BOOK REVIEWS

Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People. By JON BUTLER. (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1990. xii, 360p. Illustrations, index. $29.50.)

According to Jon Butler, historians of religion in America have usually gotten the story wrong. It was not a case of the New England Puritans begetting the eighteenth-century Great Awakening begetting the American Revolution begetting an antebellum America that was originally Christian but then declined into secularism. As Butler tells it, the story is very different. America, he argues, was from the start religiously eclectic and ambiguous. Spiritual lethargy much more than eager church adherence characterized the seventeenth-century colonists. The intensity of Puritan rhetoric signaled desperation rather than confidence. The process that, in his terms, "Christianized the American People," began with a reassertion of denominational authority in the period 1680-1760. In that process the Anglicans of the South, not the Puritans of New England, were in the vanguard. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century church leaders made a momentous decision to "sacralize" the American Revolution (even though ecclesiastical support for independence was considerably thinner than some have thought). This decision, when combined with the successful creation of many new authoritative religious institutions in the post-Revolutionary decades, led to the spread of the churches, a rise in numbers of people in attendance, and the growing presence of organized religion in American life. Butler also holds that historians, in their eagerness to trace a smooth tale of descent from Puritan glories, have almost completely missed major aspects of religion in America. Among these is the persistent vigor of supernatural practices over which the churches had very little control—especially dreams, the occult, witchcraft, white magic, and physical healing. Another is what Butler styles the "holocaust" that stripped enslaved blacks of the religious systems of their African homelands. Abraham Lincoln provides a fitting summation for Butler's story. Lincoln was theistic but almost never mentioned Christ; he was a fatalist but did not express his fatalism in standard theological categories; he was quick to employ biblical phrases but used them more like a Hebrew prophet than a Christian preacher; he ascribed authority to his dreams but not to ministers; he attended church but never became a member. Butler concludes that only a full recognition of the sinuous, culturally embedded path he maps can explain why religious development in America has differed so much from Europe's. Implicitly, he seems also to be saying

that present voices which promote univocal readings of American religious history—of either the "Christian America" or the "always secular" variety—have their homework cut out for them.

Awash in a Sea of Faith is, indeed, a notable corrective. Its grounding in wide reading enables Butler to tease provocative conclusions from neglected sources—for example, the healings and even a resurrection from the dead in the Tennent family of eighteenth-century revivalists, or the means Richard Allen used to extend a black denomination out from its center in Philadelphia. Many of the book's general arguments are also persuasive, especially its detailed case for the importance of supernatural practices among the ordinary people and a convincing argument about the *rise* in church adherence during the antebellum period. Other aspects are, however, not as compelling. In a book otherwise alert to the ambiguities of religious experience, a curious woodenness attends the concept of "authority," which for both the mid-eighteenth century and the antebellum period, Butler suggests, was the simple antithesis of democratic aspiration. In fact, figures like George Whitefield or Francis Asbury were authoritarian precisely insofar as they were egalitarian; most of the rising church leadership in antebellum America joined them in seeking a form of authority very different than that promoted by Puritans and Anglicans in earlier centuries. On the Great Awakening, Butler continues the iconoclasm of an earlier article in the *Journal of American History* by insisting that the notion of a single revivalistic event worthy of the term "Great Awakening" is an "interpretive fiction." The argument is a good one, but only up to a point. Clearly the largest colonial churches embraced a more evangelistic, more populist, more informal variety of Protestantism after the 1730s, and this embrace was often fueled by the presence of George Whitefield or itinerants imitating Whitefield. The "Great Awakening," nuanced a bit, is still a good term to describe that embrace. (Butler is on firmer footing when questioning the distinctness of a "Second Great Awakening" early in the next century.) His use of the term "holocaust" for the destruction of African religious systems is not erroneous so much as misplaced. Religious disruption was a byproduct of the slave system itself, a system that eviscerated European religious ideals even as it destroyed African religion. The term also obscures the creativity by which blacks created meaningful Christian faith for themselves out of the slavers' oppressive Christianity. Finally, although the book is commendably strong on the cultural outworking of religious expression, it is relatively weak on the way that religious beliefs and practices shaped or were shaped by parallel ideological, intellectual, social, and economic realities (an exception is an exemplary discussion concerning the way denominational networks may have anticipated the economic networks that created the United States's market economy). Similarly, in its praiseworthy effort to account for neglected aspects of American reli-

gious life, the book pays little attention to theology, Christian devotion, the influence of the Bible, and other more standard themes of religious history which Butler by implication seems to consider unimportant simply because they have been overemphasized in the work of other historians. In sum, this very good book is clearly a success, but more by enriching than by supplanting earlier accounts of religion in America.

Wheaton College MARK A. NOLL

Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865. By RICHARD D. BROWN. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. xii, 372p. Illustrations, maps, appendix, index. $39.95.)

The process by which large-scale changes in media, especially the growing dependence on print culture, have intersected the lives of Americans forms the subject of Richard D. Brown's lively and provocative book. Brown organizes his study around sketches of individuals in different times and places: Samuel Sewall in Boston at the turn of the eighteenth century; William Byrd II in tidewater Virginia; artisans, farmers, clergymen, and lawyers in mid-eighteenth-century New England; colonial wives, mothers, and daughters who perused romances and devotional works with equal zest; merchants in late eighteenth-century New York City; the bibliophile William Bentley in Salem, Massachusetts, in the early 1800s; and aspiring lawyers and self-improving artisans in the 1840s. Overall, Brown emphasizes that, even as newspapers, magazines, and books became more available, face-to-face encounters persisted as sources of information. Newspapers supplemented rather than supplanted word-of-mouth communication in the eighteenth century and their relevance frequently lay in the brief official texts that they reprinted rather than in their "stale news, details, and irrelevant commercial notices" (p. 128). Yet print culture had decidedly greater value for some groups more than for others. Mid-eighteenth-century professional lawyers continued to depend on overlapping social networks for knowledge, but they used their familiarity with high cultural texts to distinguish themselves from part-time pettifoggers with merely local reputations.

Despite the persistence of informal social networks in diffusing information, Brown identifies several broad transitions, especially after 1790: from print scarcity to abundance; from diffusion through well-worn social avenues to "contagious" diffusion by print that bypassed social networks; from a scarcity-bred preoccupation with accumulating information (Samuel Sewall

collected and bound newspapers for further reference) to an attitude of random consumerism of print; from gentry control of information to broad, middle-class access; and from the unitary knowledge of a "common culture that the gentry and clergy had shared with their neighbors" to the segmented and specialized channels of knowledge characteristic of antebellum America (p. 272). While disclaiming any interest in the "ultimate causation" of these developments, Brown stresses their interaction with familiar political and economic changes: democratization, the market economy, and the transportation revolution. The rise of new ways of spreading information, "information systems," reflected these changes but also stimulated them.

All well and good, but Brown's reliance on case histories for most of the book makes his concluding chapter a *deus ex machina*. Very late in the book he contends that the Great Awakening fundamentally altered assumptions about the hierarchical control of information, but this is virtually his first invocation of the Awakening, and the reader is left wondering why it took another half century for a popular system of information diffusion to develop. His list of major transitions also raises problems. To sustain his conception of a transition from a common to a segmented culture, he makes Sewall's Boston more conservatively consensual and Emerson's America more fragmented than his evidence suggests. The difficulty is accentuated by his tendency to conflate information and knowledge, words that he often uses interchangeably but that require distinction. To talk of a unitary or common culture in Sewall's Boston might make sense as long as one is referring to information, for Sewall's circle achieved a measure of control over the access of commoners to public information. But that same circle made little effort to share its refined knowledge with the public. Arguably, the lyceums and debating societies of antebellum America created a shared culture of knowledge within a middle-class public even as the contemporary commercial revolution was making the acquisition of specialized information more important. To complicate matters further, lyceums flourished in a world where institutions of specialized knowledge were proliferating.

Where this leaves Brown's frequent references to a transition from a common to segmented and specialized "information systems" is unclear. Most likely, tensions between shared and specialized discourse existed throughout the period, but with the terms of the debate ever changing and with channels of information diverging from channels of knowledge. Rather than becoming "even more remote, no longer even an ideal," common culture may merely have assumed new forms by the mid-nineteenth century (p. 286).

Despite my reservations about the overall structure of Brown's argument, I view *Knowledge is Power* as much more than a succession of arresting vignettes. Brown has composed a powerful analysis of the changing conditions

under which Americans appropriated knowledge and a nuanced study of the functions of print culture.

University of Virginia JOSEPH F. KETT

A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies. By RANDALL H. BALMER. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. xi, 258p. Tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

Readers interested in the Dutch experience in the mid-Atlantic region between the English conquest of 1664 and the American Revolution will probably find this book incomplete and frustrating. The subtitle is misleading; the "Middle Colonies" apparently consist only of New York and northern New Jersey. Furthermore, "Dutch Religion" means the Dutch Reformed or Dutch Calvinists. The Dutch settlers in what is now Delaware and Pennsylvania are dismissed in a few sentences, as are Dutch Lutherans, Labadists, and members of other sects such as the Quakers that attracted Dutch adherents.

Within this narrow definition of his topic, Balmer traces the clash of English and Dutch cultures. He is especially concerned with the intersection of politics, economics, and religion. In New York City and on parts of Long Island, the English culture gradually displaced Dutch culture and fostered a formalistic or orthodox approach to Calvinism. In contrast, in New Jersey the Dutch embraced an evangelical pietism that transcended ethnicity and language. Ultimately, these two communities supported different sides in the politics and society of colonial America.

A key factor in this divergence was the activity of the Dutch ministers of New York City. Allied by wealth and interest with the mercantile elite, they accepted English rule, thereby alienating the smaller traders and artisans. Tensions were exacerbated by their reliance on the authorities for assistance in collecting their salaries, and further increased by the Dutch reconquest of 1673 and the restoration to English rule in 1674. Leisler's Rebellion of 1689 and its ramifications further divided the people, their ministers, and the churches. This episode is examined in great detail. Balmer concludes that issues of class and attitudes toward the English set in motion the forces that would produce significant differences between orthodox New York and pietistic New Jersey.

New York ministers, by their actions in the 1660s, provided the wedge for frequent English meddling in Dutch church affairs. This increased in

the 1690s as the English attempted to establish the Church of England in New York and in the early eighteenth century as the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel aggressively strove to foster assimilation. Once ministers realized that the English were strenuously attempting to displace Dutch culture, it was too late; they retreated into formalism and a reliance on church authorities in Amsterdam for guidance. Despite the resistance of Dutch women, anglicization proceeded rapidly.

Dissatisfied artisans and farmers began to migrate to New Jersey following the Rebellion, and especially after 1700. There, they experienced the disintegrating effects of frontier life and turned to the more pietistic forms of religious expression taught by laymen and less learned preachers than those dispatched by the Classis of Amsterdam. Influenced particularly by Theodorus Frelinghuysen, they embraced the Great Awakening and the preaching of English-speaking evangelicals. Participation in revivals also fostered anglicization, albeit in a different way.

The strength of this book lies in its examination of the ways in which economic and social issues influenced developments within the colonial Dutch Calvinist culture. The work, however, needs to be placed in the broader context of recent studies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey that deal with the development of multi-ethnic communities and the relationships among religion, language, and culture in the development of an "American" society.

Marquette University SALLY SCHWARTZ

Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry. By GEORGE W. FRANZ. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989. v, 354p. Maps, tables, graphs, bibliography, appendixes, index. $55.00.)

For most students of early American history, Paxton is remembered for the violence committed by its inhabitants in 1763 and 1764 in murdering allegedly innocent Indians and the subsequent march of hundreds of frontiersmen on the Quaker capital to compel the provincial government to provide adequate defense for the backcountry. Rather than dealing with the consequences of the frontiersmen's violence, Franz turns to what he sees as its causes: Paxton was an ad hoc community, one in which institutions for community action were minimal. For a decade, beginning in 1754, Paxton was constantly menaced by war and the threat of Indian attacks, an endangered town frustrated by the failure of the provincial government to act.

The resort to direct community action, Franz concludes, fit the established pattern of violence in pre-Revolutionary America, one of popular disturbances aimed at specific targets and expressing immediate concerns which the ordinary processes of government seemed incapable of satisfying. In this, readers will recognize the theory propounded by younger scholars of the generation of the 1960s.

Indeed, this book had its origin as a dissertation about twenty years ago. According to the author's preface, although "completely recast and corrected from the original dissertation . . . , [it] is still, essentially, that work." At the publisher's suggestion the decision was made not to add to what is an already heavily footnoted and detailed tome. To add the results of more recent research on community studies would only have "increased substantially the footnote material without affecting the actual content of the book." In his bibliography Franz lists only one secondary work published after 1974. There is no reference to the article by G.B. Warden and the note by Jacob M. Price which appeared in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* in 1976 on the pitfalls of using tax lists and inventories of estates in analyzing class structure.

Paxton was a sprawling, diverse community. A very high level of geographical mobility was a fundamental cause of the impermanence of community structure and the general lack of cohesion. Moreover, its inhabitants were set apart by a variety of allegiances, religious and ethnic differences, and a governmental structure which did not allow effective control by the inhabitants of their own affairs. But how, one wonders, could this situation have allowed the frontiersmen to organize for large-scale community action in 1764? Should not the diffuse, disjunctive, pluralistic nature of Paxton have operated against organizing large group action such as the march on Philadelphia? Franz tells us little of what actually happened, of who was involved in the march. Was the march spontaneous, or organized, calculated, and concerted? If the latter, by whom? Who participated?

Perhaps the greater value of this book is not so much what it says of community violence, or what Franz calls the ad hoc community, but what he himself points out as the pitfalls involved in using tax lists to determine the distribution of wealth and class structure in a community. What is often referred to as the distribution of wealth (by Franz himself, despite his own warnings to the contrary) is in reality the distribution of particular assets listed for tax purposes reflecting the values and prejudices of the political community at large. The tax laws of Pennsylvania were not always uniform and were not clear about the categories of property assessed. They mandated that assessors determine for taxpayers the amount of land, livestock, servants and Negroes, but personal property was not assessed. Other information included was at the discretion of the assessor; consequently, the quantity and

quality of the lists varied. Assessors listed the landholder, not the landowner, for the law held that the former was responsible for the tax. Unless the compiler noted "tenant," one cannot separate owner from tenant or squatter by using only the tax lists. Moreover, the assessment lists understated much of the taxable holdings; comparisons of the land records and inventories of estates (only a very few of these survive) with tax lists compiled very shortly before the death of an individual reveal wide discrepancies. Furthermore, the laws were changed during the eighteenth century, especially following the Revolution, with increasing emphasis being placed on wealth other than land. As a result, the increase in the share of taxes paid by the wealthier residents could simply be a function of the changes in the tax laws rather than in the distribution of wealth. An analysis of the changes occurring within a community presupposes some degree of stability of the population, but for the Pennsylvania backcountry and Paxton in particular, long-term geographical mobility throws into question any conclusion drawn about the stratification of society. By 1758, 47 percent of the taxpayers listed but two years before had left the community and 32 percent of those listed in 1758 had not been listed previously. Franz concludes the changes which occurred over time were not necessarily a function of conditions existing in Paxton but rather a product of the changing composition of the population that continually moved in and out of the township.

University of Nebraska, Lincoln J.M. SOSIN

The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy. By BEVERLY PRIOR SMABY. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988. xix, 271p. Figures, tables, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. $32.95.)

A great deal of painstaking research and translation has gone into the writing of this study. For that reason, one is reluctant to criticize the scholarly effort for having, in part at least, failed to fulfill the promise suggested by the book's title. Indeed, "the transformation" of Bethlehem on the Lehigh in the 1760s (as well as in the far-flung Moravian establishment in other parts of Pennsylvania and Carolina) from a communal "primitive" Christianity in imitation of the early church to a materialistic family-oriented quasi-capitalism was filled with both trauma and drama. One does not feel the trauma and drama in this study, nor fully understand it.

The focus of the study is unduly narrow, limited as it is to Bethlehem itself, the hierarchic center of American Moravianism. And we find virtually

nothing about how the "transformation" affected the remarkable geniuses of American Moravian culture—about men like David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder who contributed so much to our understanding of Indian life and character, or to artisans like David Tannenberg who built fine organs which are still treasured today, or the highly productive "primitive" painter and portraitist, Valentine Haidt.

Some comparative data with other early American communal societies also would have helped to broaden the perspective; the author's prefatory remark (p. xvi) that "The Moravians' early culture was unique in early America" is surprisingly inaccurate and evidence of a perspective problem. One need only be reminded of the rich and somewhat similar cultural vitality of nearby contemporary communal Ephrata or the even earlier mystical commune led by Johannes Kelpius on the Wissahickon near Philadelphia. Under the admittedly arrogant leadership of Count Nicholaus von Zinzendorf (the great benefactor of the Moravian Unity in both Europe and America who was the source of its highly artificial theology stressing "the blood and wounds" of Christ and of the presumptuous plan to mold the various early Pennsylvania German sectarians into a larger unity under Moravian auspices), the claim of Moravian "uniqueness" may have a certain validity, but not in terms of colonial realities. The great cultural *Blumenzeit* of American Moravianism was at least nurtured during the first twenty years while it maintained its communal character, in imitation of the pacifism and spirituality of the Apostolic Church. The Transition, superimposed by the more conservative authorities of the Brotherhood in Europe who worried about the mounting indebtedness of the Unity's far-flung missionizing investments, radically changed the character and aspirations of the Unity's "sweet Springtime" in America. Its cultural vitality tended to dry up, with admittedly many personal exceptions, thereafter.

Against this background, the book at hand suffers from problems of methodology. With her abilities in the German language, it was perhaps natural that Smaby relied overmuch on the work of Helmut Erbe (*Bethlehem, Pa.: Eine Kommunistische Herrnhuter Kolonie des 18 Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1929). But Erbe's work, though valuable and accurate, is based largely on European sources and thus has an understandable partiality to the European interpretation of the Transition phase—a partiality that informs Smaby's own approach. Much of the Smaby study is devoted to the translation and description of "hundreds" of funeral biographies, nearly all of which are highly idealized and expressed in rather tiresome religious phraseology, then collectively assessed in numerous charts and tables. The funeral biographies and their quantifying charts have little apparent application to the basic subject of the book, and what limited demographic value such exercises

provide are better expressed by Smaby's own effective prose in her opening and concluding chapters.

The "transformation" of early Bethlehem is a fascinating subject, reflecting as it does some of the main currents of change in the character of young America as a whole during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The above comments are not meant to obscure the book's usefulness and its contribution to the already rich and unusually large quantity of historical literature on Moravian culture in early America. Indeed, Smaby carefully handles and explains the early social structure of communal Bethlehem, usefully outlines the secularization of spiritual values in the transformation period, and provides a useful bibliography, though limited in scope, and an excellent index. Her conclusion, though too short, offers suggestive interpretive ideas to challenge future students of the American phenomenon. Such students will find values in the work which deserve a better presentation than the book's muddied illustrations and the clutter of charts and tables might suggest.

Washington, DC E.G. ALDERFER

After Ratification: Material Life in Delaware, 1789-1820. Edited by J. RITCHIE GARRISON, BERNARD L. HERMAN, and BARBARA MCLEAN WARD. (Newark: Museum Studies Program, University of Delaware, 1988. xii, 143p. Illustrations. $12.50.)

The two-hundredth anniversary of Delaware's ratification of the Constitution of the United States as "The First State" provided the opportunity for many celebratory and commemorative events and projects. One of these was an exhibition of period artifacts of everyday domestic material culture which were selected and mounted by the faculty and students of the University of Delaware's Museum Studies Program. The exhibition, which traveled throughout the state, illuminated the late eighteenth century for those who imagined that Delaware was peopled by polite gentlemen in brocade and ladies in silk dresses. This volume, which was unfortunately published long after the exhibition was closed, is the accompanying catalog.

After Ratification is made up of nine essays by the editors and their students who have painstakingly reconstructed the lives, relationships, and work patterns of some of the ordinary people from public records, correspondence, account books, and from the artifacts of the exhibition. The writers are

successful in recreating some ordinary lives, although the ghost of rich statesman John Dickinson hangs heavy over several of the essays.

J. Ritchie Garrison, who also contributes the preface and introduction, writes on tenancy and farming, using tax assessment records, legislative petitions, and wills. Using the will of worthy ratifier Richard Smith as a model, Garrison notes that the top decile of taxpayers owned 62 percent of the taxable wealth. Barbara McLean Ward recreates the life and work of an unnamed joiner and cabinetmaker of Mill Creek Hundred from his account book. She traces the way his year was divided between his craft and agriculture, and the networks of shared labor which made big projects possible for all. Bernard L. Herman dominates the volume, contributing essays on fences, on ordinary mansions, and on Kensey Johns and his carpenters. His previously published essays on related topics and his contributions to students' research questions are noted in several essays. He is clearly the leader in the study of the ordinary life of Delaware, which he imparts in a graceful literary style.

Dean Nelson's article on the decorated "Country Made Earthen Ware from the Mendenhall Privy" documents the very fruitful volunteer effort which unearthed and sorted out thousands of fragments of glassware and ceramics which had been tossed into a brick-lined Wilmington cesspit about 1820. Many of the red-bodied, coarse earthenware objects could be completely or partially restored, providing excellent examples of ordinary vessels for the exhibition, pictures for the catalog, and a sense of the quality and variety of those used in early nineteenth-century Delaware.

Impressive in many ways is the inclusion of student papers: Rebecca Siders on "Nathaniel Smithers and the Business of Family Relationships"; Mary Edna Sullivan on "Women Weavers"; and Judith Quinn on "Food Ways." These papers demonstrate mature scholarship and graceful writing, and make useful additions to the information of the period. Unlike many similar collections of disparate essays, this book has a unity, thanks to J. Ritchie Garrison, the primary editor.

From the evidence accumulated in these essays, the ratification of the Constitution had little to do with everyday life, except perhaps in the fluctuation of the currency. The lives of common people continued largely oblivious to this major political event. Another interesting finding here is that the spheres of male and female labor usually did not intersect, but were largely separate. Readers will find much that is useful and interesting in this small volume.

New York, New York CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN

Benjamin Brown French: Witness to the Young Republic: A Yankee's Journal, 1828-1870. Edited by DONALD B. COLE and JOHN J. MCDONOUGH. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1989. xvi, 675p. Genealogy, maps, illustrations, chronology, bibliography, calendar, index. $45.00.)

Benjamin Brown French was a Washington insider. From Andrew Jackson's presidency to U.S. Grant's, French lived on Capitol Hill while serving as a government functionary, lobbyist, civil leader, and director of corporations, fraternities, and charities. French knew everyone in town, was intimate with several presidents, and had a knack for being present at important events. Although never a major figure himself, in the intimate community of nineteenth-century Washington, Benjamin Brown French was a man in the know.

Witness to the Young Republic presents excerpts from the journal French kept for more than forty years. Here he recorded a busy cycle of professional engagements, parties, business trips, and visits to his native New Hampshire. He also commented on men and events and occasionally vented his spleen. In reproducing this journal, editors Cole and McDonough have regularized and corrected French's punctuation and spelling, aiming for readability rather than strict textual fidelity. An excellent introduction, illustrations, maps, genealogical charts, chronology, and bibliography guide the reader smoothly through the text. The index is marvelous—full, accurate, and easy to use. Annotation is lean, perhaps too much so. The editors identify all individuals mentioned in the text, but incidents and events involving French are left unexplained. Readers will wonder, for instance, what Caleb J. McNulty stood trial for in 1845, what "fair" French attended in February 1864, or what Horatio King's reunion was about in 1870.

Witness to the Young Republic is best at depicting daily life in Washington, still a small town in those days, and at illuminating the odd blend of the mundane and the extraordinary in the routine of a mid-level government servant. As a clerk, French consorted with the high and mighty, but he also spent many days signing land patents and copying printed committee reports into the manuscript journal of the House of Representatives, a task he called "the most useless labor ever performed by man." During the Civil War, French was Commissioner of Public Buildings. Besides overseeing the reconstruction of the Capitol building, his duties included heading the receiving line at presidential receptions ("a terrible bore") and supervising White House expenditures, through which he learned much about Abraham Lincoln's dismal home life.

Given French's situation, his journal ought to be more interesting than it is. To reduce the 3,700-page manuscript to publishable size, the editors have

cut out two-thirds of the original text. These excisions, though apparently necessary, accentuate problems of continuity inherent in the document itself. French's journal does not form a smooth narrative, or even a coherent one. Much of it reads like an appointment calendar. French often went weeks without writing, and then tried to catch up with brief, superficial entries recapping his recent movements. When he did go into detail, often on some personal or political quarrel, he rarely followed through to show its resolution. French could also be annoyingly discreet—refusing, for instance, to disclose all he knew of Mary Todd Lincoln's eccentricities. Together, the editorial abridgments and French's own inconstancy produce a chronicle that is difficult to follow and short on texture.

These flaws in the journal underscore a more serious one: although French was ideally positioned to observe, he was not a profound observer. The same traits that eased French's path as a man about town weakened his effectiveness as a commentator and critic. Respectable, amiable, popular, French was also shallow in perception and unoriginal in judgment. His vacillations on slavery and other leading issues reveal his political convictions as both conventional and superficial. He judged men mainly by their service to French's political party (first Democratic, then Republican) or to his own personal advancement. When John Quincy Adams made trouble for Democrats in the House of Representatives, French called him "a political harlequin" and "partizan demagogue." Five years later he eulogized the dead man's "almost Godlike mind" and fondly recalled his support for French's candidacy for Clerk of the House. Virginia congressman Henry Wise, a "ranting raving fool" in 1838, was "a man of high feelings of honor, generous & talented" by 1841. French's old friend Franklin Pierce, a "noble, warmhearted, affectionate man" until he disappointed French's hopes for office, afterward was a "base, heartless Hypocrite!" Sketchy as it is, the journal offers few clues to the motives behind these and other reversals of judgment.

Marred by frailties of characterization and continuity, French's journal falls short of being either a significant literary work or a major historical record. For its occasional anecdotal jewel and its fine editorial apparatus, scholars and buffs will find *Witness to the Young Republic* both useful and easy to use. But few will have the patience to read it straight through.

University of New Mexico DANIEL FELLER

God Gave Us This Country: Tekamthi and the First American Civil War. By BIL GILBERT. (New York: Atheneum, 1989. xi, 369p. Maps, bibliography, index. $22.50.)

Written for a popular audience, this biography of Tecumseh and his times focuses upon the struggle between the Indian tribes of the Old Northwest

and the onrushing Americans for control of the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes. Since Gilbert argues that the half-century between the 1760s and 1815 encompassed a period of almost continuous conflict between these two peoples, he has subtitled his study *the First American Civil War.*

An accomplished writer, Gilbert paints a sweeping panorama of frontier warfare reminiscent of the works of Alan Eckert. He describes the battles and skirmishes of Dunmore's War, the American Revolution, and the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Anthony Wayne. He also provides vivid accounts of the warfare during the War of 1812, and where appropriate, he discusses Tecumseh's participation in these actions. Yet this is a book about Tecumseh *and* his times, and the focus of the volume often is extended to a broad spectrum of people and events who shaped frontier life in the Ohio Valley.

Sympathetic to the Indians' dilemma, Gilbert portrays the tribespeople as the victims of American aggression, and describes their valiant attempts to retain their homelands. Indeed, many of Gilbert's Indian subjects were successful warriors, defending their homes and families against the onrushing Americans, but passages in which he describes them as "students and lovers of war . . . superbly trained in both battle and woodcraft, [able] to live off the land for weeks or months; to move rapidly and surreptitiously through the forests" (p. 28) contribute to two-dimensional "noble redman" stereotypes. Moreover, his delineation of Indians as "reds" or "savages" will be offensive to many readers.

Gilbert admits that his purpose was not to write a conventional biography. Critical of the "small flat figure of little consequence" who has emerged from historical documents, Gilbert attempts "to describe a shadow, the one Tekamthi [Tecumseh] made and the conditions of environment that caused him to cast it as he did" (p. 12). Within this context Gilbert is successful, for Tecumseh is portrayed in heroic terms, a leader with considerable physical prowess whose intellectual abilities enabled him to transcend his own culture and to forge the western tribes into a "new federation of red people who owed their primary allegiance to their race, not to small separate nations" (p. 208). In consequence, Tecumseh emerges from Gilbert's pages in terms that are considerably "larger than life." Although Gilbert discounts such frontier myths as Tecumseh's supposed love affair with Rebecca Galloway and his appointment to the rank of brigadier general in the British army, he does include many questionable speeches and incidents from Tecumseh's daily life, including the Shawnee's supposed participation in a large number of border skirmishes. Since source material regarding these events was gleaned from the later reminiscences of frontier whites and Indians, much of this information is, at best, speculative. Also speculative is Gilbert's suggestion that in the autumn of 1811 Tecumseh traveled extensively throughout

the trans-Mississippi West, first visiting the Osages in Missouri, then journeying on to meet with the Iowas and Sioux on the edge of the Great Plains.

Following traditional interpretations, Gilbert asserts that Tecumseh played a leading role in organizing the Indian coalition which emerged after 1805, and although more recent scholarship indicates that the movement coalesced around the religious revitalization of the Shawnee Prophet, Gilbert argues that Tecumseh's plans for a political-military confederacy emerged shortly after the Indian defeat at Fallen Timbers. He quotes passages from Tecumseh's later speeches to speculate that the Shawnee chief, "as indicated by his actions" (p. 213), played a leading role in attracting the Indians, first to Greenville, then to Prophetstown, and that the two brothers maintained a symbiotic relationship which shaped the movement from its inception.

In conclusion, Gilbert offers little that is new to our understanding of Tecumseh and the Indian coalition which emerged prior to the War of 1812, but this is a well-written volume which should appeal to history buffs and non-professional historians.

Indiana University R. DAVID EDMUNDS

Ohio and Its People. By GEORGE W. KNEPPER. (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1989. xi, 508p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $32.00; paper, $17.50.)

Which state lays claim to seven presidents (Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, McKinley, Taft, and Harding), numerous Civil War generals (McDowell, McClellan, Rosecrans, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan), successful industrial firms (Standard Oil, National Cash Register, Goodrich, Goodyear, Procter and Gamble, GM's Lordstown plant, and the Marysville Honda plant), and popular as well as critically acclaimed writers (Ned Buntline, William Dean Howells, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Sherwood Anderson, Zane Grey, Louis Bromfield, James Thurber, Allan Eckert, Helen Hooven Santmyer, and Toni Morrison)? George W. Knepper, a lifelong historian of Ohio, argues that "Ohio's most important quality has been its representative character" (p. ix) due to "the diversity of its people" and the "unusual balance between northern and southern influences, between agriculture and industry, between rural and urban" (p. x). Ohio reflected larger patterns in the nation's political, social, and economic history.

Knepper centers a chronological narrative on the history of political parties, gubernatorial administrations, and urban development, with sections on religion and education throughout. He provides particularly good coverage of

antebellum life, the rise of big business, Gilded Age politics, Progressive municipal reform, and the impact of mobilization for World War II. Knepper clearly explains the importance of Indian tribal life in the early French-British imperial struggle for control of the Ohio Valley. He celebrates the work of Ohio blacks in the antislavery movement, the Civil War, and twentieth-century urban life without overlooking racial tensions in a predominantly white, ethnically mixed population. Sections on Ohio women tend to focus on such traditional topics as antebellum reform, suffrage, and changes in family life, although discussions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Anti-Saloon League based on recent studies are valuable. Knepper recognizes the key role of militant rubber workers in Akron in setting precedents for the sit-down strikes that led to the creation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) industrial unions in the 1930s.

While Knepper makes an effort to integrate the recent monographic findings of the new social history in regard to Ohio's Indians, farmers, women, blacks, workers, and military men, the results are not completely satisfying to the professional scholar. At key points in the narrative, Knepper either mutes the conclusions of social historians or relies on older interpretations of key events or periods. Class differences in antebellum Ohio are accounted for with the safety-valve thesis (p. 119). The Ohio dynasty of presidents is credited to the fact that "Ohio was as near a microcosm of America as one could find in the late nineteenth century" (p. 275). The weaknesses of organized labor are ascribed to a lack of class consciousness, the dream of upward social mobility, the AFL's craft union model, and the rising costs of union labor. In the last chapter, Knepper builds an ethnocultural explanation of Ohio politics that makes more sense than generalizations given for the late nineteenth-century period.

Despite these analytical lapses from a scholarly perspective, *Ohio and Its People* is now the best general history of Ohio in print. The Kent State University Press is to be congratulated for its high-quality production standards in using heavyweight paper, an easy-to-read typeface, and a superbly copy-edited text. In providing continuous updating of key socioeconomic data throughout the narrative (summarized in useful appendixes), Knepper keeps his subject in balanced perspective while giving a running comparative history of national events to orient his readers. Such concern for the audience takes this state history beyond the traditional confines of the textbook genre. *Ohio and Its People* deserves widespread classroom adoption. Scholars, teachers, students, and the general reading public will find this a model history worthy of emulation by other state historians.

Tennessee Technological University PATRICK D. REAGAN

Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America. By THERON F. SCHLABACH. (Scottdale, PA, and Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1988. 415p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $19.95.)

This volume is book two in a four-volume series on the Mennonite experience in America, a cooperative historical research project, sponsored by several Mennonite groups, which spans three centuries of Mennonite life in America. The author, who also serves as editor of the series, is a Mennonite professor of history at Goshen College, a Mennonite institution of higher education. The book picks up the Mennonite and Amish story in 1790 and focuses on the nineteenth century. This social history of the Mennonite experience deals with economic factors, migration patterns, family life, land usage, internal divisions, the rise of social institutions, and the Mennonite response to major political events such as the Civil War. Indeed, it traces the transformation of a humble, reserved, "quiet of the land" ethnic group to an assertive, mission-minded folk who are busily changing the world with bureaucratic structures and formal organizations galore. Schlabach shows the interface between theological and religious beliefs and the social context. This valuable contribution to Mennonite history is sensitive and sympathetic to the old order groups which broke off from mainstream Mennonites in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Schlabach argues that up until 1870 the Mennonite and Amish emphasis on humility was the key to their understanding of Christian faith and to their relationship to the larger society. Their emphasis on humility, however, was not the subjective spiritual submission of the revivalist preachers. The Mennonite version of humility, rather, formed the foundation for practical obedience in their daily Christian life. Schlabach faults the Amish and Mennonites for not developing their humility ideas into a vigorous prophetic witness. This "failure," he says, "was tragic for the humility emphasis was exactly what Americans needed" (p. 105). Schlabach, however, argues persuasively that the nineteenth century was not the dark age in American Mennonite history as some earlier Mennonite historians have called it. In fact, Schlabach seems to want to turn the thesis on its head by suggesting that modernizing trends accepted by the Mennonites in the last quarter of the century—trends which he calls "quickening"—led to a demise of the humility theology. The "quickening" chipped away at Mennonite communalism and legitimated the ways of modern society. One gets the sense that, for Schlabach, the quickening may have led to the Mennonite dark ages.

The book is carefully documented, and excellent photographs add to its impact. Schlabach in many cases goes out of his way to highlight deviant examples of Mennonite life in order to show the diversity of nineteenth-century Mennonite culture. In some cases, he tends to overplay the unusual,

giving it almost the appearance of the normative. By the end of the book one has a good grasp of the social, economic, and political factors which shaped Mennonite consciousness. But the treatment does not offer a clear description of religious ritual, worship practices, and the typical protocol of worship services. Graphic displays of the relationships between the various Mennonite groups as well as population and membership tables would have clarified the presentation and enhanced the overall study. In any event, this promises to become the definitive window on the Amish and Mennonite experience in the nineteenth century.

Elizabethtown College DONALD B. KRAYBILL

States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years: Lectures from the Tricentennial of the Germantown Protest Against Slavery. Edited by RANDALL M. MILLER. (Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1989. xii, 101p. Illustrations, maps, appendix. Paper, $12.00.)

In his introduction to the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephan Thernstrom included a cautionary note: "Few groups as described have rivals, much less enemies. Prejudice and discrimination typically seem always to emanate from 'the dominant society,' although tensions and conflicts among rival ethnic groups do receive some attention" (p. ix). A modest step in remedying this deficit, taking stock of both positive and negative aspects of one ethnic group's race relations and attitudes, has been taken by Randall Miller, who organized, and the German Society of Pennsylvania, which sponsored, the symposium from which this collection originated.

Chronologically, the heaviest emphasis is on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Drawing upon his work on black Philadelphians, Gary Nash examines the context and reaffirms the significance of the famed Germantown Protest, and traces the developments up to Pennsylvania's gradual emancipation law a century later. Taking a transatlantic perspective, Richard Blackett explores the complicated interactions between supporters and opponents of the colonization movement and Europeans both at home and in America during in the half-century before the Civil War, and the parallel problems faced by blacks and immigrants in defining their place in America.

Focusing on a decade of political realignment, James Bergquist does an admirable job of sketching the attractive and repelling features of the Republican party for Germans in the 1850s, "a tough school in which to learn democracy." His assessment of their main contribution is: "The

Republican party adopted the slogan, 'Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men.' Without the involvement of the Germans the last phrase might have been only 'Free, Native-born Men.'"

The findings of Leroy T. Hopkins's nuanced study of German-black relations in the Pennsylvania "Dutch" stronghold of Lancaster County are aptly summed up by his title, "Uneasy Neighbors." However, he neglects a prime opportunity to apply his data on neighborhood population composition to examine the sources of electoral support for Thaddeus Stevens, a most dedicated abolitionist and racial egalitarian, who was elected to two terms of Congress in the 1850s from a district consisting of Lancaster County. The strongly Whig and Republican affiliations of the Lancaster *Volksfreund* suggests that many Germans were found in Stevens's columns.

Sixth-generation Texas-German Terry Jordan provides a needed corrective to the filiopietistic legend of his forefathers as overwhelmingly unionist and abolitionist. But he goes too far in finding Texas Germans "unremarkable" in their race attitudes, fails to cite a recent, award-winning work with a strong emphasis on ethnicity (Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* [Austin, 1984]), and totally overlooks Texas-German Republicanism during Reconstruction and often persisting down into the twentieth century.

Besides organizing the lecture series and editing the collection, Randall Miller, in an introductory essay that is the longest in the volume, devotes particular attention to German-black interactions in the era since the Civil War. As he admits, the volume raises as many questions as it answers; too little previous work has been done for the essays to pretend to comprehensiveness. Occasional quibbles notwithstanding, this collection is a heartening sign of maturity in a genre often prone to filiopietism. One can only hope that it stimulates more work along the same lines, both examining the relations of Germans to Jews and other immigrant groups, and exploring the race attitudes of other ethnic groups in America.

Texas A & M University WALTER D. KAMPHOEFNER

JPS: The Americanization of Jewish Culture, 1888-1988. By JONATHAN D. SARNA. (Philadelphia, New York, Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989. xiii, 430p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. $29.95.)

With the publication of *JPS: The Americanization of Jewish Culture, 1888-1988*, the Jewish Publication Society (JPS) has once again confirmed its reputation for bringing out some of the best Jewish scholarship in America. In inviting Professor Jonathan D. Sarna to write its centennial history, it gave one of the leading scholars of American Jewish history the latitude to

go beyond the institutional history of the JPS (its formation, chief personalities, and publications) to write the first full-length study of American Jewish culture. The result is a work of wide range, one that refracts through the lens of one Jewish organization many of the themes of modern Jewish life.

Sarna sets the founding of the JPS within the larger context of the new Jewish activism he discerned within late nineteenth-century America. Nourished by currents as diverse as the Protestant Social Gospel movement, the European Jewish enlightenment, German anti-Semitism, Russian pogroms, and the very public incidences of American anti-Jewish discrimination, Jewish activists responded by creating a host of new institutions and agencies. Among the many concerned with Jewish education was the Jewish Publication Society, founded in 1888 by the leaders dubbed "the Philadelphia Group." Over the course of the next century it published or co-published more than 700 titles. Its books—including the two Bible translations (1917 and 1962-1985), the annual volumes of the *American Jewish Year Book*, Louis Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, and Salo W. Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*—continue to hold prominent places on every Jewish bookshelf, and they made the JPS one of the shapers of "American Jewry's cultural renaissance" (p. 45).

Sarna effectively uses the changes in JPS leadership to break the JPS's history into meaningful periods. This works particularly well since strong editors, such as Henrietta Szold (in title, secretary; in fact, editor) and Maurice Jacobs, did set the tone for the JPS in their day.

Sarna then analyzes the chief publications of each era. His discussion of the JPS's very first book—Lady Katie Magnus's *Outlines of Jewish History* (1890)—reveals both his mastery of the overwhelmingly rich resources of the JPS archives and his historian's sensitivity to the significance of the material. He not only details the revisions required to rectify the Anglo-Jewish writer's anti-American bias and the debate that ensued over the color of the cover, but he also astutely judges the book's enduring popularity as a reflection of American Jews' cultural preference for history filled with heroism and moral instruction. Sarna thus balances the minutiae of institutional history—book jackets and modernized stationery—against the important story of JPS's publications, influence, and role in American Jewish scholarship and cultural life.

A book about books, *JPS* documents the emergence of Jewish scholarship in America. Sarna sees the new Jewish cultural center in America arising out of the ruins of those destroyed by the ravages of the First World War, Russian Revolution, and ultimately the Holocaust. The result, he concludes, was the "growing Americanization of Jewish scholarship" (p. 112), and as evidence for the transformation, he points to the 1917 JPS Bible translation, the Schiff Library of Jewish Classics (edited translations of key ancient and

medieval Jewish texts), and the establishment of the JPS's own Hebrew press.

But the JPS published more than Jewish scholarship. Sarna evaluates its literary publications and its children's books, and then turns to one of its all-time bestsellers, the three volumes of the *Jewish Catalog* (1973, 1976, 1980). Showing how the tenor of the Society's Publication Committee had changed over the course of its first eight decades, he chronicles the book's acceptance, nurturance, and production. But once again, he places the book firmly within the larger cultural context, understanding that the *Jewish Catalog*, among the most significant legacies of the Jewish youth counterculture movement, brought to the mainstream its call for greater commitment, intensified education, and stronger ritual in Jewish life.

Sarna's broad perspective, demonstrating throughout how institutional history can illuminate cultural history, should become a model for all historians of ethnic culture.

American University PAMELA S. NADELL

The Worlds of Lucy Larcom, 1824-1893. By SHIRLEY MARCHALONIS. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. x, 326p. Bibliography, index. $40.00.)

Lucy Larcom, forgotten in the twentieth century, was a respected New England woman of letters in her day—a widely published poet, sketch-writer, editor, composer of devotional books, compiler of anthologies, and member of prominent literary circles. As a young girl, she worked in the Lowell mills and wrote for the *Lowell Offering*; later she migrated with some of her family to Illinois where she taught school and sent sketches of frontier life to eastern magazines. Back in New England she slowly but surely made writing her profession, mentored by John Greenleaf Whittier.

Larcom's easygoing personality masked an intense need for personal autonomy. Watching her favorite older sister sacrifice herself to the hardships of nineteenth-century domesticity, she elected to remain single. Through a drawn-out, long-distance engagement, she discreetly deferred and ultimately evaded marriage. But lacking a husband, she needed to support herself. Teaching and writing were the earliest professions open to women in America; Larcom tried both. Schoolroom routines made her literally ill, leaving her in effect no choice but to become a woman of letters. Her writing pleased both the general public and the critics, earning her enough to

maintain herself. Her goal, like that of many women then and now, was not fame or fortune but independence secured and justified through useful work.

Shirley Marchalonis has written an ideal biography of her subject. Using the 2,000 extant Larcom letters and all her published work, as well as hundreds of contextualizing secondary sources, she has produced a deft, lucid narrative that will be helpful to scholars and will appeal to general readers also. The Lowell Mills, the Illinois frontier, Larcom's large family and many friends are all depicted compactly and vividly. Without ignoring the play of historical forces that constituted the field within which Larcom lived her life, the biography concentrates on her character and subjective understanding of her situation. Marchalonis sees in Larcom's writing an adept, largely sincere deployment of conventions along with a significant self-expressive and autobiographical component. Some shorter poems are quoted in full; longer poems are summarized with selective quotation; and the accompanying literary analysis is clear and perceptive. Without claiming that Larcom was a literary genius, Marchalonis refuses to denigrate her for not writing like Melville or Whitman.

A sympathetic biographer, Marchalonis does not load her discussion with critiques of the class and gender arrangements that Larcom largely accepted. Some readers may regret the absence of confrontational rhetoric; others will appreciate the respect for Larcom's point of view. For consistency's sake, however, Marchalonis should probably have given more space to Larcom's religious writings. By omitting discussion of the devotional books and simplifying the theological issues with which Larcom dealt, Marchalonis makes her seem a less thoughtful writer than she would probably have appeared to contemporaries for whom religion was an intellectually all-engrossing concern.

A certain analytic disjunction is created by Marchalonis's acceptance of the restrictive ideal of "True Womanhood" as an accurate description of nineteenth-century women's reality and feminine ideology even while her book demonstrates something different. Historians are increasingly recognizing that "True Womanhood" was a rhetorical intervention in a complex debate about men's and women's "spheres" that struggled to control fluid gender arrangements rather than describe a fixed situation. Lucy Larcom and her literary women friends were strongly motivated to work out versions of womanhood that would not restrict them to inegalitarian domesticity. Their work and examples contributed significantly to gender debate as well as to the shaping of American culture. By reconstructing one woman's participation in such literary and cultural debate, Marchalonis shows us a world in which the cult of "True Womanhood" did *not* hold sway. Larcom

herself, an appealing woman who led an interesting life, is very well served by this biography.

University of Illinois at Urbana NINA BAYM

The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900. By STUART M. BLUMIN. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. xiii, 434p. Tables, figures, illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, $49.50; paper, $14.95.)

However one chooses to define it, the middle class may well be the central problem in the historiography of American society and politics in the twentieth century, and perhaps in earlier decades, too. Its neglect in our historical literature is all the more noteworthy and lamentable, so the appearance of Stuart Blumin's long-anticipated volume on the social emergence of the middle class is surely welcome. In fact, this work is a very substantial achievement in the development of American self-understanding. Although not fully satisfying conceptually, Blumin's book is a singular combination of massive synthesis, innovative methodology, and imaginative interpretation.

It is history painted with a broad brush in its chronological focus and its large-scale social analysis. The time frame is principally the nineteenth-century decades (1840-1890) that witnessed the emergence of the radically socially transformative processes of modern capitalism, processes which Blumin grasps with a confident hand. Blumin also gives attention to the colonial and early national periods and to the early twentieth century, though largely by way of seeking contrasts rather than pinpointing origins and drawing implications for the understanding of recent decades. Blumin's geographical focus and the type of locality he deals with, however, are somewhat more restricted than his title suggests, and in combination, this becomes a nagging problem for the analysis. The emphasis throughout is on the three largest northeastern metropolises—New York City, Philadelphia, and Boston. Dictated by the assumption that the metropolitan experience holds the key to subsequent American social development, as well as, it seems, by the availability of a large number of relevant, excellent local histories and of the matchless data base created by the Philadelphia Social History Project, the choice is understandable. But it skews the perspective substantially in favor of what, in a nation of farms, small towns, and medium-sized cities which was rapidly settling the fastnesses of its successive "wests," is an unrepresentative, though certainly not insignificant, experience. In a very brief epilogue, Blumin anticipates this sort of criticism. But he chooses to focus the epilogue's analysis less on broad comparisons of different regional

and urban experiences than on a review of important monographs on the social structure of a half-dozen other localities. Here he combines technical arguments about conceptual strategies with a review of other authors', not always closely related, findings. The results do not move our understanding along very far.

Blumin's conceptualization of class is convincing and technically skillful in its implementation. While his own views of historical agency and of class as a dynamic process of social relationship owe much, as he says, to E.P. Thompson's humanistic Marxism, Blumin eschews the conceptual apparatus of classical Marxism, which has denied both the centrality and permanence of the middle class of the modern industrial era. Moreover, he rightly conceives of class as a larger development than may be encompassed by the Marxian social relations of production. Blumin views class as a broadly ramifying common experience that may generate its own processes of historical development, ultimately independent of the forces that brought it into being. In this case the experiences are nonmanual work (white-collar employment and proprietorship of small and medium-sized enterprises), residential location, family formation strategy, domesticity and household-oriented consumption, and participation in networks of informal social interaction and in formal voluntary associations.

Although largely an analysis of behavior, Blumin does not restrict himself to reconstructing the regularities of social behavior. Class consciousness in the Marxian formation—*as class for itself*—does not exist in a socio-economically heterogenous mass of individuals whose aspirations are essentially privatistic and mobility-oriented, and whose political mobilizations are episodic events, such as "tax revolts." Through an analysis of changing linguistic conventions and of social observations found in correspondence and in literature, Blumin opts to assess middle-class *awareness* of social distinctions: the understanding of the boundaries and characteristics that separated the middle from the classes above and below it that is also the foundation for a type of social self-understanding. The result is a discussion that is rather thin at times. One misses here an analysis of the vast range of general values that middle-class people did share—and as a largely native-born, American Protestant group during this period, they did hold much in common culturally beside the shared patterns of their daily routines. To say they lacked a political formulation of middle-class consciousness is not, after all, to say they lacked all ideology. An analysis of middle-class views on the work ethic and social mobility, patriotism and nationalism, science and technology, immigration, ethnicity, and race, and much more besides would have helped us understand the aspirations and desperations of the emergent social grouping which, as Robert Wiebe suggested long ago, would after 1880 begin to spawn the

educated, expert leadership that attempted to tame industrial capitalism, lay the foundations of the welfare state, and revitalize democracy.

Still, there is more than enough food for thought here. No one interested in American social history can neglect to come to terms with this book.

State University of New York at Buffalo DAVID A. GERBER

Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925: Changing Conceptions of the Slum and the Ghetto. By DAVID WARD. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. xiv, 263p. Illustrations, index. Cloth, $39.50; paper, $13.95.)

This book probes the meanings American observers of urban life have given to two words: slum and ghetto. These words designate the areas of the American modern city associated with the poor, with immigrants, and with blacks. With its focus on the decades between the 1840s and the 1920s, the study surveys a period that stretches from the onset of mass immigration to its restriction. This period also spans the great migration of black Americans from the rural South into the urban North around the First World War.

The core of the study presents a variety of past interpretations of the slum, which had been inspired by the patterns of social change in the blighted sections of the inner city and written by philanthropists, reformers, politicians, and sociologists. Their writings illuminate the responses of various ethnic and racial groups to intensified urbanization and implicit Americanization. Ward's book discusses these authors' assumptions about human nature and assesses their many surveys and reports about the causes and consequences of poverty.

To a considerable extent, the chronological discussion of various definitions of the slum runs a familiar gambit from the slum as a zone isolated from the city on moral grounds to the ghetto isolated by physical boundaries. The author's deft assessment of recent historical and sociological scholarship enriches his story of the relationship of groups of migrants with the urban environment. He uses the new views to evaluate older scholarship and to illuminate the role of such complex influences as ethnicity, assimilation, and industrialization in the life of people coping with the slum and the ghetto. The setting itself—slum and ghetto as physical entities—depends for clarity less on words and more on the effect of about fifty well-chosen illustrations, plans, and diagrams.

The American city of the book's title is primarily the big city of the Northeast (New York, Boston, and Philadelphia) and of the Midwest (Chi-

cago and St. Louis). A brief reference to Irish immigrants in Denver underlines the fact that the Far West is not within the scope of the study. The destinations of later waves of immigrants are given mostly in regional terms, with only a few references to cities. Immigration is seen almost exclusively in terms of the transatlantic phenomenon. A few comments refer to Chinese and Japanese immigrants, but a significant variant of the slum and the ghetto such as "Chinatown" receives no attention. The detailed discussions of the changing interpretations of the slum and ghetto say little about two integral components of slum and ghetto—the street and the alley—although a reproduction of Lewis W. Hine's photo of a ball game in an alley on the cover of the paperback edition of the book raises hopes for a discussion of the entire slum environment.

These blemishes are offset by several distinct contributions of the study. It clearly exposes the origins and the history of bigotry, discrimination, and racism, institutionalized in distinct forms of urban space. The book points out the role of the cultural resources of different ethnic groups in easing their movement into other parts of the city. It sharpens an awareness of the complex issue inherent in the discussions of the social and physical mobility of immigrant groups in the constantly shifting urban environment of the American city during the course of industrialization. Lastly, with its references to the sum total of city life, the study prompts speculations on the long-range effects of the many analyses and theories provoked by slum and ghetto on the quality of urban life.

University of California, Berkeley GUNTHER BARTH

City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports. By STEVEN A. RIESS. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989. xii, 332p. Maps, tables, illustrations, index. $29.95.)

In *City Games* Steven Riess offers an elegant and sophisticated analysis of sport and recreation in urban society. Riess weaves a rich tapestry, interlacing themes of ethnicity, ecology, class, politics, and economics through successive stages of American urban life. Riess defines sport broadly, and he moves his narrative smoothly from "the Sport of Kings" to baseball, basketball, and boxing. Urban geographers, demographers, architects, and sociologists will find much to debate and discuss in a book that promises to be widely read.

The development of the industrial radial city, contends Riess, had a crucial impact upon the sporting pleasures of all urban social classes. Spatial and demographic changes resulting from the rise of industrial capitalism, coupled

with technological developments, mass transit, a rising standard of living, and changes in mass media, profoundly altered the way urban Americans played.

From Irish assaults upon the Anglo sporting preserves in the mid-nineteenth century to the ethnic crucibles of the twentieth century, Riess interprets a welter of data and events. He shows that the success of ethnic groups and individuals on the asphalt courts and playing fields depended upon a cluster of variables such as timing of arrival, attitudes of the host society, access to recreational facilities, and urban spatial patterns. Interestingly, although it is now considered "unfashionable" to promote or exploit tensions based on racial or ethnic chauvinism, during the 1920s, and before, professional basketball featured such teams as the South Philadelphia Hebrew All-Stars, the Polish Detroit Pulaskis, and the New York Celtics. Riess contends that the sport that probably best fit in with the urban slum environment was pugilism (p. 109). Predictably, Irish boxers dominated the ranks between 1870 and 1920 (during the decade of the 1890s, nine Irish-American champions reigned). Sons of southern and eastern European immigrants flocked to neighborhood gyms and boxing clubs between the 1920s and 1940s, and in turn were succeeded by African-American and Latin American pugilists. Few noteworthy events escaped the author's research net, but somehow he missed the fascinating 1935 bout between the Italian Primo Carnera and Joe Louis. The fight, scheduled during the August 1935 Ethiopian crisis, ignited racial tensions between Italian and black neighborhoods throughout the Northeast.

Readers will come away from *City Games* with a fresh sense of perspective, and a feeling that there is little new under the sporting sun. Complaints about spoiled athletes, greedy owners, and fickle fans sprinkle the literature from a century ago, but the development of sports as a mega-business during the last quarter century does seem to stretch the limits of financial rapacity. Riess provides an excellent summary of the postwar era of government-subsidized stadiums and ever-escalating finances. The contrasts are dramatic. In 1951, for example, the hapless, but beloved St. Louis Browns drew 250,000 fans and received a total of $9,000 in broadcast revenues. Pennsylvania readers will appreciate the discussion of stadiums gone but not forgotten—Philadelphia's Baker Bowl and Shibe Park (1909), the latter considered baseball's first modern park, which opened the same year as Pittsburgh's Forbes Field.

A reading of the sources is a delight, as the author has combed a diverse assortment of master's theses, doctoral dissertations, and scholarly works, but also has discovered obscure sport periodicals and documents relevant to the subject. *City Games* concentrates, not surprisingly, on developments in the urban Northeast and Midwest. Southern cities except New Orleans are

neglected, resulting not from the author's design but rather because of the paucity of secondary accounts. The University of Illinois Press should be congratulated on a fine publication.

University of South Florida GARY R. MORMINO

Figured Tapestry: Production, Markets, and Power in Philadelphia Textiles, 1885-1941. By PHILIP SCRANTON. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. xvi, 518p. Map, tables, figures, index. $49.50.)

In the last decade scholars have begun to rewrite the history of American business. No longer are historians fascinated with giant individual firms which appear to offer innumerable variations on the general theme of the rise of mass-production industries. Even the inexorable drive toward oligopoly, standardization, and managerialism no longer can be taken for granted. Instead, the disaggregation of U.S. industry reveals that the course of American economic growth was neither simple nor linear. Some industries and large segments of nearly every industry relied on flexible production systems that produced higher quality goods in smaller batches for specialized markets. Moreover, these are not insignificant or peripheral sectors; indeed, America's dynamic economic growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may have derived more "from the *mix* of batch and bulk forms . . . than from a single-track drive to mass production" (p. 505). Such is the basic premise of Philip Scranton's *Figured Tapestry*.

Few scholars have contributed as much to the recent rewriting of business history as has Scranton. *Figured Tapestry* follows on the heels of his impressive *Proprietary Capitalism* (1982) and thus completes his massive study of Philadelphia textile manufacturing from 1800 to 1940. Taken together, the two volumes restore the batch, specialized sector of textiles, located in Philadelphia, to center stage in the drama of the rise, transformation, and decline of the industry. They also offer a more sophisticated and nuanced presentation of the interplay of business strategy, government policy, labor resistance, and market forces, an interaction that defies simple models.

Taking up where *Proprietary Capitalism* ends, Scranton sketches the challenges to the flexible production of Philadelphia's family-owned firms. In the 1880s, the Knights of Labor threatened to disrupt the durable, personalistic labor-capital relations of the city's mills. In the end, however, a bureaucratized industrial relations system appealed to neither the individualistic employers nor the shop-oriented parochialism of the workers (especially skilled males) who benefited from the slightly higher wages and greater control of

the flexible production system. Having weathered the labor storm, proprietors concentrated on political action for high tariffs which underwrote small-firm profitability. But the election of Grover Cleveland in 1892 dashed the hopes and triggered a mad scramble among Philadelphia textile manufacturers. When the dust settled, a restructuring had occurred and many companies had failed, but remarkably little had changed in the culture of the local family firm. Despite attempts at concerted action in pricing and distribution, at innovations in marketing, and at shifts in product specialization, the stubborn independence of the proprietors meant that the Philadelphia system was still "enormously dependent on the solidity of the tariff and the political dominance of protectionist Republicans in national politics" (p. 227).

The weakness of the flexible format was not immediately apparent. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Philadelphia textile manufacturing reached its apex. Spurred by the shift to full-fashioned hosiery and then the government orders during World War I, growth masked the problems facing family firms in the areas of technology, family succession, labor markets, and southern competition. But no obstacle loomed larger than the shift in the buying patterns of retail stores. After 1910 retailers began the new practice of buying products in small quantities and ordering more frequently. These "hand-to-mouth" buyers shifted the costs of speculation and product variation from the sellers to the manufacturers and squeezed the profit margins of small firms beyond the breaking point. Combined with the maintenance of older shop customs of production, the ultimate irony occurred—the flexible system of production lost its flexibility to respond to changes in the system of distribution. The depression for Philadelphia textiles began early, and the intervention of the state only exacerbated the situation because its blueprint for stabilization favored the oligopolistic, mass-production sectors of the economy. The small, family firms of Philadelphia never had a chance.

The argument is a good deal richer than I am able to suggest here, and Scranton is to be commended for his ability to integrate the story of business strategy, proprietary culture, national markets, and labor resistance into a single narrative. At times, however, the story wallows in detail, a factor destined to limit its readership whatever its value. At the same time, the personal side of both proprietors and workers outside the mill lacks the same richness that made *Proprietary Capitalism* so enjoyable. Finally, the claim that flexible production was the "workman's paradise" still seems to me to rest on rather shaky ground. Average wages were not much higher than in bulk-production locales, and if the differential between skilled and unskilled wages was greater in Philadelphia, it must mean that women and children were exploited even more viciously, hardly an overall family gain.

Scranton is now at work on a study to employ the insights of his work on textiles to the entire U.S. manufacturing complex. If this work is as rich, subtle, and intelligent as *Figured Tapestry*, we will all be in his debt. Already, he has added a great deal to our understanding of industrial development while voicing a well-reasoned caution against the rush to return to a system of flexible production.

University of Massachusetts KEN FONES-WOLF

A Social History of Economic Decline: Business, Politics, and Work in Trenton. By JOHN T. CUMBLER. (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989. xii, 302p. Tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $42.00; paper, $15.00.)

John Cumbler has written an ambitious book. Fusing labor, urban, and economic history, he describes Trenton's rise to industrial prosperity in the early twentieth century and focuses on its decline over the past seventy years. *A Social History of Economic Decline* sketches the earlier world of local industrialists and workers, rooted in the vision of a community of interests shared by pottery owners and workers. Cumbler is careful to emphasize that this vision of common interests excluded women, blacks, and other unskilled workers, and that skilled workers in other industries—such as rubber—found that manufacturers aggressively rejected the whole notion of cooperation with organized labor. But in the potteries, for a few decades, unionized workers and their employers joined in a mutually beneficial program of high tariffs, high prices, and high wages. Using broad brush strokes and illuminating details, Cumbler gives us intriguing glimpses of the overlapping worlds built by the pottery owners and the pottery workers.

His real interests, however, are in the subsequent process of economic and social decline. As the point of departure for his narrative, he chooses 1923, the year in which the pottery manufacturers smashed the union. After 1923 the fragile community of interests was dead. It was killed not by greedy capitalists or unreasonable workers—there are no villains in Cumbler's story—but by the inexorable process that took control of Trenton out of the hands of Trentonians. He characterizes this process as the passage from civic to national capitalism. Increasingly integrated into a powerful national economy, Trenton's industrialists and workers became subject to decisions made in corporate headquarters in New York, Pittsburgh, Louisville, and the Midwest. They lost the space to maneuver. Although they did not know it, their golden era was already over in the 1920s.

Cumbler's ambitious aim, in this history of decline, is to analyze the interplay between "choice" and "structure" (p. 7). He argues that human choice, greatest in the formative stage of an era, results in structures that progressively narrow the space available to further choice. Sensitive to the charge that he portrays people as passive victims of history, Cumblers tries hard to keep a balance between choice and structure. But in the end he cannot. His ambitious attempt is undermined by two of his own choices. By focusing on decline, he dramatizes the impotent attempts of workers, city officials, and entrepreneurs to reverse the process. By stepping so far back in order to see the whole, he reduces people—especially working people—to such a tiny scale that they hardly seem to matter. The successful struggles of Trenton's workers to organize the CIO, for instance, appear in Cumbler's narrative as little more than an interruption in the long slide toward de-industrialization and poverty. It is not that Cumbler does not want to show the achievements of Trenton's labor movement. It is rather that his narrative strategy and analytic framework favor structure at the expense of choice.

At his best, Cumbler deftly characterizes the earlier world of respectable, skilled AFL workers, linking Republican conservatives with radical Socialists within a united labor movement. Or he illustrates the employers' shift from paternalism to impersonal methods of social control by contrasting the deliberate display of wealth in the downtown mansions of the early entrepreneurs with the suburban hedges and fences that hide the power of their successors. His view from the distance provides useful perspective when he analyzes the explosive racial conflicts that have bedeviled Trentonians in the second half of the century. He shows Italian Americans and African Americans alike as victims of Trenton's decline, forced to fight over the inadequate service and government jobs that have replaced the old industrial jobs, and over the housing. Still the reader wants more. Ambitious, detached, complex, intelligent, Cumbler's tale of decline challenges social historians without pointing the way.

Bloomfield College STEVE GOLIN

Addicts Who Survived: An Oral History of Narcotic Use in America, 1923-1965. By DAVID COURTWRIGHT, HERMAN JOSEPH, and DON DES JARLAIS. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. xvi, 399p. Illustrations, tables, figures, appendix, glossary, select bibliography, index. $24.95.)

In 1947 sociologist Alfred R. Lindesmith relied on more than sixty interviews with morphine addicts to produce one of the earliest academic

studies of drug addicts, entitled *Opiate Addiction*. Fourteen years later, still sympathetic to the plight of addicts, he wrote *Drug Addicts: Crime or Disease?* Not surprising for the times, critics censured both studies, the former by an editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, which concluded that "The book cannot be recommended," and the latter by Narcotics Commissioner Harry J. Anslinger, who regarded Lindesmith's ideas about treatment as "startling, radical, or dangerous."

In the 1980s, we claimed to be more enlightened about the nature of addiction and addicts. Unfortunately, a great deal of misunderstanding continues about drug use, and widespread disagreement exists on whether addiction should be treated as a crime or as a disease. *Addicts Who Survived* is an important contribution to the growing body of literature that attempts to define more clearly the nature of drug addiction.

This book is unique in two ways: first, the authors write from a historical perspective, with thirty-three addicts recounting past experiences, some dating back to the first decade of this century. The text contains a total of forty interviews with addicts and non-addicts organized in fourteen categories including, "Turned On," "Hooked," "Scoring," and "Dealing." Second, the book allows the reader to look inside of what has become a distinct subculture. The interviews provide invaluable insight into drug addiction during what the authors have labeled the "Classic Era of Narcotic Control," from 1923-1965, when the federal government was more disposed to punitive measures over treatment.

A common thread running through many of the interviews is a shared sense of superiority—likely from having "survived" the habit—and of cunning, required not just to maintain the habit, but to stay out of jail, as most of them did. In the foreword to the book, Claude Brown comments that the narrative becomes "increasingly spellbinding." He is right. Whether it was opium to ease the pain of "Sam's" migraine, or morphine to alleviate the agony of "Stick's" bayonet wound, the interviewees respond with graphic candor about getting hooked and maintaining their habits, in many cases throughout their lives.

Some of the accounts almost defy credibility, like "Jack," who claimed he had "a seven-year run—and I'm not bragging—where I had sex once a night" (p. 111). Most, however, are pathetic. "Arthur" did not pass his World War II pre-induction exam because the doctors could draw no blood from his collapsed veins. Twenty years later, he twice attempted suicide. Others are similarly depressing.

The authors note in the epilogue that President Ronald Reagan and First Lady Nancy's anti-drug campaign in the 1980s was not unlike that of Harry Anslinger's a half-century earlier. However, because of the more powerful, synthetic drugs and incredible profits, the current drug problem is more

complex. The solutions proposed, regrettably, are still too simplistic, with a far greater emphasis on punitive rather than preventive measures. Draconian punishments, including lengthy prison sentences, are suspect at best. "Sophia" is a classic example. An addicted prostitute, she was not deterred by a five-year prison sentence, recalling that "The first day I came out of jail I put a needle in my arm" (p. 170). Despite this, legislators today habitually resort to "new" tactics like lengthier sentences and the death penalty as in the 1986 and 1988 anti-drug acts. Nearly forty years ago Congress passed similar measures—with Anslinger's enthusiastic support—in the form of the 1951 Boggs Act and the 1956 Narcotic Control Act.

In the 1980s, despair and frustration pervaded every strata of American society, with many citizens having felt that the battle to eradicate drug abuse in the United States amounted to little more than empty promises. *Addicts Who Survived* underscores the importance of learning from the past when implementing anti-drug policies. One of those lessons might be taken from the experience of Willis Butler, a Shreveport, Louisiana, physician who ran an addict-maintenance clinic from 1919 to 1926, when the government forced him to close. Dr. Butler regarded addiction as a disease rather than a crime, and while his clinic was in operation, used personal histories, fingerprints, and periodic reports to monitor effectively addicts as "out-patients."

If the authors' intent in this unconventional use of oral history is to debunk the myths and misconceptions about drug use, they have succeeded. The interviews are enlightening, and the reader will find it difficult not to reconsider current anti-drug policies.

Addicts Who Survived will appeal to a diverse audience. Academicians, politicians, and the general reader will find this approach to drug addiction extremely beneficial, insightful, and instructive. The glossary and index are helpful, as is the appendix consisting of "core questions," though it might be more useful if it preceded the interviews. Without qualification, however, anyone wishing to acquire a better understanding of drug addicts and addiction will benefit from reading this book.

Pennsylvania State University, Dubois JOHN C. MCWILLIAMS

Saving Capitalism: The Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the New Deal, 1933-1940. By JAMES S. OLSON. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. 246p. Selected bibliography, index. $30.00.)

Saving Capitalism is the second volume of Olson's history of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) and covers the New Deal period. His first focused on Hoover and was published in 1977.

Olson contends that "throughout the 1930s the RFC was a barometer of the New Deal, playing a central role in the appearance of state capitalism in the federal markets and the discrediting of monetary policy which preceded the national conversion to Keynes." The central figure was Jesse Jones, who navigated in the middle of the twisting path of New Deal public policy as it passed through the bank reconstruction and cooperative planning phase in 1933-1934, the direct loan phase of 1934-1935, the budget-balancing phase of 1936-1937, and the antitrust and spending phase of 1938-1939. Jones worked to avoid the extremes of the political left and right, trying to find an accommodation between the needs of business and the demands of government.

Jones, like Hoover, championed expanding credit as the key to economic recovery. As a "monetarist," Jones attempted unsuccessfully to revive commercial credit through bank loans, industrial loan programs, the RFC Mortgage Company, the Export-Import Bank, the Electric Home and Farm Authority, the Federal National Mortgage Association, and the Commodity Credit Corporation. Although bank reserves increased during the depression, they did not translate into expanded commercial credit to boost the country out of the decline. Olson maintains that there was no shortage of capital during the depression, only inadequate consumer demand. The RFC stimulus had little influence over industrial recovery, which awaited an invigorated consumer demand to emerge with mobilization for World War II.

Nonetheless, Olson identifies the RFC's accomplishments as both impressive and in many instances permanent. In its bank reconstruction and preferred stock investment programs, the RFC rebuilt the money markets, provided a financial liquidity which prevented a total collapse of the economy, and set the stage for recovery. Its aid to railroads postponed bankruptcy and permitted reorganization, buying time for insurance companies and mutual savings banks to reduce their holdings in railroad bonds. Although its Mortgage Company did not revive the construction industry, it provided a valuable secondary market for FHA mortgages. The RFC was an integral part of the federal government's emerging out of the depression and World War II with direct responsibility for regulating the business cycle. As a consequence, state capitalism became the norm in permanently underwriting money markets, while drawing on Keynesian economic ideas for tools to promote full employment and stable prices.

Olson has heavily mined relevant manuscript collections at the National Archives, Roosevelt Library, Library of Congress, and elsewhere. His list of congressional publications and government documents is impressive, while his bibliography of secondary works appears complete.

Students of twentieth-century capital markets and their relationships to the federal government will depend on Olson's study for a long time. His

insights into the personalities and pressures composing mid-century political economy reveal the complex nature of the beast. Its nuances are highlighted by a commanding writing style.

Washburn University of Topeka WILLIAM O. WAGNON, JR.

A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt. By GEOFFREY C. WARD. (New York: Harper & Row, 1989. xvii, 889p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $27.95.)

This book, a sequel to the author's highly regarded *Before the Trumpet: The Young Franklin Roosevelt*, gives an absorbing account of Roosevelt's life from his marriage to Anna Eleanor Roosevelt in 1905 down to the 1928 election victory which sent him to Albany as Governor of New York. It is a remarkable study of a man who was in many ways a remarkable human being, so much so that it is hard at times to fight off superlatives when assessing this marvelously told tale. For one thing, the book is comprehensive; the focus is almost always on Franklin, yet it takes on a life-and-times dimension that is fascinating in its use of events and especially of the people who figured in Roosevelt's career. The extensive source notes accompanying each chapter are telling, the numerous footnotes enlightening and beguiling. Research in primary sources, both written and oral, attests to Ward's scholarship. Finally, as with every worthwhile biography, its enriched understanding of the subject often derives from observing the "unguarded moment." Ward's mastery of the sources, his ear for the right note, and his generosity of detail contrive to provide many moments when Roosevelt's guard was down. At the same time, his days and years are recounted here in a manner of writing that rarely falters, perhaps because it does not presume to fly too high.

It was the aged Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., who pronounced the judgment that Roosevelt had a second-class intellect but a first-class temperament. Accepting the challenge of Holmes, what constituted a first-class temperament in Roosevelt's case? A self-esteem virtually unbounded, an optimism that was unquenchable, an exterior manner that masked anxieties and fears, an ability to laugh off most detractions—all this, delivered with a smile and an offhand remark, sums up, no doubt inadequately, what Ward discovers in Roosevelt's mien and manner.

Readers will come away from the book having confirmed, modified, or rejected impressions gained elsewhere of Roosevelt's relationship with his mother, the indomitable Sarah Delano, and his wife Eleanor, solicitous but

often remote. Sarah shines through as a domineering but loving parent (and parent-in-law, if not always so), quite an admirable person. Eleanor in contrast appears heroic but less attractive. At a level of less personal associations—the Roosevelt-Josephus Daniels team at the Navy Department—the Secretary is the aggrieved party in their joint direction of naval affairs. The Louis Howe friendship remains an unlikely combination of talents which somehow worked well together. In detailing Roosevelt's involvement with Lucy Mercer as well as Missy Lehand, Ward does not sacrifice taste to candor, which adds respect and credibility to his work. The rivalry of the Oyster Bay Roosevelts and the Hudson Valley branch of the family is a recurring if secondary theme, adding insights into Franklin's self-absorption. Despite political party differences, Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt got on well. The younger man admired Uncle Ted, who found little fault with his aspiring kinsman. TR's children, particularly Alice and Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., were caustic in their criticism, however. Again, it was a matter of temperament.

The central fact of Roosevelt's life from 1905 to 1928 was his poliomyelitis, which left him a stricken man in 1921. It created a set of circumstances due largely to Franklin's temperament—rather than his intellect, his character, or the support he had from family and friends (although all the foregoing were contributing factors)—that inspires Ward's account of Roosevelt's incredible determination to follow his star. Emerging from the long struggle is the man history will come to know as FDR.

This book is a major addition to the Roosevelt literature; it supplies ample evidence to justify William Allen White's unique tribute to the man who would be king: we who hate your gaudy guts, salute you!

Saint Joseph's University DAVID H. BURTON

The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage. By TODD GITLIN. (New York: Bantam Books, 1987. x, 513p. Index. $24.95.)

Despite its title, this book is not a general history of the 1960s. It focuses on the rise and fall of the New Left, especially as represented by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The New Left, says Gitlin, was "the dynamic center of the decade," and in his narrative all other events—Kennedy and Johnson, Vietnam, civil rights and ghetto riots—spin around it like so many planets circling the sun. Adequate research in published sources is complemented by Gitlin's personal knowledge of SDS (of which he was an early leader), extensive use of the SDS files, and interviews with

former activists. While vividly conveying the sense of the excitement of the times, Gitlin maintains a healthy degree of detachment from the events he lived through. His goal is to reclaim the "actual" sixties from the media caricatures and vague nostalgia of recent years.

The major events around which the narrative is shaped are well known: the roots of rebellion in the fifties; the conflict with the Old Left that led to the Port Huron Statement of 1962; growing disenchantment with liberalism; the shift in SDS leadership from Ivy League to midwestern universities; increasing identification of activists with Third World revolutionaries; the emergence of the women's movement out of the New Left; violence, factional breakup, and increasing repression at the end of the decade, ending, finally, in a decimated and demoralized Left.

Gitlin's tour of this familiar territory is more thorough and engaging than that of any prior study. Effectively combining history and autobiography, *The Sixties* continually draws the reader into its web of gaudy prose. The book is a case study of how to use popular culture—especially music—as a barometer of social change. Although sympathetic to many of the goals of the radicals, Gitlin criticizes the New Left for its inability to transcend its student-movement roots and notes the destructive lure of drugs and the counterculture on the Left. In analyzing the later period of student radicalism, he argues that the New Left had not given up its "American innocence" but simply transferred it abroad, idealizing Third World revolutions when the students' own "revolution" failed to attract the American working class. Gitlin contends that the violent Weatherman faction was more likely than earlier recruits to come from privileged backgrounds: the extremism of their behavior matched the extremities of their guilt. Still, his assessment of the student movement as a whole is basically positive: despite "failures, limits, disasters, America's political and cultural space would probably not have opened up as much as it did without the movement's divine delirium" (p. 435).

It is unlikely that anyone will ever do a better job than Gitlin of describing what it was like to be young, radical, and in college in the 1960s. Only after one puts down this engrossing book does the reader begin to realize how much has been omitted. While SDS was self-destructing at the end of the sixties, a second stage of the antiwar movement, less radical but more practical, was gaining strength; a study of the origins and development of that movement, which ecumenically involved not only students but religious organizations, politicians, and even (horrors!) businessmen, might be equally insightful about the "meaning" of the sixties. Gitlin finds it a "paradox" that antiwar activity slackened in 1970-1971, just when the "center of opposition moved to Congress, and the base of antiwar *opinion* continued to widen" (p. 411). It is paradoxical only if one defines antiwar activity from

the perspective of an SDS activist, which is what Gitlin was. But there is no reason to do so.

The book also obscures the significance of black radicalism, which had its own causes (in both senses of that word) and existed largely outside the world of white activists. The "actual" sixties must also take into account conservative movements, including the then nascent New Right and a revitalized evangelical Protestantism. Finally, both left- and right-wing movements of that decade need to be placed in a broader context of structural change during the post-World War II era in such areas as education, religion, family life, economics, and the media. Once this is done, we will have a better understanding of the significance of both the New Left and the reaction against it. Gitlin's book is at present the best word, but not the last word, on the sixties.

Temple University KENNETH L. KUSMER

The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era. By KIM MCQUAID. (New York: Basic Books, 1989. xi, 350p. Index. $19.95.)

There is something about the modern Western world that loves an anniversary. Witness in the past decade and a half the various bicentennials—of the American Revolution and the American Constitution, of the French Revolution. But the post-future shock generation can't wait for the passage of five hundred or two hundred years—or even half a century. Indeed, the year 1988, has called forth a spate of retrospective analyses both of the year "things fell apart" and of the late 1960s and early 1970s in general. Among the throng are such memoirs as Richard Goodwin's *Remembering America: A Voice from the Sixties*, Tom Hayden's *Reunion: A Memoir*, and Hans Konig's *1968: A Personal Report*. Journalists and historians have entered the fray as well, with David Caute, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades*; Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt*; Charles Kaiser, *1968 in America*; Chris Harman, *The Fire Last Time: 1968 and After*; and Irwin Unger and Debbie Unger, *Turning Point: 1968*.

Kim McQuaid has written one of the best of the lot. Unlike most academic historians, McQuaid has not given us an arcane archival-based study aimed at a few score of his cognoscenti colleagues. Rather, he self-consciously writes for a general audience. With a minimum of footnotes, McQuaid synthesizes major secondary and memoiristic works around one central theme: from 1968 to 1974 America experienced a bout with hubris and, in essence, lost. Because we tend "to ignore our own history and those of other lands,"

because of "our conceits of ourselves as a great Light unto the nations and our willingness to universalize the American experience" (p. 5), Americans became "New Romans" in this period (p. 7). McQuaid hopes that America can learn from, can do better because of, this "rough or even sordid . . . record," but he is not sanguine about the prospects. Irangate suggests that we have learned nothing and forgotten everything.

McQuaid begins his rather gloomy journey with a brief examination of 1968—a "terrible year" in which "unrest and insurgency were the order of the day" (p. 50). Much of that unrest grew out of conflicting public reactions to the Vietnam War, which the author examines in the second part of his work, significantly entitled "Vietnam, Incorporated." Relying heavily on Loren Baritz's *Backfire* and Paul Dickson's *Electronic Battlefield*, McQuaid paints a convincing portrait of frustration as American universalism employed American technology massively and futilely against a determined enemy.

For all of his passionate opposition to the war itself (McQuaid, refreshingly, is no revisionist on this score), he has little use for the excesses of the New Left, the subject of Part III of the work. Indeed, McQuaid is rightly critical of the "sheer self-indulgence" of a movement that by 1969 had become a "howling, thumping, heaving, sad, silly mess" (pp. 149, 161).

This mess, however, was small potatoes compared with the tangle of Watergate, discussed in Part IV in a masterful analysis of the complexities of the Nixon horrors. Unlike many who found virtue in Nixon's ultimate fall, for McQuaid: "Watergate was almost never heroic, but rather one facet of ongoing institutional failure and of constitutional problems left mostly unaddressed. The 'system' that 'worked' during Watergate was not the one in American civics or political science texts, and efforts to insure that Watergate-style abuses of power never happened again were, accordingly, made very largely passé by the Iran-Contra affair that besmirched Ronald Reagan's presidency" (p. 7).

Scholars familiar with this terrain will learn little new from McQuaid's superb synthesis. So what? He wants history "taken out of the seminar room and put back in the living room where it belongs" (p. ix). Of course, even the educated layperson might wish for a cleaner definition of "anxious." And from time to time McQuaid's readable style becomes too "cutesy-pie," as with phrases like "Boy, did they ever" and gratuitous references to "breasts" and "ass" (pp. 199, 14).

Minor analytical and stylistic problems aside, McQuaid has achieved his central purpose. This fine work belongs in living rooms (and undergraduate classrooms as well).

Ball State University ANTHONY O. EDMONDS

And the Walls Came Tumbling Down: An Autobiography. By RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY. (New York: Harper & Row, 1989. xvii, 638p. Illustrations, index. $25.00.)

Caveat emptor: those expecting a titillating expose of Martin Luther King's sex life will be disappointed. All the scorn heaped upon Ralph Abernathy for besmirching King's reputation stems from a single tale, that of the last night of King's life. It comprises two of Abernathy's six hundred-plus pages of prose. And those expecting an intimate memoir of Abernathy's own earthy life should also beware. This is no kiss-and-tell autobiography. Indeed, unlike other historians of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Abernathy does not even mention that Edward Davis, after learning that his wife was having an affair with the preacher, tried to kill Abernathy in Montgomery in 1958, and that Vivian Davis testified to her sexual relationship with Abernathy at the trial of her husband.

More importantly, this eagerly awaited autobiography by King's closest colleague, cellmate, and hand-picked successor as president of the SCLC is disappointingly bland, unrevealing, and often wrong about the people and the movement that changed the face of southern society and brought the walls of segregation tumbling down. Instead of conveying how it truly felt to be at the center of many key events in the civil rights struggle, Abernathy devotes most of his autobiography to retelling the by-now standard history of the movement. Worse, he does so with glaring omissions and plenty of personal pique, but without much insight or analysis. The narrative simply lacks depth. Montgomery, Albany, Birmingham, St. Augustine, Selma, Chicago, and Memphis all roll quickly by, in an episodic, almost impressionistic, manner, as anecdotes without a conceptual framework. Barely skimming the surface of history, Abernathy ignores the fundamental causes of change in the South and fails to reckon its consequences.

Sadly, Abernathy devotes much of the book to justifying his actions, settling old scores, and elevating his own importance in the movement. I lost count of the number of sentences beginning "Martin and I," and of those with the phrases "we thought," "we planned," "we did," "we established." Concurrently, he downplays everyone else's role, and has little but criticism for such adversaries as Jesse Jackson, Fred Shuttlesworth, Hosea Williams, and Andrew Young. Such whites as Harris Wofford and Jack O'Dell are not even mentioned; Glenn Smiley appears once—in parentheses—and Clifford and Virginia Durr and the Reverend Robert Graetz do not appear at all; and Stanley Levison exists only as someone who telephones King in 1968 to give advice on the Poor People's Campaign. Reading Abernathy one would never suspect that Bayard Rustin had any influence on King, or that Charles Jones, Cordell Reagon, and Charles Sherrod had

anything to do with the Albany Movement, or that the efforts of Ella Baker, Diane Nash Bevel, and Robert Moses in any way impinged on what he and King did. James Forman gets a single line—as a troublemaker. Abernathy, in fact, has nothing but disdain for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He wholly ignores its contributions to the movement in the sit-ins, freedom rides, and Mississippi Summer Project, and still cannot forgive its recklessness and resentment of the SCLC. He even speculates that SNCC paid the fines to get him and King out of jail in Albany, to undermine their ability to get genuine concessions from the white establishment, despite the fact that Police Chief Laurie Pritchett and others have already admitted that it was the white city fathers of Albany who paid the fines.

Abernathy also mistakenly dates the Meredith March in 1968, and wrongly labels Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner as Freedom Riders. He falsely claims that the walkout of the Dixie delegates at the 1948 Democratic national convention led to the end of southern power in Washington; that the 1954 *Brown* decision declared school segregation unconstitutional only in Kansas, and not in the South; and that King had fully developed his strategy of Gandhian nonviolence even before the Montgomery bus boycott began. Most lamentably, Abernathy even fails to convey vividly his own moral courage and leadership in the face of terror. And the less said about his pathetic effort to explain his endorsement of Ronald Reagan in 1980 the better.

What is of value are Abernathy's interesting observations on the disunity in Resurrection City, the dynamics of the Charleston hospital workers' strike, and the profound influences of his mother and father, Louivery and W.L. Abernathy. But it is not enough to make this autobiography worthwhile reading. A historical analysis that enhances our understanding of Abernathy, the man and the activist, remains to be written.

A postscript: Abernathy wanted to be remembered as the Joshua to King's Moses. Now he is being denounced as Judas, the defacer of the King legend. His account of King's last night and final morning has caused a censorious outcry that all historians, whatever their own moral vision, whatever their own belief about the public implications of private behavior, should resist and publicly oppose. What matters is not Abernathy's motive, or the fluctuation of public opinion, but whether his assertions are accurate. We should demand no less candor about King's anxieties and passions than we do about Thomas Jefferson's, or Emma Goldman's, or John Kennedy's. What may be irrelevant to one scholar is invaluable to another. Good history is built from truths, not myths.

University of New Hampshire HARVARD SITKOFF

Thomas Jefferson University: Tradition and Heritage. Edited by FREDERICK B. WAGNER, JR. (Philadelphia and London: Lea & Febiger, 1989. xii, 1104p. Illustrations, name index, subject index. $120.00.)

This massive (7.5 lb.) volume will doubtlessly grace the coffeetables and warm the hearts of many a Jefferson grad. The introductory section is written by the editor, university historian and Grace Revere Osler Professor Emeritus of Surgery, Frederick Wagner. It traces Jefferson's history from the school's foundation in 1824, as only the second medical school in Philadelphia, to its transformation in 1895 from a proprietary school to a nonprofit organization. The remainder of the book (by far its largest part) consists of separate chapters on organizational units within the College (including both departments and divisions). An interesting collection of chapters at the end covers a potpourri of subjects such as hospital administration, the Women's Board, and Jefferson regalia.

Most of the sections are written by faculty members, either retired or active, from the unit in question. As would be expected, the quality of the chapters varies widely. Some are insightful; many are little more than a series of mini-biographies. Also, the format tends to flatten out the peaks of Jefferson's achievements, so that one is apt to flash right past descriptions of, say, John Gibbon's pioneering development of a heart-lung apparatus, in the midst of detailed accounts of more mundane events.

But this is unlikely to be a serious problem, because few readers, other than reviewers, are likely to attempt all 1,060 pages of text. Most alumnae will skip to the sections about people they know as teachers and friends, and perhaps search for names of other mentors or classmates using the index of almost 3,000 individuals. They may enjoy as well the excellent collection of well-reproduced photographs.

Historians also will appreciate the collection of illustrations, though some will wish that sources for each photograph could have been provided. There are treasures buried as well, particularly regarding events of the more recent past, such as participants reminiscing quite frankly about the dissolution of departments (p. 435) or the competition between departments for hospital beds (p. 568). Such insights could become grist for historians' mills, particularly for those attempting to understand the history of American medicine in the twentieth century.

University of Michigan JOEL D. HOWELL

Main Line WASP: The Education of Thacher Longstreth. By W. THACHER LONGSTRETH, with DAN ROTTENBERG. (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990. 310p. Index. $19.95.)

Like Henry Adams nearly a century ago, Thacher Longstreth laments that Anglo-Saxon patricians have met with little favor among American voters in recent decades. Indeed, Longstreth must have had Henry Adams in mind when he borrowed his subtitle from the celebrated *Education of Henry Adams.*

Despite their common membership in the nation's WASP upper class, Henry Adams and Thacher Longstreth approached life in very different ways. While Adams never sought public office and undertook a brilliant but caustic analysis of the country which spurned him and his class, Longstreth ran unsuccessfully for office several times, remaining cheerful throughout his defeats. In religion also the two are quite different. Adams, a descendant of New England Puritans, inherited an often gloomy view of mankind. Quaker Longstreth has always tried to find something good in everyone, turning the other cheek and even praising his fiercest opponents.

Given such an outlook on life, one would not expect a deadly serious autobiography from Thacher Longstreth, a man who is well known in Philadelphia for his sense of humor. What he has written is a series of anecdotes about himself, his class, the city of Philadelphia and its suburbs, and the many men and women he has known. In the process, the reader learns much about what it was like to grow up amidst wealth and privilege on Philadelphia's Main Line (in Haverford to be exact) during the 1920s, and then how wealthy families like Longstreth's coped with losing everything in the Great Depression. Later one discovers how Longstreth played creditable football at Princeton in spite of severe nearsightedness and how he cheated on his physical examination, using an early pair of crude contact lenses, in order to join the Navy during World War II. By then he had married Nancy Claghorn of Philadelphia's wealthy Chestnut Hill section, where he and Nancy eventually settled down.

Longstreth's first bid for political office came in 1955 when he ran for mayor of Philadelphia as a Republican, a political preference that he inherited from his Main Line family. He had then naively believed "that running for office was simply a matter of being a good guy and waiting for the right people to acknowledge your goodness and offer you an office." Besides being a greenhorn, he was up against the formidable Richardson Dilworth, Democratic heir apparent to reform mayor Joseph S. Clark, who easily won the election that fall. In 1971 Longstreth again ran for mayor, this time against Frank Rizzo, a very different but likewise successful opponent. Following Rizzo's election, the mayor and Longstreth, who was then presi-

dent of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, had more than one serious disagreement over policy. Yet Longstreth's forthrightness and habit of turning the other cheek allowed him and Rizzo to stay on surprisingly good terms.

Above all, *Main Line WASP* is a highly entertaining book. But readers hoping to gain important insights into Philadelphia politics over the past four decades will be disappointed. Nor will they find discussions of the city's numerous problems, or of Longstreth's ideas about how to solve them.

This silence does not stem from lack of interest on the part of Longstreth, who is now a member of Philadelphia's City Council. Rather, he aimed to write a highly personal memoir of his seven decades as a Philadelphia WASP. After accepting the book on these grounds, readers stand to learn much about upper-class manners and mores, served with abundant good humor.

Chestnut Hill College DAVID R. CONTOSTA

What Should We Tell Our Children About Vietnam? By BILL MCCLOUD. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989. xviii, 155p. Chronology, suggested readings. $17.95.)

Sometime in 1987, Bill McCloud's principal asked the Vietnam veteran to include the tragic war in his social studies syllabus. A bit perplexed by the challenge, McCloud begin by checking how teachers elsewhere approached the topic and by surveying student knowledge and interest. He also sent out a single query to major players in the Vietnam story. Over the next year, presidents and staffers, diplomats and professors, generals and privates, anti-war protesters and grieving relatives responded to the apparently simple question: "What should we tell our children about Vietnam?" When the May 1988 issue of *American Heritage* featured some of the responses, follow up articles in *USA Today* and *Newsweek* called nationwide attention to the project. As letters poured in from across the land (and across the political spectrum), the University of Oklahoma Press offered McCloud a contract.

The resulting book arranges 128 letters in alphabetical order by surname, beginning with "Arlen" and ending with "Zumwalt." This system asks the readers to make their own comparisons and contrasts rather than leading them through an imposed pattern. On several pages, Vietnam-era Hawks are forced to share crowded perches with Doves; for example, Henry Kissinger's Teutonically thorough appraisal sits next to a silly letter proposing school trips to Hanoi. Not far away, pudgy Melvin Laird squeezes onto the same

page with a bleary-eyed Timothy Leary, who describes Vietnam as "a weirdo Third World country." Denim-clad Country Joe McDonald (who gained immortality à la Warhol by performing his "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag" at Woodstock) trashes four pages by babbling on about how his background as a Red-diaper baby prepared him to become an astute observer of the American scene. His boisterousness crowds a taciturn Robert S. McNamara into a curt, one-sentence response about the relativity of cultures and values. These jarring juxtapositions reflect the chaos of the Vietnam era and our unsuccessful attempts, as a nation, to synthesize its lessons.

Although the purpose of the "Introduction" is to describe the pedagogical origins of the project, it reveals something about McCloud's motives. Reading between the lines, I was impressed by his ambivalence: at the age of nineteen, he dropped out of Oklahoma State to join an army bound for Vietnam, hoping to participate in "the last great adventure on earth" (p. xiv); when he returned to Ponce City, he discovered that the people he admired—people who wrote books—saw Vietnam as a tragedy. In soliciting contrary perspectives of the war, McCloud engaged himself in something more profound than a classroom project. His challenge was to reconcile his youthful warrior image of self and country with the paradigm now dominant in publishing circles—Vietnam as tragic error. That inner tension must have affected his choice of letters for the collection; certainly, it enhances the impact of the book. Ambivalence shows through the "Suggested Readings," where youngsters are pointed toward upbeat "drum and bugle" histories while teachers get a list notably lacking in defense of U.S. policy—even by those who were important enough to appear in the body of the text. The names Braestrup, Kissinger, Moorer, Westmoreland, and Zumwalt come to mind readily as authors conspicuously absent from the reading list. The "Chronology" seems Dovishly skewed; however, McCloud's mixed feelings resurface in the "Afterword" where he tries to distill some lessons from the letters.

What Should We Tell Our Children About Vietnam? is an excellent text to use during the opening weeks of college courses or as a basis for discussion with general audiences and library groups. It will *not* serve its intended audience of school children unless it is used as a jumping-off point for further research because the reader needs to know as much about the background of the writers as he does about the putative lessons of the letters. Still, veteran and teacher Bill McCloud has performed a real service in this short work, providing an instrument that will help us begin communicating with the children—and our many selves—about America's paradoxical noble failure in Vietnam.

Oklahoma State University PETER C. ROLLINS

ERRATUM

The following correction should be made in Bradley Chapin, "Written Rights: Puritan and Quaker Procedural Guarantees," *PMHB* 114 (July 1990):

p. 323, fn. 1, lines 6-8, the Preyer and Katz citations should read: Kathryn Preyer, "Penal Measures in the American Colonies: An Overview," ibid., 326-53; Stanley Katz, "The Problem of a Colonial Legal History," in Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1984), 457-89; . . .

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