
Self-styled "Tennis-ball of Fortune," William Moraley was, by his own account, "not easily cast down by Adversity." Indeed, he seems always to have been "wait[ing] for a Trump Card to repay me what I had lost" (p. 108). Perhaps he hoped that by publishing The Infortunate: Or, the Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, Of Moraley, in the County of Northumberland, Gent. he could, in 1743, recoup the losses he spent a lifetime accumulating, first as a law clerk in London, where he "did little else but vapour about the Streets, with my Sword by my Side[,]... pursuing the Pleasures of the Town" (p. 45) and then, disinherit, as an indentured servant—a "Voluntary Slave" (p. 64)—in the Middle Colonies. Or perhaps he simply wished to exonerate himself before more modest middling neighbors in Newcastle who assisted him so as to keep him from destitution during the last two decades of his life. His memoir, part fact and probably much fiction, was printed "for the author," so Moraley likely reaped little monetary reward for his endeavors beyond the satisfaction of seeing himself gain some little reputation in the absence of the acclaim and the social status he seems to have longed for most of his life.

The memoir is a bumpy, rollicking, and at times poignant account of an "infortunate" watchmaker whose trade, in the constricted marketplaces of London, Burlington (New Jersey), and Newcastle was relatively unneeded. Moraley seems to have worked out a suitable amount of his indenture to Isaac Pearson, Burlington clockmaker, then agreed to an indenture in Philadelphia with watchmaker Edmund Lewis (whose employ he left) and then with William Graham. When Graham departed for the Caribbean, Moraley again became a masterless man in a trade that was, Moraley knew, "of little Service to the Americans; the useful Trades being, Bricklayers, Shoemakers, Barbers, Carpenters, Joiners, Smiths, Weavers, Bakers, Tanners, and Husbandmen" (p. 52). So Moraley roamed the streets "like a Roving Tartar, for the Convenience of Grazing" (p. 110) and then the countryside (through New Jersey to New York) for about twenty months, serving as a blacksmith here (he found the work arduous), a tinker there (he was evidently all thumbs at this), a soldier (he claims), and a servant to a Spaniard (did he think he would be believed?). Early into his "Grazing" period, he evidently agreed to marry a woman he calls "an ugly old
Maid, who had got good store of Pewter and Brass,” but the match was off when his “Acquaintances” got hold of and sold the gold ring the woman gave him to confirm the promise of betrothal (p. 110). The corrective to this scoundrelly behavior was hunger. Moraley reports that, “People’s Good-nature beginning to cool,” he decided he would have to return to London; he “look’d the Picture of bad Luck, and so thin, that you might have seen my Ribs through my Skin, and I was greatly afraid of Consumption” (p. 111). But more adventures came his way before he set sail for Britain.

Reporting that he could “never hear a Dun with Patience” (p. 113-14) and having a few creditors to flee, Moraley had to keep moving from place to place. By his account, however, even this moving about afforded him some pleasure, for he reports that “the hospitable Inhabitants dispence their Favours to the Traveller, the poor and Needy. I have travelled some Hundreds of Miles at no Expense, Meat and Drink being bestowed upon all the subjects of Great Britain; for they strive to out-do one another in Works of good Nature and Charity. In short, it is the best poor Man’s Country in the World; and, I believe, if this was sufficiently known by the miserable Objects we have in our Streets, Multitudes would be induced to go thither” (p. 88-89).

The clear vacillation in the narrative between the images of trials and tribulations in the colonies and those of horns-a’plenty mark the memoir’s wonderfully provocative texture. The forces Moraley at times calls “Dame Fortune” (p. 50) and at times “God’s good providence” (p. 135) are always contending with an “inner” self that Moraley would like to hold responsible for his behaviors. Indeed, after a dutiful avowal of “Truth,” the book begins with a pious self-castigating insistence that this exemplary tale should indicate to others what not to do: the story is “compos’d,” Moraley says, “not only to reflect on the unhappy State of Life I was reduced to by my Inconsideration, but to persuade Mankind, that the only Way to avoid the like Difficulties, is to take care how they misapply their Talents, and endeavour to improve ’em to a better Purpose than the most unfortunate of Mankind” (p. 40). He wishes, he says, to “induce Mankind to act with Caution and Discretion, that they may avoid the Inconveniences and Disappointments which attend the Unwary and Inconsiderate” (p. 41). Yet he immediately launches into a complaint about his parents, claiming that “the Foundation of all the Evils that have . . . befallen me” is “the over Indulgence of my Parents” (p. 43).

The memoir thus capitalizes on many of the fictional modes common in Moraley’s day. It evokes the literature of promotion and anti-promotion, replete with descriptions of flora and fauna (including a panther), stories about slaves and Indians (slave-owning, rum-drinking “Yo-Taen-San-Lo, King of the Chiapase” [p. 114]), and complaints about and praises for English settlers. It is a sort of rogue’s progress (Moraley pilfers on occasion, and, in addition to the woman he purportedly “courted,” he praises himself in claiming that, having
found a woman with children on one of his travels, he didn’t molest her). It reflects the literature of piety and morality (he sometimes invokes God’s providence; promising good behavior at one point, he makes a telling lament for assistance). And it follows the mode of advice literature. This last issue, as with Benjamin Franklin’s autobiography, has a double effect, for the advice at times suggests how one should seem to be. Just as Franklin strove for the appearance of industriousness as well as the reality of it, so Moraley, roughly his contemporary, worries about appearances when food and good will are to be had. He mentions, for instance, that he was “always endeavouring to ingratiate myself into the People’s Favour by a modest and decent Behaviour, which, with . . . my giving them an Account of England, gain’d me the Reputation of an intelligent Man” (p. 111).

The analogy with Franklin is not lost on the editors, who have done a splendid editorial job with the slender volume. In addition to offering a comparison and contrast of Moraley’s situation and Franklin’s, they provide information about Moraley’s life, his career as a tradesman (with helpful commentary upon indentures, the legal profession, artisans’ professions, apprenticeships, and life in the Middle Colonies), and the relation of this book to relevant literature. They rightly point to the general unavailability of contemporary materials on indentured servants written from the perspective of those servants (omitting mention, however, of George Alsop’s very witty Character of the Province of Maryland, London, 1666). The volume makes for wonderful graduate classroom use, judging by my own graduate class on colonialist discourse, and it surely would serve as well at the undergraduate level in both history and literature classes.

While there is enough “fact” to warrant questionings about the writer’s actual life-story, there is much fiction and rhetorical gesture to have entertained the middling-but-on-the-rise English reader. As historians, the editors share their wealth of knowledge about eighteenth-century life in England and the Middle Colonies, comparing what Moraley says about his life to events of the era. What is more intriguing to me, however, is the way in which Moraley’s memoir takes up the key discursive strategies of its era, both reflecting and promoting the imperialist ethic of eighteenth-century Britain. Moraley probably died longing for the inheritance he considered himself deserving. His longings for a life of leisure as a master craftsman over other indentured servants serves as a wonderful glance at the backward-looking members of English culture who would soon be astounded by the forward-looking, bourgeois accomplishments of Benjamin Franklin-on-the-rise. The memoir effectually marks a key moment in the Anglo-American past. Editors Klepp and Smith have done scholars and students alike a very useful service by making this remarkably provocative tale readily available for those of us who wish to examine English and Anglo-American culture.

Pennsylvania State University

CARLA MULFORD

The early national period is replete with tales of the exploits of charismatic and eccentric characters. Some, like General James Wilkinson, were notorious. Others, while less deserving of opprobrium, were still noteworthy for their riotous behavior and actions. What is particularly rare, with either the famous or the obscure, is to have an autobiographical account of one such man’s exploits, a chronicle written to serve as a warning to the young about the hazards of a “misspent life.”

John Robert Shaw, an Englishman, came to the colonies as a British soldier to put down the rebellion during the American Revolution. Through various twists, Shaw came to fight on the American side and later fought in Indian campaigns. Finally, Shaw settled in Lexington, Kentucky, and became a well-digger, a hazardous occupation in which he suffered frequent accidents including five explosions, the last of which in 1813 proved fatal. In 1807, recuperating from one of the earlier explosions, Shaw published The Life and Travels of John Robert Shaw.

The autobiography was reprinted as late as 1930 but was largely ignored until a copy was rescued from the trash by a librarian and turned over to Oressa M. Teagarden, a journalist and newspaper columnist. Intrigued by Shaw’s stories, Teagarden devoted much of the rest of her life to researching Shaw’s life and trying to verify the accounts in his autobiography. This volume, completed by Jeanne L. Crabtree after Teagarden’s death, is the product of Teagarden’s painstaking research and editorial work on Shaw’s Life and Travels.

For all his different exploits—from soldiering to well-digging to raising a family—the one constant in Shaw’s life is his unrestrained penchant for drinking and carousing, or “frolicking” as he often called it. Although such pursuits frequently landed him in dangerous and embarrassing circumstances, Shaw seemed unable to resist the lure. On several occasions—after a particularly bad evening with alcohol and again during a serious illness—he repented and fervently committed himself to religion. In fact, the ostensible purpose of the book was to show others how he had strayed and to prevent them from following in his steps. But Shaw always backslid. He was seemingly incapable of avoiding temptation, and he faithfully chronicles his shortcomings and continual regrets in this book.

As a slice-of-life portrayal of one man of the early republic this book has much to offer. Shaw’s account of his life reads well. He narrates events with excitement as well as modesty when it comes to his own exploits. Teagarden does a solid job of verifying Shaw’s accounts by identifying places, events, and persons and noting any discrepancies between Shaw’s version and the historical
Those looking for anecdotal illustrations of life in this period or local historians who want to know more about one of central Kentucky's early characters will find much to delight them. The book holds less value for serious scholars. Shaw's narrative is concerned only with those events directly touching his life. There are no larger observations about soldiering, the Revolutionary War, or the major political and social events of his times. Though Shaw met James Wilkinson and was surely familiar with Henry Clay and other figures, there are no insights or remarks offered about them. As a result, the book seems destined to be more valuable to antiquarians, family and local historians, and curious students than to scholars.

University of Kentucky

Todd Estes


In this provocative book, Thomas Slaughter reconstructs a dramatic confrontation that took place in the rural district of Christiana, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on September 11, 1851. A Maryland slaveholder named Edward Gorsuch, empowered by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, led a six-man posse of whites into "free" Pennsylvania in order to recapture four blacks who had run away from his farm in 1849. Shortly after daybreak on September 11, Gorsuch's posse assaulted a stone house occupied by an escaped slave named William Parker and six other African Americans (including two of Gorsuch's ex-slaves). Instead of surrendering, the blacks exchanged fire with their assailants and held their ground until several score of armed blacks and two unarmed local whites arrived to confront the Maryland "kidnappers." In the mêlée that followed, Gorsuch was killed, and three other members of his posse were wounded or beaten, after which all of the leading black resisters escaped—some of them to Canada. The only person brought to trial for Gorsuch's death was one of the two local white men at the scene, a miller named Castner Hanway, who was charged with treason for leading the black rioters and acquitted after the semi-farical case against him collapsed.

Slaughter, as I read him, has three chief points to make about the Christiana Riot. First and foremost, he stresses that blacks, not whites, resisted the slave-catcher Gorsuch and his accomplice, U.S. Deputy Marshal Henry Kline. Bloody Dawn argues for the self-determination of escaped slaves and free blacks in the antebellum antislavery campaign, and—unlike most previous studies of the abolitionists—plays down the activities of northern white agitators. Indeed,
there are no white heroes in this book. Slaughter considers that the black rioters at Christiana were equivalent to the Minute Men at Concord in 1775, because they organized and fought for their own freedom, and he contends that the Christiana Riot was a major event in the 1850s because it demonstrated that the Fugitive Slave Law could be resisted effectively.

Secondly, Slaughter stresses that white Americans in the 1850s, both southern and northern, were totally unequipped to recognize purposeful African-American activism. They saw the blacks at Christiana as mindless rioters, not freedom fighters. Gorsuch was killed because he refused to believe that his ex-slave would actually defy him and shoot him. And all whites assumed that the Christiana riot must have been commanded by a white man, hence the focus on Castner Hanway, even though he was unarmed. The abolitionist poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, characteristically wrote a poem lionizing Hanway, rather than the blacks who actually stood up to the slave power. And when the white people of Christiana looked back on the riot of 1851 in a commemoration of the event a century later, they found kinder things to say about Gorsuch than about the true black heroes in this story.

Slaughter’s third point, about the character of racial violence in the antebellum North, is more ambiguous—not to say contradictory. In an early chapter entitled “Black Images in White Minds,” he draws upon accounts of African Americans in Lancaster County newspapers to argue that whites in the Christiana neighborhood increasingly stereotyped blacks as undesirable aliens: they were either seen as incompetent victims or as violent criminals. In a later chapter entitled “Race, Violence, and Law,” Slaughter seems to temper his position by arguing—after analyzing several Lancaster County criminal court cases—that black men stood some chance of receiving fair trials if they were involved in fracases with disreputable working class whites. Yet he concludes that working class whites were in fact able to drive upwardly mobile African Americans out of the county. In 1834-35 a series of race riots took place in Columbia, a Lancaster County borough twenty miles west of Christiana, in which mobs of unemployed whites destroyed the property of middle class blacks. As at Christiana, the perpetrators of this violence went unpunished—and the chief property-holding African Americans departed from Columbia. While Slaughter’s discussion of Columbia reinforces his portrayal of white racism, it undercuts his interpretation of the Christiana Riot. The reader is left to conclude that while blacks in Lancaster County could stand up to a white Maryland slave-catcher, they could not stand up to local working class white thugs.

An insoluble problem in this book—as with most attempts to write history from the bottom up—is that Slaughter cannot animate the principal African-American figures in his story with three-dimensional life. William Parker, who wrote up his own narrative, does come through vividly; but the four men who ran away from Gorsuch’s farm in 1849 are always shadowy figures, and Slaughter
cannot tell us what happened to them. He is forced to spend more time than he probably wants to with Castner Hanway and the other white protagonists who are much better documented than the blacks. Despite these obstacles, he recreates the oppressive environment within which African Americans lived in Lancaster County nearly 150 years ago, and he demonstrates more acutely and powerfully than any previous writer the poisonous character of racial prejudice in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania.

University of Pennsylvania

Richard S. Dunn


No Crooked Death fills an important void in the growing literature on American violence. Coauthored by two historians, this book meticulously reconstructs a 1911 lynching in southeastern Pennsylvania. Previous studies of lynching have focused on the South, where most lynchings occurred. As a result, distinctively southern characteristics have been often used to explain this form of mob violence, and few comparisons with other regions have been possible.

Despite its occurrence in the North, the Coatesville lynching resembled southern mob violence in several respects. The black victim, accused of killing a white company policeman near Coatesville, was in the hands of local police who failed to protect him from an organized mob, whose leaders did little to conceal their identities. Taken to an isolated area, the alleged killer was savagely burned alive in front of several thousand spectators, including women and children.

The difference between the Coatesville lynching and similar incidents in the South came in the aftermath. Pennsylvania officials, especially at the state level, moved quickly to identify and prosecute some fifteen local residents, including several teenage boys and the Coatesville police chief, on charges ranging from manslaughter to murder. Despite this unprecedented state action and confessions by several participants, the outcome of the process was remarkably similar to southern experiences—no one was found guilty of any crime related to the lynching. Nevertheless, the investigation and subsequent trials left a mine of documentation that enabled Dennis B. Downey and Raymond M. Hyser to write a richly detailed history of the incident.

In a concluding chapter, the authors explore reasons for the Coatesville lynching. Downey and Hyser persuasively demonstrate that this lynching was
an example of collective violence that was purposeful and sanctioned by the local community. Emphasizing that the mob action "was planned and initiated on the streets of Coatesville," the authors also point out that "the resolve of the community to protect the instigators proved too strong for county and state authorities" (p. 126).

In an effort to get at the underlying causes, the authors employ several theories, notably Emile Durkheim's concept of repressive justice and Kai Erikson's theory of boundary maintenance. At the time of the lynching, Coatesville was in the midst of a social and demographic transformation, associated with a boom in the local steel industry and evidenced by a sharp increase in the community's foreign-born and black population. As part of an effort to reestablish order, the 1911 lynching was "an instance of repressive justice that dramatically redefined community boundaries and the limits of acceptable conduct" (p. 143). This argument, emphasizing collective action based on race, not class or ethnicity, makes sense, except that it does not adequately explain why a northern community chose such a brutal and unusual method of repressive justice.

In an unconvincing attempt to deal with this problem, the authors point to the dictates of honor, an explanation often cited as a cause of lynch law in the South. However, without giving any direct evidence that the residents of Coatesville ever used honor as a guide to conduct, Downey and Hyser simply assert that "much of what has been written about the social function of honor can be applied to any society where human relationships are conducted on a familiar, personal level" (p. 145). This assumption flies in the face of Edward Ayers's argument that honor, a communal code of unwritten law, predominated in the South, whereas dignity, which stressed government enforcement of formal law, triumphed in the North. Thus, Downey and Hyser have embraced a theory that may not apply to Pennsylvania.

Nevertheless, No Crooked Death provides a rare and revealing look at a northern lynching, and the book's thorough documentation makes it a noteworthy contribution to the literature on American violence.

University of South Florida

Robert P. Ingalls


Americans have always been proud of their country. Elizabeth Johns shows us that this was certainly so during the thirty years before the Civil War, when American artists celebrated the nation's richness and diversity in images of the land and of everyday life. Landscape painting, long in the spotlight, has attracted increasingly sophisticated inquiry. The same has not been true of genre. For the most part, writers have accepted the depictions of farmers, western trappers
and river boatmen, mothers and housewives, and other ordinary Americans as benign and transparent representations of everyday life for a self-congratulatory and self-identifying populace. Johns rejects such romantic notions of a monocultural America to ask whose lives are depicted and what relationship artists and intended viewers bore to the actors in popular genre paintings. What, she seeks to understand, is the “ideology of ‘everyday’ life”? Drawing extensively on the work of social and cultural historians, Johns makes central to her study the issues of class, race, gender, and regional affiliation around which Americanists have rallied in recent years.

Johns is not alone in her endeavor to recover political meaning in mid-nineteenth-century American genre painting, but hers is the most comprehensive study of the subject to date. Within a period much concerned with defining relationships among members of a community and their relative positions in the social hierarchy, Johns identifies several pervasive types: Yankees (usually synonymous with rural New Englanders), frontiersmen, blacks, women, and lower-class urban dwellers (generally youths). Successive chapters consider each type, examining closely a select number of paintings chosen because they were known well at the time, if not always to posterity.

Johns’s chapter on the Yankees, for example, takes as its centerpiece five paintings by William Sidney Mount, who specialized in scenes of rural life on his native Long Island. One of these works is *Bargaining for a Horse*, originally titled *Farmers Bargainings*, of 1835. Alert to contemporary colloquialism and puns, Johns points out that, by the 1830s, “horsetrading” alluded to self-interested economic and political bargaining and, even more specifically, to Democratic politicking in a period of considerable instability. She finds no firm evidence that Mount’s audience of sophisticated New Yorkers read his images as she does. Still, given the context of politically charged theatrical and graphic satires on the farmer that Johns adduces, we may join the author in wondering whether “the very duplicity of Mount’s images, like the multiple implications of the spoken language, both compressed and discharged his viewers’ tensions, making it unnecessary that they speak directly of them” (p. 37).

A growing disillusionment with democracy fueled the popularity of western subjects in the 1840s. Images of rugged trappers and traders in the paintings of Charles Deas, William Ranney, and Arthur F. Tait seemed visually to guarantee that America was a classless, individualist society. Not surprisingly, such characters also had a reputation “for disrespect for social order” (p. 83). Enter George Caleb Bingham and his paintings of election processes on the western frontier. Johns believes that Bingham sought to neutralize eastern anxiety about the political clout of unruly westerners, but that his paintings backfired by representing the diversity of elective franchise. Yet given the diversity of contemporaneous and scholarly opinion already expressed on these works, Johns’s discussion seems somewhat thin.
Less attention, by contrast, has been paid to the limited number of genre paintings with black or female subjects. Not surprisingly, Johns finds pictorial emphasis on the "otherness" of both and, at the same time, denial of their autonomy by artists, almost always white men. Lilly Martin Spencer, the only female genre painter of the antebellum period and an artist "almost alone in constructing images of a type from within an implied group" (p. 160), offers a notable exception and receives due consideration here. Often, however, Johns does not probe far enough—for example, regarding the "startling depths" of the black woman in Mount's Eel Spearing at Setauket or the disturbing popularity of provocative images of children—and her readings occasionally seem forced. Anyone sensitized by Johns herself to the importance of contextual analysis must wonder at the author's sweeping assertion that European painters from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries heroized and aroused sympathy for downtrodden peasant subjects whereas American white male artists' depiction of blacks was degrading. This simplistic indictment lays bare the polemical aspect of Johns's study and sourly concludes a chapter in which there is otherwise much food for thought.

Still, Johns should be commended for her contextually sensitive analyses of American genre painting during its heyday, for her new interpretations of many familiar paintings, and for introducing others no less rewarding of scrutiny. Her interpretations, largely convincing, restore to the paintings and the painters a measure of power sacrificed every time we consider them as passively "reflecting"—rather than actively shaping—their society. If for all the new information she presents, Johns's study seems curiously predictable, then perhaps it is a happy sign of increased sophistication in a field too long committed to the transparency of images.

University of Texas at Austin

Susan Rather


One of the seeming paradoxes of the American system of government is that the nation's highest office, one fraught with the greatest of public responsibilities, is open to any citizen who is thirty-five years of age or older and who has been resident in the United States for at least fourteen years. The president need not be distinguished by birth, education, prior experience in governance, or a record of more than routine accomplishment in any field of endeavor, as more than one occupant of the White House has shown. Noble Cunningham's highly
interesting study of printed and numismatic images of our first fifteen national leaders demonstrates how the disparity between the ideal of the citizen-president and the reality of history has long been a fount of inspiration for artists.

From the outset, practices of ennoblement and leveling in image-making coexisted cheerfully. The tendency to glorify the president, which took some of its leads from traditions in aristocratic European societies, had already been modified (to say the least) by late eighteenth-century graphic satirists such as James Gillray and, more generally, by Protestant resistance to worldly pomp. Yet even in a democratic culture, the inclination to aggrandize remained strong, since it has never been possible to disentangle the president as a person of human limitations and transient authority from the president as a symbol of lasting national identity and spirit. Putting presidents to work as allegorical personifications of America has led to some truly remarkable pictorial inventions.

One of the most interesting, for the period covered by Cunningham, is Johann Michael Enzing-Müller’s engraving *Family Monument from the History of Our Country* (1858), crowded with figures ranging in time from the Norsemen of Vinland through President Millard Fillmore. He poses patiently at the end of a file of his predecessors in office, all surmounting a grand pedestal decorated with panels in relief illustrating historical moments for which the artist, a recent immigrant, had found no room among the teeming tableaux that surround the elevated chief executives. One of the great virtues of this book is that it brings together and treats seriously as products of popular culture many virtually unknown images that the twentieth century has tended to ridicule as bad art. As the author rightly insists, these images constitute a rich body of documents of popular thought, documents that also tell us much about the history of the production, merchandising, and reception of pictorial matter in an era of near-constant change in the technology of pictorial printing.

In the elaboration of its imagery, the Enzing-Müller engraving was a relative rarity. Other images, produced in quantity, manifested the leveling impulse of Jacksonian times. The single most important model for such simpler images of presidents were Gilbert Stuart’s painted Vaughan and Athenæum portraits of George Washington. In these works Stuart took the then-radical approach of presenting the president in the guise of an ordinary citizen. Nothing in Washington’s dress, and no sign or symbol of personal rank or national association, intrudes. Stuart seemed to have comprehended more clearly than any of his artist contemporaries that in this new republican world the qualities essential to greatness in a president were the cardinal virtues of wisdom, justice, moderation, and fortitude, as anyone acquainted with Plato’s *Republic* understood. These qualities of character reside within the person, and are better revealed through the face than through any external display of symbols. Cunningham traces the perpetuation of Stuart’s Athenæum likeness, and others of the kind,
often in degraded adaptations. Many of his well-chosen illustrations demonstrate
how widespread was this penchant for plain style in presidential portraiture.

A chapter on satiric images gives not only the flavor of the times and the
issues that provoked partisan caricature, but shows also, through apt specimens,
that this branch of American popular printmaking was a vital outlet for the
inventive spirit in American art at a time when the medium of painting limited
itself more closely to transcriptions of nature. A chapter on numismatic images
enriches the discussion. Images printed on pottery, boxes, and textiles, and
impressed in glass, supplement those on maps, music, broadsides, and prints,
and in books. Most readers will find much of the illustrated material both new
and interesting, and will feel a real debt of obligation to the author for his
search of many collections for lesser-known but highly apposite examples of
presidential imagery.

It would be an easy matter in a book as profusely illustrated as this one for
the pictorial content to overwhelm the text, but Cunningham strikes a successful
balance between the two. He does so first through the organization of his
material into chapters that stand as quasi-independent essays. He makes telling
points throughout, moving with ease from visual data to historical events. His
second means of keeping pictures and text in balance is through providing
some context for each image—the circumstances of making, contemporary
meanings, relationships to other works, and more. He repeatedly, and with
good effect, draws the reader back and forth from text to image.

The illustrations themselves make this book an important reference tool for
historians of the graphic arts, but the intelligence and solid scholarship of
Cunningham's commentaries commend it to a much wider audience. We are
only just beginning to understand the crucial role played by pictorial communica-
tion in the development of nineteenth-century American culture. This book
brightly illuminates a vital part of that development.

Syracuse University

David Tatham

American Photography and the American Dream. By James Guimond. (Chapel
Illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, $39.95; paper, $17.95.)

Generally speaking, historians use photographs in a thematic fashion, rather
than seeking to understand images as part of an extended chronological narrative.
They examine a particular theme, such as urbanization, a locale, or, in what
might be called a subgenre, scrutinize the Depression-era photographs and
photographers of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Thus, James Guimond's American Photography and the American Dream presents us with a new
direction. He is "concerned with the relationship between Americans' ideas
about their nation and their ways of illustrating these ideas, particularly with
photographs” (p. 4). This leads to an exploration of American Dream photographs over the entire twentieth century and across many thematic boundaries.

The book has seven chapters, each an extensive and thoughtful essay combining social history with an analysis of the work of one or more documentary photographers. Guimond contrasts their vision with that of the prevailing belief in the “American Dream”—a conception that American society “has the power to transform people’s lives” because it is an environment without “limitations, boundaries, and inequities” (p. 12). Guimond finds some photographers committed to demonstrating that the dream is alive and well and others whose pictures spoke volumes about the people for whom the dream has died. In both cases, the photographers functioned as social critics and as advocates. Photographs of the Hampton Institute made by Frances Benjamin Johnston at the turn of the century, for example, were constructed to show that African Americans shared the American dream. Vocational education would, the images attest, create self-supporting citizens whose hard labor would enrich, not threaten, the nation.

From Johnston’s *Hampton Album*, Guimond turns to the photographs of Lewis Hine. Where Johnston was a “guest” at Hampton, Hine functioned as a “spy,” photographing child laborers in order to indict employers and photographing immigrants to show that they were not the “defectives” that conservatives claimed. Hine walked a fine line. Children who looked too healthy might be seen as an advertisement for the benefits of hard labor, while those who looked too downtrodden might suggest that schooling would be wasted on those meant for a factory life. In subsequent chapters Guimond analyzes the well-known “hard times” images of the FSA photographers and their successors, the photojournalists working in the 1940s and 1950s for *Life* and *Look* who celebrated a “conservative populism.” In a subsequent chapter entitled “The Great American Wasteland” Guimond turns to the three photographers who revived the documentary style in order to explore the underside of life: Diane Arbus, William Klein, and Robert Frank. Finally, a concluding chapter spanning the 1970s and 1980s examines how documentary photographers, in contrast to the news media, have sensitively probed the deindustrialization of the economy, the decline of the cities, the fate of American workers, and the impact of American foreign policy on poor nations.

As these descriptions suggest, the essays have enormous breadth and thus are, occasionally, glib and superficial. Guimond tries to juggle many subjects at once: the evolution of American society, the shifting definition of the American Dream, the lessons of the pictures, the biographies, styles, and subjects of the photographers, and the influence of one generation of photographers upon the next. For the most part, he succeeds. The book is interesting, informative, and, for those in the teaching profession, useful. Its most critical limitation (one no doubt related to cost and, in two instances, the inability to obtain reprint rights)
is that there are simply not enough photographs. The reader longs to see more of the images he so carefully analyzes.

*Rutgers University, Camden*  

**Janet Golden**


The violent events in the steel town of Homestead in early July 1892 remain one of the most vivid confrontations between labor and capital in the late nineteenth century. These two new books seek to move beyond the famous gun battle between Pinkerton detectives and Pennsylvania steelworkers to explore the roots and meaning of the Homestead strike. **"The River Ran Red" Homestead 1892** is a compendium of primary documents that explores the context of the 1892 confrontation. The original sources are usefully organized into sequential categories, such as "The Gathering Storm, February to June 28, 1892" and "The Battle, July 5-6, 1892". The bulk of the documents are drawn from contemporary newspapers and magazine accounts and from hearings conducted by the Senate and House of Representatives shortly after the strike ended. The editors have taken impressive care to include conflicting accounts of the events and voices from partisans on both sides of the dispute. Abundant lithographs, cartoons, and occasional photographs are appropriately placed and constitute not just illustrations but important primary sources in their own right. Each section also includes a chronology of events and short interpretive essays that guide the reader through the documents. A closing article by prominent labor historian David Montgomery artfully surveys the meaning and legacy of Homestead in a manner that closely follows the ground covered by the documents in the collection. It is a well-conceived, cohesive and coherent anthology that allows the reader to fully appreciate the context of, and emotions surrounding, the Homestead strike.

*The Battle for Homestead, 1880-1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel* by Paul Krause is a sprawling book that uses the confrontation between the Carnegie Steel Company and its workers in Homestead as a window to analyze the declining status of labor in the late nineteenth century. *The Battle for Homestead* really is several books: the roots of the 1892 Homestead strike, steelmakers and steel-
workers after the Civil War; Pennsylvania labor movements in the Gilded Age; and the eclipse of labor republicanism in the nineteenth century. The book's thematic, rather than strictly chronological, approach can be disconcerting; chapters do not neatly fit together, and some read more like distinct articles than part of a book. Krause's approach, however, permits a wider range than would be possible with a more typical narrative, and it allows him to create a broad analysis that bridges labor, business, social, and political history.

Krause locates the Homestead events at the intersection of two profound Gilded Age developments: the technological transformation of the American metal-making industry, and the struggle of workers to retain their political influence and social status in a rapidly changing nation. Krause places the steelworkers at the center of his story at both levels. Through careful attention to the marketing and deployment of the new metal technologies, he shows how businessmen's desire to remove the knowledge of making iron and steel from workers and to reserve it for the owners of the machinery was a prominent factor in the development and application of Bessemer and open hearth refining processes. Lowering labor costs and reducing workers' power by replacing skilled puddlers and rollers with unskilled machine tenders was central, not incidental, to the technical and corporate revolution in the making of steel. Krause successfully maintains this theme throughout the book. He shows how management's intransigence in 1892 was driven by an effort to uproot the union committees at Homestead who doggedly insisted on influencing "apportioning work, of regulating the turns, of altering the machinery" (p. 293).

The story of workers and the transformation of the late nineteenth-century steel industry has been told, though perhaps not posed so sharply; but Krause's unique contribution is to link the changes at work with the ideology of the steelworkers. Conflict over control at work, he suggests, resonated among workers as a deeper conflict over their place in American society. Krause argues that Homestead's steelworkers used the American republican tradition—in a similar manner to pre-Civil War workers—to dispute the absolute rights of the owners to control their property. As "the Carnegie mills were built by us," union leader James Boyce argued in 1892, "we have some rights in it ourselves" (p. 339). Both native-born and Slovak immigrants at Homestead claimed their rights as free-born citizens to influence the manner under which their labor was performed. Krause elaborates this theme by exploring steelworkers' actions away from the job, from the formation of labor organizations, such as the Knights of Labor, to efforts to elect political representatives at the local and state levels who would resist the power of concentrated wealth and preserve the American republic.

The progressive, post-Civil War republican tradition identified by Krause seems considerably more complex and contradictory than he suggests. The author ignores considerable evidence that the native-born steelworkers consid-
ered themselves both “whites” and citizens; they favored the exclusion of immigrants and the denial of equal rights to blacks. Krause does not explore the racial significance of the epithet “black sheep,” so frequently employed by steelworkers to denounce strikebreakers, even after he notes that blacks were used to break a strike in the mid-1870s. He also glides quickly over a race riot that occurred in Homestead not long after the strike’s collapse. He unfortunately downplays the manner in which republicanism, like the metal over which the Homestead strikers fought, was an alloy that combined a “rights consciousness” with racism and nativism. It could be adapted to many uses, including acceptance of the existing order. Krause’s contention that Slovaks adopted republican ideology is not at all convincing, especially as he goes to great lengths to show the separate immigrant society in Homestead. In fact, he shows how it was shared grievances at work, not a common view of America, that bound together native-born and immigrant in 1892.

Both books are extremely valuable. The Battle for Homestead will doubtless remain the standard academic account of these events. “The River Ran Red” is a superb collection that can be used in the classroom both to understand the specific events at Homestead and to train students in the interpretation of documents.

University of Delaware

Roger Horowitz

The Wheeling Bridge Case: Its Significance in American Law and Technology. By ELIZABETH BRAND MONROE. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992. xvi, 268p. Maps, illustrations, table of cases, bibliography, index. $45.00.)

When it was opened in 1849, the Wheeling suspension bridge was the longest clear-span bridge in the world. It represented a triumph, not only for its designer, Charles Ellet, Jr., but also for proponents of the internal improvements movement and local interests in Wheeling. Three years later, in 1852, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad reached Wheeling. This event made Wheeling the center of three principal transportation systems: the railroad, the National Road into Ohio, and the head of summer navigation on the Ohio River. To many boosters in the community, it was clear that a combination of transportation and industry would ensure Wheeling’s emergence as the premier city on the upper Ohio River. The rivalry between Pittsburgh and Wheeling precipitated a legal battle focused on the suspension bridge. This legal case would have far-reaching implications for the nation and is the subject of this book.

Elizabeth Monroe’s research on the legal aspects of the Wheeling Bridge Case and the implications of the legal process on the internal improvements in
America is, in my opinion, without peer. The two parts of the book could easily stand alone as separate studies. One deals with the bridge case and the other with the larger issue of the relationship of transportation networks to the legal system in America. The book shows the results of an impressive amount of research, in both its breadth and depth, and offers a narrative rich in details, if occasionally ponderous. All of the focus is on legal history. The first part would have benefitted from additional maps to show the various internal improvements in America, including the ports stretching from Boston to Norfolk, Virginia, that sponsored individual projects. In addition, a more detailed map of the National Road and the location of the Wheeling bridge and other ports along the Ohio, particularly Louisville and the Falls of the Ohio River, would have enriched the narrative. Recognizing the importance of the bridge, an illustration of the bridge as completed and its condition following the disastrous storm of 1854 could easily have supplemented the few illustrations presented in the book.

The book is introduced with a review of selected authors writing on nineteenth-century legal history, with emphasis on the Hurst Hypotheses. From the opening paragraph, the Hurst position is briefly stated: "Hurst found that both statutory and judge-made laws supported positive relationships amongst individuals, governments and the economy. He postulated that these instrumental relationships combined material abundance and private initiative to release creative energy for the benefit of society" (p. xiii). The reader, however, is left pondering the author's position on Hurst and, for that matter, the views of other historians cited, since these works are not discussed in detail. Although not wishing to burden the author with future writing ventures, the material presented in the internal improvements section could easily be expanded into a sequel dealing with turnpikes, roads, canals, and later railways in the Virginias. Such a discussion should address the establishment of the Virginia Board of Public Works under whose aegis the transportation system was developed, using a unique American approach of mixed private and public capital.

In the second part of the book, Monroe demonstrates conclusively the significance of the Wheeling Bridge Case in American law. The suspension bridge provided the long-sought crossing of the Ohio River to carry the nation's first federal highway, the National Road, into Ohio and ultimately to St. Louis. The bridge raised questions that pitted advocates of unrestricted navigation on America's waterways against those espousing bridges to carry both road and rail traffic across navigable rivers. Details such as channel widths and vertical clearances were at issue, necessitating a definition of the federal government's role in transportation. To this day the federal government issues permits for bridge construction based on the Wheeling Bridge Case.

This book should appeal not only to those interested in the influence of the American legal system on nineteenth-century American history, but also to
those concerned with the history of technology and the development of the upper Ohio Valley as a flourishing industrial center in the heartland of America.

Institute for the History of Technology and Industrial Archaeology

EMORY L. KEMP

The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734-1777. Edited by EDMUND BERKELEY and DOROTHY SMITH BERKELEY. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. xv, 808p. Illustrations, appendixes, glossary, bibliography, index. $125.00.)

To researchers plying the seedbeds of horticultural history, few documents have been more fertile than the letters of John Bartram (1699-1777), the Philadelphia botanist credited with discovering and introducing to cultivation many of today’s most popular garden plants. William Darlington (1782-1863) first recognized their significance and made them available to the public as early as 1849 when he published close to 300 Bartram letters in his Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall (reprinted with a very useful introduction by Joseph Ewan in 1967). Now, after decades of research in library archives around the world, historians Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley have located, transcribed, and brought to print an additional 300 letters. Their book, The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734-1777 (which also includes all of the previously published letters) offers anyone with an interest in gardens, science, or social history a remarkable source of primary information.

John Bartram, who Swedish taxonomist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) once allegedly described as “the greatest natural botanist in the world,” was a third generation English-American farmer who began his horticultural career with nothing more than a working knowledge of farm crops and a love of the outdoors. By the time of his death in 1777, John Bartram was America’s best known and most influential botanist, with a plantsman’s knowledge second to none in the country. The newly gathered Bartram correspondence allows readers to witness his extraordinary evolution from neophyte to world-class botanist, letter by letter, year by year. Along the way we also learn about such disparate topics as health, medicine, transport, and politics in colonial America.

The most human and affecting subtheme to the correspondence is John Bartram’s concern for his family. He married twice, first to Mary Maris who bore two children and who died after only four years of marriage, and then, two years later, to Ann Mendenhall, who bore an additional nine children. Throughout the correspondence are letters offering advice, encouragement, and at times, admonishment to the Bartrams’ sometimes wayward children, nine of
whom lived to maturity. Happily for historians, William Bartram (1739-1823), who shared his father's interest in natural history, received a disproportionate share of attention in the letters that survive, thus giving us a rare look at the early life of a boy who would eventually establish his own reputation as one of America's most important early botanists, artists, writers, and explorers.

The majority of Bartram's correspondence focuses on matters of horticulture, but there are enough references to other subjects to make them interesting to a nontechnical reader: travels from New York to Florida, the disruption of the French and Indian War, the outbreak and treatment of disease, a sighting of the aurora borealis, and ideas on geology, hybridization, and extinction.

Of the more than 100 correspondents in the Berkeley's compendium, the most frequent and personal is Peter Collinson (1694-1768), a London wool merchant who first came into contact with Bartram by mail in 1733. The two men began their relationship on a strictly business basis, with Bartram providing plants and other natural "curiosities" (including live frogs, turtles, butterflies, and moths) to the English collector, in exchange for money or in-kind payment. "Thee may assure thyself thee shall not fail of Suitable and grateful returns from me," Collinson wrote Bartram in 1736. "Phaps I may be slow [in payment] but I am sure" (p. 17).

Good to his word, in exchange for the plants he received, Collinson provided Bartram with everything from nails, bolts of cloth and pre-made clothing, to reference books and packets of plant seed for his Philadelphia garden. Though the two men never met, the life-long friendship they developed and sustained by mail is exposed here almost from start to finish. The first year of their correspondence is apparently lost.

Collinson introduced Bartram to the thriving world of amateur natural history and to a veritable who's who of distinguished horticulturists in England and Europe. It was from this interesting pool of talent that Bartram would derive much of his intellectual stimulation—and his income. His foreign correspondents and sometime patrons included: Mark Catesby (1683-1750), the English naturalist who authored *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*; Johann Jacob Dillenius (1691-1771), professor of botany at Oxford and proprietor of its botanical garden; Louisa Drotting (1720-1782), Queen of Sweden; John Fothergill (1712-1780), a London physician and eventual patron of William Bartram; Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), the Swedish botanist who developed the system of binomial nomenclature still in use today; Philip Miller (1691-1771), curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden and author of the influential *Gardener's Dictionary*; and Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), president of the Royal College of Physicians and the Royal Society—to name just a few. There were also many American correspondents of distinction, including: William Byrd (1674-1744), the wealthy and influential Virginia planter; Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776), the governor of New York; Benjamin Franklin
(1706-1790), the printer, inventor, and diplomat, and a close personal friend of Bartram's; and Alexander Garden (1730-1791), a physician and naturalist from Charleston, South Carolina, for whom the gardenia was later named.

Through the intercession of Collinson and others, Bartram was appointed Royal Botanist to King George III in April 1765. The prestige of the royal appointment and the fifty pound annual stipend that accompanied it allowed Bartram to embark on the longest and most ambitious of his many collecting expeditions, a trek through North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. William Bartram accompanied his father on this ambitious trip. He later retraced part of it during his own epic journey of exploration and discovery to the same region (1774-1777).

While John Bartram’s life has been quite thoroughly chronicled—most recently in the Berkeley’s own book, The Life and Travels of John Bartram (1982)—there is something eminently satisfying about reconstructing his life firsthand through his correspondence. Unfortunately, a careful reading through all 775 pages of the collected letters is the only way some of the most interesting and valuable parts of the correspondence can be gleaned, for the subject index of the book is woefully incomplete. Many plants, animals, and collecting locations—the topics researchers are most likely to seek—are strangely absent from the index. An index of correspondents is also lacking.

The editors explain in their introduction that while they have identified most of the people mentioned in the letters through footnotes or in the book’s glossary, they have not attempted to identify the plants. Given the huge amount of work such identifications might have entailed, this decision seems fair enough. But to omit plant names and collecting locations from the index is a puzzling and regrettable error, for it severely limits the usefulness of the book. Can anyone imagine a biography of Alexis de Tocqueville that fails to index the places he visited, or a collection of John James Audubon’s letters that does not reference the birds he saw? It is, after all, the plants Bartram discovered that make him such an important figure in the history of American science.

It can only be hoped that some day the Berkeleys—or someone—will return to this rich collection of letters to give it the index it deserves. Until they do the patient and perseverant reader will still find much to enjoy in this otherwise thorough and revealing publication.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia Robert McCracken Peck


This biography of Thomas Say (1787-1834) takes a fresh look at the career of a leading American naturalist. Patricia Stroud has given us a lively and
readable account of the adventures of this explorer, natural scientist, and founder of Philadelphia’s Academy of Natural Sciences. Say’s enduring fame rests in three areas. First, on the local scene, he was a founder and the driving force of the Academy of Natural Sciences. Next, his role as the earliest scientific participant in explorations of the West gave an immediate acclaim to American natural science. Finally, his publications on American insects and shells not only contributed to new discoveries, they also initiated a new classification of species. All three of these feats coalesced into a fourth: the international respect he brought to American science.

Thomas Say, who was himself exceedingly modest about his accomplishments, was recognized in his own time as a remarkable person. Born into a well-connected mercantile family, the product of four generations of respectable Philadelphia Quakers, he might well have settled into a life of comfortable respectability. Say had been a member of the fashionable Philadelphia City Troop and a volunteer soldier in the War of 1812, after which he went into the family apothecary business. Yet his horizons were soon to extend far beyond this little Philadelphia world, to the frontiers of both the new republic and of American natural science.

Say’s interest in plants and animals started early. Perhaps inspired by his relatives, the botanists John and William Bartram, from his childhood Say had gone on specimen-collecting expeditions in the country, bringing a live snake or two home in his pocket. He was only in his twenties when he joined with others to start the Academy of Natural Sciences. Soon he was neglecting business to spend all his time on its affairs, becoming, almost unconsciously, its first director. The Academy quickly acquired international repute, adding to Philadelphia’s reputation as the “Athens of the West.”

Say’s own reputation earned him an invitation to accompany the second great exploration of the new western lands. The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804 had not included any scientists. The 1819 expedition led by Major Stephen Harriman Long was to include (beside Long himself as topographical engineer), a botanist, a zoologist, and two naturalists. The expedition went out to the Rockies, taking nearly two years, and opened the West to public view. For Say it was to be the foundation of his two great works, *American Entomology* (1824-1828) and *American Conchology* (1830-1834).

The account of this and the other expeditions in which Say participated form the most dramatic parts of Say’s life and of his biography. The adventures and hardships of travel, the excitement of new discoveries, and the encounters with Indians make fascinating reading. Stroud’s deft use of direct quotations and the splendid sketches reproduced in the text—these are real treasures—make us share vividly in Say’s experiences.

Stroud writes with almost conversational ease. She brings Say and his scientific accomplishments to life, while avoiding the use of difficult technical terminology.
She gives a warm and sympathetic portrait of this dedicated naturalist, and we can understand why he was so much admired by his scientific contemporaries, to whom he was always a colleague and never a rival. There are splendid illustrations—portraits, landscapes, sketches, engravings, and silhouettes—done by such major artists as the Peales, Lesueur, Neagle, King, and Audubon.

This biography is well-recommended to those interested in natural science, in western exploration, in glimpses of early Philadelphia and the new republic, in American Indians, and in history generally. This is Stroud's first book, and we may well hope that she is already at work on another success to follow this one.

West Chester University

NICHOLAS SELLERS


The American Encounter with Buddhism is an important and original contribution to American intellectual and social history. A few other books have surveyed the intellectual interest of certain nineteenth-century Americans in the Asian faith, or traced Buddhism’s institutional history on these shores. Now Thomas Tweed, focusing centrally on the American response to a faith seemingly as alien and as much at polar opposites to conventional American beliefs and values as could well be imagined, extracts from this confrontation fascinating perspectives on a young society wrenching itself, with both exhilaration and pain, into sight of larger and larger mental horizons.

Tweed presents a clear and helpful categorization of three types of persons in the West drawn to Buddhism: the esoterist, often coming to it through Theosophy and persuaded that Buddhism was an important reservoir of the “ancient wisdom”; the romantic, intrigued by the exotic “otherness” of the Buddha’s path and the charm of Asian civilization; and the rationalist, persuaded by arguments that the same religion offered a far more reasonable and “scientific” faith than western alternatives. Such persons were, obviously, dissidents in some sense from the culture of their homeland though, Tweed contends, not entirely. They were dissenters but also “consenters” who found in Buddhism principles that consorted with currently emerging American values perhaps better than the mainstream Christianity of the day.

Here is where the fun begins. On the one hand, Buddhism was vociferously attacked, after it first attracted widespread popular attention with the publication of Sir Edwin Arnold’s *The Light of Asia* in 1879, as passive, pessimistic, and world- and self-negating, and so contrary to the great Euro-American values
of activism, individualism, and progressive optimism. At the same time, advocates made much of Buddhism's contrast with the alleged intolerance and blind faith required by Christianity, showing how the former religion really fitted the spiritual needs of the reformist, scientific, pacifist, and, yet also, romantic and vaguely mystical, late Victorian and Edwardian advanced thinker quite well. Also much argued was the point of whether Buddhism is really atheistic and nihilistic, or not. Was the "God idea" truly absent, or did the Buddha's dharma offer some take on ultimate reality that was positive yet almost impenetrable to western categories of thought?

This American discussion said more about the West than about Buddhism, which may be why Tweed has disappointingly little to say about the precise appeal of various forms of Buddhism—Theravada, Vajrayana, Zen, and so forth—or about the actual Buddhist devotion of early American Buddhists. The author is no doubt correct in observing that most had neither the training nor resources to engage in formal Buddhist practice, which is why their adherence to the oriental faith tended to remain mostly intellectual and nonspecific.

But what Tweed's inventory of beguiling ideas and unforgettable characters makes plain is the power of light from outside to illumine the real, and probably changing, contours of a society's received assumptions, and to discover things about itself and the kind of people it produces that might never appear in relief without outside help. After reading The American Encounter with Buddhism, one is not likely ever again to think of America in quite the same way as before. The book is highly recommended for all library and personal collections in American studies.

University of Southern California

Robert S. Ellwood


It is encouraging to note that the burgeoning body of literature on nineteenth-century medicine is supported by a number of important related works such as Professor Gregory Higby's study of the professional career of William Procter, Jr., a distinguished pioneer in American pharmacy. Procter, whose career spanned the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, generated no spectacular or breathtaking achievements by anyone's standards, and yet the consistency, reliability, and breadth of his work ultimately made him a much admired pacesetter within his newly defined profession. An artist's portrayal of Procter in his laboratory (on the dust jacket of the book) strongly suggests that
the subject was primarily a man of science who, secondarily, happened to pursue pharmacy.

William Procter, Jr., was born May 3, 1817, to Isaac and Rebecca Procter of Baltimore, Maryland, owners of a hardware store. The death of Isaac three years later left this family of nine children in difficult circumstances. William attended a Friend's school in Baltimore for a time where he displayed an interest in mineralogy and botany. He left to enter a cooper's shop, a situation he never enjoyed. His real desire was to gain an apprenticeship in pharmacy, which was finally arranged through a friend of the family who knew Henry M. Zollickoffer, an apothecary in Philadelphia. So it was that in 1831, at age fourteen, William Procter became part of Zollickoffer's establishment at Sixth and Pine streets. The author is moved to observe, "For the next forty years, pharmacy dominated almost all of Procter's waking hours" (p.17).

In 1835 he began studying in the evenings under Joseph Carson and Franklin Bache at a school operated by the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, and in 1844 Procter opened his own shop at 9th and Lombard streets in Philadelphia. In 1846 Carson sponsored Procter to occupy the new chair in "practical pharmacy" at Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, and two years later the mentor invited his student to join him as coeditor of the American Journal of Pharmacy. These academic pursuits provided Procter with some additional income and scholarly standing at a time when his modest apothecary business seemed destined to persist at a subsistence level.

Eventually, business at Ninth and Lombard improved, but monetary gain never became the prime concern. Procter remained riveted to the scientific end of pharmacy and channeled his energy into five pursuits: research in his lab behind the shop, almost twenty years of teaching at Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, sole editorship of the American Journal of Pharmacy between 1850 and 1871, leadership in professional societies—most critically the American Pharmaceutical Association, and revisions of Pharmacopoeia of the United States, including a low cost one-dollar edition in 1850.

Professor Higby successfully brings together the professional career of William Procter and the emergence of American pharmacy as a profession. In a quiet and persistent fashion Procter contributed his insights over four decades. While editing the American Journal of Pharmacy, for example, he took time to write "Varieties" and "Gleanings," thereby sharing his learning. Procter is
portrayed, essentially, as a shy and staid scientist who worked tirelessly to render American pharmacy a scientifically sound and respected profession.

In the best of all worlds, Procter would have led a fascinating personal life that included diverse interests and rich anecdotes. In fact, this pioneer in American pharmacy had a very narrow range of interests and a staid and somber outlook on life. As Higby notes, Procter never permitted a soda fountain in his apothecary shop, and Procter refused to enjoy himself while attending international conferences in Paris. This extensive dose of Quaker discipline is, in some respects, admirable, but it also seems to have precluded the possibility of a more stimulating biography.

Elizabethtown College  
Thomas R. Winpenney


In 1796 Thomas Jefferson referred to his manuscript collection of Virginia colonial laws as "these precious monuments of our property, and our history," observing that the public would find them "worthy of their attention and preservation." The most permanent means of preservation—indeed, he called it "the only means of preserving" them—was by "a multiplication of printed copies . . . at public expense" so that "a copy should be deposited in every public library in America, in the principal public offices within the State, and some perhaps in the most distinguished public libraries of Europe." The rest, he concluded, "should be sold to individuals, towards reimbursing the expenses of the edition."

The same spirit of historical preservation is evident in Volumes IV, V, and VI of the Documentary History of the First Federal Congress, 1789-1791. They make accessible in comprehensive form "the political and legislative history of the most important, and probably the most productive, Congress in American history" (p. vii). It was the duty of the first Congress to implement the provisions of the new federal Constitution. In the first session, for the first time in history, the new House of Representatives and Senate concentrated on creating a new federal government for a new nation, organizing the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. In this vast uncharted field, James Madison quickly noted
the lack of precedents: "we are in a wilderness without a single footstep to
guide us."

The beauty of these three volumes is that they blaze a trail through that
wilderness and make the way, as Madison predicted Congress would, "smooth,
short, and certain." As the editors point out, these volumes make the business
of the first federal Congress "available for use by historians, lawyers, political
scientists, and others interested in the workings of our early government" (p. xv).

During the three sessions of the first Congress, more than 180 House and
Senate bills and joint resolutions were debated. For each item—from the
amendments to the Constitution that became the Bill of Rights to the West
Point Act, from the Resolution on Compensation Lists to the Resolutions on
Unclaimed Western Lands—the editors have prepared a chronological calendar
to guide researchers through the labyrinth of existing sources. They have also
summarized the legislative history from the action that initiated the bill, whether
by a motion of a member of Congress, a report by a departmental secretary, a
recommendation by President George Washington, or a plea by a petitioner,
to the action by Congress and signature by the President. In addition to the
official records in the House Journal and the Senate Legislative Journal, previously
published in the Documentary History of the First Federal Congress, the editors
cite every independent account of the debates published in New York City and
Philadelphia newspapers and a variety of other sources including, for the first
time, Thomas Lloyd's archaic shorthand notes taken on the floor of the House
of Representatives and decoded some time ago by Marion Tinling when she
was with the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. (The
complete text of Tinling's deciphering of the notes will appear in a later volume
of the Documentary History.)

In several instances the editors have reconstructed the original text of a
bill. They start with the manuscript draft, whenever possible, and trace all
modifications in detail, relying on printed documents only if no contemporary
manuscript exists. The result is the most accurate reproduction of each document,
including the way it appeared as a document, complete with crossed-out words,
lines, and sections as well as insertions and marginal material.

These three volumes are, as the editors note, "a watershed in the publication
history of this project." They are also much more than that, constituting, as
Jefferson proclaimed, "precious monuments of our property, and our history"
worthy of preservation and documentation. To Charlene Bangs Bickford and
Helen E. Veit, the editors of these volumes, to Linda Grant De Pauw and
Kenneth R. Bowling on the project staff, to the National Historical Publications
and Records Commission, Johns Hopkins University Press, and George Wash-
ington University, the sponsors of this edition, the reading public here in
America and throughout the world will be forever indebted for making this
treasure house of information available through the “multiplication of printed copies.”

Winterthur Museum

James Morton Smith


In the conclusion of Death in the Dining Room (pp. 240-41), Kenneth Ames states that a “major intention behind this book was to provide examples of thinking about goods” while endeavoring “to understand Victorian Americans by exploring just a few of the things that were once part of their lives.” As Ames argues, goods in the nineteenth century increasingly became the media through which middle-class Americans attempted to know and define themselves, to structure and give meaning to their lives, and to express patterns of belief. The “more modest and more basic goal” of this study is “to convey, without exactly saying so, that looking at and thinking about things is a stimulating and creative activity in itself.” Material culture study, Ames declares, is “more than a utilitarian enterprise. It yields deep personal joys and satisfactions.” In its more ambitious as well as its nominally more modest goals, Death in the Dining Room—its title enticingly suggestive of some Victorian thriller—succeeds admirably. It is virtually impossible to read any part of this fascinating and accomplished study without responding to Ames’s infectious enthusiasm, his questing eye, and his careful, extended, and revelatory interrogations of objects both grand and humble. Rather than pass them by as clichéd examples of Victorian bad taste or sentimental religiosity, Ames stops and looks—and looks again—not only at the things themselves but also at their environment, their placement, their social and ritual functions, and the messages they were meant to inculcate and to communicate to those who saw and used them every day. His Aristotelian method is richly productive, resulting in an energetically proliferating chain of connotations that make even the plainest stitched motto a revelation of Victorian attitudes.

Death in the Dining Room examines five classes of objects. In the first chapter, “First Impressions,” Ames investigates hall furnishings, including elaborate hallstands, umbrella stands, and hall chairs, all of them instances of the increasing specialization that marked Victorian life. In the second, “Death in the Dining Room,” Ames moves on to another class of imposing and extravagantly embellished furniture, the mid-century sideboard encrusted with carvings of the raw material of cuisine: dead deer, birds, fish, fruit. The third, “Words to Live By,” takes up the subject of the needlework motto (stitched on the newly
available, mass-produced perforated cardboard) of the "God Bless Our Home" variety, while the fourth, "When the Music Stops," takes us into the Victorian middle-class parlor with an examination of the ubiquitous parlor organ. Finally, Ames considers "Posture and Power" by looking first at the parlor suite as a manifestation of the courtly gentility sought by the American middle class, and then at chair-tilting and rocking chairs as politicized as well as gendered expressions of resistance to those same courtly conventions.

While the objects under scrutiny are quite varied, together they form a constellation of overarching, related meanings that illuminate the convictions and anxieties of American Victorian culture. Throughout Ames's narrative certain value structures and ideological formations emerge again and again from his interrogations: a near obsession with power, hierarchy, and control, accompanied by elaborate rites of consumption and display; insistence on the rigid categorization and specialization of everything from gender roles to objects such as cardholders; and a persistent tendency at the same time to wrestle with conflicting forces, such as religion and technology, tradition and innovation, masculine and feminine. For example, in "First Impressions," the severely grand design of the intensely specialized hall chair clearly proclaims its meaning in the context of the period's fixation on hierarchy. Unlike the chairs in other formal public rooms, it had no upholstery, only a hard plank seat. Whereas those of superior social grade moved quickly into the interior of the home, social inferiors such as messenger boys were restricted to the hall, and their comfort while waiting was of no account. Ames sees further connotations of hierarchy, extending to the very definition of civilization itself, in the extravagant sideboards, proudly displaying their aestheticized harvest of death and serving as secularized altarpieces for the Victorian ritual of dining, which Ames describes as a performance of highly civilized behavior translating predation into symbol and ceremony. From the elaborately arranged and massively carved array of dead flesh, he extracts a multiplicity of meanings, reading the iconography of the hunt as explicitly masculine, linking this with the sideboard's large, aggressive, and commanding presence, and proceeding to regard these pieces as complex signs of an alimentary imperialism, product of a human-centered vision demanding a "Christian" sacrifice of living things to serve humanity, and ultimately connotative of the social relations engendered by nineteenth-century capitalism. Ames's discussion of perforation, lettering styles, domesticity, and evangelical Protestantism in the chapter on needlework mottoes is intriguing, as are the final two sections, scrutinizing the gendering of domestic music-making and its function in familial, social, and class bonding, and dissecting sitting as a culturally constructed performance in which both chair and sitter's posture share the status of cultural artifacts.

This is an inspiring book. Ames admits that it is experimental, but it is experimental in the best sense, since it suggests more than it concludes, thus
opening out an almost limitless field of prospects and issues for future study. Ames writes clearly, colorfully, and energetically, and the book is accessible to the scholar and the casual reader alike. The illustrations, and their expository captions, form a lively (and intended) subtext in themselves, running parallel to the main text. Ames does not try to erase his own presence as an observing, interpreting subject but frankly admits his own ambivalence about Victorian culture and its products, as when he observes that the sideboards on one level are "fascinating; on another, slightly repulsive" (p. 67). Like the sideboards themselves, the meanings Ames extracts from them incorporate this same duality: Ames is highly sensitive to middle-class Victorians' own cultural ambivalence, expressed in the conflicted meanings inscribed in their artifacts.

Like any interpreter, however, Ames does have an ideological agenda, which is to show that the Victorians—with their materialism, sexism, racism, and capitalism—laid the groundwork for social and cultural problems that continue to plague us, inhibiting our progress toward social and cultural enlightenment. It is in carrying this agenda forward that he occasionally becomes didactic and judgmental, with a tendency toward reductionism, most strongly marked in the captions, where the negative pole of his attitude toward the Victorians starkly shows itself. The caption to figure 3.52, for example, which comments on the photograph of a bedroom dresser surmounted by a framed motto proclaiming "Jesus Loves Me," is quite severe: "Better than many documents, it demonstrates the period's promotion of cloying sweetness and sentimentality, of passivity, smug egocentrism, and infantile credulity." Such observations, transcending criticism, become sheer condemnation. Related to this is the pervasive inclination to view and explain both things and individuals in a uniform, normative light that often reduces them to robotically programmed props and actors bound to Ames's script. This is most obvious in the chapter on parlor organs, in captions and text alike. In the caption for figure 4.11, a book cover design showing a woman playing the parlor organ for her family, Ames says: "Here is female unselfishness . . . reified. Here, her culturally constructed satisfaction comes from providing the occasion for a decorous, multigenerational experience." All of us, of course, are "culturally constructed" to a large degree, yet Ames's chilly and condescending assessment of such feminine musical activity leaves me wondering whether all organ-playing Victorian middle-class women could expect nothing more than such mechanical, socially sanctioned "satisfaction," and whether all family gatherings of this nature shared the sterility and constriction suggested by "decorous, multigenerational experience." Despite his admission (p. 181) that objects may have had private meanings for their owners, he does not venture to speculate on them, continuing to subject things to the prolonged inspection of his normalizing lens. I found myself wondering whether, in this stifling middle-class laboratory evoked by Ames, boundaries were ever blurred or transgressed, whether organ-playing women ever experienced pure, selfish
pleasure—or equally selfish displeasure—rather than culturally constructed, unselfish satisfaction, whether they "always desired" (p. 166) the saintly role Ames says they did.

Here, perhaps, is the major limitation of Ames's inductive method. While it was fascinating to follow his excavation of meanings from things, I wanted to know more about their users. Such information, of course, may be scarce and difficult to unearth, yet it seems the missing counterpoise to the overload of normalization that accrues here. The chapter on "Posture and Power" is more satisfying in its account of users and can be seen, therefore, as the one that maps out the most promising direction for future material culture studies.

Despite these criticisms, however, I wish to stress the importance of Ames's achievement in *Death in the Dining Room*. I will never again look at a Victorian chair, or a motto on perforated cardboard, or a parlor organ, without "hearing" them insinuate the social and cultural meanings Ames has suggested. Ames has given these common objects a voice, and his example will stimulate others to restore the voices of many other things that continue to stand mute, waiting for interpretation.

*Indiana University, Bloomington*  
SARAH BURNS
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The fellowships are tenable for one month at any time from June 1994 to May 1995. The stipend is $1,250. International applications are especially encouraged, since a separately endowed fund provides an additional allowance to one fellow whose residence is outside the United States. Fellows will be assisted in finding reasonably priced accommodations.

Candidates must apply by February 1, 1994. Appointments will be made by March 15. There are no application forms. To apply please send four copies each of a vita, a two- to four-page description of your proposed project, and a letter of reference to: James Green, Curator of Printed Books, Library Company of Philadelphia, 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107. Telephone (215) 546-3181. Fax (215) 546-5167.