and like most of Carnegie's product, Krass's is strong and durable stuff.

MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS

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