

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution. Vols. VIII & IX, Ratification of the Constitution by the States: Virginia.* By JOHN P. KAMINSKI and GASPARE J. SALADINO. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1988, 1990. 1176p. Maps, appendixes. \$50.00 each.)

"In the midst of hurry," as he prepared to leave Philadelphia, George Washington found a private moment to take up his quill and inform the Marquis de Lafayette of his recent labors. The new constitution, he marvelled, was "now a Child of fortune, to be fostered by some and buffeted by others" (p. 12). Its ultimate fate remained a mystery to the squire of Mount Vernon. Indeed, until now the "General opinion" of the constitution was equally a mystery to most students and scholars. Aside from *The Federalist* and several slim collections of Antifederalist writings, primary documentation regarding the tortuous path of ratification has been available only to those researchers with easy access to eastern repositories.

The publication of John Kaminski's monumental twenty-volume *Documentary History* changes that unhappy fact. When completed, the series will include one volume covering constitutional documents and records from independence to 1787, five volumes containing public and private commentaries on the constitution, one volume on the bill of rights, and thirteen volumes (including the two books under review) on the process of ratification by the states. The present volumes, which chronicle the political struggle in Virginia, begin with a letter by Richard Henry Lee of September 3, 1787 (thirteen days before the Philadelphia Convention adjourned) and end on June 11, 1788, on the eve of the ratification vote in the Virginia convention. (A third volume, still in press as of this writing, will complete the Virginia series and include an index for all three volumes.) Volume VIII also includes detailed chronologies for ratification in both Virginia and the other twelve states, a calendar for the years 1787-88, a biographical gazetteer, and a list of delegates to the General Assembly. Especially noteworthy is a concise introductory essay, which briefly touches upon the problems of paper money, debtor relief, and the efforts of James Madison and others to end the lingering recession and revise the Articles of Confederation.

Although Volume IX ends in the midst of fiery speeches in the Virginia convention, most of the material in these two books is private correspondence or newspaper editorials. Some of the letters, such as those of Madison and Washington, already can be found on any library shelf, but most are the product of careful digging in large and small repositories. The editors have even included translations of letters written by foreign diplomats and visitors to American shores. The ideological shots fired in these often heated missives reveal Virginia to be a quarrelsome society where threats of violence lurked just beneath a thin

vener of civility. Constitutional critic Elbridge Gerry was "a mere insect" (p. 13), while one of George Mason's correspondents denounced those who favored the document as a motley "coalition of Monarchymen, Military Men, Aristocrats, and Drones" (p. 28). So noisy did the partisan din grow that Edmund Randolph engaged in considerable understatement when he complained to Madison that he and Mason had "been spoken of illiberally at least" (p. 133).

Illiberally treated or not, Randolph comes off poorly in these pages. The indecision and lack of political judgment on display here—Randolph refused to sign the document in Philadelphia but found himself arguing for it in Richmond—are the first signs of character flaws that would finally bring him to a bitter parting of the ways with Washington in 1795. (So great was the confusion over Randolph's position that the biographical entry in the gazetteer characterizes his political stand with a question mark!) Equally illuminating are James Monroe's clumsy attempts to oppose ratification without alienating the men to whom he had already tied his political career. While assuring Madison that any of his objections against ratification were "overbalanc'd by the arguments in its favor," Monroe neglected to tell his older friend that he would ultimately vote against the document. Not surprisingly, Madison dominates these volumes. Over one hundred letters published here were written or received by the indefatigable congressman.

Although these works focus on Virginia, the correspondence demonstrates a high level of cooperation among those in favor of scrapping the Articles. Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the labors of Philadelphia merchant Tench Coxe, whose numerous essays in support of a stronger economic union were widely circulated in Virginia.

If there is any weakness in these fine volumes, it is that the Federalists invariably get the last word, a problem the editors readily concede. This imbalance was perhaps unavoidable. While the majority of Virginians—indeed, most Americans—were probably Antifederalists, many were unlettered farmers who left behind few written statements of opinion. If the preponderance of documents reproduced here demonstrate Federalist leanings, those opposed to ratification have their say in George Mason's passionate letters and Patrick Henry's windy speeches. This is to quibble. These volumes amount to an editorial masterpiece that belongs on the shelf of every library.

*Le Moyne College*

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON

*Constitutional History of the American Revolution: The Authority to Legislate.* By JOHN PHILLIP REID. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992. ix, 495p. \$35.00.)

This is the third volume of a planned four-volume study of the constitutional history of the American Revolution. In the first two volumes, Professor Reid

analyzed the issue of taxation and the controversy over constitutional rights. In this volume, he argues that the quarrel between England and her North American colonies over who had the ultimate power to legislate was *the* issue that could not be compromised. Because of the evolution by the mid-eighteenth century in England of the constitutional idea of parliamentary sovereignty, the Americans found themselves in an untenable political position. The more the Americans relied upon the traditional "constitution of customary constraints" (p. 24), the more Parliament insisted that there was no restraint on their sovereign power to legislate for the Empire. The more Parliament insisted on their sovereign power, the more it threatened the traditional and colonial concept of liberty—that liberty was protected through restraints on power.

The main purpose of this book is to explain the "constitutional dynamics" of how Parliament's authority to legislate led the Americans to Lexington and Concord. Reid insists that the Revolution was not caused by "natural-law arguments." The American Whigs argued for rights that were "located in British constitutional law theory. Every objection they raised to parliamentary power came from the British constitution and English constitutional history" (p. 5). Americans did not accept the idea that for government to exist it had to be sovereign—absolute and indivisible. "The jurisprudence of law as restraint rather than command was an inheritance from seventeenth century constitutionalism" (p. 6) and was respected by many Englishmen. Many eighteenth-century Englishmen believed that the "rule of law" placed restraints on Parliament. Americans did not concoct a new extra-constitutional theory of natural law or a new concept of federalism; instead they used the traditional law of Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the English Bill of Rights against the new concept of Parliament's sovereignty.

Professor Reid resurrects one of Charles H. McIlwain's theses that Parliament never had the authority to legislate for crown possessions. He rejects the idea that the American Whig constitutional argument changed from 1763 to 1775. From the beginning of the controversy, Americans never admitted that Parliament was sovereign over them. This argument is crucial to Reid's analysis. He believes that most historians do not understand the language of eighteenth-century constitutional conflict. While Parliament insisted upon its sovereign right to legislate, the colonists avoided the issue of sovereignty because they were not arguing constitutional theory or philosophy but for their common-law rights. The Americans, he claims, followed a "strategy of constitutional avoidance." They avoided the issue of sovereignty because in eighteenth-century English constitutional controversy, the "advocate takes a position that is both narrow enough to defend successfully and broad enough to win the point at bar" (p. 30). Knowing that Parliament would defend its sovereignty, Americans avoided the theoretical issue. But in the debate over all the conflicts, from the Stamp Act to the Coercive Acts, Americans consistently refused to accept

Parliament's sovereign power to legislate for them except in the customary areas of imperial commerce.

This is a profound book that contains more than any reviewer could do justice. It contributes to the neo-Whig understanding of origins of the American Revolution. Like the earlier work of Bernard Bailyn, Professor Reid demonstrates that the Revolution was caused by ideas—ideas that led men to oppose the increase of Parliament's power and the ensuing destruction of liberty. Unlike Bailyn, however, Reid argues that the American ideas that caused the Revolution were rooted in traditional seventeenth-century English constitutionalism, not the radical Whig ideas of Trenchard and Gordon.

Professor Reid also rejects the economic determinism of Progressive historians. American constitutionalism was not a façade for economic problems. Unfortunately, the book seems to construct an argument of constitutional determinism. The clash between two irreconcilable views of the English constitution led inevitably to Revolution. Moreover, Reid is not entirely successful in explaining motivation. He dismisses the problem of historical motive as something that "can be endlessly debated . . ." (p. 215). The reader wonders whether American constitutionalism is rooted in the character of eighteenth-century man or in the character of eighteenth-century society. The problem of motive is highlighted when Reid claims that the farmers of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, fought the king's army in 1775 for "the right to be free of arbitrary government" (p. 245). While he may be right, the book does not explain the ideas or motives of Massachusetts farmers.

The assumptions and themes of this book challenge much of the historical profession's thinking about the origins of the American Revolution. Professor Reid suggests that Americans sought to preserve the Empire, while the English tragically destroyed it with constitutional innovation. If this is correct, and Reid's argument is convincing, historians need to rethink issues and problems of economics, social stress, and political nationalism and place constitutionalism and, specifically, the issue of the authority to legislate, back at the top of the list of causes of the Revolution.

*Temple University*

HOWARD A. OHLINE

*Volunteers: The Mexican War Journals of Private Richard Coulter and Sergeant Thomas Barclay, Company E, Second Pennsylvania Infantry.* Edited by ALLEN PESKIN. (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1991. 342p. Appendix, index. \$35.00.)

*Fallen Leaves: The Civil War Letters of Major Henry Livermore Abbott.* Edited by ROBERT GARTH SCOTT. (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1991. xiv, 266p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$27.00.)

In 1846 the United States entered into its first foreign war, gaining vast amounts of new territory by its victory. The question of how much, if any, of this new territory would be open to slavery helped hasten the onset of the much more bloody Civil War fifteen years later.

There have probably been 50,000 books written about various aspects of the Civil War, but the War with Mexico has not generated the same kind of interest. Allen Peskin has attempted to redress this imbalance with *Volunteers: The Mexican War Journals of Private Richard Coulter and Sergeant Thomas Barclay, Company E, Second Pennsylvania Infantry*.

Coulter and Barclay eagerly joined a local militia company—the Westmoreland Guards—when war with Mexico loomed. Unfortunately for these would-be soldiers, Pennsylvania's one-regiment quota was filled without their company being included. A second call, however, included a second regiment from Pennsylvania, and it included the Westmoreland Guards.

Unlike *The Mexican War Journal of Franklin Smith* (Joseph E. Chance, ed., University Press of Mississippi, 1991), *The Mexican War Journal and Letters of Ralph W. Kirkham* (Robert Ryal Miller, ed., Texas A&M University Press, 1991) and other recent entries into this field that chronicle the experiences of officers, these diarists paint a picture of life in the ranks. They took part in the unopposed amphibious landing at Veracruz, and their regiment's participation in the diversionary effort at Cerro Gordo again spared them the full horrors of combat. The army then spent several months of relative inactivity while awaiting reinforcements. Coulter and Barclay took part in the assault on Chapultepec and the capture of Mexico City in September 1847, and each man filled several pages with accounts of this fierce fighting. From then until their return home in July 1848 their diaries contain the day-to-day events of any army of occupation. They report various rumors, discuss intraregimental politics, etc.

In contrast to this view from the ranks, *Fallen Leaves: The Civil War Letters of Major Henry Livermore Abbott* shows how a later war looked to a young Massachusetts volunteer officer. Scott has done extensive research into the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, and his introduction sets the stage well for the letters to follow. Henry Abbott did not rush eagerly into the fray as had Coulter and Barclay. Describing himself as "constitutionally timid" (p. 32) and not in possession of the warlike tendencies of his two brothers already in the service, Abbott nonetheless accepted a commission in the 20th Massachusetts and set off to war. After a few months of camp life, and before ever having engaged in a battle, however, this nineteen-year old found himself completely absorbed in his new calling.

Abbott never seemed to lose his enthusiasm for what he was doing. Early in the war he welcomed the onset of cool weather because it allowed him the "luxury of a regular old fashioned fire" (p. 56) by which to keep warm. Indeed his optimistic outlook on life was never more apparent than when he warned

his sister to "try to find some bright side, instead of looking at the black side till one is so blind that every thing else looks black as well" (p. 130).

Unlike Coulter and Barclay, Abbott experienced extensive combat. He participated in the ill-advised Battle of Ball's Bluff, McClellan's 1862 Peninsula Campaign, the carnage at Fredericksburg, Hooker's disappointing loss at Chancellorsville, the second two days of Gettysburg, and several other battles. This aristocratic young officer, a major now with a paternalistic affection for the men under him, was killed in May 1864 at the head of his regiment.

These two books both give valuable insights into the life of nineteenth-century American soldiers. Barclay and Coulter, both members of the Pennsylvania bar, nevertheless see their war from the viewpoint of the man in the ranks. In addition, Barclay seems to have written his account with, perhaps, a view toward publication. His writing is often studded with references to classic works of literature and is generally more verbose. Coulter seems slightly more down-to-earth, often commenting on the absurdities of military life. Neither man spent much time discussing the native population or culture. Mention of Mexican women, for instance, a topic that occupies considerable space in many contemporary accounts, is almost completely absent.

There is a difficulty in presenting two diaries within one cover, since there is necessarily some repetition that tends to slow the reader down a bit. On the other hand, there are many instances where one man's entry supplements or enhances the other. Another problem of this particular dual diary is that the editor seldom attempts to resolve ambiguities between the accounts. For example, was the river mentioned by both men on April 11, 1847, the Rio Monti (as Coulter states) or the Rio Antigua (as per Barclay) (p. 70)? Were orders for regimental elections read at dress parade on November 1 (Barclay) or November 2 (Coulter) (pp. 207-8)? The editor does include, however, a roster of the Westmoreland Guards that will be useful to social historians as it includes the names, civilian occupations, ages, and ultimate dispositions of the members of the company.

The Abbott letters, by contrast, are chatty accounts of his daily affairs. Through them the reader gets a glimpse of a young, well-to-do New Englander driven by duty. He wrote disparagingly of the use of African-American troops (p. 199) and had little use for the various immigrant groups in the Union army (pp. 172, 176, 205, 237). And while he chivalrously gave up his blankets to wounded prisoners, he nevertheless took an active part in pillaging vacant homes in Fredericksburg (pp. 128, 155).

Published memoirs or diaries of Mexican War enlisted men are all too rare, and *Volunteers* serves to open the window a little more on this long-neglected period of American military history. There is not the same dearth of material on the Civil War, but the glimpses provided by Major Abbott into the society

in which he lived make *Fallen Leaves* a welcome addition to the literature.

*University of Houston-Downtown*

JAMES M. McCAFFREY

*The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Vol. III, 1814-1815.* Edited by HAROLD D. MOSER, et al. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991. xxix, 599p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$49.50.)

*Andrew Jackson: A Portrait Study.* By JAMES G. BARBER. (Nashville: Tennessee State Museum, 1991. 244p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

*Old Hickory: A Life Sketch of Andrew Jackson.* By JAMES G. BARBER. (Nashville: Tennessee State Museum, 1990. 129p. Illustrations, index. \$14.95.)

Andrew Jackson continues to fascinate historians and the public alike, and the first of these volumes indicates many sources of that fascination—personal, political, military. When it opens in 1814 Jackson is a major general in the Tennessee state militia; when it closes he is a commanding general in the United States Army. His exploits in the War of 1812 have vaulted him from a regional personality to a national hero. Impetuous, bold, argumentative, decisive, Jackson by the close of 1815 had become a focal point for the grand opportunities that beckoned in the American West as well as for the political controversy that often accompanied the opportunities and those who sought them.

This volume, the third of a projected sixteen-volume edition of selected Jackson letters, spans two years during which Jackson busily pursued his military career, American expansionist goals in the South, and the defense of the Southwest from British attacks during the War of 1812. The Creek War and the Gulf campaign brought him into frequent contact and conflict with authorities in Washington, and his actions in both instances remained political issues more than a decade later.

Perhaps the most illuminating aspect of these letters, and what endeared Andrew Jackson to his supporters and enraged his opponents, is the tone and language with which he discussed men and events. Typical is the letter to his wife Rachel in January 1812. "My station is arduous and my duty severe—I will perform it—as to the vile slanderous vipers, I despise them as the crawling worm that rolls through the slime untouched, unnoticed by any . . ." (p. 20). He is blunt and forthright, whether writing about politicians, the enemy, or Indian relations. The latter, "an infatuated and deluded people" (p. 55), drew his attention repeatedly during the Creek War and then again when he sought ways to clear the area for white settlement. He attacked them as "barbarians . . . ignorant of the influence of civilization" and interested only in "infernal orgies." Those tribesmen who continued to oppose him, he boasted to his

Tennessee troops, would disappear "from the face of the Earth," to be replaced by a "new generation . . . who will know their duties better" (p. 58). Sixteen years later he would issue similar pronouncements in defense of his Indian removal policy.

Another theme running through his volume is Andrew Jackson as political candidate. At first his name emerges as the choice of local friends like John Overton; later Jackson himself seems to catch the bug. But even his friends know what will evoke his anger and draw him into political battle as they carefully reveal how much the people admire him and which politicians oppose him and defame his reputation. This tactic never failed to lure Jackson to the bait, and his political contests resembled his military campaigns.

Finally, much of the volume focuses on the War of 1812 and Jackson's patriotism. Jackson is eager to engage the enemy, impatient with restraints. Most interesting is his effort to recruit free blacks into the army. Writing to William Charles Cole Claiborne in September 1814, Jackson notes that "The free men of colour in your city [New Orleans] are inured to the Southern climate and would make excellent [*sic*] Soldiers" (p. 44). Throughout the conflict Jackson attacked the schisms that divided Americans, and rejoiced upon hearing news that the British had burned Washington, hoping that "it will unite america, and learn the rulers of our nation, to prepare for defence before it is too late" (p. 147). This fine volume, carefully edited and annotated, includes a complete calendar of Jackson's letters for 1814-1815.

The second volume under review undertakes a quite different task, as James Barber treats us to the iconography of Andrew Jackson. If the edition of his letters indicates his importance to military and political affairs, this lavishly illustrated volume reveals how often he was besieged by artists and sculptors. After his victory at New Orleans, Jackson was in constant demand by those who would celebrate his historical personage or who would use him to fuel their own entrepreneurial spirits. At some stages in his life one wonders if he had time to do much more than sit for portraits. One painter, Ralph Earl, even became a member of his family circle in the White House. Without question the iconography of a period reflects popular taste, and this volume clearly, if silently, demonstrates just why Andrew Jackson became president and why historian John William Ward would later call him a "symbol for an age."

Barber provides careful documentation and provenance for each likeness and the circumstances surrounding its creation, as well as a synoptic sketch of the artist. He also includes a list of all known Jackson portraits. But this is more than a book for art historians. In many respects it documents an aspect of popular culture in the early republic. Of particular interest are the chapters on the cartoons and caricatures of Andrew Jackson and a final chapter detailing the portraits of his wife Rachel.



The final volume under review, also edited by James Barber, has much less to recommend it. Intended to accompany an exhibit of Jacksoniana sponsored by the National Portrait Gallery and the Tennessee State Museum, it features some of the portraits found in the larger study noted above, but it also includes additional popular culture artifacts that used Jackson's likeness or bore some relation to his career. Obviously designed for popular consumption, the volume suffers from two major flaws. Neither the introduction by Robert Remini nor the capsule commentaries alongside each illustration probe the historical record in much depth. The introduction fails to develop the complexity of emotions that swirled around Andrew Jackson. And yet many of the illustrations, such as the coffin handbill and satiric cartoons, demonstrate quite clearly the determined opposition that often surfaced throughout Jackson's career. This irony, however, seems buried amid the effort to lead the reader from item to item in the exhibit. Historians might find some of the illustrations interesting, but they would be better off confining their purchases to the other volumes reviewed in this essay.

*Franklin and Marshall College*

JOHN ANDREW

*Index to Pennsylvania's Colonial Records Series.* Compiled by DR. MARY DUNN.  
(Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1992. xi, 228p. Index. \$20.00.)

One of the first lessons any serious researcher learns when using primary historical materials is the importance of a thorough, reliable index. This need is particularly evident when researchers encounter colonial Pennsylvania sources. For example, few, if any, of the eighteenth-century manuscript court minutes, dockets, and file papers have been indexed; deed book indexes cite only the grantor and grantee, omitting the plethora of names and details in the deed recitals; manuscript collections of letters and papers without indexes (and catalogued only by sender and recipient) are the rule, not the exception, including such massive and significant collections as the papers of the Shippens, the Norrises, and the Pembertons, and of James Logan, Thomas Penn, Richard Peters, and John Smith; will book indexes cite only the decedent; while county commissioners' minutes and township books are never indexed.

Nor does the situation improve with printed nineteenth-century records, many of which either lack an index or have indexes that are inconsistent and often incomplete. This is certainly the case with two of the most famous colonial series, the *Pennsylvania Archives* and the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*.

As Jonathan Stayer (head of the Reference Section of the Division of Archives & Manuscripts, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission) indicates in his brief foreword to Mary Dunn's index, the second series of the *Colonial Records*, published from 1851 to 1853, failed to include a satisfactory

name index to complement its more complete subject index. Considering that the volumes encompassed the minutes of the various executive bodies of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1790, such a lapse was significant. The Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, envisioned by William Penn as the dominant force in the legislative process, was established by the Charter of 1683 as an eighteen-man elective entity, one of whose members would rotate off the council each year. Legislative initiative lay in those eighteen men, with the nine-day Assembly having the right merely to accept or reject the promulgated bills. After the 1701 Charter of Privileges, however, provincial councilors were appointed by the proprietor's governor and were merely executive advisors without any right to initiate or veto legislation. Their advisory powers were significant, for the governor could amend and veto proposed laws and, when he was a stranger to the colony, as was often the case, he would tend to rely on that advice to a great degree. The Provincial Council and governor also negotiated treaties with the Indians, organized defensive measures, conferred with Lord Baltimore's representatives over the boundary with Maryland, approved new roads, and pardoned criminals.

Ironically, with the onset of the Revolution, the executive body would again become elective. The Provincial Council and governor were eliminated and, after an interim appointed Committee of Safety, the new executive was enshrined in the Constitution of 1776 as a twelve-man elected body known as the Supreme Executive Council. The minutes of all of these groups were published in the *Colonial Records*.

The late Dr. Mary Dunn, an elementary school teacher and principal in Uniontown, and later a professor at California State University and Waynesburg College, undertook the preparation of a complete index of names found in the thirteen-volume second series of the *Colonial Records*, perhaps in response to the tremendous explosion of interest in family history. She died after having completed the first twelve volumes; the thirteenth volume was indexed for this publication by Martha Reamy. The manuscript was kept in Uniontown Public Library before being published "in affectionate memory" of Dr. Dunn "by authority of the Friends of the Uniontown Public Library" (p. v).

Generally speaking, the index (when compared with one prepared internally by the staff of the Biographical Dictionary of Early Pennsylvania Legislators) is thorough and will be of great assistance to historians, but particularly to genealogists. Unfortunately, alternative spellings are rarely cross-referenced and officeholders, who are mentioned in the text but not named, such as sheriffs, tax collectors, and treasurers, are not indexed. Nonetheless, this reliable name index of one of Pennsylvania's most important published series is greatly welcomed.

*Biographical Dictionary of  
Early Pennsylvania Legislators*

CRAIG W. HORLE

*News From the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home.* Edited by WALTER D. KAMPHOEFNER, WOLFGANG HELBICH, and ULRIKE SOMMER. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991. ix, 645p. Maps, appendixes, index. \$35.00.)

*News From the Land of Freedom* is a collection of twenty groups of letters sent by German-speaking immigrants from the United States to friends and relatives in Europe. Most of the letters were written between 1830 and 1900. The letter writers are representative of the profile of nineteenth-century German immigrants in occupation, class, age, marital status, and gender. They reflect the full range of experience in America, from disillusionment to adjustment. The book divides into three sections—on farmers, workers, and domestic servants—and has introductions to each section and to each of the twenty groups of letters. Published first in 1988 in German, this English language edition, funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities, is the work of translator Susan Carter Vogel.

Letters to friends and relatives home are a problematic primary source for they can be the least revealing of primary documents. The writers are often a younger generation “on the road.” Their letters are frequently masterpieces of guarded understatement or appeals for money and prayers. The writers want to protect those at home from excessive worry. They want to reassure loved ones, and themselves, that success is being achieved or is at least imminent. There is usually a delicate balancing act between the need for support and the need to be independent.

The editors of this compilation of several hundred letters are well aware of the limitations of their source. Consequently, the book is not just a judicious selection of interesting letters. *News From the Land of Freedom* is, according to its editors, a rigorous work of social history. The editors want the book to be a history of the inarticulate lower classes who made up the bulk of German-speaking immigration to America in the nineteenth century. Through these voices, the editors bring individual reality and ethnic specificity to the general history of immigration. The immigrants speak directly about the process of adjustment to daily life in a new land.

The letters are interesting because they are so specific—a German domestic in a Brooklyn Jewish family in the 1880s, e.g.—and because, as a collective social history, they provide significant confirmation that the quantifying and generalizing of our social history does not have to result in the stultifying depersonalization of history. In many respects, the editors of *News* have done for the German lower class immigrant what Tamara Hareven and Randolph Langenback did for French Canadian textile mill workers in 1978 in *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory City*: they give the participants a voice.

A brief review cannot do justice to the richness of this collection. Suffice it to say that these German immigrants are not always complimentary about America

or their new-found neighbors. Martin Weitz, a wool weaver fleeing declining opportunity in Germany in the 1850s, finds work in New England's burgeoning textile factories. Weitz reports frankly to his relatives. "Believe you me, America is not Paradise" (p. 354). He is wary of Americans who go to church a lot but will "take the skin off the back of someone in a minute." "These people pray to get what they want . . ." (p. 351) he laments. Nevertheless, he stays in America and after five years of hard work brings over his prospective bride. Others give up and go back to Germany, go West, go to Australia, or just disappear.

Many, like Johann Pritzlaff, part of the Old Lutheran migration to the midwest, settle down in a German-American community (in this case Milwaukee) and adjust to America successfully (hardware business), but not without reservations. Pritzlaff notes, "As far as church matters go, I cannot write much that is good, for the Antichrist has also set up his See in America." Nevertheless, freedom of conscience is alive and well, so that "he who follows false teachings here does so of his own free will" (p. 307).

Although the letters are the heart of this book, it is of scholarly significance for at least two other reasons. First, its general introduction of fifty pages is a concise and comprehensive overview of recent scholarship in nineteenth-century German-American studies and immigration history. Also, the editors lay bare their methodology for all to see. Together with a selected bibliography, the introduction could be assigned profitably to undergraduate and graduate students.

Second, *News* is of general historical significance because its section introductions, maps, illustrations, and notes provide judicious support for the letters. For example, the section on farmers begins with a model ten-page introduction on agricultural policy and practice in Germany and the United States. Eight separate letter series comprise the farmers section. Each of the series is introduced by a few pages of historical background material on the letter writer and followed by a postscript explaining, where possible, what happened to the writer after the series ended. This contextual approach thus blends the best of modern social history scholarship and the spontaneity and specificity of the primary sources into a satisfying and readable book.

*News* began as a research project at the Ruhr University to study German immigration to the United States between 1820 and 1920. The project set out to determine who came, from where, and why. In general, the researchers conclude that local economic conditions in Germany and the U.S. provided the push and pull of migration, pushing workers out of rural Germany, where job opportunities were declining, pulling them into American cities in developing regions such as New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and Midwest. These immigrants were overwhelmingly of modest circumstances who would normally have gone to German cities if their industrializing homeland could possibly have accommodated them.

The scope of the project is impressive, but what does it mean for its American audience? Maybe it is enough just to be reminded by these letters that the flow of new people into American society has always been one of the life forces of our democracy, and that the story of making one's way in uncharted territory is the ultimate American experience. The daily process of adjustment to life's changing circumstances universalizes the "news" in this volume.

*Canterbury Shaker Village*

SCOTT T. SWANK

*A Journey to Ohio in 1810.* By MARGARET VAN HORN DWIGHT. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. xix, 64p. \$5.95.)

*Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives.* Edited by WILLIAM L. ANDREWS, SARGENT BUSH, JR., ANNETTE KOLODNY, AMY SHRAGER LANG, and DANIEL B. SHEA. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990. viii, 232p. Illustrations. Cloth, \$32.50; paper, \$10.95.)

Women moving, as opposed to women at rest or women in repose. This is the predominant image that emerges from reading the five narratives under review. Recollecting early American representations of women found in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century paintings—women sitting, standing still, either statuesque or dutiful—it is exhilarating to have the eye move over page after page of prose of women in search of new spiritual and physical universes in eastern North America. *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives* provides us with two spiritual excursions and two works of personal travel literature. The collection begins with *A True History of the Captivity of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* in late seventeenth-century Massachusetts and New Hampshire; continues with *The Journal of Madam (Sarah Kemble) Knight* and her round trip from Boston to New Haven and New York via Rhode Island in 1704-05; follows with *Some Account of the Fore Part of the Late Elizabeth Ashbridge*, born in England, converting to Quakerism in Boston, sojourning in Pennsylvania, and finding a ministry in England and Ireland in the 1730s and 1740s; and concludes with *The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist: Philadelphia to Natchez, 1783-84*. These four works take us through tracts of early New England, the middle Atlantic, and Ohio and Mississippi river terrain and, in the cases of Rowlandson and Ashbridge, into the finding, testing, and redefining of faith. In *A Journey to Ohio in 1810*, Margaret Van Horn Dwight traveled from New Haven across New Jersey and through Pennsylvania to Warren, Ohio. The only woman of the five to settle on the frontier on a permanent basis, Dwight's is also the most accessible account of the five, being a lively journal of a woman's westering experience in the new nation.

Besides their female authors, their sense of movement, and pursuit of self-definition, these five accounts testify to the early American landscape as a multiethnic, and diverse spiritual and social world. Mrs. Rowlandson's capture and "removes" with the Narragansetts brings her into a new cultural world. Margaret Dwight (granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards's daughter and niece of Yale president Timothy Dwight) gives us a detailed view of a prominent New England woman's sense of the people of "hog latin—alias German or dutch" (p. 53). Of the Pennsylvania Dutch whom she calls "Jabbering Dutch" (really Germans) she exclaims, "I think *wild Indians* will be less terrible to me, than these creatures" (p. 18) and decries having to spend "Sabbath in our country among such a dissolute vicious Set of wretches as we are now among" who "smoke, drink, swear, pitch cents, almost dance, laugh & talk dutch & stare at us" (p. 16). "Prophanity" she claims, "is the characteristic of a Pennsylvanian" (p. 31). But along with her prejudices and dismay, Dwight documents the clothing of the men and women of early nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, their houses, furniture, and the inn house and ale house ways of the variety of folk that teamed through the roads toward Ohio country.

Like Dwight, Elizabeth House Trist finds a collection of humanity on the westward journey including hog drivers and "a Negro wench." In her introduction to Trist's work, Annette Kolodny tells us that Trist was a friend and correspondent of Thomas Jefferson's, that her work was written for him—its detail aimed at his enquiring mind. In her earlier work, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860*, Kolodny offers that "Trist's voice anticipates that of John Filson's Daniel Boone narrative." In western Pennsylvania she was elated by the "fine fish" and "evergreens" along "the Juniata running through these mountains for a hundred miles . . . The country looks Beautifull, even in this dreary Season. There is something enlivening and delightfull" (p. 206). Trist's enthusiasm also anticipates the joy women often found in their moves west.

If Trist and Dwight enjoy moments of westering, they, and these other women's writings explore the discomforts, distractions, and indignities of early American travel. Whether embarked upon alone or with others, these journeys offered their share of problems for women, especially women of middle- and upper-middle-class status, as all of these women, except Ashbridge, were. Most had chronic problems with sleep and lodgers, difficulty with food, complaints about the weather, roads, and the means of transportation. Traveling alone in Kingston, Rhode Island, Mrs. Knight "could get no sleep" due to "the Clamor of some of the Town toppers in next Room," debating the origins of the word Narragansett. One "utter'd with such a Roreing voice in Thundering blows with the fist of wickedness on the Table, that it pierced my very head" (p. 95). In Fairfield, Connecticut, a French family made her a fricassee which was "so contrary to my notion of Cookery, that I hastened to Bed supperless." Not

daring to venture through the river near the Providence ferry, Mrs. Knight had a young man take her across in a canoe that was so "small and shallow" she was "greatly terrified" she would land in the water (p. 92). Just before her return to Boston her horse "dropt down under me as Dead," and then as she headed over the bridge at Dedham the river overflowed nearly taking her and her new horse with it.

Mrs. Dwight complains of hard and dirty beds, sleeping on straw with a pillow containing "nearly a single handfull of feathers" (p. 17) and inn guests who sing her love songs and from whom she fears sexual assault. In central Pennsylvania a man came into her room and lay down next to her. "I lay for a quarter of an hour crying, & scolding & trembling, begging him to leave me" (p. 40). For protection she often slept in her clothes and in the same room as the couple with whom she was traveling. As to the conditions, from Chester to Mansfield, the New Jersey road was "the worst road you could imagine" being "rocky & so gullied, as to be almost impassible" (p. 13). She climbed mountains, crossed rivers, watched the horses get mired. All of these trials mirror a more secular world than Mary Rowlandson's. Although Rowlandson's trek is interpreted by the Lancaster minister's wife as a spiritual one, it included wading into the Baquaug River near Athol, Massachusetts, in winter. With water "up to the knees, and the stream very swift, and so cold that I thought it would cut me in sunder. I was so weak and feeble, that I reeled as I went along, and thought there I must end my days at last" (p. 51).

Both books provide introductory pieces to each narrative. *Journeys in New Worlds* offers notes, a bibliography after each piece, and, except for Trist's diary, maps. The book's sample of frontispieces, paintings, etchings, photographs, and copies of historical documents, along with its introductions, including the overview by William L. Andrews, are a plus. Legible contemporary maps would have been an improvement over the barely readable early maps. Other inconsistencies can be seen in the introductions and annotations. The most complex piece, Rowlandson's, as edited and introduced by Amy Shrager Lang, had the fewest notes and shortest bibliography. Lang's conclusions are taken from other scholars who are never footnoted but simply mentioned in the short bibliography, somewhat like an encyclopedia entry. A preferred ethnographic introduction to Rowlandson may be found in Alden Vaughan and Edward Clark's *Puritans among the Indians* (1981). Daniel B. Shea and Sargent Bush, Jr., have both provided excellent introductions, notes, and bibliography to Elizabeth Ashbridge's and Sarah Knight's work. Jay Gitlin's introduction to the Dwight journal is straightforward and unobtrusive. More bibliographical material would have helped, as would mountains and rivers on the otherwise useful map, but there are few qualms one can have with this edition. Surprisingly, on neither books' cover do we find the image of a woman!

Both of these books are part of the wider work of bringing forward an array of women's words from the early American past. All five pieces represent Anglo-American women, but even here, we hardly knew that such women had either voices or pens. With works like these more readily available we find they had both and more—they had eyes, daunting spirits, a keen sense of curiosity, and sometimes horses and canoes. To borrow John McPhee's words, they were an integral part of the experience of Europeans and Euro-Americans "Coming into the Country."

*University of Alaska, Anchorage*

JUNE NAMIAS

*Breaking the Bonds: Marital Discord in Pennsylvania, 1730-1830.* By MERRIL D. SMITH. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991. xv, 225p. Illustrations, tables, bibliography, index. \$40.00.)

Merril Smith looks back at an age when marriage and family were virtually synonymous with adulthood. Vacuous late twentieth-century political slogans about a "return to family values" would have made less sense to eighteenth-century Pennsylvanians, since marriage was the normal condition of free persons. But nearly universal marriage did not entail universal agreement on the nature of marriage, nor on the duties and responsibilities of wives and husbands. Neither, of course, did marriage necessarily produce happiness, satisfaction, or even security of life and limb. Conflict, hatred, and violence could all be part of married life.

One major source of conflict between 1730 and 1830, according to Smith, was a change in the perception of marriage. The older model of marriage, characterized by "patriarchal authority, wifely obedience, rigidly defined gender roles" and a "double standard of sexuality," was being replaced by a new view of marriage that "stressed love, companionship, a single standard of sexuality, and complementary gender roles" (p. 2). In particular, it was the shift in gendered expectations that produced stress in the period after the revolution. Women, more often than men, embraced romantic or companionate views of marriage and increasingly came to resent inequities in marriage. Men, who still bore the legal responsibility for supporting the family, often assumed that wives should defer to a husband's wishes. Differing expectations led to conflict. Smith examines legal documents, particularly the divorce records that begin in 1785, newspaper accounts, and the almshouse dockets. She does not look at religious records nor make extensive use of personal memoirs. This account of marital discord focuses on public and legal perceptions rather than on religious/ethnic differences or on private, personal reactions.



The 1785 divorce law required that there be an aggrieved party and a guilty party. The state would protect innocence and republican virtue. Unhappy spouses shaped their petitions to meet the law. Women filed 64 percent of the divorce petitions on the state level, 73 percent in rural Chester County. Three-quarters of the causes claimed by women included some combination of cruelty and/or desertion. Women could most successfully appear as innocent victims if their husbands failed to protect and support them. Adultery was claimed as grounds by more than three out of four men appealing for divorce, an indication of the strength of the ideal of female purity and obedience. The divorce law benefitted women by giving them more grounds for divorce, but it also enforced a double standard by expecting greater self-restraint.

Smith finds that the reality of marital discord was more complex than the simplified stories told to satisfy the courts. Both men and women were adulterers and bigamists, and passionlessness as an ideal had little impact on women's behavior. Both spouses could be abusers, could run away, could wreak economic havoc on family finances, but women more often suffered severe abuse, were less able to live on their own, were dependent on men's incomes. The full accounts of conflict were seldom the morality tales required by law, but were sordid, dreary affairs exacerbated by alcohol, fueled by vengeance on both sides, and complicated by the involvement of family and neighbors. And, lest the history of marital discord appear too modern, Smith discovers that sexual deviance, disputes over children or childrearing practices, and emotional or minor physical abuse were not considered important, while the "cruel and barbarous" treatment of a wife encompassed not only severe physical violence but also financial nonsupport. Companionate marriages were becoming dominant, but privacy was not available to most Pennsylvania couples, even by 1830.

This is a well-written description, rich in detail and filled with telling anecdotes. However, the theoretical framework is often derivative and lacking in nuance. Patriarchal marriage was not a single form but varied across nationalities and religions. Romantic love was, as Smith notes, middle class in origin, but workers had their own ideal of familial respectability. Most Pennsylvanians came from countries where ecclesiastical courts had governed marriage. Jacob Mittelberger noticed that this made Pennsylvania "hell for preachers and officials," but how about for troubled couples? Did they benefit or suffer from weaker religious discipline over marriage? How successful were the Quaker women's meetings in dealing with marital problems? Having an outline of the interaction of unhappily married couples with the legal system, we now need an analysis of the social, ethnic, religious, and racial contexts of Pennsylvania marriages.

*Home & Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.*  
By JEANNE BOYDSTON. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. xx, 222p. Bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This is a book about work and the valuing of work. The specific subject is the unpaid housework of women in colonial and antebellum (northeastern) America. Jeanne Boydston argues that the unremunerated labor of women in the home remained remarkably constant during the period in both content and intensity; that this labor, once highly esteemed, however, gradually lost all recognition. Boydston takes as her task the documentation of continuities in housework and an explanation of the changing and diminishing value placed on women's toil in the home.

Boydston covers familiar ground in describing the housework of women in the colonial era. With vivid examples drawn from diaries and letters she details women's labor from cleaning, cooking, and sewing to tending gardens and animals and making cheese, butter, cider, and beer. Women provided goods for direct family use and for local barter. Although essential figures in the family (and entire) economy, Boydston adds that their economic role did not translate into political or social power. The society remained patriarchal.

Boydston's portrait of housework in the antebellum period is more provocative. Nineteenth-century women in classic and recent scholarly renditions have been portrayed as having lost their economic functions. In an extremely picturesque chapter, Boydston succeeds in destroying this view. Housework lost none of its tedium or productive value. Urban middle-class women, even with hired domestic help, spent their days endlessly sewing and mending clothes, cleaning, laundering, preserving food, making candles, shopping, managing servants, and attending to child care. Urban working-class women did much the same, also for no direct compensation, but Boydston describes their other activities in hawking and scavenging and generally serving as bulwarks of the family. Farm women continued to maintain their basic productive roles.

The work of women in the home proved essential to family survival. Boydston even tries to affix a dollar value to their labors. She adds up the money saved by working-class families, had they purchased the goods and services provided by mothers and been without their purchasing and scavenging abilities, subtracts the costs of their upkeep, and concludes that families saved twice the amounts of money earned had mothers entered into paid employment outside the home. Those savings guaranteed basic family survival. The savings accumulated by middle-class women in their unremunerated housework, Boydston further contends, provided the surplus that allowed for home ownership, luxuries, savings, and investments. Boydston's data and accounting techniques are open to criticism, but clearly the unpaid work of women in the home represented a critical subsidy for the family economy.

The complete absence of acknowledgement of women's toil in the home—of women's material contribution to families—in mid-nineteenth-century America is a reality documented by Boydston, but it is also a conundrum for her. In the early colonial period, women's work in the home was esteemed and considered exactly what it was, work. By the time of the Civil War, this labor became invisible. Work was defined by paid employment and women's toil in the home was not deemed productive; their role was seen as upholders of the virtues and appearances of the home.

Boydston devotes a great portion of her text to explaining the changes in how women's work was valued, but here her presentation gets fuzzy. Boydston offers several answers, and the reader is left somewhat confused. First, she argues that women's housework was most respected when Americans remained communally oriented; their work upheld both family and society. With a breakdown in community ties, which she dates to the mid-eighteenth century, women's work came to be dismissed. (In a brief interlude during the American Revolution, women's work was once more recognized, again, as a contribution to the commonweal.) Later in the book, Boydston attributes the change to the coming of the wage system, when economic activity was defined strictly in market terms, to the power of the ideology of domesticity that came to the fore in the 1830s and 1840s (which the author sees more as agent than reflection of change), to male workers who organized to elevate the status and rewards of their wage labor, and finally to the imperatives of the capitalist order.

Boydston's veering answers provide for some unease, as does her use of evidence; she largely relies on the writings of elites to determine changing values, and their representativeness is a problem. Greater attention to how wage labor came to be envisioned as the ideal is also in order. Still, Boydston's study of housework stands out in the recent and growing literature on the subject for the details she provides but more so for the profound questions she raises about the valuing of labor.

*University of Pennsylvania*

WALTER LICHT

*The American Dream of Captain John Smith.* By J.A. LEO LEMAY. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1991. xi, 287p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Leo Lemay sets the tone of this book when he announces that he is "an apologist for Smith—precisely because I do not think that he needs any apology. I admire him wholeheartedly" (p. 14). Such unequivocal hero worship is both rare and dangerous in modern historical scholarship, and despite Professor Lemay's considerable reputation within the field of early American literature, he has produced a flawed and unorthodox panegyric tribute to Captain John Smith that is unworthy of either author or subject. Lemay's exaggerated claims

and near-hysterical defensiveness about the “awesome achievements” of his hero—“the greatest single founder of the English colonies in America” (pp. 226-27)—mark this troubling work as more fawning hagiography than critical biography.

*The American Dream* is a shockingly bad book from so heralded a scholar—overly personalized and opinionated, sophomoric, derivative, poorly written, and weighted down with intrusive quotations to satisfy every minute point of the author’s self-perceived originality and importance (“no one has gathered so much evidence, and no one has perceived the depth of Smith’s radical dream for the future America,” p. 16). Rather than write a chronological narrative of Smith’s life and times, Lemay devotes separate thematic chapters to an evaluation of his diverse talents as thinker and doer—constantly asserting, ad nauseam, that he was often the first and usually “the greatest.” Smith was “not only the greatest colonist and explorer of early America, he was also its greatest visionary”; he was “the greatest seventeenth-century American master” of exotic adventure tales, “wrote the greatest seventeenth-century promotion literature,” and for good measure, was “the first American environmentalist” (pp. 15-16). After a few chapters of being bludgeoned by outrageous overstatement, the reader feels that Smith could have walked across the Atlantic—but does not really care if he had. Lemay gushes that Smith was an “amazingly considerate” man of “very noble character” (p. 225)—“the most courageous, industrious, persevering, skilled, benevolent, and humane person in early Virginia” (p. 112)—who, as “Christendom’s most renowned warrior” (p. 21) and “only democratically elected governor of colonial Virginia” (p. 226), fulfilled “the heroic roles of both the European Renaissance and the American frontiersman” (p. 4).

Why does Lemay set aside the judicious standards of objective, mature scholarship for the kind of “wholehearted admiration” that would be unacceptable from the most naive undergraduate? Smith’s historical significance is not in doubt, and unlike the subjects in some of Lemay’s earlier and more original works, he is certainly not obscure. The author’s hyperbolic praise seems to compensate for the fact that he was not the first to realize or publicize Smith’s influential role in the colonization of America (Philip L. Barbour’s 1964 biography is still the best). Most importantly, though, Lemay has abandoned impartiality to become a shrill ideological torchbearer for an untarnished, traditional version of “the American Dream” predating political correctness, in which democratic, capitalistic, and individualistic desires supplant the privileged English class system to create a New World paradise of limitless opportunity for self-made idealistic pragmatists.

Lemay is overly defensive and wrathful toward the recent ethnohistorical revisionists in this era of Columbus-bashing who have dared to challenge and chastise Smith and other European colonizers for their ruthless treatment of American Indians. That Smith was less cruel and more insightful in his dealings

with the Powhatan Indians is well known and generally accepted, but that is not good enough for Lemay. The author decries the "post-Vietnam judgment of colonialism and a *modern scrupulosity regarding human rights*" (pp. 13-14, my italics), and he forgives the slaughter of "savage" Indians (p. 225), because it was necessary for constructing a "future great empire" (p. 227), according to the Eurocentric belief that "progress was inexorable" (p. 12). With some tortured logic, Lemay fashions Smith into an unprejudiced, "kindly humanitarian" (p. 225) who "prized all human life" (p. 116) and became the Indians' "best friend among the whites" (p. 225). He excuses Smith for aggressiveness against the Powhatans, arguing that he should be judged according to the standards of his own times, not ours, and yet he praises Smith for his foresighted and "radical" challenge to the Elizabethan class system, which presaged the American Revolution. Constantly condemning others as "ahistorical" and biased ideologues, Lemay is the pot that called the kettle black.

Throughout this book, the author makes reference to the motto on Smith's coat of arms—"to conquer is to live"—without a blush of introspective misgiving that non-white native peoples have always suffered subjugation or slaughter in order for expansionistic Western empires (and hard-working Christian Caucasians) to enjoy capitalistic success throughout the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Until we realize that European colonization was the original provocation and that it was the Indians who were reacting in self-defense, right-wing apologists will glorify Smith's beheading of the three Turks and long for a Rambo-like hero to bring back the "good old days" of American militarism. John Smith and the discerning public deserve better than this book, and the University Press of Virginia should be ashamed for permitting an author's stature and reputation to blind them to mediocrity—which, ironically, was the major flaw in the English class system that so vexed Smith and prompted his vision of a new "American Dream" in the first place.

*University of Missouri, St. Louis*

J. FREDERICK FAUSZ

Reply to J. Frederick Fausz's review of *The American Dream of Captain John Smith*

Scholars have censured Captain John Smith since the Civil War. Following Henry Adams's South-baiting 1867 attack, most historians from that day to the present have believed that Smith lied about Pocahontas saving him. I refute that charge in *Did Pocahontas Save Captain John Smith?*, which appeared in December 1992 from the University of Georgia Press. In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, cartographers said that he could not have

made the maps of the Chesapeake Bay and the New England coast because they were so good. Of course modern cartographers acknowledge that he did create those maps and that they were the best available for over half a century. From 1890 to about 1960, historians nearly universally believed that he lied about his Eastern European experiences. During the 1960s, after impartial scholarship proved him a truthful reporter of his Middle Eastern career, a new and more terrible accusation appeared. He was a white male English soldier and colonizer who came to America.

Alas, Smith has small chance of an impartial hearing against the moral outrage of some present-day scholars. (I examine the charges of five such historians, including J. Frederick Fausz, in *The American Dream of Captain of John Smith*.) They ignore Smith's friendly relations with individual Indians, his sympathetic reporting of Indian culture, his repeatedly saving Indian lives from other Indians and whites, and his numerous successful attempts to reconcile warring Indian tribes—only to bitterly condemn him for defending himself against Indians who were attempting to kill him. Trying to vindicate Smith from what seem to be to be biased charges, I devote part of the introduction and two of the nine chapters of my book to his interactions with Indians.

Since little was said about the contents of *The American Dream of Captain John Smith*, I happily seize this opportunity to report that it analyzes the writings, character, ideals, and immediate influences of Smith. My main thesis argues that Smith was, for his day, a radically advanced social thinker who prized and tried to uphold human dignity for all people. He hoped to found a new social order in America—one that would reward the achievements of the individual and would eschew the feudalism and social hierarchy that characterized English and European society. He popularized and developed his radical message from 1608 to his death.

Three minor speculative arguments especially pleased me. Smith named the "James" River the "Powhatan" River in his writings and on his map after the whites generally called it the "James" River. He persevered in what he perceived as justice to the great Indian overlord by retaining the name in later editions of his Chesapeake Bay area map long after the "James" became commonly accepted. Two other speculative arguments concerned the 1630 founders of Massachusetts. Like the 1620 Plymouth Colony leaders, the Massachusetts Bay Colony leaders consulted Smith, read his pamphlets and books, and took them and his maps to New England (his brilliant name for the area). I give reasons for thinking (though it remains a subject for scholarly debate) that the leaders took their charter to New England because of Smith's oft-repeated statement that the colonists on the spot were better able to judge what was necessary for themselves than a group of stay-at-home Englishmen. I also argue that John Winthrop's famous *Arbella* sermon, which maintained that the social system should and would remain the same in America as it had been in England,

replied to the hopes and aspirations that Smith had inspired concerning the possibilities of a non-feudal, new social order in the New World. It was Smith's vision, not John Winthrop's, that peopled the New World.

For those who might want to read positive appraisals of *The American Dream of Captain John Smith*, 1992 assessments appeared in the *Journal of American History*, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the *North Carolina Historical Review*, and the *Southern Quarterly*. No doubt other favorable reviews, as well as additional "politically correct" ones, will appear in 1993. I knew that the scholars I challenged and corrected would be among the logical ones asked to review my book, and I supposed (human nature being what it is) that they would condemn it. But I believe that my reevaluation of Smith will, to most impartial historians, be convincing. I especially hope that, in the future, Smith historiography will see my two books on Smith as leading to a new and fuller understanding and appreciation of his contributions.

*University of Delaware*

J.A. LEO LEMAY

*Shipbuilding at Cramp & Sons: A History and Guide to Collections of the William Cramp & Sons Ship and Engine Building Company (1830-1927) and the Cramp Shipbuilding Company (1941-46) of Philadelphia.* By GAIL E. FARR and BRETT F. BOSTWICK with MERVILLE WILLIS. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1991. Illustrations, tables, bibliography. \$5.00 shipping fee.)

*John Lenthall, Naval Architect: A Guide to Plans and Drawings of American Naval and Merchant Vessels 1790-1874.* By GAIL E. FARR and BRETT F. BOSTWICK. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1991. Illustrations, tables, bibliography. \$5.00 shipping fee.)

Published simultaneously and laid out along similar lines, these guidebooks of 50-60 pages describe two separate collections of pictorial and archival materials, most of it on loan to the Philadelphia Maritime Museum from the Franklin Institute and the Atwater Kent Museum. Each book provides detailed historical background, comprehensive descriptions of the collections themselves, with brief ship histories (and published references to them), listings of other repositories of primary source materials, extensive bibliographies, and indexes of ship names or serial hull numbers. Each volume is also well-illustrated with images from the collections. All of this sounds much drier than it is; actually, the text is dense yet easily absorbed.

Son of a shipwright superintendent at the Washington Navy Yard, John Lenthall (1807-1882) also followed the sea. His professional career began around

1827 as an Assistant Constructor at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. He gradually worked his way through the U.S. naval architectural ranks, serving as Constructor at the Philadelphia Navy Yard (1838-1849), Chief Naval Constructor for the Navy (1849-1853), Chief of the U.S. Bureau of Construction, Equipment and Repairs (1853-1871), and then head of its successor agency, the U.S. Bureau of Construction and Repair (1863-1871). During his career, he oversaw the construction of several significant warships, including the frigate *Merrimack* (1855), lesser known as the Civil War Confederate ironclad CSS *Virginia*. He also witnessed and supervised the U.S. Navy's transition from sail to steam, paddlewheel to propeller, and wood to iron shipbuilding. As a connoisseur, Lenthall collected about 500 ship plans and drawings from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries—mostly American, but also a few British and French designs. His career-related library numbered over 360 publications dating from 1707 to 1882; in 1874 he donated his entire collection to the Franklin Institute, where he had been a member since 1836.

The Cramp shipbuilding firm lasted from 1830 to 1946 in one form or another. Under the direction of founder William Cramp (1807-1879), son of a Delaware Valley boatbuilder, the firm grew during the mid-nineteenth century, building clipper ships and smaller wooden vessels. The Civil War saw the entry of Cramp's sons into the business, which won eight navy contracts. The company fell victim to the general decline in American shipbuilding in the postwar years, but determination, foresight, and proximity to Pennsylvania's large coal reserves, which attracted engine and boiler makers to the region, led to Cramp's decision to combine shipbuilding with engine making. Successfully navigating the transition from wood to iron shipbuilding, the firm withstood foreign competition and other negative forces. The naval reconstruction of 1883 and various wars saw the company into the twentieth century, peaking during World War I when about 10,000 employees built fifty-five ships. Shortly after the war the company passed out of family hands. The yard was closed from 1927 to 1940. World War II caused its reopening, but in 1946 it closed for good. As the authors point out, the company represents not only a shipbuilding concern, but also an example of corporate Philadelphia and the American defense industry in general.

Many of Cramp's business records were lost or destroyed, but some 2,300 ship design plans (1872-1927) and 1,900 photographs (1888-1945) survived to form the collections preserved today. Checklists at the back of the guidebook inventory the documentation and historical artifacts as well.

These guides should serve as paradigms for similar ventures by other museums; both the Philadelphia Maritime Museum and the Pew Charitable Trusts, which funded the project, should be commended for producing them. Much of the data contained in the guides has been entered into a database at the PMM as well as the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) system, where it will be accessible to scholars internationally. The guides are available for the



price of postage—virtually unparalleled in this age of expensive publications. Hopefully, the Franklin Institute and the Atwater Kent Museum will make their ten-year loans of these two collections to the PMM permanent.

*Smithsonian Institution*

PAUL FORSYTHE JOHNSTON

*A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815.*

By GREGORY EVANS DOWD. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. xxiv, 261p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$24.95.)

This well-researched book provides a synopsis of the political strategies developed by Eastern Woodland Indians during a critical period of Anglo-American expansion. It eschews a tribal-centered approach in order to emphasize how Delawares, Shawnees, Cherokees, and other Indians forged a "new intertribal identity" (p. 16). Key to this pan-Indian project was a religious "doctrine" that accounted for colonial power relations. Native prophets "explained" that Indians had lost political power because "they had failed in their commitments to the sacred powers" (p. 19). Using reverse logic, prophets concluded that if Indians became pure again, they would regain sacred power and together could contain the Anglo-American invasion. Because this doctrine projected a native solution to problems facing Indians, Dowd calls it "nativism."

The prophetic attempt to unite all Indian peoples from without had the paradoxical result of "dividing their own peoples from within" (p. xviii). The most hostile reaction came from Indian leaders committed to exchange with Anglo-Americans. Dowd labels the latter "accommodationists." Portraying them as more impressed with "firepower" than "sacred power," he implies they were not as religious as the nativists. This contradicts the book's convincing argument that Native-American religions were persistent and pervasive among all major Indian groups, and ignores the evidence that warriors fighting against nativists performed sacred rites of purification before and after battles.

Dowd tracks the nativist tradition to origins among the Delawares in the mid-eighteenth century. Earlier prophetic movements, such as the Powhatan revolts of 1622 and 1644 and the Natchez revolt of 1729, are not examined. In general, southeastern peoples are portrayed as importers of the separatist tradition, with Shawnees serving as the indispensable middlemen between North and South. Discounting the religious underpinnings of the Cherokee Chickamauga resistance movement of the 1770s, Dowd argues that nativism was eclipsed during the revolutionary era because it became redundant. Great numbers of Indians needed no appeals to the "Great Spirit" to justify opposition to Americans. Would-be neutralists were driven by violent American attacks to join the nativists.

And accommodationists for once found it prudent to unite with nativists. Such unity was short-lived. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, accommodationists affiliated with Americans in order to reap financial reward mediated through the annuity system. This allowed nativism to surface again, this time in an extreme form among the Shawnees in the North and the Creek Redsticks in the South. Far from leading to Indian unity, this terminal phase of nativism produced unprecedented levels of internal violence—"witch-hunts" and civil wars—and culminated in terrible Indian defeats.

If the book tends to locate religious influence too exclusively in the camp of the nativists, it also presents a cramped view of Native-American religion. The aesthetic, symbolic, social, and dramaturgical sides of religion are downplayed, while the cognitive and moral dimensions of religion are overemphasized. Although myths and rites provided men, women, and children, with great pleasure, intense narrative excitement, numerous opportunities for conviviality and thanksgiving, and crucial occasions for symbolic display and social ranking, in Dowd's presentation greatest weight is placed on the explanatory function of religion. Nativism is reduced to a quasi-rationalistic theory of causation. The reader must wonder how something so bloodless as a "doctrine" or "theology of separatism" (p. 44) could have inspired thousands of men and women to risk their lives. A fuller analysis of religion's multiple dimensions would help account for the prophets' popular support.

Despite its limitations, this is an impressive book. Tracking the career of a tradition of religion-based resistance, the book makes a provocative contribution to the field of colonial political history.

*Franklin and Marshall College*

JOEL W. MARTIN

*The Riddle of Amish Culture.* By DONALD B. KRAYBILL. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. xii, 304p. Tables, figures, illustrations, appendixes, select bibliography, index. Cloth, \$35.00; paper, \$8.95.)

Kraybill's study of the Amish is a welcome addition to the growing literature on that fascinating sectarian folk group. The book fills a niche long empty, mediating between the scholarly sociology of Hostetler's classic *Amish Society* and the sometimes silly tourist materials available at any roadside stand in "Amish Country." Kraybill is writing for the intelligent general audience, but the book has also become a staple on local library reading lists and in college syllabuses.

The format Kraybill chose for his work is unusual. Like a religious text, he begins with exegesis, moves to catechism, and ends with a sermon. He makes interesting use of the catechism by posing questions in the form of riddles about Amish culture to point up the paradoxes and discrepancies that outsiders "see." It is a clever method for dealing with what others might call "Common Misconceptions about the Amish," or worse, "Myths of Amish Life." Using chapter

titles such as "The Riddle of Technology" or "The Riddle of Separation," Kraybill creates a history and ethnography of modern Amish life.

Beginning with a traditional explanation of Anabaptist history, the book quickly moves on to an introductory ethnography (entitled "The Quiltwork of Amish Culture") where the immediate external appearance of the Amish is connected to the Amish virtue of *Gelassenheit*, submission to the community. Subsequent chapters explore Amish separation from the world, religious beliefs and practices, and children's socialization and schooling. It is only in chapter seven that Kraybill begins to answer the riddles surrounding the Amish love/hate relationship with technology and progress.

Kraybill's research methods are generally appropriate, although he occasionally lapses into undocumented claims, such as his comments about mirrors and the importance of the self (p. 29). The bibliography is quite good, and Kraybill's knowledge of the field unquestionable. Still, the book has problems.

The structure of the book is innovative, even elegant, but it may render the study "difficult" for the average reader who, if my students and reading-group friends are any measure (and I think they are), has trouble with unusual structural patterns. Though hardly impossible to use, the book is a bit difficult to teach, especially with average students. Adding to its difficulty, the book's metaphors are not sustained. For example the quilt metaphor disappears quickly, leaving lots of unrealized potential behind. The promised structural principle of the book—the riddle—does not appear until relatively late in the book, and it is at times strained. The worst confusions arise, however, in the final chapter, "A Dialogue with Modernity," in which the writer has assumed the persona of an Amish preacher defending his lifestyle against the forces of the World. The sermon relies heavily on elaborate comparisons between Amish and Moderns structured in a series of parallel sentences. The sermon takes its form from American folk preaching as described by Bruce A. Rosenberg in *The Art of the American Folk Preacher*, or Elaine J. Lawless in *God's Peculiar People or Handmaidens of the Lord*, and it is certainly in the Anabaptist style. But the unwary reader, perhaps unaccustomed to the folk sermon, may be inclined to accept it as rigorous social science, which, of course, it is not.

The book's sketchy treatment of women also disappointed me. Though Kraybill has certainly taken pains to include some women's voices, he seems to have given little consideration to the existence of Amish women's culture. Given Amish women's deference to men, particularly to respected outsiders, I suppose it would have been almost impossible for a male researcher to have access to that arena. As a well-trained analyst of culture, Kraybill should at least have indicated an awareness of its presence and vitality. Certainly there is no lack of excellent models for analyzing women's culture in male-dominated society. I do wish Kraybill had used his considerable talent to discuss women's roles in American agrarian culture (the magnificent works of Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

come immediately to mind) and perhaps even to discuss women's subcultures under religiously maintained repression. Anthropologists like Susan Schaefer Davis, *Patience and Power*, and Lila Abu-Lugod, *Veiled Sentiments*, have produced model studies of women in Moslem culture who bear a striking resemblance to women in Amish culture.

All in all, however, the book provides an accessible introduction to Amish life. If it is used with care, and perhaps supplemented with alternative material, it works.

*Harrisburg Area Community College*

YVONNE J. MILSPAWE

*Early American Methodism*. By RUSSELL E. RICHEY. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991. xix, 137p. Appendixes, index. \$25.00.)

Only a generation ago when the typical American historian thought of American religious history, such topics as New England Puritanism, or the Quakers of colonial Pennsylvania, or the Burned Over District of New York came to mind. If religion in the South was considered—as it seldom was—the most likely topics were stereotyped versions of snake handlers or the anti-evolutionists in Dayton, Tennessee. Southern religious history was stunningly underdeveloped, featuring little of the kind of intellectual analysis one associated with Perry Miller or the new species of social history then represented by New England town histories. But this has now all changed, and this brief book suggests some of the fruits of that historiographical shift.

Building on the insights of historians like Rhys Issac and Donald Matthews, and conversant with modern scholarship that is particularly concerned with the nuance of language and self-expression, author Russell E. Richey examines the now familiar topic of the rise of Methodism in the United States and shows us hitherto unsuspected facets. Imagine an expert taking a replica of a Greek or Chinese vase from your shelf and, holding and turning it, showing you detail after detail that you had noticed but never really seen; again and again telling you the significance, the symbolism, of a motif or feature. As a result you would then understand that vase with a new level of sophistication and perhaps you would be able to place it in a broad aesthetic continuum spanning centuries and leaping across geographical barriers. Let that imaginary art expert be a metaphor for church historian Richey as he carefully examines early Methodist history and points out unsuspected richness and meaning to those of us who thought we knew the topic well.

With sensitivity and care we are shown the salient features of their faith as devout Methodists no doubt experienced it. We sense their commitment to

"community, fraternity, and order." We come to see the quarterly conference as more than a bureaucratic mechanism and more as an arena for fellowship, piety, revival, and sense of corporate self-identification. We understand how the quarterly conference changed over time, in part replaced by the camp meeting. We come to see how the early Methodists defined their nation, not as a nation state but as what they called Zion. We come more fully to appreciate how American Methodism was given an indelible southern cast by virtue of its origins in the Chesapeake region. Perhaps we have overvalued the influence of New England Puritanism on the national historical experience and underappreciated the Methodist—and southern—influence. And Professor Richey helps us to see how the Methodists used a special vocabulary both to define themselves and express their mission.

It is not that we have all been completely unaware of these points before, but we have not seen them in their fullness. One occasionally has the suspicion that, like many enthusiasts, the putative art expert and the real-life religious historian may exaggerate the uniqueness of a particular theme, may overstate a point, may profess to see a significance that begs proof. Not every nuance is either notable or unique. And the larger contours of American Methodist history remain unchanged. But this little book—the text is only ninety-seven pages—is deceptively big interpretatively, and the reader will never look at the vase the same way again. This volume is further evidence that southern religious history has come of age.

*Rice University*

JOHN B. BOLES

*The Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson.* By GARRETT WARD SHELDON. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. x, 174p. Appendix, index. \$28.00.)

*Thomas Jefferson Passionate Pilgrim: The Presidency, the Founding of the University, and the Private Battle.* By ALF J. MAPP, JR. (New York and London: Madison Books, 1991. xvi, 445p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

Two new works appeared in time for the 250th anniversary this year of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. Books by Alf J. Mapp and Garrett Ward Sheldon add to an already large number of studies, yet both differ widely in their approach, themes, methods, and intended audience.

Sheldon's book on Jefferson's political philosophy is aimed at a reading audience familiar with the scholarly debate on the influence of Lockean liberalism or classical republicanism on thought and behavior in the early republic, and specifically on Jefferson himself. While the early scholarship of Carl Becker, Dumas Malone, Gilbert Chinard, and Adrienne Koch saw Jefferson as the

archetypal Lockean, with his devotion to liberal and modern enlightenment ideas, by the 1960s this view was challenged. It was challenged by those of the classical republican paradigm initiated by J.G.A. Pocock and others who argue that Jefferson was more influenced by the writing of several nonliberal philosophers, including Aristotle, Cicero, Machiavelli, and James Harrington. Arguing that Jefferson's philosophy reflected these influences, it is claimed that "The American Revolution was not a struggle for Lockean rights and limited liberal government, but a nostalgic battle for the preservation of republican principles threatened by a corrupt financial empire" (p. 6-7). Thus the founding of the nation was not rooted in Lockean modernism, but rather in ancient social, spiritual, and nostalgic public virtue.

Particularly valuable for historians is Sheldon's essay on the historiographical debate on the republican paradigm. It traces the history of the idea, the nuances of interpretation, and places his own work within the context of discussion. For example, he takes exception to the interpretation of Gordon Wood who, in the *Creation of the American Republic*, suggests that a dominant classical republicanism during the Revolution gave way to Lockean influences in the writing of the Constitution. For Jefferson, Sheldon argues, the pattern was reversed. He claims that Thomas Jefferson was Lockean in the Revolutionary period and classical in the early republic. Clearly, he sides with more recent scholars who see elements of both the Lockean and the classical republican tradition in operation. This is a valuable book, one that will appeal to specialists in the field. But even specialists may continue to wonder how Jefferson's changing political philosophy was reflected in his behavior and actions.

Alf Mapp's *Passionate Pilgrim*, written for a general audience, is the second volume of his two-volume study of Jefferson's life. This book starts with Jefferson's presidency, continues through the founding of the University of Virginia, and ends with his retirement years and death. While Sheldon is concerned with Jefferson as a man of thought and philosophical reflection, Mapp takes the opposite approach. Arguing that Jefferson was much more likely to be swayed by passion rather than reason, he comments, "Anyone who tries to fit him to the procrustean bed of the quintessential 'Man of Reason' will either quit in frustration or distort the reality of the man beyond recognition" (p. 218). Mapp is quick to point out the difficulties of categorizing Jefferson, but he explains that it was Jefferson's emotions and passion for liberty that marked the distinguishing aspects of his life. It explains, he contends, Jefferson's ordering of accomplishments to be engraved on his tombstone: author of the Declaration of Independence, author of the Virginia statute for religious freedom, and founder of the University of Virginia.

It is the last of these three accomplishments that is covered in this volume. Jefferson's efforts to design, build, devise a curriculum, and choose a faculty for the University of Virginia is one of the most richly charted accounts to be

found. Jefferson emphasized the value of education as an instrument of freedom, and to this end he devoted his retirement years.

Passion or emotion also influenced other aspects of his life, which sometimes worked for the good, other times for ill. Emotion led him as president to condone violations of civil liberties in General Wilkinson's activities and to speak out unwisely during the trial of Aaron Burr. Sentiment rather than reason caused him to build Monticello on a mountain whose poor soil was not capable of supporting him. Sentiment, too, led him to a satisfying renewal of his friendship with John Adams.

In Mapp we not only find a passionate Jefferson but an active one. Rich in detail and engagingly written, this volume fully examines Jefferson's presidency. It shows that Jefferson as president was much less a strict constructionist than Jefferson the governor and much more flexible than Jefferson the presidential candidate. It argues that his first year as president foreshadowed the pragmatic achievements of the following seven. Many of them had long-range consequences. Moreover, acquiring Louisiana, the Lewis and Clark expedition, the dispatch of forces to Tripoli to fight Barbary blackmail and terrorism were all done at some risk to his political future. But Mapp is not all laudatory. He agrees with those claiming that Jefferson did not move quickly enough toward military preparedness, as the emergency warranted after the *Chesapeake* Affair, and acknowledges that his sponsorship of the Embargo Act proved to be unpopular. Yet on the whole Jefferson emerges very favorably in Mapp's analysis.

As we consider these two works within the context of the 250th anniversary of Jefferson's birth, we should be reminded of the famous 1786 Jefferson letter to Maria Cosway. There he included his now famous "Dialogue of Head and Heart," wherein each were competing for dominance in him over the other. Since that time some writers have seen the rational Jefferson, others the passionate Jefferson. At this anniversary year we have that tradition continuing in two fine examples representing both views.

*Dickinson College*

CHARLES A. JARVIS

*Fernando Wood: A Political Biography.* By JEROME MUSHKAT. (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1990. 323p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

Fernando Wood was much in the news in the nineteenth century, but he has been largely forgotten in the twentieth. Jerome Mushkat has written a political biography of Wood in hopes of creating a niche for Wood in the present that reflects his newsworthiness in the past. Mushkat is forthcoming in

his admission that Wood was a man of "deep moral flaws" who reneged on political and financial commitments alike, a duplicitous and devious opportunist preoccupied for much of his career with his own political fortunes. Why does such a man deserve a political biography?

Wood had two political careers: the first as mayor of New York City and the second as a member of Congress. Wood made most of his headlines as mayor. Elected first as a candidate of Tammany Hall and twice as head of his own Democratic organization, Mozart Hall, Wood was the first urban boss. He was an innovator both in local party organization and in local public policy. In the wake of impressive nativist political organization at the polls, Wood helped immigrant communities control neighborhood school boards and defended Catholic teachers when they refused to use the King James Bible. In the depression following the Panic of 1857, when "work or bread" was demanded from City Hall, Wood proposed relief measures. He was not simply a demagogue; he also befriended the city's business community and (surely with his own real estate in mind) supported the development of infrastructure and mass transit as the city expanded. Finally, in battles with reformers, Wood argued, like a good boss, for the importance of centralized administration and a powerful chief executive. For these achievements, Mushkat claims Wood as a Progressive. I am not sure what reading of Progressivism or Wood makes this plausible, but it is surely not persuasive. Wood is better viewed as a nineteenth-century Richard Daley—although Daley was more honest.

Wood's second political career was in Congress, from 1863 until his death in 1881. In his long career in the House, Wood secured some important positions, eventually becoming chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. Wood's legislative achievements were few. As a Democrat, and sometime Peace Democrat, in a period of Republican dominance, his situation was never promising. Both in the chapters on Wood's years in the House and in New York City politics, the author conveys the role of the national party as the organizing institution, not only for determining positions on national policy questions but also for fund raising, political campaigns, and individual careers. Wood and his colleagues did not have careers in Congress as such; they (and members of state legislatures and city councils) had careers in the Party.

There are some mistakes. When Mushkat claims that unemployed workers in New York in 1857 had "whipp[ed] themselves into a frenzy of radicalism," he is just plain wrong. Wood had a better feel for popular politics than his biographer. Mushkat is at his best when he chronicles the strategies, negotiations, and shifting coalitions of politicians with one another, as in his excellent *Tammany Hall*, and his description of Democratic politics in the 1860s and 1870s in *Fernando Wood*.



*A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774.* By MICHAEL N. MCCONNELL. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. xii, 357p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$40.00.)

The upper Ohio Valley occupied a pivotal role in the "French and Indian wars" and has figured prominently in histories of colonial conflict, frontier expansion, and Indian warfare. But a useful portrayal of the Indian people who inhabited the region in the tumultuous half century before the American Revolution has been a long time coming. Historians of Anglo-French rivalry in North America have too often explained the Indians' involvement by conveniently assigning them as allies to the main protagonists: the Iroquois of New York supported the British and the Algonquian tribes of the Great Lakes region sided with the French. The various tribes and splinter-tribes in the Ohio Valley defy easy categorization, and so their region is usually characterized as a war zone, where Anglo-French armies and Indian allies fight, rather than a place where people live and try to maintain order in their world.

Michael McConnell has gone a long way toward rescuing the upper Ohio Valley and its native inhabitants from this marginal obscurity, and in so doing he enriches our appreciation of the complexity of colonial and frontier America. Placing the upper Ohio Valley in the center of his historical stage, he brings a fresh perspective and helps to show that the region was a cultural borderland as well as an imperial battleground. He explains how Delawares, Shawnees, and Senecas, moving west in response to European-induced changes occurring farther east, resettled the region in the early eighteenth century and constructed new societies there. Wyandots, Miamis, Ottawas, Piankeshaws, and others also inhabited or impinged upon the area. Continuing movements and dislocations produced villages of increased interethnic composition. European diseases, trade goods, and religions exerted far-reaching impacts in Indian communities, while continuing European pressures accelerated trends towards intertribal responses. Demonstrating how people confronted the challenges of living between competing colonies and empires, McConnell examines a kaleidoscope of relationships between Ohio Indians and Britain, France, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Six Nations Iroquois. He shows that the pretensions of the French, the British, and the Six Nations rarely translated into real influence in the upper valley where local concerns and regional loyalties held sway. Clear and informative maps enhance the narrative.

McConnell tries to construct his story from the perspective of the Indian people who lived in the Ohio Valley, not an easy task since so many of the sources he has to use come from the desks of colonial officials in Quebec or Philadelphia. In the detailed narrative of international, interethnic, and intervillage politics he provides, it is refreshing to see men like Scarouady, Tanaghrisson,

Shingas, Tamaqua, and Custaloga play leading roles, while colonial soldiers and officials stand closer to the peripheries of this world of wampum and calumet diplomacy.

The conclusion surveying developments between Lord Dunmore's War and 1815 is thin and gives the book a rather weak ending. Nevertheless, McConnell's comprehensive exploration of fifty critical years of Indian history in the upper Ohio Valley adds significantly to the growing scholarly reinterpretation of the region's story. Along with books like Francis Jennings's *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (1984), Helen Tanner's *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (1987), and Richard White's *Middle Ground* (1991), *A Country Between* allows us to better understand what was going on in the area and to see that the Indian people living there were doing more than occupying the margins of someone else's history.

*University of Wyoming*

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