BOOK REVIEWS


Even the most casual reader of these volumes will not doubt that Robert J. Taylor and his associates have met the high standards of earlier volumes in The Adams Papers. In particular, their annotation of the documents continues to be a model for other editorial projects. They have managed the difficult feat of writing notes that are both helpful in understanding the papers and informative about their context without being either obtrusive or long-winded. Their skill is most obvious in their discussion of the organization and operation of government in Holland, but it is present in less arcane areas as well.

In addition to maintaining the quality of the preceding volumes, the editors have also dealt successfully with some new difficulties peculiar to this phase of Adams's public life. These volumes cover the last year of his career in Congress, where he served on numerous committees and was President of the Board of War, and the first five months of his tenure as a Commissioner in France, where he took upon himself many of the routine duties of that mission. As a result, Taylor and his associates were confronted with many essentially similar documents relating to official minutiae and to private requests for preferment and assistance. This fact, combined with the cost of publication, required the editors to do some pruning. Their "primary concern in the . . .decision to print, calendar, or omit a document was how well it illuminated John Adams' thoughts and personal and official activities" (vol. V, p. xxi). Other concerns included an assessment of whether a document repeated material in documents that would be published, was merely a matter of official routine, or was simply representative of a general type, without any intrinsic interest or importance of its own. The editors seem to have applied this criteria judiciously and effectively. The locale of Adams's duties from March through August 1778 created other problems. Much of the Commissioners' correspondence was in French, including the important letters from C.W.F. Dumas, the American agent at The Hague. The editors have not only provided the original French text, but they have followed it with a contemporary translation, if one was made and has survived, or a modern translation. Finally, some letters to and from Adams have been published in other modern scholarly editions. In this case, the editors decided to print letters they believed "reveal something about Adams or whose content complements information
and views from other Adams correspondents" (vol. V, p. xxxii). What they have omitted, they have calendared. Again, this seems a judicious compromise between the desire for inclusiveness and the exigencies of expense.

What do these documents reveal about Adams's thoughts and his activities from August 1776 to August 1778? Scholars have already answered this question in a variety of ways; no doubt they will continue to do so. Unquestionably, however, the papers do illuminate just how difficult it was to accomplish anything and everything in Adams's world. These volumes bear eloquent testimony to the difficulties of obtaining reliable information about military, political, and diplomatic information. They also highlight the problems of verifying accounts, of paying bills, of arranging for the disposition of prize money, of finding men for the American army and navy, and even of counting the men who were present. And the reader is constantly reminded about a depreciating currency and the administrative and political obstacles to activity—let alone efficiency—in the state governments and in Congress. These were real problems. No doubt they were made worse in many cases by the personalities and politics of the men involved, but they would have existed, and been serious, even if angels had run American governments, or if the politicians and people had been as virtuous as Adams often wished they were. These papers amply demonstrate that the Commissioners were not simply dealing in hyperbole when they told the Comte de Vergennes about the problems arising from "this War having been conducted in the midst of thirteen Revolutions of civil Government against a Nation very powerfull both by Sea and Land" (vol. VI, p. 402).

To Adams, these problems, though difficult, were not insurmountable. He attributed them in part to American inexperience and unpreparedness, in part to British tenacity and power. The major affliction in his opinion, however, was how much America was "infected with that Selfishness, Corruption and Venality (so unfriendly to the new Governments she must assume) which have been the Bane of G. Britain" (vol. V, p. 118). But despite frequent reminders of inexperience, unpreparedness, and the selfishness of a people disillusioned by military failures and depreciating currencies and tempted by prospects of speculation and gain, and despite frequent proof that these shortcomings could not be solved quickly, he remained patiently optimistic. His suggestions for change included more stringent discipline for the army and heavier taxation for the people, prescriptions that he expected would create or restore virtue in America. "The great Fault of our officers," he told Benjamin Rush, "is Want of Dilligence and Patience. They dont want Bravery or Knowledge" (vol. V, p. 403). Insofar as American currency was concerned, he wished, "Pray let our Countrymen consider and be wise. Every farthing they pay in Taxes is a
farthings worth of Wealth and good Policy” (vol. VI, p. 327). In sum, Adams clearly felt that hard work, self-improvement, self-sacrifice, and patience would conquer even the most obdurate problems. Administrative problems, he was sure, could be solved by “one Person, whose Vigour, Punctuality, and Constancy” would direct a committee’s “Attention to the Object, and keep it fixed there” (vol. V, p. 146). He was certain his own career demonstrated the truth of that judgment, and he intended to continue working hard at his public duties. And, despite occasional comments about colleagues earning huge sums as attorneys after quitting public service, and acerbic observations that “these Gentry ought to through their rich Profits into Hotchpotch with a poor Brother at Passi” (vol. VI, p. 321), Adams had few qualms about sacrificing potential earnings as an attorney. His patience, however, was at times sorely tested by events. In 1777, he angrily opined that “every Officer ought to be hanged, who does not discipline his Men every day,” and later predicted to Nathanel Grene, “I am much mistaken and much misinformed, if the nice Feelings the Pride, the Vanity, the Foppery, the Knavery and Gambling among too many of the Officers, do not end in direct Endeavours to set up, a Tyrant sooner or later, unless early Endeavours are used to controul them” (vol. V, pp. 110, 190). Apparently, he wisely decided not to send that opinion to Greene, no doubt after reminding himself to be politic and patient, and perhaps after formulating the moral that he later recommended to Benjamin Rush: “Patience! Patience! Patience. The first the last and the middle Virtue of a Politician” (vol. V, p. 404). In 1778, the frustrations of a lengthening war occasionally caused him to express impatience with the American military effort, but only rarely in official correspondence. He never doubted ultimate success. As he wrote on August 12, 1778, he wished “with all my Heart it may Speedily arrive,” though he could not say, “I am very confident it will be very Speedy” (vol. VI, p. 368).

When he heard in February 1777 that Adams had safely reached Baltimore after taking “a disagreeable if not a dangerous route,” James Warren joked to his friend, “The climbing mountains and wading in difficulties of every kind has become so familiar to the politicians of this Age, that I hoped one of the first of them would be Able to go through it without any bad Effect on his health and Spirits” (vol. V, p. 90). In many respects, this can serve as an epitaph for the years of Adams’s career covered by these superb volumes. He had waded with fair success in many difficulties, and had not, as yet, suffered much from the experience.

University of Missouri-Columbia

JOHN L. BULLION
At the heart of Quakerism throughout much of its history has lain a paradox. The individual is given maximum freedom from creeds or forms in seeking religious insights, the leadings of the Light. But once these insights are obtained, their expression is hemmed in by group pressures and prohibitions, expressed as the sense of the meeting and the testimonies of the Society of Friends.

One of the most persistent of these prohibitions was for many years a barrier to participation in the arts. Music, the theatre, drama and fiction were condemned outright, and "ornamental painting" was looked on askance. Quakers with a strong urge toward the paint brush either left the Society—as did Benjamin West—or made an uneasy compromise by painting natural subjects, birds or wildflowers.

The conflict between the urge to paint and the need to observe Quaker simplicity reached its climax in the person of a nineteenth-century Quaker minister and Quietist, Edward Hicks of Bucks County, now known to many as America's most popular folk artist. Hicks not only loved to paint, and to use vivid colors, but painting signs and portraits was his only way of making a living. When he tried to convert to farming, he fell into debt. His friend and fellow Quaker, John Comly appealed for funds from Hicks's wealthy relatives to rescue him, so that he might "run his Master's errands unshackled, help him out of the deep mire of paint, and set his feet, through the blessings of Heaven, on firm ground."

Hicks eventually resolved his conflict by choosing as his subject The Peaceable Kingdom, illustrating the verse from Isaiah which prophesies that the lion shall lie down with the fatling and the calf. He painted some sixty versions of this scene over the years, his interpretation changing to fit his current thought and struggles. Although he also painted other pictures, it is his series of Peaceable Kingdoms that has made him famous.

According to the authors of Edward Hicks: His Peaceable Kingdoms and Other Paintings, the popularity of his paintings rests on their psychological content, the tensions beneath the apparent serenity of the canvases. Hicks struggled to subdue within himself not only the urge to splash paint on canvas, but to deal with a quick tongue, a sharp temper, and a judgmental attitude. His animals with human faces and agonized eyes reveal different aspects of this
struggle, while scenes of Quaker history in the background refer to developing schisms within the Society of Friends.

The long biographical text is especially useful for its insights into this interplay of psychological conflict, religious expression, and pictorial representation. The second part of the book consists of a splendid catalogue of all of Hicks’s known paintings, each accompanied by a description, interpretation, and history of the painting. The volume as a whole can be read by an amateur interested in the relationship between Quakers and the arts, as well as by a professional art critic.

In reading the biographical text, one often wishes to look at the picture referred to. A reference in the text to the picture by corresponding catalogue number would have been welcome. But this is a minor quibble, and the volume as a whole is a major delight, to be read and studied with appreciation.

Philadelphia

Margaret Hope Bacon


Margaret Fuller was perhaps no more ill-served by her editors than many nineteenth-century American authors. Sophia Hawthorne’s bowdlerized editions of her husband’s journals contributed to false impressions of his insipidity. And Poe, Fuller’s exact contemporary, had the misfortune to choose as literary executor a man so dedicated to calumny that he still suffers from the slander. Nevertheless it is hard not to regret the injudicious haste with which Fuller’s editors pasted together an anthology of letters, journals, and reminiscenses as the two-volume Memoirs. Not only did Emerson and his co-editors distort the material to present a prettified Fuller, but in the process they so mistreated the originals that many have not survived, or have only in a fragmentary state. Robert N. Hudspeth has valiantly corrected this error in his complete edition of the surviving letters.

These two volumes chronicle Fuller’s first thirty-one years in New England. (A final volume—to be published in Fall 1984—will treat the remaining period in New England as well as her life in New York and Europe.) Volume One, covering 1817-1838, documents the years of apprenticeship. Here we encounter her strained relationship with her demanding father; her strenuous
education at home, Mr. Park's school in Boston, and Miss Prescott's in Groton; the family retreat to a farm and her father's subsequent death; and finally her teaching under Alcott at the Temple school and Hiram Fuller in Providence. Volume Two, covering the more famous period from 1839 to 1841, presents Fuller's entry into the public arena. Here—in addition to the emotional turmoil of Samuel Ward's rejection and the tempestuous summer with Emerson in 1840—she begins her true career with the German translations, the famous Boston "conversations," and finally the editorship of the Dial.

The letters will interest the general reader for their clear depiction of the social and intellectual life of a respected but financially insecure mid-century family. Much has been made of Timothy Fuller's severity, and debate continues whether or not Fuller's education can be taken as representative. But the evidence offered about the circulation of ideas among Fuller and her friends is fascinating, an important supplement to the more usual book lists and library charge sheets used to document the learning process. The letters are, of course, necessary reading for all students of Transcendentalism. They provide fleeting glimpses into the Transcendental Club and Emerson's lecture series, and an especially fine picture of the early days of the Dial. More important, they offer a good sense of the incestuously close intellectual relations of the period, when correspondents exchanged not only books but also private journals and even whole collections of letters. Perhaps most interesting, however, is the insight the volumes give about the special place of women in this society. Unlike the Memoirs, which emphasizes Fuller's intellect, these letters suggest the wide variety of roles a woman was expected to perform. More striking finally than any particular statement is the range of voices—intimate, sisterly, familial, professional—Fuller assumes depending on her relation to her correspondent and the business at hand. Anyone interested in letter-writing as a genre, and particularly in its sense of an audience, will find a wealth of material in Fuller's chameleon-like prose.

The value of the letters to our understanding of Fuller is more difficult to assess. Although these volumes are absolutely essential to Fuller studies, they do not solve certain crucial problems. They are—as Hudspeth candidly admits—incomplete: from the two-month period during which Fuller says (perhaps hyperbolically) that she wrote fifty letters only fourteen survive, four of them fragments. Moreover somewhat more than a fifth of the letters in these volumes derives from corrupt sources, either the Memoirs or Emerson's notes for his contribution in the "Ossoli" notebook. There are real additions to our understanding of Fuller. Particularly important are the childhood letters, which suggest that despite later recollections the days with her father and at
Miss Prescott's were not periods of unrelieved anxiety and isolation. The communications with women are quite revealing, especially those to Caroline Sturgis. Equally refreshing is the practical shrewdness of the letters supervising the education and finances of her younger brothers and sister.

Yet other aspects of Fuller's life are less well covered. The letters frequently mention the celebrated conversations, but help us no more than do Peabody or Healey to understand the special attraction of these symposia. Moreover the correspondence does not in general clarify her enigmatic relations with men, or explain precisely why those closest felt increasing discomfort with her. Davis, Clarke, Newcomb, and W.H. Channing remain somewhat shadowy figures. Her violent reaction to the traumatic engagement of Ward fully surfaces in only two letters. Nor do the volumes add much to our knowledge of her troubles with Emerson. There is no mention of Emerson's unsympathetic participation in the conversations. And in fact only one of Fuller's responses survives from the two-month debate on friendship which led Emerson to cut himself off temporarily from her.

The volumes are cleanly edited and, in the few holographs I checked, accurately transcribed. (There are, however, minor discrepancies in the accidentals with the copy of the Memoirs I examined—a second printing of the first edition.) The annotation is adequate, though more concerned with genealogy than intellectual history. The gaps between letters are not always filled in, and for an overview of Fuller's career the uninitiated reader would still be advised to begin with the anthologies by Miller and Chevigny. The bibliographical material is well presented in both the introduction and individual provenance notes. Because of the unusual importance of the Memoirs, however, one hopes the final volume will contain an appendix summarizing the relation between passages quoted there and this chronologically organized edition.

These volumes, then, are a welcome addition to our knowledge of one of the most puzzling figures in nineteenth-century literature and culture. Although not so full an account as we might have hoped, they offer many important clues to Fuller's quixotic character. Whether or not they will allow us finally to determine her proper place in American letters—a place which the editor suggests may rest as much on her emotional powers as on her intellectual ones—we must wait for the crucial third volume to decide. In the meantime, we can simply be grateful to Professor Hudspeth and Cornell for allowing us to see what does survive of the correspondence in so clear and helpful a form.

Princeton University

David M. Van Leer
The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860. By JONATHAN PRUDE. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. xvii, 364p. Maps, tables, figures, bibliography, index. $34.50.)

Scholarly attention to the dynamics of textile industrialization has long focused on New England, and within New England on a handful of urban corporations. However, Jonathan Prude points out that the famed Waltham-Lowell system was far from typical. More than half the operatives in mid-century Massachusetts textile factories labored for firms located in rarely explored small town and rural settings. Moreover, he adds, "we are remarkably ignorant not just about the coming of the textile mills but about virtually any aspect of life in the early-nineteenth-century northern countryside" (p. xiv). In this book, a re-worked Harvard dissertation, Prude thus undertakes to correct two historiographical imbalances, the related emphases on "big mills" and urban matters in the socio-economic development of the ante-bellum North.

Given the vast scale of such a task, and the inclinations of his mentors (Oscar Handlin, Stephan Thernstrom), his vehicle for opening a view of these issues is the construction of an in-depth case study. Prude has chosen his site well, the towns of Dudley and Oxford, at the southernmost edge of Worcester County along the Connecticut border. Suitably remote from both Boston and Providence, the towns experienced a partial transformation of both economic and social patterns in the first two generations of the nineteenth century. Especially intriguing was the involvement of Samuel Slater in this process. Prude's meticulous evocation of Slater's ambitions and his relations with these communities proves one of the high points of the volume. As "the millowner who pressed the hardest against community norms" (p. 173), he ended a series of squabbles with town governments over taxes, roads, schools, etc., with an aggressive political initiative, a successful attempt to have the Commonwealth set off a new town (Webster) from those parts of Dudley and Oxford wherein lay his mills.

Though this incident serves as a narrative pivot for the book, Prude makes it clear that such dramatic moments were rare in a half-century of slowly shifting balances between local husbandmen, commercial figures and mill operators. Probing an array of population census and town records, account books and personal papers, Prude recreates the economic, political and cultural networks of an agricultural society (c. 1810) and charts modifications in local status systems, occupational structures and work processes that attended the industrial incursion. As so much of the resistance to the sprouting factories was indirect, even encoded (only two failed strikes surfaced over the five decades), Prude's
patient reading of local minutiae at times can become wearying. Yet in his discussions of paternalism, outwork and shifting notions of time, his contributions are of wide significance for our understanding of the industrial transition’s impact on family and culture. Moreover, establishing that farmers and tradesmen were frequently part-owners of the early textile firms, on occasion involving fifteen to twenty men in a single partnership venture, illuminates just that ambiguity of role and class that signals a social process in motion.

Another sort of motion is also documented in this study, the accelerating movement of individuals and families through the towns from 1810 to 1860. Compatible with recent urban social histories, Prude discovers that arrivals and departures were increasingly prevalent in local life. As millwork expanded and as its rigors deepened, turnover rates on Slater payrolls rose erratically towards 200 per cent per annum in the 1830s, and remained well above that level through the Civil War. Though a careful reading of his methodological Appendix (p. 267-268) shows that Prude used a technique that maximizes our impression of mobility, he argues that a significant fraction of the fair torrent of workers flowing through the villages (a third to near one-half) left voluntarily. Aware that it is too simple to chalk this leave-taking up to “resistance,” he further suggests that a convergence of regional wage-rates made its economic instrumentality less effective in the same period that its incidence soared (1840-1860). In trying to account for this odd situation, Prude notes that late ante-bellum workers “may well have changed jobs largely because the very act of movement was appealing,” “because transiency. . .signified in itself a kind of independence; because any change of location, even if it offered no material improvement, was intrinsically satisfying” (p. 234). The sequential rephrasing of this argument, pointing toward creation of a body of rootless “permanent strangers” (Ibid.), cannot disguise its speculative base. Yet, even if accepted tentatively, it cannot support the weight of the conclusion that in the 1850s, despite political impotence and “less aggressive resistance to mill regimens and managers,” “mill employees were nonetheless stirring” (p. 237). The terminal date of the study frustrates our discovering what they were stirring up, the absence of qualitative information blocks access to what re-locating meant to the participants, and erratic business records preservation prevents our knowing whether Slater’s job-leavers were circulating through other district mills and non-textile enterprises.

Two other critical comments may be added. Nowhere in the text is it suggested that the federal manufacturing census schedules have been consulted, though they are available both in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Archives and the National Archives. While the 1820 schedules are fragmentary, the 1850 and 1860 data for the three towns would have framed valuably
the pattern of industrial activity in the district. Second, a surer hand with copy-editing was needed. Of the last ten paragraphs in Chapter 3, five begin with “And” or “But,” while a pair of sentence fragments were left embedded in the same three pages.

Nonetheless, for his care in stressing the coexistence of old ways amid the tides of innovation, for his penetrating review of culture, work, and community, and for his exposure of the “workings” of rural industry, Jonathan Prude deserves our appreciation. *The Coming of Industrial Order* will stand as a sizeable contribution toward the task of reconstituting the industrialization process as it was experienced by those both within and outside the factory system.

*Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science*  
**Philip Scranton**


Faye Dudden has written a richly detailed account of household service in nineteenth-century America. This fascinating portrait of the woman’s sphere offers the reader important insights into the processes of social change, specifically the way those changes affect women’s lives both within the home and outside its walls. Based primarily on papers from middle class families hiring predominately white workers in the mid-Atlantic states, New England and the old northwest, the author has successfully crafted a balanced history examining the economic and social realities of both the employer and the employee.

Many nineteenth-century employers thought the age of the “hired girl” as the great golden age of help. Dudden offers a clear and well documented description of the hired girl who assisted families in producing such goods for market as textiles, or in aiding families through such times of stress as birth, death, and illness. Dudden points out that hired girls usually were the single daughters of neighbors who worked only on a temporary basis and expected to be—and were—treated like members of the family. For example, hired girls ate with the family, had private time, and received visitors—often suitors—in the employer’s home. Because hired girls came from the community it was difficult to mistreat them without facing some consequences: The young
woman might return to her family or the employer might lose reputation in the community. Although the documentation noted that employers did register complaints about help—a particular girl was lazy or difficult—this friction remained personal rather than characteristic of an entire occupational group such as the "lazy servant." New opportunities for women in factories and education, increased mobility, urbanization, and immigration contributed to the demise of the hired girl. This process began in the 1820s and was almost complete by the 1830s, by which time most women working in the homes of others were called domestics or domestic servants. This title had far-reaching implications for the nature of the work and fundamentally altered relationships within the home.

The growing middle and upper classes—with ever larger and more elaborate houses, higher standards of housekeeping, and wives wanting time to pursue charitable and reform activities—required full-time, live-in workers. Dudden explains that the drive to maintain status placed harsh pressures on servants who were subjected to long hours of hard work, strict discipline, had no privacy and little free time, and were isolated from family and friends. Loyal years of service carried no guarantee for security in old age as most aging servants, Dudden notes, ended up in the almshouse. Employers tended to dismiss pregnant domestics or those with young children because such distractions decreased their work output. For most women, Dudden emphasizes, service was the employment of last resort, attracting women just off the boat, aging widows, the uneducated and unskilled, and the physically and mentally handicapped. The conditions of service were such that employees frequently switched houses, and many left service temporarily or permanently when better paying and less confining work became available. Fluctuations in the business cycle and seasonal change in the demand for domestics also contributed to creating a transient work force. High turnover in this labor market created anxiety for employers who never could be sure that they would have the servants necessary to keep their complex households functioning. Employers responded to this insecurity by forming such agencies as the Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Domestics which attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to deal with the servant problem of 'love of incessant change' and to reduce wage competition.

This book makes two major contributions to the history of work and women's history in nineteenth-century America. Dudden's careful description and analysis of the transition from help to domestic—a process that was both uneven and incomplete at any given point in time—clarifies much about household service by delineating the complex economic, social and psychological factors precipitating the rise and demise of each and the meaning each
form of service had for the employer and employee. The author’s ability to examine both sides of the household service equation critically and compassionately makes Dudden’s conclusions believable and enhances our understanding of the ways women of different classes attempted to meet their personal and familial needs.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

CYNTHIA J. LITTLE


In 1933 Lloyd Goodrich published a pioneering biography of Thomas Eakins, and writing about this Philadelphia artist has never ceased since. There have been several other books and catalogs. There have been excellent scholarly studies or articles by Gerald M. Ackerman, William H. Gerdts, William Innes Homer, Ellwood C. Parry III. There have also been meretricious and trivial pieces by self-styled “Eakins scholars” who misrepresented the artist as an outcast in his own time, a sour hermit starving in a garret, a molester of girls or young men. In 1982 eighty-five-year old Lloyd Goodrich published his monumental two-volume biography (a catalogue raisonné is to follow), and the Philadelphia Museum of Art issued a handsome exhibition catalog by Darrel Sewell. There seemed to be no urgent need for another expensive volume about Eakins dealing with only five of his paintings.

It is gratifying to find that Elizabeth Johns has written a book of merit, a diligent effort to place Eakins in historical context. Goodrich’s two splendid books overstated Eakins’s “originality” and minimized his European prototypes. Professor Johns is an industrious researcher who gives due attention to Eakins’s forerunners, teachers and contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic. In the very first line she denies the canard of Eakins’s poverty and points out that the artist was always “financially independent.” Eakins rarely solicited portrait commissions but preferred to paint people who interested him.

The chapter on Max Schmitt in a Single Scull (1871) is a concise history of competitive rowing in America. The account of The Gross Clinic (1875) attempts the same for medicine and surgery. The author has read Dr. Gross’s fine Autobiography but does not mention the great surgeon’s ardent interest in art. She is also unaware that Eakins patterned his Gross Clinic after a Dutch painting, namely Michiel van Mierevelt’s Anatomy Lesson of Professor Willem
van der Meer (1617). Professor Johns has rapport with the topic of William Rush Carving his Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River (1877). This is an especially well written chapter on the role of artists in Philadelphia. The essay on The Concert Singer (1892) presents both wide ranging observations on the iconography of music and a closer view of the local musical scene. Walt Whitman (1887) was not a particularly good choice for the final chapter. The sitter is famous but this painting happens to be one of Eakins's least impressive portraits; contrary to myth, not every work by a master is a superb masterpiece.

Many illustrations are well selected for comparison. Thus, the story of Dr. Jacob M. DaCosta's dissatisfaction with his candid portrait by Eakins has been told before but this book also reproduces two more flattering paintings of Dr. DaCosta by another artist, and thereby illuminates Eakins's own distinctive and uncompromising approach to portraiture.

The subtitle The Heroism of Modern Life is cribbed (without acknowledgment) from the description of The Gross Clinic in H.W. Janson's best selling History of Art (1962). Janson had borrowed this phrase (with acknowledgment) from Charles Baudelaire. This cant strikes a false note in a book about Eakins, a man who never postured or moralized. Professor Johns rides her thesis hard and even claims that sculling in Fairmount Park and singing in Camden, New Jersey, are acts of moral heroism. Despite such flaws this is a searching and thoughtful monograph. Unlike many facile critics and superficial writers, the author does not excoriate nineteenth-century Philadelphia as a benighted citadel of philistines and hypocrites. Elizabeth Johns has sensed that Thomas Eakins loved his hometown.

Philadelphia

John Maass


This superb photographic history of Philadelphia from 1890 to 1940 sets the standard against which other photographic histories of cities will be measured in the future. Divided into nine chapters, it emphasizes social, technological, and urban themes. As the authors note in the preface, they focus on immigrants and industry, not on the city-boosting elements. Little is included on elites, architectural landmarks, civic occasions or politics, and most
public buildings have been omitted ("...this may be the first illustrated book on Philadelphia without a picture of Independence Hall." p.ix). Although some famous photographers such as Lewis Hine are included, most of the pictures were taken by anonymous photographers, many working for the city or such social welfare organizations as the Octavia Hill Association. The photographs, therefore, are used to illustrate the texture of urban life and development rather than highlight the qualities of the photographic medium itself. Effective use is also made of aerial photographs in revealing the sweep of urban change, although more maps and data presented in graphic form would have been useful.

The nine chapters in the book are as follows: the city of the 1890s; immigrant havens; workshop of the world; the vision of reform; faces; technologies of change; the rise of downtown; the new Philadelphia (1920s); and the city of the 1930s. The first chapter contains unique photographs of streetlife and districts, as well as scenes from relatively undeveloped sections within the city limits. As the later chapter on the new Philadelphia clearly demonstrates, these were largely gone by the decade of the 1920s. The chapter on immigrants offers a rich assortment of neighborhood, shopping and group scenes, while those on faces and reform offer further dimensions to this story. Italian, Jews and Blacks and their environments are most frequently presented. The chapter on industrial development (the longest in the book), contains some magnificent pictures of machinery and work processes. That on the New Philadelphia captures development in the outlying areas of the city stimulated by the automobile and new traction lines. And the chapter on the 1930s observes both the effects of the depression and captures the old and the new in the city of that decade. Disappointing, for this reviewer, was the chapter on the downtown, which conveyed a sense of incompleteness. Neglected was full illustration of the dramatic changes reflected in skyscraper office buildings, banks, department stores and other institutions, as well as the loss of residential population. The limited consideration of the downtown reflects the authors' bias for neighborhood and residential environments and social and reform themes. Considering the social history emphasis, the scarcity of pictures on recreation and play is also surprising.

The above comments, however, should not detract from the authors' achievement in compiling this splendid photographic history. They have enhanced its value by providing a lucid and informative text to introduce the volume, each separate chapter, and explain each photograph. It is written in a manner that will appeal to both the Philadelphian interested in learning more about his city through a visual medium and the professional historian searching for images to illustrate the dynamic processes of urban change. The textual
sections of the volume are enriched by the detailed knowledge the authors bring to their discussion of the larger urban patterns of change as well as the individual situations reflected in each photograph. Their familiarity with the details of Philadelphia history and urban history enable them to highlight many items that the uninformed reader might otherwise overlook.

Carnegie-Mellon University

J o e l A. T a r r


John Milton Cooper's *The Warrior and the Priest* is a lively and informative comparative biography of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. It is especially enlightening when delineating the political similarities that remained beneath the surface of their contest for the presidency in 1912; an affinity that lasted until their dispute about America's neutrality in World War I. Thanks to Cooper, we now know that Wilson was an enthusiastic supporter of imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, up to World War I, he enunciated a warrior creed worthy of Colonel Roosevelt himself. (Wilson told Edward House that "there was no more glorious way to die than in battle.") No wonder that Wilson, America's foremost political priest, long admired Roosevelt, the nation's martial hero.

His respect was reciprocated. Roosevelt, calling Wilson "a perfect trump," encouraged his future rival's political ambition, just as he summoned other gentlemen to wrest government from the "low-class pols." Ironically, his onetime protege would eventually wrest "his" office from him. But once Wilson won serious responsibilities and suffered ninety casualties at Veracruz, he became decidedly less militant than his former mentor. One undeniable difference thereby separates the warrior from the priest. Any Rough Rider who survived Roosevelt's command would testify that no casualty count ever deterred his colonel.

Cooper traces Wilson's retreat from the martial spirit of 1898. While doing this, however, he fails to mention the intellectual influence of one of Wilson's two English heroes, Prime Minister William Gladstone. Since Cooper justifiably emphasizes Edmund Burke's "profound" impact on Wilson, one feels that Gladstone, outspoken opponent of Britain's military-imperial complex, deserves more attention than he got.
When dealing with Roosevelt, Cooper repeatedly contrasts the warrior's idealism with the alternative model of realpolitik. He paints his own portrait of Roosevelt by attacking Robert Osgood's influential book, *Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations*. Osgood, making Wilson the idealist, made Roosevelt the realist. Cooper, when not showing their many similarities, makes Wilson the realist and Roosevelt the ideologist. Thereupon the warrior becomes the true priest. I, for one, feel that Cooper wins his debate with Osgood, although he occasionally misstates Osgood's position. Osgood does not say that Wilson entered World War I to lead a crusade for permanent peace and world democracy. He, like Ernest May, contends that Wilson reluctantly chose war to preserve the national prestige that Germany challenged. Once committed to war, according to Osgood, Wilson turned crusader but he did not enter war to crusade for his ideals.

My caveats are all minor points which should not deter any layman or scholar from reading Cooper's insightful and very well-written book. No student of modern America can afford to pass it up.

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The electrical industry arguably best illustrates America's economic and social development in the twentieth century. Its tremendous expansion spearheaded the nation's prosperity; its largest companies—GE, Westinghouse, RCA, etc.—rivalled the corporate magnitude of almost all other industries; its corporatist policies set the tone for other manufacturing sectors; and the unionization of its workers established peaks of militancy and left-wing political agitation in the labor movement. Even the current President of the United States developed his political image in the service of the electrical industry. It seems inconceivable that a labor historian could do justice to so big a topic.

And yet, the topic of Ronald Schatz's book is bigger that the title suggests. Essentially a history of the workers at General Electric and Westinghouse, the two giants of the electrical industry, it is also much more. Schatz explores the growth of the industry, the recruitment and management of its workers, and the political and social context within which the leaders of the electrical in-
dustry chose, first to adopt corporatist policies, and later, to abandon them. Recalling David Brody's essay on the rise and decline of welfare capitalism, the author delves more deeply and describes more exactly what was included in the GE vision of modern society, in which corporations, government and, to a lesser extent, labor would engage in centralized economic planning through interest-group representation. This, as Schatz points out, is far more than welfare capitalism, but less conspiratorial than new-left corporate liberalism.

In the last six chapters, Schatz moves on to more traditional labor history concerns, but never in a traditional manner. His discussion of the skilled worker origins of industrial union leadership fits neatly with much of the new work in the field, in particular that of Peter Friedlander. In other areas, such as his discussion of the origins of the seniority system (before the rise of the union), or the workers' and later the union's relationship to piece work, he demolishes commonly-held myths. Finally, in the author's exploration of the split in the United Electrical Workers over the issue of Communism in the union, he also shatters the received wisdom. Schatz shows, by focusing on the Westinghouse East Pittsburgh Local 601 and the Erie GE local unions, that whether workers chose to side with the left-wing UE or the anti-Communist IUE had less to do with the rank-and-file's political viewpoints than with a whole range of local and national factors—factors that included, in these cases, the Catholic Church, local plant managers, local economic conditions and local union leadership, in addition to the influence of nationally prominent figures and political issues. Indeed, basically conservative workers in Erie chose the UE, while the older radical stronghold of Local 601 opted for the IUE.

The book is also well-researched. It combines a large number of oral history testimonies with extensive research in the archival sources, especially for Western Pennsylvania, although one would have wished for more on the fascinating history of the influence of the Industrial Workers of the World on the South Philadelphia Westinghouse works. More importantly, the author integrates his research into a command of the secondary literature, drawing different conclusions or substantiating older claims when appropriate, without becoming ponderous or mechanical. In other words, he places his study in a broader theoretical context without exaggerating its significance or representativeness.

Because of the undue attention given to the auto industry by labor historians of this period, and because of their insistence on asking the question about whether or not Communists could be "good" trade unionists, Schatz's book is a refreshing change. It should serve as a model for future work in the period. Combining the best elements of the "old" and "new" labor history, works such as this one could sound the welcome death knell on that sterile debate by
moving to a higher plane. Any student of twentieth-century United States history would benefit from reading *The Electrical Workers*.

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KEN FONES-WOLF


Pennsylvania-German artifacts have attracted vigorous attention from layman and scholar alike, since they boast of a long-standing regional ethnic culture rich in arts amidst Anglo-Saxon settlement. Indeed, books on Pennsylvania German folk art abound. Noteworthy titles are John Joseph Stoudt's *Pennsylvania German Folk Art* (1966) and *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts* (1964), Earl Robacker's *Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff* (1944), and Henry Kauffman's *Pennsylvania Dutch American Folk Art* (1946). Beatrice Garvan thus had a mighty task in preparing a new volume which could raise new horizons for the study of Pennsylvania German culture, especially in the wake of interest created by the German-American tricentennial celebrated this year. Garvan's contribution was to document the extensive collection of Pennsylvania German artifacts in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Nicely organized and handsomely presented, the book, simply titled *The Pennsylvania German Collection* is a welcome addition to the Pennsylvania German bookshelf.

The book stands out on three counts: encyclopedic coverage, attention to sources of the artifacts, and excellence of supporting documentation. The book provides an easy-to-use reference to the great breadth of Pennsylvania-German folk material culture.

On the first count, it divides the range of artifacts in the Philadelphia Museum of Art collection by medium. There are sections for wood (subdivided into architecture, furniture, utensils, and carvings), metal (subdivided into iron, tin, and brass, copper, pewter), ceramics (subdivided into redware, stoneware, and earthenware), glass (subdivided into non-lead and lead), horn/eggshell, basketry, textiles (subdivided into bedcovers, towels, samplers, clothing, furnishings, carpets, and yardage), and paper (subdivided into family records, illuminated texts, books, cutwork, drawings, paintings). Each object is numbered, photographed, and described fully with a generic name...
(when known), physical characteristics, size (in meters and feet), and donor.

Second, the book gives attention to the influence of collectors on the interest in the material legacy of Pennsylvania Germans. The Philadelphia Museum of Art collection of nineteenth- and eighteenth-century artifacts comes primarily from the twentieth-century donations of Edwin Atlee Barber, Mrs. William D. Frishmuth, and Titus C. Geesey. Their preoccupation with certain genres and periods helped preserve, and sway, the coverage of Pennsylvania German folk art. The collection, for instance, is particularly strong in frakturs, redware, and furniture. It is weaker in basketry, agricultural implements and children's objects. The collection is not meant, therefore, to provide the depth of the culture, but is intended to show the recovered material heritage available to help historians make the connection between life and product. In this latter purpose it can serve the user well.

Third, the supporting documentation ably aids the researcher. German inscriptions are translated. Garvan also provides biographies of known craftsmen. The photography is uncluttered and rich in detail. Twelve pages of color plates make the book an inviting work. Still, some improvements are still possible. The bibliography adequately shows where Garvan looked for sources, but it does not go far enough to highlight the available literature on Pennsylvania Germans and material culture. And as long as the references were cited, why were they not incorporated into the descriptions of objects where appropriate? This would have helped further the comparative study of the objects. If the connection between the objects and written sources could not have been made in the descriptions of the objects themselves, more explanation and comparison in the all-too-brief introductions could have been forthcoming. More cross-referencing in the form of locational and generic indexes would also have been helpful.

Despite these few detractions, this book will be reached for often, I trust, by the researchers of Pennsylvania German material culture, who number many. Its appeal should go beyond the region, too, since the book provides a detailed catalogue of objects of cultural significance. It harks back to the early comparative material culture work of Stewart Culin, coincidentally also from Philadelphia, who in the late nineteenth century showed the usefulness of such catalogues with his work in gaming and religious objects. Few followed his lead, since compiling a catalog is a time-consuming, demanding, and tedious endeavor. The material culture and American studies community can thank Garvan for her yeoman work. Now it is up to us to further the interpretations of the objects. In the meantime, the catalogue can also satisfy those just interested in the shape of things past.

This comprehensive guide to archival holdings, notable figures, and individual volumes crucial to the study of women's history in Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley is a major step toward recovering the lives of women who shaped this region's history. Readers will find a comprehensive bibliography, a list of approximately five hundred notable Philadelphia area women, subject indices, and a complete directory of archives, records, and collections in the Delaware Valley. The breadth of the institutional listings in impressive, ranging from the obvious such as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to those such as the Sisters of the Visitation of Holy Mary and the Women's Insurance Society of Philadelphia. Scholars, students, program planners, and educators all will find numerous uses for this highly informative and well organized handbook.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Cynthia J. Little