

racial, judicial, and social dimensions of postwar African American migratory patterns while also examining postwar liberalism's strengths and limitations in response to the changing demographics of postwar Philadelphia. Moreover, Levenstein dissects the gendered meanings of these broader struggles within the African American community. Her incorporation of oral histories from women offers an invaluable lens for urban historians seeking to comprehend the complex interracial and intraracial tapestries through which African American women defined their lives.

In giving a "voice" to the voiceless, Levenstein accentuates African American female agency and unveils the myriad strategies employed by working-class women to rearrange the terms upon which public institutions responded to their social and economic concerns. Although racial animosities pervaded the city, African American women could overcome the institutional and racial obstacles besieging them at every turn by crafting grassroots legal, domestic, and educational solutions to destabilize the structural boundaries keeping them marginalized. Levenstein's account affords urban scholars a better understanding of how African American women in Philadelphia altered their destinies amid unfolding racial turmoil in postwar America.

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Hayes Peter Mauro. *The Art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011) Pp. 184. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00.

Set in the context of America's "Gilded Age," Mauro's visual culture history centers on the trope of the "before and after" portraits used to mark the progress and practice of assimilating Indians into Americans at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. His aim is to show how Richard Pratt, the school's administrator, used photographs to argue that "by means of aesthetic transformation, these groups were to be converted from an assumed state of degenerate Otherness into model 'American' citizens" (1).

To begin his analysis, Mauro builds on the work of Albert Boime in *The Art of Exclusion*, which suggests that the mingling of ideological pre-determination with aesthetic convention has parallels in other media. *The Art of Americanization* also functions as a dynamic correlative to Elizabeth

Hutchinson's argument in *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915* regarding the mainstream interest in Native American material culture as “art” that spread across the nation from west to east and from reservation to metropolis.

Relying on Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and Roland Barthes, Mauro articulates a method that critically analyzes the visual imagery produced at Carlisle to argue that photographs functioned as a way of showcasing the ideal of American citizenship. Yet, what is most striking and important about this work is Mauro's choice of visual evidence, namely the photographs created through the collaboration between Pratt and John Nicholas Choate, a professional photographer from the town of Carlisle, as well as photographs produced (respectively) by documentary photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston and an Indian student, John Leslie.

Mauro begins by framing the work of all three photographers through sociology, noting that the boarding school was a “total institution” akin to other sites known for the management and oppression of people, including mental hospitals, prisons, and concentration camps. Through this postulation Mauro relies on Gramsci to argue that “the intent of the Carlisle photographs was to show this process of rationalizing the body and mind of the worker” (3). Mauro then turns to *panopticism* as theorized by Foucault as another means for understanding the social spaces of Carlisle that required “before and after” portraits, and the *studium* and *punctum* used by Barthes to offer innovative readings of Carlisle's photographs. For example, Mauro suggests that an image titled Croquet, featuring several female students “casually yet conveniently arranged before the camera,” offers the viewer “the feeling of leisure and ease” that is “balanced by the presence of a male groundskeeper on the far right, who is watching over the young women” (111). This “overseer trope,” Mauro notes, was typical of nearly all of Johnston's images. Even more important and evocative is Mauro's claim that such imagery circumscribed the students “neatly into the architectural fold of the campus grounds” and with this representation Johnston offered “no vision of the world *beyond* the campus” (112). Here Mauro draws on Foucault and the work of scholar and curator Barb Landis to note that the school grounds served “as a panoptic architectural device” that Pratt saw as useful for containing students both physically and perceptually (122).

Mauro's story is as much about the production of photographic evidence aimed to manage public perceptions of Carlisle and its successful assimilation of Indian pupils as it is a story about changes in manhood, nationhood,

and technology that marked the end of the nineteenth century in the United States. For instance, the photographs by Johnston that appeared in *The Red Man and Helper* (the school's main literary periodical) illustrate both that Pratt erased Johnston's participation by neglecting to mention her name, "even though by 1901 she enjoyed an international reputation," and how the album she made worked to confirm the methods, aims, *and* results of the school (110). In other words, Mauro suggests that the photographic series created by Johnston but controlled, edited, and circulated by Pratt between 1902 and 1904 sought to represent "The Carlisle Idea" and the promise of successful assimilation of Native children. For Pratt, Indian education relied upon the school's operation as both a site for industrial labor training and a cultural space affording students leisure time. Mauro argues that Pratt's strategic selection and publication of certain images aimed to confirm that Native students were "salvageable" because they could be uplifted "beyond the savagery of their forebears" through systematic exposure to "all things civilized," such as Christianity, the English language, applicable trades, and white bourgeois leisure (111). These hallmarks of white Euro-American civilization, which Pratt sought to represent and celebrate using the medium of photography (a mode that itself signified the critical necessity of technological innovation), were also necessary components of a wider American social agenda aiming to assimilate both Indians and immigrants into properly "modern" citizens.

Chapter 5 attends most specifically to Indian people, not just as objects or subjects for Pratt's propagandist photographs, but as complicated individuals caught in a controlling educational system. In addition to detailing the professional relationship between Pratt and Johnston, Mauro considers a rare sanctioning of student photographic practice by turning to the work of John Leslie. "Native American practitioners of photography were rare in the nineteenth century, and thus Leslie's images offer a potentially uncommon vision of the boarding-school experience" (125). Given that there are other areas of the book where Mauro retraces the well-worn steps of art historians who have read and analyzed photographs produced during this era (especially the work of Johnston), the inclusion of Leslie, a member of the Puyallup tribe in Washington State who attended Carlisle in the 1890s and studied photography as part of the school's outing program in 1894, offers the most original and compelling part of this book. It is surprising that Mauro does not do more with Leslie as an example, which he might have connected to his discussion of the "Imaging of the 'Manly' Native Body" at the end of the chapter (126).

Mauro's conclusion points us to the short-sightedness of Pratt's photographic program, noting that by 1900 "the status of self-consciously mass-produced tourist art was endowed with a talismanic quality by the middle-class northeastern Anglo-Americans who collected the items" and it was in this context that Pratt's "one-sided system of repressing all signifiers of a lingering Indianness lost favor," ultimately resulting in his resignation in 1904 (134). Mauro succeeds in showing that the side-by-side comparison of photographic portraits "projected an aura that could best be appreciated in the nineteenth century," and throughout the book he makes clear that the inspiration and initial "success" of the Carlisle photographs was based on the authority of science and objectivity as exemplified by social expectations regarding photographic technology (134). This book is an important reminder of the power involved in creating and disseminating visual culture when the aim is to chart the aesthetic transformation of an individual from "savage to citizen," and a great addition to the history of American art and culture, Native American studies, the history of ideas, U.S. education, and critical studies of race and gender.

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Joseph Seymour. *The Pennsylvania Associators, 1747–1777*. (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishers, 2012) Pp. xxiv+280. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover. \$29.95.

From 1747, when Spanish "pirates" (actually, privateers) first appeared on the Delaware River during King George's War, until the state of Pennsylvania established a militia act in 1777, Pennsylvania was defended by volunteers known as Associators. Although some Quakers believed that even permitting others to defend them might bring down the wrath of God on a province that had survived without a military force for sixty-five years, even most members of that sect recognized that once the mid-eighteenth-century wars troubled William Penn's "Holy Experiment," such extreme pacifism was no longer tenable.

Benjamin Franklin played a prominent role in organizing the first Association of 1747, in which inhabitants of the three "old counties"—Bucks, Chester, and Philadelphia—mobilized to defend a threat to their shipping.