

This highly readable comparative study is an important contribution to the history of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Germans, Colonial America, and the Atlantic world. Based on her extensive research into German and American primary and secondary sources, Beiler makes her argument economically and clearly. The book serves as a welcome reminder that colonial America, though very different from Europe, did not exist in isolation from that “old world,” and it complicates issues involving immigrants’ resistance, accommodation, and assimilation to American culture as well as ideas about American exceptionalism.

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Nicole Eustace. *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2008. Pp. x, 613, illustrations, tables, notes, index. Cloth, \$45.00.)

Nicole Eustace’s *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* offers fresh insight into colonial Pennsylvania society and will likely influence future interpretations of early American studies. Eustace uses emotion—or, as the title states, “passion”—as her frame of analysis. Eustace does not claim to uncover individual experiences of emotional feeling. Instead, she traces the meaning of emotional expressions through language and displays intended to reify a hierarchical social order. Nevertheless, emotions became hotly contested in colonial Pennsylvania, a colony of great social and economic mobility.

Eustace emphasizes the tension between self and society and demonstrates how expressions of emotion captured a contest between those who embraced communal values and those who supported more individualistic ones. She dubs the mid-eighteenth century the “era of the passion question” (21) and casts the period as a transition from “communal visions of the self” to “modern individualized notions of the self as autonomous and independent” (12). She concludes that the American Revolution ushered in an era that emphasized the universality of emotional feeling, which symbolized the rise of individualism. “Emotion,” she writes, “contributed

as much as reason to the structure of eighteenth-century British-American power and politics" (3).

Eustace begins her study with a chapter on Alexander Pope's poem *Essay on Man*. Pope's poem had a particularly wide readership in colonial Pennsylvania, perhaps more so than anywhere else in the Atlantic World. Pope's *Essay* was imported, reprinted in the colony, and portions also appeared in almanacs and newspapers. So widespread was the poem that Eustace finds lines from it popping up in commonplace books and letters without any attribution. The poem may have been popular, but it was not without controversy and criticism. As Eustace demonstrates, Pope's attempt to "reconcile civic virtue and personal passion" exposed the conflict between self and society. Where those who embraced Pope's creed believed that embracing passions—or "self-love"—could lead to "social good," critics, often Quakers, countered that "selfish passions could fatally undermine communal bonds" (24).

Eustace then explores the contestation of emotion in public and private settings in chapters focusing on a specific set of passions. She demonstrates clearly that public expressions and performances of emotion carried significant social weight and that people used contests over expressions of emotion to negotiate the boundaries of legitimate authority and status. Higher ranked members of Pennsylvania society tried to demonstrate refinement and control over their emotions. For example, individual elites expressed resentment rather than anger. The elite believed that the lower sorts, on the other hand, lacked the same social refinement and were thus thought to be prone to show extremes of passion. But when the lower orders showed emotional control, elites viewed their behavior as submissive.

Cheerfulness provides an example of how uses of emotions maintained social control. "Cheerfulness" Eustace shows, "signaled contentment with one's rank" (68). Thus, political officials deployed the language of cheerfulness to describe how subordinates should work, turning demands for their labor into "benevolent dictates of ... superiors whose task it was to protect the common interest" (68). The construction of such an idea "helped to soften the sharp edges of hierarchy even as it strengthened them" (69).

The use of emotions to establish relations of power also played into cross-cultural interactions and conceptions of racial others. The language of love, for instance, often dominated treaties between Indians and Pennsylvanians, but, as Eustace points out, "the veil of love" often elided "the ensuing naked struggle for power" (141). Many whites believed that African-Americans did not have the potential for refined emotions that whites possessed,

which essentially dehumanized African-Americans and thus justified their enslavement.

But because emotions were so central to reaffirming social order and establishing relations of power, they could also be subversive tools for those in the lower ranks to challenge hierarchies. Women, for instance, could use public displays of grief to challenge the patriarchic order. As Eustace casts it, public mourning was expected to be subdued because death and loss were part of God's plan. Because male heads of household claimed to possess authority over family and society in worldly matters much as God did in divine ones, women grieving too much challenged the prevailing assumptions of authority that bound a patriarchic society together. "For women," Eustace argues, "grieving provided opportunities for ritualized rebellion" (298). Thus, "British-American men had to keep a close eye out for potentially subversive assertions of sorrow on the part of all those whom they wished to subordinate," (332) and "a widow's grief carried particular potential to be socially subversive" (311). Eustace finds only two acceptable displays of grief: when public figures died, thus permitting society to grieve the community's loss rather than an individual's death, and when sons mourned the death of their father. Eustace argues that these two exceptions to the rule reaffirmed male "title to mastery" in public and private spheres (316).

Eustace's most important contribution may be to demonstrate convincingly a major shift in emotional expressions brought about by the Seven Years' War. During the war, anger became a far more universal emotion, one that elites and lower sorts could both express together and publicly. By the 1760s, colonists began using emotional rhetoric to register their protest of governmental policies, whether it was the Paxton Boys who expressed their indignation at Quakers for lacking compassion or urban protestors who used emotional conventions of "popular resentment" and "public mourning" to lobby Parliament to revise unpopular policies. By the time of the American Revolution, colonists trying to create a nation used the rhetoric of universal emotions (led first by Pennsylvanian John Dickinson) to transcend not only hierarchical boundaries, but also geographic and political ones.

It would be impossible to adequately summarize all of the subtle arguments and analysis Eustace marshals. But works of such sophistication also leave important and intriguing questions. Eustace locates her analysis squarely within Pennsylvania until the American Revolution, at which point she expands to include all of British North America more generally. Yet by her account, Pennsylvania was distinctive because of its strong Quaker

influence, social mobility, and apparent embrace of Pope's *Essay on Man*. What processes happened in other communities in the Atlantic World, and how were colonists able to speak a common language of emotion during the Revolution if they had separate experiences?

Eustace may also be open to criticism from those who see emotional expressions as purely rhetoric and without real significance. But to those critics, Eustace marshals persuasive statistical data that demonstrates shifts in word usage that coincide with broader societal changes that she links to the rise of the individual. For instance, sympathy became a far more widely used term in public in the 1760s and onward, replacing compassion. Sympathy emphasized individual and equalitarian emotion, while compassion signaled more communal and hierarchical feelings (peers feel sympathy, superiors feel compassion). In this and in other ways, Eustace's work has opened up a new field of inquiry for early Americanists. Scholars will be hard pressed to interpret documents without paying close attention to the imbedded signals of emotional expressions.

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The David Library of the American Revolution*

Thomas J. McGuire. *The Philadelphia Campaign, Volume II: Germantown and the Roads to Valley Forge*. (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2007. Pp. 432, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95.)

The Battle of Brandywine left Washington's army bowed but not beaten. With his flank turned, Washington and his subordinates fought a successful delaying action that allowed the army to escape destruction. Nonetheless, it had been a close thing. A more aggressive general than General William Howe might well have smashed the Continental army and forced an end to the two-year-old rebellion, but what might have been was not what was, and the American army lived to fight another day.

Thomas J. McGuire addresses the campaign that followed Brandywine in the second volume of *The Philadelphia Campaign*. The focus is on Washington's attempt to reverse the decision at Brandywine with an audacious night attack on British positions in and around Germantown. The author then ably describes the move toward winter quarters at Valley Forge.