

BOOK REVIEWS

A Perfect Freedom: Religious Liberty in Pennsylvania. By J. WILLIAM FROST.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. x, 221p. Bibliography,
index. \$42.50.)

J. William Frost writes at the start of his illuminating account of religious liberty in Pennsylvania that his subject has found a small place in the histories of American religious freedom. A brief survey of recent studies—including Thomas J. Curry, *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment*; Leonard Levy, *The Establishment Clause: Religion and the First Amendment*; William Lee Miller, *The First Liberty: Religion and the American Republic*; and the important essays edited by Mark A. Noll in *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980s*—will confirm Frost's point. While historians consistently defer to the influence of William Penn and the significance of Pennsylvania's religious pluralism for the "lively experiment" of religious freedom, meaningful assessment of these subjects is consistently bypassed in favor of lengthy discussions of Roger Williams, Isaac Backus, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and the advancement of freedom of conscience in New England and Virginia. This is no great news to colonial scholars of the Middle Atlantic who continue to contend with the underestimation of their region's importance in the creation of the republic. Yet, as Frost writes, from its founding "Pennsylvania stood for non-coercion of conscience, divorce of the institutional church from the state, and the cooperation of the church and state in fostering morality necessary for prosperity and good government" (p. 2). For its choice of subject alone, Frost's book is a major contribution. Despite the apparently narrow focus on one state, the study also incorporates the best aspects of an all-encompassing synthesis. In 165 pages of text Frost takes on such fundamental subjects as William Penn's ideas of natural law, freedom of conscience, and toleration; the Quakers' simultaneous attempts to apply principles of toleration and moral control to Pennsylvania's expanding population; the pre-Revolutionary conflict between Quakers and Presbyterians over Pennsylvania's peace policies (here Frost presents a lucid explanation of the religious ingredients of the controversy, usually and sometimes opaquely described as exclusively political); the place of religious liberty in the ideology of the framers of Pennsylvania's 1776 and 1790 constitutions and the United States Constitution; ideas of Pennsylvania's enlightenment thinkers, including James Wilson, Benjamin Rush, and Thomas Paine (without slighting, it should be added, Jefferson and Madison); and the positions taken by antebellum politicians, clergymen, and judges on freedom of religion in tandem with such issues as trade unionism, Sunday school education,

separation of church and state, church incorporation, sabbatarianism, the religious freedom of Jews, and the Catholic-public school controversy. Frost discusses these subjects economically rather than superficially and always with characteristic clarity and wry humor, familiar to readers of the *PMHB* in his previous articles (vol. 105, no. 4; vol. 107, no. 4; vol. 112, no. 3).

Frost's overall point is that the history of religious liberty in Pennsylvania reveals a consistent and interconnecting accommodation among churches, state government, and the courts in which Pennsylvanians accepted and sometimes demanded an instrumental role for the clergy, churches, and religious culture in civil society, all the while ideologically asserting the claims of freedom of conscience. Essential to the survival of the latter were Penn's original philosophy of toleration derived from natural law, the existence of a competitive denominational order, and the persistent reluctance of the courts to engage in the niceties of theological dispute. In his valuable epilogue, Frost concludes: "Pennsylvania created many traditions of religious liberty and no one normative policy" (p. 162). Here he also asserts that religion always has played a political role in American history. So long as the concepts of freedom of conscience and free debate are recognized as deriving from natural law, the political aspects of controversial religious issues may continue to be usefully debated from a universal ground (p. 164).

Frost's work is instructively objective on the wide range of issues described above and is supported by abundant primary sources in both the discursive notes and bibliography. It is regrettable that Frost's book may have a limited audience of church and legal historians for a subject of such intrinsic interest to social and cultural historians as well. Most readers will appreciate the sustained focus on religious freedom strictly defined. The study might nonetheless have been expanded to include a chapter on the relationship between religious freedom and antebellum social reform. Frost refers in passing to the ideas of individuals like Lucretia Mott and Sarah Grimké outside the political and clerical establishments, but he dismisses the larger implications of their ideas as unrelated to church-state issues. Yet certainly abolitionism, women's suffrage, and moral reform, to name just a few of the early nineteenth-century political movements that emerged in Pennsylvania, were related both to the law and the churches. The reviewer admits as well to coming away with an un-Whiggish observation: that the course of true religious liberty never did run smooth in Pennsylvania, despite the auspicious setting. Frost's description of religio-political controversies during and after the Revolution shows how consistently Christian moral teachings and the moral precepts of natural law have not only been closely associated by Americans but often considered one and the same thing. Perhaps this should not come as a surprise. As Stephen Botein wrote in a cogent essay in *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*

(1987), "anyone wishing to insulate religion from government and government from religion would be well advised to maintain a constant watch for those unwritten fundamentals embedded in the political culture of the nation." Frost's study demonstrates the truth of Botein's statement. It is also a rich and informed narration by a historian in his stride. *A Perfect Freedom* should serve as essential reading to all those who have ever puzzled over the role of the "first liberty" and political expressions of religious dissent in American society.

California State University, Hayward

DEE ANDREWS

Footloose in Jacksonian America: Robert W. Scott and His Agrarian World. By THOMAS D. CLARK. (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1989. x, 250p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Armed only with a fistful of letters of introduction, Robert W. Scott, a twenty-year-old graduate of Transylvania University, rode east out of Frankfort, Kentucky, in September 1829. Before him, as editor Thomas C. Clark observes, "lay the broad expanse of Jacksonian America." For the next five months, Scott scribbled a detailed account of everything he witnessed into a diary that grew to nearly 40,000 words.

Scott intended his eastern tour to be the final act of his education and youth before settling into the life of a Kentucky lawyer and planter. He missed little. Norfolk, New York, Hartford, Boston, Albany, Philadelphia, and Baltimore all served as host to the wide-eyed young man who had known nothing grander than Lexington. Through an accident of timing, Scott had the good luck to be in Richmond during the Virginia constitutional convention, where he called on the ancient James Madison and was captivated by Dolley, although the honest diarist felt compelled to record that "her person [was] large much exceeding the common size." He arrived in Washington just as the Peggy Eaton scandal was breaking. Scott declined, however, to say more than that he found Peggy "extremely gay, pretty & clever." Like most men of education, Scott expected to find the president a sword-waving savage, but he left a brief audience with the hero "entertaining more favorable opinions of his manners as well as his appearance."

Despite its wealth of detail, the narrative is ultimately disappointing. Scott's prose was clear but often dull; few scholars will confuse this work with Charles Dickens's *American Notes* (1842). Moreover, Scott's diary is descriptive rather than analytical. The Kentuckian recorded everything he saw in excruciating detail, and some readers may tire of hearing of noses, most of which Scott described as "aquiline" (Calhoun's nose, however, was

“ugly”). The closest Scott came to commenting on eastern mores was when the priggish young man denounced Washington society for its scandalous behavior: “as there [are] always many men in the city at a distance from their families & wives, the sexes are not scrupulous about illicit intercourse.” The great recorders of antebellum society—Alexis de Tocqueville, Tyrone Power, and Dickens—were all strangers to American shores. They gazed upon Jacksonian society and its manners and morals and peculiar institutions through critical foreign eyes. Scott, however, had literally nothing to say about slavery. He practiced it himself in Kentucky.

Editor Thomas Clark has done a superb job in tracking down and editing the massive document. Every building and person Scott mentioned receives ample discussion in the notes which, unfortunately, appear at the end of the text. Clark also wrote eight brief topical chapters that carry Scott from his 1829 tour through his death in 1884. In the intervening years, the staunch Democrat excelled at stock breeding, ran once for political office (and lost), supported the Union (despite having two sons serve in the Confederate military), but took a dim view of emancipation and Reconstruction. Clark’s bibliography also serves as a useful guide to Scott’s numerous essays on agriculture; however, many of the secondary works cited are somewhat out of date.

Le Moyne College

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON

Second Stories: The Politics of Language, Form, and Gender in Early American Fictions. By CYNTHIA S. JORDAN. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. xv, 242p. Index. \$27.50.)

Through a delineation of the ways in which selected early American authors’ writings reveal their ideas about the function of language and authority in a developing republic, Cynthia Jordan’s *Second Stories* challenges the widely held assumption that the American Revolution was antipatriarchal; indeed, public language came to be a highly sophisticated system that perpetuated patriarchy by creating a necessity for “learned men” to act as interpreters of meaning. As political interpretation became increasingly valorized by a paternalistic elite, it became the vehicle by which its perpetrators established and maintained a new political and social order. In Part 1 of the book, Jordan addresses the establishment of this system of interpretation by Founding Fathers such as Benjamin Franklin, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and Charles Brockden Brown. In Part 2, she analyzes the responses of the next generation of literary interpreters—James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville—to their

predecessors' "second stories" (the underlying system of opposing values that patriarchal ideology seeks to suppress).

Franklin, Brackenridge, and Brown, Jordan persuasively argues, viewed language as an instrument conducive to maintaining the dominant culture's vision of an appropriate social order. Franklin's *Autobiography*, Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry*, and Brown's *Wieland* are presented as models for a social order rooted in patriotism—and in the ideology of patriarchy. Yet each text also suppresses any social construct of "otherness" that would challenge the dominant ideology.

Jordan is most impressive in her evaluation of Franklin's *Autobiography*. If William Spengemann and others have revealed the "ficticity" of Franklin's life story, it has been left to Jordan to develop this thesis to its fullest through a reassessment of the consequences of such a "model" life. Franklin's conscious reclamation of the art of naming, for instance, acts to establish his own literary authority and the sociopolitical order that he favors while it also seeks to separate his generation from the past, an act that allows Franklin and his contemporaries to shed the role of sons and become "Fathers" of the Revolution. While Franklin's process of naming appears to be a call for social harmony, in fact it suppresses opposing political views and alternatives for social order.

When Jordan turns to the American Romantics, however, her argument is less convincing. She depicts the Romantics as authors who rejected the linguistic manipulations and "duplicity of language" favored by their literary fathers and who sought to "unmask" the second story by giving voice to those who were cast as "other" in the culture of the Fathers. In Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, duplicity is revealed through the process of white fathers' use of the power of naming to corrupt the names—and the cultural values—of Native Americans. In Poe's and Hawthorne's tales, propertied and tyrannical authority figures assert the power to name and thus to claim title to souls as well as to property. In Melville's *Pierre*, an unethical father seeks to eliminate the "illegitimate" daughter from his life story. Through the creation of androgynous characters, Jordan asserts, the Romantics gave voice to suppressed stories of America's marginalized citizens.

However, this assertion ironically recreates and perpetuates the status of white males as America's "major authors" (pp. 116, 125) and silences other American voices. While Jordan succeeds in presenting the selected canonical texts in a new and invigorating light, she seems not to understand that an author's decision to have a *male* character (however much depicted as "androgynous" and antipatriarchal) "tell the 'sister's' story" is also a translation—and inevitably a corruption—that silences women rather than allowing them to express their own stories. Valuing a male "cultural mediator" ignores issues of appropriation in acts of mediation. Inclusion of fictions

by early American women and other marginalized authors who also “criticized patriarchal linguistic politics” (many of whom Jordan acknowledges in her preface) would have significantly expanded her thesis and corroborated her assertion that there was more than one American story to be told.

University of Nebraska, Lincoln

SHARON M. HARRIS

The Master Builders: A History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania. Vol. 1: 1731-1873. Vol. 2: 1874-1986. Vol. 3: Grand Master Biographies. By WAYNE A. HUSS. (Philadelphia: Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania, 1986, 1988, 1989. Vol. 1, xi, 327p. Illustrations, tables, figures, appendixes, index. Vol. 2, xiii, 243p. Illustrations, tables, figures, appendixes, index. Vol. 3, xiii, 470p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$22.95 [each].)

In anticipation of the 200th anniversary of its assertion of independence in 1786, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, dating from 1731 and the third oldest of Freemasonry's Grand Lodges, commissioned Wayne Huss, a non-Mason, to produce an “objective, nonbiased and professional” account of its long and important history. In the three-volume work under review (two of narrative history, supplemented by a third given over to biographical sketches of Past Grand Masters) the Grand Lodge's goal has been admirably achieved. It offers an institutional history carefully researched and richly documented, that transcends the conventional limits of the genre through its effective analysis of quantitative social data, particularly those drawn from the Grand Lodge's records of membership and charitable activities.

In the large view, the Grand Lodge's story might be seen as a chronicle of the progress and prosperity of an elite fraternal society over a period of 250 years, but Huss depicts a far more nuanced historical reality. Masonic lodges had existed in Pennsylvania for several years before the establishment of the Grand Lodge, but about these little is known. Huss, however, is able to chart membership growth, in text and detailed appendices, from the four subordinate lodges that had enrolled more than 700 members by 1763 to the 547 subordinate lodges with their 190,000 members of 1986. Membership peaked at 257,915 in 1960, and 1970 saw the highest number of subordinate lodges with 610.

The elite character of the fraternity was assured not only by the Grand Lodge's persistent adherence to standards of “physical perfection” and moral conduct but also by the relatively high costs of membership. From Masonic records, supplemented by public documents and directories, Huss is able to add an important dimension to his studies of membership by the construction

of occupational profiles. Service (professional and non-professional) and commerce were the occupational categories most frequently reported, with the ordinary worker but poorly represented. His analysis suggests that until well into the twentieth century the costs of initiation and membership maintenance would have consumed a prohibitively large portion of an average worker's income. Pennsylvania Masonry's elite image was further reinforced by the participation of Washington, Franklin, and lesser but still significant figures (e.g., G.M. Dallas) in the fraternity's public activities.

Growth in the number of subordinate lodges and members was not constant. Its ebb and flow reflected the influence of external factors (political, social, economic, and cultural) as well as internal circumstances like the quality of leadership, changes in policies and philosophy, and disputes over doctrine or jurisdiction. Anti-Masonic attitudes flared as early as the 1730s when Philadelphians reacted to the death of an apprentice in a mock Masonic ceremony, but the most severe external threat to the order came with the Anti-Masonic movement of the 1820s and 1830s, a political and journalistic assault that left the Grand Lodge reeling, with its number of subordinate lodges reduced from 104 to 38 over a ten-year period. Huss's account of Anti-Masonry, from the Morgan incident through Thaddeus Stevens's public confrontation with Masonic leaders before a special committee of the Pennsylvania legislature, generally reflects mainstream scholarship and professional standards of objectivity. Anti-Masonic feeling resurfaced in the 1870s as several Protestant organizations attacked Freemasonry on religious grounds much the same as those regularly advanced by Roman Catholics. These attacks combined with adverse economic conditions, following the Panic of 1873, to produce a decline in membership. But, interestingly, the severe economic downturn of the early 1890s did not occasion a similar decline, while the Great Depression of the 1930s clearly did.

In the 1750s "Moderns" and "Ancients" in the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge imitated their English brethren and feuded over the issue of proper ritual and procedures. "Moderns" controlled the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge and resisted the innovations urged by "Ancients" in Lodge No. 4. The upstart "Ancients" then elected their own Grand Master and sought a warrant from the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England to establish a Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Granted in 1761, the warrant assigned full authority over all Masonic affairs in the North American colonies to the rigorist "Ancient" Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. As the more relaxed "Moderns" faded away, the "Ancients" assumed unchallenged control of Pennsylvania Freemasonry and seceded from the Grand Lodge of England in 1786.

The Pennsylvania Grand Lodge became identified with the principle of autonomy for grand lodges and strict adherence to the standards and rituals

of Ancient York Rite Freemasonry. Through the nineteenth century its consistent opposition to the creation of any Masonic structure superior to the Grand Lodge, zealous action to safeguard its authority within its jurisdiction, and insistence on the scrupulous observance of traditional rituals and standards fueled recurrent disputes with maverick Masons, subordinate lodges, and other Grand Lodges. Within the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge the understanding of Masonic philosophy ranged from an initial deism, through Christian theism, to religious neutrality, with a return to a position close to the original deism. The quality of leadership also varied, as one might expect with more than a hundred Grand Masters, but at times of disciplinary or financial crisis able leaders generally emerged.

Financial crises usually involved the need to generate adequate funding to support charitable expenditures and building projects. An emphasis on charity was characteristic of Pennsylvania Freemasonry from its earliest days, and Huss provides quantitative data for two centuries of charitable activity. While most Masonic charity benefited needy Masons or their dependents, support for charitable endeavors was both consistent and substantial. He also describes in considerable detail the problems of building, financing, and maintaining the successive Masonic halls, including the imposing structure that stands opposite Philadelphia's grandiose city hall.

This well-conceived and well-realized trilogy will appeal most strongly to those with an interest in Freemasonry, but students of social and political history will find it a rich and useful source.

Saint Joseph's University

FRANK GERRITY

Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage. By BRIAN W. DIPPIC.
(Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. xix, 553p.
Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$50.00.)

George Catlin's place in American culture now seems secure. Whenever a museum mounts an exhibition detailing the diversity in the American experience, there is sure to be a Catlin Indian painting. As Brian Dippie writes in his superb new book, "Catlin's supreme gift was a vision: he created himself and his gallery in his mind, then projected them onto the world." The triumph of his art was in what he sought, but the achievements obscured the artist, his contemporaries, and their all-consuming struggle for federal patronage. While art historians and ethnographers like William H. Truettner and John C. Ewers have probed the historical and ethnographic qualities of Catlin's paintings, Dippie has taken a new and quite productive approach. Using the quest for patronage as the central theme, Dippie traces the lives

and productions of a whole generation of American artists and writers—a generation fascinated by native people and attracted by the rich possibilities of public support from the national treasury.

Catlin was at the center of that artistic circle, and his long search for public success and financial security represents the parallel experiences of others now forgotten. Dippie's analysis of Catlin's motives is shrewd and sensitive. While the artist often played fast and loose with everything from dates to personal relationships, Dippie has skillfully limned the portrait of an exceptionally complex man. With Catlin it is easy to confuse painting with biography. Catlin insisted that his whole life was a selfless struggle to preserve the native past, and more than one scholar has accepted that flattering self-portrait. Dippie provides the necessary corrective, noting that the real Catlin struggle was with Congress and an increasingly uninterested public. Dippie gives us an intricate Catlin, an artist who was at once showman and gifted documentarian. Because Catlin was so constant a patronage seeker, it would be easy to dismiss him as a more refined P.T. Barnum. Dippie does not fall to that temptation but offers a sympathetic reading of the artist and his tortured journey to find acceptance and security.

But this is far more than a book about Catlin and his ambitions. The best recent books in the history of western exploration have tried to describe the social and intellectual lives of collective groups. As Dippie's title declares, this book is a group portrait. What linked Catlin to artists and writers like Henry R. Schoolcraft, Seth Eastman, John Mix Stanley, and Ephraim George Squier was not only the passion to study what everyone was sure were vanishing peoples but an equal passion for a place in the federal budget. Each of these artist-entrepreneurs came to Washington—a place Dippie aptly calls "the mecca of false hopes"—seeking advantage, publication, and public acclaim. That relentless pursuit of patronage embroiled the Catlin circle in endless personal controversies and political squabbles. Dippie is especially adept at disentangling those feuds, most notably the ones that swirled around Catlin, Schoolcraft, Eastman, and Henry H. Sibley. Federal Indian policy, ethnographic accuracy, the role of the government in the arts, and the play of personal ambition—Dippie outlines each and describes the "big issues and sometimes small people caught up in a competition for inadequate patronage."

Simply put, this is an extraordinarily good book. Dippie attempts many things and pulls them all off with grace and skill. Writing collective biography is difficult, and Dippie succeeds in making each of his characters come alive without losing track of the central patronage theme. While other students of American culture have written about patronage, few have done so thoughtful a job. Dippie is at home with both the artists and their often unwilling legislative patrons. Patronage, whether by publication or exhibi-

tion, dominated the lives of Catlin, his fellows, and their families. That quest shaped lives and artistic destinies, but Dippie argues that the Catlin circle left a legacy beyond the reach of patronage denied, personal invective, or trust betrayed. "The books are still there to be read," writes Dippie, "the pictures to be seen." Thanks to Dippie's incisive work, modern readers and gallery visitors can come to appreciate the complex lives behind pen and brush. This is a memorable book, one made more so by carefully selected illustrations and a graceful design.

University of Tulsa

JAMES P. RONDA

Prints of Philadelphia at the Philadelphia Print Shop: Featuring the Wohl Collection. By CHRISTOPHER W. LANE and DONALD H. CRESSWELL. (Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Print Shop, Ltd., 1990. 128p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$18.00.)

Catalogues issued by book and print dealers must first be commercially motivated; they seek to stimulate acquisitive juices and justify the prices charged. This economic imperative may be discreetly cloaked. Catalogues of learned essays intoned in a curatorial voice, handsomely produced and illustrated—with a detachable price list, naturally—can flatter former owners whose collecting acumen may here be documented in print for the only time, while simultaneously declaring the dealer a worthy contender in the competition for future clients on both sides of the transaction.

Yet dealers' catalogues remain lists of goods for sale. Beyond making the best possible case for the object and fairly informing the reader of its fine points and physical limitations, the dealer is under no obligation to provide a balanced view or to explore at length objects not currently available. However, when this limitation is understood, such catalogues can be stimulating and informative reading that in the aggregate and over time may provide a body of information not otherwise readily available in reference works.

Prints of Philadelphia is the catalogue of the nearly 300 prints and maps offered for sale in 1990 by the Philadelphia Print Shop. Most of the offering—ranging in date from the mid-eighteenth century through the mid-twentieth century—came from a Philadelphia iconography collection assembled over the past thirty years by Dr. and Mrs. Milton Wohl. Like many collections that are narrowly focused, the importance and rarity of the items described vary greatly. The high spot was unquestionably the first edition folio of William Birch's *City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1800) offered at \$135,000, a price that reflects not only the rarity of the complete set in excellent condition but the preeminence of Birch's "views" in the minds of

most collectors of American prints. Off this lofty level, the key items in the Wohl collection offered here were the eighteenth-century maps and the showy nineteenth-century lithographs, especially the broad perspective views with substantial decorative "wall power."

Since there is little new that can be said about Birch views—or most of the early maps of Philadelphia, for that matter—not already found in the books and articles of Martin P. Snyder (especially his *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia before 1800* [1975]), the most valuable part of Lane and Cresswell's cataloguing is the identification of less well-known nineteenth-century prints, especially those not covered by Nicholas B. Wainwright in his *Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography* (1958). The rich variety of Victorian-era Philadelphia prints in mediums other than lithography found here suggests an area of fair availability and modest price that should appeal to collectors lacking deep pockets: more than two-thirds of the prints were priced below \$500 and a substantial number at less than half that amount.

Most importantly, *Prints of Philadelphia* reminds us how great is our lack of a comprehensive iconography for nineteenth-century Philadelphia, a project that is now conceivable with virtually all the special collection libraries in the region linked to common on-line cataloguing utilities. With relatively modest funding, such a project could be completed in a few years. In the meantime, collectors and curators will doubtless find this catalogue, as the authors hoped, "a useful work for anyone interested in Philadelphia prints and maps."

The Athenaeum of Philadelphia

ROGER W. MOSS

Founding Families of Pittsburgh: The Evolution of a Regional Elite, 1760-1910.

By JOSEPH F. RISHEL. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990. xii, 241p. Tables, figures, appendix, bibliography of biographical sources, index. \$34.95.)

Founding Families of Pittsburgh is a collective intergenerational biography of twenty founding families of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Their development is traced from origin as a local economic elite to achievement of multi-hegemonic local upper-class stature and ultimately, the author claims, to integration into a national upper class.

An exceptionally sophisticated quantitative and systematic examination of an upper stratum over time, *Founding Families* is particularly noteworthy for its exploration of out-migrants, the most original feature of the investigation. This elite study makes several useful informational and analytical contribu-

tions to the field in such topics as social mobility, residence, occupation, and birth order.

These valuable features stand against several important weaknesses that diminish, but by no means entirely dissipate, the scholarly accomplishments of the monograph. Twenty families may be too narrow a base to sustain the generalizations derived from this sample, and the selection process is flawed. Rishel took the families from another study that listed seventy-seven clans as eligible by his criteria of being present in the county in 1820. He excluded sixteen families because the earlier study did not give their genealogies and twenty-two because their surnames were too common and randomly extrapolated his sample from the remaining thirty-nine. The latter number would have given him a larger and possibly more representative sample and his grounds for rejection might have distorted his findings. Did those families without genealogy constitute a less successful segment of the original families? Did the absence of common surnames skew ethnic or religious frequency distributions in the group?

The relationship between this enclave of the local upper class and the whole stratum is not clarified. Nor, beyond the fact that their behavior imitated other upper strata, is it proven that they were part of a national upper class. Arguments for and against the existence of a stable, countrywide upper class have been made, and Rishel does not review them. Moreover, he admits that the founding families were not necessarily the dominant clans in their own region. Their incomplete suzerainty in Allegheny County and their rare appearance in top positions in national business, social, and political circles and infrequent intermarriage with salient families like the Rockefellers or Roosevelts casts further doubt on assertions regarding the national preeminence of the Pittsburgh clans.

Another dubious assumption detracts from this study. "If there is no downward mobility [from the elite]," declares Rishel, "then American society is closed and approximates popular notions of European society" (p. 6). Three problems exist with this statement. The least critical is sloppy research. A historian of elites should at least examine studies of mobility into and out of European upper classes to find out if "popular notions" are accurate. More importantly, however, Rishel's assertion is logically invalid and subsequently contradicted. Closed classes are determined by upward, as well as downward, mobility. If entry from below is substantial, the social system is fluid even if those at the top are able to perpetuate their high status over several generations. Indeed, on the very next page, Rishel makes precisely this point.

Additional problems arise from the distinction between "core" and "non-core" members of the founding families, respectively defined as those who bear the surnames of the original family and females who married outsiders and the resultant progeny. This division may be biologically defensible but

is otherwise arbitrary. Husbands and issue of thus designated exogamous unions, by more meaningful standards (e.g., residential propinquity and degree of participation in significant activities of the Pittsburgh upper class), in many cases could be more integral to the group than were Rishel's stipulative insiders.

Space limits discussion of other misconceptions. Membership in "two or more [social] organizations" does not, as Rishel asserts, indicate "a lack of any exclusive social stratification within the elite" (p. 61). It is criteria for membership not number of organizations that is the relevant factor. According to the author, "elite indicates occupational position whereas upper class indicates social position" (p. 71). In fact, elite can designate the top segment of any functional group, while upper class is a more comprehensive category that includes economic and other aspects of predominance. Finally, it is a misconception to claim that "landholding . . . was the ultimate in passivity and dependence on outside forces" (p. 83). Landed gentry here and abroad frequently demonstrated autonomy and initiative by inaugurating or adopting advances in agriculture, animal husbandry, and other aspects of estate management, and enlarged or acquired fortunes through shrewd real estate deals.

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FREDERIC COPLE JAHER

Sons and Daughters of Labor: Class and Clerical Work in Turn-of-the-Century Pittsburgh. By ILEEN A. DEVAULT. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990. xii, 194p. Illustrations, tables, figures, index. \$21.50.)

As Ileen DeVault observes in this richly textured and well-documented study, recent focus on the feminization of clerical work has nearly obscured the important question of class in white-collar employment. DeVault reminds us that both "the sons and daughters of labor" were attracted to clerical work between 1870 and 1920. She asks two critical questions. Was there a clear-cut boundary between blue- and white-collar work or a permeable one? What role did clerical work play in the changing character of an "existing class undergoing rapid transformation" (p. 73)? In answering these questions she reminds us that the working class in American life was not immutably fixed but was being continuously transformed. As a result, the collar line in Pittsburgh was "not so much a social chasm as it was a social estuary, a site for the mingling of economic groups and social influences" (p. 177).

A major manufacturing center and railroad junction by 1900, Pittsburgh was also home base for some of the most important and powerful corporations in America, including Westinghouse Electric, U.S. Glass, and U.S. Steel (in 1901). Corporate offices, along with banks, retail stores, and public utilities, provided growing numbers of office jobs for both men and women. By 1920 14.5 percent of all workers in Pittsburgh were clerical workers, and of these more than 40 percent were women. Typewriters and other office machines were often assigned to women while men assumed sales, bookkeeping, and managerial jobs.

The same forces that produced a new body of clerical jobs were also undermining the position of Pittsburgh's "labor aristocrats." These were skilled workers, often native-born, English or German, with the highest wages in the city, proud of their autonomy, and active in union and community organizations, including the governing of the public schools. The world of these men and their families was under assault by the late nineteenth century from the corporate managers who sought to apply scientific management techniques to the workplace, to wrest control from skilled workers and their unions, and to assign more work to lower-paid immigrants. No longer able to guarantee their sons continuous employment in the skilled trades and worried about the respectability of their daughters, labor aristocrats encouraged commercial education in the public schools, sent their children through such programs, and then encouraged them to work in offices. Clerks generally faced less unemployment, earned higher wages, and enjoyed better working conditions than blue-collar workers.

But the white-collar line was not a fixed one. Manual laborers, professional workers, and middle-class office workers also sent their children into clerical work. The result was that the sons and daughters of labor aristocrats married across the collar line and continued to live in neighborhoods in which manual, skilled workers, and clerks intermingled. While few men rose to be bosses and few women married the boss, clerical work provided a reasonable solution for skilled workers to the growing labor stratification of the workforce and the de-skilling of traditional trades. These working-class families had not abandoned their class but attempted to reformulate workplace identity in a changing world.

DeVault's work is based on a meticulous data sample that details occupation, residence, schooling, organizational affiliation, and marital patterns. Anyone interested in urban history will find the material world of Pittsburgh drawn here in arresting detail, and while her labor history is sophisticated, readers unfamiliar with the field will also find her arguments clearly reasoned and easy to follow. My one reservation about this book is its interpretation of the motives of the men and women so ably profiled demographically. These motives are frequently deduced rather than documented. For instance,

DeVault assumes that women not only went along with low wages and lack of promotion opportunities in the office but were in some ways programmed to do so by their roles as women: "isolated in single-sex job categories and generally not planning on long-term employment, [women] identified with each other and with their family roles" (p. 23). A growing body of material suggests that women's reactions to the marriage bar and to low wages in office work were more complex and potentially self-conscious. DeVault's own profile of the greater labor force participation of daughters of widows suggests that some women clerks were, for reasons of economic necessity, heavily invested in their roles as workers and surely rankled under the limitations imposed on their sex.

University of Rhode Island

SHARON HARTMAN STROM

Pittsburgh: Then and Now. By ARTHUR G. SMITH. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990. ix, 325p. Photographs. \$35.00.)

Pittsburgh "then" extends almost eighty years (from the oldest to the newest "then" photograph), more than twice the interval between the most recent "then" and the oldest "now." No principle of periodization renders "then" plausible as a unit, and, consequently, no explanation or even characterization of change between "then" and "now" is possible. This, then, is not a book of history.

It is a book with many interesting old city photographs and some intriguing comparisons. The photographs are generally quite straightforwardly descriptive, rather than overtly interpretive. Reproduction is of high quality (not, of course, on the model of art-photography), except where the "then" photos are copy photos from published sources. The "then" photos are the heart of this book, of course, and these are generally crisp and attractive, perhaps nine in ten reproduced from negatives in six archives. Smith, who took the "now" photos, managed to achieve more grace than is often present when photographers are strait-jacketed by photographing from the same spot with the same borders as existing "then" photos. He seems, too, to have been almost uncannily successful in matching not only point of view and framing but also focal length of the lens, so that planes are in similar relationship to one another as they recede.

The organization of the book is by "then," and is a bit arbitrary. There are sections on areas of the city (e.g., downtown, neighborhoods), on types of enterprise (iron and steel, the A&P), and on types of structures (bridges, transportation, and "stately homes"). Some reflect and teach some urban geography, others disregard it. (No map is provided, and place references

require considerable prior familiarity with Pittsburgh.) Some of these sections overwhelmingly point to change (but when?), while others give a sense of basic lack of change, while still others present intriguing mixes of change and stasis, some interpretable, others seemingly random.

The sense of Pittsburgh now is overwhelmingly one of a spruced-up place. The improvement in air quality is a famous achievement and is dramatized here by the sheer quantity of photos of various sorts that document it, the more so in that the "then" photos showing dirty air do not include the smoke-belching industrial scenes with which we are so familiar. Dirty air "then" is shown as an ambient incident of daily life, all over. Buildings—both pretentious and unpretentious—also have been refaced and cleaned up, sometimes on the cheap but surprisingly often tastefully. Such a hilly city used to have *very* poorly maintained streets. They are much neater now.

The city also has developed a far coarser visual texture, with the loss of pedestrian scale, the general decline and removal of architectural ornamentation, the replacement of paving stones by macadam roadbeds, the disappearance of much of the ironwork that railroads and streetcars added to the cityscape. But, if it is not what it was, Pittsburgh is still a visually variegated city: the hills and the improvised residential architecture they have encouraged guarantee this. Nowhere is the visual impoverishment more powerfully displayed than in the long series of photo comparisons on East Liberty—a major uptown shopping district from which whites withdrew in the years following World War II and which was "urban-renewed" in the 1960s into a visual blandness so perfect that the lifelessness Smith's "now" photos show seems as natural to it as did the vigorous street activity of the well-chosen 1930s "then" photos. The East Liberty disaster is well known to Pittsburghers, but even so the comparisons shock.

There are lots of other good things here, too. The book is not compelling, but it is well worth examining.

Carnegie Mellon University

JOHN MODELL

Making America Corporate, 1870-1920. By OLIVIER ZUNZ. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990. 267p. Illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

Olivier Zunz finds the purpose and space for this book in opposition to C. Wright Mills's old indictment of white-collar work within the increasingly centralized, routinized, and dehumanized corporate offices of the twentieth century, and, in a more limited sense, to Alfred D. Chandler's ongoing elaboration of the structures of management within the developing corpora-

tions of America and its competitors. Mills erred, according to Zunz, in portraying white-collar workers and even lower-echelon managers as mere bureaucrats who played little or no role in shaping either their work or the social relations of their workplace. Chandler committed no such error, but his institutional perspective prevents him from considering the broader social and cultural lives of managers and white-collar workers. In rejecting Mills and in the space left by Chandler, therefore, Zunz finds his central theme and question: "how did corporate capitalism succeed in creating a new work culture and an altogether new outlook on life" (p. 8)?

Zunz links this broad question, as did Mills, to the process of "middle-class formation and re-formation," and to more specific questions concerning the presumed tensions between middle-class entrepreneurialism and corporate bureaucracy. "If the republican virtues of smallness and independence were so deeply ingrained in the middle class," he asks, "how were corporations able to break into this class so easily and coopt large parts of it" (p. 39)? Zunz's immediate answer, elaborated upon in various ways throughout the book, is that white-collar people in this initial era of corporate bureaucratization correctly saw themselves as "independent intermediaries" rather than as manipulated bureaucrats, not only on the job but also with respect to the corporation's presence in society at large (p. 40). Lower managers and salesmen (Zunz is less clear on this point about the lower ranks of office workers) found themselves able to create and improvise within the interstices of corporate directives, and in many cases joined the corporation's aspirations to their own, even becoming missionaries of the corporate way of life. The new ways of working and living that Zunz does see as flowing from the corporate revolution were, therefore, in large part middle-class creations rather than institutional forms that radically reshaped the habits and values of the "old middle class."

This world the white-collar workers made is explored by Zunz in a series of thematic chapters, each drawing mainly upon the personnel records of one or more of five major companies—Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad; E.I. Du Pont de Nemours Powder Company; Ford Motor Company; McCormick (and International) Harvester Company; and Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Thus, we see Pennsylvania hardware merchants serving in rather different ways as agents of Du Pont, C. B. & Q. middle managers building both a bureaucracy and the midwestern landscape away from the company's Chicago headquarters, and McCormick and International Harvester salesmen adapting their collection procedures to the tolerant traditions of rural debt. Most charmingly, we see male and female office workers at Metropolitan Life overcoming company-imposed gender segregation by meeting during work breaks to dance on the building roof. (Can anyone imagine Chandler writing about that?) Zunz's strategy of basing

his study on the records of five very different large companies is an obvious strength, as it permits him to explore interesting variations of corporate experience that in themselves belie the argument of homogenization. But it seems also to be the source of the book's two central weaknesses. Focusing on a particular company's employees for the duration of an entire chapter (this is the case in four of the seven chapters) emphasizes the thematic distinctiveness of each chapter. It gives the text as a whole a rather disjointed quality, as though the book were intended to be a set of loosely related essays rather than an integrated analysis of the questions asked at its outset. More importantly, the preoccupation with company records prevents Zunz from seeing his white-collar people in any other contexts beyond their corporate workplaces or roles. At the end of his book he claims to have illuminated the ways in which "vital, if forgotten, corporate actors . . . promoted new ways of working, living, and interacting with one another" (p. 202). But the meaning we can attach to this claim is limited by the fact that we do not encounter these corporate actors in their homes, their neighborhoods, their churches, or their clubs, where, among other things, they might be shown to be no more innovative than those middle-class Americans who continued to work within small businesses or professional offices (another potential assault, by the way, on Mills's conception of the origins and character of a "new middle class"). Hence, the social history of managers and white-collar workers is not written here with the kind of thoroughness and complexity that Chandler brought to bear on the history of management itself, and this, ironically, is in part because Zunz does not, after all, transcend Chandler's institutional perspective. Zunz's office clerks do dance, but only on the company roof.

Cornell University

STUART M. BLUMIN

Regulating a New Economy: Public Policy and Economic Change in America, 1900-1933. By MORTON KELLER. (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1990. x, 300p. Index. \$27.50.)

This is a valuable book for three reasons. First, it represents the inaugural volume of a projected three-volume project by a distinguished senior scholar of modern American history. Second, by using an analytical framework that is sensitive not only to facts but also to the multiplicity of forces that have shaped American history, the author successfully assaults those historians who characterize America through theoretical constructs (often grounded on the European experience) and too few facts. Third, the book offers a concise survey of the variety of regulation found in America in the first third of the

twentieth century. It is, then, a book of value for scholars, for the interested general reader, and for college-level upper division and graduate courses.

Moving forward in time from his earlier book, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America* (1977), Keller takes issue with three historiographic approaches that have defined the contours of academic debate for the last generation or so: corporatism, corporate liberalism, and the organizational synthesis. The general thrust of Keller's argument is noticeable in the title for his three-volume project, "Persistence and Pluralism: Public Life in Early Twentieth Century America." He places his argument within the context of the emerging national economy and the transformations from producer-driven to consumer-driven industrial markets. Within this revolutionary change, Keller emphasizes the continuity of earlier forces in the American political economy, including the federal system and policy actions based on beliefs in local government and individualism (the "persistence").

In conjunction with the persistence of democratic ideals, Keller argues further, the growing numbers of special interest groups (the "pluralism") not only blocked all tendencies to centralize economic controls in a national government run by or through private corporate elites (corporatism, corporate liberalism), but also undermined progressives' attempts to locate controls in institutions staffed by experts insulated from politics (organizational synthesis). Unlike scholars who support corporatist or corporate liberal models, Keller does not confuse European origins and interest-group political rhetoric with what actually occurred. Including comparative analyses, he indicates that while the European experience might have been moving towards corporatist structures, the American experience was dynamically and inherently avoiding such policy developments. Keller deals less directly with the organizational synthesis; evidence for and against that interpretation laces his thematic narratives.

Historians of regulation will notice that Keller's evidence supports (implicitly) Thomas McCraw's thesis that the structure of the industry, more than any other factor, shapes the regulatory context, but they also will recognize that Keller's sustained emphasis on the effects of federalism on the policy-making stories modifies McCraw's strong focus on industrial forces. Keller proves his thesis of persistence and pluralism by paying close attention to state and national differences in regulatory policy making. (He pays less attention to regional differences.) He synthesizes secondary literature with extensive reading of contemporary policy journals. He tackles each thematic subject chronologically in a book of nine chapters with relatively little repetition, surveying Americans' attempts to control modern business enterprises (trusts, utilities, and the new technologies of buses, trucks, telephones, radio, movies, and airplanes), as well as American policy responses to "macro" changes in the national and world economies (capital formation, revenue

collection, and trade). He also includes chapters on regulation of unions, agriculture, and urban development.

Focusing as he does on so many different economic stories in so many different settings, Keller was bound to include some errors of fact; the few I located, however, can be traced to confusion in the sources he cited, and none detracts from the force of his argument. He omits discussion of Prohibition, but that may appear in his second volume, which will deal with social policies. The final volume will tackle the structure of government, law, and politics. I look forward to both.

Ohio State University

WILLIAM R. CHILDS

American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century. By DAVID GLASSBERG. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. xvii, 381p. Illustrations, index. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$14.95.)

The pageant was a most peculiar artistic form indeed. With its flocks of bewigged colonial worthies and its be vies of cheesecloth-draped matrons purporting to represent "The Spirit of Electricity" or "The Coming of Civilization," the civic pageant that reached the pinnacle of its influence in the United States between 1900 and 1917 resembled a bad grammar-school play for grownups swollen to monstrous dimensions.

Educational theories in circulation at the time—Dewey's notion of learning by doing, for example, and a vogue for kinesthetic dance, wherein the movements of the body were thought to imprint ideas on the brain—provide one explanation for why respectable citizens yielded to the urge to cavort on local greenswards disguised as Indians or allegories. So does genteel civic art of a pre-"isms" day, comprised of symbolic figures decorously arranged on walls or park pedestals—figures who closely resembled one's own mother, garbed as a goddess for a Halloween fete. And so does a prevailing disgust with the forces of change that led many genteel Americans to join hereditary societies and dress up as their own illustrious forbears to claim a position of honor in a society increasingly composed of immigrants and vulgar parvenues.

David Glassberg documents the brief life span of the organized pageant movement with close attention to dramatic celebrations of town history mounted by its principal founders and ideologues in the decades preceding World War I. He convincingly argues that the promoters of pageantry came

from the world of progressive reform and used public drama as a means of affecting social change. In particular, they aimed to assert small-town identity and solidarity in the face of the depopulation begun by industry and exacerbated by the war itself. "How are you gonna keep 'em down on the farm?" the song asked. America's pageantmasters thought the answer might be to put 'em in costume and have 'em mime the midnight ride of Paul Revere or the inauguration of George Washington.

By creating community solidarity and fellow-feeling grounded in a common past (and acting in the pageant might well accomplish the same thing, even if the participant remained oblivious to the historical content of the story), pageantry sought to counter the magnetic pull of cities. The peripatetic writers and directors and choreographers of pageants thus constituted the unofficial, aesthetic wing of the Country Life Movement and were caught up in the same contradictory urges toward antimodernism on the one hand (outright nostalgia for the bucolic/heroic past) and reform on the other (modernizing the town, if only through the influx of pageant-bound tourists with money to spend).

For the most part, Glassberg sticks to the civic pageant, narrowly defined. Thus, he is not interested in commercial pageants, although they continued to flourish long after the reformist pioneers had fallen out of favor. Railroad historian and publicist Edward Hungerford, for instance, mounted a series of corporate and quasi-corporate "pageants of the rails" during the 1930s and 1940s in which huge casts of costumed performers interacted with moving trains to trace the saga of American transportation. Popular attractions at the Chicago and New York World's Fairs of 1933 and 1939, Hungerford's show was revived in 1948-1949 for the attention-getting Railroad Fair held in Chicago's Burnham Park in an effort to revive a sluggish industry already facing stiff competition from truckers and airlines. Spectacular set pieces—Lincoln's funeral train, the driving of the Golden Spike—gained dramatic power from the appearance of real antique engines that huffed and chugged their way across a specially built stage along tracks laid between huge concrete "wings" that concealed the trains until the climactic moment.

What makes Hungerford's show something more than a curiosity—a footnote to pageant history—is the fact that Walt Disney attended the 1948 edition and even acted in several scenes. The rail pageant became one of the key sources of inspiration for Disneyland, the theme park Disney built in Anaheim, California, in 1955, itself a kind of perpetual costume pageant of America's history and her glorious, space-age tomorrows. Insofar as the pageant of the Progressive Era is the distant ancestor of the single most popular and original form of American tourism in the post-Reagan era, its commercial aspects perhaps merit greater attention than Glassberg's narrow definition of his topic permits.

Disneyland takes pageantry from its production phase—all those folks earnestly running about in wigs *doing things*—to its ultimate pay-by-the-day consumption phase, following the trajectory of American capitalism in the twentieth century. But in the 1920s, when Glassberg believes that authentic, non-commercial pageantry finally petered out, he also detects an important shift in the historical content of its final presentations: a medium born of the effort to link the community's future to its past now contrasted with the gadget-crazy, electrified, Fordized present. The past suddenly became remote: old-fashioned, quaint, and, at bottom, irrelevant. And so Glassberg's story ends, far too abruptly, I think, just about where Walt Disney's begins with the blinding realization that history—Main Street, USA; Frontierland; and the history-to-come of Tomorrowland—are relevant enough to be highly profitable. Glassberg notwithstanding, historical pageantry isn't dead after all; it has merely moved to happier, sunnier climes—at Disneyland and Walt Disney World.

University of Minnesota

KARAL ANN MARLING

Suburban Lives. By MARGARET MARSH. (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990. xvi, 231p. Tables, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$32.00; paper, \$13.00.)

Margaret Marsh describes her book as one historian's attempt "to sort out the meanings of the relationship between the suburban ideal and the 'intensely domestic' family" (p. xii). *Suburban Lives* explores the domestic practices and residential patterns of white middle-class Americans from the mid-nineteenth century through World War II. Marsh's interest in suburban America "centers on the family experience itself—domestic ideals, patterns of work and leisure, relationships between husbands and wives, and childrearing" (p. xii). She joins the growing number of historians who argue quite persuasively that suburbia is more than the product of technological developments and demographic pressures; suburban America, she says, "is both a specific kind of environment and the embodiment of a set of values" (p. xiii).

What sets *Suburban Lives* apart is Marsh's assertion that domestic values and the idealized suburban environment have not always been consonant; not until the late nineteenth century did middle-class Americans link cultivation of the intensely domestic family with suburban living. During the Victorian era, she argues, the suburban ideal was a masculine construct centered on an agrarian notion of physical place—the residential suburb. The ideology of domesticity was woman-defined and centered on a cultural

institution—the separate sphere of the family. Both constructs merged to form a “new suburban vision” at the turn-of-the-century as the ideology of separate spheres was tempered by a brief era of “masculine domesticity.” By World War II, the suburban ideal had become so institutionalized that it “seemed as if the suburb and the single-earner nuclear family had always been two parts of a single idea” (p. xv).

Suburban Lives is organized in three sets of paired chapters that proceed chronologically. Within each set, Marsh surveys national trends and then shifts to a closer examination of particular suburbs: Malden and Jamaica Plain (Boston) during the Victorian era; Haddonfield and Overbrook Farms (Philadelphia) at the turn-of-the-century; and Palos Verdes (Los Angeles) during the 1920s and 1930s. For her overviews of domestic issues and suburban trends, the author draws from domestic novels, domestic advice manuals, architectural pattern books, and secondary sources. Diaries, club records, local newspapers, memoirs, real estate prospectuses, and manuscript census records provide documentation for her particularized chapters.

In its general outlines, Marsh’s argument is an important one, but her data is too thin to document the complex transmutations in suburban and domestic ideology that she is trying to delineate. To illustrate some of those changes, for example, she compares tabulations of floorplans from pattern books published during the three periods of her study. Those statistics are not very instructive in the absence of information describing her sampling technique, comparing pattern book floor plans to those actually built, and establishing that rooms were actually used as intended. Her best evidence—detailed accounts of the domestic relations of two families in Victorian Boston—is fascinating, but the experience of only one of the families unambiguously supports her view of husband-wife relations in the mid-nineteenth century. She does not provide a similar texture of information regarding the family lives of suburbanites in Haddonfield, Overbrook Farms, and Palos Verdes; those sketches are too impressionistic to substantiate any but the coarsest changes in domestic ideology or to date accurately just when change occurred.

Marsh did not set out to write the final word on the history of suburbanization; rather, she offered “an essay on the meanings of suburban life for the families who have lived there” (p. xii). And although her argument raises many issues of interpretation, those issues are ones subsequent scholars will have to reckon with. Marsh clearly demonstrates the plasticity of suburban and domestic ideology in the United States and points out substantial discontinuities between the suburban ideal of the mid-nineteenth century, turn-of-the-century, and mid-twentieth century. Moreover, she establishes that understanding the suburban experience requires a serious consideration of

gender. *Suburban Lives* is a very suggestive essay; between its covers there are more than enough ideas to keep scholars busy for some time to come.

University of Maryland

MARY CORBIN SIES

A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History.

By MICHAEL FRISCH. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990. xiii, 273p. Cloth, \$54.50; paper, \$17.95.)

A Shared Authority could as easily have been titled *A Shared Author-ity*, claims Michael Frisch. In this collection of his essays, most of which have been published previously, Frisch is concerned with the question of "author-ity," or the appropriate claims of the participants in public history projects to a share of the credit for the final product. A traditionally trained urban historian, Frisch has pursued various public history projects in conjunction with colleagues over the past fifteen years. Initially, these were oral history projects, and the bulk of the book deals with that topic.

This is not the place to learn how to conduct oral histories. Rather, Frisch focuses in part on the question of who "owns" an oral history interview. Is it the person with the tape recorder asking the questions or the person dispensing the information? Is it the editor of a publication based on the taped information? Or is it, as Frisch suggests, a combination of all these individuals, a "shared author-ity?" Frisch illustrates the role of the editor in two essays. One describes a group project on unemployment in Buffalo as edited for the *New York Times*. In another example, his editing of an interview from *Portraits in Steel*, he shows how his rearranging and cutting resulted in an interview more like that produced by Studs Terkel than the traditional historian might like.

Frisch is also concerned with the questions of memory and cultural space as they affect oral history. Again, he recalls Studs Terkel to reflect on the fact that those being interviewed are giving their *memories* of an event, memories that have been filtered through time and which we expect to be filtered through their position in society. We expect high-ranking officials to provide more wide-ranging reflections on a topic than a grunt soldier, and, when we find broad views at the "lower ranks," we tend to discount them. Examples from Buffalo and *Vietnam: A Television History* illustrate these points. The issue of cultural space is discussed in an essay about the Long Bow trilogy, a documentary of a rural Chinese village; Chinese students expressed concerns about its perspectives on their society while Americans lauded its accuracy.

Frisch also focuses on memory as it is reflected in the common knowledge base of history students. His "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory" appeared in the March 1989 issue of the *Journal of American History*. It targets those who claim our collective memory has disappeared by presenting the results of student surveys to determine well-known names in American history.

The book concludes with a much more diverse, and therefore less coherent, section. It includes comments on public celebrations, pictorial histories, site interpretation, and urban museums. Frisch focuses on the juxtaposition of interests of the historian, the designer, and the audience. Rarely, he feels, are all given equal consideration in public history projects, as historians and designers try to determine which stories to tell and in what format, while not focusing enough on those who will be the audience. Certainly, the audience for history should be an important concern to all in public history, and all good public historians do know that they are targeting an audience more diverse than that for the traditional college history course or academic press offering. Examples from Philadelphia's tercentenary and the Atwater Kent Museum will be of interest to *PMHB* readers.

Frisch's collection is useful to historians evaluating memories, memories that we seek to recall from visitors to historic sites or memories that cannot be easily verified by the written documents that are our traditional tools. We must cultivate these memories carefully and remember our obligations to a "shared author-ity."

West Virginia University

BARBARA J. HOWE

America, The Dream of My Life: Selections from the Federal Writers' Project's New Jersey Ethnic Survey. Edited by DAVID STEVEN COHEN. (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990. xvi, 295p. Illustrations, selected bibliography, index, editorial method. Cloth, \$40.00; paper, \$13.95.)

In the field of immigration history, often the most intriguing and riveting books are those that expose the reader to the real lives and words of the immigrants themselves. Many times, however, books that accomplish this end are fraught with the most difficulties. *America, The Dream of My Life* is no exception to this truism. In it, David Steven Cohen has assembled a substantial and varied collection of oral histories of immigrants and their children taken down by Works Progress Administration fieldworkers from 1939 to 1941, as a part of the Social-Ethnic Studies project sponsored by the WPA's Federal Writers' Project. Cohen has written a thorough and interest-

ing introductory essay that brings to the reader's attention several facets of the Federal Writers' Project deserving of further historical study.

The book is divided into sections, each one devoted to a particular ethnic group and introduced by a brief historical summary of that group's presence in New Jersey in particular. Beyond this summary, Cohen has elected to let the documents "speak for themselves." The pieces "speak" to the reasons why people emigrated, what living and work conditions were like for them in the United States, their successes and failures, their cultural and emotional transitions, and the importance of letters back to the Old Country in the process of chain migration. While these are valid and important insights, Cohen has merely exposed what other historians, both urban and immigration, have long observed and has not adequately explored how this experience was peculiar to New Jersey, if at all, and of what significance his collection might have for present-day historians. Despite the variety, appeal, and character of his selected oral histories and the accuracy with which they have been recorded, some of the less-explored historical questions Cohen brings to the reader's attention might prove to be of more interest to contemporary explorations of the ethnic American experience.

One such issue centers on Cohen's cogent discussion of the intentions behind the creation of the Social-Ethnic Studies project within the Federal Writers' Project and the divergence in approach between the larger Social-Ethnic project, which championed the cause of cultural pluralism, and the more limited New Jersey Ethnic Survey, which concentrated instead on the concepts and theory of "social distancing." Close on the heels of this comes the issue of caseworkers themselves and their role in the creation and tone of this collection. By discussing this disturbing element and by including the caseworkers' notes, Cohen has acknowledged that they are of importance in understanding these interviews and the project of which they were a part. Further research into these aspects of Cohen's study will find a secure starting point with this book.

For all his concern for the context in which the oral histories were created, Cohen seems unwilling to address directly the thorny issue of the utility of oral history itself in the work of social historians. In addition, one wonders why Cohen freely mixed the oral histories of second-generation ethnics, child immigrants, and adult immigrants, since historians have long recognized the variance between first- and second-generation Americans.

What Cohen has accomplished, nonetheless, is an excellent start towards understanding the work of the WPA ethnic oral histories, and he has offered challenging avenues for future research in his thorough introduction. The interviews are well-edited and the photographs often excellent, although a series of maps would have been most helpful in assisting the reader to locate the many localities mentioned in the interviews. David Cohen has produced

a fine text of primary sources that should provide data for future ethnic and urban studies to probe more deeply into the lives and experiences of American immigrants and their children.

University of Chicago

MAUREEN A. HARP

A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement. By PAULA F. PFEFFER. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1990. xiv, 336p. Illustration, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Asa Philip Randolph's career as a civil rights activist in America deserves full documentation and wide dissemination, for no one else worked longer and harder to change the status of black Americans in the twentieth century. Randolph began as a radical journalist during World War I, editing the *Messenger*, which advocated a more militant approach to gaining rights than was then taken by the leading organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He took a socialist posture, as opposed to the bourgeois inclination of the NAACP. In 1925 he founded an all-black labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), and after a hard struggle his union won recognition in 1937. At the onset of World War II, he demanded better treatment for blacks than they had gotten in the previous war. His March on Washington Movement (MOWM) used the threat of mass action *against* the government to get better treatment *from* the government. Randolph campaigned incessantly through the 1940s for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and an integrated armed forces, ultimately getting the latter but not the former. All along his base of power was the BSCP, in which he had a cadre of loyal, able, and independent activists. In the mid-1950s he moved to address the pervasive and shameful discrimination against black workers in American unions. He tried diligently to work within the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, in which he had many faithful friends and supporters. But the institutional labor movement was not prepared to respond to Randolph's exposure of white supremacist behavior among its members. Finally, in 1960 he would lead in the formation of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), which addressed labor's race problems from outside the traditional organizations. Perhaps the climax of Randolph's career was the 1963 March on Washington, which, unlike the earlier one, actually came off, though the central player, of course, turned out to be Martin Luther King, Jr., not Randolph.

Paula Pfeffer takes the reader through the long and winding path of Randolph's career, though she does not focus on his role as the head of the

BSCP. For that, readers will want to consult William H. Harris's *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925-37* (1977). Most of Pfeffer's work is devoted to institutional biographies of Randolph's many civil rights committees—MOWM and NALC being only two of more than a half dozen organizations explained. The book gives meticulous detail on activism in the 1940s, a time not always recognized as having the levels that in fact occurred. It is also valuable for approaching civil rights from the perspective of the labor leader; Randolph was the only unionist among an emerging group of black activists in the 1940s. This work is also good for suggesting the constant tension between separatism and integration among black leaders, something that Randolph confronted in his many institutional creations. Pfeffer is able to offer honest criticism of her subject, as when she points out his vacillation between pragmatism and pure idealism in his activist philosophy during the 1940s.

In the end one leaves this book feeling that a subject so interesting should have made for a more engrossing read. The author often drowns us in institutional detail. Chronology is frequently muddled. Stylistic problems like these result in a failure to suggest the evolution of Randolph's person and career. Pfeffer also presents us with some rather vague social-science terminology such as "clientage" and "situational charisma," which are not made sufficiently explanatory to warrant their use. Still, it is a useful work for what it tells us about activism in the 1940s and the central role that A. Philip Randolph played in that still unfamiliar drama.

University of Alabama

ROBERT J. NORRELL

Running for Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics in America since 1941.

By STEVEN F. LAWSON. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990. xii, 306p. Illustrations, index. \$39.95.)

Three cheers for University of South Florida Professor of History Steven Lawson. Following his thoughtful and impressively researched monographs, *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969* and *In Pursuit of Power: Southern Blacks and Electoral Politics, 1965-1982*, Lawson has now written an excellent interpretive synthesis of the African-American quest for political rights and power. In this succinct yet eloquent survey of black political developments, he summarizes his earlier studies, brings the narrative up to 1989, and adds new material on local politics to produce an exciting learning resource for classes in political science and African-American history.

Lawson begins with World War II. He enumerates the limited gains and rising expectations of African Americans, focuses on the movements against the white primary and the poll tax, and highlights the manner by which South Carolina blacks sought to utilize national developments to advance politically. He then rapidly surveys the interdependent pattern of local black assertiveness and federal intervention in the quarter of a century after the war, imaginatively balancing his account of the major civil rights campaigns with insightful vignettes of local African-American struggles for empowerment. *Running for Freedom* then concludes with a penetrating analysis of black politics during the conservative 1970s and 1980s, and an epilogue on the election of David Dinkins as mayor of New York City. Particularly memorable are Lawson's vivid renditions of the battles for political power waged by Carl Stokes in Cleveland, Richard Hatcher in Gary, and Harold Washington in Chicago, as well as those fought by the Dallas County Voters League and Tuskegee Civic Association. Moreover, the vital role of black women in the struggle is not ignored. Rather than merely a perfunctory nod toward a Rosa Parks or Ella Baker, Lawson gives Unita Blackwell, Amelia Boynton, Barbara Jordan, and other black women in battle their fair due.

One can, of course, find fault. Not all topics are fairly treated. Covering a broad, multifaceted subject in just a bit over 250 pages of text, Lawson has necessarily had to slight or ignore certain matters that others consider significant. The ghetto riots of the 1960s are handled in just one page, for example, and the school desegregation crisis in Little Rock is given just a footnote. Neither Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* nor *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* is mentioned. There is nothing on the Albany Movement. And such important figures as James Farmer and Whitney Young, James Bevel, and Cleveland Sellers remain invisible men. One might also quibble about some of Lawson's analyses, ranging from minor ones like the extent of the March on Washington Movement's staying power during World War II to such major ones as how much suffrage and electoral politics, as opposed to other instruments of liberation, have transformed African-American individuals and communities.

Such bickering aside, *Running for Freedom* is a most welcome addition to the literature on the recent black past. Undergraduates will especially appreciate the lively prose, apt quotations, and lucid explanations of contemporary racial issues and problems. Their need to understand the consequences of the Reagan assault on policies to promote racial equality, and the connection between the civil rights struggle and black electoral politics, as well as to comprehend the reasons for the hostility between certain Jewish organizations and African-American leaders, and for the unfulfilled hopes generated by

the election of blacks, all make Lawson's *Running for Freedom* timely and necessary reading.

University of New Hampshire

HARVARD SITKOFF

The Protectors: Harry J. Anslinger and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, 1930-1962. By JOHN C. MCWILLIAMS. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990. 251p. Bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

Harry Anslinger was not given to smiling for photographers. The dust-jacket picture shows him in a characteristic pose: staring straight at the camera, jaw set, lips perfectly straight, as if lined by a ruler. Seldom has appearance so closely paralleled belief. The Pennsylvania-born Anslinger was a moral conservative who favored extreme legal sanctions for illegal and deviant behavior. An unusually talented and energetic man, skilled at both administration and politics, he rose rapidly and became, at the age of thirty-eight, the commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. He presided over the Bureau from 1930 to 1962 and did more than any other individual to shape American narcotic policy during the mid-twentieth century.

The Protectors is the first real biography of Anslinger. Heretofore he has appeared mainly as a stick-figure villain in diatribes against punitive narcotic laws. Although McWilliams is also highly critical of Anslinger's approach to drug control, he never vilifies or caricatures. By dint of archival research and numerous interviews, he gives us as fully rounded and empathic a portrait of the man and his career as we are likely to get. Despite the myth of Anslinger as bureaucratic empire builder, McWilliams shows that his position was initially quite precarious. A Republican, he had to secure reappointment by no fewer than three Democratic presidents (Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy) and cope with a series of scandals, reorganization schemes, and critical reports that threatened the Bureau during the 1930s and 1940s. It was not until the 1950s that he finally consolidated his power and was able to push for increased budgets and stricter penalties for narcotic law violations.

Although McWilliams's primary aim is biography, he manages two other significant accomplishments: an institutional history of the Bureau of Narcotics and a historically informed account of the passage of the 1937 Marijuana Tax Act, which placed a prohibitive federal tax on marijuana. The latter has been explained as an instance of Anslinger's "moral entrepreneurship," but McWilliams argues that Anslinger neither invented the violent, racially charged stories that aroused public concern about marijuana nor originally sought federal legislation, concentrating instead on state adoption of the

Uniform Narcotics Act. When he did begin to campaign for a federal marijuana law, he was both effective and unscrupulous, using all manner of lurid and unscientific evidence to persuade congressmen of the dangers of the drug. McWilliams reiterates a theme running through a quarter-century of drug policy history—that those in the executive branch who have been responsible for gathering and analyzing information about drug use have often exaggerated and manipulated the facts to persuade nonexpert legislators and judges and the general public to support their hard-line approach.

Anslinger was not concerned solely with drug dealers and users. He was fascinated with the Mafia and was one of the first highly placed federal officials to recognize its existence and to develop extensive intelligence on it. Anslinger was also a staunch cold warrior and warned of Communist plots to soften up America with smuggled heroin. Several of his key agents worked with the OSS and the CIA on secret projects. Among them was MK-ULTRA, a series of futile and patently unethical attempts from 1952 to 1965 to develop a "truth drug" that subsequently caused great embarrassment to the intelligence community. How much Anslinger actually knew about MK-ULTRA is uncertain, but there is no doubt that he approved of his subordinates becoming involved with intelligence operations beyond the purview of narcotic law enforcement.

This is a book that someone should have written years ago. McWilliams has finally given us a critical biography of Anslinger, although he has chosen to emphasize his domestic policies and politics over his role as a negotiator of international narcotic treaties. *The Protectors* is full of interesting and original material and is an important addition to the growing body of historical literature on drug use and control.

University of North Florida

DAVID T. COURTWRIGHT

Snow Belt Cities: Metropolitan Politics in the Northeast and Midwest since World War II. Edited by RICHARD M. BERNARD. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990. ix, 275p. Tables. \$35.00.)

Snow Belt Cities brings together a dozen useful essays that summarize important political trends and developments in the large cities of the northeast quadrant of the United States. The cases include twelve of the sixteen largest metropolitan areas in a nineteen-state region whose corners are anchored by the four "M" states of Maine, Maryland, Missouri, and Minnesota. The region is a somewhat expansive version of the national economic core that concentrated the majority of American manufacturing and capital

between 1850 and 1950. Only Washington and Kansas City, at the southeastern and southwestern margins of the region, seem somewhat uneasy members of the "Snow Belt twelve."

Despite the subtitle, the preponderant concern of the essayists is core-city politics. Regional planning and services, metropolitan-scale institutions, and city-suburb relations receive only secondary attention. Within the chosen framework, however, the authors provide useful digests of political issues and changes in cities that have been struggling to redefine their economic roles and character.

The essayists have chosen between two basic models for presenting their information. The more common approach is the "structure/response" model. These essays begin by describing changes in economic base, population mix, and suburbanization and then examine the relevant political responses and consequences in the arenas of growth politics, racial politics, and metropolitan politics. Michael Weber's chapter on Pittsburgh is especially strong on the politics of economic development. Steve Diner's chapter on Washington and Arnold Hirsch's on Chicago focus intensively on the accommodation of black interests and voters within very different institutional structures. Carolyn Teich Adams's analysis of Philadelphia gives more than average attention to intraregional issues. Joseph Arnold's chapter on Baltimore, Robert Barrows's on Indianapolis, and John Clayton Thomas's on Kansas City also fall within this broad framework.

The other principle of organization is that of "mayoral succession." Mark Gelfand on Boston, Richard Bernard on Milwaukee, and Thomas Campbell on Cleveland use the sequence of mayoral contests, personalities, and administrations to introduce the changing issues and outcomes of city politics. Campbell's piece is particularly useful for clarifying the internal dynamics of Cleveland's kaleidoscopic political alliances.

Two essays are worth noting separately for their strong theoretical grounding. Zane Miller and Bruce Tucker's chapter on Cincinnati amplifies Miller's long-standing argument that urban policy and politics must be understood in intellectual and cultural context as the expression of changing conceptions of community and social relations in the United States. In strong contrast, Daniel Walkowitz places New York squarely within theories of uneven development in the post-industrial economy; his essay is the only one to identify labor unions as important political actors.

Snow Belt Cities serves as a useful companion volume to an earlier book on *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth since World War II* (1983) that was co-edited by Richard Bernard with Bradley Rice. The value of the present book is enhanced by Bernard's clear introductory essay that pulls together the common trends. Although it lacks the convenience of an index, *Snow*

Belt Cities will stand as a useful reference for scholars and policy-makers who want to place their own city in comparative perspective.

Portland State University

CARL ABBOTT

The Law's Conscience: Equitable Constitutionalism in America. By PETER CHARLES HOFFER. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. xiv, 301p. Index. Cloth, \$32.50; paper, \$12.95.)

Equity is a difficult subject for lawyers and legal historians to understand. To non-lawyers, including students of American history, it is a daunting if not incomprehensible element in the legal system. For purposes of this review, we may say that equity is that body of juridical principles and rules that developed as a corrective of the law, where to follow the law would result in injustice. Equity has generally been viewed as a part of the law, not as a power superior to the law. Yet the aspiration to do justice that is inherent in the idea of equity has, at times, led judges to transform equitable principles into arbitrary judicial discretion, driven by political passion and ideology rather than the disinterested quest for justice.

In recent United States history the Supreme Court and the federal judiciary have employed the power to order equitable remedies in a wide variety of civil rights and social policy cases as an instrument of government that has, as the author of this book observes, "remade a large piece of our social and economic world" (p. 196). This exercise of judicial power began with *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the famous school desegregation case. The scope of public policy changes initiated by *Brown* and the vast expansion of judicial power that accompanied these changes have become politically controversial in the past twenty years, and have called into question the legitimacy of government by judiciary. *The Law's Conscience* is an attempt to rewrite the legal history of equity in order to justify and legitimize the judicial activism of the post-*Brown* era.

Peter Charles Hoffer argues that "Equitable constitutionalism—an equitable reading of our fundamental law—has firm foundations in our past and future" (p. 211). The general conclusion of the book therefore is that the judicial activism of the past four decades, especially in the form of equitable remedies and decrees, cannot fairly be said to be a revolutionary abuse of judicial power. Hoffer concedes that "*Brown* and its legacy may or may not be good constitutional law," but he insists that "they are very good constitutional equity" (p. xii). It would have been helpful if he had explained more clearly the meaning of this pithy generalization by analyzing more probingly the nature of the Constitution and constitutional law. At an inter-

mediate level of generalization, Hoffer's diligent and prodigious researches show that aspects of public policy proclamations and statutes during the American Revolution, Reconstruction, and the civil rights revolution of the 1960s and 1970s can be viewed as the application of the legal language of equity, in order to achieve full equality and make republican government operate as a form of trusteeship for the benefit of all citizens.

Hoffer accurately states that most of the book "slogs the legal terrain, doggedly following the trail of equity practice through courtrooms, law schools, and legislative chambers" (p. xii). Interwoven with this pedestrian legal history of equity practices is a second story that "soars in the ether of political and constitutional ideas, above civil wars and revolutions, in search of the ideal of public trusteeship, equal protection, and realistic justice" (p. xii). What Hoffer turns up in his dogged pursuit of equity is significant from the standpoint of technical legal history. His material is too contradictory and ambiguous, however, to constitute the clear and convincing historical and political justification of government by judiciary that it is his purpose to provide.

University of Maryland, College Park

HERMAN BELZ

Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences. By DONNA MERWICK. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 312p. Illustrations, bibliography. \$44.50.)

This excellent study is a most welcome expansion of Donna Merwick's provocative article "Becoming English: Anglo-Dutch conflict in the 1670s in Albany, New York." Appearing in the October 1981 issue of *New York History*, the article pointed to "the absorptive tendency of Dutch culture" and the inclusiveness that "was a way of life that began within the family." This was contrasted with "the hierarchical divisions that gave order to seventeenth-century English society." From this small propositional base Merwick has presented, in *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710*, a deeper, longer look at "the Dutch and English experiences."

Although meticulously based on Albany's local history, *Possessing Albany* is a broader and more valuable examination of the perennially fascinating contrast of Dutch and English ways. Whether those contrasts are based on the English Puritans in the Netherlands, the Dutch and English competing in Japan, or the English taking over the Dutch settlements in New Netherlands, the analogies and contradistinctions are illuminated by Merwick's analysis of Albany. In *Possessing Albany* the more personal distinctions of Merwick's article are expanded to include the varied political, economic, and

cultural distinctions and understandings. These differences, Merwick argues, are in substantial part the outgrowth of the power structure of the Dutch city contrasted with the power structure of the English county. This, she convincingly argues, was even mirrored in the architecture of their dwellings.

One major cultural area unstudied in the book, and largely avoided in the article, is that of religion—an aspect of Albany life that would strongly support Merwick's contentions. Some features of the religious issue are very helpfully discussed in the recent work of Randall H. Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies*, which "examines the clash of Dutch and English cultures and charts the religious effects of that confrontation." The issue is complicated by differences among the clergy, between the clergy and the laity, and between the Dutch Reformed and the several other groups. In her article, Merwick does suggest problems in Albany between the Lutherans and the Reformed, but they are, I feel, misleadingly analyzed. "The town had never been slow in expressing its rejection of the Lutheran believers." In fact, the attitudes of the Reformed toward the Albany Lutherans varied greatly among the Reformed themselves. Virtually all of the Lutherans were of German background—though most of them gradually took on Dutch ways—and there were more than religious differences between them. The head of one troubling family singled out in Merwick's article was actually Norwegian, yet one of his sons became a treasurer in the Dutch Reformed Church. The issues between the Dutch and English were even more complex, since both had "established" churches with internal discord.

Albany, with its relative isolation from the international urbanism of New Amsterdam, later New York City, makes it a near-ideal model for studying Anglo-Dutch interactions. The last couple of decades have seen a burgeoning of studies in Dutch-American history, coupled with publication in translation of a multitude of documents and other manuscript sources. Donna Merwick's *Possessing Albany* is at once a fruit of these works and a seedbed of information and discussion for future scholars.

Bryn Mawr College

JAMES R. TANIS

The Picture-Bible of Ludwig Denig: A Pennsylvania German Emblem Book. Translated and edited by DON YODER. (New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Museum of American Folk Art and the Pennsylvania German Society, 1990. Vol. I: viii, 180p. Illustrations, index. Vol. II: 280p. Colorplates, facsimile. \$75.00.)

The splendidly published Denig manuscript together with the solid research of Don Yoder has excited the world of iconographic art, literature,

and American studies. By creating the subtitle, "A Pennsylvania German Emblem Book," Yoder raises the issues of whether this vernacular religious manual actually fits the definition of an emblem book and whether the emblematic mode of thought is in fact part of the early American cultural tradition.

Some of Denig's illustrations are pure allegory and fit neatly into Peter M. Daly's current definitions of an emblem. They have "the tight three-part form [motto, picture, epigram] introduced by Alciato." Although Denig's pictorial representations are less exacting, they do conform to an alternative and looser definition, also by Daly, of being part of an emblematically illustrated work. With scholarly perseverance—but against the grain of most American art historians—Yoder proves that Denig and other German Americans joined the Puritan-American literary tradition in thinking iconographically. Like John Joseph Stoudt and, currently, Peter Erb, Yoder found a body of allegory buried in German American religious thinking. William S. Heckscher, art historian and iconographer, was right in maintaining that "emblematic imagery remained a living force far into the eighteenth century—in America, even into the first half of the nineteenth."

In the 1970s some leading American museum experts did not agree with these conclusions. They turned the Denig manuscript back to its owner, art patron Esther Ipp Schwartz, because it seemed in every sense to be European. Schwartz's discovery of the Ephrata, Pennsylvania, watermark on the paper changed the scene. Yoder began working on the text in 1979, formulating a network of engraving sources that indicated allegorical expression was part of the American Protestant taste as well as the classical, medieval, and generally Christian experience. His scholarship cautions others to take care when drawing boundary lines between national tastes, between the centuries, and between the religions.

Yoder begins his interpretation with the social, religious, and artistic context of Denig the man. Denig was born in 1755 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a country, though cosmopolitan and intellectual town. It was predominantly a German town with many acculturated and accommodating churchly people. Denig was raised in the Reformed church tradition, which was conservative, that is, moderate when compared to the sectarian and radical religious denominations also present in Lancaster. But Denig was never altogether comfortable with the worldly, insider legacy, especially after evangelicalism and pietism touched him. He was never completely an insider in his family either, where he had been the eldest but not the favored son. He was early on a man of some sorrows.

Denig's education was limited to literary influences from his father's library and scanty formal training. He married a Lutheran woman in 1779 and moved from Lancaster to nearby Chambersburg in 1787. There he

changed from being a master shoemaker to become the owner of a successful apothecary shop. Several of his children were baptized in the Lutheran church and the rest in the Reformed church. He had been exposed to representational sacred art in the local Catholic, Lutheran, and Moravian churches. He was unafraid of the old Calvinist zeal to destroy image-making. This reviewer believes he must have known Luther's rationale that if one banned the image from the mind it need not be removed from sight. Although it was perhaps unintentional, Reformation leader Huldreich Zwingli also saved religious art for "folk art" men like Denig. Zwingli made art possible for Reformed Protestants by domesticating it, keeping it in the home where it could remain amateurish, unprofessional, and, though devoted to God, without pride of self which was stimulated by the presence of a church audience.

Two events rivet this reviewer's attention to the religious pressures Denig must have experienced between the writing of his manuscript and the writing of his will. In 1784, the dating on the manuscript, Denig contributed £1.10.6 toward the purchase of an English bell for his church. Before he died in 1830, his feelings changed, because he denied himself the privilege of his gift, the very thing a churchly person coveted most—a sign of having had a good life and a holy death. Instead, he specified in his will that his "body be interred without tolling of bell or funeral sermon."

The second volume—the manuscript—presents Denig the Christian artist and emblemist. The first seventeen illustrations are linked to specific emblem sources. From Johann Arndt's *Wahren Christenthum* Denig copied many of his purely allegorical emblems. He understood the conflicts of Arndt as a Lutheran pastor and practicing pietist. Denig also used Merian's Swiss *Icones Biblicae*. This reviewer found that Bohemian emblem engraver Wenceslaus Hollar joined the Merian workshop in 1631. Since Hollar also became a partner with English emblemist Henry Peacham and knew the works of Wither and Quarles, he was another link for Denig with the German, English, and French emblem tradition. Hollar also illustrated the very popular meditational manual *Zodiacus Christianus* of Jesuit Jeremias Drexel and designed emblems for different editions, some pleasing to Catholics and others pleasing to Protestants.

The last forty-three pictures—Bible illustrations—lack the classical nature inherent in most conceptual Christian emblems. But they do evoke aesthetic and mystical experiences. Like Denig's life, the pictures exhibit a mixture of strange artistic techniques, scenery of the Middle East blended with the architecture of Lancaster, and Roman soldiers taking Christ to the courts dressed like the Hessians of the 1780s. It is a process Henry Glassie calls "the folk filter." Denig concentrated many of his watercolors on the bleeding, suffering, human Christ. His emotional and artistic involvement with sacri-

fice and repentance went beyond the frame of a typical churchly Protestant. Here, the emblematic form of expression barely kept his experiential approach to religion veiled before the eyes of his churchly critics.

Center of Theological Inquiry; Museum of Mourning Art

ANITA SCHORSH

United We Stand: The United Mine Workers of America 1890-1990. By MAIER B. FOX. (Washington, D.C.: The United Mine Workers of America, 1990. 609p. Bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Maier B. Fox, research coordinator of the United Mine Workers of America, has written the first comprehensive history of the union in honor of its centennial. The book, which includes a foreword by Richard L. Trumka, is a thorough and detailed study of the activities and ideas of one of the nation's most important labor unions. Fox has read widely and deeply. Among the many sources he consulted are government reports, including autobiographies and congressional hearings; oral histories, including some of the holdings at the Pennsylvania Historical Collections, and Labor Archives at Pennsylvania State University; and the papers of labor organizations and labor leaders, coal companies, and politicians.

Fox describes the ideas, activities, and controversies of the union's leaders, with particular attention to the eras when John Mitchell and John L. Lewis led the United Mine Workers (UMW). Strikes also receive much coverage, with detailed descriptions of the labor struggles at the Ludlow tent colony in Colorado, Paint Creek in West Virginia, and the 1922 strike in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. He also discusses the terms of numerous collective bargaining arguments, with attention to the provisions dealing with wages and fringe benefits, working conditions, and union recognition. The geographical coverage of the book is very extensive. Although the Central Competitive Field receives most of the attention, Fox provides information about the anthracite region, the South, the West, and Canada.

Although the author recognizes regional diversity and decentralization, he focuses most of his attention on the union's national leadership, especially John Mitchell and John L. Lewis. In doing so, Fox slights the ideas and activities of "Mother" Jones but accords more attention to important regional figures of the 1920s such as John Brophy, who opposed Lewis and as president of District 2, in central Pennsylvania, played the pivotal role as the prominent advocate of nationalization of the coal mines, and was a leading figure in the Save the Union Committee in the late 1920s.

John Mitchell receives much praise for his personal qualities and his pivotal role in the UMW's growth during the early twentieth century. Fox describes the anthracite strike of 1902 in some detail, viewing it as a case study of Mitchell's emphasis on compromise and conciliation. Fox also credits Mitchell for expanding both the geographical range and the democratic nature of the union, even as Mitchell centralized power in the hands of the national officers.

A particularly valuable feature of Fox's volume is his attention to the issues of coal miner health and safety. He describes many of the major mining disasters, including the Jacobs Creek disaster of 1907 (which killed 239) and the Monongah explosion disaster of 1907 (which claimed 361 lives). He especially focuses on the achievements of the UMW Health and Retirement Fund and the struggle to provide benefits to victims of black lung. Medical care, pension, and black-lung benefits provided dignity as well as income for coal miners and their families.

Coal mining and coal miners have played an important role in Pennsylvania's history—a fact Fox appreciates by his extended treatment of anthracite mining in the Mitchell era. Fox charts the rise of the anthracite industry from the Lattimer Massacre of 1897, which sparked rapid growth of union membership and led to major strikes in 1900 and 1902, to the decline later in the century, especially after World War II. He notes unemployment and increased pressure on labor costs kept wage increases and benefit gains more limited for anthracite miners than their counterparts in the bituminous fields.

This institutional history of the United Mine Workers devotes relatively little attention to the lives of coal miners outside the workplace or to the nature of coal towns. Neither are racial and ethnic aspects of the labor force a focus of the book. Nevertheless, *United We Stand* is a fine book marked by comprehensive coverage of the union's activities and painstaking research.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

IRWIN M. MARCUS

Fleeting Moments: Nature and Culture in American History. By GUNTHER BARTH. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. ix, 222p. Illustrations, index. \$29.95.)

Gunther Barth, who has written two well-received urban histories, offers an imaginative and intriguing thesis in his new book: in the midst of decades of rash industrial exploitation of the continent's natural resources, there were fleeting historic moments when European invaders experienced a delicate and rewarding harmony between nature and culture. Barth's historic examples are not the usual representations—e.g., the yeoman farmer of Creve-

coeur, Jefferson, or Carl Sauer; Thoreau's Walden Pond or Transcendentalism's Brook Farm; John Muir's merging of man and nature in the upper meadows of the Sierra; or today's deep ecologists from northern California. Instead, Barth finds his harmony among three peculiar cases: the early colonial search for a wilderness passage to the Pacific, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and urban cemeteries and city parks in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and San Francisco. Barth's approach is intriguing indeed, but it is far too imaginative and unsubstantiated to hold true.

It is difficult to know what to make of the book. It is vastly learned and rewards the reader with deft and thoughtful analyses of original materials that have often escaped modern research. Barth provides an excellent ten-page bibliographical essay at the end of the book, but he indicates little knowledge or use of a very large literature, essential to his thesis, in environmental history, historical and cultural geography, and natural history, not to mention frontier (western) history, the history of exploration, and landscape history. No mention is made of the work of Marsh, Powell, Turner, Muir, Jones, Mumford, Cronon, Worster, Merchant, Limerick, Huth, Stilgoe, Lowenthal, Clark, Lewis, Meinig, Shepard, Douglas, Boorstin, and a very large array of other interpreters that are essential to the validation of Barth's thesis. Yi-Fu Tuan and Carl Sauer are mentioned only in passing and not integrated into Barth's viewpoint.

More seriously, we do not have clear definitions of either nature or culture, nor the modes and means of their interaction when the fleeting moments come and go. On p. xviii Barth says he feels justified in leaving the terms undefined because there are no permanent meanings but he also leaves the reader adrift in the process. Barth's imprecision in definitions causes grave problems, since both nature and culture in North America had specific and multiple definitions that changed dramatically over time. It is also an oversimplified manichean dualism that does an injustice to the complexities of American expansion.

Barth shows real insight into the French acceptance of the American wilderness (and natives) that the English rarely had, but the differences depend more on imperial policies than on any special relationship. And one wonders what longer-term role, if any, the fleeting moment played either for natives or the French. On p. xix, Barth claims that harmony between nature and culture pointed to true democracy and personal freedom, but Frederick Jackson Turner (not mentioned) said the same thing in 1893. As for the Lewis and Clark expedition, Barth's case does not take into account the rich natural history tradition of Jefferson's mandate. He does treat the journals as a piece of literature and the authors as psychologically interesting. But there is no balance specifically located in space or time during the expedition, except perhaps at the Great Falls or the crossing of the Bitterroots,

and there fuzzily. Native Americans are treated romantically, and the author seems to think that the grizzly bear was benevolent when left alone. Particularly troublesome is Barth's claim that nature existed at all in the artificial constructs of late nineteenth-century urban cemeteries and parks. Even he acknowledges they were human fabrications that paid little attention to the existing natural environment, be it the leveling of Central Park or the denial of dune ecology to build Golden Gate Park. The matter of definition is essential.

All in all, the book is a highly personal statement about an important subject. Readers will benefit from Barth's formidable analytical study of his limited materials. But there are better places to go for an explanation of nature and culture in American history.

New Jersey Institute of Technology

JOHN OPIE



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