

BOOK REVIEWS

- Settling with the Indians. The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640.* By KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN. (Totowa, N.J., Rowman and Littlefield, 1980. xii, 224 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$19.50.)
- Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building.* By RICHARD DRINNON. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980. Bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

These two books are very different in their approach and content, but they fit into the recent series of books which carry similar or contingent themes: Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian* (1978), Harry C. Porter, *The Inconstant Savage* (1979), Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism & Civility* (1980), and perhaps, though the context is more limited and concentrated, Calvin W. Martin's *Keepers of the Game* (1980). The general theme is the examination of European attitudes and actions toward the Native Americans, mainly (though this is not true of Berkhofer and the second of the books reviewed) in the early contact period. Karen Kupperman's *Settling with the Indians* is a sober and conscientious treatment of contemporary English references to the inhabitants of North America down to 1640 and an attempt to explain both attitudes and actions. The first part where English descriptions of the Indians are summarized is useful for its comprehensiveness. Her general conclusions under each heading of appearance, society and government, religion, and technology, are that, with the exception of religion, observation was in general good, comprehensive, and accurate with some lapses and some inevitable misunderstandings. So far as material culture is concerned, she is certainly borne out by the extensive use of her sources in Bruce W. Trigger, ed., *The Northeast* (1978)—which is volume XV of *The Handbook of the Indians of North America*, general editor, William C. Sturtevant—though there are a number of reinterpretations there of particular observations. Having been over this ground myself recently, I can find little that she had missed, though I am not always sure that her interpretations are correct. On the other hand, Bernard Sheehan, in his recent scholarly, if controversial, book, was struck "by the profound inability of the reigning European ideas to offer even a glimmer of truth about the meeting of white and Indian in America" (p. ix). While this challenge has more relevance to the second part of Dr. Kupperman's book than to the first, it seems to cut away most of the observations by early external observers of native cultures, many of which did not withstand for long the impact of white contact. We might go as far as to say that the

earliest Europeans of this period did not understand the eco-system of which Indian society was so intimately a part and rapidly disturbed or destroyed it, as Calvin Martin has demonstrated in regard to the effects of the fur trade carried on by the Micmac. What is not stressed sufficiently in her book is that the earliest contacts for which we have narratives were inevitably partial and limited since they occurred only in the summer season and rarely involved close contact with community life and none at all with the changing patterns of occupation, though this ceased to be true, in general, after 1607. What Sheehan has on his side is the failure of Englishmen to understand or accept that Indian communities were closely attached both to their own cultural practices and to their territory, however loosely they appeared to be organized and however lightly they seemed to regard particular areas of their lands. Dr. Kupperman is in general, if not invariably, clear and accurate, though she is a little too close to her card-file and not quite all the details she quotes bear the interpretation she puts on them.

The second part of the book, where she traces the confrontation of the two cultures, is interesting for a number of points that she makes from her knowledge of English ways of thought and action brought out by recent social historians. She notes, for example, that Englishmen tended to transfer their categories of class and social status from the Old World to the new, to recognize authority when exercised by chiefs or elders and to place the common run of people in a savage category comparable to those employed on English estates or roaming English roads. This is certainly valuable but it can be pushed too far: status-recognition was more significant in early contacts than when the two societies were competing directly for territory. She also stresses the English fear of witchcraft at home and the tendency to transfer this fear to Indian images (the equating of Indian religion with devil-worship was closely linked to this). Englishmen, she also maintains, were strongly conscious of an atmosphere of treachery which surrounded them, in many circumstances, at home. She regards this (along, of course, with the almost inevitable struggle for territorial possession) as responsible for some of the clashes with the Indians and some of the brutalities toward them. Whether these add up to an explanation of Sheehan's extreme view that all Englishmen regarded all Indians as ineradicably affected by a concept of "ignoble savagery" or whether her more modest conclusions on the nature of the relationship are the more probable remains open to discussion. She certainly appears to anticipate and to put in a more moderate context many of his specific illustrations.

Professor Richard Drinnon's *Facing West* is very much different, a blockbuster, devoted to a single theme. This may be summarized (even if the terms are a little different) as follows:

The invasion of America and the decline of the native population dates from the first landing of the white man on the continent. Without any stretch of the imagination, the landing of the white man in America, and his taking into his possession the home of the Indian and assuming ownership of the soil, because of its "discovery" by him, was as if a Hindoo should land in London, and

because of the "discovery" of the country assume dominance of the realm, place the sturdy sons of Albion on the list of his wards, and also limit their movements to the confines of a "reservation." . . . To dispossess the occupant, and wrest new title in the invader, has been left to the cruel arbitrament of war, whose path from Plymouth to Oregon, exhibits the ghastly spectre of revengeful conflict; and the feeble struggle and expiring wail of the first heir, whose circumscribed "reservation" proclaims his extinction, feebly echoing from the direction of the setting sun.

This somewhat archaic prose appears in R. Guy McClellan, *The Golden State* (San Francisco, 1875), pp. 669-670, but it echoed in my mind when reading Drinnon's book even though his concepts are more sophisticated and his material up-to-date. He sees American history in relation to the Indians as characterized by unrelieved repression, and is concerned with "the metaphysics of Indian-hating, those deadly subtleties of white hostility that reduced native peoples to the level of the rest of the fauna and flora to be 'rooted out'" (p. xvi). He goes on to inveigh against civilization, the Western superculture, the one true civilization application of which made inevitable the eradication or emasculation of the Indian." His book is not rhetoric alone but solid polemic based on his selection from the historical sources. He gives a chilling portrait of John Endicott as the type-figure of the obsessed, repressed, bigoted Puritan, whose sadistic instincts emerged in the Pequot massacre of 1637, which he takes as starting point for the implementing of white "hatred" of the Indians. (Francis Jennings in *The Invasion of America* [1975] did something of the same sort with more detailed scholarship and less ferocity.) From there Drinnon takes off over the pages of American history, bringing down such founding fathers as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, and proceeding over the course of western history, pursuing actors and apologists alike with fire and brimstone. It is readable and is based on wide reading but its polemic may seem rather too highly pitched for sober readers, however much they may sympathize with some of his particular assaults. He does not stop even with the Pacific coast but carries on to the Philippines and Vietnam, prefacing his chapters on these events with a general one, "The Occident Express from the Bay Colony to Indochina." On such a route a reviewer can scarcely follow him in an impartial manner. It is strange that on his long route march he makes no mention of William Penn, of Philadelphia, or of Pennsylvania. Perhaps they did not entirely fit his objective. Jennings' book created something of a sensation at the time, but it has now become a classic: it undermined earlier views of New England and general perspectives on White-Indian relations. Drinnon may be thought, for all his sincerity and force, to have gone ahead from there too fast and too far. But he should be read.

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DAVID B. QUINN

Early Americans. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. xii, 281 p. Illustrations. \$19.95.)

Since the publication of his *Cities in the Wilderness*, in 1938, when the author was only thirty-five years old, Carl Bridenbaugh has been recognized as one of the finest American scholars and an eminent authority on the American colonial period. The present volume consists of nine essays, seven of them previously published in scholarly journals with limited circulation, and two of them appearing in print for the first time. These latter are the essays on Opechancanough and Tom Bell. Of the seven essays previously published, two of them appeared 35 years ago while four of them were published within the last five years. Obviously, Dr. Bridenbaugh is a scholar who continues to work after his retirement.

In his brief introduction the author notes that "Here are nine vignettes involving people individually or in groups in the American colonies of England over a period of more than two centuries" (p. 3). Each of these essays is marked by careful research, thorough documentation, imagination, and insight; the latter two being characteristics frequently missing in historical writing.

The first essay, "Opechancanough: A Native American Patriot," is an interesting study of this elder brother of Powhatan, suggesting the former had unusual talents and capacity for leadership, and that he perhaps deserved to rank among the truly great American Indians. After informed speculation based on extremely thorough and careful research, the author suggests the possibility that Don Luis de Celasco and Opechancanough "were one and the same person" (p. 49). Bridenbaugh concludes "No one can be more fully aware than I am of the incompleteness of the evidence about this Indian. . . But certainly now is the time to tell what we know of the life of a truly remarkable American. With such facts as we have he comes alive. He is too vivid a personality to remain concealed from American history" (p. 49).

In "The Old and New Societies of the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century," this scholar describes the societal changes in the Delaware Valley as an Indian society was replaced with Swedish, Finnish, Dutch and finally with an English society. In "Right New-England Men; or, the Adaptable Puritans," Bridenbaugh suggests that "the success or failure of any colonial enterprise known to history has always been determined ultimately by the kinds of responses made by the settlers to their new and strange environment" (p. 77). In the essay titled "Yankee Use and Abuse of the Forest in the Building of New England, 1620-1660," the author contends that "of one thing no doubt existed whatever: colonial concern about the American wilderness originated before 1660 in the town meetings of New England. The militant, unremitting, Puritan attack on the forest had been total. . . and it was altogether too successful" (p. 120).

In an age when the adventurer was romanticized, few scoundrels surpassed Tom Bell, a "Harvard man gone wrong who became, before his end in 1773,

probably the best known American both on this continent and in the British West Indies" (p. 125). The author suggests that "One can even say that this earliest confidence and bunco artist and his lesser imitators contributed in their peculiar fashion to the emerging sense of American unity" (p. 149). In his "Philosophy Put to Use: Voluntary Associations for Propagating the Enlightenment in Philadelphia, 1727-1776," Bridenbaugh finds that by the outbreak of the Revolution "so well had the Philadelphians managed to put philosophy to use that their achievements were recognized and acclaimed in England and throughout the Western World" (p. 165).

The author asserts, in the essay titled "The New England Town: A Way of Life," that "the process by which New England was colonized was unique." In "Violence and Virtue in Virginia, 1766; or, The Importance of the Trivial," Bridenbaugh concludes that violence and a challenge to the legal and social order in Virginia, in 1766, are related to Virginia's support of the revolutionary cause. In "Baths and Watering Places of Colonial America," the author finds that "These resorts proved a potent factor in promoting colonial union and in nourishing nascent Americanism. They were the most significant intercolonial meeting places." He goes on to claim that "it may be confidently asserted that these watering places provided a powerful solvent of provincialism at a time when it was most needed" (p. 238).

These nine essays are as charming as they are provocative; they are scholarly without in any way being dull; they delight even as they inform.

SUNY—College at Cortland

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

English America and the Restoration Monarchy of Charles II: Transatlantic Politics, Commerce, and Kinship. By J. M. SOSIN. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. xii, 389 p. Index. \$25.00.)

This thoughtful reinterpretation of the relationships between colonial Americans and the England of Charles II is both subtle and impressive. The richly detailed narratives develop a powerful cumulative argument that royal tyranny was neither possible nor intended. Sosin emphasizes connections between English North America and England that were built upon political, economic, and social aspirations. He repeatedly challenges the easy Whiggery that has made all colonial ambitions worthy, and English kings tyrants by definition.

Charles II is portrayed here as having limited ambitions, seeking some administrative efficiencies, some religious toleration, and additional revenue from English duties on colonial products. Sosin incorporates C. D. Chandaman's findings on the fiscal role of these duties into a wider explanation of the trade laws as very limited impositions on the pattern or fortunes of the staple trades. The politics of religion are explored as well, helping to explain seeming

anomalies created by tidy-minded interpretations. Readers who enjoy blunt and direct argument between historians, and evidence of Professor Sosin's wide research, will find his endnotes essential, though unindexed, reading. Rather characteristically, it is a footnote that states: "the conclusion of this present work suggests that there was no *central* theme, that Charles and James were in the main reacting to diverse developments and seeking several limited goals" (p. 379, n. 8).

Even limited goals proved unreachable because of localism, and limited communications, and particularly because of political, economic, and personal interests that complicated, compromised, and stalled most initiatives.

The expansive title and subtitle of the volume are accurate if readers appreciate that a narrow interpretation is intended. Caribbean colonies receive little direct attention, inviting questions about the application of Sosin's view to Charles as king of those wealthier colonies. Despite its more comprehensive concerns and contributions, the book is essentially about the political relationship stated in the title. Economics, religion, friendships, kinships, and even demography are explored primarily for their political implications and consequences. Within his chosen boundaries, Sosin accomplishes his purpose admirably.

Proprietary charters are among Sosin's best exhibits when arguing that Charles had no master plan for tighter control of English America. Six new charters, up to and including that to William Penn, were granted despite the readily available evidence that charters prevented effective royal action. A tangle of overlapping grants and claims were created and allowed to persist despite the paralysis this brought to local and imperial government: "the reactions of the ministers at Whitehall to developments in the settlements along the Hudson and Delaware rivers were a charade, a burlesque of rational, purposeful rule" (p. 231).

The lameness of the absolutist interpretation becomes even more apparent when these proprietaries are seen in the context of Charles' long and frustrating effort to gain influence over the belligerently independent worthies of Massachusetts Bay. Sosin's account of this is an effective antidote to the notion of oppressive kingship that was so useful to the real masters of the Bay colony and their historians. It was only after a generation of resistance and procrastination by the Massachusetts elite that royal patience was exhausted, and the charter was revoked.

Sosin has provided a volume of evidence that the power of Charles II was limited by political and religious faction, administrative, military, and fiscal limitations, conflicting priorities, and endemic localism. Critics can argue that the failure of a master plan, or its failure to survive on paper, does not mean that there was none. But Sosin has shifted the burden of such proof, and efforts to reassert conspiracy arguments will be hampered by this perceptive, suggestive, and enjoyable book.

Light-Horse Harry Lee and the Legacy of the American Revolution. By CHARLES ROYSTER. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981. xiii, 301 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Charles Royster has already established himself as one of the bright young scholars of the Revolution. His *A Revolutionary People at War* (University of North Carolina Press, 1980) broke new ground in the study of the war and its impact on society. Now he has begun to think about a topic at once both more narrow and more broad in scope.

Light-Horse Harry Lee is an attempt to achieve a sense of the connection between the war and the character of a specific person. In practice, this turns out to be two tasks: to better understand how Lee's life was affected by his experiences during and after the war, and to suggest "insights which go beyond the character of Lee" to indicate how living through the war actually affected a whole generation.

Royster succeeds admirably at the first, but comes up a bit short at the second, though he can't be held totally accountable for it. His portrait of Lee—his glory as a cavalry commander, marriage and family life, financial successes and failures, his bitter alienation—make worthwhile reading for any student of the Revolution or early national period. His work is based on thorough research in primary sources and a solid command of the secondary historical literature. His willingness to confine citations of the latter to his footnotes will doubtlessly cause some anxiety by fussy academics but please the nonprofessional reader.

Perhaps most importantly, Royster has set out to deal with a problem too long ignored by American historians. A major pattern in American life—alienation from the dominant values of the society at a given point in time—has been largely denied, and must now be examined. Large numbers of solid citizens—and it is significant that no one has yet put a number on them, as if the realization of their strength is too painful to confront—grew bitterly, deeply hostile to the way the young nation developed. These have been disparaged as dangerous radicals like Daniel Shays and his followers or dismissed as cranky Federalists, out of touch with the "real world" of prosperous, democratic America. The truth seems to be something else, though no one, including Royster, is quite sure what it is. Royster can explain *how* Lee's inner and public lives changed, but offers no explanation for *why* it happened.

The correct question has not yet been adequately framed. Was it the internal contradictions of the ideals of Republicanism, dashed upon the rocky shore of the expansion of suffrage and the growth of free-market capitalism? Was it a deeper psychological need, shaped by the social, political, intellectual, cultural, and economic forces unleashed by the events of the Revolution? These questions cannot be answered until they are examined in a serious and systematic manner.

In the meantime, *Light-Horse Harry Lee* is a good place to begin thinking about what really happened to the Revolutionary generation.

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784, Volume 5, April 16—July 20, 1782. Edited by E. JAMES FERGUSON and JOHN CATANZARITI. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980. xxxix, 649 p. Calendar, illustrations, index. \$27.50.)

It's nice to see John Catanzariti's name listed as one of the two senior editors of this volume. Anyone familiar with the Morris Papers project will know that he deserves the recognition. The quality of the product improves with each successive volume. In particular, the annotations are leaner and more cogent than ever, the editorial apparatus is meticulous, and the volume can boast an excellent analytical index, one that is thoroughly cross-referenced for scholarly use.

As one might expect, Volume 5 contains a massive amount of new and significant information dealing with the detail and complexities of financing the war effort. It portrays a harried administrator with insufficient powers striving, often vainly, to make the American economy work. Having said this, it might appear paradoxical to add that Robert Morris appears at his best at this point: efficient, tireless, and innovative. It is possible to conclude that the nation's financial administration, in less capable hands, might have broken down entirely as the war wound down and the individual commitment of Americans waned in proportion.

One would expect to find this volume filled with data touching on matters economic and fiscal. But there is much more of high significance as well. There is a startling amount of new material touching on the Continental Army, its supply, the beginnings of its tension-ridden transition to peacetime status, and its relations with the civilian population, among other things. Volume 5 also reveals a good deal about the growing role and authority of the Bank of North America, a bank with tentacles reaching not only deep into the new states of the infant nation, but abroad as well. There is a great deal of information about the day-to-day business of the Continental Congress, much of it by way of new detail, some of it suggesting that perhaps, as Jack Rakove has recently demonstrated, this governing organism was both more effective and more efficient than historians have heretofore credited. Finally, the volume deals extensively with France's multi-faceted role, as America's major ally, in changing the course and conduct of the war effort.

It is becoming clear now, after five volumes, that the Papers of Robert Morris on completion will reveal a great deal about the origins and cohesion of the Confederation. It will also lend important new perspective to the significant economic thrust of the succeeding decade as well. It would be an insult to America's sense of national purpose should this project and others like it fall victim to short-sighted federal budget cuts.

The Papers of James Madison, Volume 13, January 20, 1790—March 31, 1791. Edited by CHARLES F. HOBSON and ROBERT A. RUTLAND. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981. xxviii, 423 p. Chronology, index. \$20.00.)

In the second and third sessions of the first Federal Congress (the structural elements in this collection of correspondence, speeches, notes, and memoranda), James Madison found himself the leader not of a majority but of minorities in the House, forced by the tendency of Secretary Hamilton's fiscal measures to defend the interests of his district, state, and section. In debate on the bill to incorporate a national bank, passed shortly before Congress adjourned, he placed his opposition on broader ground, arguing that such legislation was unconstitutional, although in the Federal Convention he had attempted unsuccessfully to provide Congress with the power to grant charters of incorporation. In his stand against the bank and the doctrine of "implied powers," Madison the nationalist became a strict constructionist.

The harmony that prevailed in the first session of the Congress gave way by the close of the third, in Robert R. Livingston's words, to "a territorial division" on "almost every important question" (p. 393). Particularly ominous was the violent language employed by deep South members in opposing the introduction of petitions against the slave trade, the most significant of which were submitted in February 1790 by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1789 and the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (signed by Franklin as its president). By what seemed to Madison a surprising turn of events, "a fortuitous coincidence of circumstances" as he described it to James Monroe (p. 262), the national capital was relocated, temporarily to Philadelphia for ten years commencing with the third session of the Congress, thereafter to a permanent seat on the Potomac. The narrowness of the margin that determined the Residence Act kept the second provision in considerable doubt; there is no sound evidence in Madison's papers to support Jefferson's account of a "Compromise of 1790."

The most notable document in this volume is Madison's reply, in a letter of February 4, 1790, to Jefferson's famous proposition "the earth belongs to the living, & not to the dead." Taking exception to the idea "both in Theory and practice" he struck an equally memorable counterpoint: "The *improvements* made by the dead form a charge against the living who take the benefit of them." And yet, if the disposition of his mind and his experience in deliberative assemblies impelled him to delineate its limitations, Madison, characteristically, could still recognize the "general importance" of the principle "in the eye of the philosophical Legislator" (pp. 19,21).

It has become fashionable to question the value of the comprehensive documentary edition, to express impatience with the methodical pace of publication and make suggestions about the virtues of microforms. Volume 13 of this series effectively demonstrates the short-sightedness of such views. The editors have prepared accurate printed texts from the faded ink and frequently dam-

aged pages of manuscripts, and have revised the dates attributed to several documents in the Madison collection of the Library of Congress (pp. 14, 195, 203, 210, 240, 250, 252, 310, 352, 364, 369, 401). They have provided a useful editorial note on the printed sources for Madison's speeches (emphasizing the deficiencies of the *Annals of Congress* (1834-1856)). Their practice, seemingly begun in Volume 12 (pp. 56-64), of introducing the documents for each session with a similar note has been unfortunately discounted; and their introductions to Madison's speeches do not as a rule identify the states which his adversaries represented, which is particularly censurable when the subject of his remarks is the proposed assumption of state debts. But these exceptions do not diminish the value of the volume, and the series, as a reference work. Of the 273 documents (and 35 abstracts) printed here, only 29 appeared in Gaillard Hunt's edition of Madison's *Writings* (9 vols., 1900-1910), the alternative period source, which does not print letters received by Madison. The volume is dedicated to Julian P. Boyd.

Washington, D.C.

CHARLES M. HARRIS

Harmony on the Connoquenessing: George Rapp's First American Harmony, 1803-1815. Compiled and edited by KARL J.R. ARNDT. (Worcester: Harmony Society Press, 1980. xlv, 1021 p. Illustrations, index. \$38.00.)

This *magnum opus* by Karl J.R. Arndt consists of selected documents in German, English, and some French, with translations and English summaries, all concerning the Harmony Society and its first settlement in America. It is a subject Arndt has dealt with before, particularly in his works on George Rapp and the Harmony Society in Europe and America, and on New Harmony, Indiana, a town founded by the Harmony Society in 1814. (*Harmony on the Connoquenessing* was sold.) In 1824 the group returned to Pennsylvania and founded Economy (Ambridge), its third and last settlement. Often called Rappites, the Harmony Society was a celibate group which has died out. Today New Harmony, Indiana, and Economy, Pennsylvania, are major historic restorations, while the original site of Harmony in Butler County, Pennsylvania, contains a number of surviving Harmonist structures.

The book is useful and attractive. Arndt is to be commended for including so many documents in their original languages, with translations or summaries. His translations show good English style. His notes are always interesting. The book is well designed, with good illustrations, a comprehensive index, and a large, 20 x 16 inch map of Harmony enclosed in a pocket in the rear cover. It alone is worth the price of the book.

The work is of interest to Pennsylvania and early America for many reasons.

The relationship between religion and business activity, science, celibacy, communal living, education, architecture, town planning, music, and many other subjects can be explored in some detail. The major subject is business. One is continually impressed by the extensive business activities and related experiments of the Harmonists. There are many business correspondents, including Rapp's major contact in America, Godfrey Haga, a prominent Philadelphia businessman.

One must know German and English to get the full impact of this book. For some strange reason, the English "Introduction" and the German "Einleitung" are different compositions—both excellent, but not the same. The German and English footnotes on the same subjects also do not usually match each other; one must read both for the total information available.

A matter of unusual interest in this book is Arndt's caustic criticism of the Pennsylvania historical establishment, and its stewardship of the Harmonist documents—a criticism that deserves more precise elucidation and some dialogue in an appropriate forum, ideally not in future volumes on Harmonists.

Few groups in America have been as fortunate as the Harmonists in having a historian so thoroughly familiar with the original sources, and so devoted to presenting their story.

This book is a kind of masterpiece, the culmination of a life-work. It is doubtful that anyone other than Arndt has the necessary talents in German, German handwriting, German dialects, English, history, and story-telling to replicate this study. On the other hand, Arndt has not totally solved the complex problem of presenting original-language materials along with the translation in a simple and cost-effective way.

Moravian Archives

VERNON H. NELSON

Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860. By ANNE C. LOVELAND. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xi, 293 p. Bibliography, index. Cloth \$30.00, Paper \$12.95.)

This book examines the evangelical clergy in the Old South. Though it is drawn largely from the writings and careers of ministers in the South Atlantic states and though it takes due notice of denominational differences, it centers on the "beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions" the ministers "had in common." Loveland describes the making of evangelical ministers—the character of their conversion experiences and of the sense of calling that drew them into the ministry and shaped their sense of themselves as men of God—as well as their essential pastoral duties and their ideas about the revivalism through which they sought to bring the Southern people under evangelical dominion.

Loveland's major concern, however, is with the clergy's social and public attitudes rather than with its pastoral role. Thus she describes evangelical attitudes toward all those things—politics, wealth, amusements—that they lumped together under the rubric of “worldliness,” evangelicals' changing implication in temperance reform and missionary and benevolent campaigns, their attitudes toward slavery and abolition and their attempts to Christianize the slaves and, finally, the clergy's response to the sectional crisis of the 1850s. Loveland makes two major points about this cluster of ideas. She disputes the notion that evangelicals “were completely subservient to the ideology of the Old South,” arguing instead that they were more “autonomous” and “complicated” than is usually thought, that they adopted stances different from and critical of the beliefs and behavior of Southern society at large. Second, she argues that their faith in the Sovereignty of God was central to all their beliefs and positions. She concludes that “the belief in the sovereignty and omnipotence of God and dependence of man informed the whole of their thinking, and more than any single element, contributed to the distinctiveness of southern evangelical thought in the nineteenth century.”

Loveland's exegesis of evangelical attitudes is certainly accurate. There are, however, some problems with her treatment of “southern evangelicals and the social order.” The problem of “autonomy” is poorly conceived and the discussion as a whole is insufficiently grounded in clear enough ideas about the structure and role of the clergy, the diversity and changing nature of the “social order” of the South, or the place of religious ideas in the culture as a whole. As a result she interprets styles of evangelical expression that would appear to be inherent in the clergy's role as the mediator between the sacred and profane, divine and human, eternal and changing realms as signs of the clergy's “autonomy” and “alienation from the dominant American ideology.” The ante-bellum South was (as was, of course, the ante-bellum North) an ever more intensely Christian society, and the evangelical clergy was at the center of this culture. This is not to say that there was no tension between clergy and society: tension was inherent in an evangelical conception of the ministry that led clergymen to work ceaselessly to break the dominion of “the world” over their parishoners' souls. Unfortunately, this book provides us with only the most superficial sense of how this tension might have operated in the ante-bellum South. It is clear that although Loveland has read and even quotes Donald Mathews' *Religion and the Old South* (the most important analysis of religion North or South to appear in some time), she has assimilated neither his argument nor his approach. In effect, Loveland provides us with a catalogue of evangelical attitudes about a range of specific issues but fails to examine the intellectual and social problems and processes behind these attitudes. She gives us little insight into how ante-bellum Southern society challenged traditional religious practices, arrangements, and beliefs and fostered new spiritual needs. She thus fails to perceive that what might have lain beneath the clergy's various campaigns and their persistent attempt to preserve a sense of the over-riding

importance of Divine Sovereignty in all things was an attempt to discern and shape a "social order" amidst the chaotic changes that played across Southern society and culture. While a useful but narrowly construed summary of evangelical attitudes, this book, then, is a study of "Southern evangelicals and the social order" in only the most superficial sense.

North Carolina State University

DONALD M. SCOTT

The Politics of Justice: Lower Federal Judicial Selection and the Second Party System, 1829-61. By KERMIT L. HALL. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. xvii, 268 p. Tables, appendices, bibliography, index. \$19.50.)

There is a viewpoint currently in vogue among some American legal historians that too much attention has been paid to courts, judges, and decisions, and that the field of legal history properly includes numerous other topics equally deserving of scholarly inquiry. One can readily accept the latter point, without necessarily agreeing with the former. There is still a great deal to be learned about our courts, depending upon what kinds of questions the scholar uses as the basis for the study. Thus, although Hall's book deals with what might appear to be familiar terrain, it would be a serious mistake to dismiss the results as yet another work in a narrow vein of legal, if not legalistic, history.

In *The Politics of Justice*, Hall examines the selection/confirmation process of lower federal court judges between 1829 and 1861. Set against the now standard model of the "Second American Party System," he seeks to illuminate what one of his subjects, James Knox Polk, called "the secret history of the federal government—the distribution of the federal patronage." He is particularly interested in the interplay between president and senate over judicial appoints from Jackson to Buchanan, the extent of kinship within this process, and the identification of what Hall terms the "principal mediators" who influenced its outcome. The result is a series of very brief descriptions concerning whom the various presidents appointed, with some analysis of why the chief executives picked the judges whom they ultimately did. One can sympathize with Hall's difficult choice in presenting a little about a lot, as contrasted with fewer but more detailed case examples. He chose the first method, but offers a number of general conclusions at the end of his study that make the occasionally heavy going through nomination after nomination well worth the effort.

Hall finds that both Whig and Democratic presidents "selected nominees of similar social origins." Moreover, few "lawyers of modest social origins" were appointed, no matter which party was represented in the presidency. He notes, however, that when nominees were selected from modest social and class

background, they tended to be Whigs, *not* Democrats, the popular image of the Democracy as a "people's party" to the contrary. The judicial appointments made in the period under analysis failed to reflect sweeping social changes, leading "inescapably to the conclusion that advantage begat advantage."

There were important distinctions between district court and territorial court appointments. Not only were the latter nominees less distinguished, they were much more inexperienced. Fully 70 percent of the territorial judges "had never presided over a court and 57 percent had never functioned in the capacity of a public legal officer." They were also significantly younger than their district court counterparts, the average age of a territorial judge being about 35.1 as opposed to 46.2 for the district court judges.

Finally, Hall points to the "modernizing impact of the second party system on the lower federal courts." The presidents "overwhelmingly selected nominees who did more than subscribe to party in name only." Indeed, "party was the most significant modernizing force in the selection process." Whig and Democrat alike sought judges who would maintain federal authority, respect state rights, further territorial or state economic growth, and sustain major administrative policies. Although the second party system collapsed even as the currents of war coalesced, "at least in the selection of lower federal court judges, the political culture of the era moved gradually, incrementally, unevenly, and incompletely towards political modernity." Confirming what some may already know, and others may have suspected, Hall's book is a welcome addition to the hardly vast literature dealing with the history of our federal courts.

Rutgers University, Newark

JONATHAN LURIE

The Reconstruction of the New York Democracy, 1861-1874. By JEROME MUSHKAT. (East Brunswick: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and Associated University Presses, 1981. 328 p. Bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Jerome Mushkat has traced the history of the New York Democracy during a period when its life seemed in danger. Peace Democrats gave the whole party an aura of treason, though Mushkat, like other recent scholars, believes that such charges were generally untrue and unfair. Inept, opportunistic, and inconsistent leaders failed to discover viable ways to use Jacksonian principles in a new age and could agree about little except that blacks should not be given the vote. That the party did not die and even won elections seems to have been the result of failures of other organizations to emerge as permanent major parties and of Republican mistakes. Finally, as the author sees it, the Tweed scandals forced Samuel Tilden and others to reinvigorate the Democracy as a moral

force and to interpret the old doctrines of limited government and equalitarianism in such ways that successful appeals to party unity and to voters could be consistently made. By 1874 the worst of the bad days were history.

This interpretation stresses the possible demise of the party more than Joel Silbey did in his 1977 book, *A Respectable Minority*. Mushkat also emphasizes leaders' errors more than Silbey did. The two, however, are generally in agreement on most issues which both discuss. Those interested in factionalism and in the relationship between New York City and state politics will find important detail here. Also Mushkat shows that the nomination of Horace Greeley did take some of the sting out of Republican charges that their enemies had worn the wrong bloody shirt during the war. Tilden's emergence as state and national party leader is clarified.

In many ways, however, the work is limited and even faulty. Mushkat has chosen to ignore all the tenets of the new political history. Not only does he avoid analysis of election returns, but his discussions of elections often end only with who won and lost; by how much is mentioned casually, at times not at all. The author relied primarily on newspapers and the private correspondence of editors and party leaders, sources which, of course, lead to histories of the top only. Democratic voters receive almost no attention. The author blames the acute and ever present factionalism in part on the number and diversity of interest groups, but these are never defined clearly nor analytically. City editors and leaders are given much more space than those from upstate. Tammany Hall is interpreted as the "heart of the state Democratic party," but that assertion is not proven, and the many sections on Tammany fail to add anything to our knowledge of how that machine functioned. Words, "structure" for example, are used loosely, and one can not always be sure of the author's exact meaning. Several "ed's" were carelessly left off the ends of verbs. The book will be useful to some but is clearly below the level established by numerous recent works on similar and overlapping topics such as Silbey's *Pennsylvanians* will prefer to read Arnold Shankman's *The Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement, 1861-1865*, also a better book.

Winthrop College

FREDERICK M. HEATH

James McCosh and the Scottish Intellectual Tradition: From Glasgow to Princeton. By J. DAVID HOEVELER, JR. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. xiv, 374 p. Illustration, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Professor Hoeveler's able study of James McCosh is more than an intellectual biography of that remarkable Scotsman. The author is concerned with such larger questions as the fate of the Scottish intellectual tradition in the

nineteenth century and the nature of the American collegiate system as it developed in the late nineteenth century. McCosh's career is, of course, an admirable illustration of nineteenth-century intellectual struggles, both religious and philosophical, and his presidency of Princeton provides an interesting case study of reform in the critical era of American educational history. In addition, Professor Hoeveler, much in the manner of his subject, moves carefully between excessive concentration on abstract ideas on the one hand and the reductionism of a sociological approach on the other. Throughout the work the author attempts to "demonstrate the organic nature of [the] subject, the relation of thought to an extended milieu." In brief, Professor Hoeveler consistently relates McCosh's ideas to the social and intellectual environment and correspondingly McCosh's impact upon philosophy, theology, and institutional organization.

Since Scottish philosophy was a dominant force in American intellectual circles for several decades in the nineteenth century, Prof. Hoeveler's analysis of the background and development of that school is of more than parochial interest. The opening chapter is an interesting attempt, and a generally successful one, to relate the Scottish Enlightenment and the subsequent warfare between the moderates and evangelicals to the changing Scottish society and the "cultural divisions within the nation."

Space does not allow a recounting of the insights McCosh's career gives us into both the nature of the Scottish universities and the rise of the evangelical movement in Scotland. Suffice it to say that the author establishes the personal and institutional experiences which form the basis for both McCosh's practice as a minister and as an educator. McCosh carried the ideas formed in the religious and philosophical struggles of his youth into his work in shaping Queens College in Ireland and into his presidency at Princeton. Nor does Prof. Hoeveler in the process lose sight of the complexity of McCosh's ideas. As the last great representative of Scottish realism, McCosh struggled valiantly to maintain a middle ground between the competing schools of Kantian idealism and the positivism of Mill and Spencer. That he and his school lost out in the long run to the open-ended universe of the pragmatists is no reflection on the skill and profundity of McCosh's writings. More than most, McCosh attempted to stay abreast of scientific thought and his efforts in promoting empirical psychology and evolutionary ideas while maintaining a theistic context played an important part in meliorating the nineteenth-century warfare between science and religion.

The impact of ideas on the broader social milieu is, of course, most clearly evident in McCosh's tenure as president of the College of New Jersey from 1868 to 1888. Here his struggle to liberate Princeton from the parochial grasp of the Princeton Theological Seminary reveals not only the application of Scottish philosophy, but McCosh's great skill as a teacher and administrator. More importantly, it opens up the question, as Professor Hoeveler points out in his preface, of the nature of American higher education. For such critics as

Daniel Boorstin, American universities have reflected the confusion of the world around them and, no doubt, there was plenty of that at McCosh's Princeton. Nevertheless, it seems indisputable that, despite the buzz and din of competing factions, McCosh did implant in Princeton a particular kind of style which is a reflection of his philosophy and experience. Whether or not Hoeveler's book supports Boorstin or Vesey, it seems most valuable as an analysis of the application of clear ideas and purpose to the interplay of factions within an amorphous institution.

Since Professor Hoeveler covered so much ground it is perhaps unfair to raise questions about what, at least in the reviewer's opinion, he did not do, but one wishes the author had spent a little more time probing the question of why the Scots were so practical and empirical. I suspect that the answer lies in Hoeveler's comments (pp. 14-15) on the departure of the high nobility and the ensuing alliance of minor nobility, gentry, and rising bourgeoisie. Possibly, the other source of Scottish practicality was in the education of the "masses" carried out by the parish schools which made Scotland one of the most literate societies in Europe.

Except for such awkward stylistic habits as the overuse of "to be sure", Professor Hoeveler's book is an important contribution to intellectual history substantively and methodologically.

Lehigh University

JOSEPH A. DOWLING

Anarchist Women, 1870-1920. By MARGARET S. MARSH. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981. x, 214 p. Illustrations, note on sources, index. \$19.50.)

Temple University Press' American Civilization series here offers another attractive and informative number. As with others in the series, the merit is not so much in original research (though research here is both original and significant) as in a fresh perspective, a creative angle. Thus Margaret Marsh, associate professor of history at Stockton State College, writes "not so much to examine anarchism through the lives of the women who espoused it" as "to understand the ways in which a group of women responded to the social, sexual, and economic upheavals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (p. 4). Therefore the book is less about anarchists and anarchism, more about feminists and feminism. "Anarchism provides us with a useful yardstick for measuring the boundaries of acceptable deviation from conventional patterns of behavior" (p. 4). Understanding the anarchists discussed here, and their deviations from sexual and familial norms, thereby aid understanding of the women's-rights movement of a century ago and of the feminist movement today. Those women developed "a feminist theory [that] commends them to our attention" (p. 5).

Those women—who were they and what were they like? Emma Goldman, the greatest American anarchist, of course, but also Voltairine deCleyre, Florence Finch Kelly, Mollie Steimer, Marie Ganz, Margaret Anderson, and others—like Goldman: colorful, bold, energetic, bright, dissatisfied. Mainly dissatisfied. Like their male counterparts they wanted more personal liberty and increased opportunity for all; and they would sacrifice their little liberty and scanty opportunity in order to demand more from a society they called unjust. But anarchist women had to struggle harder and sacrifice more than their male counterparts, because their male counterparts often became their antagonists: even anarchist men, though usually happy with sexual freedom for themselves, were not so ready to grant it to women (especially *their* women), nor were the men ready to accept women as intellectual and moral equals. Moreover, anarchist women agonized over conflicts within themselves as they learned slowly and painfully to reject with clear consciences the belief in traditional relationships. For anarchist women were women first—women born and bred to the ways of male-dominated society first—and anarchists second. But struggle they did, those women who come to life in these pages; and though they did not get an egalitarian society based not on gender but on choice and ability, they helped win for women rights, privileges, and freedoms enjoyed today, and their example may inspire today's women and tomorrow's.

Besides the fresh perspective, this book is to be praised for unity. Not the series of loosely related biographical sketches it easily could have been, it marshalls biographical data around the themes and enterprises of anarchist-feminism: equality; love, sex, and marriage; propaganda; and politics. The only extended biography, all of Chapter 6, is of Voltairine deCleyre: "No single figure better represents the complexities and contradictions, the strengths and weaknesses, or the ambiguities of anarchist-feminism" (p. 123). Though by a woman and clearly on the side of women and feminism, this book is accurate in details, honest in claims, sober in assertions, and dispassionate in assessments.

Unfortunately, Marsh was not content "to identify characteristics common to anarchist women," not willing to stop at the end of a good book; she must add an "Appendix: Women as Activists." In it she tries "also, insofar as possible, to find out what distinguished anarchist women from other activists." "Insofar as possible" is not far. "This analysis does not pretend to be scientific" yet relies "most heavily on chi-square and discriminant function analysis" (p. 175). Indeed, "qualitative evidence has been organized in a quantitative manner," "statistical analysis was done by computer," and a random sample of ten women is to reveal the nature of women as activists. If only the appendix had been sent to the wastebasket instead of the printer!

Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949. By CHARLES B. HOSMER, JR. (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1981. In two volumes, xiii, 1,291 p. Illustrations, bibliography, chronology, index. \$37.50.)

These long awaited volumes could not have made a more timely appearance. Despite the Reagan administration's severe cut in program funds, interest in historic preservation has never been keener. In October 1980, for example, a major symposium took place in New York City on "Public Art and the Problems of Preservation." The news media have recently increased the space that they devote to preservation issues; and in April 1981 the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians promoted a session called "Let's Put History (and Historians) Back in Historic Preservation."

Charles Hosmer, who teaches at Principia College in Illinois, surveys just one generation in this study, which is a sequel to his admirable monograph of 1965 on the preservation movement from the 1850s until about 1925. He handled that story, Mount Vernon to Monticello, in 303 pages. Does he really need 1,064 oversized pages of text to cover the years from 1926 to 1949 (plus 162 additional pages of notes)? Who can hold, never mind read, a work that weighs 6lbs., 1oz.? It is true that many infants weigh less than that at birth; but their gestation period is nine months, whereas Hosmer's "baby" has been in the works for sixteen years. His title supplies symbolic justification, just as his thoroughness provides the real rationale. Preservation did indeed "come of age" during this period, and the story—to be told properly—needs to cover both the public and private sectors, various levels of governmental activity, engaging yet little-known personalities, wonderfully illustrative anecdotes, and a vast number of well-placed pictures. Hosmer's research is exhaustive. He has read through reams of organizational reports, institutional plans, unpublished correspondence, preservation literature, and, especially valuable, he has interviewed on tape many prominent participants in the preservation movement.

The resulting coverage takes us from Williamsburg and the New England scene to the emergence of outdoor museums, preservation organizations generally, and the awakening of such historic communities as Charleston, San Antonio, New Orleans, and Natchez. Although there is little in the first five chapters of particular interest to Pennsylvanians, chapter six, devoted to state programs, has twenty-six pages on the Keystone State, with special attention to such figures as Frank Melvin, Ross Wright, Sylvester K. Stevens, and Donald Cadzow. A general chapter on the Federal government's role, 1926-1935, is followed by an especially interesting one on the National Park Service and the New Deal, 1935-1941. Here we find special sections on Hopewell Village (an iron-making community of eighteenth-century origin) and the genesis of Independence National Historical Park, a topic Hosmer comes back to in greater detail in his ninth chapter, "The Federal Program and the War Years, 1941-1949." A final section is devoted to the founding of The National Trust

at the close of the 1940s, plus several thematic chapters that retrace the entire period in terms of "the growth of professionalism" and the development of "new restoration techniques." In these, for instance, Hopewell Village serves to illustrate the gradual evolution of policy guidelines for buildings under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. Hosmer's assessments of preservation in Philadelphia are perhaps less stimulating and provocative than those made by Lewis Mumford in his *New Yorker* series on "Historic Philadelphia" in 1957; yet Hosmer's work is much richer in substance and perhaps more even-tempered in its interpretations.

Hosmer had massive organizational problems to confront. One could second-guess his strategy at several points, especially where it causes patterns of repetition; but I cannot propose a better scheme for arranging these diffuse and unwieldy materials. Only occasionally did I find myself baffled by his specific evaluations. It is difficult to reconcile some of the naive or nutty schemes of W.A.R. Goodwin, spiritual godfather of Colonial Williamsburg, with Hosmer's paeans of praise for Goodwin's wisdom and farsightedness (see pp. 961-962 and 980). Similarly, I wish that Hosmer had made an effort to probe more deeply the obsessive use of such word-concepts, as "shrine" and "authenticity," both of which recur constantly among those involved with Pennsbury Manor in the 1930s. These are minor cavils and complaints, however, about a work which will remain a fundamental reference for many years to come.

Cornell University

MICHAEL KAMMEN

One Third of a Nation: Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression. Edited by RICHARD LOWITT and MAURINE BEASLEY. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. xxxv, 378 p. Illustrations, index. \$18.95.)

For many years historians combing the exhaustive Federal Emergency Relief Administration records at the National Archives have chanced upon and been dazzled by the wit and style of Lorena Hickok's reports to Harry Hopkins. When the papers of Lorena Hickok (1893-1968) became available at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library in 1979 her entire collection of reports tempted historians to accept Roosevelt's advice that published they might comprise the best history of the Great Depression. This reviewer welcomes Lowitt and Beasley's edited volume of Hickok's depression reports, but I caution readers to be wary of FDR's assessment of their real significance.

Hopkins commissioned Lorena Hickok—and about fifteen other reporters—to "go out into the country" and describe for him the social and psychological condition of the American people during the harsh years from 1933 to 1935. Hickok later did another reportorial stint for Hopkins in 1935

and 1936 when she focused exclusively upon the political impact of federal relief.

One Third of a Nation only includes Hickok's 1933-1935 reporting, a tragedy for the readers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* because Hickok's best expositions of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia were written in late 1935 and 1936. In these reports she described Philadelphia mayor J. Hampton Moore's efforts to undermine the WPA, profiled the colorful "political chameleon," S. Davis Wilson, discussed "Jack" Kelly's meteoric rise in Philadelphia Democratic party politics, and bemoaned the blatant political machinations involving the WPA in Philadelphia and surrounding counties. In lieu of the 1935-1936 reports and to round out the Hickok portrait of depression America, Lowitt and Beasley supplemented Hickok's reports to Hopkins with some of her much touted correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt. (See Doris Faber, *Lorena Hickok: ER's Friend.*)

There is nothing particularly subtle about Lowitt and Beasley's editing of the reports. They are presented in chronological order just as Hickok wrote them. The chit chat which bracketed each report has been deleted. If some of it was formal, nevertheless much of it helped develop Hickok as a personality. Occasionally, Lowitt and Beasley asterisk persons, places, and organizations, which are very briefly, and in some cases inadequately, identified. A twenty-two-page introduction explains Hopkins' charge to Hickok and, drawing heavily on her unfinished autobiography, describes her harsh childhood, her success as a "working" female reporter for the *Minneapolis Tribune* and the Associated Press, and her friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt.

Hickok spent her first weeks on Hopkins' staff touring Eastern Pennsylvania, a quixotic choice, for her reports clearly evince a predilection for rural and not urban America. In Philadelphia she reported a rash of sheriff sales, deepening poverty, and the active presence of the Communist Party-affiliated Unemployed Councils. Commenting on Pennsylvania politics, she informed Hopkins that the administration of relief in the state was honeycombed with graft. Hickok later made brief visits to New York City, Los Angeles, and Birmingham, Alabama, but mainly her datelines were from places such as Hibbing in Minnesota, Moultrie in Georgia, and Winnemucca in Nevada.

The main significance of Hickok's reports lies in Hopkins' motives for soliciting them, and in Hickok's perception of her mission. In their subjectivity, that is, the reports capture—uncannily at times—the temper, the pathos, the determination, bitterness, and even the meanness of Depression America. Here we discover business crassly evading the NRA, and people praying for such a dictator as Mussolini. (If we had to have one, Hickok hoped he would be like FDR.) Some people—the "most salvageable"—turned to radicalism. Lowitt and Beasley point out that Hickok emphasized the radical threat. However, the editors ignore Hickok's contempt for the "so-called reds." In fact she pooh-pooed the Unemployed Councils regarding the "thunder-on-the-left" as merely a nuisance.

The main themes in the reports are subcutaneous—undercurrents reflecting

the depth of the social dislocations gnawing at America. Her reports are infused with a racism and ethnocentricism seemingly rampant in America. Blacks are "niggers," "children really," in one report (p. 220), and in another "inarticulate animals who look and talk and act like creatures barely removed from the apes" (p. 152). Spanish-Americans are "docile," and both blacks and Spanish-Americans will be relief problems forever (p. 226).

The problems of a large stranded population comprised another major theme. Hickok was concerned that technology foredoomed millions of workers—often decent white-collar workers—to be tragically superfluous. For this reason she touted "back-to-the-land" schemes, as well as rural rehabilitation and (to Hopkins' delight) work relief projects.

Lowitt and Beasley have made available an important source for the social history of the Great Depression. Beasley's collection of photographs—largely from the Farm Security Administration collection—enhances the book. The selection of Hickok-Eleanor Roosevelt correspondence to supplement the reports seems reasonable, although too frequently there occurs an annoying repetition of anecdotal material. The major problem with *One Third of a Nation* has less to do with the editorial skills of Lowitt and Beasley than with Hickok's decision to relegate the urban America assignment to her colleagues and to take her "wheezing Ford" and her typewriter back home to the Dakotas, Minnesota, and rural America. Despite the editor's choice of New York breadlines and Hooverilles for a dustcover design, *One Third of a Nation* is more "East of Eden," than the "Philadelphia Story."

California State College

JOHN F. BAUMAN

Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign of France and Germany, 1944-1945.

By RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981. xviii, 800 p. Illustrations, maps, sources, index. \$22.50.)

In the textbooks, almost forty years later, it all seems so clear-cut. From 1939 to 1941 the big arrows extend outward from the Axis powers; from 1942 to 1945 they all push inward. That the campaign in Western Europe was not as simple as later generations may assume, that the issue seemed at times in doubt, and that victory possibly might have come sooner, is made clear in this large, learned, and readable book.

The problems of the European theater, as argued here, stemmed from the conflict between an American Army tradition of mobility, a heritage of the Indian wars, and a doctrine of mass engagement and the big crunch, deriving from the study of European writers and the experience of World War I. Between the wars this conflict complicated the integration of changing technology into tactical practice, most notably with regard to the doctrine and

design of armored forces. Fortunately, the lessons of the early German campaigns were available in time.

Along with questions of force design, preparation for the Normandy invasion left its mark on all that followed. Concern about the problems of getting ashore brought an obsessive focus on the beachhead and a neglect, especially in the logistic sphere, of the possibilities of exploitation. At the same time, however, a curious reluctance of the European commanders to consider Pacific amphibious experience led to rather meager bombardment allowances, which made the landings more difficult. The location of training camps in England, which seemed to dictate landing the more heavily armed, more mobile, and more reinforceable Americans to the right of the British, governed the whole campaign and, in effect, predetermined the vexed issue of broad front versus single thrust.

Once the beachhead was secure and reinforcement underway, earlier worries about the lodgment gave way to a caution that led to missed opportunities for large-scale encirclements and a possible victory in 1944. By the time France had been crossed, the hard-grinding winter had been survived, and entrance into Germany had been gained, the learning process had so emphasized both the virtue of encirclement and the capabilities of the Germans as to create a new pattern of thinking. With all available strength committed, an irrelevant but time-consuming envelopment of the Ruhr and the assault into the non-existent National Redoubt took precedence over the advance to Berlin and Prague.

The author's final judgment, that the American Army failed to reconcile a design for mobility and a doctrine of power may seem a little abstract: mobile forces have at times been cut off, and crunching efforts have failed to crunch through. The maps are good, if not quite good enough: both armies and text sometimes outrun them. In a work of such complexity and detail, Weigley's evident concern both for terrain (in northwestern Europe geography is destiny) and for history deserves high praise. The thumbnail comments on the generals appear judicious, but there are no final summary estimates. For those of the wartime generation, for whom many of these names still resonate, this may suffice; the younger will perhaps wish for more.

As always, in books of this sort, the importance and excitement of small-unit combat tends to draw the narrative down from command to battalion or squad level: the subtitle perhaps describes the contents better than the title. This concern with those on the line also showed itself in Douglas Freeman's similarly-titled *Lee's Lieutenants*, with which Weigley expressly disclaims any suggestion of comparison. But his is a fine work, and to this reviewer the comparison would seem in no way out of order.

Small Business in American Life. Edited by STUART W. BRUCHEY. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. viii, 391 p. Illustrations, index. \$25.00.)

Small businesses are to the economy what insects are to the plant and animal world. Individually weak, often short-lived, usually specialized, they are as a phylum not only overwhelmingly numerous but also remarkably adaptive, hardy, opportunistic, diversified, and indestructible. Though both are vital and necessary to the life of the economic and biological spheres respectively, comparatively little is known about either. Functioning on a small scale, they both thrive in the crevices inaccessible to larger orders of natural or economic life. "Whatever the mechanism, the insects pushed in everywhere, invading and monopolizing every possible niche and exploiting nearly every possible source of food," observes a research associate at the American Museum of Natural History. Discussing the analogous development of small business in the United States and its relation to larger firms, Lee Soltow remarks: "Within the intricate nexus of economic activities reflecting a complex division of labor among firms of varying size, entrepreneurs sought to adapt to niches in which small enterprises could carry on efficient and profitable operations."

Soltow's essay is one of seventeen specially commissioned by Stuart Bruchey for the volume under review. Ranging from a general survey by Rowland Berthoff of the ideological and cultural underpinnings of small business enterprise to such specific case studies as Irene Tichenor's essay on the master printers of New York from 1865 to 1906, the chapters in this book represent an effort to understand more than the technical and economic aspects of small business by analyzing its social and political impact on American life from colonial days to the present. Such broad themes are present in focused studies on small business banking (Richard Sylla), small business and the law (Lawrence M. Friedman), and small business manufacturing (Harold G. Vatter) as well as in the analyses of "Economics and Culture in the Gilded Age Hatting Industry" (David Bensman), "Small Business and Occupational Mobility in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie" (Clyde and Sally Griffen), or "The Role of Small Business in the Process of Skill Acquisition" (Eli Ginzberg).

Though Berthoff cites small businessmen as folk heroes in a culture based on the ideal of the self-reliant citizen, not all of the proprietors of small businesses in America followed the path traced by Susan Hirsch in her study of the craftsmen of Newark, New Jersey, from 1830 to 1860, who left positions as artisans to set up manufacturing establishments in the locomotive, machinery, or tool industries. Even in such businesses the craftsmen became less significant members of the small business community as the demand for manufactures grew during the nineteenth century and the firms passed into the hands of the founders' descendants.

Shifts in the status and functions of small businessmen are further examined in Stuart Blumin's study of newspaper advertisements in retailing (a sector in which small business has always dominated, notes Stanley C. Hollander in

"The Effects of Industrialization on Small Retailing in the United States in the Twentieth Century"). In four cities, New York, Charleston, Hartford, and Philadelphia, specialized shops steadily replaced the general merchant from 1772 to 1855. The pattern was clearest in Philadelphia, where general merchants declined from 65% of the advertisers in 1772 to only 1.3% five years before the Civil War. In an 1850s lithograph of Charles Oakford's Model Hat Store on Chestnut Street reproduced in the book, the predominant figure is the well-dressed salesman, Blumin points out. It was the white-collar shopkeeper and his minions who inherited the respect formerly given to the master craftsman, while the men in the leather aprons were relegated to manual labor in less glamorous shops, backrooms, and factories. This transition, most obvious on the small business level, had a lasting effect on class structure in American life.

Bruchey acknowledges that these essays are by no means the last word on the history of small business in America. He is equally correct in asserting that there is no better compendium of the subject taking such a broad view over such a long period of time.

Philadelphia

ERNEST H. SCHELL

Artifacts and the American Past. By THOMAS J. SCHLERETH.
(Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980. vii, 293 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$13.95.)

Thomas Schlereth believes that the "new" cultural history revives Socratic questioning. His collection of ten essays suggests modes of interrogating various artifacts. He ambitiously aims to make historiographical, pedagogical, and methodological contributions to convince historians to use material culture. Schlereth considers photography, cartography, mail-order catalogues, the built environment, vegetation, and historic museums. He omits such sources as film, advertisements, dress, and folkart. He borrows methodology from anthropology, archaeology, folklore, and geography. The book admittedly remains "a sampler, a collection of teaching and research techniques."

Schlereth's essay on photography is perhaps the most valuable. He urges skeptics to recognize that "both photographers and historians attempt to arrest time." They are "similar provocateurs in portraying the ambiguity and obscurity of past human experience. . . Inquiry is crucial to both." This quotation echoes Schlereth's recurring theme that the essence of good history lies in incisiveness of questions asked of varied artifacts rather than in discovery of supposed truth.

All of Schlereth's essays provide rich bibliographic material and other basic information to facilitate innovative use of artifacts in research or teaching. One essay suggests the mail-order catalogue as "casebook, sourcebook, textbook, or

'question book'" of social history. Researched sequentially and comparatively, these "two-dimensional paperback museums" become teaching tools. Another essay stresses substantive content and symbolic language of maps. He urges study of place names as Robert Alotta has done for Philadelphia. Much of this book is a survey of the state of the art of historians' use of artifacts.

Schlereth addresses himself primarily to the history teacher. He wants students to become "above-ground" archaeologists, to learn to determine functionality as well as symbolism, and to "take away a type of visual historical literacy. . . a critical and perceptive sensitivity." Vernacular landscape serves as manuscript capable of revitalizing student interest in the past. The essay on vegetation as data is innovative but not as rigorously argued or documented as his other offerings. For instance, he does not consider varied longevity of plants. Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery is a case in point, the remnant of a historic landscape lacking essential plants of the past. Yet Schlereth cautions that landscape study cannot be done without traditional documentary sources. He repeatedly calls for use of varied cross-checks and suggests interrelationships among all of the artifacts discussed.

He considers historic museum sites cross-disciplinary learning laboratories of "immense pedagogical potential." He counsels teachers to use such places as Greenfield Village with a historiographical spirit to train students to turn "interpretive dilemmas into pedagogical possibilities." He would make history interesting, vital, and even exciting for students raised in a media-oriented culture. Enthusiasm and idealism permeate this book.

Schlereth envisions new courses to bolster declining enrollments. He suggests the Centennial and Bicentennial as points of comparison for undergraduate seminars. He discusses use of urban regions as models for understanding particular historic periods. His course on Chicago during its Renaissance does not follow the city-as-case-study approach but rather focuses on one city in its hey-day. Philadelphia would serve to illuminate society and culture of the late colonial period. Although he refers to this as "regional studies," historians will not recognize it as such.

Schlereth ends with a litany of historical fallacies which rings true but is simplistic. Unlike David Hackett Fischer who considers the errors of historians, Schlereth focuses on flaws in popular perceptions of the past. Clio is not a muse but amusing, and Americans think of history as commodity rather than process. He preaches use of material culture in research and teaching to correct this but only scratches the surface in suggesting how. Yet Schlereth is on the right track. His pedagogy and methodology aim not at history for history's sake. He has none of the antiquarian's nostalgia for artifacts. Rather, he would produce a general "understanding of life in the past" through a "series of techniques for identifying, interrogating, and interpreting" artifacts.