BOOK REVIEWS


Published on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the American Jewish Historical Society, The Jewish People in America not only provides a comprehensive review of American Jewish history over the last three and a half centuries, but also serves as a vehicle for the exploration of some of American Jewish history's most important historiographical issues. Indeed, the authors who have contributed to this five-volume collection sometimes go quite a bit beyond what might be expected in survey texts to present their own personal perspectives on certain vital questions in American Jewish history, and this makes the series more exciting and illuminating than it might have been as a purely "objective" account of the experience of the Jews in America.

Volume I of the Jewish People in America, Eli Faber's A Time for Planting, covers the period from the mid-seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth and is built around the idea that the Jews of colonial America and of the early republic were pioneers in "exploring the implications of living where Jews were not the objects of debilitating hostility" (p. 142). Faber emphasizes that these Jews were among the first to grapple with acculturation and its implications for Jewish particularism, and that they were among the first to create Jewish communities based exclusively on voluntary association. In focusing on the inevitable tension that developed between adaptation to life in America and the retention of Jewish distinctiveness, Faber introduces what is certainly the most significant theme in American Jewish history, a theme that appears as a kind of leitmotif throughout all the volumes in this series.

Volume II of the collection, Hasia Diner's A Time for Gathering, covers the middle decades of the nineteenth century and argues that the wave of so-called "German" Jews who arrived in the United States in that period was neither as monolithic as has often been assumed, nor as different from the post-1880 wave
of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Diner further maintains that pre-1880 American Jewish culture has been undeservedly maligned for its supposed poverty in comparison to the rich culture of the post-1880 Jewish community, and she attempts to point out various ways in which mid-nineteenth-century Jews preserved much of their distinctiveness even as they continued to Americanize. In the third volume of the series, entitled *A Time for Building* and covering the period from 1880 to 1920, Gerald S. S. recount how turn-of-the-century American Jewry, largely a product of mass migration from Eastern Europe, managed to achieve a "happy American Jewish combination" (p. 236) that rested upon adaptations of traditional religious thought and ritual, the development of a Yiddish-based ethnic identity, and an appreciation for the promise held out by the United States and its culturally diverse society.

Volume IV, *A Time for Searching*, written by series editor Feingold, covers the years between 1920 and 1945 and considers the special kinds of tensions that were generated as American Jews of the first post-immigrant generation (which Feingold describes as a "lost generation") found themselves rejecting the culture of their parents and, even in the face of widespread anti-Semitism, prepared themselves to enter the mainstream of American life. In the process, Feingold describes the creation of American Jewry's diverse organizational and fund-raising network, the evolution of its fragmented religious system, the development of its own variety of Zionism, and the emergence of the basic characteristics of contemporary American Jewish life. Feingold closes his volume with a thoughtful chapter on how the experience of American Jews in the 1920s and 1930s conditioned their response to the Holocaust. He argues that the Jewish community's traditional corporate character had been severely weakened in the period after World War I. He concludes that, in the end, "it was the inability of American Jews to speak with one voice that prevented them from adequately responding to the threat facing Jews in Europe" (p. 189).

Finally, Volume V, Edward Shapiro's *A Time for Healing*, considers the decline of anti-Semitism after World War II, the rapid climb of American Jews up America's socioeconomic ladder, and the adaptation of Jews to the tremendous affluence and freedom that has characterized American Jewish life since the end of World War II. The central question that is on Shapiro's mind as he analyzes the recent history of American Jewry is whether or not it can survive its own post-World War II successes. Although in his final chapter Shapiro presents the views of both "transformationists," who argue that American Jewry is changing but not disappearing, and "assimilationists," who assert that American Jewry is in a process of decline, Shapiro himself is clearly pessimistic about the future of American Jewry as an entity with its own authentic cultural and religious identity.

Just as each of the volumes in this series has its own story to tell and its own particular issues to explore, each volume also has its own slightly different
approach to discussing the period it treats. For example, volume I frequently
uses the biographies of significant American Jews to illustrate its general conclu-
sions, while volume II largely shuns extensive biographical sketches of prominent
individuals and concentrates instead on the "peddlers and petty merchants"
who constituted the majority of American Jews in the mid-nineteenth century.
The narratives of volumes IV and V are colored more than those of the earlier
books by the central questions that concern their authors: American Jewry's
role in the Holocaust, in the one case, and the ultimate survival of American
Jewry, in the other. Yet despite the individual character of each volume of *The
Jewish People in America*, the series works very well as a whole, and its individual
parts are worthy of collective praise on several counts. Series editor Henry
Feingold is to be commended for allowing the other authors who contributed
to this enterprise to go their own ways as much as possible, while still insuring
that they produced volumes appropriate to an integrated historical survey.

One thing that can be said in praise of *The Jewish People in America* as a
whole is that it seems very much aware of the importance of context. Thus,
the authors of its various volumes frequently relate developments in American
Jewish history to Jewish life elsewhere in the world. Volume I integrates the
history of the Jews in colonial America with the broader story of New World
Jewry, for example, while volumes II and III contain entire chapters on the
European origins of the Jewish immigrants who came to America in the periods
1820-1880 and 1880-1920. So too, the authors in this series often set develop-
ments in American Jewish history against the background of major trends in
American history more generally. The series as a whole is also strengthened by
the fact that it pays attention to topics that other reviews of American Jewish
history have often neglected in the past: the experience of Jewish women in
America, for example, or Jewish involvement in crime.

The multi-volume format of this history also allows for a broader geographic
coverage than might otherwise have been possible. There is in this collection
a welcome recognition that Jews were to be found all over the United States:
in the South and West as well as in the East, and in rural areas as well as in
urban settings. Pennsylvanians who turn to these volumes to learn about the
Jewish experience in the Keystone State will find a fair amount of information
on Pennsylvania Jewry. Volume I includes numerous references to the lives of
the Gratz brothers of Philadelphia and of Joseph Simon of Lancaster, for
example, while volume III includes an extensive discussion of Philadelphia in
its chapter on Jewish life "Beyond New York." Other references to the Jewish
community of the city are scattered throughout the other volumes of the series
as well.

Of course no project this ambitious is without some shortcomings. Occasion-
ally, individuals, events, or themes one might expect to find mentioned are not.
Shapiro, for example, admits that he was forced to "slight many worthwhile topics
such as religious thought, the history of Jewish organizations and federations . . . and the relations of Jews with other ethnic and racial groups” (p. xvi). At the same time, there is perhaps too much detail on some topics. Feingold’s discussion of American Jewish involvement in a scheme to settle Russian Jews in the Crimea might have been condensed somewhat, for example. The use of illustrations in the volumes also leaves something to be desired. Some of the photographs are poorly reproduced, and in some volumes they are neither sufficiently captioned nor tied into the text in any coherent fashion.

On the other hand, actual errors of fact seem to be extremely rare in this series, as are typographical errors. Moreover, all of the volumes in the collection are written in a clear and sometimes elegant and engaging style, and all draw upon a wide range of secondary sources, as well as a fair amount of primary material. All the volumes contain useful bibliographical essays (though Diner’s “Note on Sources” is rather brief) and all are well-indexed. The authors of these volumes have done an excellent job of meeting their editor’s challenge to produce works that would distill the findings of previous scholars and present an account of the American Jewish experience “in a form that will satisfy the standards of the professional historian while holding the interest of the intelligent lay reader” (vol. IV, p. vxii).

All in all, this handsomely produced collection is a wonderful legacy of the one-hundredth anniversary celebration of the American Jewish Historical Society. Each of its component parts makes for interesting and instructive reading in its own right, and the series as a whole will likely become the standard reference work on American Jewish history.

*University of Louisville*  
*Lee Shai Weissbach*

*The 1693 Census of the Swedes On the Delaware.* By Peter Stebbins Craig.  
(Winter Park, Fla.: SAG Publications, 1993. ix, 213p. Maps, bibliography, index of place names, index of personal names. $37.50.)

In the seventeenth century, Sweden played an important role in the military and political history of Europe. Ruled by a succession of “warrior-kings” from Gustavus Adolphus to Charles XII, Sweden saw its armies engage in virtually continuous, and often successful, warfare until that nation’s military strength and political significance were severely diminished by the Great Northern War ending in 1721. Not surprisingly, as Sweden’s influence in the Baltic and northern Europe expanded in the mid-seventeenth century, it began to look to colonization both to enhance its own power and prestige and to counter similar colonization schemes of two other Protestant powers, England and the Dutch Republic. Colonies could also help to siphon off discontented and rebellious soldiers returning from service in the bitterly fought Thirty Years War, act as surrogate prisons for convicts, and provide fertile sanctuary for land-hungry
farmers. Thus, from 1637 to 1655 the Swedish government sanctioned and equipped thirteen voyages, transporting 800 settlers, to colonize the South, or Delaware, River region. The colony became New Sweden, with Fort Christina, present-day Wilmington, Delaware, as its initial focal point. In all eleven of the ships, with about 600 passengers, arrived.

Although New Sweden was conquered by the Dutch in 1655, the Dutch governor Peter Stuyvesant permitted the “up-river” Swedes to retain their autonomy in return for pledging allegiance to the Dutch and for allowing Stuyvesant to approve their officers. The “Swedish Nation,” or “Upland County,” was thereby established in 1656 and survived until superseded by the government of William Penn.

While the Swedish colony on the Delaware was clearly peripheral to Sweden’s foreign policy, particularly as the century wore on, the role of the early Swedes in the history of the Delaware Valley was extremely significant but has been largely ignored, except for the unflagging efforts of C.A. Weslager, Charles Gehring, and Peter Craig. While Weslager has tended to present a more general view of the early Swedish, Dutch, and English settlements and Gehring has concentrated on editing the manuscript collections at Albany, New York, relating to those settlements, Craig has focused his attention on the Swedish settlers themselves. In this extraordinary book he provides for the first time an accurate transcription of the 1693 census, taken by Charles Springer, of the 195 households (representing 972 individuals) that comprised the Swedish churches at Wicaco and Crane Hook, which together served the Swedes then residing in parts of three colonies: Pennsylvania (which included present-day Delaware), New Jersey, and Maryland. But Craig is not content with merely transcribing the census: through painstaking and assiduous research, utilizing an astonishing array of sources in both America and Sweden, he has crafted biographical sketches of the 195 heads of households listed and has reconstructed the households themselves. At the same time, he demolishes many of the absurd claims and egregious errors made by generations of careless researchers.

Reconstructing Swedish families is particularly difficult given their use of patronymics, the lack of standardized spellings in the period, and the tendency of English clerks to haphazardly anglicize the names. Nor, as Craig relates, were all of the heads of households Swedes; some of them were English, Dutch, or German men who had married Swedish women. Craig has provided an immense service to historians and genealogists alike and has demonstrated, at a time when family reconstitution is immensely popular but often carelessly done, that meticulous research should be the rule, not the exception. Craig has also included two excellent maps that he commissioned especially for this project.

Although Craig has provided two indexes, of place names and personal names, this reviewer would have been happy to see, as well, an index of subjects that would enable readers to trace occupations, officeholding, relations with the
Indians, brushes with the law, among other topics. Craig might have also expanded his introduction slightly, at least to include discussions of the Long Finne Rebellion of 1669 and the Dike Rebellion of 1675, both of which appear in the sketches without explanation, and perhaps to include a summary overview of the settlers themselves and their impact on the Delaware Valley. These, however, are relatively minor quibbles and are not intended to detract from this obvious and invaluable labor of love.

Temple University

Craig W. Horle


The purpose of this book, the publisher states, is not that of "the typical scholarly monograph," but that of educating "in an entertaining way" the "citizens of Pennsylvania" (p. ii). Yet the book contains scholarly apparatus, including endnotes, and it undertakes a type of study—family history—which historians deem valuable. It deserves to be evaluated as a scholarly book.

The narrative describes more than the title indicates; it encompasses the efforts of William Penn's son and grandsons to govern their colony. Many of the details of the story are well told. It seems strongest in dealing with the period from 1774 to the conclusion, in which Treese carefully depicts John Penn's confrontation with the American Revolution. Readers can easily appreciate his dilemma and feel his sorrow at the losses he suffered. Other sections that should hold the attention of both scholars and general readers are those on Pontiac's uprising of 1763-64, and on the murders of Indians by frontier thugs. Discussion of Penn family relations will also hold reader interest.

Scholars and other readers will wish that the management of the proprietorship had been explained more fully. The book tells us rather little about the development of the proprietary business, which before 1730 was a liability, but which by the late 1740s paid off well. Not until the next to last chapter, concerning the divestment of 1779, are any specific financial figures supplied. The author gives only tantalizing hints about yearly returns, and does not explore the profitability of land sales, quitrents, and proprietary manors. General readers undoubtedly understand the importance of the bottom line, and will want to know how this business grew.

The author should have analyzed more clearly the actions of Penn family members. Certainly John Penn's cautiousness, neutrality, and vacillation after 1775 originated from his perception of how best to save the family property.
Treese too quickly dismisses the view that Penn intentionally and shrewdly avoided intervening in the 1773 controversy concerning the arrival of the tea ship, and the assumption that he bowed to pressure to call the Assembly in 1774. Treese should assess further whether Thomas Penn was truly grasping (p. 12) or justifiably asserting his rights as a landowner. The Penns may well have aimed only at procuring a gentlemanly income, rather than milking provincial inhabitants to their last penny. Large arrears remaining in 1779 may indicate, besides difficulty of collection, some forbearance in pursuing struggling debtors.

Treese notes (p. 140) that land purchasers did not resist Penn collections as they did British taxes, and that John and Richard Jr. seem to have been personally popular. Yet, in accordance with Revolutionary principles, Pennsylvania eliminated both their government and their land monopoly. This may indicate that the inhabitants were concerned more with equality and representative government than with immediate economic benefit. More definite and more historiographically significant conclusions about the force of ideology and of economic interest among Revolutionary Pennsylvanians might well have been drawn.

The author used major manuscript and printed sources, but did not cite the chief source on the opponents of the Penns, the Papers of Benjamin Franklin (1959-). Had she done so, her description of Franklin's activities at the time of the Stamp Act and the Townsend duties would have been more accurate.

Scholars will hope that this useful, thoughtful work encourages a more complete study. Cynthia Kierner's book on the Livingston family of New York, who were also very wealthy landholders and politicians, might serve as a model. General readers will enjoy the portrayal of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania and its leaders.

Texas Tech University

BENJAMIN H. NEWCOMB


Academic historians tend to regard other purveyors of history—academics in different disciplines, journalists, filmmakers—as dilettantes who fail to grasp the complexities of their subjects. Nonacademics tend to look upon academics as dullards whose prose is unreadable and not worth reading. Too often there is merit in both points of view.

Comes William Miller, professor of ethics and institutions at the University of Virginia, with a book written for the general reader, a book that is not quite
biography and not quite history, aimed at tracing James Madison's intellectual
development as a way of describing the moral and theoretical foundations of
the Constitution. Though not a professional historian, Miller is no tyro: his
earlier work includes a study of the relationship between liberty and religion
in America. Moreover, he is a thoughtful scholar who has done his homework,
having read the biographies of Madison and the relevant published documents.
Some of his insights, especially concerning religion, slavery, and the communitar-
ian aspects of the Bill of Rights, are provocative and valuable.

These assets are not enough, however, in the eyes of this academic historian.
There are a considerable number of errors of fact. Many, such as identifying
Nathaniel Gorham as being from Connecticut instead of Massachusetts (p.
66), are merely irritating. Others, such as having David Hume publishing his
political essays while Adam Smith was writing Wealth of Nations (p. 218),
efforts separated by three decades, betray a lack of knowledge crucial to an
understanding of those intellectual currents that are central to Miller's work.
And some, such as the assertion (p. 158) that in writing Federalist 6 through
9 Hamilton drew upon his June 18 speech in the constitutional convention—
there is no relation between the content of the two performances—reveal that
Miller has not done his research carefully.

There are also contradictions and misreadings. For example, we are told (p.
198) that George Nicholas, a key federalist in Virginia's ratifying convention,
had moved to Kentucky; eleven pages later we are informed that Nicholas "was
already himself planning to move to Kentucky." On page 99 Miller points out,
accurately, that the Articles of Confederation could be amended only by the
unanimous consent of the states, but further down the same page he states that
the Articles contained no provision for amendment (on page 267 he repeats
the erroneous version). Or, he gives us a quotation from Madison (p. 30) about
the limits of religion in restraining people, followed by an "In other words"
summary that says something entirely different; he does it again concerning
the Senate and "money bills" on page 100.

Let us turn to the writing. Miller's style is informal, conversational, almost
chatty. Usually his prose is pleasant, and often his choices of folksy examples
enable him to explain complex concepts clearly. But his copy needed editing
that it did not get, as indicated by numerous typographical errors and a great
deal of repetitiveness (lengthy quotations at pages 17 and 27, for example, are
repeated verbatim at 178 and 211). Sometimes he employs gee whiz devices,
such as a profusion of exclamation points and sentences like this one (p. 261):
"North Carolina . . . was able to do two potent ratifications in rapid succession,
bang, bang, Constitution, Bill of Rights." Or (p. 73): "Paterson of New Jersey
responded in kind: all right, let's do adjourn, and let the people know you big-
state guys, the first time you lost, just wanted to pick up your marbles and go
home." After a while it cloys. On occasion it grates: James Wilson (p. 62) is
"the unsungest of unsung heroes" who "outstrips [Madison] in the unsungness department."

There is not much here for serious students. General readers may find it interesting and, in a limited fashion, edifying.

*University of Alabama*  
FORREST MCDONALD

(Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1992. 320p. Illustrations, selected bibliography, index. Cloth, $60.00; paper, $35.00.)

Now Rembrandt Peale has had his day in court. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania hosted the first exhibition devoted solely to his art in 1985 and in the following year printed the findings of a symposium in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.* In 1992 the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, staged a comprehensive exhibition and published the hefty biography here under review. Lillian B. Miller, historian of American culture and editor of the Peale Family Papers at the Portrait Gallery, wrote the monograph, which doubles as a record of the show. She drew both on her own unparalleled familiarity with the Peales and on the enormous research and staff resources of the Portrait Gallery in producing a book that will stand as the standard history of the subject. Ongoing is the Rembrandt Peale catalogue raisonné project at the Portrait Gallery under the direction of Dr. Miller.

Does Rembrandt Peale merit this attention and the formidable financial investment involved, much of it from the Annenberg Foundation of Philadelphia? Of course. He was a major arbiter in the formation of an American art from about 1805 to 1825, a respected portraitist who brushed shoulders with the likes of Washington and Jefferson, a museum entrepreneur who dabbled in science and municipal improvements, and a reformer and moralist of grave dimensions. He created a vault of evidence for the historian: over 1,200 paintings, an impressive portfolio of publications, and a substantial correspondence. He was also the son of Charles Willson Peale, one of the most smiling personalities of the Revolutionary and Federal eras.

As the first scholarly biography of Rembrandt Peale, this historical account is virtually unassailable, so authoritative is the research and straightforward the presentation. The book contains 138 illustrations and 32 color plates of fine quality; still, it is under-illustrated, as Miller discusses many paintings that are not shown, and several selections are not apparently defensible (such as the limp likeness of Abbé Haity [figure 44 and plate 11]). Miller admirably accomplishes her goal of establishing the structure of Peale's career and identifying major issues of concern to him, notably his understanding of art as a social agent and his endorsement of the European grand tradition as the basis for American visual culture. As many artists of the time shared his interest in
these issues, Miller stops short of arguing for a unique motivation behind Peale's experience in this regard, thus striking a note of reserve that is sustained throughout the book. Reticence is sounded in the title: the pursuit of fame in itself is not necessarily a praiseworthy pursuit, and the words imply coming up shy of the goal after a good deal of thrashing about. Inviting others to enter the discussion, Miller advises the reader early on (p. 11) that Peale "seems to have remained impervious to the pressing problems of the day" and does not, as represented by his writings, lend himself to psychoanalytic study.

What, then, made Peale tick? Focusing on the written word as documentation of an artist's ideology and intentions is perhaps one predilection that distinguishes the historian from the art historian. Even if intentionality is unrecoverable in an absolute sense, one must recognize that the artist's publications are images, not words, and the way in which he constructs images is the expression of his understanding of the world and his hope for it. For those who uphold that style encodes ideology, Peale's development is apprehensible, and his style is not randomly eclectic or opportunistic. His earlier work is republican with a French neoclassical inflection, and his work after about 1820 is old-republican with a British romantic inflection.

Peale was a Jeffersonian Republican who painted portraits of (and, served and identified with) oodles of Republicans. He did not later join the ranks of Andrew Jackson—of whom he painted a condemning portrait (figure 62)—but found haven among the old Boston Federalists and the new Whigs. The transformation is revealing of Peale's self-identification as a member of the educated elite who assumed the role of cultural guardians and guides to a nation of hayseeds, utilitarians, and, worse, new immigrants. When the potential of democratic ideals became compelling after the depression of 1819, Peale produced a huge painting, The Court of Death, to reaffirm middle-class and liberal Christian values and to stigmatize the do-badders in society, especially the intemperate and those who would resolve problems through violence. When democracy hailed new heroes with what he regarded as mushy principles, Peale countered with an iconic portrait of the real thing, George Washington, which he then copied over and over. Gilbert Stuart had done the same (as had sculptors serving Roman emperors), but there was an urgency in Peale's effort to broadcast the look of virtue, patriotism, and national unity throughout a land that was increasingly pluralist and disunited and that was suddenly aware it had a history to reckon with. There were huge stakes involved in the cultural and political wranglings of the 1820s; Peale may have seemed "oblivious to much of the political implication of his effort" in painting the ideal Washington (p. 143), but he was actually in the thick of the debate. When Jackson became president, Peale, like the other reactionary artists—Thomas Cole, Samuel F.B. Morse, and Horatio Greenough—went to Europe.

One must be cautious in reading historical figures in psychoanalytic terms,
but some figures cry out for their full measure of understanding. In the case
of Rembrandt Peale, both the written documents and the images rebut the
contention that psychoanalytic analyses are "purely conjectural" (p. 111). If the
problem of intentionality generates conditionals in the historical sphere, it can
do the same in the psychoanalytic sphere. Miller references Peale throughout
the book as Rembrandt, the name Peale being reserved for his father; the
subject is thus subtly devalued, as he is in the statement that he was "more
than the talented son of an ingenious father" (p. 9). Peale expended much
psychic energy in distinguishing himself from his father. Some was in an
affirmatory way, as, for example, when he built upon his father's style and
Enlightenment values and mimicked his father's Philadelphia museum in Balti-
more. More, however, was in a confrontational way: he married too young a
woman about whom his father was not enthusiastic; he deliberately botched the
chance to work with Benjamin West (his father's teacher) in London; he made
a point of educating his father in modern painting techniques; he created sexually
provocative images of which his father disapproved; he established his own
museum in a city (Baltimore) that his father insisted was off limits (because
his brother-in-law there thought painters and museum entrepreneurs were char-
latans); he refused to settle down, as his father urged him to do, and instead
traveled as far and wide as he could, venting a restlessness that even his itinerant
peers did not share.

Such observations are not in opposition to Lillian Miller's grand achievement.
Her book sets before us a fine artist and influential broker of culture whose
importance had before been undefined. Especially important is her identification
of Peale with the Unitarian community and Boston-centered reformism, a
connection acknowledged in the literature but not so fully developed. Studies
of Peale's patronage, ideology, stylistic development, entrepreneurship, and his
relation to his family will proceed as additions to the solid structure that Miller
has built.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

William T. Oedel

By ROBERT F. ENSMINGER. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins
University Press, 1992. xvii, 238p. Illustrations, selected bibliography,
index. $39.95.)

The Pennsylvania barn has long been an icon of the American agricultural
landscape. In this lavishly illustrated volume, the culmination of fifteen years
of research and fieldwork throughout North America and Europe, Robert
Ensminger charts the origin, evolution, and diffusion of the Pennsylvania barn, proposes a new and more comprehensive classification system for the many Pennsylvania barn subtypes, and speculates on the future survival of these buildings in the face of increasing development pressure.

The key diagnostic features of the two-level Pennsylvania barn are the forebay, an upper-level extension over the lower-level stable doors, and the earthen bank or bridge, an upper-level access ramp that nineteenth-century commentator William Cobbett termed a “raised road” constructed “so that the waggons go into the first floor up-stairs.” Larger and more substantial than many barns that preceded it, this multipurpose barn was designed to incorporate as much farm stabling, stalling, crop storage, and processing as possible into a single, large, efficient structure. These buildings typically accommodated the threshing of feed grains and provided storage for hay and straw on the upper level while housing livestock in lower level stalls. First appearing in Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century, forebay bank barns eventually became a dominant feature of that area's landscape. Scholars have long debated whether the Pennsylvania barn was an American invention—a New World synthesis of existing ideas—or a direct descendant of European prototypes. Marshalling evidence gathered from fieldwork in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria, Ensminger argues that the Pennsylvania barn originated directly from the log forebay bank barns of Prättigau, Switzerland.

The book is organized thematically into five chapters that address the origins, classification, evolution, diffusion, and future of the Pennsylvania barn. In order to simplify the basic typology as well as accommodate a broader range of barn types and locations, Ensminger revises the classification scheme for Pennsylvania barns proposed by Charles Dornbush in 1958. Based on differences in forebay construction and the integration of the forebay into the barn frame, he divides the barns into three basic classes into which most types and subtypes can be fitted: the Sweitzer barn, circa 1730-1850, characterized by a medium-depth forebay and asymmetrical roof slopes; the standard barn, circa 1790-1890, identified by symmetrical bents that incorporate the forebay into the main barn frame and result in symmetrical roof slopes; and the extended barn, circa 1790-1920, characterized by extensions or amendments to the existing building beyond basic Sweitzer and standard framing limits.

Through modification and synthesis, the few basic barn types imported from Europe continued to evolve in the New World, with the largest number of new types appearing between 1790 and 1840. Changes in early nineteenth-century agriculture, including the growth of livestock farming, the development of dairying, and rail accessibility, may have fueled some barn modifications in southeastern Pennsylvania; other evolutionary shifts, such as the transition to masonry construction, are not as easily explained. Using data gathered from field surveys, newspaper articles, photographs, and existing scholarly literature,
Ensminger maps the diffusion and distribution of the Pennsylvania barn throughout the eastern United States and Canada. Ethnic migrations, settlement patterns, and road development all played a part in the eventual distribution of this building type. Ensminger finds that conservative Protestant sectarians, including Amish, Mennonite, and Brethren groups, functioned as “barn carriers”; the settlement patterns of these groups correlate closely with the distribution of Pennsylvania barns in the eastern United States. But diffusion of Pennsylvania barns into other areas, such as southeastern Wisconsin, was driven not by the spread of people but by the spread of knowledge, not by the in-migration of “barn carriers” but by “the conscious choice of a versatile, multiple-purpose barn by ethnic Germans who were aware of its use by their Pennsylvania-German cousins” (p. 172).

*The Pennsylvania Barn* is a comprehensive study that will be of interest to the general reader as well as scholars and students of the vernacular landscape. Differences between construction features of some subtypes may be overly technical for some readers, but the book is profusely illustrated with good photographs, diagrams, and line drawings.

*University of Delaware*  
GABRIELLE M. LANIER


In 1986 William Seale issued a two-volume, 1,225-page study entitled *The President’s House,* “a history of the interaction between the building and the people associated with it.” He has now published a summarized retelling of the evolution of the house itself. While this new work necessarily repeats much that appeared earlier, it is a handsome, if heavy and unhandy, tome, suitable for browsing among its rich visual and verbal morsels, but welcome as well as a detailed architectural history of this ever-changing landmark.

Seale’s thesis is clearly stated: “Excellence of design . . . is not the issue with the White House. Ideas put it up, and ideas have shaped it year by year, until the house itself is a unique and uniquely American place for the presidency.” Transformations through the building’s 200-year history are chronicled here, transformations that have, paradoxically, left the essence unchanged. This is a house its “eighteenth-century builder would recognize,” both physically (especially from the exterior) and ideologically, as the embodiment of the executive branch of the federal government. This is what has remained unchanged; this is the “American Idea” of Seale’s subtitle.
The idea was George Washington's, although he remains the only executive never to occupy (however briefly) the house. James Hoban designed the rather dated mid-Georgian pedimented pavilion in 1792, basing his concept on Dublin's Leinster House. It rose as a white-washed stone, two-story Ionic pile, a domestic block, appropriately or not (depending on one's politics) larger by far than any other house in the republic. From the north entrance hall a transverse corridor ran from the East Room to the State Dining Room past reception rooms later called Green and Red between the oval Blue. Thomas Jefferson with Benjamin Latrobe's help began the history of constant alteration with the addition of the wings. After the British burned the building in 1814, James Madison ordered Hoban to rebuild it as it had been, but with the addition of north and south porticoes.

Through the rest of the nineteenth century changes occurred largely in the interior, in the form of frequent redecoration and the introduction of mechanical equipment, and on the exterior with the addition of greenhouses snaking to the west. Major changes were threatened, however. As the country grew in the post-Civil War era the mansion's triple purpose as domestic retreat, ceremonial setting, and executive office, overran the space at hand. With Benjamin Harrison began a series of projects that often, as in the 1889 scheme by Fred Owen, envisioned Hoban's pile as central in placement but secondary in bulk in a multi-part composition. Throughout this expansionist period, however, the presidents themselves, stewards of Washington's idea, in various ways and in varying degrees held fast to tradition.

In the twentieth century the house experienced two major rebuildings. Under Theodore Roosevelt in 1902 Charles McKim reworked the house into a beaux-arts version of Hoban's design. While the basic plan survived, McKim relocated the main stair, expanded the residential space on the second floor, and moved the offices to a "temporary" building to the west of the house (entailing the demolition of the Victorian greenhouses). Through the first half of the century most change occurred in the East Wing and in the west building (the Oval Office appeared in 1909 under William H. Taft; Franklin D. Roosevelt moved it to its present position in 1934), but Harry Truman in the late 1940s added the unfortunate balcony to the south portico, and, most drastic of all, gutted the house to its original brick-lined stone exterior and inserted a steel and concrete building into the old shell. The plan modified McKim's modification of Hoban's plan. Although the original footprint of the main floor was still largely recognizable despite total rebuilding, this was not a project of which current preservationists would approve. With ongoing redecoration this is the house inherited by William Jefferson Clinton.

Seale's story unfolds in graceful prose and in a series of lush photographs, many in color. The factual slip is rare and controversial statements are few (not all students agree with all points of his discussion of the designer of the north
and south porticoes, for example). The White House will no doubt remain the standard treatment of the subject, even after the next transformation of this ever-changing, never-changing ideal.

Wellesley College

James F. O’Gorman


Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is the site selected by Thomas Winpenny to test the thesis that throughout the vibrant years of the American Industrial Revolution craft technology persisted and, indeed, in some situations, flourished. After establishing the validity and viability of craft traditions in Lancaster, Winpenny fine-tunes his definition of craftsmanship to include work dependent on machinery—but human-powered machinery.

Central to his thesis is census-based information that traditional crafts not only persisted in Lancaster, but in the case of carpenters, blacksmiths, printers, tinsmiths, and others expanded. This expansion was achieved without adopting the steam-powered machinery more prevalent in urbanized centers such as Philadelphia. Nor was this craft persistence due to a lack of more highly mechanized local models, for Winpenny finds the development of factory scale enterprises in Lancaster in the carriage, carriage materials, printing, and watch-making trades. As a result in the printing trade, for example, a duality existed at least as late as 1880. Smaller shops within the industry focused on human-powered technology while larger enterprises employed steam power. More precisely detailed descriptions of hand versus powered manufacture would help the reader determine the answers to some of the important distinctions Winpenny raises. Just how efficient were 1880s machines? How frequent were breakdowns? How much hand skill went into maintaining machines? Winpenny attempts to answer the question of just how cost effective were the early stages of industrialization through deriving value-added figures for individual businesses, which indicate human-powered machines added at least enough value, in well-managed businesses, to allow competition with more highly industrialized firms. He finds that by 1880 hand artisanship was still a viable occupation in a majority of the twenty-two crafts studied. This artisan group was also increasing in affluence and, not surprisingly, in average age.

Winpenny finds that cultural factors peculiar to Lancaster reinforced the persistence of hand technology. Chief among them were Lancaster's own
eighteenth-century tradition of hand craftsmanship and a strong bond of ethnic, especially Germanic, traditions and personality traits, such as stubbornness and frugality, allied to a general artisan consciousness and conservatism. Winpenny recognizes that Lancaster’s relative remoteness and slow pace of in-migration moderated pressures for change, while its relatively healthy economy supported a persistence of demand for high-ticket craft products such as furniture and silver. Curiously, given the remoteness of Lancaster, he fails to explore a possible lack of competing goods in the region as a factor influencing the persistence of craft ways.

Even more curious in a work devoted, despite its brief length, to analyzing fine distinctions in the influences upon and results of industrial mechanization, the author fails to examine the cultural effect of Lancaster's historical and pervasive Amish and Mennonite groups, both in the city and its surrounding hinterland. Surely the persistence of these exceedingly conservative and, in some cases, actively anti-industrial, religious groups must have contributed powerfully to the persistence of the old ways, even to the extent of elevating some handcraft technologies to the status of an ethical imperative.

This slim volume, while it bears some of the marks of research gleaned and recombined from Winpenny's other works on Lancaster and its industrial development, is nonetheless a useful addition to the continuing refinement and redefinition of the Industrial Revolution. Its thesis that Lancaster is "representative" of the linkage between adaptability and conservatism that characterized the artisan tradition in small cities could be strengthened by further analysis showing that the religiosity of the greater Lancaster area did not render Lancaster atypical. Works like this that tell us what was really going on beneath and beside the drama of the broad sweep of historical movements serve a valuable function and remind us of the roots of the historian's craft, the study of exact details to give dimension to a broader picture.

Preservation Foundation of Palm Beach

Polly Anne Earl


Jonathan Glickstein's Concepts of Free Labor is a major work of great importance in antebellum intellectual and labor history. Based upon a brilliant reading of thousands of texts, from sermons to political pamphlets, and of the rich secondary literature of the past two generations, the book is in many ways a tour-de-force. An uncompromising, if perhaps old-fashioned, intellectual historian, Glickstein's book is mercifully bereft of the post-structural jargon some intellec-
tual historians have borrowed. No short review can possibly do justice to its complexity and originality. Glickstein plumbs, in rich detail, how American intellectuals of the mid-nineteenth century came to grips with revolutionary changes in labor relations. He emphasizes how the explosion of factory work in the Northeast challenged prevailing ideas of the intellectual content of the labor done by free men and women. Advocates of factories argued that routinized work with machines allowed workers the freedom to think while tending machines; their critics insisted such labor dulled the mind and made shorter hours and after-hours self-improvement and education essential. Southern advocates of slavery rejected both positions, insisting that such drudge labor by its very character was debased and would be best done by slaves, rather than by exploited free workers.

Readers meet a vast cast of characters: factory owners and labor radicals, advocates of slavery and abolitionists, political economists and American followers of Fourier. Glickstein not only delineates the many-sided debates over labor of these groups but carefully compares American thought on free labor with that of their English counterparts, thereby showing the influence of democratic and republican ideals on even the most conservative American writers. Understanding the material base of ideas (especially ideas about labor), he connects the arguments he encounters with the findings of social, labor, and cultural historians. This complexity is both a great virtue and a substantial obstacle to understanding. Instead of emphasizing the main lines of argument, and presenting a few examples, Glickstein often attempts to be exhaustive, thereby losing the reader in detail. Moreover, the complex internal dialogue between the text (where primary sources are analyzed) and the voluminous notes (where data on material conditions can be found) is difficult to follow. One wishes that Glickstein had written a shorter, less complex, book.

Glickstein emphasizes northeasterners, radicals and conservatives alike, often using southern or English thinkers to illuminate internal debates within the industrializing North. He generally ignores free white workers (except for the Lowell mill women), preferring to see their concerns through the prism of middle-class labor radicals. Slaves are entirely missing, their voices reflected in the arguments of white abolitionists. Even free northern white farmers, still a substantial minority of the region's population in 1860, are absent, except for a few astute comments on the yeoman ideology. Such a strategy may distort the conflicts Glickstein seeks to illuminate. Although few slaves, white workers, or farmers wrote about their work, let alone published political or economic pamphlets, one can discover their voices, carefully reading such sources as slave runaway narratives, farm diaries and account books, or strike manifestoes. More attention to these groups may have improved an already first-rate book. Not only would the social conflicts between workers and capitalists or slaves and masters over work (and not just the intellectual debate within the middle class)
have been illuminated, but Glickstein could have compared the usual work on the farm and in the shop with the unusual factory labor he often emphasizes.

This criticism notwithstanding, *Concepts of Free Labor* is a very important book. It should be an important part of the library of every historian of antebellum America, American intellectual life, and labor history.

*Northern Illinois University*  
*Allan Kulikoff*

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Much has been written by humanists and social scientists about how Americans earn a living. But what about the process of getting a job? How people secure employment and how this has changed over time are the issues of *Getting Work*, Walter Licht’s consistently insightful analysis of the dynamics that shaped Philadelphia’s labor market from the mid-nineteenth century until just after World War II. Based on the author’s extensive primary source research, *Getting Work* expands on labor force studies conducted at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania over a thirty-year period beginning in the 1920s and directed by Gladys Palmer, to whom Licht dedicates this book. Much to his credit, Licht accommodates under the umbrella of “getting work” matters of individual choice, personal background, and larger societal forces. Specifically, he looks at the ways in which Philadelphia’s public and private schools, trade unions, employment bureaus and other job-related agencies, employers’ personnel policies, and state action shaped the process.

After establishing the context of Philadelphia’s evolution as an industrial city, Licht surveys how young people in the city got their first and then subsequent jobs. Not very surprisingly, he determines that for about one hundred years, up to 1950, finding work in Philadelphia was largely a consequence of personal connections and personal initiative. At least this was the case for the city’s white residents (men and women and all nationalities). For Philadelphia’s African-American citizens, however, Licht discovers (as W.E.B. Du Bois had for the 1890s) that they were almost completely absent from the city’s industrial landscape during these hundred years. With few exceptions, blacks in Philadelphia inhabited a separate job market, working either as professionals within their own community or, in the larger society, as domestics or in other service jobs or as day laborers.

Licht also focuses on the key agencies that affected employment in Philadelphia. He finds that, despite repeated attempts by leading reformers to establish
a connection by developing vocational programs, only loose ties bound the city's public schools and the world of work. The city's Catholic parochial schools proved more successful, particularly in placing female graduates of their commercial programs in white-collar clerical jobs. Apprentice programs run by individual firms or controlled by the city's trade unions proved to be more effective in aiding individuals who sought employment in Philadelphia's industries, and this made control of these programs contested terrain. Sampling personnel practices in twenty firms representative of the city's diverse industrial base, Licht observes that hiring and promotion practices remained largely informal. In fact, where efforts to regularize personnel practices developed, unions as well as the public sector, rather than private employers, appear to have been the prime agents for change.

By the 1930s, city government had become Philadelphia's largest single employer, hiring a diverse occupational group. But Licht understands that employment as a public issue involved more than what the city did as an employer. In a direct challenge to the prevailing neoclassical understanding of the labor market, which approaches getting work as a primarily personal matter bound by supply and demand, Licht judges, correctly, that mobilization of the labor force was as much a political as an economic issue. Ultimately the labor market was affected by policy decisions that reflected the distribution of power in the city. Certainly this characterizes the experience of Philadelphia's African Americans who, until the federal government acted during World War II, would be as invisible among the ranks of the city's employees as they had been in private industry.

Providing a fuller sense of what Jim Crow meant in the lives of this African-American community before being challenged by the civil rights movement is among the many strengths of Licht's book. Yet even though the experience of black Philadelphians was probably replicated in other northern industrial cities, it would seem less likely that other aspects of the story were. In the more than twenty years since Sam Bass Warner posited "If All the World Were Philadelphia," as an approach to urban history, we have learned that Philadelphia was not typical. Philadelphia's industrial base and ethnic composition were very different from that of either Chicago or Detroit for example. Unlike the mass production factories and mills of these cities, Philadelphia's smaller batch industries continued to need skilled labor. Perhaps, then, formal agencies like schools or ethnic organizations played a greater role in how people secured work in those industrial centers than Licht found in Philadelphia. Still, for anyone interested in the economic and social history of Philadelphia, as well as for those scholars and economic policymakers who consider the issue of getting work, this is an important book.

Monmouth College        Brian Greenberg
"Much of African-American history has been shaped by the determination of black families to live their lives together." This simple statement, made by Paula Giddings in her foreword to Billingsley's study of black family life, is a succinct statement of the thesis of this work. Such a statement would not seem particularly profound, except that Billingsley is entering a debate, now almost three decades old, about the "stability" of the African-American family. The best-known benchmark of this debate is the 1965 public policy study in which Daniel Patrick Moynihan argued that the black family was in "crisis," that large numbers of African-American children were growing up in fatherless households, and that this kind of family structure placed them at a significant disadvantage in a society where the two-parent nuclear family is the norm.

In fact, as Billingsley helps us see, the debate about the structure, values, and efficacy of the black family actually dates from at least the 1930s work of black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier. From wherever the reader may enter the debate, however, Billingsley has probably covered the reader's angle. This is an ambitious, enterprising and broad-sweeping discussion of a wide variety of issues facing America and the African-American community. In what Billingsley reminds us many times is a "wholistic perspective," this work interweaves the standard "race relations" approach (i.e., what white Americans "did to" black Americans [p. 18]), with the less frequently explored themes of what African Americans have done for themselves, for each other, and for their society. Reaching back into African history, into American slavery, into postwar migration from the South, this work explores the question, raised by revisionist black sociologists in the 1970s, of the degree to which such "pathologies" as the "strong female" in the black community is a product of forces internal to the black community or to the interplay between economic, cultural, demographic, and historical conditions in which modern African-American communities developed, a context as important for white family development as for black.

Twenty years in the making, this study expands upon Billingsley's earlier volume, ranging widely over class, gender, age, and geography as these variables affect the black communities' statistics, and continuing the earlier argument that studies such as Moynihan's have overemphasized the "pathology" in the black family, at the expense of inviting readers to appreciate the concomitant strength and cohesion in African-American family and community life.

The work consists of eighteen chapters invitingly arranged into six sections. It begins with the past as "prologue" (Part II) and finishes with "the Future" (Part VI). The social science focus is bolstered with statistics and charts, punctuated with anecdotal evidence, and laced with a writing style that is,
sometimes, almost poetic. All of this will make the work accessible to many different audiences.

As with many ambitious projects, the weaknesses in this volume are part and parcel of the strengths. In the attempt to be many things to many people, the work often suffers from a lack of thoroughness. The historical sections are sparsely footnoted, and the author's bias, or his tendency to be judgmental, may make the reader uneasy about the conclusions that are too often drawn from incompletely interpreted statistics. At certain points the work seems facile, as the author claims a control over the techniques of history, sociology, anthropology, and demography that might daunt a specialist in any one of these fields.

Nevertheless, the beauty of this study is in its broad contextualizing of its story: in the interweaving of ancient African traditions with the implications of modern technology, in the painstaking investigation of the implications of different categories of household structures, in the imaginative juxtaposition of many dynamics—race, class, geography, household size and composition, economics, the military, education, health care, access to public resources, and much more—as they interact with family life. At the same time that he outlines the seriousness of such social problems as homelessness, addiction, working-class poverty, disrupted family life, etc., Billingsley also helps us to remain focused on the oft-forgotten facts that: (1) most black families don't have any of these problems; (2) a majority of black families do not have all of these problems—nor do they have only problems—and (3) numerically more non-black Americans than African Americans are faced with these challenges. Billingsley's eloquent restatement of these truths may make the flaws in this work forgivable. James Baldwin long ago described the problem with American race relations: "if I'm not who you say I am, then you're not who you think you are." For too long American public policy has done a disservice to all Americans because it has been based upon distorted information about black Americans. Maybe Billingsley's work will help to correct some misapprehensions.

Haverford College

EMMA JONES LAPSANSKY


Chestnut Hill, an area of 3.4 square miles that stands just within the northwest boundary of Philadelphia, approximately ten miles from City Hall, has long been known as an enclave of wealth, respectability, and handsome buildings. Developed by Henry Howard Houston and his son-in-law, George Woodward,
the community has a remarkable architectural coherence. A “gateway village” tied to Philadelphia by roads and patterns of trade throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was annexed to the city in 1854. During the same year, the first railroad connected Chestnut Hill to downtown, which was followed by the construction of large houses in the northwest part of the community and the transformation from village to prosperous suburb. Thereafter, David Contosta argues, residents of Chestnut Hill have experienced a “dual identity,” belonging both to the local community and the larger city.

Suburb in the City is an ambitious analysis of the evolution of a single community that is at once part of a larger city and a prototypical escape from the travails of urban life. What separates this work from other suburban studies is the author’s analysis of the divided nature of the community. Chestnut Hill’s residents included not only the wealthy but skilled workers who built the houses, tradesmen who catered to their needs, and domestics. The largely Catholic service population clustered in the eastern end of the suburb existed apart from the overwhelmingly Protestant elites. Oral histories enable Contosta to delineate the degree to which these were separate worlds, defined not only by different economic circumstances and churches but by different schools, habits, and social organizations. Contosta uses 1930 as the benchmark for presenting a demographic portrait of the community. The 1930 edition of the City Directory (which, unlike earlier editions, included a street index as well as names, addresses, and occupations) and the Social Register serve as the basis for his snapshot profile of the suburb. The resulting analysis effectively demonstrates that Chestnut Hill was a community with a large class of prosperous residents—“one of the wealthiest and most socially elite suburbs in the nation” (p. 137)—but also home to a substantial service and domestic population and a tiny middle class. Because of the divisions that existed among these groups, Contosta describes Chestnut Hill as “an aggregation of communities that overlapped only at certain points” (p. 119).

Suggestive though this analysis may be, it is limited because the author does not take advantage of census data. Contosta justified 1930 as his focus not only because of the availability of the indexed City Directory but also because of the “virtual completion of Woodward’s projects” (p. 116) by that year. His evidence, however, indicates that virtually all of Woodward’s developments in Chestnut Hill were completed before 1920: the only substantial construction he mentions that was undertaken by Woodward in the 1920s was in West Mount Airy, an adjacent community. Thus Contosta could have used federal manuscript census data from 1920, available prior to the completion of his research, to present a fuller, more sophisticated portrait of Chestnut Hill’s divided population. Similar use of earlier censuses would have enabled him to chronicle late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century developments in greater detail—years when most
of the author's analysis is based on information relating to elites—and to measure how the community had changed during that time.

A genuine merit of *Suburb in the City* is its discussion of the complex interplay of Chestnut Hill and the structures of government, notably City Hall and the various community organizations that have functioned as quasi governments. Despite Chestnut Hill's political status as a distant, thinly populated ward, the status of its residents and the political leadership of George Woodward, Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and Richardson Dilworth gave it considerable influence. But the dilemma of being within the city and yet not truly part of it has left Chestnut Hill a place apart. Although Contosta traces the involvement of numerous residents, especially women, in laudable reform efforts, he concedes that throughout much of their history these voluntary associations were principally concerned with "maintaining the quality of life in Chestnut Hill, as defined by its most prosperous inhabitants" (p. 5). Moreover, with the notable exception of Woodward, he does not explain the role those individuals with influence beyond the local community played in Chestnut Hill. As a result, it appears that only a small number of individuals experienced the dual world of city and suburb to the degree Contosta suggests.

Ultimately, the author believes that "how Chestnut Hill has evolved as a suburb in the city should help illuminate the long and often troubled relationships between American cities and their suburbs" (p. 6). As surrounding neighborhoods have declined and minority populations have increased, as new automobile suburbs in Montgomery County have attracted the post-war generations fleeing the city, and as recent developments have destroyed cherished open space and introduced incongruous elements into the fabric of community, Chestnut Hill's privileged status has been threatened, its future uncertain. *Suburb in the City* posits that the community can resolve its "conflicting identities," can preserve its distinctive characteristics yet also adapt to change. But to do so Contosta rightly argues that residents must see that Chestnut Hill "has never been a 'timeless village,' in which the forces of change were arrested" (p. 292).

*Franklin and Marshall College*  

**DAVID SCHUYLER**


W. Ross Yates, a retired dean and professor of political philosophy from Lehigh University, has written a sympathetic, if not wholly uncritical, history
of the institution that employed him for some thirty years. His institutional biography begins with a discussion of the trends and events that foreshadowed the founding of the private engineering school in eastern Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley in 1866. He then traces the university's early development and its close ties to the region's leading businesses and industries. He makes a convincing case that World War I served as a turning point in the university's history, and carries his analysis through the Great Depression, World War II, the postwar build-up of science and technology, and the cultural transitions of the 1960s and 1970s, cutting his story off in 1980.

Observing that "Lehigh has always been a small private university of high standards having a principal emphasis on applied science and engineering," Yates explains that "most of its students have come from middle-class families in the middle Atlantic states" (p. 8). This demographic characteristic remained remarkably consistent through much of the institution's history, and as such makes Lehigh University an important work to consult for anyone studying or writing about the history of eastern Pennsylvania. Historians of technology and of education will also welcome this book, which joins a small but growing body of work on the history of specific engineering schools. Given society's current attraction to the relationship between science- and engineering-oriented universities and regional development based upon high-tech enterprises, Yates's account may also attract readers interested in instances of long-term university-business-community interactions within a specific area. To take but one example, the influence of Bethlehem Steel Corporation on Lehigh University and the city of Bethlehem during the Great Depression is deftly handled by Yates.

Despite his contributions to other subfields of history, Yates's principal insights are limited to the internal workings of Lehigh, for which he provides abundant detail. His discussions of the university's interactions with the state and federal government, or with other engineering schools, are thinly developed. He thus missed the opportunity to provide his readers with points of comparison. He also forewent the chance to evaluate the impact and careers of Lehigh's alumni, save whatever dealings some of them later had with the university.

In his assessment of events in the twentieth century, Yates does not refrain from commenting on the less-than-stellar quality of Lehigh's graduate students, and on the eventually eclipsed practice of limiting the numbers of African Americans, Latin Americans, and Jews to the student body. He is also candid about the student activism that took place during his watch as a dean in the 1960s, giving fair hearing to their various complaints. His discussion of the events that resulted in Lehigh becoming coed in 1971 is superb. Although his book is thinly referenced, Yates provides an impressive array of primary source
material in his bibliography. Most importantly, he has written a book that will prove useful to students and scholars in many related fields.

National Museum of American History
Smithsonian Institution

JEFFREY K. STINE


Photographer Niemeyer and Professor Kraybill have collaborated on a publication that is both graphically handsome and intellectually informative. At first glance I wondered whether the world really needs another popularly styled glossy picture book on the Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. After reviewing several other titles of the same genre currently available in bookstores, however, I concluded that this one contributes considerable substance that is lacking in the others.

The book begins with Kraybill’s concise history and overview of Amish culture, society, and values. His discussion of the essential tenets of the Amish value system—humility, simplicity, obedience, communality—provides a vital framework for what follows. The body of the book consists of thirty-five sections, each of which combines one to three pages of text and several artfully arranged photographs. Three main topics predominate: everyday life, coping with new technology, and the tension between the Amish and non-Amish worlds.

Although the limited length of each section precludes much depth or detail, Kraybill’s work is backed by his substantial research for such scholarly publications as The Riddle of Amish Culture and The Amish and the State. Unlike the authors of some popular books, Kraybill stresses the “complexity of simplicity,” and he underscores the dynamic and pragmatic as well as traditional qualities of Amish culture. He explains, for example, that Amish pragmatism led to the acceptance of refrigerated bulk milk tanks powered by diesel engines, thereby helping to preserve the traditional preferred occupation of farming. I was disappointed by Kraybill’s failure to analyze contradictions in the logic behind some of the compromises the Amish have made with technological progress. Banning “public” electricity partly because it would create a direct dependence on the outside world, while allowing the use of diesel-powered engines, even though the Amish must purchase the fuel from the outside world, is flawed reasoning. To what degree do the Amish recognize their illogic? Do they care?

Niemeyer’s skillfully composed photographs capture the beauty of the Lancaster County Amish landscape and the day-to-day activities of community mem-
bers. Looking at his pictures makes me uncomfortable, however, since I know that the Amish generally wish not to be photographed for reasons of faith. While many of the photographs do not reveal individual identities (the source of Amish objection), some do. This treatment does not bespeak deep respect for the Amish.

My problems with the photographs are not just philosophical. In a number of places, photographs and text do not complement each other well, if at all. For example, Kraybill writes that suburban sprawl has created a "crisis" for the Amish; farmland is becoming scarce and more costly. None of Niemeyer's five accompanying photographs reflect this crisis; they show only idyllic and artistic views of Amish farmland. Several photographs, while aesthetically meritorious, do not contribute to an understanding of the Amish way of life. Why include scenes of an ice-covered apple orchard or a cute barn cat? On the other hand, a few more photographs showing interactions and interconnections between Amish and non-Amish would contribute to a better understanding. Why don't we see Amish buggies and automobiles traveling the same road? Why, even in "Sizing Up Tourism," are there no images of encounters between tourists and Amish? My final criticism concerns the captions: some are inaccurate, and many are inane.

Despite my concerns about the photographs, Old Order Amish is a valuable addition to the popular literature on this subject because its text is solidly grounded in scholarship. I only hope that readers do indeed read Kraybill's words, in addition to enjoying Niemeyer's pictures.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Jonathan P. Cox


Charles Rand Penney's collection is said to comprise the largest single body of prints of Niagara Falls, and in Christopher Lane's view, there are very few images of significance not in the collection (p. v). Given Niagara's power as artistic icon and symbol of America, it is entirely appropriate to devote a volume to the Penney collection. Author Lane, a partner in the Philadelphia Print Shop which both published the catalogue and sold Penney a number of the prints, has put together an informative and well-illustrated reference work with much to recommend it.

The book is more than just a catalogue of Penney's holdings. It opens with
a brief but rapturous account of the Falls as global wonder by Gloria Deák, author of *Picturing America* (1988). Lane then provides ten sections of basically chronological narrative describing the peninsula’s history from the early explorers to the industrial era. He covers early artists and travelers, the importance of Niagara’s strategic location (especially during the War of 1812), the opening of the Erie Canal and the rise of tourism, and the effect of these events on the production of images. Woven into this chronology is an intelligent discussion of the changing forms of printed pictures, beginning with wood cuts and copperplate engravings used to illustrate early accounts of exploration. He also treats separately issued framing prints, the development of portfolios or sets of views, lithography, steel engraving, chromolithography, and the influence of photography. Maps are included, as are documentary prints where the primary subject is a railroad or bridge or wirewalker, with the Falls merely as backdrop. Lane capably assesses the contributions made by individual artists and charts the relationships among eighteenth-century derivatives of Hennepin’s 1697 view, progenitor of a family tree of hundreds of images. In the nineteenth century, there was a virtual explosion of souvenir and more serious prints in every imaginable format and medium from lampshades and theater curtains to fine art etchings. Currier and Ives alone produced more than a dozen different views of the Falls (p. 71).

Penney has acquired a broad selection of all types of images, and the catalogue of his collection presents a documentary listing of the 706 items in chronological order, with sequential numbers (in bold type) assigned for easy referral between the listing and the narrative sections of the book. The entries include artist, print or map title, book title (where relevant), publisher, date, size, medium, and bibliographic references. Many entries include annotations and cross references to other prints, especially derivatives and copies, and there are helpful page references to illustrations in other parts of the book.

Illustrations, an important component of books of this sort, are generally well-reproduced here. A section of color plates up front is especially well done, and most of the smaller black and white reproductions are sharp. Those that have been rendered full-page tend to be somewhat murky, however, and several smaller prints are unevenly reproduced. The horizontal format accommodates a variety of picture sizes per page, and the number of illustrations is generous. Annoying and intrusive numerals and letters designate the sections in a rather sophomoric outline form. The section titles, in a more sophisticated typographic design, would suffice to set them off. The endless repetition of A:, B:, C:, etc., reads like a DOS command line and is quite unnecessary.

This minor quibble aside, *Impressions of Niagara* is a fine book, full of useful information about an important North American natural wonder and how it has been construed over three centuries. While Lane does not offer original aesthetic criticism, he acknowledges his debt to recent scholarly works such as
Jeremy Adamson's *Niagara. Two Centuries of Changing Attitudes, 1697-1901* and Elizabeth McKinsey's *Niagara Falls. Icon of the American Sublime*. The Penney Collection, and Christopher Lane's intelligent interpretation of its many contexts, are well worth our attention.

*National Museum of American History*
*Smithsonian Institution*

HELENA E. WRIGHT


More than twenty years ago Joseph J. Felcone, a book collector and dealer, purchased his first imprint relating to New Jersey, *The Original and Present State of Man, Briefly Considered*, printed in 1793 by Isaac Collins in Trenton. Since that time Felcone has assembled a collection of more than 3,000 volumes on New Jersey printed before 1860. About 10 percent of his collection bear imprint dates prior to 1801; some of these titles are the only known surviving copies. Felcone published this bibliography to record these earlier works.

It is important to note that not every book in the Felcone collection was printed in New Jersey. Because a press was not established permanently in the colony until 1754, when James Parker set up shop in Woodbridge, printers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, London, and other places had to provide reading material about New Jersey. Indeed, the earliest book in Felcone's collection, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America*, a piece of promotional literature that Gabriel Thomas wrote in 1698 to encourage settlement, came from London. During the last half of the century non-New Jersey imprints consisted of writings by residents or individuals somehow associated with the colony and state, including poet Philip Freneau and Indian missionary David Brainerd.

Apart from having a New Jersey connection, there is no theme to the contents of Felcone's bibliography. It includes theological works, almanacs, children's literature, school books, periodicals, political and historical works, broadsides, law books, and legal treatises. Some of the volumes recorded in the bibliography are present solely because of New Jersey ownership. Bookplates and signatures identify items from the libraries of such New Jersey luminaries as governors William Franklin, William Livingston, and Joseph Bloomfield. In short, Felcone listed any book printed or published in New Jersey, about New Jersey, written by or pertaining to someone associated with New Jersey, owned by a prominent New Jerseyan, or that revealed information about the early book trade in New Jersey.

The Felcone catalog is arranged in alphabetical order according to the last
names of authors or otherwise by main entry. Later printings of a work follow the first edition in chronological sequence. Titles are fully transcribed, pagination is complete, and collations are thoroughly explained. There are contents notes, remarks about bindings, records of ownership, references to bibliographies in which imprints have already appeared, and notes. These notes are often extensive and always exemplary, discussing as they do the history and importance of a publication. Especially useful are Felcone’s comments about government imprints and publications on legal matters as well as his reasons for revised attributions of authorship.

It is regrettable, however, that Felcone chose not to be more expansive regarding the bibliographical foundations of his research. For example, a reader of his catalog might be interested in learning more about the printing context of The Spirit of Despotism, by Vicesimus Knox, a 300-page book pulled from the press of Jacob Mann in Morristown and first advertised in Mann’s newspaper, the Genius of Liberty, in February 1799. A citation to an article in a 1981 issue of The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries, entitled “The Press in Eighteenth-Century Morristown, New Jersey,” would have been welcome. In addition, brief citations to bibliographic works—Evald Rink, Technical Americana: A Checklist of Technical Publications Printed Before 1831 and even Felcone, Printing in Princeton, among others—should have been more fully described.

At the end of his introductory remarks Felcone says: “There has been very little bibliographical work done in the field of early New Jersey books, and my hope is that this study will make a contribution to that field and to the greater field of the early American book trade.” It has. New Jersey Books 1698-1800 is a model of its kind and one that bibliographers should consider as a standard for emulation.

Winterthur Library

E. Richard McKinstry


Jessie Benton Frémont (1824-1902), fearless, intelligent, and ambitious, was one of the notable women of her age. Her husband, the explorer John Charles Frémont, was one of the most controversial. Together, they constituted a formidable team—and they were very much a team. Readers of this collection of Jessie Frémont’s letters may come away convinced that Jessie herself was indeed the vital engine that propelled the Frémont family through its long and eventful journey. Many of her contemporaries would have agreed.

Jessie Benton was born to command. As the daughter of Senator Thomas
Hart Benton, she was accustomed to mingling with powerful Washington figures. To this background she added personal qualities of determination and self-assurance, which led her to abandon a fashionable education out of boredom while still in her teens and to elope with the young explorer, Frémont, a man of no background or family connections. In linking her fate to Frémont's, she took on the lifelong responsibilities of promoting, explaining, and cajoling; of coping with incessant travel, plenty and want, and political campaigning; and of providing moral support for a husband as private and complicated as she herself was spontaneous and open. The Frémonts' life included episodes in the pursuit of wealth in the California gold field, European travel, wartime command in St. Louis, a campaign for the presidency in 1856, and business failure and comparative poverty. The 271 letters collected here (from 800 extant examples) have been skillfully arranged to tell the story of the Frémonts' marriage and their times. For, although she might be capable and intelligent, it was as John Charles Frémont's wife that Jessie Benton functioned.

A major theme that emerges from Jessie Frémont's story is the conflict between her conventional view of a wife's supportive role and her own energy and impatience. Her strength was channeled into her husband's causes. She was ambivalent about women's rights, having successfully used more indirect methods of getting her own way; today we may cringe at the necessity of some of her tactics. Perhaps the first presidential candidate's wife to have been a campaign figure in her own right (as "Our Jessie"), she might well have been envious of the power of today's first lady. For Jessie Frémont, power was writing letters of support for her husband, letters of friendship, and in times of necessity, writing for money.

This edition of Frémont's letters is exemplary in many ways. The editors are thoroughly familiar with their subjects: Herr is the author of a biography of Jessie, and Spence is the co-editor of The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont. Letters is divided into seven sections, corresponding to major periods in Jessie's life, each with an informative introduction. Every letter is followed by detailed and useful notes, carefully placing each of Jessie's correspondents, from the famous (Lincoln, Whittier, Richard Henry Dana) to the obscure, and providing a setting for the Frémonts' story that tactfully supplies whatever may be needed to recreate their world as a whole. The letters have been arranged and buttressed in such a way that the volume achieves true narrative sweep. The supporting cast is so well fleshed out that the lack of information on the fates of Jessie's children and grandchildren seems a greater omission when her story ends.

In the end these letters may seem to explain the mysteries of personality, but in fact they create others. In Frémont's true vocation as an explorer of the uncharted (a type of heroism very admired in his day), do we also see a wish to escape the turmoil that Jessie seemed by contrast to court? Was their marriage
a true meeting of opposites? We can only speculate. This is the ultimate irony of letters, both to reveal and conceal, but we can only be grateful for their survival.

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