

BOOK REVIEWS

The Atlas of Pennsylvania. Edited by DAVID J. CUFF, WILLIAM J. YOUNG, EDWARD K. MULLER, WILBUR ZELINSKY, and RONALD F. ABLER. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989. xiii, 288p. Illustrations, maps, reference maps, recommended readings, guide to counties, index. \$120.00.)

This stunningly beautiful and meticulously researched book sprang from an interdisciplinary collaboration instigated and led by geographers. Noted scholars at the three Commonwealth research universities—Temple, Pittsburgh, and Pennsylvania State—participated in the ambitious project. Their labors yielded a volume that is both an essential reference tool for any person, academic or lay, interested in Pennsylvania and an entertaining, highly readable study of the Keystone State. The *Atlas* belongs in every library and private collection in the state. Because of the pivotal importance of Pennsylvania in shaping the culture of much of the rest of the United States, students of Americana in other parts of the country will also find the *Atlas* useful, if not essential. Indeed, the authors and editors clearly recognized this “Pennsylvania Extended” and allowed many maps to lap far over the boundaries of the state, a device which also allows Pennsylvania to be seen in its regional or even national context. For example, the map of the “Pennsylvania Forebay Barn” (p. 154) extends south through Virginia and westward to include Illinois and Wisconsin.

The massive 15½ x 13¼-inch pages, in full color, contain a bewildering and fascinating variety of maps. Organization is fairly traditional, proceeding from an early treatment of the physical environment through sections on history, human patterns, economic activities, and the two major urban areas, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Within this framework, delights and surprises abound, revealing the creativity and wide-ranging interests of the contributors. The reader will find, in addition to coverage of the more predictable topics, maps devoted to such phenomena as birding seasons, radon gas hazards, national register properties, college wrestling teams, persons per dentist, food stamps issued per capita, and surviving covered bridges. Abundant aerial photographs and even some satellite imagery diversify the presentation.

The quality of cartography and printing is almost universally outstanding in the *Atlas*. Only in a few instances did an unwise color choice or size reduction create visual problems, as on page 91, where black and dark blue dots are difficult to distinguish on a map of colonial religious denominations,

or on page 151, where the dots showing post office locations are a bit too small. Occasionally, certain map symbols are not explained, as on page 89.

A lively and imaginative text binds the diverse maps together in each section. Written by experts, these essays generally carry authoritative clout. Only occasionally is the reader startled, as in Peirce Lewis's curious declaration that the cultural shaping of Pennsylvania "began in 1682" (p. 2), a slighting of two prior generations of Swedish, Finnish, Dutch, and English presence in the Delaware Valley.

Such quibbles cannot detract from the quality and appeal of this wonderful book. It should be a model for similar undertakings in other states. If only we had a national atlas of the United States even remotely comparable in content and creativity to the *Atlas of Pennsylvania*.

University of Texas at Austin

TERRY G. JORDAN

The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation. By TERRY G. JORDAN and MATTI KAUPS. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. xii, 341p. Maps, illustrations, figures, tables, bibliography, index. \$36.00.)

This fascinating analysis of the origin and spread of "Midland frontier culture" in colonial America came about because Terry Jordan, a cultural geographer, went to Germany to find the European roots of notched-log construction that was typical of surviving American log cabins. Although Germany had no prototypes of the log cabins that Jordan was seeking, Finland did. Therefore, Jordan recruited Matti Kaups to help him investigate the possible Finnish antecedents to the log cabin. In the process they discovered more than they had bargained for.

Jordan and Kaups started by asking a very fundamental question. Why did certain European settlers penetrate into the interior of North America, via the hardwood forests of Pennsylvania and the Great Valley of the Appalachians, all the way to the West Coast in only three hundred years, whereas other Europeans, who had settled in New England and the South, made so little headway into the interior in the first two hundred years? The answer lay in Europe.

According to Jordan and Kaups, two kinds of Europeans peopled what eventually became the United States of America in the colonial period. The largest group came from what they call the "Germanic core"—those regions of northern and western Europe that practiced intensive agriculture on land cleared of forests and with a stable social system. Included would be most Germans, Danes, Dutch, northern French, English, and southern Swedes.

However, substantial numbers also came from the periphery of Europe where a hardscrabble of mountains, hills, glaciated lake plains, and cold climate combined to make the people more adaptable to movement and change. Among the groups who migrated from these regions were the Salzburgers, Alpine Swiss, Welsh, Scotch-Irish, and Finns. The earliest North American settlements of the "Germanic core" peoples were in New England, New York, and the South, whereas the earliest settlements of the "periphery" peoples were in the Delaware Valley, in what eventually became Pennsylvania, Delaware, and south Jersey. Furthermore, the first European settlers in the Delaware Valley were Swedes and Finns.

The essence of the book is that it was these Swedes and Finns, particularly the Finns who had come from Karelia (Sweden's own frontier), who showed the rest of the Europeans how to penetrate the seemingly impenetrable forests of North America and move west. Karelian Finns had practiced slash-and-burn agriculture for centuries before moving to North America. They stressed rugged individualism; were hostile to law, education, religion, and formal landownership; lived in nuclear families; mixed with the aboriginal Lapps; loved to hunt; were ecologically indifferent; built crude, notched-log cabins and surrounded their temporary homesteads with worm fences; moved every three to five years; had a simple, high-protein diet; and loved alcoholic beverages. In other words, they were "pre-adapted" to succeed in North America.

Succeed they did. By tracing the earliest log cabins to the Delaware Valley (also worm fences), plus the spread of Swedish and Finnish names westward from the Delaware Valley over the next three centuries, Jordan and Kaups present a compelling argument for the Finnish model of settlement in North America. Of course, there were not enough Swedes and Finns (only 1,000) in 1650 to have accomplished this task alone. Instead, they taught successive waves of "periphery" Europeans, particularly the very numerous Scotch-Irish, their frontier skills and intermarried so readily with Indians and other ethnic groups that the original Finns and Swedes were very rapidly assimilated and ceased to exist as distinct ethnic groups by the middle of the eighteenth century.

And what about the "Germanic core" of settlers? They followed in the wake of the "Midland frontier culture," reclaimed and cleared the land that had been exhausted from slash-and-burn agriculture, chopped down the rest of the trees that the pioneers had missed, and established a more respectable version of a farm, on which the abandoned log cabins became barns for animals.

The authors buttress their arguments with hundreds of photographs of log cabins, worm fences, illustrations of frontier settlements, and maps of both Europe and North America. They have made a very strong case for

the Finnish antecedents of American "Midland frontier culture." This reviewer now looks forward to the "Germanic core" response.

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies

M. MARK STOLARIK

Work and Labor in Early America. Edited by STEPHEN INNES. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988. x, 299p. Tables, index. Cloth, \$29.95; paper, \$9.95.)

The seven essays collected in this volume focus on four issues: the work people did; the way work was organized; the relationships between workers and their superiors (most commonly, employers); and the impact of work on workers' lives and prospects for material advancement. Daniel Vickers and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich examine the work of men and women, respectively, in New England; Paul Clemens and Lucy Simler analyze the growth of a landless proletariat in Philadelphia's hinterland; and Billy Smith assesses the degree of mobility among Philadelphia's artisans. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh describe how Chesapeake tobacco plantations diversified economically during the eighteenth century, while Philip Morgan contrasts the task and gang systems for organizing slaves on plantations throughout the Western Hemisphere. Finally, Marcus Rediker describes the work of English seamen during the eighteenth century.

In his helpful, if not always convincing, introduction, Stephen Innes reminds us of the grim economic conditions that prompted migration to North America, and links these essays to current historiographical debates. The studies in this volume both confirm and challenge Innes's celebration of the economic opportunities and achievements of the colonials. On the one hand, property owners did quite well in the colonial period. Philadelphia's master craftsmen rarely experienced downward mobility or substantial loss of property. Landholders in Philadelphia's hinterland increased output by hiring agricultural wage-earners. Similarly, in diversifying plantation production, Chesapeake planters enjoyed a "rising standard of consumption" (p. 184). Entrepreneurial zeal was not just the preserve of men, however, for, as Laurel Ulrich shows, Martha Ballard grew garden crops, raised chickens, hired young women to weave cloth, and maintained a flourishing midwifery practice.

Yet, as these essays also show, a celebratory view of the farms, ships, and workshops of colonial America hardly captures the experience of many other workers. Economic independence, for example, came late for the men of Essex, Massachusetts. As Daniel Vickers points out for Essex, until they

were twenty-five or thirty years old, sons served as dependent, bound laborers under the control of their fathers. During the eighteenth century, increases in productivity for ship-owning merchants meant increases in exploitation for seamen, although sailors continued to resist by deserting. Most journeymen in Philadelphia experienced little or no social and economic mobility.

The late eighteenth century also witnessed foreshortened economic opportunities in rural areas. Instead of entering the ranks of freehold farmers, a growing number of aspiring farmers became agricultural wage workers (cottagers) in southeastern Pennsylvania. During the middle of the eighteenth century, a servant (invariably, unmarried) had lived with the farm family, and with his accumulated savings, had bought land, built a farm, and started a family. By 1800, however, a hired hand (and his family) now lived in a cottage elsewhere on the estate. Thus, it would seem that the prospects of becoming a landowner had dimmed so much that instead of remaining unmarried, individuals started families, signed up as cottagers, and willingly consigned themselves to the long-term status of rural wage-earners.

Ironically, economic opportunities and conditions of work improved for slaves during the eighteenth century. Slaveowners throughout the New World began to replace the gang method of organizing slaves with the task system. Under the latter, slaves worked at their own pace and, once they had completed their assigned tasks, they could use the rest of the day to grow their own crops for the market.

What these articles together suggest is that while the conditions of work for free workers worsened, those for the unfree improved. Only additional research will determine whether this convergence was accidental or stemmed, in fact, from deeper changes within capitalism itself.

University of Arizona

JOHN CAMPBELL

Everyday Life in Early America. By DAVID FREEMAN HAWKE. (New York: Harper & Row, 1988. xii, 195p. Illustrations, selected bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Material Life in America, 1600-1860. Edited by ROBERT BLAIR ST. GEORGE. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988. xiii, 570p. Tables, figures, index. Cloth, \$50.00; paper, \$25.00.)

Historians of early America have long viewed studies of everyday life with the same disdain newspaper editors reserve for society news and recipes. But the last two decades have seen a steady trend toward incorporation of

the day-to-day experiences and behavior of quite ordinary people into historical explanation. Robert Blair St. George's *Material Life in America* offers twenty-five articles, published mainly since 1969, that have done much to expand approaches to colonial and early national history. For his part, David Freeman Hawke, whose *The Colonial Experience* (1966) has yet to be surpassed as the major text in the field, has unfortunately failed to meet the promise of his title with *Everyday Life in Early America*.

St. George has given us real value. Here, in a single and relatively (in paper) inexpensive package, are Henry Glassie's "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths"; Cary Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies"; Joseph Wood's "Village and Community in Early Colonial New England"; Rhys Isaac's "Ethnographic Method in History"; Russell R. Menard, Lois Green Carr, and Lorena S. Walsh's "A Small Planter's Profits"; Thomas Bender's "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement"; A.G. Roeber's "Authority, Law and Custom: The Rituals of Court Day in Tidewater Virginia"; Billy G. Smith's "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians"; and several other pieces that are standard parts of any early Americanist's personal library. In the sole previously unpublished article, "For Honour and Civil Worship to Any Worthy Person': Burial, Baptism, and Community on the Massachusetts Near Frontier, 1730-1790," John L. Brooke combines interesting data with strained interpretation. Brooke maintains that "orthodox Congregationalists and dissenting Separate Baptists followed drastically different interpretations of the nature of death and earthly burial, interpretations that were interwoven with . . . collective *mentalité*" (p. 464). Yet what he describes as a "Baptist neglect of the traditional material culture of death" (p. 479) differs little from his description of seventeenth-century New England towns which "buried their dead with little ceremony at a distance from the community center" (p. 465). The long-standing "orthodox" Congregational culture that the Baptists rejected was, by Brooke's own description, but newly formed in the early eighteenth century (p. 468). And his view of Baptists as fragments of the "*ancien régime*" (p. 480) must at some point be reconciled with Isaac's view of their role in Virginia as community-builders.

If a major criticism can be leveled at the volume, it involves what is *not* included. Such an assessment may be unfair, given St. George's choice of topics: "Method and Meaning," "New World Cultures," "The Production and Control of Property," "Landscapes of Social Distance," "Ritual Space," and "Reforming the Environment." But this reviewer, for one, would have liked to have seen James A. Henretta's "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America"; Daniel Scott Smith's "Child-Naming Practices, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641-1880"; and Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh's "The Planter's

Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland."

More telling, perhaps, is the editor's limited philosophical stance. Under the rubric of "material life" in his introduction, St. George, an avowed Francophile, marries Fernand Braudel with Lucien LeFevre and Claude Lévi-Strauss to construct a "ground floor of a new architecture of history, a new way to think about economic and social life" (p. 8). In a peculiar version of cultural Marxism, he declares that "Money and art are the two faces of material life and capitalism" working in "interdependent opposition" (p. 10). Viewing a world of "fixed scarcity of needed resources," he sees the goal of wealth only as "the centralization and conservation of value through private accumulation," while the goal of art is "the diffusion and exhaustion of value" (p. 10). This conceptualization perhaps explains his failure to encompass the impact of such factors as demography, continuing immigration, the widespread introduction of printing, and changing technologies—the creation of *new* resources—on material life and the formation of an "American" culture.

Hawke, in *Everyday Life in Early America*, draws on many of the same authors to be found in *Material Life*, including St. George himself, to produce a thumbnail picture of seventeenth-century America, the first in a projected series. Sadly, the book reflects both an inept command of recent research and an unfortunate attempt to marry it with older work. Where Hawke attempts synthesis, he has not digested the newer research, much of it on scattered small places, all of it replete with unresolved contradictions. He simply picks and chooses among such contradictions at whim. Thus, mortality in the Chesapeake was high in the early years and remained so in the period from 1660 to 1680 (pp. 59, 64-65, 73), but by the 1670s "life expectancy in the South had lengthened" (p. 127). In the Chesapeake there was a "wide gap between rich and poor" before the end of the seventeenth century (p. 172) and a third of all Chesapeake farmers "had lost title to their lands and become tenants of plantation owners" (p. 173), while to the north, "a rare few could be called poor" (p. 171). Yet in Boston, "wretched dwelling persisted among the plain people" to the end of the seventeenth century (p. 49). Moreover, Hawke seems unwilling to work toward a new synthesis, even where contemporary research has clearly replaced earlier scholarship. He devotes eight pages (pp. 160-67) to the Salem witch trials, but while both Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum's *Salem Possessed* (1974) and John Demos's *Entertaining Satan* (1982) are dutifully listed in the bibliography, the text reflects only Edward Eggleston's *The Transit of Civilization* (1900), four pages of which are reprinted here (pp. 161-64). The role of women (pp. 62-66) utilizes a recent article on the Chesapeake (pp. 63-66), but the few brief mentions of their lives in early New England ignore—

as does the bibliography—Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *Good Wives* (1982). Likewise, the superficial treatment of magic (pp. 157-60) reflects ignorance of Jon Butler's "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1760" (*American Historical Review* 84 [1979], 317-346), while neither text (pp. 5-11) nor bibliography reflect the enormous recent literature on social history across the Atlantic. The task of describing "everyday life in early America" adequately remains to be done.

University of Florida

ANITA H. RUTMAN

To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism. By THEODORE DWIGHT BOZEMAN. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1988. x, 413p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

If Theodore Bozeman had been satisfied to stick to the subject of his subtitle, this would have been a more satisfying book, for it is a useful summary of those texts of English Puritanism before 1650 and American Puritanism that expounded the Puritans' desire to return to the beliefs, legal codes, and moral structures of the early Christians. Such a review is needed now because, even though earlier studies by such scholars as Samuel Eliot Morison, Perry Miller, and Hardin Craig stressed the purifying impulse of Puritanism, the dominant research of the last two decades has focused upon other dimensions. But Bozeman is not being entirely candid when he calls his work "an intensive case study . . . [of] primitivist strands" (p. 12) that examines the Puritans' aim to restore the Bible to the center of their lives. It is, rather, an aggressive polemic that is marred by the author's repeated, cranky attacks upon several scholars of the last twenty years whose words he generally misreads and misrepresents.

Bozeman's real program is to discredit the work of those scholars who, in his view, "select and stress the modernizing elements—real or alleged—of the Puritan movement" (p. 3). While he readily admits that the Puritan rejection of Catholic excesses and Anglican compromises "may have facilitated transitions to early modern civilization" (p. 14), and he acknowledges that "much of the history of the Bay colony in the seventeenth century is, indeed, that of a rapidly modernizing society" (p. 349), he maintains that "breeding modern modes was not part of the conscious intent of [the Puritan] religious reformers" and that "it is a grave mistake to see there [in the modernization] an untroubled evolution from foundations built in the 1630s or 1640s" (p. 349). But in spite of Bozeman's protestations, few scholars among those he berates have asserted that the Puritans consciously set out

to create modern America or that their evolution was untroubled. Scholars such as Sacvan Bercovitch and Perry Miller, who serve as frequent negative examples for Bozeman, emphasized the Puritan yearning for origins and the unconscious and unintended nature of some of the results of their efforts.

Because Bozeman is so eager to fault the work of others, he often strains his evidence to dismiss readings of texts that he believes have been used to depict the Puritans as consciously progressive. In presenting a passage from John Cotton in which Cotton makes the complex point that "whatever comes from God . . . is always new, and never waxeth old, and as it is new, so it is always old" (quoted on p. 11), Bozeman drains from this expression the ambiguity that makes Puritan thought so intriguing: in a footnote he admits "I have changed the order of the statements, and the emphasis upon 'live ancient lives' is mine" (fn. 12, p. 11). Bozeman also goes to extremes to discredit the idea that the Puritans saw themselves to be on a sacred errand because he associates that metaphor with scholarship viewing the Puritans as self-conscious modern exemplars. Thus, John Winthrop's vision of the Bay Colony as a "City upon a Hill" is dismissed as a "rhetorical commonplace" (p. 120) without any recognition that commonplaces in language may express a people's most deeply held convictions.

Besides troubling over what is primitive and progressive in Puritan thought, Bozeman also is very precise about when certain ideas might have entered Puritan thought. For Bozeman, Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence* and Peter Bulkeley's *The Gospel-Covenant*, which expound upon the "City upon a Hill," cannot be credited as truly Puritan because they were written in 1651 and 1646 rather than in 1630. He admits that claims for a Puritan crusading exemplarism "were to loom large in later history, but to find their progenitor in a Massachusetts City upon a Hill is to mistake the purposes of the 1630s" (p. 119). Most of the scholarship that has been interested in the ways that the Puritan world view did create social conditions conducive to pre-capitalist and American middle-class attitudes has also insisted that the founders never intended such results, but Bozeman repeatedly attributes reductive notions of the Puritans' self-conscious modernism to others in order to discredit their work.

When he confronts the issue of Puritan millennialism, he insists upon distinguishing a corrupted Puritan spirit of forward-looking beginning in 1640 from the pure primitivist theology of 1630. While insisting that there was "a spotty and limited millennial influence in Puritan quarters before the late 1630s" (p. 213), he does grant "beyond doubt that a rich and long-neglected vein of millennial discussion runs through New England theology beginning in 1640" (pp. 235-36). While the first point is well-noted, why the hostility toward those scholars who have investigated the

implications of that millennialism and why the advice to historians to “avoid promotion of this element” (p. 236)? Bozeman argues that the offending scholars have asserted that Puritan millennialists were looking ahead to future fulfillment when what they were really doing was looking backward. To sustain this claim, Bozeman must explain away the importance of many millennialist texts which still remain open to other interpretations.

In a chapter on the Puritan jeremiad, Bozeman attempts to counter the arguments of Miller, Bercovitch, and others that the ritual of the jeremiad sermon served in the later seventeenth century through castigation ultimately to reassure congregations that the Puritan movement would continue. Bozeman extends the argument of his opposition to have them say that the ministers were consciously promoting a progressivist agenda, and then he appears to best this fallacy with his primitivist theme. But the sophisticated arguments of Bercovitch make the case for the jeremiad as a device for sustaining certain Puritan characteristics into later centuries in America on the level of the unconscious and the mythic. Ironically, while grumbling that “it is impossible to credit the thesis that progressive aims fundamentally shaped the American jeremiad” (p. 339), Bozeman himself summarizes the opposition’s argument nicely in his own recognition: “The major force for modernism in New England was the ascent—rapid after mid-century—of a commercialized, money, economy. No doubt this development drew by way of elective affinity upon existing attitudes and behavioral tendencies inculcated by decades of Puritan preaching. . . . Much of the history of the Bay colony in the seventeenth century is, indeed, that of a rapidly modernizing society” (p. 349).

Bozeman does at times display an ability to see the value in other arguments about the Puritans as when he says “to deny that Puritan thought embraced a hope for a better future and an interest in the progressive discovery of truth would be equally false to the evidence” (p. 124). It is unfortunate that such a balanced and generous viewpoint could not have prevailed throughout the book.

University of California, Riverside

EMORY ELLIOTT

American Poetry: The Puritans Through Walt Whitman. By ALAN SHUCARD. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988. x, 207p. Chronology, bibliography, index. \$21.95.)

American Poetry is a volume in Twayne’s Critical History of Poetry Series, and like other Twayne books, it shows some carelessness and is too short for a sustained investigation of its large subject. Professor Alan Shucard,

himself a poet, can write engagingly, but when for brevity he must cut short a discussion or ignore a point, then he writes maddeningly, often relying on cleverness to move him along. Shucard has summarized the history of American poetry from the Puritans through Walt Whitman in 179 pages, about 18 percent of which are devoted to Whitman alone. To produce the summary, he has distilled the work of various hands, most of whom wrote a decade or more ago. This book, then, offers scholars little more on American poetry than does, say, the new *Columbia Literary History of the United States*.

Yet Shucard's book will be used; students in high schools and colleges will grasp at the title, and *American Poetry* will inform hundreds of term papers. The students will discover large generalizations about the course of American poetry but little in the way of distinctive theses or detailed explication. There are helpful connections among ideas and styles, especially for Poe, Emerson, and Whitman. And the eras of literature are familiar: a chapter on the Puritans (typically ignoring the rest of seventeenth-century America), two chapters on the eighteenth century (rationalism and nationalism), and a chapter on Romanticism ("Knickerbockers, Firesiders, and Southerners"). The last three of the book's seven chapters, expanding the treatment of Romanticism, are devoted primarily to Shucard's triumvirate of influential poets and theorists: Poe, Emerson along with other Transcendentalists, and Whitman. These chapters, thanks to details, are the most interesting ones, even when disturbing.

Shucard's treatment of Poe's poetry relies heavily on Poe's biography and on Daniel Hoffman's *Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe*. After years of trying to discourage students from reading the poetry as mere reflections of Poe's biography, the facts and the legend, we have Shucard telling us that Poe, "the hyper-romantic," used his life "as the psychic source of his work." "With Poe . . . understanding the biography . . . is indispensable to understanding his conception of poetry and his poems" (p. 114). Even if that were true, misguided students will identify the persona as Poe himself, missing the poems' beauty and symbolism and ignoring, as does Shucard, romantic irony when it appears.

Shucard fares better with Emerson, whom he identifies as the nineteenth century's major influence on American poetry. He is convincing in his comparison of Poe and Emerson, though Poe suffers for Emerson's sake. In a useful section on Emerson's poetics as derived from the wonderful essay "The Poet," Shucard indicates that the poet really is, finally, the complete transcendentalist. And discussing the poet's function, Shucard emphasizes that Emerson saw the function as dual: first, the poet must reveal the fusion of substance and spirit, and second, he must be a national

poet. Here, he is foreshadowing Walt Whitman, whom Shucard identifies, of course, as Emerson's poet incarnate.

Whitman emerges as a product of Emersonian ideas. Shucard presents these ideas in sequence, arguing that Whitman adopted them in "Song of Myself." However, the numbered listing, appealing enough to the undergraduate essay-writer, lacks an inclusive theory that would tie together Whitman's borrowings. The reader finds no new approach to Whitman, and notably absent, despite hints and references, is a full discussion of the persona that justifies the "I" as a consciousness capable of seeing "all." If Shucard says many arresting things, he does not give us a clear focus for Whitman's poetry. And what is true for his treatment of Whitman is true for *American Poetry* overall.

Temple University

ROBERT F. MARLER, JR.

Authority and Resistance in Early New York. Edited by WILLIAM PENCAK and CONRAD EDICK WRIGHT. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1988. xvii, 252p. List of frequently cited works, index. \$19.95.)

If for no other reason than it brings into print an updated version of John Murrin's pathbreaking essay, "English Rights as Ethnic Aggression: The English Conquest, the Charter of Liberties of 1683, and Leisler's Rebellion in New York," this collection of essays, derived from a 1983 conference at the New-York Historical Society, is a welcome addition to the literature on colonial and Revolutionary New York. Once and for all dispelling the notion of Leisler's Rebellion as a democratic movement linked to the struggle for representative government, Murrin shows that the polarization of New Yorkers during the successive crises of the seventeenth century stemmed from conflicting ethnic values. Leisler's adherents, like supporters of the Dutch reconquest of 1673, did not embrace the English liberties aspired to by the coalition of English merchants and Anglicizing Dutch who formed their opponents, but instead yearned for a more familiar world bounded by the traditions of the Netherlands. The imposition of English political culture, however liberal, on persons who identified with Dutch ways generated hostility that could readily be translated into action.

Several scholars elucidate the process of change in New York society. In his penetrating analysis of the schism in four Dutch Reformed congregations on Long Island, Randall Balmer demonstrates that Governor Cornbury's campaign to extend the sway of the Anglican church aimed at establishing English political and social domination in New York. David Narrett discerns a shift toward English inheritance practices among New York City's Dutch

residents after 1725, but does not adequately account for it with impressionistic evidence of intermarriage and linguistic assimilation. Nor does he explain why artisans were slower than merchants to curb the rights of their widows. Stefan Bielinski's people-centered study, a project of his pioneering Colonial Albany Social History Project, offers concrete evidence of the pace and dimensions of social change in Albany from 1650 to 1800. Weaving information on demographic, occupational, and officeholding patterns into a brisk narrative of the city's development, he challenges long-standing stereotypes of Albany and its residents.

In separate essays, Steven Ross and Robert Cray contend that alterations in attitudes toward and treatment of the poor usually associated with the nineteenth century were prefigured in eighteenth-century New York City. Ross charts the evolution of ideas and practices in the city and explains the emergence of institutionalization as the preferred method of dealing with the poor in the 1730s. Cray shows that some rural towns in the region surrounding the city had replicated urban practices by the Revolutionary era, but his curious omission of the Dutch towns of Kings County makes one question the pervasiveness of this pattern.

The beliefs of ordinary urban men come to light in three essays. Through meticulous research in archival sources, Robert Ritchie has traced the career of the New York-based pirate, Samuel Burgess, and opened for inspection the pirates' world of the turn of the eighteenth century. Graham Hodges argues that New York City's workingmen continued to prize freemanship as a source of both political rights and occupational security well after the Revolution. Paul Gilje's primary concern is the intersection of plebeian culture and the Whig ideology of the Revolutionary period. Discovering the roots of New York City's street demonstrations in English customs that both reinforced and subverted the social hierarchy, he makes clear how republican rioting emerged from these traditional forms.

The unconscionable delay in publishing this volume has created an awkward situation for many of the authors, since pieces intended as previews of full-length studies appear here as afterthoughts. Nevertheless, these nine essays, with a provocative introduction by William Pencak, serve to acquaint readers with current understandings of early New York's complex history.

University of Denver

JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND

Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs aus Der Anfangszeit Des Deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika. Band II: 1753-1762. Edited by KURT ALAND. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987. xxxiv, 623p. Index of names and places, index of letters. DM 328.)

This is the second in a projected three-volume series of the correspondence of the Reverend Henry Melchior Mühlenburg. The years marking the

beginning and end of this volume—1753 and 1762—bracket a period of transformation in the German-American community, a transformation that was reflected in religious and ecclesiastical issues. After a decade of bringing the scattered Lutherans into some semblance of ecclesiastical order—an effort symbolized by the organization of the Ministerium in 1748—Mühlenberg and his colleagues had largely defeated the threat from sectarian groups and the spiritual befuddlement of the laity that had dogged the early years of their ministry. But, as the German-American community matured, these problems were replaced by far more serious challenges to the clergymen from within the Lutheran fold. The massive influx of German immigrants in the late 1740s and early 1750s strained Mühlenberg's fragile ecclesiastical organization, while the consolidation of a German-American elite later in the 1750s directly challenged clerical authority. The two major crises of the second decade of Mühlenberg's activity in Pennsylvania—the "Germantown Revolution" of 1752-1753, which resulted in a schism, and the turmoil in Philadelphia over the authority of lay trustees in 1760-1762—were manifestations of these demographic and social forces.

Aland's carefully edited text, and in particular the annotations, which are rich and extensive, enliven and enlighten the issues and personalities of this critical decade in a way that the English translation of Mühlenberg's journals by Theodore Tappert and John Doberstein cannot. Mühlenberg, in addition to knowing that many parts of his journals would be published by the Halle press, frequently summarized and condensed a wealth of detail into a short journal entry. In his letters Mühlenberg is both more fulsome and less enigmatic, and so he emerges as a much more aggressive, shrewd, and intelligent man than the moderate self he presents in the journals.

This filling out of the motives and personalities of Mühlenberg and his contemporaries sheds considerable light on the issues underlying the Germantown and Philadelphia upheavals. For example, the letters make it quite clear that the often bitter conflicts among the three senior members of the Ministerium (Mühlenberg, Peter Brunnholtz, and Johann Friedrich Handschuh) rather than the Seven Years War explain why the Ministerium virtually ceased to exist as a working body during most of this period. Handschuh, who even in the journals appears as a thin-skinned hypochondriac, is revealed in Mühlenberg's correspondence as hysterically jealous of Mühlenberg's prestige and authority. Brunnholtz, who in the journals is nearly always portrayed as intelligent and amiable, comes off better in the correspondence, except for the fact that he was an alcoholic whose reprimand and possible removal was stayed only by his death. The disarray among the members of the Ministerium was clearly far more severe than historians had thought.

The correspondence is especially valuable in allowing us to penetrate the murky background of the Philadelphia controversy. Now we know, for example, that strained exchanges, which had begun in the mid-1740s, between Mühlenberg and the Philadelphia trustees over church property and funds had become so rancorous by the late 1750s that Mühlenberg was virtually exiled from the Philadelphia congregation by the trustees and their ally, Handschuh. Insights into the problems in Philadelphia reveal how the legal uncertainties surrounding trusteeship in the eighteenth century led to conflicts between the clergy and lay elites, as well as between those elites and more recent immigrants who resented the autocratic rule of the acculturated trustees.

Only a few minor flaws mar this otherwise superb volume. One of them is that Aland occasionally transliterates Indian place-names even more bizarrely than did Mühlenberg. The most peculiar of these errors is the editor's rendering of Monongohela, which in the index he gives as "Monongalia." Mühlenberg, incidentally, wrote the word very nearly as it is spelled today ("Monongahela," p. 250).

These errors, however, are dwarfed by the invaluable contribution that Aland has made to our understanding of the lives of German Americans in the eighteenth century.

Bryn Mawr College

ELIZABETH FISHER GRAY

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volume 27: July 1 through October 31, 1778. Edited by CLAUDE-ANNE LOPEZ. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988. lxxix, 727p. Illustrations, note on contributors, note on method of textual reproduction, list of abbreviations and short titles, chronology, index. \$60.00.)

This is one of the duller volumes to appear in this distinguished series. Franklin and his fellow commissioners to the court of France, John Adams and Arthur Lee, had little diplomatic business to conduct, occupying themselves mainly with trying to resolve disputes between American commercial agents and their confederates in the ports of France, between American sea captains, and since the agents and captains were frequently aligned with one or the other of the commissioners, between themselves. The Franklin editors admit that the commissioners "found themselves without much to do" and that many of their official activities were "trivial." Even Franklin's social life, with the exception of his flirtation with Madame Brillon, seems somewhat insipid.

The energy and ingenuity of the editors in identifying the vast cast of minor characters that appears in these pages are as impressive as ever. But this reviewer wonders if the effort is not, in some instances, misspent. In a period of financial constraint and pressure to quicken the pace of the project there would appear to be strong arguments against a business-as-usual approach to editing these volumes. The editors will certainly regard this as an unfair criticism. As they point out in their introduction, they have adopted numerous expedients to reduce the number of documents printed; they assert that, as a result of their economizing, "a bare sixty percent of the almost eight hundred documents in this volume are printed in full." True and commendable. But are too many documents still being fully printed?

One of the most interesting aspects of this volume, revealing, as it does, variations in editorial craft, is the different approach the Franklin and Adams Papers editors take toward the same corpus of documents, the letters to and from the American diplomatic commission. The Franklin editors have chosen to print and annotate numerous documents that their Adams brethren omit. These documents are usually short and of marginal significance. Are the Franklin editors right to include them or should the Adams editors be reproved for excluding them? Since in the editorial world, as in Locke's state of nature, there is no umpire, an authoritative judgment cannot be obtained. What we can conclude is that there is more caution in New Haven than in Boston. My personal view is that the Franklin editors should be more ruthless and that they should calendar more letters, letters such as one by a Dutch merchant, one Isaac van Teylingen, to the commissioners, Oct. 1, 1778. Here an obscure individual is complaining about the misdeeds of an obscure privateer. Why print the letter in full?

Questions about selectivity are notoriously difficult and should not divert our attention from the consistent excellence of the editorial apparatus of volume 27. Lopez, the editor of the volume, has produced a book that is the equal of any of her predecessors' volumes. We may look forward to future volumes in which Franklin, as ambassador, is the sole American representative at the court of France. His diplomatic activities will be more interesting and will give the Franklin editors more stimulating material to work with.

Library of Congress

JAMES H. HUTSON

Becoming Benjamin Franklin: The Autobiography and the Life. By ORMOND SEAVEY. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988. xii, 266p. Notes, index. \$24.95.)

Recent Franklin scholarship suggests that an era of careful inspection of already existing materials has been upon us for some time. When general

topics have been addressed, they have been revisions of old perceptions. Instances of this appear in Ronald A. Bosco's persuasive argument that Franklin was profoundly pessimistic about human progress and Elizabeth E. Dunn's assessment that Franklin was much more skeptical in his religious views than he seems to have admitted in his public persona of later years. For the most part, however, recent studies have focused in great detail upon important, narrowly focused issues, such as J.A. Leo Lemay's analysis of the extent to which Franklin's graphic art influenced revolutionary feeling in early America. (For Bosco, Dunn, and Lemay, see *PMHB* 111 [October 1987].) Ormond Seavey's generalist approach to Franklin's life and *Autobiography* would thus appear to be somewhat unusual.

Seavey's book studies the *Autobiography* in relation to the man. He identifies a need for a general study by noting that books about "Franklin as scientist, Franklin as economic theorist, Franklin as spelling reformer" are likely to suggest "misleading conclusions about the man as a whole" (p. xi), because "Franklin's thinking on most subjects was sporadic and extemporaneous; he was always moving on . . . playing by ear" (p. xi). This is an intriguing justification for a general study, and indeed *Becoming Benjamin Franklin* will prove useful for new students of Franklin. As his title suggests, Seavey has attempted to determine the interstices that exist between Franklin's life and his life-text, the *Autobiography*. He thus divides the study into two parts. In Part One, Seavey examines Franklin's persona in the *Autobiography*. In Part Two, he covers Franklin's life once more, this time looking at the man in history and how he differs from the autobiographical persona. "This book is . . . not a biography in the conventional sense," Seavey notes, "nor is it purely a literary study" (p. ix). Instead, Seavey says it is psychohistory, "a discipline that investigates the intersection between an inner self and the political, social, and cultural environment which surrounds it" (p. ix). This methodology, suggesting as it does that no other biographer has been concerned with Franklin's "inner self" and his cultural milieu, might prove unsatisfactory to the professional historian. In spite of Seavey's assertions about the usefulness of psychohistory, the structural division implicit in a partly literary, partly biographical study creates two difficulties.

First of all, other capable, though often older biographical studies are not hard to find. A great deal of biographical information has been written about Franklin. Seavey himself found that Esmond Wright's new full-length biography, *Franklin of Philadelphia*, failed to supplant Carl Van Doren's largely definitive biography of 1938. The reason that more general studies have not been made recently is that it is very difficult to find something "new" to say—at least until the Yale papers have been published in full—on the broad Franklin canvas. Seavey's argument about the misleading nature of studies that focus upon one side of Franklin seems rather

convincing, until one remembers that most sides of the man have been probed, including the private man in Claude-Anne Lopez and Eugenia W. Herbert's excellent study, *The Private Franklin*. Seavey's study, in the last analysis, has little biographical knowledge that has not been discussed in previous works.

Seavey is on somewhat better ground as a literary historian. His observations about the nature of eighteenth-century autobiography and of how Franklin's *Autobiography* fits into the literary trends of his time are insightful. Seavey draws some important distinctions between the different ways that major eighteenth-century autobiographers regarded the genre. Gibbon, for instance, considered his autobiography "an indulgence to which he is entitled after completing *The Decline and Fall*" (p. 3). Rousseau "includes sordid passages about his own callousness . . . to preserve the whole record of his life" (p. 44). Seavey observes that Franklin shows little concern in the *Autobiography* about the eighteenth-century public, that he rather concerns himself only with posterity. Franklin might have been addressing posterity in the *Autobiography*, which he was still writing on his deathbed. But during his long career as a writer, Franklin demonstrated an astute analysis of his contemporary public, and it seems unlikely that he did not intend to address the populace of America in 1790—though no doubt he had unborn generations in mind as well.

In terms of rhetorical analysis, Seavey's discussion of the *Autobiography* is somewhat less pointed than Joseph's Fichtelberg's recent study, and perhaps less sensitive than Albert Furtwangler's analysis of Franklin's rhetorical postures. Yet Seavey's competent and gracefully written analysis of Franklin's place in the eighteenth century will be useful for the general reader, if not for those readers searching for new material on Franklin's life in the *Autobiography*. Perhaps the problem is, as Seavey himself notes, that Franklin has again proved an "impediment" to his biographers because he "took charge of the territory first" (p. x).

Pennsylvania State University

STEPHEN CORMANY

The American Revolution and the Politics of Liberty. By ROBERT H. WEBKING.
(Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.
xv, 181p. List of abbreviations, index. \$25.00.)

In this book Robert Webking, a political scientist interested in the development of political thought, offers an analysis of American Revolutionary ideas. He has two main purposes in mind: first, to identify the most influential minds in Revolutionary America and to explicate their thought;

second, to provide a corrective to the work of historians Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood.

In order to accomplish this task, Webking devotes a chapter each to James Otis, Patrick Henry, John Dickinson, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. In these chapters he concentrates on the major works of each man. Thus, he analyzes Otis's *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764); the Virginia Resolves (1765) of Patrick Henry; Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (1767-1768); Sam Adams's newspaper articles, letters, and "The Rights of the Colonists, a List of Violations of Rights and a Letter of Correspondence" (1772); John Adams's "Novanglus" letters (1774-1775); and Jefferson's *Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774) and the Declaration of Independence.

Webking follows the discussion of these individuals with three chapters devoted to a summary of American Revolutionary thought. If any single theme courses throughout these chapters, it is the idea that influential American thinkers struggled in a rational manner to protect liberty within their society. He defines liberty as the "freedom from control by an absolute or arbitrary government—a freedom that allows human beings to decide how they will live and what they will and will not do" (p. 113). Slavery denotes the absence of liberty.

To anyone familiar with the work of Bailyn and Wood, nothing in these chapters will seem original. Where Webking departs from these scholars is his insistence—shrill at times—that they have led students astray by concentrating too much on the ideas of large numbers of Americans rather than on the thought of the most influential minds. According to Webking, such an approach leads Bailyn and Wood to conclude that the reality of Revolutionary America was something quite different from what the colonists said or wrote about it. Thus, he portrays the work of these historians as devoted to the study of ideology, to the idea that Americans were caught up in a paranoid delusion rather than working in the "rational pursuit of human liberty" (p. 175).

Webking has written a strange book. He tells us nothing new—his chapters on the various individuals are sketchy and superficial. In addition, his unsophisticated reading of Bailyn and Wood as well as his grotesque caricatures of their ideas lead him to make such statements as "Bailyn misses what the American Revolution was all about" (p. 175). In the final analysis Webking's work contributes little to our understanding of the causes of the Revolution or of Revolutionary thought. It is far too simplistic in its approach to the history of ideas to offer any insights into either the development of political thought itself or to the impact such thought exerted within the culture in which it appeared. Scholars interested in American Revolutionary

thought are better advised to read the work of Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood than that of Robert Webking.

University of Oklahoma

ROBERT E. SHALHOPE

Thomas Paine. By A.J. AYER. (New York: Atheneum, 1988. xi, 195p. Illustrations, index. \$19.95.)

As recent events in China, the Soviet Union, and Poland attest, the ideals of representative democracy and political equality—first articulated in a modern voice by Thomas Paine—are living and relevant issues today as much as they were in the late eighteenth century. Paine's uncompromising opposition to the enslavements of hereditary institutions and his revolutionary rage, delivered in a rhetorical style at once metaphorical, colloquial, and demystifying, "redrew the cognitive map and relocated the central—the underlying and previously virtually unchallenged—mental correlates of the traditional political world" (Jack P. Greene, "Paine, America, and the 'Modernization' of Political Consciousness," *Political Science Quarterly* 93 [1978], 90). We all know that, "In a fundamental sense, we are today all Paine's children" (Greene, p. 92).

In this book, Paine's continuing relevance and the analytic incisiveness of one of the most eminent philosophers and positivists of the twentieth century—Alfred Thayer Ayer—are naturally joined. Positivism, after all, owed its origins to the emerging empiricism of eighteenth-century philosophers like David Hume. More particularly, Ayer's own view of logic and language, which demand precision and clarity, is reflected in Paine's confident rhetoric, while Paine's frequent and tough-minded rejection of things transcendent and metaphysical and his application of pragmatic and utilitarian solutions to social problems represent impulses attractive to logical positivism.

But this slim volume is more than an exegesis of Paine's writings. An admitted admirer of Paine's legacy of "courage, integrity and eloquence" (p. 188), Ayer offers a terse yet clear biographic sketch of Paine's life, lauding Paine's disinterested personal conduct, his humanity, and his consistent radicalism. Interspersed between biographical narrative and philosophical analysis, Ayer interjects his own analysis of everything from the state of nature to multicamerism to deism, sometimes losing himself in digression and occasionally threatening to distend Paine's ideas through discussions of current issues and affairs.

There is little new on the biographical front, as Ayer admits his nearly exclusive indebtedness to Moncure Conway's old but foundational work on

Paine. Ayer's short introduction to Paine is often charming in its brevity and affection—though marred periodically by attempts to attribute American independence to *Common Sense* and to imply that Paine had more influence than he in fact had in resisting the execution of Louis XVI, and by his suggesting that Paine was a more important force behind the French Constitution of 1793 than he may have been. But direct attributions of Paine's personal influence—rather than the recognition of a vague sense of “things in the air” or a collective, coincidental consciousness that produced the great events of the 1790s—may be mere marks of Ayer's positivist mind.

In the philosophical area the forest thickens. Without making direct comparisons, Ayer sets Paine's ideas first against short, independent discourses on Hobbes, Locke, Hume, and Rousseau, later against an interesting chapter on Edmund Burke, and finally against Immanuel Kant (exercises somewhat strained by Paine's denial of familiarity with philosophical literature or serious books in general). What emerges is general praise mixed with mild ambivalence toward Paine. Ultimately identifying Paine as a radical promoter of Lockean ideas, Ayer dislikes Paine's recognition of natural law and its correlates, which Ayer denies as fictions. On the other hand, he admires Paine's conclusion (shared with Hume) that society is based on natural social affections and that society precedes government (the latter being a necessary fiction). It is Ayer's contention that as time passed Paine's ideas wisely migrated away from natural law theory toward a more practical, logical, utilitarianism. For example, while Ayer finds some confusion in Paine's *Rights of Man* over the origins of government and its proper constitution, he basically admires Paine for consistently articulating the utilitarian definition of liberty as doing what one pleases short of harming the liberty of others. Applying the same pragmatic test to Part Two of the *Rights of Man*—which Ayer labels as the “most impressive of all his writings” (p. 91)—Ayer ignores much modern work on Paine's symbolic role in a changing economic world, claiming blandly and with apparent satisfaction that Paine “welcomed material prosperity so long as it did not lead to excessive disparities of wealth or power.” More importantly, Ayer admires Paine's welfare proposals both here and in later writings. Finally, unlike the thousands who have reacted emotionally against Paine's *Age of Reason*, Ayer agrees with Paine's logic regarding the Bible and Christian theology (though not with all of his intense and uncharitable opinions of Christian culture). But that agreement is qualified by Ayer's refusal to accept Paine's final defense of deism, as he applies against Paine Kant's arguments on the necessity of first causes and a mechanistic world of design.

While this book can be read as an introduction to Paine's life and ideas, readers should be aware that Ayer is defending the minority side of an

emerging historiographic division on Paine. Owen Aldridge's *Thomas Paine's American Ideology* (1984) was an attempt to take Paine's ideas at literal face value, as Aldridge denied such things as Eric Foner's vague identification of Paine as a significant symbol of proto-capitalism and the virtue of commerce. Ayer, who acknowledges his admiration of Aldridge, takes the same tack, trying to take Paine's ideas "seriously" (i.e., literally) rather than symbolically. Thus, neither Aldridge nor Ayer have much time for the broader ideological significance that Jack Greene, Eric Foner, and others have associated with Paine. Presumably, Ayer and Aldridge would have little time for Clifford Geertz and others who claim the reality of symbolic culture and language. Yet, for all of Ayer's well-meaning desire to rescue Paine's reputation for logic and clarity, we still may wonder at the immediate understanding, the coincidental agreement, and common rage for representative democracy and political equality that Paine ignited among a wide readership in the eighteenth century and that we have witnessed resurgent in recent times.

University of Lethbridge

JAMES TAGG

Patriots: The Men Who Started the American Revolution. By A.J. LANGGUTH.
(New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988. 637p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Paper, \$9.95.)

Professor Langguth's *Patriots* is a fascinating book and despite its length a simple book, simple that is in technique. In using the word "simple," I do not mean to patronize Langguth or to imply that he has not written a good and worthy book. He has in fact written a very good book about the coming of the American Revolution and the war between Britain and America. Langguth writes for general readers or laymen, not scholars, but scholars might profit from reading the book. It contains much information, and it is written with verve so often lacking in the treatises and monographs of professors.

The book is organized around the stories of events and short biographies of the leading participants on both sides. Washington, Jefferson, both Adamses, James Otis, Thomas Hutchinson, George III, Lord North, Generals Howe and Clinton, and several dozen more are all prominent in Langguth's account. The stories are well-told; the biographies, skillfully composed. Through the telling of the stories and the sketches of the leading actors, Langguth carries the reader from the argument over writs of assistance in 1761 to Washington's farewell to Congress in 1783 when he resigned his commission as commander-in-chief.

The technique of the book—the determined use of stories, usually stripped down to their most dramatic essentials—exact a price. The stories do not quite make up a rounded narrative in which a full explanation of the reason for the events is made. They are not usually constructed in such a way as to provide analysis of either their content or their historical background. In places Langguth might have paused and explained more—more about the great principles of the Revolution, about political thought, about institutions such as the Continental Congress, about the strategy of the two sides in the war. At two points such a pause, if used to describe the circumstances of the action, would have been especially useful. The background of the political conflict is not as full as it should be, and an analysis of the constitutional issues is needed. Langguth might have constructed an account something like a story around the great political principles of the Revolution without sacrificing the dramatic tension he otherwise sustains so skillfully. The second point comes in his account of the war where some overall assessment would have advanced the reader's understanding. Such an assessment would explain the strategy of both Britain and America, and would also explain Britain's failure to put down the Revolution and the American success in pursuing it. Finally, the stories almost completely ignore the war at sea—privateering, the navies, even the importance of the sea in Washington's strategy.

Several of the stories themselves might be questioned, for they come from old accounts written at a time when standards of historical accuracy were not high. These instances are not common, however. The book is a pleasure to read, and I hope that it is read by many Americans who perhaps might be stimulated to read more of their own history.

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF

Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783. By THOMAS M. TRUXES. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. xiv, 448p. Illustrations, tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$39.50.)

This book is an important addition to a growing body of research and writings on shipping, maritime trade, and commercial relations among the key Atlantic trading centers of the British Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It offers many useful perspectives. In chapters one and two, for example, Truxes carefully outlines the changing legal restrictions that England imposed on Ireland and "the Plantations" and assesses their impact on the growth of key staple commodities and on shipping patterns, which varied among commodities and regions. Truxes provides a second perspective in chapters four, five, and six, where he presents essential

regional background information on the leading ports in the Irish-American trades and on the dominant merchants and merchant houses in these trades. The third perspective focuses on the business dealings and financial practices of the merchants by trade specialty: chapter eight with Irish provisions—salted beef, butter, and other provisions exported from Ireland; chapter nine for Irish linens; chapter ten for flaxseed; and chapter eleven for other various key items exchanged. In chapter seven, which deals with the important business of shipping emigrants from Ireland to the New World, Truxes analyzes from start to finish the business transactions of signing on indentures in the Irish countryside and in the ports, shipping them, and selling them in America. Prices and costs of trading in indentures are specified as they are on commodities in the other business-focused chapters. Much of this evidence is new information especially valuable to business and economic historians.

Chapter twelve concludes with another engaging perspective—one on the tax changes, boycotts, and other events leading to the American Revolution. Truxes also discusses the impact of the war on Irish-American commerce. Students of the American Revolution will find this unique third-party perspective novel and refreshing.

Chapter three attempts to offer a balance of payments study between Ireland and the West Indies and the mainland colonies. Unfortunately, the data presented by Truxes on the value of trade flows, direct and indirect, from Ireland to the West Indies and to the mainland, are ambiguously presented. Readers not intimately familiar with the Customs 15, from which the data are derived, will be particularly at risk. First, “official values” (namely, prices written down by customs officials) are used rather than market values. Second, the values of trade given in the chapter and discussed in Appendixes I and II are not stated explicitly either as F.O.B. (free on board) or C.I.F. (cost, insurance, and freight). Truxes provides a hint, however, in Appendix II (p. 259) where he quotes Thomas Prior, claiming the Irish customs officials were well informed of prices “both at home and abroad.”

Let the mystery end. The prices on direct trade are in Irish values, F.O.B. on Irish exports, and in overseas values F.O.B. on imports. On the indirect trades, the exports are also probably F.O.B. values, but the indirect imports may be English F.O.B. values, if the Customs 15 followed the same procedures of official valuation as the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, 1696-1870. Therefore, whether you add or subtract shipping earnings from the trade values is a matter, let’s say, of perspective. From the Irish viewpoint, you add only Irish shipping earnings on exports and on imports to move properly toward final Irish balances. Truxes provides no total or separate regional estimates of shipping earnings and other invisibles, how-

ever, and it would have been better to let the commodity trade balances stand alone, explicitly valued.

Aside from this thorny chapter filled with landmines, this is an excellent book. Truxes has significantly advanced our knowledge, and there are many fascinating perspectives that will appeal to a wide spectrum of scholars interested in trade and commerce in the century and a quarter before America's independence.

University of California, Davis

GARY M. WALTON

Sovereignty and Liberty: Constitutional Discourse in American Culture. By MICHAEL KAMMEN. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988. xiv, 213p. Illustrations, index. \$25.00.)

Deservedly enthusiastic professional and popular reactions to Professor Kammen's several other books are virtually interchangeable with the present reviewer's response to *Sovereignty and Liberty*. Like *A Machine that Would Go of Itself*, *Spheres of Liberty*, *Selvages and Biases*, and *People of Paradox*, *Sovereignty* is engaging, literate, often elegant, and, unfortunately, sometimes off-side or, as in one bedrock interpretation, flatly wrong.

Like a very few other American constitutional history specialists, including Paul Finkelman, Kermit Hall, and Leonard Levy, Kammen is a veritable cottage industry of highest quality books, essays, and papers. But the others named deal more tightly than Kammen with the Constitution's technicalities, doctrinal evolution, and institutional forms. By contrast, Kammen opts to stand outside those well-defined and sometimes constraining arenas. Like Maxwell Bloomfield, Kammen prefers "constructs" about popular perceptions of the Constitution and constitutionalism through America's history. Thus, *Sovereignty and Liberty* focuses on many tensions, paradoxes, inconsistencies, and curiosities resulting from the fact that long before 1789 America was a functioning federalism. In it, then as now, localities and colonies (states) more than empire or nation determined individuals' limits of liberty. Resulting diversities in practices about rights make exceedingly complex and difficult attempts to impose orderly analyses on the past. But as shaped by a past-master of Kammen's ability and agility, attempts can be exceedingly worthwhile.

Now to the error in *Sovereignty*. Neither complexities nor difficulties justify Kammen's suggestion (p. 146) that "Political anarchy, American style, did occur in 1860-65; and . . . extra-constitutional artifices had to be contrived in order to reconcile all the governmental 'loose ends' once the fighting stopped." In light of recent events in Lebanon, Nicaragua,

Colombia, the Philippines, and Afghanistan, among other riven societies, plus the histories of dozens more analogous bloody civil strifes of the nineteenth century, a notion that the calendared elections, unfettered open voting, and restabilization of two-party politics of America's Civil War constituted "political anarchy," after which unbridged fissures were merely "paper[ed] over," defies logic as well as history. Civil War contemporaries Walter Bagehot, Georges Clemenceau, Benito Juarez, and Karl Marx, among others abroad, plus, domestically, Lincoln himself and prides of his peers justify other scholars' conclusions that deny Kammen's judgment on this point. As examples of the last, the articles by Foner, Hartog, and Keller in the Constitution Bicentennial number of the *Journal of American History* (Dec. 1987), added to books, articles, etc., by Benedict, Nieman, Trefousse, and others, deserve Kammen's further attention. Perhaps in the foreseeable paperback editions of *Sovereignty*, he will consider altering the misstatement.

The book deserves wide circulation on campuses and in communities across America as the nation moves toward the Constitution's tricentennial. One can hope that when it nears 2089, its Constitution will boast as gifted and energetic an analyst as Kammen.

Rice University

HAROLD M. HYMAN

The Quakers. By HUGH BARBOUR and J. WILLIAM FROST. (Westport and New York: Greenwood Press, 1988. xiv, 407p. Illustrations, biographical entries, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. \$65.00.)

The Quakers is the third volume to appear in the Greenwood Press series of histories of American religious denominations. The Greenwood series updates the American Church History Series published in 1893-1897. This particular history is the only modern single-volume history of the Society of Friends. Authors Barbour and Frost state that they intend their volume for "college students, scholars, and others seeking to understand the origins and evolution of the Society of Friends" (p. xiii).

Of its twenty-one chapters, approximately eleven are devoted to the years before 1783, and three of these treat the English origins of the Society. Throughout the book, English influences upon American Quakers are never far from the authors' minds. Pennsylvania occupies most of three chapters (all before 1783), but Pennsylvania weaves in and out of others, in accord with the authors' successful attempt to avoid geographical "tunnel" histories. The authors also have addressed not just the leaders and locations of Quakerism, but also theology, families and children, gender issues, Quaker industrialists, and wealth, among other topics. They have tried to be

comprehensive. The volume concludes with a ninety-five-page biographical dictionary of Quaker leaders.

No unifying thesis or vision informs this history; neither does it break ground with new and original research or opinions. It attempts, rather, to represent others' theses and interpretations, and it does so fairly and equitably. Given the authors' task, it may be inevitable that the reader of *The Quakers* is left with the impression he has consulted an encyclopedia. It will not appeal to a casual reader and will hardly suit the college student or the syllabus of his course. It is a book to be consulted to verify a fact, correct an impression, fill a gap, or to become the point of departure for further research into Quaker history. It is a reference book and a good one. Its price also means it will be on the library reference shelf rather than in courses or homes.

The quality of the writing varies. At its best, as in the chapter on the Hicksite separation or in the vignettes of Rufus Jones and Henry Cadbury, the book is succinct, luminous, and penetrating. Other parts are marred by poor prose (pp. 41, 68) and excessive detail. There are too many persons, places, and dates, and an obvious need for summaries of the ministries and migrations of Friends. Maps and tables are crude, especially for such an expensive book.

In spanning almost 350 years of Quaker history the book conveys at least two impressions: one, of change in the Society, and two, of divisions and diversity. For some 175 years the Society remained largely unified and usually stood in a peculiar and prophetic relationship to the world. Quaker speech and dress, endogamy, pacifism, philanthropy, antislavery, and other testimonies arose at different ages but always made Friends identifiable. After the Hicksite separation in 1827, however, division succeeded upon division. By the twentieth century, the majority of people still bearing the name Quaker appeared like most Protestants and most Americans, yet quite different than some of their nominal brethren. While the authors, in possibly the broadest generalization in the book, write that "Quakers have always believed that they were called to a peculiar relation to the whole human world" (p. 10), most Quakers do not behave that differently from non-Quakers. How so much change and diversity arose makes for some interesting reading.

University of Arizona

JACK D. MARIETTA

Private Matters: American Attitudes toward Childbearing and Infant Nurture in the Urban North, 1800-1860. By SYLVIA D. HOFFERT. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989. 229p. Illustrations, bibliography of primary sources, index. \$24.95.)

Joining a growing number of social historians interested in life experiences of ordinary people, Sylvia Hoffert examines popular attitudes toward the private matters of childbearing and infant nurture. She concentrates on the first sixty years of the nineteenth century, because she sees that period as one in which "major events such as birth, marriage, and death were increasingly removed from the public sphere" (p. 2). The factors that led to this privatization in Hoffert's view, although not the explicit focus here, include the increasing availability of birth control, geographic mobility, urban expansion, social mobility, and medical advances. The new ideology of motherhood evident in this period, and the private choices women made within their sphere, posits Hoffert, became part of public concern. Attitudes about motherhood, depicted in both private and public writings, form the core of the book.

Having consulted more than seventy diaries, letter collections, and memoirs of northeastern women, Hoffert offers a portrait of middle- and upper-class attitudes that makes compelling reading. She quotes liberally from women's writings and allows readers a glimpse into their lives (enhanced by an appendix providing some biographical information on forty of the women). The book is its most powerful when it relies on these sources. Some of this personal material has been used by other historians, but much of it is fresh and new. For example, she explores (with illustrations) how pregnant women altered their clothes to fit their expanding bodies, and, most poignantly, she looks at how mothers learned to cope with their new infants' sickness and, too often, death. "Days have passed since my sweet babe has lain in the silent ground," wrote one Maine woman. "I go about my domestic duties in moaning, sighing over the melancholy void that death has made" (p. 169). Hoffert also consults fictional writing effectively in her attempt to uncover popular attitudes toward these life events.

Medical attitudes form a significant part of Hoffert's focus, and this aspect of the book is less compelling. Here she relies on published sources, often medical advice books, and does not call upon the evocative experiential accounts other historians have used. The women's actual personal experiences and rich level of detail are unequalled in the physicians' general and mostly prescriptive statements. While in neither case do we learn how the people cited were selected or how representative they might be, this evaluation is especially missed here, because Hoffert does not provide the medical historical context in which the physicians' views might be understood. Thus, Hoffert's women come through as stronger actors with motivations that are

more clearly developed than do the physicians, who appear as somewhat vague representations of professionals whose interests (by implication) bear too much resemblance to their late twentieth-century counterparts.

Although this is a regional and urban history, Hoffert does little to indicate what might be specific to the Northeast or to cities in this study. Readers will do well to consult simultaneously Sally McMillen's study of the same period and same subject in the South (*Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy, Childbirth and Infant Rearing*) and to analyze for themselves how regional interests and urban experiences might have influenced these private events.

The subject of the book is important, and the rich archival and published material the author draws upon makes it well worth reading. Historians and general readers will benefit from this study and will be challenged to carry some of the ideas to future work.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

JUDITH WALZER LEAVITT

Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press. By JAMES L. CROUTHAMEL. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989. xi, 202p. Frontispiece, bibliographical essay, index. \$27.95.)

This study of James Gordon Bennett and the *New York Herald* is the first full account of Bennett's career since 1942 and the first ever to provide the reader footnotes and bibliography. Bennett is very likely the most important figure in the history of American journalism (only Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Pulitzer, Adolph Ochs, and William Paley could be considered rivals as builders and innovators of key journalistic institutions). No newspaper had greater national and international influence than Bennett's *Herald* in the decades leading up to the Civil War. So this work by James Crouthamel is very welcome.

Born and educated in Scotland, schooled in Latin and Greek, and widely read in contemporary letters, Bennett came to the United States in 1819. He served an apprenticeship in journalism on the *Charleston Courier* and then the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, writing from 1827 to 1831 as the paper's Washington correspondent. When he began the *New York Herald* in 1835, quickly making it the most successful of the new "penny papers" in New York, he was unusual among early editors in bringing with him "the perspective of an educated professional, not that of a self-educated craftsman" (p. 18).

Bennett borrowed from the other recently established penny papers' spicy reporting on crime and politics but also sought to provide what Crouthamel types "more substantial" fare. Bennett's importance, Crouthamel rightly observes, was to place the *Herald* at the leading edge of the newspaper

revolution of this period—adapting the new “sensational” style and subject matter of reporting but, equally, taking advantage of and innovating in the use of new printing and news-gathering techniques and emphasizing “news as a commodity” (p. 24).

Crouthamel devotes most of his work to charting Bennett’s editorial and news coverage of Manifest Destiny, slavery and sectional politics, New York affairs, Civil War military and political affairs, and international politics. Crouthamel concludes that the *Herald* was inconsistent and not altogether “a very responsible newspaper in its politics.” This account is useful, although the editorial side of it, for the years 1854-1867, has been more comprehensively treated in a fine study by Douglas Fermer (*James Gordon Bennett and the New York Herald* [1986]).

Crouthamel’s work is relatively modest in both length and interpretive reach. It is a straightforward narrative of the rise of the *Herald* to Bennett’s death and the passing on of the paper to his son in 1872. (There is not a word about the relationship between Bennett *père* and Bennett *fils*. Presumably, little is known.) Crouthamel does not pause for more than two pages to consider a debate (in which I have just participated) about who read the *Herald*. This may be just as well, for he rightly observes that the pertinent evidence is fragmentary at best. At the same time, it seems a lost opportunity that a person who has read the *Herald* so carefully has not attempted to mine more from his research, even if tentatively so. There is no attention, for instance, to recent historical writing on fiction, book publishing, and literacy to situate the changes in journalistic writing Bennett advanced in the context of a broader cultural transformation.

The result is a tidy monograph rather than a large contribution to our understanding of “the rise of the popular press.” Still, this book, along with Fermer’s, provides a more sophisticated and judicious overview of Bennett’s contributions as a journalist than we have had before.

University of California, San Diego

MICHAEL SCHUDSON

Abolitionism: A Revolutionary Movement. By HERBERT APTHEKER. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989. xviii, 196p. Illustrations, bibliographic essay, index. Cloth, \$24.95; paper, \$10.95.)

In this survey of American abolitionism Herbert Aptheker argues that historians have generally ignored the movement’s revolutionary character. He views the abolitionists—including slaves, whose efforts to gain freedom he believes made abolitionism possible—not as reformers but as revolutionaries who, by confiscating billions of dollars of private property, fun-

damentally transformed the nation's social, economic, and political order. These men and women thought in terms of class, states Aptheker, and by the 1850s considered armed resistance to slavery both just and necessary. John Brown occupies an exalted position among Aptheker's revolutionary heroes, for, in the author's opinion, Brown was not only martyred to the cause of freedom but also rejected the concept of white supremacy and possessed an acute class consciousness. Aptheker acknowledges that not all abolitionists were free of racial prejudice and that they disagreed on whether to link the labor and women's movements with the struggle against slavery. But throughout the book he emphasizes the role abolitionism played in stimulating the crusade for black, labor, and women's rights.

Abolitionism: A Revolutionary Movement serves to remind historians that a cause which challenged the nearly universal racist assumptions of white Americans and called for the destruction of an institution deeply rooted in the nation's fiber was bound to have revolutionary implications. He throws important light on the parallels between American abolitionism and the international revolutionary ferment of the time. He also draws upon a growing body of literature that challenges the long-standing focus on white, male, middle-class evangelicals within the movement. His work, one hopes, will encourage historians to explore further the composition of the abolitionist constituency as well as the contributions of blacks, workers, and women to the cause. In addition, Aptheker's chapter on "Political Prisoners and Martyrs" adds to our knowledge of the repressive measures directed against antislavery activists in both the North and South.

Yet, in many respects, this work is disappointing. Aptheker focuses his attention almost entirely on the Garrisonian abolitionists. In fact, the Garrisonians' views on both means and ends often differed from those of a majority of abolitionists. There is virtually no mention of the political abolitionists or of those who engaged in church-based antislavery agitation. The Liberty party, for example, is noted in a single sentence, and one looks in vain for serious treatment of the relationship between evangelicalism and abolitionism.

The political and church-based abolitionists are ignored, one suspects, largely because they do not lend support to Aptheker's contention that "the movement as a whole was a revolutionary one in every respect" (p. xi). Aptheker's thesis is not persuasive. While it is true that the abolitionists subordinated property rights to human rights, few challenged property rights beyond the ownership of slaves. Moreover, with the exception of slavery, most abolitionists sought to reform, not destroy, the major social, economic, and political institutions in America. One need not conclude, as have several recent studies, that the abolitionists were spokesmen for an emerging industrial order. But the fact remains that few even among the Garrisonians

(and for that matter the labor reformers of the time) repudiated either the capitalist system or industrialism.

The author also fails to explain why the abolitionists came to embrace immediatism or to locate them within their socioeconomic and cultural context. Throughout the book extensive lists of names and incidents tend to serve as a substitute for analysis and explanation. Merton L. Dillon's and James B. Stewart's general studies of abolitionism remain the best introductions to this important subject.

Southern Connecticut State University

HUGH DAVIS

Galusha A. Grow: The People's Candidate. By ROBERT D. ILISEVICH. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988. xiii, 320p. Illustration, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Robert Ilisevich has written an old-fashioned, traditional, political-historical biography of a leading middle-period Republican congressional leader. Galusha Grow was one of the few public officials of that time who lived long enough to be present at the creation of the Republican party and to continue to serve the party as it became the champion of big business expansionism and protectionism. That career thus becomes a revisionist's dream as the one-time supposed Jeffersonian agrarian Democrat evolved into a high tariff Republican congressional tool of big business interests.

Grow had once been a Pennsylvania Democrat of classical republican persuasion, believed in a natural right to the land, and opposed slavery. But the congressman's free soil ideology appeared linked to Pennsylvania's need for an expanded internal market; his early anti-tariff stand actually reflected a divided state's complicated agricultural interests; and his free soilism merely seemed to advance his hoped-for homestead law. Grow left the Democratic party over Kansas, rose to become chairman of the national House territorial committee, gained the reputation as a Thaddeus Stevens radical Republican speaker of the House during the Civil War, and remained most of his life an irreconcilable opponent of the South. Never does the author find antislavery rhetoric become reform sentiment for the freedman. Instead, Grow became a political anachronism, hostile to the postwar Republican state machine of Simon Cameron and Matthew Quay; a man who tilted at party windmills. When too old and too loyal to be a threat to the bosses, the former radical became a shill for the state industrial interests as well as his own coal business, as he dropped his so-called classical economic liberalism to stump for a high protective tariff. At the last Grow spoke for

an expansionist United States determined to perpetuate the master white class. Under such a rock did Howard K. Beale find Republicans.

But the author certainly did not mean to create this portrait of a man he found to be so consistent in his politics. Perhaps because Ilisevich has labored without family papers and has been forced to rely on the printed record, he found a prickly orator. Because he has not bothered to understand the confused economic and class interests in Grow's own district, he found a man popular with voters, but ignorant of their values and needs. Too, the author has neglected the most recent generation of political historians, which includes excellent analysis of major antislavery leaders, detailed study of voter records, revisionist work on the rise and fall of centralized government during the Civil War era, and marvelous synthesis on the origins of the Republican party. By providing little context for this historical biography, and especially because he ignores the shifting divisions within Pennsylvania's own sectional economy during the period under review, the author leaves the reader unclear as to Grow's political motivations.

But Ilisevich has whetted this historian's appetite for further understanding of men such as Galusha Grow. For certainly such longevity in public life during those important years can reveal much. Even with so many missing sources, the reader comes away with the sense of that politician's tragedy. Grow lived long enough to find his form of liberalism irrelevant. His old age return to political life should intrigue all historians of geriatrics and the public man. For these contributions, the author is to be congratulated.

Catholic University of America

JON L. WAKELYN

Liberty, Virtue, and Progress: Northerners and Their War for the Union. By EARL J. HESS. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1988. vii, 154p. Index. \$35.00.)

The professed aim of this short but complex volume is to explain "what factors motivated Northerners to support the war to save the Union and then to sustain their war effort in the face of the unexpectedly high cost in battlefield suffering" (p. 1). Hess attempts to do this largely by presenting and analyzing a variety of illustrative and illuminating statements about the war by a wide variety of individuals. He concludes that northern support for the war was based upon a number of specific ideological and/or cultural values that dominated northern thought, including self-government, democracy, individualism, egalitarianism, the protection of property, order, and self-control.

The first four chapters explain how such values shaped a northern sense of distinction from the slave South and a commitment to the Union, and they trace the role of these values in inspiring persisting support for the war in the face of the mounting ordeal. A fifth chapter shows how the increasingly radical policies of the Lincoln administration challenged the initial self-image of the North and thus stimulated growing internal opposition to the war. A final and particularly original chapter argues that the "progress" of subsequent decades, which was characterized by an acquisitive and consumer-oriented individualism, proved disillusioning and frightening to the selfless, community-minded veterans of the war generation.

Throughout, Hess is primarily concerned with the attitude of northern supporters of the war. He stresses the intensity and dedication of that support, and he identifies it with "the people" and, by and large, with positive values. The work is effective in its analysis of a wide variety of considerations including racism, dissent, self-interest, and self-sacrifice. The selected quotations are excellent, but leaders seem over-represented and black northerners neglected. Although the essence of much of the material Hess presents is familiar, his analysis provides a helpful and challenging contribution to our growing interest in the historical role of ideologies. One problem of a work such as this, however, is that it does not succeed in establishing how representative its selections are or in distinguishing between expression or rationale on the one hand and motivation on the other. For example, this reviewer is not persuaded that the northern population's support of the Civil War rested upon as intricate an ideological base as this work claims, or that persuasive quotations from individuals such as Emerson, Holmes, Child, and Tourgée necessarily represent the broader thought patterns of the folk. Nevertheless, this volume provides our most effective study of the connection between the Civil War effort of the North and the dominant ideology of that day.

Northern Illinois University

OTTO H. OLSEN

A Philadelphia Family: The Houstons and Woodwards of Chestnut Hill. By DAVID R. CONTOSTA. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988. xviii, 207p. Illustrations, map, genealogy, note on sources, index. \$19.95.)

David R. Contosta wrote *A Philadelphia Family*, he suggests, because in contrast to much of the Philadelphia elite, "the Houston and Woodward families, connected through marriage in the second generation, . . . have been unusually civic-minded." Henry Howard Houston (1820-1895) came

to Philadelphia as a young man, where he managed freight for the Pennsylvania Railroad. At first, he enjoyed prosperity but not genuine wealth; the Civil War changed that. In 1861 Henry Houston had had an annual income of \$5,000, which by 1865 had risen to \$114,000. The source of that remarkable increase was Houston's founding, along with three other Pennsylvania Railroad men, of the Union Freight Line. The principal customer of the Union Freight Line, which streamlined the movement of goods over the trackage of different and competing companies, was the Union army. The Union army, as all students in United States history survey courses know, was responsible for many a late nineteenth-century fortune; Henry Houston was not the only businessman to find war a lucrative business. Having secured his fortune, Houston resigned at the close of the war from his managerial job for the Pennsylvania Railroad, but he maintained his numerous business connections there. Although from this point on, he earned his income from investments, many of those investments were connected, directly or indirectly, to the plans of the rail line. By the 1880s, according to his own reckoning, he had amassed wealth totalling nearly seven million dollars.

Henry Howard Houston would be of only passing interest to Philadelphia history, however, as a smaller scale version of the so-called railroad kings. Rather, Philadelphia remembers Houston for his development of Chestnut Hill. As other men with connections to the Pennsylvania Railroad were doing in other suburban sites at the time, in the late 1870s Houston bought up large tracts of land in Chestnut Hill, Montgomery County, and Roxborough for residential development. He then persuaded his friends at the Pennsylvania Railroad to extend passenger service to Chestnut Hill, and he confidently expected that railroad service would follow for the remainder of his property, not foreseeing that the depression of the 1890s would forestall some of his intentions.

If Houston resembled his counterparts in the rail business in his shrewd acquisition of suburban real estate, he differed from them in the use to which he put that real estate. Rather than attempting to amass an even greater fortune as a suburban land baron, he began to create a specific kind of residential environment in Chestnut Hill. Wissahickon Heights (later renamed St. Martins) initiated a long-term family interest in the development of Chestnut Hill, where Houston settled his family on fifty-two acres in the late 1880s, and where he handsomely supported numerous religious and charitable enterprises. Around his own mansion he built houses for his children, one of whom, Gertrude, had almost as great an interest in suburban development as her father.

Although Contosta gives most of the credit for the craftsman-inspired houses that succeeded Houston's development to Gertrude's husband George

Woodward, there is ample suggestion in the book that Gertrude Woodward herself had an abiding involvement in these projects. George and Gertrude Woodward were responsible for a considerable portion of the architecture that gave Chestnut Hill its distinctive character. And like Houston himself, they cared more about the kind of environment they were creating—in terms of tenants for the houses as well as aesthetics—than they did about making huge amounts of money. They were already very wealthy—Gertrude Woodward's income from her share of the trust bringing them an annual income in the early twentieth century of \$200,000—and they held firm to the philanthropic ideas of the paterfamilias.

Although there are numerous supporting players, Henry Houston and George Woodward take the leading roles in this nicely descriptive family history. Not only did Woodward continue his father's-in-law interest in Chestnut Hill but he was also an important Philadelphia political figure in his own right. Among other things, he was chiefly responsible for the 1919 revision of Philadelphia's City Charter.

Readers hoping for skeletons in the closets of this Philadelphia family, or criticism, will not find such things here. Contosta has written a respectful family biography, an "official" history in that its writing, although not its publication, was subsidized by the daughter-in-law of George and Gertrude Woodward. All authors who benefit from the generosity of their subjects labor under the difficulties of detachment that such generosity may cause; nevertheless, Contosta evinces in this book a genuine and unforced affection for his subjects, which comes through in the pages of this well-illustrated and informative volume.

Stockton State College

MARGARET MARSH

Pieced by Mother: Symposium Papers. Edited by JEANNETTE LASANSKY.
(Lewisburg: Oral Traditions Project of the Union County Historical Society, 1988. 120p. Plates, figures, notes, index. \$19.95.)

With folklorists worrying that the quilt experience may be destroyed by traditional scholarship and the scholars worrying that the quilt and quilting language are too subjective for scientific inquiry, it is a feat that *Pieced by Mother* was ever put together as a scholarly publication. But Jeannette Lasansky's volume of essays, devoted to quilting as an exploratory tool for historical and even religious research, travels both roads well. She and the ten other authors deal minimally with stitching, piecing, and appliquéing habits and with their relationships to art. Lasansky's intention is to see "that

quilts not be isolated from the circumstances of their creation, but rather be placed within their social, technical, and cultural contexts."

The organization of the book, unfortunately, loses us here and there. In consciously choosing to ignore traditional editing patterns and, instead, arranging the essays according to the vague sequence used at the symposia at Bucknell University, the editor forfeits the use of geographical and chronological order. But perceptible in the Table of Contents is history—English, Quaker, and Pennsylvania-German quilting or bedding history; quilts in ethnic settlements; quilt construction; the communal and religious nature of quilting; the history of patterns and pattern names; conservation. Together the essays address issues remarkable in a quilt study: the effects of progress on fabric, thread, and patterns; and the effects on quilts of charitable female societies, of the silk and cotton industries, of printed sources and westward expansion, of evangelical Protestantism, of federal poverty programs, and of the separation of families as men and their machines drew away from the ideological and actual home.

Each author singled out an aspect of the quilt peculiar to his/her own sphere. Tandy Hersh's presentation of the quilted petticoat corrects the implication that quilting refers only to bedcovers and restores the original meaning of quilting as stitching designs rather than as fabric designs. Patricia Herr documents the early Quaker House of Industry in Philadelphia where quilting instead of spinning became a moral and economic activity of poor women. Alan Keyser examined architectural and archival materials to document his research on German bedding and the hierarchy implicit in the location of master bedrooms, guest (and best) bedrooms, children's and servants' bedrooms, and strangers' bedrooms. Sleeping distinctions were made even between strangers classified as tramps and strangers classified as peddlers.

Essayists Sally Peterson, Geraldine Johnson, and Annette Gero have not let Americans forget there are quilt designs other than the model established by white, Pennsylvania Germans. Peterson rescued from obscurity the Hmong (Laotian) quilters in Thailand and Hmong who settled between California and New Jersey. Like German quilters, they, too, have an iconographic system which memorializes and immortalizes human life. Geraldine Johnson and the research team from the American Folklife Center uncovered the Blue Ridge Mountain "everyday quilts [which] have not received the attention they deserve." And, Annette Gero described Australian quilters who in this century still create primitive covers called waggas.

The next five essays consider the relationship between the construction of quilts and social standards and movements. Virginia Gunn expertly covers template construction, a mathematical intricacy which symbolized "intellectual and moral endeavor" during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The cluttered, silk "Crazy Quilts" overshadowed the template after 1876. The "arts and crafts" philosophy removed the clutter with art nouveau and geometric motifs in 1890. Material culture does, indeed, not stand alone or still. Ricky Clark and Dorothy Cozart observe the quilt as a symbol of the abstract community of churchly Protestants. Quilt symbols carried the cleansing spirit of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the suffrage movement, the abolitionists, and the Red Cross. The myth of the quilt's goodness gave balance to a century in which progress and depression overwhelmed society.

Barbara Brackman reveals a crucial link between publishing and quilting. Magazines sold patterns, and patterns sold magazines. Thus, before 1930 the magazine writer served as folklorist. Gunn's concluding essay provides not only the latest advances in fiber chemistry but an indispensable bibliography. Like the other writers in this book, Gunn encourages the use of progressive techniques to identify and preserve a culture's traditions. A final question remains concerning the battle between progress and tradition. That battle, however, is fought on many fronts.

Center of Theological Inquiry, Princeton

ANITA SCHORSCH

Forgotten Doors: The Other Ports of Entry to the United States. Edited by M. MARK STOLARIK. (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses for the Balch Institute Press, 1988. 207p. Illustrations, index. \$32.50.)

Speak of the story of immigration to the United States and the mind immediately conjures up images of tens of thousands of foreign refugees arriving at Ellis Island. Indeed, how poetic and poignant it is to envision that the Statue of Liberty was the first American sight that the "huddled masses" saw as they embarked on their new life in the New World. As compelling as this story is, so too is it an incomplete one. Almost one-third of the fifty million immigrants who have entered the United States since 1820 did so through ports other than New York. Therein lies the primary contribution of this slim volume, for by elevating the significance of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Miami, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Los Angeles as immigrant ports of entry, *Forgotten Doors* gives them their rightful place in American ethnic historiography.

The outgrowth of a 1986 conference held at the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, *Forgotten Doors* is the publication of the revised papers with scholarly apparatus and comments (a more popular version of the papers was published in 1986 by the Balch Institute under the title *Freedom's*

Doors). With footnotes and comments, the volume under review makes for some interesting reading by clearly demonstrating that New York was but one, of many, ingredients in America's melting pot.

Lawrence Fuchs's essay on Boston shows quite convincingly that the immigrants whose first American sight was Beacon Hill transformed the colonial period's quintessential Anglo-American city into a nineteenth-century multicultural "Athens of America" dominated by the Irish. Frederic Miller's contribution on Philadelphia shows that by the time many immigrants caught their first glimpse of Cape May, the City of Brotherly Love was already multiethnic with strong representation from British and German skilled laborers. Because of its early links with German shipping lines, Baltimore, according to Dean Esslinger, became a virtual Cincinnati or Milwaukee of the South.

In contrast, those new arrivals who first saw Key Biscayne (Miami), as Raymond Mohl demonstrates, entered an already ethnically diverse community dominated not by Europeans but rather by Caribbean immigrants. Joseph Logsdon tells us that New Orleans, a city first influenced by the French, Spanish, and Creoles in the eighteenth century, ultimately became so ethnically diverse that, with its strong Catholic element, it became more Mediterranean in nature than any other American city.

To the west, San Francisco's ethnic population came from two distinct sources, as Charles Wollenberg writes: Europeans, who came first via the overland route, and Asians by the seafaring route, whose arrival precipitated intense discrimination by their predecessors. According to Elliott Barkan, Los Angeles (joining San Francisco as the two most Asian cities in America) did not become a significant port until after World War II, when air travel made it accessible to peoples from Asia; too, thousands of Latin Americans arrived overland, making Los Angeles the West Coast's most prominent destination of newcomers in the last two decades.

Like all anthologies, the essays in *Forgotten Doors* are somewhat uneven. The comments range from five pages to Randall Miller's nineteen-page response to Logsdon's piece on New Orleans—a virtual article in and by itself. At the very least, however, this volume clearly undermines the notion that only particular regions of the country can lay claim to the melting pot. To this reviewer, the essays on the urban South by Esslinger (Baltimore), Mohl (Miami), and Logsdon (New Orleans) are of especial value. In a land whose past is punctuated by myth, one of the longest sustaining fables is of a homogeneous South, void of the presence and influence of immigration and ethnicity. Surely, these three essays, and the work currently being done by other scholars, begin to chip away at that persistent misnomer.

While slim, *Forgotten Doors* nevertheless contains much to think about. It deserves a wide readership, but its prohibitive cost might, regrettably,

render that unlikely. Still, the authors of the articles in this collection are to be congratulated for a job well done.

Winthrop College

JASON H. SILVERMAN

ERRATUM

The following correction should be made in Michael Vinson, "The Society for Political Inquiries: The Limits of Republican Discourse in Philadelphia on the Eve of the Constitutional Convention," *PMHB* 113 (April 1989):

p. 205, fn. 73 should read "Interestingly, on February 9, 1985, a group of civic-minded citizens joined with Craig Truax in re-activating the Society for Political Enquiries."

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Thomas Morris Chester
Black Civil War Correspondent
His Dispatches from the Virginia Front

R.J.M. Blackett

In 1864 the Philadelphia *Press* commissioned Pennsylvania native Thomas Morris Chester to cover the Civil War and the activities of black troops from the Virginia front. Chester was the newspaper's first black correspondent and the only black correspondent for a major daily during the war. R.J.M. Blackett provides a concise biography of Chester and reproduces in annotated form his Civil War dispatches.

"The uniqueness of Chester's life and the variety of his struggles recommend this work to all students of the black experience in the United States, before, during, and after the Civil War."

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