

BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of William Penn. Edited by CRAIG W. HORLE, ALISON DUNCAN HIRSCH, MARIANNE S. WOKECK, and JOY WILTENBURG. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. xvii, 823p. Illustrations, maps, chronology, appendix, index, calendar of microfilmed and unfiled WP documents. \$49.95.)

This fourth volume of the *Papers of William Penn* completes a project launched in 1978. The fifth volume, an annotated interpretive bibliography of Penn's published works, already appeared in 1986. In its entirety the project stands as an inspiring example of how our common historical legacy can be preserved and interpreted with skill and cost efficiency. Unlike the editors of most such publication projects, the general editors, Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, have directed the project while carrying out an array of teaching and administrative duties. Aided by seven editorial associates over eight and a half years, but never by more than four at one time, the general editors have given us a priceless resource pertaining to one of colonial America's most significant figures. The cost has been just over one million dollars (only about 40 percent of it from tax-supported grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission). To put this in perspective, this is equivalent to the cost of less than one half an inch of a modern nuclear submarine. It may be implausible to argue that the security of our liberties may have been further advanced by preserving the record of one of the early modern era's weightiest polemicists for religious toleration, political freedom, and social justice than by purchasing a dozen nuclear warheads. But surely it is not unreasonable to claim that this project is a noteworthy bargain for the nation.

Volume Four deals with the last eighteen years of William Penn's life, from 1701 to 1718, although only a few documents pertain to the last six years, when Penn was incapacitated by a series of strokes and put pen to paper no further. Included are a raft of letters to and from Penn pertaining to the governance of his province, a variety of legal records documenting his defense of his proprietorship against the claims of Crown and creditors, and personal correspondence and estate settlements with his wife and children. The editors have recovered 966 documents for this period, of which they present 208 and abstract another 26 in the appendices. Half the documents presented have never before been published.

Especially valuable are the forty-nine letters between Penn and James Logan, his trusted and testy agent in Pennsylvania after the proprietor

returned to England, never to see his colony again, in November 1701. Also included is a series of documents of major importance to political and constitutional development in early America. They pertain to the issuing of the Charter of Privileges of 1701, under which Pennsylvanians would live until the American Revolution, and subsequent negotiations between the Assembly and Penn's appointed governors over the prerogatives of the legislature. The Charter of Privileges, to which Penn acceded reluctantly, finalized the advance of power inhering in the elected assembly that had begun as soon as the colonists began to debate Penn's first Frame of Government in 1682. The charter of 1701 completely eliminated the legislative role of the Provincial Council and transformed the elected assembly into a unicameral legislative body. No other legislative house in the British empire claimed such extensive power at this time. Ironically, although Penn agreed to the Charter of Privileges almost in desperation as he prepared to return to England, it left his colony with a legislature whose powers nearly matched those provided under the West New Jersey Concessions and Agreements of 1677—in which Penn was involved as a supporter if not co-author.

The years chronicled in this volume were in many ways bitter ones for Pennsylvania's founder. He was under attack in his colony by Anglicans who resented Quaker dominance and by Quakers who wished to curb his proprietorial powers. Simultaneously, he had to fight to preserve his proprietorship from parliamentary moves at the beginning of the eighteenth century to annul all proprietary charters. Meanwhile, he was embroiled in a bitter, protracted lawsuit with his steward Philip Ford and Ford's heirs, which led eventually to Penn's imprisonment in the Fleet for debt in January 1708. If all this were not enough, Penn felt wounding disappointment in his relations with his two grown children, especially his rakehell son William Penn, Jr.

Reading the documentary record of these years leaves one somewhat shaken at the awful complexities and recurrent disappointments of proprietorship in the New World, even in so favorable a geographical setting and in so liberal a climate as Pennsylvania. It is apparent from these documents that by 1701 the time had long since passed when Penn was trying to lead a "holy experiment." Instead, he lurched from crisis to crisis, trying as best he could to react to problems of family, finances, imperial reorganization, and his colony's troubled internal politics. It is one of the editors' contributions that they show us that while many of these problems were beyond Penn's control, he was complicit in many of them because of his "paternalistic pretensions" and his "financial incompetence, short-sightedness, and poor character judgment" (p. 7).

Especially in their presentation of the Ford family debacle, given here fully for the first time, the editors show Penn in his most beleaguered state. By 1696, Penn's debts to his steward had mounted to thousands of pounds, and to discharge some of his debts, Penn in effect sold his colony to Philip Ford (renting it back for £630 per year), thus making his steward the legal proprietor of Pennsylvania and the founder's landlord. Following Ford's death in 1702, the family of Penn's steward battled to recover what Penn owed them and eventually petitioned the Crown for the right to exercise political proprietorship in Pennsylvania to accompany their rights to land proprietorship. The three-year lawsuit that ended in 1708 took a considerable toll on the aging Penn, and, in fact, financial difficulties followed this land-rich but cash-poor leader for the remainder of his life.

The quality of editing for this final volume maintains the standard set earlier in the project. The documents are lovingly and lavishly edited. Penn's letter of January 4, 1701/02, to James Logan serves as an example. Written shortly after Penn's arrival in England and after receipt of several letters from Logan detailing a variety of problems in the colony, the letter occupies five pages in this volume. Ninety footnotes, taking up just over five additional pages, identify dozens of individuals referred to, cite other documents pertinent to the matters under discussion, explain terms or expressions such as "tobacco bright" (yellow-leaf tobacco prized for use as snuff) and "used at bottom" (secretly or in reality), and provide historical context of the matters Penn was discussing. The letter also contains words that might suitably conclude this project. "God forgive these wretched people," wrote Penn to Logan, "that have misused me so, & preserve my spirit over it. Pennsylvania has been a dear Pennsylvania to me all over, which few consider, and with me lay to heart."

University of California, Los Angeles

GARY B. NASH

"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania.
By SALLY SCHWARTZ. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1987. viii, 399p. Index. \$45.00.)

That Pennsylvania was the most heterogeneous of the American colonies is an established fact. In *"A Mixed Multitude"* Sally Schwartz contends that it was also the only colony in which the settlers adopted an ideology not simply of toleration but of tolerance, which she attributes most particularly to the guiding hand of William Penn. While other colonies approached the level of diversity found in Pennsylvania, none of those was controlled by a proprietor who considered toleration to be not just a necessary evil but

a positive good. With that principle established from the outset and maintained by Penn's descendants, Pennsylvania's inhabitants experienced, accepted, and eventually committed themselves to religious pluralism as a way of life.

There is much to like about her approach. Based upon wide reading in diverse primary sources, the book provides an extraordinarily detailed account of the often tortuous path Pennsylvanians followed on their way to achieving a pluralistic society. Her presentation is balanced, providing evidence not just of acceptance but of intolerance wherever it appeared. It is to the author's credit as well that the work treats the establishment and acceptance of toleration not as a given but as a historical development requiring explanation—an extension of an argument offered by J. William Frost in this journal several years ago. Still, the development of the argument is less persuasive. The book is so thorough in providing evidence on both sides of the question that one is left wondering whether the predominance of tolerance has been established at all. At times, she resolves the apparent conflict by resorting to rather Whiggish claims for the gradual growth of toleration during a century of "struggle" which, while they conform to our general understanding of Pennsylvania society, do not seem to derive unequivocally from the evidence at hand.

The root of my discomfort may be the author's reluctance to stray from her rather traditional methodology, based almost entirely upon selective quotation from letters, newspapers, and published accounts. The problem here is not so much one of typicality as of measurement. How many expressions of tolerance are needed to counter-balance attacks on Presbyterian bigotry, for example? How do we establish that, in regard to the controversy over the Anglican episcopate, "if some remained contentious, most were not" (p. 254)? She may well be right. The majority of Pennsylvanians may indeed have achieved not just the legal practice of toleration, but also an ideology of tolerance, one that distinguished them not only from New Englanders and Virginians, but from the common settlers of Delaware and New Jersey as well. I'm not convinced that the methods used can establish the point.

One solution might have been to incorporate more comparative material to establish whether or not the range of attitudes expressed in Pennsylvania differed markedly and in kind from those found elsewhere. Another would have been to examine more closely the actual behavior of Pennsylvanians in religious affairs; this might have required the sort of intensive local investigation that the author dismisses as unrepresentative of the whole. I do think that the account could only have been strengthened by a greater reliance on the now considerable body of data generated by local and immigration historians about the context of religious and ethnic interaction

in Pennsylvania. Until that is accomplished, "*A Mixed Multitude*" will stand as the most detailed and intriguing picture we have of the development of pluralism in Pennsylvania, one that still must be fitted into its full social and religious context.

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NED LANDSMAN

Protestant Pluralism and the New York Experience: A Study of Eighteenth-Century Religious Diversity. By RICHARD W. POINTER. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988. xv, 205p. Bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

In *Protestant Pluralism and the New York Experience*, Richard W. Pointer argues that the religious diversity of colonial New York anticipated both the legal accommodation of religion in the First Amendment and the Protestant ecumenicity of the nineteenth century. In the colony's pluralistic environment, some New Yorkers responded with a heightened awareness of confessional distinctiveness, but others became (in the argot of the time) religiously indifferent, meaning that they grew increasingly latitudinarian or, perhaps, confused. At the same time, pietist evangelicals self-consciously blurred confessional differences as they sought ecclesiastical independence from Old World institutions. By 1777, when New York's constitution was drafted, religious pluralism was firmly entrenched, and, consequently, eighteenth-century New York more closely resembles the pluralistic configuration of the twentieth century than either Massachusetts or Virginia.

Indeed, colonial New York's storied heterogeneity provided the ideal proving ground for religious toleration in the New World. Despite Pieter Stuyvesant's best efforts and despite the Anglicans' desultory attempts at establishment, the colony's pluralistic character always prevailed. This, Pointer argues, was no coincidence, for a growing number of New York Protestants over the course of the eighteenth century "began to see their own pluralism as acceptable and to entertain a more positive view of its moral and religious potential" (p. 52).

Pointer also sets out to slay a couple of historiographical dragons that he regards as erroneous, at least in the case of New York. First, he takes on Sidney Mead's assertion that colonists by and large did not seriously contemplate religious pluralism until after the American Revolution; only after independence, with the influence of Enlightenment thought, did such figures as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison argue for a kind of free market of religion. Pointer shows persuasively that religious leaders in

eighteenth-century New York, the evangelicals in particular, recognized the salutary possibilities of religious pluralism because it allowed various theologies and confessions to compete freely in the marketplace of ideas. The framers of the constitution in 1777, then, did not simply back into the notion of religious equality; rather, the constitution codified the *de facto* relationship between church and state hammered out in the religious battles of the eighteenth century and drew upon the rhetoric and ideology surrounding those battles, especially the controversy over the founding of King's College.

Pointer is less successful in his attempts to refute the accepted wisdom that religious life in New York suffered during the Revolutionary war. He opens his argument with several pages of contemporary testimony citing the religious displacement and deprivation caused by the hostilities—churches destroyed, congregations impoverished, clergy ostracized and exiled—but then he insists that that was not the whole picture. The evidence he offers, however, is rather thin and ambiguous at best. One congregation “managed to worship often”; baptismal, marriage, and membership statistics in several churches showed no significant dropoff (not surprising, really); the Dutchess Presbytery “maintained a fairly regular pattern of meetings during the war and carried out its basic duties” (p. 95). Even the author's conclusion that many New York churches “managed to withstand the pressures of war and to maintain some degree of corporate life” (p. 95) is rather tepid, and one wonders why, if the religious climate during the Revolution was so salubrious, Pointer subtitles the succeeding chapter “Religious Recovery in the 1780s”?

The author's larger point, however, is sound, and it is an important one: eighteenth-century New York witnessed a self-conscious movement toward pluralism, a pluralism born of the colony's religious heterogeneity and embraced by both religious and political leaders.

Columbia University

RANDALL BALMER

Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800. Edited by DANIEL K. RICHTER and JAMES H. MERRELL. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987. xiv, 211p. Maps, index. \$27.50.)

In March 1984, dozens of leading ethnohistorians gathered around the “council fires” in Williamsburg, Virginia, to bury, not mourn, the traditional paradigm of a “forest empire ruled by Iroquois caesars” (p. 5). Resulting from that scholarly ritual, this volume is a model of modern historical

revisionism in the process of consigning heroic but hoary myths to the flames and creating new interpretations out of the ashes.

In challenging the old misconceptions of a static, invincible, monolithic "Iroquois Empire" that colonial officials perpetrated and that Henry Lewis Morgan and Francis Parkman perpetuated in the nineteenth century, *Beyond the Covenant Chain* moves conceptually beyond the focus on European-Indian diplomacy and geographically beyond the borders of Iroquoia to concentrate on the "contacts, conflicts, and connections among the Five Nations and their native neighbors" (p. 6). The nine essays (five from the conference and four selected since) are grouped into three equal units. In "Perspectives from Iroquoia," Daniel K. Richter, Mary A. Druke, and Richard L. Haan investigate the characteristics of Iroquois culture and diplomacy that challenge the supposed consistency of purpose and performance that the colonists assumed. Parts II and III analyze the regional relations of the Iroquois with "Near Neighbors" and "Distant Friends and Foes," in essays by Neal Salisbury (on the southern New England Algonquians), Francis Jennings ("Pennsylvania Indians"), Michael N. McConnell (Ohio tribes), James H. Merrell (Catawbas), Theda Perdue (Cherokees), and Douglas W. Boyce (Tuscaroras). Consistently, these scholars discover through detailed and sophisticated reevaluation of texts and contexts that the Iroquois were neither as omnipotent nor as omniscient as traditional interpretations indicated.

Through this "illustrative sampling" (p. 7) of intercultural contacts in the colonial centuries, these uniformly excellent essays by mature scholars reveal an admirable breadth of topical range and depth of thematic unity. Taken together, these complementary case studies daringly destroy a historical and literary canon and suggest a new synthesis that should stimulate future research. As Wilcomb E. Washburn argues in his Foreword, this excellent collaborative effort should serve as a valuable catalyst to new paradigms for many years to come.

Although much is thus achieved in a volume of slightly more than two hundred pages, the inclusion of a comprehensive ethnohistoriographical essay would have substantially increased the accessibility of this book for general readers, scholars who are not Iroquois "insiders," and all who were not privy to the discussions at the Williamsburg conference. *Beyond the Covenant Chain* reflects much of the Iroquois revisionism that already has occurred in this decade, but the editors should not assume that even all students of early America are fully conversant with the latest debates and newest theses. Many non-specialists will be disarmed by the blunt assertion from the conference that "the Iroquois never had an empire" (p. 6), and they may be initially perplexed by the distinction that "the Iroquois may not have

won themselves an empire, but they did win the respect, even fear, of native and European peoples near and far" (p. 8).

If *Beyond the Covenant Chain* was not ideally designed for a broad, general readership, it certainly deserves one. Presuming an audience acquainted with ethnohistorical themes and requiring a conceptual leap of faith from skeptics most attached to the persistent myth of "noble savagery," this book will reward dedicated readers with a new appreciation of our early history and its latest interpreters.

St. Mary's College of Maryland

J. FREDERICK FAUSZ

Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America. By FRANCIS JENNINGS. (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988. xxiv, 520p. Maps, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

"Slanted trash" are the words Francis Jennings chooses to dismiss a useful monograph with which he disagrees (p. 84 n.37), and his choice of words in this case fairly represents the tone of his new book, the final volume in a trilogy on the Anglo-American encounter with the northeastern native peoples. Turn to the Epilogue immediately after the introductory "Overview" because the end of the book offers the best explanation of the author's purpose and style. While most historians stand gratefully on the shoulders of their predecessors, Jennings often aims higher—to put his scholarly boot to their heads. "Candor" is his own word for his way of using language, and yet he expresses some surprise as well as pain that critics have not always been sympathetic.

Those familiar with Jennings's earlier work will not be shocked when Francis Parkman is called a lying racist, while the evident biases and occasional lapses of Lawrence H. Gipson are duly noted, though not his great energy, ambition, and achievement. The author also attacks historians who wrote little on his subject, from Charles and Mary Beard to Daniel Boorstin, for sloppiness or malice. Historical actors are equally in danger. Thomas Penn was arguably the foulest villain of the story. The author of "slanted trash," noted above, saw Penn in a more favorable light, and so earned Jennings's ire. Penn is followed by Edward Braddock, the earl of Halifax, and George III. Worst were the "militarists" (a word unknown to the eighteenth century, but used freely here to characterize all of the above), and in the end we are told that "militarism" was the cause of the American Revolution. After hundreds of pages of this, the mind is numbed, and a reader begins to doubt the author's own ability to decipher evidence

with the cool, critical eye, guided by the anthropologist's "culture concept," which he claims in each volume of the trilogy to be the outstanding features of his work.

Jennings is definitely angry, about war, racism, misogyny, cruelty, and especially about historians who mince words on these subjects. It is a pity that his book did not have an editor as tough as he is, because it might have been much better—clearer, more disciplined, and more persuasive. Instead, his anger is alienating; after all, few of us condone the attitudes and behavior that outrage Jennings, but he writes as if we do, and need his moral instruction.

His muscular revisionism is another matter, and deserves a less self-indulgent medium. Although the book is about much less than its title suggests (*Britain, Pennsylvania, and the Iroquois Connection, 1750-65*, would be a more accurate subtitle), it has real value, if not always easy to extract from the judgmental thicket. When he is working through the evidence that seems nearest to his heart, most of it in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we see the old story told by Gipson, and even by Parkman, in a new light. We do not have to accept Jennings's questionable opinion, that the Delaware had turned against the Anglo-Americans after Braddock's defeat in 1755 mainly because they had been swindled by the Penn family two decades earlier, in order to appreciate the originality of Chapter 17, where Jennings deals with the background and outcome of the Treaty of Easton in 1758, which effectively resolved the Delaware grievance—for a time.

Jennings has a strong opinion on virtually every issue touching the Seven Years War in America, but he often depends heavily on a limited range of secondary work once outside of Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley. In discussing the politics of British decision-making in 1755, for example, he ignores the exhaustive monograph by J.C.D. Clark, and while lambasting General James Wolfe he does not use the best critical study of the 1759 Quebec campaign, by C.P. Stacey. If Jennings were a little less harsh in his judgment of other historians, or a little more disposed to consider any opinion other than his own, then these gaps might be excused.

University of Michigan

JOHN SHY

Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America.

By EDMUND S. MORGAN. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988. 318p. Index. \$18.95.)

This wise, thoughtful, learned, lucid, witty, and important volume explores with far more penetration and from a much broader perspective than

any previous historical work the classic question of how in Britain and its North American colonies from 1600 through the implementation of the Federal Constitution of the United States the many were governed by the few. To this end, the author focuses upon certain dominant conceptions of the polity, which he refers to as fictions. Specifically, he is concerned with explaining how the fiction of the divine right of kings gave way to the fiction of the sovereignty of the people and how both fictions served, if to different degrees and in somewhat different ways, at once to “sustain government by the few and [to] restrain the few for the benefit of the many” (p. 15).

Examining these two fictions in detail, Part One traces the development of the concept of popular sovereignty in England through the intense political discussions arising out of the struggles between Crown and Parliament during the seventeenth century and in America through the circumstances of colonial political life. Part Two analyzes three of the developments that helped to establish “the sovereignty of the people as the reigning fiction” (p. 151) in Anglo-American life: the celebration of the yeoman as the embodiment of popular power, especially through his participation in the citizen militia; the catering to voters by the governing few in election campaigns; and the encouragement of ordinary citizens to exercise a directed political voice through organized petitions and instructions. Part Three explores two related themes: first, the divergence between British and American ideas of popular sovereignty as it became manifest during the American Revolution and, second, the subsequent American invention of the constitutional convention as a device for implementing that idea. A brief epilogue suggestively discusses the ways in which still a third fiction, the idea of equality, functioned in America to separate “political preeminence from social status” (p. 292), a process the author characterizes as a transition from deference to leadership.

Like several other recent historians of early modern Anglo-America and far more explicitly than most, the author predicates his analysis upon the ubiquitous early modern political aphorism (one of the more influential formulations of which came from David Hume) that all government is founded on opinion. Notwithstanding its need for qualification and elaboration, the force of this insight now seems so obvious that it is difficult to understand why it was abandoned by historians during the late nineteenth century in favor of coercive explanations of political behavior emanating out of Marxist and other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century models of political and social relations and why its utility was so long obscured from historians. The scholar who can provide compelling answers to these questions, which together point to what may very well be one of the more interesting problems confronting intellectual historians of the modern era,

can scarcely fail to produce a major work of cultural history. In the meantime, by explicating with subtlety and coherence why and how the idea of popular sovereignty emerged as the dominant political fiction of the early modern Anglophone political world, the author of this volume has greatly enhanced our understanding of the consensual basis of governance in that particular world and provided a detailed demonstration of the force of opinion in the several political cultures it spawned.

Johns Hopkins University

JACK P. GREENE

A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution. By ANNE M. OUSTERHOUT. (New York, Westport, and London: Greenwood Press, 1987. x, 348p. Appendix, selective bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

This book proves two important points about the writing of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary history. The first is that the sources of that history are more or less fully known. Ousterhout's social and political account relies on well-known and often-used public records, manuscripts, documents, and other primary materials. Even her quotations are familiar to anyone who has worked in this vineyard. There are exceptions to the generalization. For example, her work on the legal and extra-legal penalties visited upon Pennsylvania Tories is based upon fresh material, interestingly analyzed. Yet on the whole, a comparison of Ousterhout's sources with those used by virtually every Pennsylvania historian since Brunhouse and Thayer reveals that her researches have unearthed little that is new.

This leads to the second (and more important) point she has proven—namely, that it is possible to pour new and interesting wine into old bottles, that good history relies less on new sources than on new thinking. Ousterhout began with thoughtful and important questions and then re-examined the sources, finding new meanings, new insights. Her questions had to do with the “disaffected”—the congeries of Pennsylvanians who failed to support the American cause from 1765 through 1788. Who were they? What motivated them? What did they want? What did they get?

Ousterhout believes the answers to these questions almost defy generalization. She concludes that nothing short of detailed individual biographies would tell the whole story. Yet some answers emerge clearly from her painstaking work. In the first place, she demonstrates forcefully that motives were rarely, if ever, determined by imperial or constitutional considerations. In nearly every instance it was *local* issues that determined whether an individual became disaffected from the American cause—whether the cause

was defined as non-importation, independence, the policies of a Committee of Safety, the war, or the state's post-independence government. These local issues frequently had roots deep in the colonial experience, and also frequently had little to do with the immediate choices Americans had to make with respect to political loyalty.

Consider some of Ousterhout's examples. Pennsylvania's reaction to the Tea Act crisis was triggered not by high constitutional principles, but by "prejudices, beliefs, and alliances already established during the preceding decade," and fueled by on-going partisan strife, perceived economic burdens, religious and social disputes, as well as personal animosities. The argument is convincingly documented. Similarly, during the critical period 1774-1775, as the Whigs rose rapidly to power, the disaffected had to cope with a delicate problem: how to temper the radical excesses of the Whigs, but not at the same time appear to favor the British. Ousterhout tells an interesting story of how the disaffected and the factions representing them were outmaneuvered.

When the Continental Association was formed, the problem for the disaffected became extreme. Failure to choose the American side subjected them to reprisals from extra-legal vigilantes, whose over-simplified rhetoric and violent methods were difficult to resist. Yet again, it was less often matters of conscience and principle that separated the disaffected from the patriots than perceived political and economic realities. Once independence was a fact, the position of the disaffected was untenable. The outcomes of the war were by no means clear, and it was not even evident that Pennsylvanians would be able to establish a working government, yet the disaffected clearly could have no role in the political balance, as they had before, and in fact were frequently the scapegoats of the patriots' failures. Yet many Tories remained intransigent. Why? The frontier gives a useful example: the violent and protracted struggle between Pennamites and Yankees, which determined whether one was a patriot or a Tory, centered on land claims under colonial charters and other frontier issues and had almost nothing to do with independence or the Revolution.

We might rather believe our Revolution was high-minded, principled, based on hallowed ideas. Ousterhout teaches us that its glory lay rather in its ability to survive the parochial character of American politics and society, neither altogether crushing the disaffected nor being deterred by them.

Arms, Country, and Class: The Philadelphia Militia and the "Lower Sort" During the American Revolution, 1775-1783. By STEVEN ROSSWURM. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987. xv, 373p. Appendix, index. \$40.00.)

Using what can be characterized as an undogmatic Marxist approach, Steven Rosswurm seeks to elucidate elements of class conflict that other historians have detected but have not fully explored in the Revolutionary politics of Philadelphia. This study focuses on the city's "lower sort," defined by the author as the inferior artisans and wage-earning laborers (p. 6). After outlining the social setting of class relationships in Philadelphia and describing the pre-Revolutionary position of the lower sort as "subordinate" to the elite (p. 27), Rosswurm argues that resistance to Britain provided them the opportunity to mobilize behind their own political program and within their own organization, the Philadelphia militia. In alliance with the "radical middling sort," the lower sort helped bring about the politically egalitarian internal revolution of 1776, which overturned the old order and established a democratic constitution for Pennsylvania. From 1776 to 1779, Rosswurm contends, the lower sort continued to pursue their own goals, both within the militia and "in the streets." In 1779 their class-based campaigns for political and economic justice stalled with the failure of the popular price-fixing movement, the break of their alliance with the middling sort, and the military defeat of the Philadelphia crowd in the "Fort Wilson" incident. After that defeat, the lower sort became "demoralized and depoliticized," but remained as "a simmering if inchoate mass of discontent" (p. 203).

Rosswurm makes his largest contribution in describing the social and economic condition of the lower sort, pinpointing the range of issues which affected them, and showing in detail how their interests clashed not only with those of the city's elite but with those of the middling artisans and entrepreneurs with whom they had allied at the beginning of the Revolution. The lower sort advocated political equality, demanded that all members of the community contribute to the war effort, and sought public action to secure their own economic welfare and that of their families during the times that the militia was in the field. Later they responded to food shortages and runaway inflation by supporting a policy of price-fixing and attacking wealthy "monopolizers" who hoarded goods in anticipation of profit. In dealing with these issues Rosswurm shows the interconnections between the material interests of the lower sort and the policies they supported.

This study, like others, is sometimes hampered by the paucity of direct statements by lower-sort spokesmen. Such gaps in the evidence force Rosswurm to rely on what others said about the lower sort and on anonymous

printed pieces which appear to reflect their perspectives; supplementing this is evidence about how the lower sort acted in specific instances and inferences from their material interests. When the evidence comes from the militia officers who brought issues to the attention of the civil authorities, there is little problem: the officers seem to have been attuned to the real grievances of their troops. The intriguing printed sources, however, cannot always be conclusively identified as products of lower-sort pens, and evidence from actions is also problematic. Indeed, Rosswurm has to confront the fact that the lower sort sometimes failed to respond in circumstances when their interests seem to have called for action; particularly notable was their failure actively to support the Philadelphia price-fixing committee in 1779 (p. 187). Such occasions call into question Rosswurm's characterization of the lower sort as a fully formed and articulate class during this period, although it is always possible that failure to act was the result of conscious (if unexplained) class response to specific circumstances. Perhaps their class loyalty outside of the militia was not as complete as Rosswurm would have it; perhaps, too, the lower sort, like their erstwhile middling allies, were hampered by a less than whole-hearted commitment in practice to the radically egalitarian values that the author describes.

Despite these reservations, I find this a valuable contribution to the history of the lower sort, adding depth and detail to our understanding of the complex political and social context of the Pennsylvania Revolution of the 1770s.

*The Public Records of
the State of Connecticut*

DOUGLAS M. ARNOLD

Charles Scott and the "Spirit of '76". By HARRY M. WARD. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988. xii, 262p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography of manuscript sources, index. \$24.95.)

This is the first published biography of General Charles Scott, a second-level Revolutionary leader and Kentucky pioneer. A brigadier general in the Revolution, he showed strong abilities as a commander of light infantry in forays in the New Jersey campaigns and, later, in the southern theater. After the war Scott became an early pioneer in Kentucky, commanding the state militia during the Indian conflicts, and in 1808 becoming state governor.

It is always pleasing to be able to open a biography of a new subject. Here Harry Ward has given us both a new portrait and a fresh perspective into the conduct of the Revolutionary campaigns. Additionally, General

Scott is himself a good choice for a biography, as an individual with an interesting personality and career. Coming from obscure although not humble Virginia country origins, he was a self-made professional soldier. There were very few professional military men in colonial America, and these almost invariably had been schooled in arms in the British army. Scott enlisted as a private in the Virginia militia after the Braddock campaign, and ultimately reached the rank of major general at the close of the Revolution. Virtually his entire active life was spent in military service, and his professional education was all gained in the field.

A rough-and-ready soldier, often outspoken and profane, Scott nonetheless had a sound sense of unit tactics which quickly took him to command of light infantry forces. As with the better-known General Anthony Wayne, Scott was at his best in the conduct of independent scouting missions or forward-probing operations. His command of the Revolutionary Light Infantry Corps was undoubtedly the high point of his military career. Such light and mobile operations of course should always be the chief tactic of revolutionary forces matched against a larger and better-trained professional army.

Although Scott was decisive and vigorous in combat, he was also (as with Anthony Wayne) petulant and quarrelsome, jealous of his rank, and consistently a troublesome subordinate. His conduct even led to charges of insubordination from his commander, General Stephen. The latter was himself a "sordid boasting cowardly sort" and nothing came of the matter. Yet George Washington must have been remarkably patient to endure these petty and tiresome troublemakers.

Ward excels in giving us a good sense of General Scott's forceful character and his abilities as a military leader. His private and family life is, however, left in the shadows. We learn little more of Scott's father and brothers than their names, and not even that for his mother. Only sparse mention is made of his wife and children, and the words "probable" and "likely" are frequently used to support details of Scott's early life.

The author cannot be faulted for this paucity of material, as his own meticulous research is well revealed in the extensive bibliography of manuscript sources. Yet it is clear that many of these sources must have yielded only crumbs. For example, only a single note from Scott to his first wife has survived. It is perhaps possible that we could have been told a bit more about the general's second wife, Judith Bell Gist. A wealthy widow of General Nathaniel Gist, connected with Virginia families far more prominent than her second husband's—Langhorne, Nicholas, Cary, Gratz, Fairfax, etc.—it would have been interesting to learn what her more aristocratic connections thought of the rough-hewn addition to the family.

The lack of depth in personal detail does not, however, detract from the substantial value of this biography's contribution to Revolutionary history. Well-written and agreeably readable—as Ward's work can be counted on to be—it is well recommended to readers and students of the Revolution and the early republic. It will be a sound addition not only to public and undergraduate libraries, but to historical collections as well.

Radnor, PA

NICHOLAS SELLERS

A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution. By JONATHAN R. DULL. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. xii, 229p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$15.95.)

Peace and the Peacemakers: The Treaty of 1783. Edited by RONALD HOFFMAN and PETER J. ALBERT. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1986. xvi, 263p. Index. \$25.00.)

Many accounts of the diplomacy of the American Revolution and its aftermath have appeared in the last two decades, inspired by publication of new manuscript sources and orientations suggested by modern struggles for independence in divided countries. Jonathan Dull's book as well as the articles in Ronald Hoffman's and Peter J. Albert's *Peace and the Peacemakers* are departures from the interpretive lines of Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (rev. ed., 1957). Bemis's has long been the standard account of American negotiators circumventing the pitfalls of diplomacy, real or imaginary, among themselves or their adversaries, and achieving what many regarded as a victor's peace. The dimensions of the narrative lie within the scope of an American national point of view.

Dull approaches his subject from an international standpoint, placing the war for independence in front of a backdrop of European power relationships. A brief scholarly work, written with textbook in mind, it starts with reactions of various European governments to the Anglo-American controversy. Treating America's two future allies Spain and Holland rather lightly, the emphasis through most of the book is on the external and internal relationships of France and Britain, intermixed with policies of the United States. A point at which everything converges is Benjamin Franklin at Paris, whose papers Dull has long been editing. In Dull's account Franklin displays an individual touch as the key to success in pragmatic diplomacy. Dull's account of American revolutionary diplomacy in the context of international power is an intellectual setting for avenues of historical thought, ending on the note that "independence depended on a heavy dose of foreign help and

abundant good luck," to which he adds Franklin's influence in France and retention of old friends in England.

In his "prehistory of American diplomacy," Dull outlines British and French maneuvers before the outbreak of Anglo-American disputes in the 1760s. The official sympathy for the colonists aroused in Europe opened the door to French intervention. The Declaration of Independence opened it wider, and a French alliance was actively solicited by American commissioners, including Franklin, who were seated in Paris. According to Dull's innovative interpretation, the American victory over Burgoyne persuaded the French foreign minister Vergennes that France, having rebuilt its navy, should form an alliance with the colonies in order to forestall their reconciliation with Britain and prevent a combined assault on French possessions in the West Indies. Throughout these events, Congress's diplomatic services evolved from mere conversations with French agents in Philadelphia into the action of a set of commissioners in Europe. Dull works this narrative through the Silas Deane controversy, Spain's entry into the war (which contributed heavily to eventual American victory) after failure to bargain successfully with Britain, Britain's spells of diplomatic inertia, and the attitudes of the Russians and the Dutch. The story ends with the capture of Cornwallis and Lord Shelburne's emerging conceptions of a viable relation between Britain and an independent America, along with Vergennes's supportive acceptance of self-directed peace negotiations by the American commissioners, the victorious terms they won for the United States, and, finally, peace treaties between the great powers based on realizable self-interest but little gain.

Dull's themes coincide with those of *Peace and the Peacemakers*, which, although focused on Anglo-American relations, involves the great powers of Europe. The opening articles by Esmond Wright and Gregg L. Lint lay out the primary objectives of Britain, France, Spain, the United States, and the pursuit of them during the war. Fundamental to the United States was independence; everything else became negotiable. Britain's object was to secure America's return to colonial status. By 1781, however, as a contemporary is quoted to have said, the war was generally "disrelished" by all parties to it. The interlaced objectives of Britain, France, and Spain were so compromised by stress that all but the United States were just about ready to accept a Russo-Austrian proposal to divide America on the basis of land in possession of the warring powers.

This unlovely spectacle was swept away by the American capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown. Vergennes thereafter stood firm on American independence. British aims shifted from reasserting dominion to laying a foundation for future reconciliation and trade with the new nation.

One might add that the treaty also marked the beginning of Britain's dominion policy in the nineteenth century.

Within this interpretive framework, a number of essays treat particular aspects, chiefly the character of diplomats in operation. James H. Hutson focuses on the attitudes of suspicion prevailing in the minds of American delegates, particularly Henry Laurens, John Adams, and John Jay, which coincided with "a political ideology encouraging suspicion in defense of republicanism." Franklin's distrust was under greater control. Bradford Perkins takes up much the same subject but counters these suspicions as frequently needless, a source of weakness and difficulty in the conduct of negotiation. Charles R. Ritcheson subjects the British negotiators to character analysis, chiefly the earl of Shelburne, who was the principal mover, and Richard Oswald, the main British negotiator at Paris. Without them, he concludes, the negotiation may have failed. Jonathan R. Dull concentrates on the French, finding in Vergennes and his agent Gerard de Rayneval the men who established the "diplomacy of trust that laid the foundation for peace." Marcus Cunliffe writes in another field, exploring the cultural consequences of independence. He evaluates and generally agrees with British postwar depreciation of American cultural accomplishments, mainly in literature. Samuel F. Scott assesses the effect of the American Revolution on the conduct of war by European nations. The effect was nil except in France, where general intellectual ferment and desire for military reform encouraged utilization of the American experience. Finally, Richard B. Morris evaluates the treaty in its impact and in its durability. The substance of his paper is the later implementation of its provisions.

These are informative books, interestingly written by scholars. A few interpretive points are left undiscussed, especially of things in America—that is, if diplomacy is pertinent to broad relations between nations. A vital fact is that Britain was incapable of recovering loyalty in America, even that of the Loyalists, for Britain was as inept in this respect as in contracting alliances with major powers. Its civil and military administrators were contemptuous of Americans and usually indifferent to their own abuse of Loyalists as well as patriot citizens in occupied territories. Little or no effort was made to negotiate with any state north of Georgia or to set up a national or state government in exile. Before the battle of Yorktown, British agents were confiscating patriot property in South Carolina, a step already indicated by distribution of property in New York City. One might explore the intellectual connection of American peacemakers with English political and social alignments of the century, ethnic as well as material. Nevertheless, these works under review sensitively extend and amplify scholarship of diplomacy in the early years of the American republic.

The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763-1790. Edited by RONALD HOFFMAN, JOHN J. MCCUSKER, RUSSELL R. MENARD, and PETER J. ALBERT. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1988. xvi, 334p. Index. \$30.00.)

This excellent volume of essays, proceedings of an ongoing set of conferences Ronald Hoffman has organized on the American Revolution, addresses three central problems: what did the American economy look like in the Revolutionary age, to what extent did the Anglo-American economy shape the coming of the American Revolution, and what was the impact of the Revolutionary war on the American economy. The articles by Winifred B. Rothenberg and Thomas M. Doerflinger deal with general features of the American economy. Rothenberg argues convincingly that one of the most profound changes in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century economy of rural New England was the emergence of a capital market. Doerflinger's study of Pennsylvania farmers and the Philadelphia market neatly complements his earlier book on Philadelphia merchants; here he demonstrates how the Philadelphia dry goods trade was carried out in the city's rural hinterland and suggests the impact this trade had on the standard of living of rural residents in the pre-Revolutionary war years.

A second set of articles deals with the causes of the Revolution. Lewis M. Fischer provides a detailed account of the economy of Nova Scotia that helps explain why Halifax merchants did not join the protests of the New Englanders. Joseph A. Ernst elucidates differences in economic structure and opportunity that underlay the different responses of the Maryland and Virginia elite to the Revolutionary crisis, while Russell R. Menard explains why South Carolina, the most prosperous (at least for its white inhabitants) of all the British mainland colonies, joined in the resistance to British policies. The remaining articles evaluate the economic impact of the war years. James F. Shepherd refines his (and Gary M. Walton's) earlier estimates of the disruption the war caused to the American economy by reexamining the changing pattern and volume of trade of the thirteen colonies (states) between 1768-1772 and 1790-1792, while John J. McCusker contrasts the health of the British West Indian economy through 1790 with the economic difficulties experienced by the mainland colonies from 1776-1790. James A. Henretta argues that the war encouraged domestic manufacturing, and that in America, unlike in Europe, this process of "protoindustrialization" occurred without substantial rural impoverishment. The war, in Henretta's estimation, accelerated American economic development, but delayed "the emergence of a more capitalist society" (p. 87). Jacob M. Price concludes the volume by suggesting questions that require further study—the rela-

tionship between population growth and the standard of living, between slave and free labor, and between overseas commerce and domestic manufacturing—and asks for a clearer sense of whether economic conditions simply shaped the way people addressed political issues or actually destabilized American society and helped bring on the American Revolution.

As a reflection of our knowledge of the economy in this convulsive period, these essays invite two additional questions. First, they leave unsettled the question of whether an economic interpretation of the coming of the American Revolution can, in fact, be reconciled with the currently more common political and ideological interpretations. Second, despite Henretta's excellent effort, the essays highlight how little we know about the impact of the war on day-to-day economic life.

Rutgers University

PAUL G.E. CLEMENS

American Colonial Portraits, 1700-1776. By RICHARD H. SAUNDERS and ELLEN G. MILES. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Portrait Gallery, 1987. xv, 342p. Catalogue of exhibition, bibliography, index. Paper, \$35.00.)

In August 1930, just two months after a loan exhibition of "One Hundred Colonial Portraits" opened at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Cuthbert Lee noted that, while everyone familiar with American painting knew of Copley and Stuart, "we are only just beginning to realize how widely the portraits of earlier masters may extend our acquaintanceship with our ancestors." With their extraordinary assemblage of portraits and related materials focusing on patron and artist in colonial America between 1700 and 1776, Richard Saunders and Ellen Miles have extended that acquaintance considerably. The authors have carefully examined the artist, the subject, and the business of portrait commissions—providing in-depth discussions of one hundred six American portrait subjects, including preliminary sketches, engravings, miniatures, the popular Kit-cat size to full-length oil portraits of individuals, as well as the rarer group studies.

Saunders and Miles estimate that as many as 7,400 portraits were commissioned by or for Americans between 1700 and 1776; of these two-thirds were painted after 1750. Only a relative few were public commissions; few were casual commissions. Most were intended for the domestic environment and to commemorate a family milestone: coming into one's majority or inheritance, marriage, recognition of an elderly parent, a remembrance or memorial.

Saunders and Miles survey the arrival and increasing activity of limners and painters in the colonies and note that the artists, generally, have remained better known than their patrons. But it is in Saunders's and Miles's focus on the interchanges between artist and patron, and the outside influences on this relationship, that this study of portraits in the colonial period is of particular importance. Who was the patron and what did the patron expect of the artist? Miles estimates that less than one percent of the population in the British North American colonies patronized the artist. Those who did had very definite expectations, not the least of which was a likeness that would do justice and be recognizable without being necessarily literal. Saunders and Miles review the impact of the European engraving, particularly the British mezzotint, on both patron and painter, and they explore the mechanics of the commissions even to the procurement of materials and costs.

Of far greater value and impact, Saunders and Miles have chosen only words documented to the artist or patron through signature, supporting bills, correspondence, or contemporary records and observations. Beyond removing doubts of attribution in nearly all instances, the authors have selected portraits significant as measures of the artist and the patron and the society in which the two interacted. To be sure, this was a small segment of the total population, but under Saunders's and Miles's scrutiny it appears brightly as a society with an emerging self-consciousness and self-confidence. Through their multi-dimensional examination of the business and decorum of colonial portrait painting, Saunders and Miles have given new vitality to the images of some of colonial America's most influential citizens.

Winterthur Museum

E. MCSHERRY FOWBLE

John Lewis Krimmel: An Artist in Federal America. By MILO M. NAEVE.
(Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987. 240p. Illustrations,
catalogue of works, appendix, select bibliography, index. \$65.00.)

Milo Naeve has made a significant contribution to the growing list of American painters who have been studied and whose works have been catalogued in depth in the last decade. This book on John Lewis Krimmel is perhaps the most thorough in-depth approach that has been written recently.

Naeve has organized the artist's biography into three chapters: Krimmel in Europe and America, Krimmel's approach to his art, and Krimmel and American taste. In addition, Naeve provides a catalogue of Krimmel's works

(both located and unlocated), an appendix of misattributed pictures, a bibliography, and an index.

Krimmel, whose promising career was cut short by accidental drowning at the age of thirty-five, was a native of Wurttemberg, from a prosperous burgher family in the village of Ebingen. His family allowed him to travel and to study art briefly under the tutelage of John Baptiste Selle (1774-1814), court painter to the Duke of Wurttemberg in Stuttgart in 1806. Krimmel immigrated to Philadelphia in 1809, there to join an older brother. The immigration was due, no doubt, to the disruption of the Napoleonic wars. After briefly working for his brother, Krimmel began his career as an artist in 1810 with Alexander Rider (flourished 1810-1814), with whom he journeyed to the New World and who was to be a lifetime associate. Krimmel first became active in Philadelphia's artistic community when he joined some sixty other artists in the Society of Artists of the United States; he became a member of the Columbian Society of Artists in 1813 and the Association of American Artists in 1819. He was a member of a private sketch club organized by Thomas Sully in 1812, and he exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy from 1811 to the year of his death in 1821, except the years which he spent traveling in Europe (1816 through 1819). In those years, however, several of his paintings were exhibited in New York.

Krimmel is known as a genre painter. He first called himself a "Fancy Painter" and later a painter of "Conversations, Subjects of Humor, Portraits, etc." Only a few of his portraits have been identified, and it is regrettable that his self-portrait, exhibited in 1831 a decade after his death, has not been located. The best known of his works are the lively scenes of Philadelphia, of which *A View of Centre Square on the Fourth of July* and *Election Scene State House in Philadelphia* are mentioned in Naeve's book. Of a more general interest, but always lively, are Krimmel's *The Blind Fiddler*, *The Country Wedding*, and *Village Tavern*, among others.

Krimmel traveled extensively in Pennsylvania, other parts of the United States, and for several years, in Europe. Fortunately, seven of his sketchbooks survive. Naeve has used these along with the numerous other sketches, and drawings and prints after Krimmel's work, to analyze carefully the artist's work and compare it to the work of artists who influenced him, such as the Scot, Sir David Wilkie. By carefully locating the newspaper and magazine reviews of the time, Naeve has been able in his last chapter to reconstruct what was the artistic and moral temperament of the era, both in the United States and Europe, and, by including some actual contemporary criticisms, to relate this to Krimmel's paintings.

The catalogue discusses in detail some 116 works by Krimmel. It also includes detailed descriptions and illustrations of Krimmel's seven sketchbooks, which were preserved by the Wetherill family of Philadelphia until

they were acquired by the Winterthur Museum. These approximately 372 pages are a delightful spinach of portraits, sketches of animals and fowl, still-life details, and views of both Pennsylvania buildings and the artist's native Ebingen.

The format and cataloguing detail can well serve as a standard for art historians. Naeve has done a most thorough job. The book will interest Pennsylvanians, students of German-American history and culture, and above all American art historians.

National Portrait Gallery
Smithsonian Institution

ROBERT G. STEWART

A Gallery Collects Peales. By ROBERT DEVLIN SCHWARZ. (Philadelphia: Frank S. Schwarz & Son, 1987. 72p. Plates, selected bibliography. \$15.00.)

In recent years historical journals have extended the scope of their reviews beyond the normal run of scholarly monographs and biographies to include more public or popular manifestations of scholarship such as museum exhibitions, exhibition catalogues, and even film and television productions. This development is welcome for several reasons. First, scholarly reviews alert historians to material in other disciplines and media which may enlighten and inform their own work. Second, critical scrutiny may prevent or at least check the more egregious cases of the misuse of historical materials by non-historians. Finally, this process of peer review is essential if museum professionals and curators in such fields as art history and material culture are to validate their claim that staging an exhibition accompanied by a catalog is an academic achievement fully comparable to the writing of a monograph or biography.

A Gallery Collects Peales is the elegant production of the Frank S. Schwarz & Son Gallery in Philadelphia. The impetus for the exhibition and the catalog was the gallery's major discovery of Raphaele Peale's long lost *A Covered Painting*, a still life and *trompe l'oeil* painting by an early American master of those genres. The gallery's director, Robert Devlin Schwarz, conceived the idea of exhibiting artworks of the Peale family sold by the gallery. The result is a brief survey of works produced by several generations (totalling twenty-four individuals in all) of both trained and amateur artists of this remarkable family. The text is augmented with contributions by specialists (such as William Gerdts on Raphaele) on the various Peales.

The catalogue includes a few paintings of the more prominent Peales, such as Charles Willson Peale's fine portrait of David Rittenhouse, but the

bulk of volume is devoted to the work of lesser-known members of the family including those, such as Rubens and Titian Ramsay II, who are not usually thought of as artists. The exhibition also highlights the important role played as artists by female members, such as Harriet Cany Peale, Mary Jane Peale, and Anna Peale Sellers, of the second and third generations of the family.

If the gallery had been content with the modest aim of chronicling the Peales that they had handled, all might have been well. Unfortunately, Schwarz attempts to claim that the catalog, founded on "careful research," will be "a basic reference on the Peale family." This it manifestly is not. There is a voluminous and accessible literature on the family ranging from entries in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and Charles Coleman Sellers's *Charles Willson Peale* to the complete papers of the family published in microfiche. Schwarz simply rewrites, to no great effect, the most basic sources on the Peales. Moreover, the text is full of mistakes ranging from typos to mistranscribed or garbled manuscript quotations, and factual errors. Furthermore, the organization of the book is ill-conceived. For instance, Mary Jane Peale is discussed before her father, Rubens Peale. Charles Peale Polk, of Charles Willson Peale's generation, comes after the second and third generations of Peale children. The inclusion of members of the Sellers wing of the family is inexplicable since the family produced no artwork which was handled by the gallery. The bibliography omits the microfiche edition of the family's papers. A potentially useful listing of authorities on the Peales is marred by the absence of institutional affiliations or addresses.

The poor execution that characterizes *A Gallery Collects Peales* vitiates the author's claim that it can be used as a historical reference work. Instead, the catalog provides a salutary lesson on the need to avoid hubris and pay attention to details when writing even a small historical work.

Peale Family Papers
Smithsonian Institution

DAVID C. WARD

American Silhouettes: Rhetorical Identities of the Founders. By ALBERT FURTWANGLER. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987. viii, 168p. Index. \$17.50.)

With *The Authority of Publius*, Albert Furtwangler gave scholars and general readers a reading of the *Federalist Papers* that was both sensitive and insightful. Furtwangler's present "silhouettes" match the sensitivity of portraiture offered in the earlier work but fall short of its artfully original limning of character. Furtwangler's purpose, he says, is to develop shadow

portraits—silhouettes—or “portraits in paper.” He has “tried to represent not how they [the Founders] looked but how they composed formal identities in print and asked to be read by their countrymen” (p. 12). In individual chapters, he draws the figures of Franklin, Adams, Washington (with glances at Hamilton and Madison), Jefferson, and Marshall by discussing moments he finds significant in the careers of the men, moments or “occasions when these men created special public identities and may have measured themselves against other models or ideals” (p. 13).

Furtwangler’s definition of these identities as “rhetorical” derives from his sense of rhetoric as occurring “[w]here words coincide with effective gestures,” usually during “the stress of conflict” (p. 14). Thus, he studies “young Franklin asserting a new competence and outwitting his masters” (Franklin anonymously submitting the Dogood letters); “Adams debating a persuasive Loyalist on the eve of the Revolution” (Adams, as Novanglus, refuting Daniel Leonard, as Massachusettensis, about the legislative authority of Parliament); “Washington celebrating liberty in the midst of war and composing a farewell meant to sting as well as to soothe” (Washington allowing *Cato* to be performed at Valley Forge and using Madison in 1792 and Hamilton in 1796 to write his Farewell Address); “Jefferson confronting Hamilton” (Jefferson supporting Bacon, Newton, and Locke in what Furtwangler calls a “formula for an ideal of human progress” [p. 124], and writing to Adams late in life); and “Marshall confronting Jefferson” (Marshall adapting Coke, in *Marbury vs. Madison*). In these key moments, Furtwangler contends, “each of the founders meets a strong adversary and conveys an ideal truth in the face of the other’s power” (p. 14).

Furtwangler thus isolates a significant moment in the life of each of the men he studies and then scrutinizes the prose effect of that moment in order to make an assessment about the character of each man. The assessments rendered follow revisionist lines, to some extent. For instance, Furtwangler does not find John Adams a cranky, somewhat paranoid skeptic but rather considers him “a deep, learned, lucid, and often quick and entertaining man” (p. 35). On the other hand, although Bacon, Newton, and Locke were “Jefferson’s Trinity,” Jefferson had an intellect that, “on close inspection . . . was not that extraordinary” (p. 16). And Washington is not, for Furtwangler, the verbally and mentally inept man of the field who sought the intellectual support of Madison and Hamilton but instead an able administrator who “had a keen sense of how to manage other men’s energies and draw them out for the larger good of the country” (p. 86). Further, and with less sound support than rhetorical effect, Furtwangler asserts that Adams “[i]n many ways invites comparison with Franklin” (p. 35) and that the English poet William Blake was closer to Adams than

Jefferson “in his spiritual longings and in the acid wit of his outrage” (p. 129).

Furtwangler’s comfortable assumptions about the spiritual longings, among other things, of those who lived two centuries ago—assumptions signal to the book’s methodology—are troubling. To attempt to assess a person’s character by looking at one moment in that person’s life suggests a naive optimism in Furtwangler. The moment chosen ought to be a key moment; yet one reader’s key moment will not likely match another’s. For instance, although the Dogood essays were important in Franklin’s development of himself as a writer, the moment when Franklin wrote the Dogood essays was not as equal in significance for determining Franklin’s “identity” as, say, when he faced Alexander Wedderburn—with a silence that likely spoke rhetorically louder than words—in Privy Council or when he wrote “An Edict from the King of Prussia.” Likewise, that the play *Cato* was performed at Valley Forge has, finally, little to do with George Washington’s character. As Furtwangler himself attests (pp. 70-72), *Cato* was adopted by Whig and Tory alike as representative of patriotic virtue.

A more significant problem with methodology resides in the treatment of reminiscences of Adams and Franklin. Furtwangler admits that Adams was “creating myth, not history” (p. 61) in his description forty years later of the pleadings of James Otis, Jr., in the *Writs of Assistance* case of 1761. That is, Furtwangler seems sensitive to the picture-painting of an older man looking back upon time past for the benefit of a new generation. Yet in the Franklin chapter, Furtwangler seems to accept at face value and as fact Franklin’s delightful account to Samuel Mather, fifty years later, of a 1723 meeting with Cotton Mather in which Mather, in Franklin’s story, instructed Franklin (who said he had hit his head on a low beam in the Mather house) to “Stoop, young Man, stoop—as you go through the world—and you’ll miss many hard Thumps” (quoted, p. 34). If Adams was creating myth rather than history, then it is even more likely that Franklin, Wedderburn’s wily American, was doing the same. Surely Franklin had an even keener sense of audience and rhetorical appeals than Adams.

Despite its methodological shortcomings, Furtwangler’s *American Silhouettes* offers an intriguing set of portraits. Furtwangler’s artful prose style has its own rhetorical effect, an effect especially valuable in a book that perhaps in coincidence only has come in the bicentennial year celebrating the Constitution.

Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville. By DAVID S. REYNOLDS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988. x, 625p. Index, illustrations. \$35.00.)

This is one of those rare books whose accomplishment equals its ambition. Simply put, there never has been anything like it for the period of the "American Renaissance" (roughly 1830-1860), nor will there be any need to rewrite it, given the author's thoroughness and sophistication. Most remarkable, David Reynolds has written a book about the most well-studied of our antebellum literary saints, and in every chapter he offers new insights into their literature. To have found a novel way, in the late twentieth century, to approach the chief figures of the American Renaissance is simply extraordinary.

Space does not permit me to detail Reynolds's individual arguments about such writers as Emerson, Thoreau, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, and Dickinson; instead, I will speak primarily of his approach, the orientation which has yielded such powerful analysis. Speaking pointedly (in an epilogue) against the recent drift of literary studies in the wake of poststructuralist literary theory, Reynolds argues convincingly for a "reconstructive criticism," that is, an attempt "to reconstruct as completely as possible the socioliterary milieu of literary works through the exploration of a broad array of social and imaginative texts, paving the way for responsible reinterpretations of canonized works." When he applied this methodology to his chosen period, he discovered that this literature "was generated by a highly complex environment in which competing language and value systems, openly at war on the level of popular culture, provided rich materials which certain responsive authors adopted and transformed in dense literary texts." The body of the book describes in great detail those "rich materials" and their transformation in the hands of our major literary artists.

For readers unfamiliar with the most commonly accepted critical line on such chief antebellum writers as Emerson, Hawthorne, and Melville, let me just say that they often are treated as marginal figures, in opposition to their culture's general value system. But Reynolds argues to the contrary: "far from being estranged from their context," he observes, these authors "were in large part created by it." By analyzing the "process by which hitherto neglected modes and popular stereotypes were incorporated into literary texts" like *Walden*, *Moby-Dick*, *Leaves of Grass*, and scores of others, Reynolds convincingly demonstrates how drenched our great writers were in the streams of popular culture. Their attempts to transform it for their own uses only the more powerfully demonstrate its hold over them.

One of the chief joys for the reader is Reynolds's detailed genealogy and synopsis of hitherto unknown or, at best, little-noticed forms of popular

literature—the genres of “Subversive” or “Adventure” fiction, say, or the early attempts at pornographic fiction. On every page we read about books or pamphlets that had been lost to history until Reynolds recognized their significance. Anyone who has had the luxury of walking the stacks of one of this nation’s great research libraries will understand the work Reynolds has performed: he has indeed dusted off books not removed from the shelves for a century and a half, and, more remarkably, he has read them in such ways as to shed light on works about which it has seemed virtually impossible to say something original.

Despite all this literary archeology, Reynolds still believes that the authors I noted above are the great ones of the century; though he treats Harriet Beecher Stowe and a few other women seriously, they do not enter the pantheon of literary giants. I did not object to such value judgment in part because Reynolds already had taught me so much. And I do not imply that here his judgment is askew or overtly politicized—his chapter on “Types of American Womanhood,” for example, is a powerful feminist reading of little-studied figures, and his discussion of their influence on Dickinson is first-rate—rather, that he still believes that Hawthorne’s or Melville’s greatness resides in the ability to write literature that directly confronted the moral ambiguities other, lesser, writers raised but failed to pursue. As Reynolds puts it, “Emerson’s ‘transparent eyeball,’ Hawthorne’s scarlet letter, Melville’s white whale, the water of Walden Pond, Whitman’s grass leaves—all such complex images represented an enormous compression of varied cultural voices in an explosive center.” In Reynolds’s view, the ability to fuse such a center makes for literary greatness.

Reynolds’s *Beneath the American Renaissance* should be read by all serious students of American culture. The amount of research herein is nothing short of awesome and his ability to make connections from popular literature to canonized masterpieces a delight. I can give the book no higher recommendation than this: It is six hundred pages long, and after I received my copy I read right through in one weekend. The experience was as invigorating as any I have had in the last decade with a work of literary history, save with Lawrence Buell’s equally impressive *New England Literary Culture* (1986). I believe that *Beneath the American Renaissance* will stand beside F.O. Matthiessen’s great *American Renaissance* (1941) as a foundation to our knowledge about this seminal period in American cultural history.

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Chapel Hill*

PHILIP F. GURA

The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century. Edited by GERALD W.R. WARD. (Winterthur: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1987. x, 273p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$30.00.)

The nineteenth century saw revolutionary advances in the methods of producing and distributing books, coupled with an increase in numbers of the reading public. The nine essays in *The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century*, papers presented at the Fourteenth Annual North American Print Conference (1982), have as their theme that this expanding market encouraged changes in both the art of illustration and image reproduction.

The volume begins with a stimulating essay by historian Neil Harris, "Pictorial Perils: The Rise of American Illustration," detailing how social critics viewed increasing illustration and related it to wider social changes. There were complaints about inaccurate illustration, and increasing pictorialism was seen by some as "a recurrence to the picture-writing and sign-language of savages." The subversiveness of pictorialism, says Harris, lay in the sudden burgeoning of new techniques and new forms (comics, photographs, films) which the established guardians of the word could not effectively control.

After Harris's broad picture of the social context, the remaining essays in the volume divide into two categories: illustration of fact and illustration of fiction. In the first category are Judy Larson on "Dobson's *Encyclopedia: A Precedent in American Engraving*"; Georgia Barnhill, "The Publication of Illustrated Natural Histories in Philadelphia, 1800-1850"; and Neville Thompson on "Tools of Persuasion: The American Architectural Book of the Nineteenth Century." Larson's title is somewhat misleading; she deals not only with Dobson's first American edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1790), but with all nineteenth-century American encyclopedias, focusing on the difficulty of obtaining engravers to execute the vast number of illustrative plates. Barnhill's essay reminds us that it was not until the nineteenth century that Americans, rather than Europeans, began compiling books on America's flora and fauna. Particularly illuminating in her essay are the inclusion of contemporary comments on the usefulness of the publication to its readers, and information on the prices paid for engraving, printing, and coloring the plates. Thompson discusses architectural books not as "art books" but as tools of persuasion: books "not . . . to be looked at, but instead . . . [spurring] their readers to rise and do" (p. 138). His chronological survey of the field is greatly enhanced by his awareness of the social context of these books.

The second category of essays focuses on specific artists or aesthetics: Katharine Martinez on John Sartain's gift-book illustrations; Sue Reed on

F.O.C. Darley's outline illustrations; Elizabeth Hawkes on Howard Pyle; and Susan Otis Thompson on the arts and crafts book.

Gift books are often treated disdainfully by scholars as artistically and literarily derivative. However, as Martinez shows, if viewed as an immensely popular genre reinforcing the moral and religious education of the time, one cannot be so dismissive. Sartain's career as artist and businessman is also of interest. He adapted mezzotint to mass production by reinforcing it with etching, line engraving, and aquatint to permit larger editions, and, in Martinez's argument, Sartain emerges as an important figure in the development of technique.

Darley also advanced the inexpensive dissemination of illustrations. His simple outline drawings, influenced by John Flaxman and Moritz Retzsch, were eminently suited to the technique of lithographic etching. Focusing on Darley's illustrations to the novel *Margaret*, Reed details Darley's working method.

Hawkes gives an overview of the career of one of America's most popular illustrators, Howard Pyle. Concentrating on the books Pyle illustrated in ink, she traces the stylistic development of his work and the influences which shaped it. Again, we see the interrelationship between style and reproductive technique; Pyle's ink drawings were well-suited to the new photomechanical methods.

Thompson deals with the years 1890-1914, the period of the arts and crafts movement influenced by William Morris's Kelmscott Press. She outlines the characteristics of arts-and-crafts-influenced books, and the movement's effect on the work of American book designers such as D.B. Updike, Copeland and Day, Bruce Rogers, Will H. Bradley, and Frederick W. Goudy.

The volume concludes with Lois Olcott Price on "The Development of Photomechanical Book Illustration." Book illustration in the nineteenth century was largely the search for the perfect cheap reproductive process. Price skillfully guides us through the maze of techniques, many transitory, thrown up in this pursuit. As she points out, "scholars . . . need to become increasingly familiar with photomechanical techniques in evaluating the artist's work and in differentiating the work of the artist from the work of the printer" (p. 255).

All the essays are competently done, showing much evidence of painstaking research, yet one is often left wanting more. With the exceptions noted above, the authors do not connect the work of the individual artist or publisher to the broader context of nineteenth-century social concerns or changes, or, more narrowly, book publishing. We see the trees, but not the forest. The book offers a series of informative and worthwhile vignettes but

not, as the Foreword claims, "a survey that . . . provide[s] an introduction to the subject" (p. viii).

Rosenbach Museum & Library

LESLIE A. MORRIS

Guide to Records of the Court of Common Pleas, Chester County, Pennsylvania 1681-1900. Researched and compiled by LYNN ANN CATANESE. (West Chester: Chester County Historical Society, 1987. iv, 139p. Map, glossary, annotated bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

This comprehensive guide covers the non-judicial records of the Prothonotary, Civil Records of the Sheriff, and the select Civil Records of the Circuit Court of Chester County and the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from 1681-1900. Because state government operated through the Court of Common Pleas, readers should not see these records as those of individual offices or of four different records handlers. In part this is why the National Endowment for the Humanities agreed to fund the arrangement and description of these historic records of Chester County.

Many decades ago Dorothy B. Lapp, the former librarian and archivist of the Chester County Historical Society, "literally rescued [these] records from trash cans or bundles targeted for the incinerator or paper mill" (p. ii) and had them deposited in the Chester County Historical Society. Until recently, private rescue of public records was a familiar story in the administration of local and county records in Pennsylvania. Since 1982, following consultation with the State Archives in Harrisburg, the Chester County Archives and Records Services have been administered under a unique archival program that combines the resources of the county government and the county historical society to ensure that the records are preserved and made available.

The *Guide* consists of seven parts. Following a brief introduction, there is a fully annotated "History of the Chester County Court of Common Pleas." This is not, however, a typical administrative history. The end date for around 50 percent of the record series is 1900, but the history of the office itself ends with the move to the new courthouse in 1847. Yet, other laws were passed and court practices changed during the remaining decades of the nineteenth century. In the following section an "Explanation of Legal Process" outlines the steps in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century civil cases from their first appearance in court through judgment and execution. A "Flow Chart" shows the steps in a debt case and a listing of the types of records generated at each step in the legal process. At the rear of the volume the "Glossary" defines over 100 legal terms frequently used in the

records. All of this information serves as a valuable background to understanding and using these records in historical research.

The 116 record series of the Court of Common Pleas, which are described in section four, constitute the heart of the *Guide*. Included in the records are court docket books, indexes to dockets and books, and papers. Each series description contains eight items of information: description, content, arrangement, access, missing records, corresponding records, alternative sources of information, and "for further records." If the format deviates slightly from series descriptions found in more traditional finding aids/guides, the file units are precisely previewed and pertinent data on the administrative origins of the series and the functions to which the series relate are reported. This reviewer may have preferred a clearer commitment to delineate the hierarchical order of these records, but this is a minor quibble when considering the excellent definitions for each series and the corresponding bonuses to a *Guide* that has a historical thrust.

This *Guide*, for which Lynn Ann Catanese received the 1987 Finding Aids Award of the Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference, has many merits. Indeed, it is a welcome addition to the literature on archives, for it adds to our understanding of the Court of Common Pleas, Chester County, in particular and to Pennsylvania history in general. More important, the *Guide* serves as a worthy model for other Pennsylvania county governments to follow: first, it points the way for how political subdivisions can make important primary resources more accessible to a variety of users; and, second, it shows the benefits of collaboration, both with a historical society and the Pennsylvania State Archives, in ensuring that access projects like this one are developed. In the case of Chester County, as it begins its third federally funded access grant project, success speaks for itself.

Oberlin College

ROLAND M. BAUMANN

In Bondage and Freedom: Antebellum Black Life in Richmond, Virginia, 1790-1860. By MARIE TYLER-MCGRAW and GREGG D. KIMBALL. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Valentine Museum, 1988. 72p. Illustrations. \$7.95.)

Philadelphia African Americans: Color, Class & Style, 1840-1940. Edited by GAIL STERN. (Philadelphia: Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, 1988. 102p. Illustrations. \$15.00.)

The test of a good exhibition catalogue is whether it deserves to be read independently of the exhibition it describes. Happily, both *In Bondage and Freedom* (based on an exhibition at the Valentine Museum in Richmond

in 1988) and *Philadelphia African Americans* (based on an exhibition at the Balch Institute in Philadelphia in 1988) pass that test with ease.

In Bondage and Freedom explores the social dynamics of a bustling southern city. In antebellum Richmond there existed between black and white residents a situation of "subtle interdependence and mutual apprehension" (p. 20). A black presence permeated the city. The authorities worried constantly about the blurring of racial distinctions, but laws designed to keep free blacks and slaves firmly "in their place" could not be enforced. The only permanent solution—to expel blacks from the city altogether—would have impoverished Richmond, since its industrial growth depended on the availability of black labor.

Richmond's slaves enjoyed many advantages denied their brethren on the plantations, but the auction-block was an ever-present reminder of their unfree status. Only emancipation could guarantee them a degree of security. However, gaining freedom and then enjoying the fruits of that freedom was no easy matter. Virginia gradually tightened the laws on manumission, even demanding, in the aftermath of Nat Turner's rebellion, that newly emancipated slaves leave the state.

As a result of the conflict between economic imperatives and white fears, "black life existed on a continuum between an imagined total control which white Richmond desired but never achieved and an imagined freedom which could be achieved only by escape" (p. 70). For some in the free community, that escape took the form of emigration to Liberia. They knew the limits of black freedom in Richmond. While they could pursue a trade and prosper, their most innocent activities could generate suspicions. When blacks tried to establish schools for their children or take control of their religious institutions, whites grew very uneasy, and unease was quickly translated into legal restrictions. As the Civil War approached, black Richmonders were still engaged in a struggle for an independent community life that their neighbors to the North had already fought and won.

In Bondage and Freedom leaves us with many unanswered questions. We need to know much more about these antebellum black Richmonders. What was the symbolism behind dressing graves and listening to sermons "read" from a handkerchief? What were the dynamics of family life? What were the patterns of courtship and marriage? What was the composition of the black population and how did it change over time? That we are left wanting answers to these questions is an indication of the value of *In Bondage and Freedom*. By drawing on so many hitherto untapped sources and raising so many questions, it shows what can be done in the important area of antebellum urban black history. Hopefully, museums in other cities will follow the Valentine's lead.

Philadelphia African Americans offers us "a glimpse into pre-modern Black American culture and learning—a dimension of American life that has all too often been . . . ignored" (p. 32). Philadelphia's antebellum black elite had a strong commitment to antislavery and to the growth of independent community institutions, but its members also "absorbed many of the cosmopolitan currents evolving throughout American society in general" (p. 33). Much energy was devoted to promoting education and high culture. After Reconstruction there was a subtle change of focus. Faced with growing segregation and an influx of southern black migrants, elite Philadelphians stressed self-help and social betterment, both to aid the newcomers and to disarm whites who criticized blacks en masse, without regard to wealth, social class, or education. However, in the drive to establish black social and business institutions, high culture was not forgotten. The period from 1910 to 1940 saw yet another shift, as military service, southern migration, economic dislocation, the "Negro Renaissance," and the continued denial of basic civil rights prompted a new generation of black Philadelphians to question old assumptions about their "place."

The focus of *Philadelphia African Americans: Color, Class & Style* is on the development both of an art form and a distinct class within the black community. The history of photography is central to this exhibition. Through the camera's lens we see "Philadelphia's Afro-American gentry" as they wished to be seen, in carefully posed studio portraits that emphasize wealth, elegance, and refinement. Here "the social, cultural, and aesthetic value of each image" is as important as its usefulness "in documenting the African-American experience in Philadelphia" (p. 31), and many of the images are stunning in their visual impact. This exhibition also makes an eloquent plea for the preservation of oral traditions and the reconstruction of the history of black families.

While *In Bondage and Freedom* and *Philadelphia African Americans: Color, Class & Style* trace the evolution of black communities in individual cities, these two exhibitions easily transcend the parochial. By placing the experiences of black Americans at the center of major social and intellectual developments, rather than on the periphery, they offer us new insights into important aspects of American culture.

University of Massachusetts at Boston

JULIE WINCH

Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era. By JAMES M. MCPHERSON.
(New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. xix, 904p.
Illustrations, maps, bibliographic note, index. \$35.00.)

No short review can do justice to this superb book. I can only touch on a few of McPherson's achievements and raise a few of the questions he

inspires. Other readers (and there should be a great many) will surely find their own accolades and questions.

This is traditional narrative history at its best. Not only is the prose clear, lucid, and at times inspiring, it is also thoughtful in considering what to leave out in order to make a point (for example Lincoln's assassination is not described, but readers can write that story for themselves with great effect). McPherson's knowledge of the sources is immense, and he has a splendid eye for the telling remark or observation. He also paints fine portraits of the leading figures in his story. In addition, McPherson reads statistical data on such things as military service, casualties, and election returns with a sharp eye and provides thoughtful insights in doing so.

All these talents are employed in describing how men (and a few women) responded to and shaped military, political, and economic events. McPherson believes that human beings are responsible for their history and that it matters what they do at crucial times. Action accounts for social change more than social change accounts for action, to paraphrase Walter Karp writing on Tocqueville. McPherson believes that traditional historical narrative best illustrates that fact. At several times during the conflict (in the fall of 1862, in the fall of 1863, in the summer of 1864) the tide might have shifted to bring about a Confederate victory. But northern generals and armies won battles and Appomattox became inevitable. Such moments shape the book.

But McPherson's book is not a simple chronicle. He brings into his story the judgments of past historians and raises doubts and challenges on such questions as Grant's responsibility for the breakdown of prisoner exchanges, why the South lost, the benefits of separate spheres for men and women, responsibility for the first shot at Sumter, the impact of the northern blockade, the profitability of slavery. He has an excellent sense of the importance of events linked in time. For example, he nicely links up southern filibustering to Crittenden's proposal to compromise the North-South split by reinstating the 36°30' line. This would of course have allowed slavery's expansion in lands "now held or *hereafter acquired*." He is especially good on how military success and failures shaped politics, noting, for example, how the Atlanta victory caused McClellan to moderate the antiwar part of his party's 1864 platform.

McPherson has his heroes and villains, but usually he balances flaws and strengths. To criticize as well as praise Grant, McPherson makes fine use of the assessment that Grant was less interested in what others would do and more focused on his own plans. On the other hand, McClellan is a special target for the traditional charges of being unwilling to attack. No mention is made, however, of Rowena Reed's recent defense of the general,

and, given McPherson's keen awareness of the deadliness of rifles, one would like to see a more balanced assessment of McClellan's strategic plans.

His sympathies are clearly with the North. He accepts a currently prevailing (but in my opinion dubious) opinion that the Taney Court could well have been preparing to inject slavery into free states as well as the territories. He underplays fears of slave rebellion in describing the antebellum arguments about the peculiar institution. While not holding the North guiltless in wartime, McPherson describes much more thoroughly atrocities by southern troops against black Union soldiers and Union prisoners.

"The Civil War," he writes, "was preeminently a *political* war, a war of peoples rather than of professional armies" (p. 332). But the people that McPherson is most interested in are the leaders, the politicians and generals whose decisions affected the lives of those who could not control events. His description of the economic changes of the war focuses on the legislation passed by the northern Congress but gives little attention to the operation of the economy behind the lines and outside legislative halls. He provides two chapters on the naval and river war but gives only two pages to the northern farm economy and three pages to labor during the conflict.

McPherson knows of contributions of the last two decades made by the "new social and economic history" in telling the stories of the inarticulate, illustrating how industrialization and urbanization shaped their lives. He often provides the voices of these people, but he does not integrate the theoretical insights of this recent historiography into his story. His first chapter describes the "United States at Midcentury," which incorporates ably the insights of the new social and economic history. But, with the exception of the impact of ethnocultural forces on the politics of the age, those insights play practically no role in the story that unfolds here from the Mexican War to the final days of the Civil War.

McPherson seldom analyzes the social and cultural contexts which shape human choices. When politicians and editors of the 1860-1861 secession crisis decry "anarchy," McPherson doesn't pause to analyze why that particular threat was so frightening. But that fear might well have derived from the social disorder that poorly understood industrialization was apparently unleashing in the nation. He does not explain the legal definitions of dangerous speech so that readers can evaluate the limits of dissent or the rules of war by which readers can judge the brutality of guerrilla warfare. His lack of integration of the new social history of women also causes him to miss, I think, an important aspect of the success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which might have linked traditional and the newer perspectives to produce a more complex picture. In addition to its antislavery morality (which

McPherson describes ably), Stowe's book provides a feminist critique of a society corrupted by an industrializing nation controlled by male values.

All these questions derive from a professional perspective which emphasizes the power of social, cultural, and institutional contexts to shape human choices. But McPherson knowingly chose the other path, emphasizing humans shaping their world. The result is a superb traditional retelling of the nation's most important public experience. Historians interested in alternative stories can set their contributions alongside McPherson's and be assured that they are in the best of company.

University of Kansas

PHILLIP S. PALUDAN

The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907. By THOMAS D. HAMM. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988. xvii, 261p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Easterners often assume that all nineteenth-century American Quakers followed the pattern of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In actuality, two thirds of American Friends—almost all of those west of the Alleghenies—between 1860 and 1900 repudiated most of what Philadelphia Quakers had long defined as correct faith and practice. A midwestern Friend by 1900 attended revivals, cared little about the Inner Light, went to church (not a meeting) to hear a sermon and sing hymns, paid money for a minister, and ignored Quaker traditions of pacifism, plain style of dress, and speech. The two most prominent twentieth-century Friends—Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon—came out of a Quakerism that owed more to evangelicalism and holiness than to George Fox and William Penn. The complex and confusing story of the transformation of mid- and far western Quakerism has for the first time been clearly delineated in Thomas Hamm's prize-winning book.

The Hicksite-Orthodox split in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1827 ended with all American Quakers divided into two camps. The Hicksites had overwhelming numerical domination in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Maryland. Elsewhere the Orthodox prevailed, and Hamm's book concentrates upon their innovations. After 1827, the Orthodox composed two factions; both agreed upon the primacy of scripture, the atonement, virgin birth, and the necessity of religious experience. Quietists (later termed Wilburites or Conservatives) opposed the evangelical emphasis on higher education, Sunday schools, and cooperation with other denominations in benevolent activities. Their religion centered in a disciplined quest for

holiness obtained gradually through silent waiting on the Lord. The evangelicals (later termed Gurneyites) wanted to revitalize what they saw as the dead traditionalism of many Friends. The result was a series of separations in New England, Ohio, and Indiana before 1850 and in Iowa and Kansas in the 1870s. Gurneyites and Conservatives remained together in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Orthodox, but the price of unity was isolation and loss of influence on western Friends—though individual Friends and Haverford College still had an impact.

Friends' desire to end slavery prompted many to fight in the Civil War, thereby weakening pacifism and undermining the traditional disciplinary system. A small elite among Gurneyite Friends attempted to revitalize the Orthodox by founding schools and Sunday schools, promoting Bible study, ending disownment for marriage to a non-Quaker, and stressing a conversion experience. But silent meetings proved less efficient in converting people than revivals. Traveling Quaker ministers began soliciting testimonies and holding protracted meetings. The number of converts (including birthright Friends and outsiders) showed the value of revivals, and new techniques swept midwestern Quaker meetings in the 1870s and 1880s.

The holiness movement provided a theology for post-1860 revivalism. Holiness emphases came to Friends from the Methodists and the Oberlin theology of Charles Finney. Holiness advocates insisted that in addition to conversion there was a second act of grace which brought sanctification. The fruits of sanctification appeared in a holy life—no dancing, card playing, novel reading, attending theater. Holiness preachers distrusted denominational differences and opposed modernism. After 1890 many holiness advocates became fundamentalists.

The revival and holiness seemed to many midwestern Quakers—their leader was David Updegraff—to be commanded in the Bible. Revivals needed revivalists, and these preachers brought a new conception of the role of means of grace: set prayers, sermons, hymns, salaried ministers. Within twenty years the Gurneyite Friends repudiated silent meetings, the traditional Quaker attitudes toward paid ministers, the gradual process of religious growth, and virtually all Quaker traditions. Only when midwestern holiness Friends began practicing baptism did evangelical Friends in England and elsewhere draw back. The holiness Friends came to dominate yearly meetings in Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Oregon, and California. Evangelical Friends who accepted the pastoral system but not holiness or sacraments prevailed in New England, Indiana, and North Carolina. Orthodox Friends in Great Britain, Philadelphia, Maryland, and New York continued unprogrammed or silent meetings and never espoused either the revival or holiness emphases. Instead, after 1900 they accepted liberalism or modernism and modified evangelicalism.

Quakers today are so numerically insignificant that the arcane details of each faction are of little general interest. Hamm's book is important because he shows the strengths and weaknesses of a variety of conceptual schemas in understanding religious history. Friends' responses to four major developments among Protestants—evangelicalism, revivals, holiness, and liberalism—were conditioned by intellectual presuppositions, class differences, economic transformation, Quaker traditions, and the general cultural milieu. The Quakers adjusted differently than Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, yet these denominations also fragmented between 1820 and 1880. The history of nineteenth-century Friends is one of division; the twentieth century saw all Quaker bodies joining in attempts to reaffirm a common tradition. Hamm's theological sophistication, knowledge of general historical trends, exhaustive research, and clear writing have resulted in a superb book.

*Friends Historical Library,
Swarthmore College*

J. WILLIAM FROST

The Limits of Sisterhood: The Beecher Sisters on Women's Rights and Woman's Sphere. Edited by JEANNE BOYDSTON, MARY KELLEY, and ANNE MARGOLIS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. xxiv, 369p. Chronology, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$32.00; paper, \$12.95.)

In the mid- and late nineteenth century, Anglo-American Victorians read—and wrote—a prodigious number of “life and letter” biographies. Combining commentary with lengthy extracts, such biographies aimed to give the life in the subject's own words.

In *The Limits of Sisterhood*, Jeanne Boydston, Mary Kelley, and Anne Margolis offer a volume reminiscent of the nineteenth century's beloved form, but now containing critical commentary often missing from their predecessors. Rigorously limiting their selection, the editors have chosen documents that illustrate two central and intertwining themes—women's rights and woman's sphere—in the lives of Catharine Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Isabella Beecher Hooker. Their choice of correspondence, journal entries, and extracts from published work, unified by commentary and headnotes, constitutes a major contribution to American women's studies, culture studies, and social history.

Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe have received considerable attention from scholars and the reading public, whereas Isabella Beecher Hooker, say the editors, has been unjustly ignored, overshadowed by her

more famous siblings. In linking all three sisters by means of common themes, Boydston, Kelley, and Margolis seek to join private and public lives, family dynamics with social change, personal idiosyncrasies with large-scale ideological conflict.

One of the great strengths of this collection is its interweaving of personal and family issues with large public concerns. The documents powerfully reveal all three women struggling in their own ways with both sides of the "woman question"—domesticity, which argued for women's common experience and unique gifts, and natural rights, which identified women as individual citizens, eligible for all natural and civil rights.

Little demonstrates this linking of public and private, domesticity and natural rights, so well as the charges of Victoria Woodhull against Henry Ward Beecher and the subsequent adultery trials of the pastor and his parishioner Elizabeth Tilton. Despite the fact that Henry was her half-brother, Isabella refused to assume that he was innocent. She thus incurred the wrath of her older sisters, who saw in Woodhull's frank speech an assault on the separate and morally pure woman's realm. But, as the editors explain, Isabella and Victoria Woodhull were attacking the pervasive double standard that forgave male sexual indiscretions but condemned women's. In other situations, Catharine and Harriet had likewise championed principle over propriety and challenged the double standard, as in Catharine's support of Delia Bacon and Harriet's *Lady Byron Vindicated*.

A second great strength of this volume is the editors' willingness to show complexity and contradiction in the sisters' personalities as well as in the issues they embraced. Catharine was egotistical and insensitive, careless of others' feelings. Harriet was ground down by motherhood's care, and burst out against her husband Calvin on several occasions. Likewise, Isabella is presented in the round, resentful of her sisters, outspoken in her defense of the "born Queen" Victoria Woodhull, bitter that her years of suffrage work seemed so little appreciated.

In a book of such manifold strengths and excellent selections, one difficulty should be noted, concerning the discussion of Isabella's spiritualism. Both Catharine's and Harriet's religious views are explored, but Isabella's is slighted in a curious way. The editors observe that her alleged contacts with the spirit world made her an object of ridicule to scholars, but they do little to explain her spiritualism, its significance in the late nineteenth century, or its place in Isabella's life and work. They duplicate a page from Isabella's journal in which a supposedly different handwriting appears, that of the deceased Samuel Bowles. But this is all insufficiently explained or integrated into the treatment of Isabella's feminism.

But this is a minor matter. *The Limits of Sisterhood* is a rich and useful volume. It is a collective portrait compiled, fittingly, by a collective of three

writers. It reveals the sophistication and maturity of women's studies. Building on previous scholarship, including their own, the editors have produced a sympathetic but critical analysis and presentation of well-selected documents. As such, it amply demonstrates that, for the Beecher sisters at least, the personal was indeed the political.

University of Colorado-Boulder

BRUCE A. RONDA

The Myth of the Common School. By CHARLES LESLIE GLENN, JR. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988. xi, 369p. Bibliography, index. Cloth, \$32.50; paper, \$13.95.)

According to Charles L. Glenn, Jr., *The Myth of the Common School* is "an extended meditation on the history of an idea." The idea is public education. The historical question posed by Glenn asks how public education became the dominant form of schooling not only in the United States but in France and Holland, too, in the nineteenth century. Written from what might be called a libertarian perspective, the study concludes that the virtual monopoly of schooling achieved by public education may not have been as beneficial to society as its original advocates would have had us believe.

In the nineteenth century the status quo was under siege in both Europe and America. Its equilibrium was threatened by such forces as poverty and immigration. Political reform and religious fragmentation brought more and more diversity and complexity. State-supported schools were said to be essential to the welfare of society. Middle-class reformers like Horace Mann in the United States, Francois Guizot in France, and Hofstede de Groot in the Netherlands characterized such schools as the single most important source of national morality, unity, and identity. But were their claims to be believed or were they merely make-believe, a myth concocted by reformers to generate support? Myth, says Glenn, "becomes clear when we stop to ask whether the objectives outlined above could not have been reached as effectively, and with far less continuing conflict, by a more modest approach than the common school agenda promoted by Mann and others."

To make public education work, its supporters had to devise a way to attract and hold in the same school children from many different backgrounds. In the Netherlands and France as well as the United States, conflicts over religion made this goal especially difficult to achieve. Only by offending no one could the common school thrive; its nonsectarian Protestantism stressed the authority of Scripture at the expense of dogma. But, says Glenn, were its teachings really nonsectarian and did they satisfy everyone?

The familiar story of Catholic opposition to the Protestant bias of American public schools is repeated briefly in this book. But Glenn devotes much more attention to those conservative Protestants like Matthew Hale Smith who could not accept Mann's argument that his teachings were nonsectarian. "What Mann did not appear to appreciate," Glenn writes, "was that his original premise was itself unacceptable to those who believed that the sinfulness of human nature required conversion and redemption by God's intervention as a necessary prelude to the educative process of sanctification." Considering the threat to American culture posed by Catholic immigration, many Protestants were willing to tolerate some compromises with their version of doctrinal orthodoxy; a common curriculum was better than public support for Catholic schools. But Glenn faults Mann and his Unitarian breed because they did not understand that their brand of moral education was more than merely a pragmatic accommodation to American circumstances. Stressing "human goodness and improvability," it "constituted an alternative faith—essentially that preached Sunday by Sunday in Unitarian churches—which could not fail to conflict with orthodox beliefs, whether of Protestants or of Roman Catholics."

In taking an ideological approach to the origins of public education, Glenn departs from the economic orientation so popular among social historians in recent years. It is worth being reminded that culture as well as capital was responsible for the introduction of state-supported schools. Published in 1983, *Pillars of the Republic* by Carl F. Kaestle reintroduced this line of argument into the historiography of the common school movement. Glenn makes no reference to this book, preferring instead to distinguish himself from those scholars like Herbert Gintis and Samuel Bowles who have named capitalism, urbanization, and social class as the variables most responsible for the extensive growth and repressive character of public schools. Such schools are oppressive, says Glenn, but not because they unfairly limit opportunity. Instead, they restrict freedom of choice and inevitably undermine public confidence in state-supported education. "Only through the expansion of parent choice and thus of diversity of schooling," argues Glenn, "can broad support for public education be rebuilt."

Given its libertarian theme, is Glenn's book more time bound than most? Is it unusually reflective of its climate of opinion? I think not. The book is well documented, on the whole, and largely free of that shrill, judgmental tone found in so many recent histories of American education. But Glenn's commitment to his primary sources may have been too great. On page after page the continuity of his narrative is broken and the clarity of his argument is obscured by lengthy quotations, set off from the margins. Perhaps Glenn can be excused from full responsibility for this annoying flaw; by his own admission he is not a professional historian. But the editorial staff at the

University of Massachusetts Press should have known better than to publish this book as it stands.

Temple University

WILLIAM W. CUTLER, III

The College of Agriculture at Penn State: A Tradition of Excellence. By MICHAEL BEZILLA. (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987. x, 362p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$60.00.)

One is immediately struck by the size and format of this large (11" x 13") and extremely well-bound book even before opening the covers. In addition, the high-grade, glossy paper and the many photographs (many full-page ones which are quite artistic) add to the impressive nature of this well-designed work. My first impression was that it was meant to be a coffee-table display volume. However, upon reading it, I was convinced it was worth its price, not only as a beautiful book but as a superb institutional history.

Michael Bezilla, also the author of *Penn State: An Illustrated History* (1985) and *Engineering Education at Penn State: A Century in the Land-Grant Tradition* (1981), has thoroughly researched his subject by utilizing university archives and oral history. Although footnotes are not used, the "Notes" in the back do identify source materials.

One of the noteworthy features of this history of the College of Agriculture at Penn State is the manner in which institutional history is integrated with the agricultural history of the state of Pennsylvania. Not only does one get a description of Pennsylvania's evolving agricultural pattern from colonial times to the present, but the impact and importance of state policy and federal legislation is spelled out clearly.

The College of Agriculture at Penn State really began in 1855 as The Farmers' High School. With the passage of the Morrill Land-Grant Act (1862) the name was changed to the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania. From this beginning there evolved the Pennsylvania State College and, with a name change in 1953, Pennsylvania State University (Penn State as we know it today). Within the development of Penn State as a university, the once dominant emphasis on agriculture first became a separate school and then a college. The Agricultural College's growth was further enhanced by the Hatch Act of 1887, which provided federal funding for an experiment station. Its development was again further advanced by passage of the Purnell Act (1925) and the Bankhead-Jones Act (1936).

A hallmark of Penn State's agricultural college has been its ability to adjust to the agricultural changes that took place in the state of Pennsylvania.

Research has been its main endeavor. At the time of the college's founding, wheat was the main crop of the state, while in modern times dairying and the raising of poultry are the prime occupations of Pennsylvania farmers. Both the college's curriculum and its research interests reflected this change. Pennsylvania remained a state with family-owned farms of modest size, and the agriculturalists at Penn State sought to meet their needs. In addition, Penn State has kept abreast of the new fields that relate to agriculture by broadening its course of study to include: computer science, wildlife technology, food science, waste management, floriculture, forestry, and areas related to agribusiness.

Some interesting facts emerge relating to individuals connected with the agricultural college's history. We learn about key administrators and significant researchers, both of which were so important in establishing a sound reputation and a penchant for growth. As with any institution or portion therein, it was dependent upon those who possessed both vision and talent. Penn State's agricultural college was blessed with the type of leadership which constantly overcame the obstacles that would have limited its size and importance.

Two unusual figures show up in the college's history. One was Ernest L. Nixon (Richard Nixon's uncle), who came to Penn State in 1917 as a professor of plant pathology. The other was Milton Eisenhower, who became president of Penn State from 1950 to 1956. Eisenhower was not only an extremely able administrator, mediator, and agricultural expert, he was a strong believer in furthering the goals of the College of Agriculture. Eisenhower (as is the case with successful heads of universities) possessed both the political know-how and academic expertise to promote the expansion of agricultural education.

This book will interest Penn State alumni and students of the history of land-grant institutions, but it is also of great value to agricultural historians and rural sociologists. As a case history of one state's agricultural problems and how agricultural education had to shift its emphasis to meet those problems, it is excellent. It also points out the perpetual problem (actually a conflict) that faces all academic institutions connected with agriculture, namely, how to adjust pure scientific research in order to provide farmers with useful and practical information. This is a well-written and valuable study worthy of wide readership.

Illinois State University

EDWARD L. SCHAPSMEIER

Decorated Furniture of the Mahantongo Valley. By HENRY M. REED. Essay by DON YODER and Foreword by MONROE H. FABIAN. (Lewisburg, PA: Center Gallery of Bucknell University, 1987. 93p. Illustrations, checklist of known pieces, bibliography. \$29.95.)

When I pick up a book, my first gesture is to get the feel of it and to flutter the pages from back to front. My backward approach tells me all about the kind of book in hand much more quickly than a table of contents. Right away I noticed that this one has none of the usuals in the back—index, general bibliography, or notes. The illustrations flash by; they are more prominent than the text—bigger and clearer. Painted furniture and fraktur alternate with old photographs in black and white. The latter sets off the former in this book, as if to create the setting for the subject—colorful, painted, decorated furniture. Illustrations of manuscript pages from an account book and some fraktur in black and white indicate that some genealogy and some accounts of the craftsmen of this region will enter into this study.

The nitty gritty of regional studies is rarely presented in such an inviting manner. They demand close analysis of details of population, settlement, births, deaths, and taxes, and in this case, interpersonal relationships to try to determine who made what and when. This text carries the reader easily and generously through what must have been reams of research. And to the credit of the authors, their selection of illustrations together with the designers' placement of them—related objects on facing pages—allow readers to have some fun on their own, text or no text. For example, one of the old (1890) photographs of Salem Church at Rough and Ready, Pennsylvania, showing the principals of several of the valley families lined up in front, conveys the heart and soul of one tightly knit rural Pennsylvania Dutch community.

Although the quality and selection of illustrations are the most enticing aspect of this book, the text is important. It begins with the end papers which show a drawn map of the Mahantongo region about 1830. Homesteads and churches are located and named, as are prominent natural features. This orients the reader immediately and serves as a splendid introduction to the rich, fertile valley between two small mountain ranges—the Line and the Mahantongo. Settlement there was from the outset both restricted and rewarded by the topography, and it is clear that the resident artists and craftsmen, who produced largely for local consumption, developed a distinctive regional style early on. Outside influences were few, and the style, characterized by repetitiveness in both form and color and decoration, was an artistic dialect as strong and important to the community as other aspects of their daily life. Fathers, uncles, and sons applied their stamps and

decoration adapted from printed *fraktur*. There was little or no variation between the generations or among individual hands. This book addresses both the appeal of such a generic, "native-born" artistic school while presenting new information about specific makers and painters. The artists are not all sorted out even here, but a few—for example, Isaac Stiehly, *scherschnitt* artist and gravestone carver—surface in Henry Reed's chapter on "Gravestones and Eagles" as "a diamond in the rough, one of the people." And from the chapter entitled "Then and Now," which explores historical aspects and change, the reader discovers a gem indeed—"A Mahantongo Furniture Maker's Account Book," and an essay by Don Yoder in which he peoples the historical landscape with his ancestors and provides his own translation, from manuscript German, of the furniture entries in Jonas Haas's account book, which covers Haas's working years from 1835 to 1856. It is a splendid addition to the bibliography of Pennsylvania Dutch documents. One only wishes that the whole book had been included because Haas not only made furniture, he made tools, served as community blacksmith, and repaired clocks and looms. This document book would have added a richness of understanding about the individual's role within the community.

Mahantongo Valley furniture was the subject of an important study by Frederick S. Weiser and Mary Hammond-Sullivan published by the Pennsylvania German Society (vol. 14, in 1980), and Reed begins his chapter "Painted Furniture/Background" with full credits to that really pioneering approach to regional art. There had been others who wrote about the distinctive character of the Mahantongo style without delving into the particulars. Because the fabric of the Mahantongo Valley culture was closely woven, authors in the past have not tried to pick it apart or to follow the threads—both the warps (the generations) and the wefts (the extended family structure)—to come up with a full sense of place as well as careful scrutiny of facts leading to craftsmen attributions.

As this was a book designed to accompany an exhibition at Bucknell University in 1987, one expects the chapters "New Discoveries" and "Painters and Decorators." But as a book summary of Mahantongo scholarship to date, the reader, unlike the exhibition visitor, would have an easier time if previous scholarship had had one full chapter itself. Comparisons throughout the text referring to previous studies—probably unfamiliar to non-specialists—interrupt the flow of the early chapters. It is a familiar dilemma in American art history. Both the footnote reader and a general audience are important in American scholarship. The author wrote: "It seems almost shameful for researchers and archivists to 'violate' the sacrosanct aura of historic communities like this one." Protective nostalgia also plagues writers of Americana. Far from violating the community, this book presents the Mahantongo Valley with sensitivity and realism. The inhabitants of "Then"

no doubt would chortle away at the old tales, and the furniture makers likely would be astonished to see their work so celebrated. And to judge from delightful little photographs like the birds-eye views of Rebeck "Then and Now," the "Nows" seem to be adding to the traditions of their community.

Philadelphia Museum of Art

BEATRICE B. GARVAN

Diaries of William Souder Hemsing: An Intimate Look at Souderton, Pennsylvania, 1885-1888, 1902-1906, 1918. (Souderton: Union National Bank and Trust Company of Souderton, 1987. 494p. Photos, appendix. \$24.95.)

William Souder Hemsing was a life-long resident of Souderton, Pennsylvania. A grandson of the town's founder and the son of a successful sawmill operator, he was an able businessman and community leader in his own right. He assumed control of his father's enterprise and, later, became a furniture manufacturer. In partnership with a cousin, he converted his grandfather's farm into a housing development. He sat on the school board and served as Burgess of Souderton. He was an active leader of the local Reformed church.

Hemsing's diaries are clustered into three chronological series which roughly correspond to major epochs in his life: young adulthood (he was nineteen in 1885), middle age, and maturity. Unfortunately, they are progressively fragmented. The first group (1885-1888) is the most complete with only an occasional day's entry missing. Lapses of five and eight days occur in the second series. The 1918 journal contains only three entries for August, one for October, and one for November.

The diaries suffer from underediting. A few passages in German are translated, but that is the extent of annotation. The editors, for example, fail to notify the reader of the death of Hemsing's father in 1918. Without this information the entry for June 10 recording a funeral and that of June 11 noting the recovery of his father's hat and one shoe are unintelligible. No attempt is made to provide details of Hemsing's life during the years missing from his diaries. The failure to account for the period between 1918 and Hemsing's death in 1940 is unsettling. "How did this man die?" is only one of the unanswered questions that perplexes the reader.

This book is not "reader friendly." It is annoying to turn to an appended and incomplete listing to identify people. The lack of an index makes it difficult to locate previous entries relating to the same subject. References to place names are incomprehensible without the benefit of a map.

Most readers, however, would not need a map to place such towns as Telford. This book is intended for a local audience. Published in celebration of the centennial of Souderton's incorporation as a borough, the book's purpose was to extend the community's memory.

That goal was achieved most admirably; no one could leave this book without a greater awareness of the past. Hemsing records the shifting political alignments in Souderton as well as his business dealings. More importantly, he details the complexities of social interaction of the era. A careful reading of the diaries will reveal subtle but important changes in Hemsing's mindset as Souderton moves from a sectarian to a secular culture. In short, this is a simple transcription of a manuscript embellished with a few photographs and reprinted news articles. It serves both the lay and the professional communities well by providing an intimate exposure to the past and by illuminating the life of a middle-class male in rural America.

The Souderton Centennial Commission deserves applause for undertaking this venture, and the Union National Bank and Trust Company of Souderton should be congratulated for underwriting the publication costs of this handsome volume. Together they have insured that "much valuable history" will not be lost.

*Pennsylvania State University,
Hazleton Campus*

HAROLD W. AURAND

Farming, Always Farming: A Photographic Essay of Rural Pennsylvania German Land and Life. By H. WINSLOW FEGLEY. (Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society, 1987. vi, 312p. Photographs. \$35.00.)

This selection of photographs of H. Winslow Fegley, from the collection found in the Schwenkfelder Library of Pennsburg, intended to serve as the centerpiece of the new yearbook of the Pennsylvania German Society, is a masterstroke indeed. The book focuses on the local land and personal portraits by Fegley, which he began about 1904 and expanded during the rest of his life in upper Montgomery and Berks Counties, Pennsylvania. Fegley was the kind of photographer who tried to picture almost everything, ordinary and unusual buildings along with everyday people. Some real gems show through in his work. The glory of the production is the kaleidoscope of views the editors have assembled here. More than 90 percent of the photographs are by H. Winslow Fegley himself, though the editors have tastefully integrated additional photos so all items add to the unity of the production.

The photographs in this book offer the viewer a comprehensive scene of daily life in the Pennsylvania Dutch country a century ago: farm and home activities, the church and the tavern, and physical features from millpond to icehouse. The great variety of pictures showing the people and places of Fegley's home country offer revealing glimpses of the folklife of these country people. Many photographs, for example, depict women at work on the German farm. At harvest time in particular, but at most times as well, women assumed their place alongside their men, carrying their rake or basket in the same working row with the men. Still, spinning, quilting, baking bread, and cleaning intestines to use as casings for the sausages were almost exclusively considered "women's work." In fact, men and women, the aged and the children, all had their places which they assumed in the agricultural workforce.

This is not a book of Pennsylvania German architecture even though it does illustrate some of the fanciest of farm houses. The editors have included a five-picture set from the Daniel D. Fisher Homestead in Oley Township, Berks County. A mixture of more or less prominent farm and political leaders' homes stand side by side with nameless homesteads, but all show some of the features which help identify the Pennsylvania German farmhouse.

The editors performed a commendable job in their selection of photographs. Indeed, overall, their work invites little criticism. One question, however, might be raised. Since the Schwenkfelders cooperated so well, why did the Society editors fail to note earlier Library printings on Hereford Township and Andrew Berkey's "Yesteryear in Dutchland" in *The Dutchman* 8 (Summer 1956), 10-15, from that same Fegley Collection?

The real judgment on *Farming, Always Farming* is that while reading it I had the feeling I was conversing with Winslow Fegley again, as I had in the early 1940s, shortly before his death.

Ursinus College

WILLIAM T. PARSONS

Now Remembered: Living Pennsylvania History Through 1900. By RICHARD IRWIN ROSSBACHER. (Lanham, MD, New York, and London: University Press of America, 1987. xi, 534p. Maps, index. Cloth, \$39.95; paper, \$22.75.)

The tapestry of Pennsylvania history is speckled with stories of countless individuals whose significance is simply that they lived their lives in the state. Increasingly during the past quarter century historians have been able to uncover these stories and weave them into a more comprehensive, so-

phisticated understanding of the past. In *Now Remembered* Richard Irwin Rossbacher attempts to describe "the evolving nature of Pennsylvania . . . from Penn's Holy Experiment to the 20th century" by describing the experiences of several "middle-class citizens" (p. ix). To tell his story, the author disregards most of the historian's tools in favor of genealogical methods. The product is a sometimes interesting, though usually narrow, often myopic, narrative of the state's first two centuries.

The best that can be said of *Now Remembered* is that the author is an adequate storyteller. Rossbacher has chronicled an interesting array of characters who played a minor role in the state's past. In winding his way through two centuries of family histories the author is generally able to avoid the compositional traps that await the unwary genealogist. There are times when he allows the mesh of lineal relationships to become knotted. There are also long passages, some more than two pages in length, that destroy continuity.

Despite a mildly entertaining narrative, *Now Remembered* is seriously flawed scholarship. The first chapter reflects the kinds of problems that plague the entire volume. Rossbacher begins his journey with a sentimental and superficial characterization of the native American population that greeted the first European settlers to Pennsylvania. In his description the author ignores crucial primary sources as well as recent scholarship by Francis Jennings, James Axtell, Alden Vaughan, and dozens of others. Instead, he relies upon a few dated or very general sources. In a later chapter William Penn is portrayed as the quintessential humanitarian, constitutional scholar, libertarian, and benevolent patriarch of his day. Unfortunately, the author provides no historiographic survey or discussion to support his assessment. The few sources he does use are wholly unacceptable for a scholarly publication. From beginning to end Rossbacher disregards scores of essential sources, both primary and secondary. Where genealogical material is not available, the author usually consults outdated or general sources that provide scant pertinent information. The end result is the kind of naive Whig interpretation that dominated the field a century ago.

The problems with this book are not limited to research material and methods. To explore even the most glaring shortcomings would require far more space than is allotted for this review. For instance, the entire nineteenth-century immigrant experience is excluded from Rossbacher's Pennsylvania. Likewise, the Afro-American population in the state is completely neglected. Equally aggravating are the simplistic explanations the author provides for complex issues. For example, Rossbacher asserts that Martin Luther left the Catholic church because "he found himself trapped on the house side of a crooked game" (p. 22); and he later states that had William Penn's plan of emancipation been adhered to "modifying it ever so slowly over

time, a civil war might not have occurred nearly 200 years later" (p. 50). In a chapter about William Wertz, a Bedford County sheriff, tavern owner, and distiller during the 1790s, the author offers no information about how Wertz was affected by the Whiskey Rebellion. Defects like these mar Rossbacher's effort at almost every turn.

Determining an appropriate audience for this book is difficult. The scholar will find the book annoyingly pedestrian. The student will get a distorted picture of Pennsylvania's past. For the interested reader, there are far more entertaining and worthwhile selections available. In general, *Now Remembered* can be forgotten by most readers.

York College of Pennsylvania

PAUL E. DOUTRICH

Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made. By ROBERT F. DALZELL, JR. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987. xviii, 298p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$27.50.)

The towns of Waltham and Lowell, Massachusetts, continue to fascinate historians today, as they did early nineteenth-century observers. Their cotton mills, with their combination of an "appropriate" technology (i.e., appropriate to the economy of a then underdeveloped country) and what was for the time a remarkably humane system for housing a largely female work force, not only were financially successful but also spun off other mills in places like Lawrence and Manchester. They also nourished a burgeoning machine-tool industry, at first tied to the mills themselves, and later evolving independently, as in the great Saco-Lowell shops in Maine. The Waltham-Lowell tradition was one of the main promoters of American industrialization.

It is, however, neither the technology nor the system of labor that is the subject of a thoughtful study by Robert Dalzell of Williams College, but rather the "Boston Associates" who designed, financed, and managed the Waltham-Lowell enterprises. Beginning with Francis Cabot Lowell's sojourn in England and Scotland from 1810 to the eve of the War of 1812, he carries the account of Lowell, his partners, and their associates and descendants forward to the watershed year of 1845, when the Locks and Canals Company sold the last of its landholdings at Lowell, and sketches the decline of the mill towns, and the erosion of the Associates' political power, in the years remaining before the Civil War.

The primary object of Dalzell's inquiry is the values, the ideology, the economic and social philosophy that guided the Associates in the creation of that "immense though safe machine" which was the Waltham-Lowell

system. As he points out, the central purpose of the Associates was to create an economic investment for an elite community of Boston merchants, who could endow their families with financial security and provide themselves with the leisure and money needed to engage in cultural, philanthropic, and political activities. Prominent among the Associates' philanthropies, for instance, were the Massachusetts General Hospital and its affiliate, the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, and Harvard University with its medical school. To be sure, the Associates, who tended to control such institutions both by largesse and by presence on boards of directors, also borrowed money back from their own endowments (and paid going rates of interest). But as families they tended to return value to the community in other ways, the younger generations often turning from commerce and industry to careers as physicians and surgeons, educators, writers, scientists, and eminent divines.

The central thesis of Dalzell's study is that the Associates, in most cases, did not see themselves as greedily maximizing wealth but rather as conserving an adequate sufficiency of it in order to work alongside others, rich and poor alike, for the benefit of the community. They feared class conflict and believed that there was a true harmony of interests among capitalists and factory workers and mechanics and farmers and that it was their duty to help "bind up the social fabric" and to use their private wealth for the benefit of the commonwealth. In this they were not unlike the elites of other districts, such as the Philadelphia area where economist Henry Carey would write endlessly about "the harmony of interests" and where cotton manufacturers saw themselves as hardworking stewards of the community. Inspired from the beginning by the Scottish "Improvement" model and its model towns, they did indeed help to deflect the course of development of the American textile industry away from the worst features of the British experience in Manchester. And they helped to perpetuate an American ideal of unostentatious, socially responsible uses of private wealth. But they were not well prepared to deal with the radical political confrontations of the 1850s, as conflict over ethnic, class, and racial issues created new political alignments in Massachusetts and the rest of the country.

Dalzell's fine book is a powerful refutation of the thesis that maximizing cash profit was the only motive behind industrialization. And it adds to our understanding of the rise and dissemination, in the nineteenth century, of a benevolent if self-serving image of American capitalists, some of whom saw themselves not just as private businessmen, maximizing profits in an impersonal marketplace, but rather as hard-working stewards of the community's welfare.

Entrepreneurs vs. The State: A New Look at the Rise of Big Business in America, 1840-1920. By BURTON W. FOLSOM, JR. (Reston, VA: Young America's Foundation, 1987. xii, 144p. Index. \$16.95.)

Is there more than one type of entrepreneurship? Surprisingly, the question is seldom asked, for most scholars implicitly treat the entrepreneur as an ideal type. One is either an entrepreneur or one is not. *Entrepreneurs vs. The State*, however, identifies two types: political entrepreneurs and market entrepreneurs. The latter "tried to succeed . . . primarily by creating and marketing a superior product at a low cost." The book is devoted to business biographies of four individuals and one family who were *market* entrepreneurs: Commodore Vanderbilt, James J. Hill, Charles Schwab, John D. Rockefeller, and the Scrantons of Pennsylvania. Although the Scranton chapter is based on archival research, the other biographies rely on secondary sources. The importance of the book thus depends on thesis rather than on research.

The biographies reveal that market entrepreneurs lowered prices, improved quality, and boosted exports for the benefit of consumers and the nation. Yet they repeatedly had to overcome obstacles (and rivals) created by government legislation and subsidy. According to Folsom, government intervention in the economy merely drove up prices, gave monopoly profits to incompetent "political entrepreneurs," and produced companies like the Union Pacific Railroad so inefficient and corrupt that the public—unable to distinguish between the government's monstrous creations and business grown big through superior efficiency and service—demanded government regulation and suppression of all big business. Yet increased government interference simply produced more inefficiency, hurting the economy and the consumer.

Folsom's message is libertarian: government intervention in the economy hurts the United States economically and is socially unnecessary. A highly selective sample from the literature on social mobility leads him to conclude that there is no danger of excessive concentration or inheritance of wealth from unrestrained market entrepreneurship. Even so, government interference will steadily increase, and the U.S. decline, as long as the misdeeds of "political entrepreneurs," the government's own creatures, are allowed to discredit the more productive "market entrepreneurs."

The argument is plausible: certainly, historians should distinguish between the hucksters who used political connections to avoid competing in the marketplace and those who asked only for government non-interference. Yet Folsom's category of "political entrepreneurs" is too inclusive: in it are not only the politicians who promoted big government but also the pool-makers, who wanted the government to leave their cartels alone. Folsom is dealing

with two variables—attitude towards competition and towards government—and businessmen did not, and do not, fit into two simple categories. Folsom needs to think in terms of a matrix.

Pools (or cartels) are a problem for Folsom. Their ubiquity in the late nineteenth century reflected the desperate flight of capitalists from the high risks and low rewards of free competition. So universal was the search for security that even Folsom's market entrepreneurs tried to escape the marketplace. He has to admit that Vanderbilt got out of shipping as soon as it became competitive; that Schwab promoted a steel cartel; that Hill joined his arch rivals in Northern Securities; and that Rockefeller joined a cartel known as the South Improvement Company. Folsom's own evidence shows that pure market entrepreneurship never existed. At best, it is an ideal type. Even so, Folsom's concept of political entrepreneurship helps us to understand why capitalists, not socialists, have done most to promote big government in America.

Despite its virtues, the book is not, as the foreword by Forrest McDonald claims, "balanced, judicious history." Written for Young America's Foundation, an organization "dedicated to promoting the principles of free enterprise, individual liberty, and strong national defense among American students," this book is a plea for unfettered free enterprise. However, used along with a text such as Glenn Porter's *The Rise of Big Business*, it would stimulate classroom discussion at the junior college level.

There is one serious, even dangerous anachronism. Folsom stresses Rockefeller's "thirty-year struggle with Russia to capture the world's oil markets." He speaks of a "Russo-American oil war" and says that Rockefeller's success averted American dependence on the "Russians" for oil. The readers impressed by this argument will be those who think the Cold War began before 1917. Others may wonder why Folsom writes of an "oil war" against the "Russians," when it was Nobel and Rothschild who then controlled Russian oil. Rockefeller deserves credit for defeating foreign *capitalists*, not the red menace. The free enterprise system is not well served by those who promote fear of "Russia," for this fear has enabled political entrepreneurs to enrich themselves by aggrandizing the state. It is paradoxical that Folsom, whose chapter on Schwab lauds the "military-industrial complex," seems not to realize this.

University of Ottawa

DONALD F. DAVIS

Sheffield Steel and America: A Century of Commercial and Technological Interdependence, 1830-1930. By GEOFFREY TWEEDALE. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987. xv, 296p. Tables, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$49.50.)

Geoffrey Tweedale has written an important book. *Sheffield Steel and America* provides us with a large amount of fresh historical information on the long-running domination of Sheffield (England) steel in the United States—and on the decline of Sheffield steel in U.S. markets. Moreover, Tweedale's book raises some fundamental questions about the development of both British and American technology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; these questions relate to the transfer of technology, the importance of relative factor endowments in the two countries' economic development, the significance of market sizes on firms and industries, the impact of new technologies on a technologically static industry, and the critical factor of marketing in the success or failure of individual firms within an industry. For scholars of Pennsylvania history, *Sheffield Steel and America* offers new information on the transfer of Sheffield steel technology and workers to the Pittsburgh region and on the history of many Pennsylvania firms, including Henry Disston & Sons of Philadelphia.

In some people's minds still today, "Sheffield steel" is but a generic term for high-quality steel. But, more accurately, the term refers to the crucible cast steel that was made primarily, though not exclusively, in Sheffield, England. Discovered by the Quaker Benjamin Huntsman, the crucible steel process allowed the production of commercial quantities of comparatively homogeneous steel (iron with a slight content of carbon) by melting blister steel in a clay crucible and then casting the molten steel. By 1830, Sheffield was to steel what Manchester was to cotton. Hundreds, if not thousands, of workshops in Sheffield converted the steel made in numerous crucible steel works into finished goods, such as cutlery, saws, files, and a host of edge tools. These products, in addition to hard tool steel used in machine tools, made Sheffield famous the world over. The development of the Bessemer process and, more importantly, the open-hearth furnace cut deeply into the crucible steel market by the 1890s and eventually brought an end to Sheffield's once-lucrative trade in the United States.

Drawing on a wide array of primary sources, Tweedale documents the early penetration of Sheffield steel and Sheffield steel products in the U.S. market and the establishment of competitive crucible steel works in the United States (primarily in the Pittsburgh region) beginning in the 1850s. These works, initially staffed with workers recruited from Sheffield, were often modelled on English works, but as Tweedale explains, the inputs in the United States (fuels, materials, and labor) soon led to departure from

English practice. While U.S. production of crucible steel rose swiftly after 1860, imports of Sheffield steel also increased, at least until they peaked in 1872 at slightly under 10,000 tons as compared to some 30,000 tons of domestically produced crucible steel. Quality was still a big concern, however. Tweedale tells us that “in the 1870s England remained the sole source of supply for the American arms industry” (p. 26). He also provides us with some highly useful comparative data on wage rates and costs of output.

Following three general chapters on his subject, Tweedale includes chapters on the development and marketing of special steels (alloys, high-speed steel, and stainless steel) as well as chapters on cutlery, sawmaking, and filemaking. He concludes with an analysis of the marketing of Sheffield products in the United States. For my money, as a historian of technology, I believe his chapters on special steels—especially the ones on high-speed steel—to be the most important contributions to the literature. Most historians of technology will tell you that high-speed steel was simply the invention of Maunsel White and Frederick Winslow Taylor. But Tweedale provides us with a rich contextual portrait of White’s and Taylor’s work that should be consulted by scholars interested in this important innovation. Sheffield’s leadership in metallurgical science, which Tweedale documents quite nicely, allowed it to penetrate deeply the U.S. market for high-speed steel; by 1907, 50 percent of the high-speed steel used in the U.S. (4,000 tons) was made in Sheffield. But as with many other Sheffield products, tariffs, competition, and staid marketing practices contributed to the decline of Sheffield high-speed steel in the United States.

Sheffield Steel and America is a good book. I believe it could have been improved by better organizing the material. Why, for example, did the author split his discussion of high-speed steel into two separated chapters rather than carrying out a sustained analysis of this product? Tweedale’s organization results in several instances of redundancy that could have been eliminated by rethinking the overall structure of the work. Cambridge University Press should be ashamed of producing a book made from paper that closely resembles newsprint and then selling it at an astronomical price. These faults aside, *Sheffield Steel and America* provides me, at least, with a rich new view of the development of technology in the United States.

University of Delaware

DAVID A. HOUNSHELL

How Superstition Won and Science Lost: Popularizing Science and Health in the United States. By JOHN C. BURNHAM. (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987. xi, 369p. Illustrations, index. Cloth, \$35.00; paper, \$16.00.)

This history of the popularization of science begins with a somewhat unusual claim. In the nineteenth century, “men of science” popularized a

positivistic, reductionist view of the natural world and in the process stood against and defeated superstition. However, according to John Burnham, in the twentieth century we have seen a significant shift and popularizations now present science as “choppy, unconnected ‘facts’” and superstition parades as popularized science. The crucial transformation came as scientists (men of science distinguished by a “moral superiority” that arose from their philosophy of “objectivity,” “forswearing both subjective emotion and personal advantage”) retired from the field of popularization and were replaced by journalists, educators, and advertisers whose scientific outlook was more limited. As a result, it is “superstition,” not science, that shapes our society and everyday life. Burnham demonstrates this historical process in the fields of health, psychology, and natural science.

To take one area—health—early nineteenth-century popularizers used science to rationalize and promote healthful regimes; for example, Sylvester Graham cited the research of French physiologists Xavier Bichat and Francois J.V. Broussais. Popularizers then saw their role as more than merely informing the public; their goal was to improve the health of the public by modifying people’s attitudes and behaviors. Slowly health popularization changed. By the 1930s sources for popular health knowledge were not scientists and physicians, but rather the mass media and educational institutions that presented not the context of science but its applications and products. By the 1970s most people (in one poll 88 percent) depended upon television commercials rather than their physicians for health information. Unlike their moralistic scientific predecessors, twentieth-century journalists and educators, Burnham insists, present the public with disembodied facts divorced from any intellectual context or explanation, which tends to mystify science.

Following fascinating and detailed studies of how the popularization of health, psychology, and natural science changed, Burnham’s concluding chapter reiterates his basic premise that superstition won and science lost as the men of science left the field of popularization to science writers, educators, and others who use science for commercial gain. Burnham does acknowledge a few scientists involved in the popularization of science today, although it is interesting that he never mentions Stephen J. Gould, who is probably the best-known example of this genre.

Burnham’s argument remains tantalizing but unconvincing. He fails to define clearly what he means by superstition. At times he considers it irrational belief, and sometimes isolated facts handed down by an authority figure hidden behind a veil of mysticism; in other cases superstition is outdated science which represents sources of error for contemporary science, or pseudo-science. Moreover, while Burnham frequently provides the broad cultural context necessary to illuminate his argument (his description of the development of science education in this country is particularly insightful),

he only mentions in passing a most important influence on the very process he seeks to explain. The history of the popularization of science occurs during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the progressive fragmentation and specialization of the discipline created practitioners who increasingly found their research so specialized that they could not communicate with the public. Burnham's study would have been stronger if he had focused more on these cognitive and institutional developments and their impact on the popularization of science. With these cautions in mind, *How Superstition Won and Science Lost* should be useful for those interested in tracing the transformation of a form of nineteenth-century "high culture" into pop culture.

University of Wisconsin-Madison

RIMA D. APPLE

Mothers and Medicine: A Social History of Infant Feeding, 1890-1950. By RIMA D. APPLE. (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987. xv, 261p. Table, figures, bibliographic essay, index. Cloth, \$39.50; paper, \$16.95.)

Rima Apple opens her study of infant feeding in the United States with a quotation from *The Group*, by Mary McCarthy: "First we nursed our babies; then science told us not to. Now it tells us we were right in the first place. Or were we wrong then but would be right now?" Apple's story is the same one: in the nineteenth century most babies were breast-fed and few physicians concerned themselves with infant feeding. Between 1890 and 1920, with the development of scientifically proven artificial infant foods, physicians and mothers began to recognize bottle-feeding as a safe alternative. By the middle of the twentieth century bottle-feeding was the norm. Only in the 1970s was this trend reversed, with the resurgence of breast-feeding, this time, however, under medical supervision.

Apple argues that the decline of breast-feeding took place in the context of a transformation of the relationship among physicians, advertisers, and mothers. In the first half of the twentieth century physicians and manufacturers developed a symbiotic relationship: physicians recommended the commercial formulas to their patients while, in turn, most advertisers agreed to advise that mothers use their products only under medical supervision, and provided instructions for the preparation and use of the formulas only to physicians. Physicians exploited this alliance, in conjunction with the ideology of scientific motherhood, to increase the dependence of mothers on professional advice, thereby developing a lucrative aspect of their private practices. While leaders of the scientific motherhood movement hoped that

educating women in scientific theory and practice would elevate motherhood to the status of a profession, physicians wanted mothers who were educated enough that they knew to rely on medical advice, but not so knowledgeable that they felt confident to forego medical supervision.

Apple's argument is lucid, amply supported, and convincing. The story is a neat one; each chapter reinforces the point made in the last, so much so that the narrative becomes rather repetitive. Greater attention to class and ethnic differences would have complicated this picture and added more depth. Infant feeding was the basis of much public maternal and child welfare work, which had a social and cultural component as well as a medical one. Apple focuses primarily on the relationship between physicians and their private patients; the dynamic was different for patients in public and charitable institutions, who were seen by physicians as potential research material or as the objects of social reform.

Apple deliberately avoids drawing political lessons from her material, but her story has broad implications. By the 1950s, when McCarthy wrote *The Group*, the infant feeding dilemma epitomized the condition of women in their domestic role. They were dependent on male expertise and consequently felt stupid, ignorant, and helpless. They dutifully purchased the consumer goods advertisers promised would protect their families, and yet they were held responsible for society's ills. While Apple attempts to portray women as actively choosing among various options, her evidence suggests that the available sources of information and advice effectively left them with little real choice. Her suggestion that women tried, through published accounts of their infant feeding experience and through correspondence with magazines, to recreate the traditional networks they had lost does little to remedy this impression.

Since the first chapter tells of the inadequacy of female networks and of breast-feeding in the nineteenth century, the book leaves one wondering whether we are biologically and intellectually so ill-equipped for survival that most of us do in fact need artificial preparations and scientific advice to feed our babies. If not, then at what point did the loss of traditional knowledge, physiological changes, or the environmental and economic consequences of capitalism and industrialization destroy women's ability to care for our offspring?

University of California, Santa Cruz

ALISA KLAUS

The World of Our Mothers: The Lives of Jewish Immigrant Women. By SYDNEY STAHL WEINBERG. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. xxiv, 325p. Illustrations, note on sources, appendix, glossary of Yiddish terms, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

Immigrants often face the task of interpreting their own ethnicity not only for others, but also to themselves. As with other groups in the United States, the creative responses of Jewish immigrants to the challenge of adapting to their country of settlement represent a continual search for new cultural identities. For female immigrants, becoming American women requires complex negotiation. Americanization is a balancing act that occurs at the intersection of ethnic loyalties, societal norms, and conceptions of gender.

The rapidly changing lives of east European Jewish immigrants depicted in Sydney Stahl Weinberg's *The World of Our Mothers* are reconstructed in a series of "woman-to-woman" talks between informants and the author, who then tries to understand the meanings they—the mothers, grandmothers, daughters, and sisters—attribute to the process of Americanization. The voices of the women themselves are the most powerful testimony to the benefits of open-ended interviewing.

In the best spirit of qualitative research, the experiences of forty-six women who immigrated from Russia and Poland to New York City before 1925 are interwoven with material from other sources. This proves, however, sometimes to be confusing when Weinberg fails to discriminate between documentation drawn from interviews and that from fictional accounts or memoirs. A careful reading of the footnotes helps sort out the strands of evidence.

Weinberg organizes her data into thematic categories, with units that elaborate on such topics as community life in eastern Europe, the journey across the Atlantic, educational aspirations, relations between the generations, courtship and marriage, and the necessity and opportunity for employment. Brief summaries at the end of each chapter help move the text along from description to analysis. Photographs interspersed throughout the book add a visual component to the saga that unfolds as the book proceeds.

Several spheres of activity which Weinberg incorporates need further elaboration. For example, Weinberg's assertion, made almost parenthetically at the end of the book, that half of her informants "did volunteer work of some kind" (p. 264), would mean more if Weinberg explored ways in which these women organized their leisure time. What was the nature of their involvement in organizational life, in voluntary associations, and in informal friendship and neighborhood networks? What forces and institu-

tions helped transform these women and ease their way into the American middle class, without discrediting their tradition and their heritage?

As we accompany the Jewish women to whom we are introduced in this book along their journey, we unwittingly become attuned to their particular world view, their reactions, and their voices. My ear, and perhaps it will not be so for other readers, is cued for hints of Yiddish tones in the hours of recorded speech which the author transcribed. Given the nature of the sample, it would be interesting and important to know the extent of Yiddish-English bilingualism. More generally, what was the quality of the women's translations, literally and symbolically, from one realm to the next?

A case in point is Weinberg's provocative chapter on work and independence, which she titles, "Becoming a Person," a quote ostensibly from one of the interviewees. That expression is rooted in the Yiddish motto, *vern a mentsh*, which students in my Yiddish classes invariably mistranslate. It seems not to matter how often we review that the word *mentsh* literally means a person, an adult, but is used also to connote an honest and responsible individual. All of this, and more. And yet, my students render *mentsh* as man. Weinberg's book confirms what I have always taught. A woman can also be a *mentsh*.

University of Massachusetts at Amherst

HANNAH KLIGER

Welfare, Democracy, and the New Deal. By WILLIAM R. BROCK. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988. viii, 376p. Appendixes, index. \$49.50.)

A British scholar who has written extensively and insightfully upon American history, Brock has as his stated purpose in *Welfare, Democracy, and the New Deal* to trace the development of federal relief in response to the Great Depression. But the coverage is narrower than his aim would suggest. He examines the beginning of federal relief under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation during the last days of the Hoover administration and the New Deal's Works Progress Administration—treating the former more favorably and the latter more harshly than has been the wont of most writers on the topic. His major focus, however, is the Federal Emergency Relief Administration during its brief two-plus years.

Brock has drawn upon contemporary government documents along with research in selected manuscript collections and archival records. Perhaps his major strength is that he goes beyond the Washington side to explore what was happening at the state and local levels—with New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois receiving the fullest treatment. On the other hand, the book

has its disappointing aspects. The writing is oft-times disjointed, repetitive, and murky. There are a disconcertingly large number of not simply "typos" but mistakes on factual details (e.g., RFC chair "Alex Pomerene" [pp. 140, 165]; Minnesota Farmer-Labor governor "Floyd Olsen" [pp. 221-23]; Alben W. Barkley, "a Tennessee Democrat" [p. 295]).

These shortcomings notwithstanding, Brock's work must be regarded as one of the most significant recent contributions to New Deal scholarship. His thesis may be briefly stated: the FERA represented an attempt by a small group of professional welfare administrators to take advantage of the depression to revolutionize the American welfare system. Their goal went beyond providing adequate relief to the unemployed; their ambition was to establish a comprehensive nationwide system of public assistance to the poor that would replace local responsibility with centralized direction from Washington and shift control from elected officials and legislators to professional experts. And thanks to the power given federal relief administrator Harry Hopkins, this program made remarkable strides under the FERA.

Brock admits that such power could be, and even was, abused. And he raises the broader question of the compatibility of the methods and techniques of reform-minded minorities with the principles of democratic government. But there is no question where his personal sympathies lie. "The history of relief during the New Deal," he writes, "began with hope for a national program to tackle poverty as a social disease. It ended with half measures. . . . [T]he [resulting] fragmented character of public assistance has ruined all subsequent attempts to guarantee freedom from want" (p. 6).

Brock's account thus belongs to what has become a familiar genre in New Deal scholarship: the lament for missed opportunities. But he is more balanced than most taking this line. He acknowledges that the 1930s did bring about lasting changes. State and local welfare spending underwent quantum growth; there was a shift in many states in the locus of control over poor assistance from the township and poor district to the county along with expanded state supervision; most important, the "wall between federal and local responsibility had been breached, and could never again be rebuilt" (p. 361).

There are many who will disagree with Brock's conclusions. This reviewer thinks that he accepts too much at face value the professional social workers' self-proclaimed wisdom and underestimates the reality behind the anxieties felt by Roosevelt (and, as he rightly underlines, Hopkins himself) about the demoralizing effects of the dole. But Brock has raised questions about the New Deal, and reform process generally, that historians cannot afford in the future to ignore.

Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era. By ELAINE TYLER MAY. (New York: Basic Books, 1988. xi, 284p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$20.95.)

The question of the relationship between politics and gender has been a central one for those insistent upon the importance of women's history for the historical discipline at large. Joan Scott, in a recent article in the *American Historical Review*, pointed out that political history has been especially resistant to a gender analysis because "gender has been seen as antithetical to the real business of politics." Elaine Tyler May takes up the challenge of demonstrating a connection between politics—and even foreign policy—and gender in American society and in the process makes a major contribution both to the argument for the significance of gender and to our understanding of American life in the 1950s.

What May does in *Homeward Bound* is argue for connections between the Cold War and anticommunism, on the one hand, and the peculiarly family- and home-centered life of Americans in the years after World War II, on the other. She suggests that both the depression and World War II had the potential to change women's roles in the family by validating new options for women in the workplace. But instead, public policy and economic reality reinforced traditional gender arrangements, setting the stage for the domesticity of the 1950s.

In order to understand why women and men retreated to the home at the conclusion of the potentially liberating war, May makes use of three kinds of sources: evidence from popular culture, especially commercial films and popular magazines; the private papers and published writings of professionals and public policy-makers; and, the most original and important source, survey data from the Kelly Longitudinal Study (KLS), a psychological study of personality development among 300 couples engaged to be married in the late 1930s. May used the original questionnaires, filled out every few years until the mid-1950s, to explore attitudes towards marriage, experiences with sexuality, reproductive practices, family values, physical and emotional health, consumer practices, and levels of satisfaction.

Although the sample was not at all representative, May argues that the personal information about this all-white, predominantly Protestant, well-educated and economically comfortable group is important, not only because it provides a rare look at the private side of life in the 1950s but also because it was the values of precisely this group that shaped the dominant institutions of American society. While she is not unaware of groups beginning to challenge traditional values—particularly black Americans in the burgeoning civil rights movement and lesbians and gay men in the relatively new

urban gay subculture—she argues that the dominant values, characteristic of the KLS target group, affected all Americans.

What was the link between the Cold War and domesticity? May focuses on the belief in containment, in both the foreign policy and domestic senses. Americans, she argues, responded to the tensions of the Cold War era by seeking security at home: subordinating sexuality to reproduction, making a career for women of housework and childcare, viewing the home for men as a refuge from the alienation of work, turning to private therapeutic solutions to problems, and purchasing products for familial use. Desperate for security, Americans adjusted their expectations downward to meet reality. Women, in particular, poured out stories of discontent and disappointment but generally proclaimed themselves happy. It was this buried dissatisfaction, May suggests, that helped to set the stage for rebellion among the children raised in these Cold War families.

May's sources allow her to paint a compelling portrait of the private side of white middle-class suburban marriages, and the linkages she makes to political developments are fascinating. For example, she shows how the popular culture associated sexuality with the atomic bomb: both were dangerous and difficult to control, as the terms "bombshell" and "knockout," applied to a "sexy" woman, suggest. And she emphasizes the use of Cold War terminology—"containment" and "sphere of influence"—by women and men discussing domestic situations. But the significance of some of these linkages is not always clear. Were these simply metaphors available in the culture at the time? Was there anything new and particular to the Cold War era about wanting to "contain" sexuality in the home? Further, I wonder if the influence was unidirectional or if family life also exerted an influence on politics.

The questions that remain are a tribute to the ambitiousness of May's project. Not only does she unearth a previously buried aspect of American society in the 1950s, but she attempts to show how connected private and public life were, even—or especially—in an era of intense domesticity. *Homeward Bound* serves as a splendid example of the kind of work for which theoreticians such as Joan Scott have been calling. Never again will it be possible to think of the classic 1950s family as "apolitical."

Ohio State University

LEILA J. RUPP

The Proud Decades: America in War and in Peace, 1941-1960. By JOHN PATRICK DIGGINS. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988. xvii, 381p. Illustrations, note on sources, index. \$19.95.)

John Patrick Diggins, a distinguished intellectual historian, here turns his hand to narrative history. The result is a smoothly written book that touches upon the most important aspects of American life in the 1940s and 1950s. Unlike most authors whose primary concern is the fifties—including this reviewer, who has written a similar book—Diggins elected to begin with World War II. This was probably a mistake, for, though Diggins is never less than professional, the war is too vast a subject to deal with adequately in a mere fifty pages of text, pictures included. With the Cold War that followed Diggins is more successful. Indeed, his treatment of its origins and the revisionist historical literature on them is especially good, as also is his analysis of Truman's presidency.

Diggins acknowledges the current interpretation of Eisenhower's presidency as being more effective than used to be thought, but is unconvinced by it. He seems to wish that he did not have to write about Eisenhower's administration at all. He does so at some length anyway, but with considerable distaste. The core of his book—and its best part—is the middle third where he discusses McCarthyism, society and popular culture, and, most notably, high culture, with a real sense of engagement. His chapter on "The Life of the Mind in a 'Placid' Age" is uncommonly astute and displays the author's broad learning to particular advantage. In it he covers topics, such as the refugee intellectuals, that are usually ignored, digs into controversies like those concerning the "end of ideology" and the intellectuals' "failure of nerve" which are usually neglected, and highlights important figures who are often noticed in surveys without being explored. It is fair to say that Diggins rescues scholars such as Hannah Arendt, Louis Hartz, and Lionel Trilling from relative neglect, so far as the general public is concerned. Diggins also pays more attention to high art than is usual, and it should come as no surprise that Lionel Trilling, who wrote about the relationship between life and art, looms larger here than in other accounts.

On the whole *The Proud Decades* is a book that historians of the modern era will want to read, and may wish their students to read as well. Its weaknesses are few and have more to do with the format than anything else. At times it is too much like a textbook, one subtopic following another in monotonous procession. It lacks a unifying thesis that would put the bits and pieces of history into interpretive focus. It is always better to dispense with an overview than to try and force one that doesn't work; yet, a thesis helps move the narrative along and sometimes enables us to see what is

otherwise indistinct. Even so, Diggins has written a useful book that commands respect and may even provoke reflection.

Rutgers University

WILLIAM L. O'NEILL

ERRATA

The following corrections should be made in John McWilliams, "Unsung Partner Against Crime: Harry J. Anslinger and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, 1930-1962," PMHB 113 (April 1989):

p. 222, line 25 should read "The evidence strongly suggests that the man was Senator Joseph McCarthy." And on p. 224, footnote 34, John T. Cusack was incorrectly identified as having held the position of Chief Counsel rather than Chief of Staff from 1983 to 1987 on Congressman Charles B. Rangel's House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.

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