

BOOK REVIEWS

William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours: On the Past and Future of the Black City in America. By ROGER LANE. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. xiv, 483p. Illustrations, index. \$29.95.)

This is a tale of two cities twice told. The first city is late nineteenth-century black Philadelphia as seen by William Henry Dorsey, artist, bibliophile, and historical collector, who from the 1870s through the turn of the century religiously saved a vast collection of contemporary newspaper accounts, material items, and popular culture by and about late nineteenth-century black Philadelphians and the world they made. Historian Roger Lane has worked copiously through the 388 Dorsey scrapbooks and related documents to rediscover a many-layered black life of small businesses and professions, fraternal associations, churches, literary societies, schools, and more that gave the black community of Philadelphia a vibrancy and unity unmatched by any other city of the day. For all the racism and poverty weighing heavily on black life, late nineteenth-century black Philadelphians had reason to hope the future would repay their struggles to gain political recognition, economic foundation, and social cohesion. But, as Lane concludes in the hurried second part of his book tracing the course of black Philadelphia from Dorsey's days to ours, it would not be so. Crime, poverty, racism, and the decline of Philadelphia generally have rent the optimism of a century ago, leaving blacks today with only tattered remnants of a once closely stitched social fabric and with few prospects for economic uplift.

Lane devotes the bulk of his book to his reconstruction of late nineteenth-century black Philadelphia, as recorded in Dorsey's scrapbooks. Because Dorsey was himself a member of one of Philadelphia's prominent black families and active in several of the important local organizations, such as the American Negro Historical Society, he had access to much of the world he sought to record and preserve. He also cared how blacks were seen and depicted in everything from politics to plays, so that he collected widely from news stories on public events to the "features" on humor, stage, and the arts. Through Dorsey, Lane enters the world of political clubs and historical societies, saloons and salons, gambling dens and churches to observe the effects of urban life on everything from music to ministry. It is a world of remarkable variety and depth that only so astute a historian as Lane could locate and plumb.

No short review can do justice to the many subtle observations Lane makes about blacks in politics, religion, education, or wherever. But a brief recounting of Lane's observations on the world of work might suggest something of Lane's eye for paradox and his sensitivity to the fragile nature of the emerging black community. Lane begins by noting that because they were excluded from factory work, most blacks in late nineteenth-century Philadelphia remained locked in

unskilled or domestic and personal service jobs that paid poorly and offered little security. Blacks' fortunes actually declined relatively as competition from immigrants and southern-born black migrants and as changes in technology and management weakened the occupational position of blacks in the larger labor market. Such insecurity fostered entrepreneurship, including crime, and a coming together of blacks through associations and self-segregation. Discrimination and poverty kept "the lines between rich and poor much closer than among whites," thereby loosening class boundaries among blacks, and an underground criminal economy and limited occupational choices "assured that the condition of the great majority at the bottom of the income scale affected all" (pp. 59-59).

The growing insularity of black life bred a black press, educational institutions, and professional societies; it nurtured a less derivative native genius; and it sustained a rich and varied religious, associational, and social life that compensated for blacks' poor economic fortunes—all emanating messages of optimism built on the credo of self-help. But the same insularity intensified intramural tensions and stunted the ability of many blacks to reach beyond their community. Churches and clubs competed among themselves for members, as did saloons for customers. The growth and congestion of black communities scared off the former white customers of barbers, caterers, second-hand dealers, and the like. Black professions increasingly served a solely black clientele, reinforcing community bonds but lessening capital accumulation as white patronage went elsewhere. Black doctors, lawyers, and morticians who "profited" from such exclusion remained precariously perched on the unsteady patronage of a poor black clientele. Hopes notwithstanding, insecurity and poverty intruded everywhere in Dorsey's Philadelphia.

Lane in no way tenders an economic determinist argument, though economic considerations echo throughout his work. Rather, he suggests that the webs of social organization were entangled in those of work and profession. In many ways, economic strictures framed social ones. The strengths of Dorsey's Philadelphia derived in part from factors that over time would undermine it. Even as civil rights relations improved between blacks and whites, social relations declined because blacks and whites had less contact with one another. Isolation left blacks less adaptable to rapidly changing economic and social forces in the coming century, most of all because, collectively, they did not experience the "modernizing" regimen of industrial and urban organization that was transforming native- and foreign-born whites. It also left blacks without white allies in the halls of economic power. Thus the connection between Dorsey's Philadelphia and ours.

Some readers doubtless will find the connections between Dorsey's Philadelphia and ours even more tenuous than Lane suggests. He draws no straight line from one to the other, and his overly compressed seventy-page history of post-Dorsey Philadelphia hardly affords him opportunity to analyze the fundamental structural changes in economy, society, and politics that have occurred since

Dorsey pasted his last newspaper clipping in 1903. Dorsey, too, might find Lane's connection stretched. But these are quibbles in the face of Lane's extraordinary achievement. In the end, Lane gives us much more than a history. By telling about Dorsey's Philadelphia in light of our own, Lane links past and present in a dialectic that transforms the tale of the two Philadelphias from history to metaphor about the meaning of urban life and culture and forces us to consider how the past informs the future of all who live in modern urban America.

Saint Joseph's University

RANDALL M. MILLER

The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., Volume I: Called to Serve, January 1929-June 1951. Edited by CLAYBORNE CARSON. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1992. xxiii, 484p. Illustrations, chronology, index. \$35.00.)

The person that one envisions when thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr., is the captivating orator giving his "I Have a Dream" speech before the Lincoln Memorial or the civil rights leader marching at the forefront of protestors in Birmingham or Memphis. Rarely do we think of the youngster growing up in Atlanta or the college student wrestling with new ideas in papers and presentations offered to his professors. Yet, these formative years are important in understanding the complexity of the man, the thinkers who influenced his beliefs, and the early experiences that shaped his sense of self and his moral values.

In the first volume of King's papers, Clayborne Carson has assembled information on the life of Martin Luther King, Jr., prior to his entering Boston University in 1951. To his credit, Carson uses a variety of methods to reveal this story. The papers constitute the main body of information, but the volume also makes use of photographs as well as family history to provide background information. The images include pictures obtained from his sister, Catherine King Farris, that offer glimpses of the family surroundings in which King grew to maturity as well as images of older relatives who influenced King and his parents. The photographs are supplemented with a very informative introduction that chronicles the history of King's family beginning with Willis Williams, "an old slavery time preacher and an exhorter," on his mother's side and James Albert King, a sharecropper, on his father's side. Neither branch of the family easily accepted segregation, and they passed on their active opposition to bigotry to their progeny.

But it is young King's own papers covering a wide range of topics that constitute the centerpiece of this volume. The earliest piece is a Father's Day greeting sent to King's father. Also included are a winning speech King gave in

high school, an article he wrote for the Morehouse College newspaper, and numerous papers that he composed as a student at Crozer Theological Seminary. While the material detailing aspects of King's life prior to his leaving Morehouse are useful, they are not as insightful as the Crozer documents. It is at Crozer that King comes into his own as a scholar and a theologian. The papers he writes while there illustrate his intellectual struggles with theological conundrums and the evolution of his beliefs about religion and its centrality in his life. Through these papers, the reader begins to see the formulation of intellectual constructs that undergird the public pronouncements King will later make regarding morality and support of human rights.

Altogether the papers in the volume offer an occasionally discerning but uneven picture of the maturing King. Carson and co-editors have included the best of the extant material, but readers familiar with King's life may feel unfulfilled. Unfortunately, the available documents provide only tantalizing morsels of information about those early years. Meticulous annotations by the editors help ease this problem as they enhance the documents and furnish excellent supplemental information. In particular, the editors handle sensitively and honestly the issue of plagiarism by pointing out, without commentary, where passages closely parallel the writings of others. They then provide the direct quotation for purposes of comparison. These steps on the part of the editors enhance the volume but do not overcome the dearth of documents from King's pre-Crozer years.

This volume is an essential element in the series as it sets the stage for the publications to follow. Later volumes, in all probability, will contain more complete and engaging documentation of King's later life. As King's public profile grew, one would expect that he and others around him became more self-conscious about recording his thoughts and experiences. Given the people with whom he had contact after 1951, the potential for the later volumes is quite exciting. This first volume is well edited and creates high standards for the publications to follow in the series. When completed, the King Papers should be important reference sources for serious scholars of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the modern civil rights movement.

National Museum of American History

SPENCER R. CREW

Frederick Douglass. By WILLIAM S. McFEELY. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991. xiii, 465p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$14.00.)

William McFeely's *Frederick Douglass* is a scholarly tour de force. Meticulously researched and eminently readable, it is bound to become the definitive study of a remarkable American.

It is one of the great strengths of McFeely's biography that so many of the people who touched Douglass's life emerge not as the ciphers they often became in his speeches and writings, but as human beings beset by conflicts. The slave-owning Aulds, for instance, are revealed as "perplexed and limited people struggling to respond to the needs of an unusual boy who was also a slave" (p. 23). As for Thomas Auld, who may have been Douglass's father, "Frederick loved [him], and that love was returned. There is no other way to account for the extraordinary dimensions of their relationship" (p. 41). The teenage Douglass, fresh from his own conversion, wanted a spiritual rebirth for Auld—to save his soul and because a converted Auld might free him. When the conversion came without the manumission Douglass felt betrayed. And yet, in a sense, Auld did free him. After Douglass's failed escape attempt Auld refused to sell him south. Instead, he sent him back to Baltimore, knowing that, from there, his escape was all but assured. Once free, Douglass assailed Auld as a money grubbing hypocrite, only to make peace with him decades later. It was a complex relationship, and McFeely brings out all its nuances.

Anna Douglass, who receives short shrift in most Douglass biographies, is presented here as a personality in her own right. The illiterate free woman, five years his senior, who followed Frederick Bailey from Maryland, was thrust aside as her husband was transformed into Frederick Douglass the abolitionist crusader. She weathered the scandal over his relationship with Julia Griffiths, only to have Griffiths replaced, as McFeely reveals, by the even more formidable Ottilia Assing. Quite apart from competing with Griffiths and Assing for her husband's trust and affection, she endured the constant alarms that came from being married to America's leading black abolitionist.

As for Douglass himself, McFeely's portrait is of an individual by turns courageous and cautious, arrogant and humble, selfish and generous. Far-sighted in many respects, he had his blindspots. He believed the franchise would transform the ex-slaves from supplicants into independent citizens. In the intensity of his faith Douglass failed to understand the plight of African-American working people—the labor activists of the 1860s and the Exodusters of the 1870s. He urged them to stay put, pull themselves up by their bootstraps, and vote. He would learn what they already knew—that government indifference, combined with fraud and violence, could render the franchise useless.

Almost to the end of his life Douglass believed that the nation that had emerged from the Civil War would be truly inclusive, and that he would have a place close to the center of power. Yet every honor he received was tainted in some way. Appointed to Grant's Santo Domingo Commission, he was ultimately snubbed by the president. As marshal of the District of Columbia he was excluded from White House receptions. Against the advice of his cynical daughter, he agreed to head the financially troubled Freedman's Bank, only to find himself presiding over its demise. As American minister to Haiti he was

mired in efforts to acquire a coveted naval base. The cabinet appointment or high elected office he was convinced would come his way never did. The closest he got was when Johnson invited him to head the Freedmen's Bureau. Douglass saw the trap. He was to oversee the Bureau while Johnson destroyed it. As McFeely shows us, Douglass's tragedy was that there really was no place, literally or figuratively, for him in post-Civil War America.

University of Massachusetts at Boston

JULIE WINCH

The Social Gospel in Black & White: American Racial Reform, 1885-1912. By RALPH E. LUKER. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xiv, 445p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

This clearly written and provocative book is an important contribution to American church, black, and intellectual history. In the *Social Gospel in Black & White*, Ralph E. Luker revises the traditional interpretation of the "origins and the nature of the social gospel. Its origins are not found in the response to urban-industrial problems in the antebellum voluntary societies whose heart was the home missions movement, and the social gospel itself was less an abstract quest than it was the proclamation of those religious beliefs and values that could serve to hold the society together" (p. 4). What guided this religious movement was "a growing conservative awareness that industrial capitalism [had] been the radical force in American society, generating social change of unforeseen consequences, heedlessly disruptive of human community" (p. 4). Where Luker differs from earlier scholars who have studied the social gospel movement is in his emphasis on race relations. In choosing to analyze the social gospel and race Luker adds a new dimension to our understanding of this phase of American reform. He argues that by the 1890s the social gospel's three traditions of racial reform—home missions, African colonization, or "whether the franchise was a natural right, whether education or the franchise ought to have priority, and whether federal or state action was better suited to purify Southern politics" (p. 5)—were not only in disarray but all ineffective.

The 1890s were, as Rayford W. Logan called them, the "nadir" of American race relations. During this decade lynching came to dominate American race relations. The social gospel's response to the crime of lynching was a host of new initiatives based on the idea that black people were human beings whose constitutional rights needed to be protected. These new tactics emphasized industrial education, urban missions, and the need to protect the black vote in the South. Social Christians were divided on these issues and Luker does an excellent job of explicating these divisions. Participants in the quest for racial justice were both black and white. Some worked together, others did not. Social

Christianity, as Luker shows, was not unified and its adherents differed over tactics and goals. Ida B. Wells the black female critic of lynching, for example, found very little support for her crusade among some liberal white Protestant ministers. Lyman Abbott, pastor of Brooklyn's Plymouth Church, distanced himself from Wells's work. The Reverend Frank Gunsaulus, the minister of Chicago's Plymouth Congregational Church, was also hesitant about appearing in public with Wells. Divisions in the social gospel movement were both interracial and intraracial. Black social Christians like Ida B. Wells and her husband Ferdinand B. Barnett, along with W.E.B. DuBois, were harsh critics of Booker T. Washington's program of racial accommodation and industrial education. Washington also had his black defenders who thought the "Wizard" was a racial statesman, Luker suggests.

One of the most interesting sections of *The Social Gospel in Black & White* is Luker's analysis of the careers of Thomas Dixon and Harlan Paul Douglass. Dixon was an "apostle of radical white racism" (p. 291). He thought that Reconstruction was a mistake and that southern whites were justified in their efforts to disenfranchise blacks. Since the South's black population could not be colonized in Africa, Dixon advocated industrial education for black people and the adoption of mechanisms that would eliminate most of the black vote and part of the white electorate. Dixon's racism stands in sharp contrast to Harlan Paul Douglass's quest for racial justice. "Minorities," Douglass thought, "made a distinctive contribution" to American society, "contributing to the mainstream, and enriching national values in the course of their assimilation" (p. 305). In the thought of Douglass and other liberal members of the social gospel movement Luker sees the intellectual origins of the modern civil rights movement.

University of California, Davis

CLARENCE E. WALKER

Muhammad Ali: His Life and Times. By THOMAS HAUSER with the cooperation of MUHAMMAD ALI. (New York and London: Simon & Schuster, 1991. 543p. Illustrations, appendix, index. Paper, \$14.00.)

The art of boxing has recently become of interest to historians. Once relegated as a subject to discreet tales of physical prowess, boxing has been transformed by the historian's art into a useful tool to examine a host of topics germane to the historical profession. When coupled with the power of biography, the sport of boxing becomes an individualized, trenchant examination of a period.

Thomas Hauser, the author of *Muhammad Ali: His Life and Times*, may not have held such thoughts when he came to tell his subject's story. Hauser's work nonetheless wonderfully contains the nascent possibilities of using boxing and

biography as a tool of historical analysis. *Muhammad Ali* is a group portrait of the man, pieced together from a vast array of interviews with the boxer, his opponents, friends, family, colleagues, and critics. Hauser does well to fit these interviews within the broader historical outline surrounding his subject. Consistently throughout the work, all who speak of Muhammad Ali interpret the boxer as more than a sports figure. This is not mere hagiography; rather, it comes from the straightforward realization that Muhammad Ali participated, witnessed, and to some observers even embodied or facilitated, the societal changes that occurred during his boxing career.

Muhammad Ali is by no means a sophisticated expression of social history, but that was not the author's intent. At heart, this is the story of an extraordinary individual whose chosen profession happened to be boxing. Consequently, much attention is given to the events of Ali's career as a boxer: the famous bouts with Sonny Liston, Joe Frazier, George Foreman, as well as a host of also-rans who crowd the pages of this work. For the boxing fan, or the casual follower of the sport, these recounted fights should prove exciting reading.

Most interesting for this writer, however, were the events of Ali's life outside the sweat and blood of the arena. The reader watches as social forces and personal conviction coalesce and transform Cassius Marcellus Clay into Muhammad Ali. Indeed this very work is transformed by Ali's choice—for it is Islam that became the predicate to Ali's provocative stance towards the social and political events of his times. Without Ali's life-changing choice, Hauser's book might well have been yet another biography of yet another athlete. Instead this work must deal with the social, political, and cultural movements participated in or encountered by Ali. In this regard, the account of Ali's relationship with the Nation of Islam is particularly fascinating when viewed against the background of the American civil rights movement. The transformation found in Ali's conversion to Islam is heightened in its ramifications by his positive genius for manipulating the media. Few politicians, let alone sports figures, have been so adept at creating and sustaining a momentum of favorable publicity from seemingly innocuous occasions. This relationship with the media is truly an area rich in possibilities for the historian.

Hauser has made strong use of the valuable archival material that has risen in the wake of Ali's career. This good work might have been enriched had it been better grounded in the growing historiography of American sports, augmented as well by various cultural interpretations of the sport called boxing.

Despite its limitations, *Muhammad Ali: His Life and Times* is a well-crafted starting point for additional interpretative explorations of its subject's life. In gathering such an array of interviews, Thomas Hauser has served well his

general reading public and has assisted the professional historian in the possibility of further study.

*University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill*

PETER M. OSTENBY

The First Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership. Edited by GARY W. GALLAGHER. (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1992. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$24.00; paper, \$14.00.)

Measured by the number of words per minute of action, historians have written more about the battle of Gettysburg than about any other event in Pennsylvania's history—even than the Declaration of Independence or the Constitutional Convention. One might therefore think that the subject of Gettysburg has been exhausted. But books continued to appear with new information or fresh perspectives. Such is the case with this volume. Initially delivered as papers in 1990 at the fourth annual Civil War conference at the Mont Alto campus of Pennsylvania State University, these essays by four of the leading experts on military campaigns in the eastern theater examine command leadership in both armies on the first day of the battle.

Alan Nolan (whose *Lee Considered* is the most controversial Civil War book of recent years) indicts Lee for both strategic and tactical errors that led to disaster at Gettysburg. The proper Confederate strategy was defensive, insists Nolan; the invasion of Pennsylvania climaxed Lee's offensive strategy that wasted scarce manpower resources. The failures of reconnaissance that left the Army of Northern Virginia without adequate intelligence deep in enemy territory were also primarily the fault of Lee, who had given Stuart ambiguous orders and who made ineffective use of the cavalry remaining with the army. Having stumbled into an unexpected engagement at Gettysburg, Lee lost control of the situation on July 1 and allowed his forces to commit to a confrontation on ground that gave decisive advantages to the Army of the Potomac.

In an essay evaluating the performance of Confederate corps commanders A.P. Hill and Richard Ewell, Gary Gallagher agrees with Nolan in finding Lee rather than his corps commanders responsible for crucial failures of leadership. But while Nolan thinks Lee should not have fought at all, Gallagher maintains that having gained an advantage in the first day's fighting, Lee should have exercised personal leadership to press the advantage instead of leaving the decision whether to attack Cemetery Hill to his subordinates.

The focus of Robert Krick's essay shifts from the army and corps level to the brigade. In trenchant prose he analyzes the disasters to three Confederate

R. Davis's brigade in the railroad cut, and Edward O'Neal's and Alfred Iverson's brigades on Oak Ridge. In all three cases, incompetent leadership virtually destroyed these units.

There is unintended irony in these three essays that focus relentlessly on mistakes and failures of Confederate leadership, for the first day of Gettysburg was a smashing Confederate victory. The authors do not confront this paradox of failure producing success. Its resolution lies in what happened on the second and third days. The ultimate Union victory has colored interpretations of July 1. If Union forces had retreated on the night of July 1, as they retreated after Second Manassas and Chancellorsville, our perceptions of the July 1 "Battle of Gettysburg" would be radically different.

Hard fighting and effective command leadership *won* a Union victory. Yet analyses of the battle focus mainly—sometimes exclusively—on Confederate failures that *lost* the battle. This book is only a partial exception. A. Wilson Greene's essay is the sole analysis of Union leadership. It is also the most innovative, for it vindicates General O.O. Howard and his hapless 11th Corps. Unjustly maligned for their behavior at Chancellorsville, the 11th Corps again earned unfair opprobrium for the collapse of the Union position on the afternoon of July 1. "The Eleventh Corps performed with honor," insists Greene, it fulfilled its mission of fighting a delaying action that enabled Union forces to fall back to a strong position on Cemetery and Culps hills that Howard, with foresight, had selected and fortified.

These essays will not convert every reader to their authors' views, but they raise important questions and will stimulate better understanding of what happened on that fateful July 1, 1863.

Princeton University

JAMES M. MCPHERSON

Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words that Remade America. By GARY WILLS. (New York and London: Simon & Schuster, 1992. 315p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$23.00.)

With the publication of this volume we can add the name of Gary Wills to those of William E. Barton, F. Lauriston Bullard, and Louis A. Warren as authors of significant volumes, published in the twentieth century, dealing with the subject of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Lincoln's brief speech, delivered in November 1863, was part of the exercises dedicating the cemetery for those soldiers who had died in battle the previous July in that small central Pennsylvania town. In 1913 the British statesman, Lord Curzon, cited this speech as one of the three greatest given in modern times: the other two being Pitt's toast following the victory at Trafalgar and Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.

Thus it is not surprising that as many as four authors would each devote a full book to Lincoln's speech of only 272 words.

Wills's volume contains an interesting section dealing with the "Oratory of the Greek Revival" as practiced by orators like Edward Everett, the main speaker at Gettysburg, orators who were influenced by the great Pericles funeral oration. Wills also devotes some sections to what Lincoln said and precisely where he said it.

The most challenging section, however, deals with what Wills considers the attempt by Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address to adopt "equality," the "central proposition" in the Declaration of Independence, as a principle of the Constitution. America, Wills reminds his readers, is a people "conceived" and "brought forth" as an entity "four score and seven years" before 1863. Since the delivery of the Gettysburg Address, the Declaration has come to mean what Lincoln told us it means. He managed to correct the Constitution without overthrowing it. He cleansed the Constitution, not by burning it, as had William Lloyd Garrison, but by "appealing from its letter to the spirit." By stressing equality he "revolutionized the Revolution," giving Americans a new past that would "change their future indefinitely."

Some of Lincoln's contemporaries objected to this stress on equality in the Gettysburg Address. Wills cites a *Chicago Times* editorial reminding Lincoln that statesmen who founded the government under the Constitution possessed "too much self-respect to declare that negroes were their equals." But such a view would not prevail against Lincoln's eloquence.

Somewhat disappointing is Wills's neglect of the older view concerning the significance of the Address. Lincoln's speech assured the nation and the world that the American experiment begun in 1776, of a new government of, by, and for the people would not perish as a result of the Civil War. Many of his contemporaries were convinced that republics, like the two French republics, had to fail, that they inevitably degenerated into tyranny. Lincoln's 272 words at Gettysburg represented a ringing assurance that such a fate did not await the American republic.

Villanova University

JOSEPH GEORGE, JR.

Let Us Have Peace: Ulysses S. Grant and the Politics of War and Reconstruction, 1861-1868. By BROOKS D. SIMPSON. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xx, 339p. Bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

One of General Grant's greatest attributes was that he kept a clear head in the midst of battle. He focused on what he was going to do, how it led to his overall goals. Brooks Simpson's *Grant* displays this talent in the midst of political

as well as military battles. Grant's goal was always peace, the reconciliation of a divided nation, and he kept his attention on that goal even as he made relentless war. He knew that a civil war differed from international war in that conquest could not be the goal. In the end what was needed was the restoration of the nation with all people treated as citizens engaged in the pursuits of peace, not continuing to make war on, or to subjugate, each other.

Knowing that, Grant also knew the truth in Sherman's observation: "how intermingled have become civil matters with the military, and how almost impossible it has become for an officer in authority to act a purely military part" (p. 254). Thus Grant's warmaking kept peacemaking in mind. One necessity in that mindset was not allowing personal values too much latitude. Grant opposed slavery even while living in Missouri where slavery was lawful. He emancipated his slaves at the very time when selling them would have brought him much needed cash. Yet his early strategy meant that he would not interfere with slavery where it was lawful. Like Lincoln he moved to attack the economic and social basis of southern society only when rebels showed their implacable insistence on continuing war. Then he enthusiastically enlisted black soldiers and protected them against Confederate threats to reenslave them and execute their officers. But emancipationist momentum was restrained by visions of how war would end. Fearing to inspire guerrilla resistance Grant offered lenient terms at Appomattox after crushing Lee's army.

But mere leniency did not work. Former rebels tried to reincarnate their status as slave owners and this threatened the loss of the peace that war had gained. Grant joined Congress in fighting Johnson, became more political in peace than he had been in war, using the army to advance the policy of Congress, supported laws protecting blacks and ultimately, despite being seen as a moderate Republican, accepted black suffrage as a means to protect the gains of war. Reluctantly, in order to protect union men as well as blacks in Dixie, Grant accepted the presidency too. Ironically it was, in part, because he disliked partisan politics that he was drawn into office to provide a more permanent and just peace than self-interested politicians could promise. "The true task of the just policymaker during the years following Appomattox," Simpson summarizes, "was to achieve a balance between restoration, readjustment and revolution" (p. 261). And Grant, perhaps more than his contemporaries, understood the problem and tried to deal with it.

Brooks Simpson's story adds significant insight to understanding Grant and the war. Making a useful distinction between politics as tactics and politics as strategy he shows that Grant's failings were in the smaller realm. He understood well the interconnections between war goals and the shaping of the postwar polity. The general emerges here sharing Lincoln's overall strategy, crafty in his peace negotiations with Lee (who appears here often in unadmirable light), balancing egalitarian goals with institutional imperatives—an altogether admira-

ble man. Too admirable? Readers who will benefit from Simpson's energetic research, crisp writing, and insightful questions will need to keep that question in mind.

University of Kansas

PHILLIP SHAW PALUDAN

Of a Place and a Time: Remembering Lancaster. By RICHARD D. ALTICK.
(Hamden, CT: The Shoe String Press, 1991. viii, 199p. \$21.50.)

"This is an informal memoir of a small eastern city," explains the author by way of preface, and modestly he makes no greater claim. More precisely, the book offers a witty melange of unusually sharp memories about the place firmly embedded in the mind of a youth as he grew up between World Wars I and II and nourished through the years that followed. It is a likeable contribution to that curious genre of American literature about growing to maturity in the old home town. If it ignores the seediness and raunchiness of many samples of this genre, one may assume that such stains were more closely hidden in the Lancaster of 1920-1940. Moreover, the author's memories are rich enough without the garbage.

As one might expect from a professor of literature (Altick is a Regents' Professor of English at Ohio State), his writing style is crisp and evocative, not uncritical (the bane of so many local histories), but mixed with tasteful nostalgia mellowed with good judgment. The author does not need the impedimenta of bibliography, footnotes, and other academic accoutrements to support his purpose. His "facts," says he, "may be wrong once in a while . . . [but] I am, happily, not under oath." His "sources" are almost solely embedded in his unusually fertile memory, and obviously he had fun writing about what he remembered.

This modest book does have a historical flavor, though it is frequently not explicit enough to please the history buff or the academician. Yet its history content is often suggestive and picturesque. "I lapped up all the information about Lancaster's past that came my way," says the author. "It is fair to say that I was brainwashed from an early age." What one misses, however, is a deeper understanding of what is different and unique about Lancaster, both town and countryside. The "Pennsylvania Dutch" scene has many subtle variations from county to county, and from urban to rural. Although the commercialized tourist trade has created the illusion that Lancaster—the city and its environs—is the capital of Pennsylvania Dutchland, this is more propaganda hype than reality. Even a comparison of Lancaster with its sister city and county of York across the Susquehanna, with its similar Germanic ethos, though with a more rapid industrialization, would have been welcomed. The two cities were Pennsylvania's

two most beautiful before World War II altered their character in different ways.

The aftereffects of World War II do not seem to have been kind to either city's previous urban serenity, yet in the case of Lancaster "many people," says the author, "attributed the absence of tensions . . . found in bigger and more highly industrialized cities to the fact that Lancaster was a notably church-going community; the influential presence of religion tended to minimize social conflicts." But this was probably true throughout the Pennsylvania Dutch region from the Delaware to the Susquehanna and beyond. But, notes the author, "the other side of the coin was that most churches . . . failed to do much about the inequities and injustices that were rife in America—even Lancaster." The "inequities" are, alas, not specified.

In Lancaster, Altick claims, "there were no extremes of wealth or poverty," though it is difficult to escape the feeling that, without supportive evidence, this is a bit overstated, even in the egalitarian period between the wars. "As elsewhere," he admits, "there was a class structure, but in Lancaster it lacked a pinnacle. There were no grandees. . . . The wealthiest people got their money from a number of sources apart from farmland, which was securely in the hands of the plain people. . . . Most of Lancaster's families belonged to the middle-middle or lower-middle class" (presumably he refers to the period between the wars).

In spite of the author's free-hand impressions with their astonishing richness of detail and good-humored, vivacious style, the lack of more specific data on economics and ethnographics, for example, does present some problems for the reader. But one must accept the author's ground rules of his personalized memoir and be grateful for what a critic might call "a good read."

The book ends with a darkly hued, bitter epilogue, somewhat out of character with the rest of the book, having to do with the ugly commercialism and touristy hucksterism based on the Pennsylvania Dutch theme along outlying corridors to the city. It is a complicated negative to the Lancaster story, so that the author was even tempted to title his epilogue "The Rape of the Garden Spot."

Washington, DC

E.G. ALDERFER

The Presbyterian Predicament: Six Perspectives. Edited by MILTON J. COALTER, JOHN M. MULDER, and LOUIS B. WEEKS. (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990. 179p. Paper, \$12.95.)

The Mainstream Protestant "Decline": The Presbyterian Pattern. Edited by MILTON J. COALTER, JOHN M. MULDER, and LOUIS B. WEEKS. (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990. 263p. Paper, \$12.95.)

The Confessional Mosaic: Presbyterians and Twentieth-Century Theology. Edited by MILTON J. COALTER, JOHN M. MULDER, and LOUIS B. WEEKS. (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990. 333p. Paper, \$14.95.)

Why have mainstream Protestant denominations, including Presbyterianism, experienced a declining membership and an eroding cultural influence in America since the 1960s? How have Presbyterian theology and worship changed in the twentieth century? What paths should Presbyterianism take to revitalize itself for the twenty-first century? These are some of the central questions addressed in these three volumes of essays on contemporary Presbyterianism. Part of a seven-volume series entitled "The Presbyterian Presence: The Twentieth-Century Experience," these books are the fruits of a large research project funded by the Lilly Endowment designed to examine American Presbyterianism as a case study of mainstream Protestantism in this century. Series editors Milton J. Coalter, John M. Mulder, and Louis B. Weeks, all of Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, have coordinated the work of more than sixty researchers investigating the history of the recently (1983) reunited Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and its antecedents. Their hope is that greater historical understanding of Presbyterianism's past will enable the denomination, and mainstream Protestantism in general, to become more "faithful witnesses" in the years ahead.

Such a religious agenda colors but does not generally distort the more than twenty historical and sociological analyses contained in these volumes. Historians will likely be most comfortable with the methods and most illumined by the contents of *The Confessional Mosaic*. Its nine essays trace various aspects of Presbyterian theological and liturgical development during the last hundred years. Discussions of the evolution of both northern and southern Presbyterian preaching, hymnody, worship resources, devotional literature, social agendas, confessional stances, and views of the Bible all point to expanding pluralism as a central theme in the Presbyterian experience. Lauded by some and derided by others, growing diversity has provided both dynamism and dynamite to Presbyterian ranks. As the editors suggest, "the very plurality that promises remarkable depth and breadth of vision in Presbyterian thought and worship threatens to become a network of fault lines for future division" (p. 36). In this way, Presbyterians' twentieth-century history seems prototypically American: a search for unity and a common identity amid ever-increasing heterogeneity.

Similarly, Presbyterianism and the broader culture seem to have experienced their moments of greatest upheaval and ideological change during the same times, the 1920s and the 1960s. Essays by James Moorhead, and Jack B. Rogers and Donald K. McKim, for instance, point to the 1927 decision of the General Assembly to reject fundamentalist view of scripture and the formulation of the heavily neo-orthodox Confession of 1967 as watershed events in the history of the northern church. Meanwhile, Rick Nutt highlights how conservatives'

dissatisfaction with trends in the southern church greatly escalated in the 1960s, climaxing in the 1973 formation of a new denomination, the Presbyterian Church in America. No doubt these critical developments all reflect the consistently large shaping influence of American culture on Presbyterian perspectives and priorities.

Unfortunately for Presbyterians, the converse no longer seems to be true. From a position of cultural and demographic hegemony in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Presbyterianism and its mainstream counterparts have witnessed a precipitous drop in their numbers and cultural clout. Making sense of that "decline" and the resulting "predicament" are the main concerns, respectively, of *The Mainstream Protestant "Decline"* and *The Presbyterian Predicament*. The former's articles "provide new detailed studies of patterns and causes of Presbyterian membership growth and loss" (p. 19). Written primarily by sociologists of religion, these essays collectively offer both theoretical frameworks for understanding congregational membership and case study analyses of individual presbyteries or churches. No clear consensus emerges on why Presbyterianism has declined in the last generation or even on whether to consider membership loss a "decline." Nevertheless, a few common themes may be identified: membership loss has been greatest among those under thirty, some of whom have moved into more conservative denominations but more of whom have assumed no new religious affiliation whatsoever; lay commitment to a particular congregation has become less and less a guarantee of denominational allegiance; and a clear sense of mission has remained vital for congregational and denominational health.

The six contributors to *The Presbyterian Predicament* present their own analyses of the current Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), a denomination the series editors describe as seemingly "stymied, and sometimes immobilized, by the conflicting consequences of sets of parallel allegiances and commitments" (p. 19). The book is an eclectic group of essays from the alternative perspectives of church history, theology, and sociology of religion. Sociologist Robert Wuthnow provides the broadest and perhaps most insightful discussion of recent Presbyterian development. Echoing the findings of his excellent book, *The Restructuring of American Religion* (1988), Wuthnow argues that two of the most important trends within Presbyterianism in the last half century have been a decline in denominational distinctiveness socially, culturally, and theologically, and the growth of an increasingly strong conservative element (especially since 1970) whose numbers and influence, at least at the congregational level, now roughly equal that of denominational liberals. That conservative-liberal division has been, and will likely remain, acrimonious in Wuthnow's view, but he does not think it is responsible for the denomination's loss of members. Instead, demographic and economic changes such as lower birth rates, changing neighborhoods, and higher levels of education explain that drift more effectively.

Two other essays in this volume merit specific mention. Gayraud S. Wilmore examines Black Presbyterians in the twentieth century and finds a historic ambivalence in their attitudes toward white Presbyterianism between "a desire for African American cultural identity and a desire for racial integration" (p. 110). Wilmore's essay is the only one in these three volumes to deal specifically with the place of racial minorities in Presbyterianism. Likewise, Barbara Brown Zikmund's essay on the history of women's ordination is the only one specifically addressed to the place of women in Presbyterianism. She quickly traces the long struggle for women's ordination within and outside Presbyterian churches and then assesses the contemporary theological meaning of ordination from women's perspective.

On the whole these books reflect some of the usual assets and liabilities of collections of essays. The breadth of vision gained by employing scholars from multiple disciplines is counterbalanced by the difficulty of synthesizing their disparate observations into any kind of coherent whole. The editors provide helpful introductions to each volume but regrettably no indications are given of how the contributors themselves have responded to one another's findings. Some readers may also regret the unrestrained value judgments that occasionally creep into these essays. For example, pastor Ronald B. Byars's historical analysis of Presbyterian worship resources includes a denunciation of Puritan worship as "tedious, a burden to be borne, an appearance of ardor to be kept up. It is a worship without resonances, antihistorical and antiecumenical" (*The Confessional Mosaic*, p. 154). Such statements make clear that something more than a scholarly agenda is at stake for many of these authors. Only time will tell whether their collective efforts to provide contemporary Presbyterians with a useable past will in fact aid in the revitalization of that Christian tradition. In the meantime, students of American religion can benefit from the wealth of information contained in these volumes and be encouraged that the study of twentieth-century mainstream protestantism continues to move ahead.

Trinity College, Illinois

RICHARD W. POINTER

Cultural Connections: Museums and Libraries of Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley. By MORRIS J. VOGEL. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991. 255p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$29.95.)

As you pick up this lavishly illustrated book and flip through it (and that is the best way to approach it initially) you will find a full-page photograph of a steam engine governor; a double-page photograph of the interior of Cliveden; a close-up of a mummer's painted face; *The Ram in the Thicket*, a statue from 2600 BC; a painting of a passenger pigeon by John James Audubon; a picture

of the Liberty Bell; "Artie," the elephant made out of toys; and much more. On the cover is a Hmong banner in the form of an American flag made by Hmong refugees in 1983 in a sewing class at Philadelphia's John F. Kennedy Vocational-Technical School. These illustrations, most of them in exquisite color, depict objects in various museums and cultural institutions of the Delaware Valley.

This book is the first of several guidebooks on Philadelphia's cultural resources, supported by the William Penn Foundation, to be published by Temple University Press. Morris Vogel, a professor of history at Temple University, given the assignment to write about museums and libraries, instead of doing a traditional guidebook, chose instead to organize the book around a series of essays. It was a brilliant choice. The only difficulty, I fear, is that many readers will be seduced by the colorful and often exotic illustrations and overlook the essays. That would be a mistake for Vogel has summarized and interpreted a great deal of the cultural history of Philadelphia and written about the city's connections to the world over three hundred years.

The first essay, on American nationality, traces the origins of Philadelphia's cultural institutions during the formative years of the nation. The second chapter, on the Victorian age, focuses on economic expansion, the rise of great fortunes, and the collecting policies that grew out of these economic and cultural trends. The third chapter, "Discovery and Exploration," demonstrates how technology, science, and the idea of progress influenced the museums. The last chapter, "The World We Have Lost," suggests how connections between the past and present and a nostalgia for a lost past have influenced the city and its cultural institutions.

The photographs, always meticulously reproduced and with extended captions, do not merely illustrate the essays but extend them in fascinating ways. For example, Vogel's comments on the development of the new medicine appear opposite a reproduction of Thomas Eakins's *The Gross Clinic*. Then we move to stop-motion photographs taken by Eadweard Muybridge with Eakins's help and then on the Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*, and then to a stereograph of Joseph Leidy with a thigh bone of a dinosaur, finally to a photograph of a Kansas family who received an award from the American Eugenics Society as a model "Nordic" family. From science to archeology to pseudo-science Vogel leads us through the twisting paths of cultural history surprising us with unexpected visual connections.

In the last section Vogel discusses the colonial revival movement as one part of an attempt to recreate a simplified and glorious past. A photograph of Pennypacker Mills reminds us that buildings are often not what they seem. The owner actually gutted an authentic, eighteenth-century farmhouse to build a more fancy neo-Georgian mansion. Vogel raises doubts about the historic preservation movement and then goes on to describe the Arts and Crafts movement in terms that point out the contradiction of wealthy Americans, who made their money

applying modern technology, trying to recreate the crafts of a pre-industrial age. But even before we can ponder the irony we are forced to think about the more recent nostalgia for the very machines the Arts and Crafts people were trying to avoid. A photograph of the reconstructed Chocolate Works at Third and Race in its postmodern dress forces us to ponder what is happening in our own time. Then we turn the page and find a machine that appears very much like an abstract sculpture, and we are wrenched back once again to think about the complexities of modern culture and design.

This is a book to savor, to browse in, and most of all to read and to ponder. It is also a book that should be used as a guide to the rich cultural resources of the Delaware Valley and a map for exploring the connecting links between art and society.

Temple University

ALLEN F. DAVIS

Cloud by Day: The Story of Coal and Coke and People. By MURIEL EARLEY SHEPPARD. (1947; reprint ed., Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991. xii, 277p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography. Cloth, \$34.95; paper, \$14.95.)

Out of This Furnace: A Novel of Immigrant Labor in America. By THOMAS BELL. (1941; reprint ed., Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991. 424p. Illustrations. Cloth, \$24.95; paper, \$10.95.)

These books describe a rapidly vanishing way of life of ethnic workers and their families who built the industrial foundation of our society. Their efforts turned coal and iron ore into economic strength as they labored in the mines and mills of western Pennsylvania. In spite of the value of their work and its difficulty and danger, they received low wages and labored long hours. While both authors focus on this essential story, their books reflect different perspectives. Muriel Sheppard, author and daughter of a lawyer, presents a general picture of the Coke Region with attention to its economic growth, diverse population, and churches. Thomas Bell, novelist and son of a Slovak steelworker and retailer, offers an insider's view of the working and living conditions of steelworkers and praises their efforts to improve their lives, particularly through unionization under the banner of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and the CIO.

Muriel Sheppard describes the Coke Region with its Nine-foot Pittsburgh Seam with particular attention to developments in Fayette County and Uniontown, its county seat. The Frick mines, connected with the United States Steel Corporation, and other mines owned by Youngstown Sheet and Tube and

Jones and Laughlin Steel dominated the economy of the region. These companies hired deputies and built company stores to solidify their control of the isolated mine patches that housed the miners and their families. Although suppression of unionism and protest politics nearly closed these avenues of dissent, residents turned to churches and ethnic culture for collective self-expression. On occasion they resorted to outbursts, such as the coke strike of 1894, to express dissatisfaction with their work lives. Sheppard describes the work lives of coal miners with attention to the work process, compensation, and dangers. She presents the death tolls from explosions and slate falls and recognizes the hazards of mining while noting the much improved safety record of the Pennsylvania bituminous coal field by the mid twentieth century.

Cloud by Day also features a detailed and sympathetic portrayal of the life of Josiah Thompson, a famous, regional coal entrepreneur. Thompson amassed a considerable fortune from the ownership of coal lands and the presidency of the First National Bank of Uniontown. He also benefitted from the regional economic growth that resulted from investments by Andrew Mellon and other major Pittsburgh businessmen in the early 1900s. To symbolize his growing wealth and prominence, Thompson built an eleven-story headquarters for his bank. However, dramatic reversals in his personal and business affairs resulted from his marriage to Honey Hawes in 1903. Her extravagant expenditures for furs, jewels, and household furnishings depleted his wealth and reduced his romantic ardor. A widely publicized divorce in 1913 did not end his financial difficulties, however, as the onslaughts of outside capitalists, inside and outside of court, forced him into bankruptcy in 1917. Health problems and financial difficulties plagued him thereafter with only a satisfying marriage to sustain him in his final years. His funeral, in 1933, recalled his former glory as an impressive array of honorary pallbearers, including industrialist Charles Schwab and Senator James Davis, paid their last respects.

Thomas Bell's *Out of This Furnace* offers a very different perspective on our industrial heritage through his narrative of a three-generation, working-class Slovak family who lived in Homestead and Braddock. The dreariness of life becomes vivid in his descriptions of the work lives of steelworkers who experienced low wages, long hours, and dangerous conditions. The steel mills dominated the towns as their smoke pervaded the atmosphere and their work schedules controlled the lives of families and workers. Immigrant workers lived near the mills in crowded dwellings devoid of the household appliances and space found in middle class housing. The hierarchic structure of the companies and the towns left immigrant workers with few opportunities and stifled their dreams. Kracha's dream of business success collapsed as a real estate venture failed and he lost his butcher shop. Mike and Mary Dobrejcek, although more Americanized than Kracha, also suffered heartbreak as Mike failed to get a promotion, and therefore could not buy a house, and died in a work place explosion. In spite of the consolations of family, friends, and socializing, the first two generations

of Slovak workers described by Bell experienced frustrations and disappointments in their pursuit of the American Dream.

Dobie, on the other hand, not only had the strength of his forebears, but a labor movement to provide a collective means of realizing his personal and societal objectives. After a period in Detroit as an auto worker, he returned to Braddock with the onset of the Depression and opened a new phase of his life. His marriage to Julie and his reuniting with Kracha changed his private life, but the major transformation occurred at work and in union activities. He gained a sense of accomplishment and empowerment from his labor activism. Dobie stood up to his foreman and superintendent and went to Washington to testify before the Labor Board. This involvement with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and the CIO widened his vistas and provided him with a sense of social purpose. Sheppard's book also focuses on the 1930s, but her perspective is very different. Picketing miners appear as agents of violence and disorder rather than as heralds of democracy.

These books provide valuable insights and information about the coal and steel industries. Not only do the industries complement each other, but so do the authors. Bell offers an insider's view supportive of Slovaks, workers, and the CIO while Sheppard's book emphasizes the elite, churches, and Americanization as well as the miners and their patches. Both books are enhanced by excellent photographic sections. The Coda by Frederick A. Hetzel provides contextualization and highlights of *Cloud by Day*, and the valuable Afterword by David P. Demarest, Jr., relates the characters of *Out of This Furnace* to Thomas Bell and his family, reinforcing the importance of the intersection of ethnicity and class as the underlying theme of the book. Both books would benefit from maps pinpointing the key locations and their relationship to the region, and *Cloud by Day* would be improved by an index and a chronology. Unlike the Bell book which ends before World War II and projects a spirit of solidarity and future possibilities, *Cloud by Day* includes a chapter on coal strikes of the 1940s and concludes with observations about an uncertain future for the region and the need for another miracle in the face of the near exhaustion of the Nine-foot Pittsburgh Seam. The early 1990s illustrated both themes: declining employment in the coal and steel industries and widespread despair about the future on the one hand; grassroots efforts to build a society cherishing freedom and decency on the other hand—which Dobie sought.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

IRWIN M. MARCUS

Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator. By MARY ANN DZUBACK. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991. xvi, 387p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

The nation's economic malaise means that American higher education must respond to intensified financial challenges as well as those created by the political-

cultural crusades of the 1980s. The combination is rekindling old struggles between education and research, between academic freedom and the demands of interest groups, and between decentralized departmental organization and bureaucratic power. A sensitive biography of an educator who dealt with similar problems would be valuable to policy makers as well as historians. It might help to redefine the role of the university president before it descends into the depths of the professional manager model.

Mary Ann Dzuback's well-researched biography of Robert M. Hutchins opens with a promise to provide help for the future. Hutchins's life does hold that potential, for he tried to make his presidency at the University of Chicago from the 1930s to 1950 more than an exercise in political bargaining with faculty, students, alumni, and wealthy foundations. He also tried to define the president's role as more than one of a crusader for management methods.

Unfortunately, not all the potential is realized in *Portrait of an Educator*. The pressures and enticements to be politically correct are very strong, and it seems that between the completion of the research and the publication of her book an ideology was imposed upon Dzuback's otherwise useful and commendable history. The inconsistencies, unexamined assumptions, and value judgments of today's political correctness distort and contradict many of her well-grounded explanations and evaluations.

The result of applying the set of predetermined questions and answers is a string of predictable conclusions about Hutchins's life. It is not a surprise to learn that he and his work were doomed to failure because he was a white male liberal Protestant who believed in reason and the application of intelligence to social problems. Worse, he held that a university had a unique obligation to use intellect and formal knowledge to search for the common good and to ensure that its students' education led to an examined and meaningful life. According to the correctness formula, his greatest fault may have been his naive belief that a university should be more than a set of independent and squabbling interest groups.

Political correctness also leads to the interpretation that Hutchins could not accept that democracy is conflict and that a value consensus, such as the one he experienced as a student at a well-spring of liberalism, Oberlin, is really a rejection of diversity, choice, and modern scholarship. Given the assumptions, Hutchins's attempt to create an undergraduate curriculum based on the Great Books could only be interpreted as the result of bias and cultural narrowness.

As expected, others at the university are not judged. Although stating that most students wanted to use college simply for career advancement and material gain and that the faculty wanted to pursue their career-oriented specialized research and gave little thought to undergraduate education, Dzuback does not censure them. She seems to accept educational behavior and motivations that are contrary to her deep commitment to John Dewey's idealism.

Significant portions of *Portrait of an Educator* are ahistorical and tell us as much about the politics of the history profession in the 1990s as about universities, Hutchins's life, or the achievements of his Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. A less ideological approach would have led to one of the best historical studies of American higher education published in more than a decade and a biography that outdistanced the two other recent bows to Hutchins's contributions.

University of Maryland, Baltimore County

COLIN BURKE

Theodore Dreiser: Newspaper Days. Edited by T.D. NOSTWICH. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. xiv, 825p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$49.95.)

In 1900 Dreiser, a new type of writer, offended many people as Walt Whitman had before him. Both came from lower social strata, wrote inelegantly, and included improper sexual content. But both attracted readers and became famous.

T.D. Nostwich, a mature scholar and careful editor, has reproduced the complete text of *Newspaper Days*. Though it covers only three years, it makes clear the development of Dreiser's art from journalism, feature writing, dramatic criticism, and autobiography. The censored version that appeared in 1922 as *A Book About Myself* lacked 32,000 words of detail about his general views and especially his sensuous sexual material.

Concerned that only his mother ever loved him enough, he kept up the search for the love of another perfect partner while asserting that this love would never last, as of course it never did. So he remained a promiscuous "varietist" even when twice married.

Dreiser was always controversial. Allen Tate claimed him as one of the three major American novelists of the twentieth century. Conversely, Lionel Trilling said Dreiser's pity was self-pity, that he was only semi-literate, and that he decorated his sentences with "paste gems" like those of Poe and Whitman.

Dreiser did have a bad ear, so he often wrote awkward broken-backed sentences. Yet Robert Penn Warren, in his *Homage to Theodore Dreiser*, said the large rhythms in his fictional episodes were simply brilliant. Other supporters include Eliseo Vivas, Alexander Kern on "Dreiser's Difficult Beauty," H.L. Mencken, Ellen Moers, Saul Bellow, and David Bryan Davis to name just a few.

His books were an expression of his own personality, simultaneously expressing both his defeatism and a belief in his own greatness. The characters, whether Carrie or Hurstwood, Cowperwood, or Clyde, seem real, not fictitious, because they were based on his own experience. Moreover, conflict between his fears of

inferiority and his simultaneous belief in his own greatness produced a tension that gave power to his work.

The complete text of *Newspaper Days* becomes significant as it shows how his career developed from bill collector to journalist. In Pittsburgh he learned that reporters were intelligent, badly paid, and so insecure that one even ended in suicide—as Dreiser nearly did when he was a failure in New York. Rescued by his brother Paul Dresser (who had changed his surname), Theodore became a tough editor of the *Delineator*. He demanded stock morality for the magazine but, fortunately, refused to conform in his own writing.

Dreiser's use of science writers, like Darwin, Huxley, Herbert Spencer, Loeb, and Freud, made him feel that he was a helpless atom subject to natural law, or at times to the accidents of chance in deterministic patterns beyond individual control. He thus anticipated the fate of Bigger Thomas in Richard Wright's *Native Son*. His frankness about sex shocked many readers. But his accounts of courtship, with desires balanced by fears, are incomparably better than the obligatory hot passages in contemporary best sellers.

Politically Dreiser was not a man of courage and in temperament was no activist. He took vigorous stands only after he was famous. Robert Benn Michaels recently wrote that *Sister Carrie* was an "unequalled endorsement of unbridled capitalism." But as a socialist and communist Dreiser was not an advocate. Still Michaels is right that Dreiser never made reform the aim of his pessimistic novels. His power lay rather in his marvelous detail, in the depth of his imagination and in the presentation of complex characters. For such insights Nostwich is to be praised.

University of Iowa

ALEXANDER KERN

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