

BOOK REVIEWS

Making Arms in the Machine Age: Philadelphia's Frankford Arsenal 1816-1870.

By JAMES J. FARLEY. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. xv, 142p. Bibliography, references, index. \$32.50.)

James J. Farley's masterful little book *Making Arms in the Machine Age: Philadelphia's Frankford Arsenal 1816-1870* chronicles the changing technology of early nineteenth-century warfare and its impact on the United States Army and the local Frankford/Bridesburg community. Lucidly written with vivid accounts of the political, social, and technical developments surrounding the Frankford Arsenal in Philadelphia, Farley admirably uses the few remaining documents from that institution to develop a number of important ideas that will be of use to military, industrial, and social historians. Beginning his discussions of technology with descriptions of the transition from individual small arms shot to paper cartridge bullets and percussion cap production, Farley ably shows the move from individual production to the use of machines. He suggests that terms such as "preindustrial" and "Industrial Revolution" do not help explain early developments in the production of small arms ammunition. Farley relates these factors to local workers and the community. To Farley, industrialization did not represent an upheaval and disruption to society but a continuum of change where workers already possessed the traits of mobility, adaptability, and market-oriented economic values. Industrialized societies needed such values to succeed.

The book is organized into four focused topics. Farley first explores the 1816-1850 Frankford community, a nearby mecca of manufacturing consisting of approximately 1,400 inhabitants. The chapter gives insights into the impact of local workers and resources on the development of the arsenal. The second part of the book deals with the early years of the arsenal itself from 1817 to 1830. Devoted heavily to the administrative functioning of the arsenal, the early workforce and Ordnance Department bureaucratization reveals much about the beginnings of military departments in the United States Army. Acting as a training ground for future leaders of the Army Ordnance Department, Farley shows how arsenal commanders like Alfred Mordecai, Henry Knox Craig, George D. Ramsey, Peter V. Hagner, Josiah Gorgas (later chief ordnance officer for the Confederacy), and Theodore T. S. Laidley all became masters of small ordnance production in the pre-Civil War years. Of particular importance to these developments are the wonderfully insightful descriptions of the art of bullet making, focusing on the paper cartridge and the use of the percussion cap that replaced the old flint firing systems in guns.

In a chapter entitled "The Coming of Mechanization, 1848-1860," Farley describes the process that moved the arsenal from the individual production of bullets and percussion caps to the machine age. From a time when a small number of military men working in isolation from the community became a workforce of civilians and army men functioning at various levels in a stratified workforce, Farley leads us to the year 1970 when the military/civilian workforce was led by soldier-technologists.

The last chapter, "The Workforce and the Industrial Community of Bridesburg, 1867-1870," depicts the final stages of industrialization where the local workforce and military combined to form a permanent large-scale manufacturer of ammunitions for small arms. Farley demonstrates how innovator Theodore T. S. Laidley's interaction with the local workers stimulated the development of a permanent institution that would serve the country well in the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II.

As a social historian I especially enjoyed the way Farley dissected the history of the Frankford Arsenal's workforce and gave them life in the outside community. Most helpful to me was the author's lucidly described definition of community which points up the contrast between the arsenal workers and those of nearby Henry Disston and Sons. Clearly, the arsenal workers had two distinct communities: one consisted of the military culture that dominated inside the walls; the community outside was more personal and focused on church and family. Disston workers would have had a much more difficult time differentiating factory-related activities from personal and social activities. The real surprise is that the arsenal workers seemed to have adjusted so well to their circumstance.

If there is any shortcoming to Farley's work, it is that the book seems to be a work in progress. Left untold are the most significant periods of the arsenal's history—World War I and World War II. Of even greater interest to those who study industrial history is the reason for the closing of this industrial complex in 1976. Such a study would be a significant contribution that would add to our understanding of the military-industrial complex, not to mention the reasons for closing the arsenal in the middle of the cold war.

Despite leaving these questions unanswered, Farley's work remains a valuable resource for military historians who wish to explore the reasons nineteenth-century America was continually unprepared for war. It simply took time for industry to gear up for war. Supplying an army that becomes twenty-five times larger than it is in peacetime requires extraordinary expense that usually is deemed unnecessary in peacetime. Farley's narrative documents the supposition that supplying armies during the early stages of a war was an act that required patience and the adoption of a process that included developing future production strategy while at the same time satisfying the immediate demands of war. Current battles had to be fought, soldiers supplied, and production capacity increased. As Farley shows, this was no easy task. *Making Arms in the Machine Age* is

must reading for those who wish to understand the dilemmas of military arms production.

Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science

HARRY C. SILCOX

When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia: The Emergence of the Republican Machine, 1867-1933. By PETER McCAFFERY. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993. xxi, 264p. Tables, figures, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

When Bosses Ruled Philadelphia is a study of the city's Republican political machine through the 1920s, treating the machine as a relatively autonomous creation of the party's leaders. Unlike many earlier studies of urban machines, then, the book plays down the idea that the machine arose from the changing social structure of the city's neighborhoods. Unlike many current studies of urban politics, the book explains only tangentially the impact of the machine on governmental policy. The thesis that the machine developed as a relatively autonomous structure provides a prism through which to understand Philadelphia politics as well as a framework for criticizing many of the standard explanations of the structure and functions of political machines now found in the historical literature. It is, therefore, a work that is of interest both to urban historians and to those with a special interest in Philadelphia's history.

According to Professor McCaffery, professional politicians began to replace gentlemen in the direction of Philadelphia politics in the decades before the Civil War. Such politicians built careers by using government favors and neighborhood ties in order to play an important citywide role through their enduring local power. In this period, however, government and politics were too fragmented to define the structure as machine politics. Rather, machine politics came into existence in two stages during the long Republican hegemony that lasted from the end of the Civil War until the 1930s.

The first stage, described as Ring Rule, lasted from the late 1860s into the 1880s. In this period, two politicians—James McManes and William Stokley—achieved influence that was no longer merely local. Stokley used the patronage available through his leadership of the Public Buildings Commission and his powers as mayor in the 1870s to exert citywide influence. Similarly, McManes used patronage available to the Gas Commission to create loyalties that were also citywide. Yet, contrary to earlier literature, McCaffery argues that at this stage there was not yet boss rule. First of all, while McManes and Stokley sometimes cooperated, they also competed and thus constituted rival centers of influence. Furthermore, because the choice of Republican candidates derived

from the wards, neither McManes nor Stokley controlled party nominations. The result was that considerable independent power still rested within wards and with City Council.

The book traces the eventual rise of boss rule to actions of key party leaders at both the city and state levels. After 1884 Matthew Quay centralized the state Republican Party and thereby controlled both federal and state patronage within Philadelphia. Using this leverage, he then moved to consolidate the city Republican Party. By the mid-1890s he was able to install Iz Durham as Philadelphia Republican leader, through whom state and federal patronage were funneled to the city. In time, Durham changed the city party's rules so that he, and not the wards, chose the representatives to the Republican City Committee. Because this gave him control over party nominations, he thereafter coordinated city patronage and the awarding of city contracts. In later years, Boies Penrose as state leader and the Vare brothers as city leaders continued the centralized direction. Essentially, state and city leaders chose the mayor and council members, manipulated elections through favors and fraud, and distributed city jobs and city contracts. They were bosses acting through a centralized Republican machine.

McCaffery concludes that the rise of the machine was not so much a response to social forces but a creation of party leaders. Contrary to those who believe that urban machines were functional and served their constituents, he argues that the machine exploited its poor supporters. The book makes its case with considerable clarity, telling anecdotes, and a careful marshaling of evidence. Not everyone will be convinced that a political organization could operate with such separation from the social structure of the city that it ruled. But the book is worth reading because it provides a challenging treatment of an important stage in the city's political history and questions many widely accepted ideas about the nature of urban politics in the period of the political machine.

Temple University

MARK H. HALLER

Sparks from the Anvil of Oppression: Philadelphia's African Methodists and Southern Migrants, 1890-1940. By ROBERT GREGG. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993. xiii, 272p. Maps, tables, index. \$39.95.)

"Differentiating." It's a word Robert Gregg uses a number of times in this good little volume. "Differentiating" is a good word, one that has been too infrequently applied to African Americans. When we have insufficient information about a group, we tend to generalize about the aggregate meaning of their beliefs and behavior. In recent years, Vincent Franklin, Harry Silcox, Roger Lane, Allan Ballard, and others have begun to disaggregate Philadelphia's "black community," showing it for what it was at the turn of the century—a

number of pieces of overlapping communities. Now Gregg has taken on the challenge of disaggregating that amorphous entity known as "the black church."

In his 1899 study, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*, W. E. B. Du Bois grappled somewhat with intraracial questions of class, race, regional origins, and church membership, and half a century earlier Joseph Wilson had tackled them in his *Sketches of the Higher Classes of Colored People in Philadelphia*. Gregg has, of course, gone much further. Building on the tradition of community studies, of E. P. Thompson, Kenneth Kusmer, and Joe William Trotter, Gregg brings an intricacy and sophistication to his analysis that is admirable.

The book is organized in eleven chapters divided into three sections, preceded by an introduction clearly setting out Gregg's goals and where he sees his work fitting into and/or breaking tradition. Reminding us of the work of Robert E. Park, E. Franklin Frazier, and the Chicago school, he threads his way through their arguments and those of Carol Marks, Kusmer, and Ballard. Then he "focuses on the problems faced by the black community and black churches as a result of socioeconomic changes occurring in Philadelphia."

The second section of the book, the strongest, "examines the writings of African Methodist intellectuals, ministers, and members to delineate their theology and ideology." Here Gregg analyzes the words of men and women to assess what is unique about African Methodists, as compared to other African-American denominations. Finally, in the third section, Gregg adds the component of the Great Migration, discussing its impact on the configuration, strategies, and leadership of the A.M.E. churches.

Gregg does many things well. He pays attention to the unique meaning of "class" in the black communities. He neatly and easily incorporates gender issues without segregating women into a separate section. He tackles the subtle differences and overlap between social revolutionary rhetoric and accommodationist rhetoric. He gives us a sense of the meaning and availability of theological education in the hierarchy of the A.M.E. churches. He pays attention to the politics of church life, both within the congregation and within the communities at large, and he explores the evangelical dilemma of a fine line between providing entertainment and slipping into commercialism.

But there are places where the reader could wish for more. We are left with only a vague notion of how the A.M.E. churches and membership related to the African-American United Methodists, or how, or if, the A.M.E. mission for creating a strong middle class was "differentiated" from that of the United Methodists or Baptists. And there are annoying lacunae in footnotes. Gregg mentions, for example, that the A.M.E. groups supported the Quaker-sponsored Institute for Colored Youth (as opposed to the Methodist-sponsored schools), but there is no citation to help the reader know where this information came from. Similarly, he quotes a fascinatingly insightful interview with a church member, Ella Mae Story, but he doesn't tell us where we might find that

interview. This documentation problem is more frequent than a reader might like, and it is annoying, but it does not detract much from Gregg's solid contribution to the conversation about differentiation within the black communities. Yes, it's true: all African Americans don't look alike. And Gregg has done a lot to illuminate that fact.

Harverford College

EMMA LAPSANSKY

Voices from Marshall Street: Jewish Life in a Philadelphia Neighborhood 1920-1960. By ELAINE KRASNOW ELLISON and ELAINE MARK JAFFE. (Philadelphia: Camino Books, Inc., 1994. 151p. Bibliographical references. \$10.00.)

Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia: Immigrants in a Divided City. By JUDITH GOOD and JO ANNE SCHNEIDER. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994. x, 282p. Bibliographical references, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$18.95.)

Superficially these two books have much in common. Both are written by two authors, both focus on ethnic groups, both deal with twentieth-century Philadelphia, and both center on individual neighborhoods within the city. Yet they are quite different in their approaches.

Voices from Marshall Street is an oral history of that street as it was from the 1920s to 1960. Its voices are several generations of Jewish men and women who grew up on and around Marshall Street. They were mostly Russian Jews and their descendants who came to America after the turn of the century. The book grew out of a gathering of 350 women who met in a reunion held in 1983. The authors never make clear how many persons actually lived on Marshall Street during those years, but they do note that advertisements in several Jewish papers brought replies and participants from as far away as California. The study centers on the voices of women because few men were found still alive. Obviously the sample is not a scientifically drawn one, which no doubt accounts for the generally upbeat tone of the memories recorded in *Voices from Marshall Street*. It should be noted that of the authors themselves, one lived on Marshall Street until she married and the other lived around the corner from Marshall Street, also until she married.

After a very sketchy history of Philadelphia and of Marshall Street and an explanation of the background of the book, the authors give us brief oral histories of immigrant life, work, synagogues, street characters, and education among other topics. Some of the histories are very interesting and catch the

flavor of Marshall's Jewish community, but often they are too brief. The authors were trying to cover many topics in a book whose oral histories take up fewer than 120 pages.

The voices are mostly directed to life within the Jewish community, with little attention paid to outsiders. Marshall Street for them was clearly a ghetto. Perhaps the most impressive histories are those concerned with work and the relations of parents and their children. These immigrants worked incredible hours in their mom-and-pop stores and the children labored there as well. In the end work paid off, for they achieved upward mobility, if not for themselves then for their children and grandchildren. They record few rebellions; their children generally found a fairly easy accommodation with their parents' world and those of their American environment. It also helped, of course, that both the children and the parents believed that education was a key to success. These stories are nostalgic about life on Marshall Street. One wonders if those who did not attend the reunion (or did not read the Jewish press to learn of it in order to participate in this project) shared these romantic views.

In view of the lack of a social scientific basis for these reminiscences, their short length (some are only one paragraph long), and the incomplete history of the street given here, what is the value of such a book? Probably very little for the professional historian. Chiefly this book will be of interest to the participants themselves and perhaps others who lived in similar neighborhoods, especially if they are inclined to be nostalgic.

While few outsiders appear in *Voices from Marshall Street, Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia* is quite the opposite. Judith Good and Jo Anne Schneider's excellent study focuses on intergroup relations. One author is an urban anthropologist at Temple University and the other a scholar of community activities. Their book grew out of a Ford Foundation-funded project that studied three Philadelphia communities in depth: Olney, Kensington, and Port Richmond. Their training shows; they directed a team of researchers and they have combined to write an interesting and scholarly book. They do have an agenda: to improve intergroup relations in these communities, but this does not interfere with the value of their carefully done study.

They discuss the major social and economic changes that Philadelphia has experienced in recent decades and the changes in the neighborhoods under study. They detail the relations among Latinos (chiefly Puerto Ricans), African Americans, Poles (both old and new immigrants), Koreans, and whites within these communities. They closely observed many community efforts, including those in the schools, to improve relations among these groups and assess the extent to which these projects were successful. They also tell us of day-to-day relations among these peoples.

Their findings reveal a mixed situation. Contrary to some popular beliefs about these neighborhoods—being isolated and racially exclusive—they find

a good deal of interaction among groups. At the core of their findings is that contradictory opinions are held by Philadelphia's new immigrants and older residents. Thus on the one hand, there is plenty of bigotry in these neighborhoods, but at the same time tolerance and interaction is common: both appear in the same people and the same groups. This finding may well explain how American society has appeared to become more liberal, open, and tolerant in recent decades (witness the passage of civil rights laws and the development of affirmative action programs), while at the same time it has appeared to be a hotbed of racial and ethnic conflict (witness race riots and confrontations). Thus for Good and Schneider, ethnic and racial relations are complex and are in the process of constant change.

In sum, while *Voices from Marshall Street* is a limited book, *Reshaping Ethnic and Racial Relations in Philadelphia* is an exhaustive and important study. Good and Schneider are careful not to generalize about other cities based on their findings in three Philadelphia neighborhoods, but this microstudy suggests that others could profit by looking at their excellent book.

New York University

DAVID M. REIMERS

When Philadelphia Was the Capital of Jewish America. Edited by MURRAY FRIEDMAN. (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993. 191p. Index. \$35.00.)

Most writing on the American Jewish experience has centered on New York City. This focus is justified by the fact that New York, the great port and immigrant center, as early as 1880, sheltered thirty-three percent of American Jewry. By 1920, after two decades of massive Jewish immigration from eastern Europe, the city's share rose to forty-five percent, making New York's Jewish population greater in size than the total populations of most American cities.

But outside of New York, too, the American Jewish experience was essentially an urban experience. Chicago and Philadelphia together accounted for thirteen percent of American Jewry, and seven other large or midsize cities in the East and Midwest accounted for an additional fourteen percent. More than seventy-two percent of American Jews resided in major cities by 1920, and their experiences were often strikingly similar from place to place. The larger the city in which east European immigrant Jews settled, the more likely it was that their community would resemble that of New York: Yiddish-speaking Jews living in large concentrations and working among people very much like themselves, very often in the garment industry. And the Jewish community of Philadelphia, like the Jewish communities of Boston and Baltimore, was no exception.

But as Murray Friedman's earlier anthology of articles, *Jewish Life in Philadelphia, 1830-1940* (1983), helped demonstrate, Jewish life in every large city was not *identical*. Jewish politics and labor activities in Philadelphia were different from those of New York, and so were cultural and religious developments. The primary goal of this new volume, however, which focuses mainly on the leaders of the established German Jewish community of Philadelphia, is not so much to highlight differences, or for that matter similarities, as it is to provide some "compensatory history." Attention is shifted away from such New York figures as Jacob Schiff, Louis Marshall, and Stephen S. Wise, and on to the so-called "Philadelphia Group," including "neglected" figures like Cyrus Adler, Mayer Sulzberger, Solomon Solis-Cohen, and Joseph Krauskopf. Many of the essays, including those by Robert Fierstein, Ira Robinson, and Philip Rosen, argue that the Philadelphia group, in cooperation with Jewish leaders in New York and elsewhere, "played a seminal role in the creation and development of many of the central institutions on which American Jewish life came to rest" (p. 10).

The leading Philadelphia Jews, predominantly intellectuals and scholars, and predominantly Orthodox, were distinguished from the New York group who were mainly Reform Jews and wealthy businessmen and lawyers. But along with New Yorkers Jacob Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, and Louis Marshall, the Philadelphians, as several of the ten writers represented here make clear (especially David Dalin and Jonathan Sarna), were committed to Americanizing the East European newcomers in the period 1880-1920 *and* to keeping them attached to Jewish life. Like the New York leadership, the Philadelphians were concerned that unmodified orthodoxy would alienate the American-born children of immigrants. But they also understood that radical Reform Judaism, so alien to newly arrived traditional Jews, would not be an effective agency in the ghetto. They worked, therefore, to build institutions for a new American Judaism.

Recognizing the centrality of New York in the evolving pattern of the Jewish community in America, the Philadelphia group often worked with and through the New Yorkers. But the Philadelphians were indeed important in the building and running of many of the central institutions of American Jewish life, including the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Jewish Publication Society, the American Jewish Historical Society, the American Jewish Committee, the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Joint Distribution Committee, and Gratz and Dropsie Colleges.

The volume is too often repetitive in that most essays deal in one way or another with the same half-dozen Jewish leaders. There is also not enough social history and too much filiopietism. But the work succeeds on the level of compensatory history, in large part through the inclusion of Dianne Ashton's essay on acculturated, yet deeply committed, Jewish women who, in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, led in the field of Jewish education, and Jonathan Sarna's concise, masterly analysis of Philadelphia's role in "The Making of an

American Culture.” Sarna consistently makes arresting points, especially when dealing with the relationships between German and eastern European Jews. Afraid of an intensified anti-Semitism, some German Jews in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, at first attempted to limit, or at least to deflect the flow of east European immigration. Others emphasized rapid Americanization. But despite feelings of distaste and even fear, most German Jews in the city expressed an obligation not only to help their “poor cousins,” but to participate in the creation of the great institutions and projects that shaped American Jewish cultural life and that helped “ensure that all American Jews would not assimilate completely” (pp. 149-50). One is convinced after reading Friedman’s edited collection that Philadelphia was indeed once *a* capital, if not *the* capital, of Jewish America, and also that the Jewish experience in the City of Brotherly Love deserves a sizable analytical monograph. This volume is not it; but one can hope that the very capable Friedman or Sarna has a larger, fuller work in progress, or at least in mind.

State University of New York, New Paltz

GERALD SORIN

First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism. By H. LARRY INGLE. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. ix, 407p. Bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

At the age of forty-six George Fox suffered a nervous breakdown. Ingle blames the great leader’s psychological rigidity and isolation. “Introspection and self-reflection was not a part of his makeup,” argues Ingle courageously about the middle-aged Fox, “no matter how often he recommended it to others” (p. 288). This biography is not hagiography.

In Ingle’s view, Fox’s main achievement was his ability to build a workable religious community to contain the individualistic religious vision of his youth. Other early modern people had personal revelations of the Spirit and attracted radical followers, Ingle argues. Only Fox, however, had the energy and common sense to prevent the individualism inherent in such revelations from splintering the new holy community. His life work was to combine radical individualism and authority successfully in a single religious society. “If an institution’s survival is the standard that best defines success,” argues Ingle, “then Fox was eminently successful with this balancing” (p. 117).

Ingle’s book follows Fox’s growth as a practical spiritual politician. Although he never could reconcile authority and individualism in the Society of Friends, Fox learned to crush dissidents without becoming domineering. Ingle’s use of literary sources to trace Fox’s increasingly masterful handling of three schisms—

the Naylor, Perrot, and Wilkinson-Story episodes—is precise and fine. Ingle provides an imaginative chapter on Fox on the eve of the Restoration, suggesting that he hoped a military hero would halt the final collapse of the “Good Old Cause.” Ingle supplies the best account I have read of Fox’s changing peace testimony in the 1650s and 1660s. Ingle’s revealing glimpses into Fox’s personal life are precious and rare, for Fox’s public role consumed the leader’s time and energy.

Ingle is weaker on economic and social contexts. For example, Ingle asserts that Fox inherited a legacy of some £1,300 from his father. This tidy sum allowed him to pursue his life as a religious prophet without financial anxiety. The evidence is hearsay; Ingle should have denied it. George Fox’s father was a weaver in Drayton-on-the-Clay, Leicestershire. In *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1974), Margaret Spufford studied probate inventories of 150 men in nearby Cambridgeshire in the 1660s. The median wealth of the yeoman was £180. None had total estates equal to George Fox’s supposed legacy. One man with some £500 had a five-hearth house with thirteen rooms, including a parlor with eighteen leather chairs! It is implausible that Fox started adulthood with more than twice this sum.

Ingle is on safer ground arguing that Fox had more common sense and passion than intellectual brilliance. Yet, I think Fox had more intellectual riches than Ingle asserts. At least he was able to systematize his “unfocused experiences of the divine spirit” (p. 285) into a folk theory of the divine Word that became the basis for the community of seventeenth-century Friends. Ingle convinces that Fox’s growing talent as a spiritual manager helped sustain the Friends’ community, but Fox had help forming this community from his own theory of the Word. Although Ingle cites Richard Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers* (1983), he does not follow Bauman or explore Fox’s views of language on his own. Fox and early Friends clearly believed that the Light answered the Light in others—and that this Word within people was confirmed by God’s words in the scriptures. True Friends were embodiments of the Word and literally spoke scriptural language. Quaker meetings for worship were based on this experience of the intimate communion of the Word among people. Quaker marriage and child rearing were also based on these ideas.

Fox’s epistles repeatedly express such a theory. Ingle does not discuss silence and spends less than a page on Fox and meetings for worship. He suppresses all of Fox’s discussion about “holy conversation” and its social impact. He dismisses the intensity of the language used among Friends in their letters. He totally misses the boat on Quaker sociolinguistics and its role in the Quaker community. He thus fails to present Fox’s major contribution to the community of Friends.

Ingle does tell how authorities managed to imprison Fox but failed to capture

him finally. Ingle's book shows that Fox-hunting can be valuable and instructive even when said Fox once again eludes the historical hounds.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

BARRY LEVY

"Pedlar in Divinity": George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals, 1730-1770.

By FRANK LAMBERT. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. xii, 238p. Illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

George Whitefield has never lacked for biographers, but he has certainly lacked for interpreters who can make the sensational impact of the revivals he sparked in British North America in the 1740s comprehensible to modern readers, who share little of his urgency over "the new birth." A major step toward understanding Whitefield's appeal was taken in 1991 with Harry S. Stout's brief biography, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism*, which explained Whitefield's sensational successes as a revivalist by his daring appropriation of eighteenth-century oral theatrical techniques. Stout is now joined by Frank Lambert, whose new study of Whitefield appears as the culmination of a dissertation under T. H. Breen and a series of strikingly imaginative articles in the *William and Mary Quarterly* and elsewhere.

Lambert's book is not, strictly speaking, a biography of Whitefield, although its chapters deal with Whitefield more or less chronologically. Rather, *Pedlar in Divinity* is better understood as a series of essays grouped around the three basic devices that Lambert uses to explain Whitefield's impact on colonial audiences: (a) Whitefield's "commodification" of Protestant evangelism, both as a rhetorical trope and as the actual production of merchandisable goods, (b) Whitefield's innovative use of a rapidly expanding Anglo-American print culture to advertise his message and stimulate demand, and (c) the creation by Whitefield of a Habermasian "public sphere" in which authoritarian religious dictation was forced to yield to rationalized and democratized public debate. Lambert, following closely in the path laid out by Breen's studies of transatlantic commerce, sketches a background for Whitefield's career in the transformation of eighteenth-century British market relations and underscores the ways in which Whitefield, with the assistance of his manager and promoter William Seward, developed a carefully constructed marketing strategy based on newspapers, magazine distribution, and the colonial book trade network. Lambert also takes account of how Whitefield was read by his audiences and how he enraged Anglican and Old Light conservatives, not only by what he said but by the way he forced debate over both his message and his medium out into a "public

sphere” where he could pose as the friend of the people and where the clergy were forced to obey a new, more democratized set of rules. It is in the creation of this “public sphere” that Lambert believes Whitefield forged a “direct link between the Great Awakening and the American Revolution,” by “fashioning something public and national out of what had been private and local” (pp. 197-98).

The discovery of such a link has been the Northwest Passage for many American historians, going back to Herbert Levi Osgood and culminating in Alan Heimert. Even the assertion that Whitefield created the “public sphere” of discourse that was later used by the revolutionaries is not entirely new itself, since an argument for rhetorical linkages between the Awakeners and the revolutionaries was advanced twenty years ago by Harry Stout (and more recently re-advanced by Donald Weber). The difficulty with making the connection, as Jon Butler insisted in 1982, is that it is easier to make it on the level of similitude than substance. Even if we grant that Whitefield created such a religious “public sphere” in the colonies in the 1740s, that says little about real political or ideological continuities with the 1770s. It is not even clear that Whitefield’s “public sphere” possessed the “national” qualities Lambert imputes to it. There was not, after all, any Great Awakening Congress that emerged from the “common language” which Lambert thinks Whitefield manufactured. Lambert also vastly overstates Whitefield’s connections to the Baptist revivals in Virginia in the 1760s, largely, I suspect, to make them fit his “national” schema. Curiously, Lambert is at his most vulnerable in challenging Stout—not over Whitefield’s connections to the Revolution, which Stout also maintains, but over Stout’s emphasis of Whitefield’s morality. Lambert’s Whitefield is so thoroughly a man of commercial capitalism that Lambert makes Whitefield’s books and newscopy, as marketable commodities, the real source of the revivalist’s influence. But virtually every contemporary observer of Whitefield chalked his successes up to his commanding oratorical presence, not his newspaper coverage. David Garrick would have given fifty guineas to have said *Oh* the way Whitefield did, but I cannot recall anyone (then or now) wishing to give anything to have written Whitefield’s books.

And yet this should not detract from the great contribution Lambert makes in demonstrating Whitefield’s unexpectedly skillful manipulation of print markets, his talents as an organizer, and his pragmatic relations with the greatest print promoter in America, Benjamin Franklin. And Lambert reminds us as well of another critical aspect of Whitefield, and that was how genuinely ambivalent Whitefield was about market-oriented consumption and commercialization (p. 231). Perhaps, in the largest sense, the real story of Whitefield and subsequent American evangelicalism lies more in that ambivalence than in the markets.

The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America. Edited by JEAN FAGAN YELLIN and JOHN C. VAN HORNE. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994. xiii, 363p. Bibliography, references, index. Cloth, \$42.50; paper, \$16.95.)

Nearly twenty years ago, in the Schlesinger Library, I read an unpublished paper on the antifeminist women of the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society, struck, as I had been before and would be again, by the logic of their conservatism, by the "fit" between evangelical religion and these middle-class women's lives. If *The Abolitionist Sisterhood*, a collection of articles about the political culture of antislavery women, does nothing else, it will be celebrated for publishing—finally—Amy Swerdlow's groundbreaking article on the nuances and challenges presented by women's political activism.

But the book does offer more. Drawn from a 1989 symposium commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Third Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia, the fifteen essays presented here reflect extensive research and thinking on a wide range of topics. Roughly divided into organizational histories, histories of African-American women's activism, and analyses of strategies and tactics to abolish slavery, the book makes a splendid contribution to a lively and provocative field.

As in any anthology, some articles stand out as especially innovative. Anne Boylan's piece on African-American women's antislavery activism offers provocative evidence of the ways in which the free black community's gender conventions differed from those of their white counterparts. Nell Painter brilliantly "reconsider[s] the prophetic persona of Sojourner Truth" (p. 140), showing how her choice to construct herself as "exotic" helped make her a memorable emblem, to whites, of black women's enslavement. Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven tackles the complex question of the meaning of women's petitioning. Lee Chambers-Schiller's piece on the Boston antislavery fair reinvigorates what had been a largely antiquarian topic.

As a collection, this book shares some of the limitations of the abolitionists themselves. The collection is disappointingly insular, focusing almost entirely on Philadelphia and Boston, on leaders whose names we already know, and on predictable formulations of historical problems. Where are the antislavery women of the western states, eastern rural areas, and members of the colonization societies in the upper South, as well as anti-abolitionists of various classes and regions? I welcome new contributions to our knowledge of even the best-known activists, but the volume's inward-looking detail, similar to the movement's own introspection, can be a bit numbing (as are the copious and repetitive footnotes). I longed for a wider view, such as that offered by Kathryn Sklar's excellent closing essay on the comparative political cultures of American and British abolitionists. More than just national boundaries, I wish that disciplinary bound-

aries had been crossed and that scholars from political science, speech communication, literature, and philosophy had been invited to contribute. With a few major exceptions the book is also somewhat thin theoretically; future work will, I expect, follow Sklar's lead and "take a complex view of women's political cultures and locate women within the society and polity of which they were a part" (p. 332), rather than focusing quite so narrowly on antislavery women's organizational milieu. The movement to abolish slavery did, after all, take shape in a political and economic world in which abolitionists, in spite of all their efforts to remain apart, lived.

As this book shows, the past twenty years of scholarship have utterly remade the history of American reform, religion, racism, abolition, and the emergence of middle-class political culture—as well as the history of women. Naively, I continue to be astonished that, as Nancy Hewitt points out in her historiographic essay in this volume, general histories of abolition still ignore, or merely marginalize, this transformation. Historians should read this book not only because they will learn something about women (though that would be nice) but because, instead of plowing through our various historical fields as if gender didn't matter, we would move closer to a full picture of all of our pasts.

Pennsylvania State University

LORI D. GINZBERG

Democratic Miners: Work and Labor Relations in the Anthracite Coal Industry, 1875-1925. By PERRY K. BLATZ. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. xv, 368p. Figures, tables, select bibliography. \$19.95.)

Perry Blatz's book on the anthracite coal miners of northeastern Pennsylvania focuses on the workplace and the process of unionization and, more specifically, the organization of the United Mine Workers (UMW). These are subjects that have gone somewhat out of fashion in recent years as labor historians have turned their attention to questions of work culture, gender, race, family, class, and ethnicity. In his preface, Perry Blatz states that this is labor history being told "from the top down"; that is, the focus is on union organizing, collective bargaining, and contract administration. There is some effort to understand the mind and value system of the rank-and-file worker, but Professor Blatz is much more interested in telling his story from the perspective of union officialdom; i.e., UMW President John Mitchell and his district leaders.

This is an interesting story about one of the United States' most important late nineteenth- early twentieth-century industries, anthracite coal. It begins in the era of the Molly Maguires when it was impossible for workers to achieve "either physical or psychological security." Work was irregular, accident rates

high, wages low, and labor and management often appeared to be locked in a permanent state of war. However, as Carter Goodrich showed more than sixty years ago, because anthracite coal mining was slow to mechanize and the physical layout of the collieries made it impossible for mine owners to closely supervise their workforces, the coal miner had a certain amount of freedom and often functioned as a skilled craftsman and independent contractor. The contrast between this "miner's freedom" and the bleak realities of the day-to-day work, according to Blatz, had a profound impact on the miner's consciousness and shaped his relationship with both his boss and union.

The largest and most significant sections of Blatz's book are his descriptions of the early process of labor organization. Much of this story revolves around the strikes of 1900 and 1902 and the role of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission in settling this conflict and stabilizing labor relations. By now this is a relatively familiar story, with George F. Baer, the imperious president of the Reading Railroad, Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Hanna, J. P. Morgan, and John Mitchell as leading protagonists. However, Blatz places this narrative of labor conflict in a wider context. He analyzes the victories and defeats of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association and the Knights of Labor, the miners' response to fifty years of union organizing drives, and the reasons for the successes and failures of several generations of unions in the anthracite district. He argues that the 1902 strike was not an unequivocal victory for the miners, since the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission often left their grievances unattended to and, as a result, strikes became a regular part of life in the coal fields.

Perry Blatz's book reflects both the strengths and the weaknesses of what is now commonly referred to as the "old" labor history. His narrative restores the point of production and the union to center stage, from which they have been exiled in recent years. In the process, however, he paints the miners as strangely passive figures. There is little here that allows us to understand the culture and values of the coal miners as they were expressed on the job or in their communities. The relationship between work-culture, ethnicity, and militancy is rarely explored. The roles that women played within mining communities and coal miner families is left unexamined. There is growing literature on the role that the silk industry played within the anthracite region as an employer of women, but this body of work is never referred to. What is perhaps a more serious shortcoming is the failure to integrate the "new" immigration history into this story. After all, as Victor Greene has shown us, by the turn of the century a majority of the anthracite coal miners were immigrants, mostly from eastern and southern Europe. One cannot analyze their experiences as miners without considering their immigrant culture. Nevertheless, Blatz has made an important contribution. He has linked his study of the history of the UMW in the anthracite region to an economic analysis of the coal industry and an understanding of the workplace. This is a perspective that has been neglected

all too often in recent years. Hopefully, this book will help to refocus labor historians on these areas.

Hagley Museum and Library

MICHAEL NASH

The Learning of Liberty: The Educational Ideas of the American Founders. By LORRAINE SMITH PANGLE and THOMAS L. PANGLE. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993. ix, 350p. Bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

This book explores the pedagogical ideas of the revolutionary and constitution-making generations which, unlike Gordon Wood and others, the authors treat as one. The Pangles assess “the value of the Founders’ thought” so that readers can consider “what one must do to live well” in a democratic republic (p. 6). The book works best in Part 1, “Legacy,” and Part 2, “Schools for the Emerging Republic,” when the authors show where the Founders diverged from classical writers on education. The Pangles’ integration of the classics compensates for the overreliance on Enlightenment philosophers in works like Morton White’s *Philosophy of the American Revolution* and picks up where *Thomas Jefferson, American Humanist* left off years ago.

The Pangles argue that the Founders accepted both the Whig argument that “institutional antagonism” (p. 4) produced virtue and the Lockean belief that “enlightened self-interest” (p. 61) controlled morals. For these reasons (and also because of secularization and democratization which, the Pangles point out, are the same trends that Tocqueville analyzed) the Founders’ educational ideas attenuated the classical republicans’ reverence for the “sacred past” (p. 6), subordination of the individual to the civic whole, and focus on “self-transcendence” (p. 37). The lost world not of Thomas Jefferson but of the classics treated virtue more productively, the Pangles argue. Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle explored the dialectic of the contemplative life with “radically imperfect” but necessary political authority (p. 40). The Founders’ Cincinnatus-like yearning for rustification suggested the deficiencies of politics but did not recapture the classics’ “erotic longing for human excellence” and “challenging alternatives” (pp. 139, 140).

Still, the Founders valued private schools and state-sponsored education, despite Locke’s “unclassical view” that radical youth were reared best by parents and private tutors (p. 55). The Pangles generalize correctly that the Founders saw schools as instilling in the people an “informed watchfulness” over government (p. 108). As they also show, most of the Founders broke with Spartan and Protestant—especially Puritan—precedents about schooling citizens. With few exceptions, like Samuel Knox’s “common liberal core” (p. 130), their

curricula molded the young to pursue vocations more than self-sacrifice and developed mental capacities more than reverence. Without exploring the spiritual and philosophical underpinnings of republicanism, the study of government—as in Jefferson's plans for the University of Virginia—degenerated into “dead dogma” (p. 174). The Pangles conclude Part 2 with a familiar litany of social reasons why the Founders' more grandiose plans for school systems and universities often foundered: localism, penury, elitism, suspicion of learning, and dispersed population.

Less successful are Part 3, “Institutions Beyond the School,” and Part 4, “Education through Emulation.” The Pangles' analyses of how religious disestablishment, legislative codification, commercial growth, and freedom of the press affected education are broadly accurate. Their interpretations, however, cannot match either the complexity of Lawrence Cremin's first two volumes of *American Education* or the depth of the many monographs on these subjects. Part 4 presents private exempla for education, including Washington's Catholic-like love of one's true self, Jefferson's moral eclecticism, and Franklin's dedication to the true (more or less) and possible. This section displays the diversity and shallowness of some of the Founders' thinking; also, it can prompt debate among readers about “what must one do to live well” (p. 6), as the Pangles intend. However, it does not touch on the pedagogical novels and tracts that disseminated and reconfigured these exempla, which Jay Fliegelman scrutinized in *Prodigals and Pilgrims*. Nonetheless, the Pangles' book is an excellent contribution to American education because of the depth of its engagement with the classics.

University of Minnesota, Duluth

HARRY HELLENBRAND

Thomas Jefferson. By NORMAN K. RISJORD. (Madison: Madison House, 1994. xiii, 210p. Illustrations, index. Cloth, \$27.95; paper, \$11.95.)

Thomas Jefferson: A Life. By WILLARD STERNE RANDALL. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993. xix, 708p. Bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

Of the making of books about Thomas Jefferson there is no end, though if one of the works under review here is any sign of things to come, perhaps this will soon be an occasion for regret rather than rejoicing.

Norman K. Risjord's brief biography of Jefferson is the work of a seasoned professional who has devoted his scholarly career to the study of the Jeffersonian period in American history. While modestly describing his book as a brief outline of Jefferson's career for a general audience, Risjord actually presents an insightful analysis of Jefferson's character and beliefs and an incisive account of his impact on his times. Risjord is especially strong in showing how Jefferson

managed to combine strong elements of classical republicanism and Lockean liberalism in his political ideology and in tracing how the balance between them constantly shifted in response to changing circumstances. Firmly in command of the sources, Risjord, in slightly more than 200 pages, leads the reader authoritatively through the main stages of development in Jefferson's career and provides a convincing assessment of his place in American history.

Alas, to pass from Risjord's study of Jefferson to Willard Sterne Randall's is to pass from historical professionalism at its best to historical amateurism at its worst. A biographer who teaches American and British history at the University of Vermont, Randall professes to offer a full-scale biography and major reinterpretation of Jefferson. He fails miserably on both counts. It is a strange sort of comprehensive biography that devotes four-fifths of its attention to Jefferson's career through the end of his ministry to France in 1789 and then glides lightly over his critically important years as secretary of state, Republican Party leader, vice president, and president, not to mention his highly interesting retirement years. In general Randall's narrative is at once tedious, unoriginal, packed with needless detail, and teeming with major and minor factual errors. It is difficult to take seriously a work which, among other gaffes, credits Sir Edward Coke with producing a written constitution for the English-speaking world, cites Joseph Priestley as the inventor of modern physics (has Randall never heard of Newton?), has Jefferson recommending a work by Thomas Malthus twenty-five years before it was even written, and portrays John Adams as the negotiator of the 1786 commercial treaty between France and Great Britain. Nor, to cite but one instance of the ludicrously disproportionate emphases that abound in Randall's work, is it easy to understand why he devotes almost as many pages to describing Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death speech" (p. 3) as to Jefferson's acquisition of Louisiana (p. 4).

If Randall's book fails to pass muster as a full-scale biography of Jefferson, it is even less successful as a reinterpretation of his career. Randall portrays Jefferson as an "undiluted democrat," thereby overlooking a generation of scholarship that has firmly established the strict racial, gender, and property limits on active political citizenship that inhered in Jefferson's vision of American republicanism. He contends that it was years before Jefferson attached any particular importance to writing the Declaration of Independence, conveniently ignoring a substantial body of evidence which shows that from the start Jefferson took great pride in his authorship of one of the fundamental charters of American liberty. He credits Jefferson with playing a major role in the acquisition of the Northwest Territory by reason of the instructions he wrote for George Rogers Clark, somehow missing the tediously documented fact that George Mason actually wrote the instructions in question. He argues that Jefferson's revisal of Virginia's laws during the American Revolution prefigured the system of American federalism adopted in 1787, a preposterous claim for which he does

not offer even a scintilla of convincing evidence. He asserts that Jefferson played a strategic role in helping to make the Peace of Paris possible by convincing Virginia to cede its western land claims to the Continental Congress, as if the British would have avoided peace negotiations after Yorktown if the Articles of Confederation had not been in effect. And he maintains that a proposed constitution for Virginia, which Jefferson drafted in 1783 and printed in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, inspired the Constitution of 1787 and virtually every other constitution adopted in the world since then because it embodied the principle of separation of powers, as if this principle had not been embodied in some state constitutions adopted during the American Revolution. The one saving grace of Randall's decision to gallop so quickly through the last thirty-seven years of Jefferson's life is that it spares the reader additional egregious misinterpretations of Jefferson and his era.

The serious flaws that make Randall's book virtually worthless as a study of Jefferson are ultimately attributable to his failure to master even the rudiments of historical method. Randall lists a formidable number of books and articles in his bibliography, but one is entitled to wonder just how many of them he actually read when one finds him citing a nonexistent edition of Jefferson's *Memorandum Books*, confusing Kenneth Bowling's edition of William Maclay's diary with Charles Beard's, and attributing to no less than three other scholars a collection of essays written solely by Henry Steele Commager. Moreover, there is frequently no relationship between the quotations that appear in Randall's text and the sources he cites in his footnotes. To make matters worse he claims to have seen Jefferson documents that simply do not exist, such as an early letter to his guardian, a series of 1766 letters to John Page, and the draft of the highly significant 1793 Giles Resolutions. Other than suggesting the existence of an American version of Methuselah, what is one to make, for example, of Randall's assertion that the daughter of one of Jefferson's youthful unrequited loves "later wrote a letter mocking Jefferson in the *Atlantic Monthly*" (p. 65)—especially when the epistle in question was written in 1781 and published in this august journal 118 years later!

Worst of all, this is a highly derivative work that in all too many cases simply closely paraphrases the sources on which it is based. In order to appreciate how derivative and paraphrasical a book this is, consider this partial comparison between Julian P. Boyd's account in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (1: 330) of the political principles reflected in Jefferson's 1776 draft constitutions for Virginia with Randall's treatment of the same subject (p. 269):

Boyd

The documents here drawn up contain, indeed, most if not all of the leading principles to which Jefferson's entire career was dedicated: the people as the source of authority;

Randall

His draft constitution propounded a coherent system of individual rights. The people were the true source of authority. "Public liberty" and individual rights were to be

the protection of "public liberty" and of individual rights against authoritarian control; the widening of suffrage and an equalization of the distribution of representation in the legislative branch; the use of unappropriated lands for the establishment of a society of independent farmers who would hold their land "in full and absolute dominion of no superior whatever"; the just and equitable treatment of the Indians. . . .

protected against authoritarian control. The right to vote was to be broadened and the distribution of representation in the legislature equalized, granting a greater voice to the western frontier counties. Jefferson proposed using unappropriated lands to establish a society of independent farmers who would hold their land "in full and absolute dominion of no superior whatever." He provided for just and equitable treatment of Indians.

Caveat lector is the only advice that a responsible reviewer can give to anyone who might be tempted to turn to Randall's substantively and methodologically flawed book for enlightenment about Jefferson and his times.

Princeton University

EUGENE R. SHERIDAN

Author's reply to Eugene R. Sheridan's review of *Thomas Jefferson: A Life*.

After a journalism career in which I received many national awards for my painstaking investigative reportage and in which I prided myself on my accuracy, having written the first draft of a biography of William Franklin under contract with Little, Brown, I enrolled as a graduate student in history at Princeton.

In the fall of 1983, I submitted a rough draft of my biography to my advisor who, because he was not a specialist in the eighteenth century and could call on none in the History Department, went outside the department and asked Mr. Sheridan for a reading. Sheridan pored over its uncorrected pages, pointing out and counting every typographical error, apparently not grasping the main point, that I was submitting the rough draft for approval as a dissertation topic, not as the manuscript of my thesis.

As I was obliged by contract, I sent the corrected manuscript to Little, Brown, early in 1984. It was published as *A Little Revenge: Benjamin Franklin and His Son*, which won a Frank Luther Mott Prize for research from the University of Missouri Graduate School of Journalism. I went on to teach at the University of Vermont for ten years before joining the faculty of John Cabot University in Rome.

While Sheridan has spent some of his time bringing out a few more volumes of the Jefferson Papers (for which I have only the greatest admiration and have said so publicly), I have produced two more biographies, *Benedict Arnold: Patriot and Traitor* (William Morrow, 1990) and my Jefferson biography. Many reviewers have praised these works for their originality of conception, their careful research, their thoroughness and readability. If, in the process, minor errors slip in and get by the copy editors, they are quickly corrected in the

paperback editions as soon as they are brought to my attention by reviewers. If I chose to make a particularly pithy paragraph of Julian Boyd's a little more understandable to a general audience, then perhaps I should be accused at worst of being a popularizer who tries to bring American history to the widest possible audience. I must point out that such a paraphrasing is carefully foot-noted. But other scholars have been able to find redeeming qualities in my books in their reviews in the *American Historical Review*, *American Scholar*, *The Historian*, the *Journal of American History*, etc.

Maybe I am guilty merely of writing a book in a style Sheridan would eschew for an audience he would not try to reach. Only two of his charges rankle. One is the insinuation that I did not read all of the books cited in my bibliography. I did, devoting nearly six years to the effort while carrying out archival research in France and from the Huntington Library to Princeton, in addition to reading hundreds of rolls of microfilm requisitioned by interlibrary loans. The other charge is that I claim to have seen documents that do not exist. In the absence of specifics, I can only say that this charge is patently false.

If Mr. Sheridan read more patiently and more calmly, he would note that I cite my sources for many of the documents he enumerates in none other than the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, which I gratefully acknowledged in my book.

John Cabot University

WILLARD STERNE RANDALL

The Lincoln Persuasion: Remaking American Liberalism. By J. DAVID GREENSTONE. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. xxxiii, 312p. Charts, tables, index. \$24.95.)

Because of J. David Greenstone's untimely death in 1990, this book was completed by his colleagues and friends Dave Ericson, John Mearsheimer, Louisa Bertch Green, and Carla Hess. By skillfully piecing together several of Greenstone's published articles and various manuscript fragments, and by adding passages that provide necessary connective tissue, they have produced a book that will stand as a lasting monument to Greenstone's contributions to American political thought.

Greenstone's principal objective was to replace Louis Hartz's conception of America's liberal tradition with a more nuanced account that reflected the deep and persistent tensions within that tradition. He agreed that Americans cherished individual rights, private property, and popular government; to that extent all Americans have been Lockean liberals. But Greenstone insisted that within that broad agreement lay a fundamental division between "reform" liberals and "humanist" liberals. Reform liberals shared Aristotelian ideals of personal, social,

and political development and shared Kantian ideals of ethics; they sought to steer Americans toward selflessness and judged their own and others' actions according to perfectionist standards. Greenstone's examples include John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Wendell Phillips, Lydia Maria Child, and Frederick Douglass. Humanist liberals shifted the focus of politics from divine to human will and embraced utilitarian ethics; they took individual American's preferences as given and sought only to construct a democratic polity that would reflect those free choices. Greenstone's examples include Thomas Jefferson (with important qualifications), radical Jacksonian William Leggett, Martin Van Buren, and Stephen A. Douglas.

Whereas Hartz considered the American Civil War an aberration, for Greenstone it stood as the central event in American history. For Greenstone, Lincoln likewise stood as the central figure in the American political tradition, because he alone successfully brought together the two strands of American liberalism. Lincoln, at least after 1854, joined the piety and moral perfectionism of the reform tradition with the careful means-ends reasoning and democratic sensibilities of the humanist tradition. Thus Lincoln spanned what Greenstone termed the "liberal bi-polarity." Lincoln exerted a unique appeal to militants and moderates of both traditions, thereby creating the "Lincoln Persuasion" that made possible the survival of the union.

That brief summary hardly suggests the analytical richness of this book. Greenstone learned from Wittgenstein to think of politics in terms of language games and forms of life, and he shows throughout his analysis the intimate relation between the language and practice of public life. This is a book sensitive to texts and contexts, to intellectual and institutional history, and to the subtle continuities and transformations of American politics over a long span of time. Greenstone learned from Max Weber to see both how the tension between Kantian ethical reasoning and Benthamite utilitarianism makes integrity so difficult for politicians, and to see how deep are the conflicts between the demands of purity and the desire to be effective. Unfortunately, at least for historians, Greenstone also learned from contemporary social scientists to think in terms of game theory, "prisoners' dilemmas," and typologies of social action. These borrowed models occasionally obscure the clarity of his historical analysis, but such distractions are few.

Had Greenstone lived to complete this project, he intended to show how the Lincoln persuasion persisted through the efforts of settlement workers, labor radicals, New Dealers, and 1960s activists. As we continue searching for alternatives to the overly simple and static conception of a unitary American liberal tradition, a conception no more capable of explaining the powerful appeal of Jane Addams and Martin Luther King, Jr., than of Abraham Lincoln, Greenstone would have helped provide guidance. For all the reasons made

manifest in this richly rewarding book, J. David Greenstone will be sorely missed.

Brandeis University

JAMES T. KLOPPENBERG

The Papers of George Washington. Revolutionary War Series. Vol. 5: June-August 1776. Edited by PHILANDER D. CHASE. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993. xxviii, 739p. Maps, editorial apparatus, index. \$67.50.)

The Papers of George Washington. Presidential Series. Vol. 4: September 1789-January 1790. Edited by DOROTHY TWOHIG. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993. xxxii, 636p. Illustrations, map, editorial apparatus, index. \$65.00.)

In just a decade's time, W. W. Abbot, Philander Chase, Dorothy Twohig, and the editorial staff of *The Papers of George Washington* have produced nineteen volumes of Washington's correspondence. While the Washington papers project has lagged behind those of Jefferson, Hamilton, and Franklin, the diligent work of Abbot's team is speeding this monumental venture toward fruition—though certainly not at the expense of quality, depth, or detail. Volume 5 of the *Revolutionary War Series* covers eight weeks of the summer of 1776, from mid-June to mid-August, and contains no less than 473 letters *to and from* General Washington, circulars to colonial/state governments, and his general orders. Historians can glean military history and much more from this volume. Social history, crowd action, the history of medicine, ideological and political history, and civil liberties issues all emerge from Washington's wartime correspondence.

Although the fighting was barely a year old in the summer of 1776, the general was already dodging the obstacles and enduring the dilemmas that would beset the war effort in the five years to follow. In the second entry in this volume of the *Revolutionary War Series*, Washington pleaded with John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, for additional funds to pay his troops in Canada and in defense of New York (pp. 3-5). Even when funding was available, maintaining an army simply for defensive postures proved difficult. As Washington prepared to defend New York against an invasion force of 25,000 in late July, he pessimistically estimated his own strength at "about 15,000—more indeed are expected, but there is no certainty of their arrival as Harvest and a thousand other excuses are urged for the Reasons of delay . . . we are not yet in such a posture of defence as I cd wish" (pp. 427-30). Worse

still were the responses to Washington's militia requests, like those of Joseph Hawley of Massachusetts: "I know Sir it will vex you . . . This colony I imagine will raise the men required by Congress, before Snow falls—But in No season for the relief of either New York or Canada" (pp. 70-72). Washington's frustration showed in his reaction to the American retreat from Canada. He attributed the misfortune "to a want of discipline and a proper regard to the conduct of Soldiery," though as yet he had not given up hope that Canada, a "Country of such Importance in the present controversy, may yet be added to, and compleat our Union" (pp. 10-13). Along the retreat, General Sullivan reported that smallpox and dysentery plagued his weary troops and bogged them down at Isle Au Noix. Sullivan feared that "one fortnight longer in this place will not leave us well men Enough to Carry off the Sick" (pp. 92-95). Medical care provided further problems. Washington had to coordinate the services of regimental surgeons with the general hospital surgeons, the regimental hospitals with regimental quarter masters and the general hospital, and director general of surgeons with the quarter master general. Room for error expanded exponentially at every bureaucratic corner.

Into the middle of these darkening times, the Declaration of Independence brightened the horizon, provided a concrete mission, and infused the general and his troops with a new optimism. On July 10, Washington wrote John Hancock from New York, "It behooves us to adopt such, as under the smiles of a Gracious & and All kind Providence will be most likely to promote our happiness . . . and will secure us that freedom and those privileges which have been and are refused us, contrary to . . . the British Constitution." He commanded that the Declaration be proclaimed to the army, and reported "that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent" (pp. 258-61). Washington displayed his penchant for social order and his disdain for mobs on the same day when he reprimanded some celebratory soldiers for rowdily toppling and beheading the statue of George III on Broadway. "'Tho the General doubts not the persons . . . were actuated by Zeal in the public cause; yet it has so much the appearance of riot and want of order" (pp. 256-57).

Perhaps the most serious threat to order Washington perceived were New York Tories and spies within his own army. Washington frequently corresponded with "a Secret Committee of the New York Convention" planning to remove jailed Tories from New York City prior to any British invasion. He targeted private citizens as well by requesting that the secret committee "consult and determine upon some Method to remove Persons out of Town, whose Conduct Connections & Office afford the strongest presumption of their remaining here with dangerous and unfriendly Views to the American Cause." Yet Washington was no tyrant; he respected New Yorkers' civil liberties enough to understand that "an Order to remove all who do not belong to the Army . . . would probably involve many innocent and inoffensive persons in difficulty" (pp. 327-

28). On another occasion he chastised sentries in Halifax for unnecessarily detaining citizens, some even after presenting the countersign, and promised punishments for such actions in the future (pp. 112-13). An even greater concern to Washington came with the uncovering of the Hickey Conspiracy, a plot to sway Continentals to the service of the king as spies and saboteurs. Unfortunately, the *Revolutionary War Series* continues to be plagued by an annoying omission of adequate maps. Since the correspondence in this series focuses on troop deployment, military maneuvers, and enemy movements, at least one map of each theater discussed in the letters is necessary; the two contemporary, local maps included are woefully insufficient.

Volume 4 of the *Presidential Series* is equally dense in correspondence and even richer in terms of subject variety. Whereas the war had commanded all of Washington's attention in the summer of 1776, the new president found time in the autumn of 1789 for correspondence with family, friends, business acquaintances, political colleagues, heads of state, as well as with his frontier generals who treated and fought with the Native American nations.

The most prevalent letters sent to Washington during this time came from men seeking offices, or recommendations of persons for offices in the newly established federal government. Most either knew the president or were acquainted with someone in Washington's circle and sought particular offices commensurate with their experience. There were a few, however, like John Parker, Jr., and Abraham Bancker, who neither knew the president nor had any particular job preference. Parker admitted that "not having the honor of your acquaintance . . . renders an application in my own favor particularly awkward," while Bancker acknowledged "that from my Ignorance of the Offices, which remain vacant, I can have no particular Object in view" (pp. 22, 9-10). When the new government opened avenues to opportunity, Americans quickly forgot the Revolutionary War days when privilege and placement were terms associated with tyranny. Yet Washington was unfailingly just in his appointments. Responding to Edmund Randolph's recommendations for offices yet to be created, Washington remanded, "I can repeat to you what I say to all others upon similar occasions—that is—I leave myself entirely free until the office is established . . . then I shall endeavor to the best of my judgement to combine justice to individuals with the public good making the latter my primary object" (p. 6). This volume also shows the president creating his cabinet, soliciting advice from Madison, Jefferson, and Hamilton, and appointing the federal judiciary.

This volume also reveals Washington the family man and Washington the southern patrician slaveholder. His mother, Mary Washington, died at home in Fredericksburg in late summer. He wrote to his sister, Betty Washington Lewis, mourning the loss of their mother and instructing her to liquidate the personal property, sell the existing crops to settle the estate, and to divide the

real estate assets—and then the slaves—between all the siblings. As so often happened, the death of a slave master meant the dissolution of slave families. Washington forswore his share of the thirteen slaves on the condition that he could retain possession of one “fellow belonging to that estate now at my house, who never stayed elsewhere, for which reason, and because he has a family I should be glad to keep him” (pp. 32-36). Like other slaveholders, Washington recognized the slave family when expedient. When his nephew, Bushrod Washington, arrived in Fredericksburg, he took exception to his aunt’s execution of the estate and insisted that she had “no Right to any Part” of the real estate, including slaves. Betty appealed to her brother, reminding him of his promise that one-fifth of the slaves “would be mine,” but George backed down and sided with his brothers Samuel, John, and Charles. To Betty he wrote: “I believe Bushrod is right . . . When I gave my opinion that you were entitled to a child’s part it did not occur to me that Mother held them under the will of Father who had made a distribution of them after her death” (pp. 32, 122, 161). Sibling affection simply could not overcome prevailing gender-specific spheres of activity. Given the dozens of letters to and from various family members, an extensive family tree—especially highlighting relations by marriage—would have been extremely helpful.

These two volumes make excellent additions to *The Papers of George Washington*. The abundance of explanatory notes and the comprehensive index make them useful tools that no college library or early American research facility should be without.

University of Kentucky

PAUL DOUGLAS NEWMAN

Adams Family Correspondence. Vol. 5: October 1782–November 1784. Vol. 6: December 1784–December 1785. Edited by RICHARD ALAN RYERSON. (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Belknap Press, 1993. Vol. 5: lxxvi, 485p. Descriptive list of illustrations, guide to editorial apparatus. Vol. 6: xvi, 603p. Descriptive list of illustrations, appendix, chronology, index. Set, \$95.00.)

These two volumes cover distinctly different phases in the lives of members of John Adams’s family. Between the autumn of 1782 and late summer of 1784, Adams and his son, John Quincy, were in Europe, while Abigail Adams and her remaining children, Nabby, Thomas Boylston, and Charles, dwelt in Massachusetts. During the next eighteen months Abigail, John, and Nabby lived together in France and England, while John Quincy was sent home to attend Harvard College and the two younger boys were placed in the care of

relatives in Haverhill, Massachusetts. As a result of this sea change in the affairs of the Adamses, John all but vanishes after mid-1784; his letters decrease from seventy in the initial volume to only eight in the next. In addition, the tone of the two volumes is quite dissimilar. John and Abigail, lonely and living apart, fill Volume 5 with letters that abound with tension, anger, despair, love, and hope. Volume 6, in contrast, consists largely of marvelous communiques from a noticeably buoyant Abigail to her children and sisters back in America.

Adams was sent to France by Congress on two occasions during the War of Independence. His second mission, to negotiate treaties of peace and commerce with Great Britain, began late in 1779 and resulted in his separation from his wife and most of his children for a period of nearly five years. John and Abigail had not seen one another for three years in October 1782, the moment when he was summoned from The Hague to Paris to engage in peace negotiations with the British. This is also the starting point for these two volumes.

John lamented the separation from his wife and urged her to remember that it was for the public good. But Abigail either felt the pain of estrangement more fully than her husband, or she was more comfortable in expressing her sense of loss. Her plaintive letters remain deeply moving. She asked why she and her husband, almost alone among supporters of the American Revolution, were compelled to pay such a heavy price for their activism. She stated that several of what should have been her best years—when she and John were relatively young, healthy, and blessed with children at home—were lost forever. She wondered about her husband's fidelity. She consoled herself with thoughts of her patriotic sacrifice. She confessed that her love for John had grown while they were apart, but she candidly told her husband that the separation must end. "I cannot O! I cannot be reconciled to living as I have done for 3 years past. I am searious" (5:5). She compared her lot to that of widowhood and—obliquely to be sure—spoke of ending the marriage. John found one missive to be so painful that he destroyed it; scholars can only guess at its contents.

However, John would not permit her to come to Europe until the war ended. He feared she might be captured on the high seas and he worried that in her absence their little farm in Braintree, Massachusetts, might go to rack and ruin. In the meantime, he tantalized her with promises that he would return to America the moment that peace was concluded. When the preliminary peace was signed in November 1782, he told her that he might be home within three months. What he did not tell Abigail was that he had launched a quiet campaign to secure the appointment as the first United States minister to Great Britain. While Abigail was hoping against hope that her husband might arrive any day, John finally wrote her from Paris that he believed he "could do more good in England . . . than in any other Spot upon Earth" (5:103). She was crushed. "I do not wish you to accept an Embassy to England." "I beg you not to

accept it.” “[Y]our return here, is the object my Heart pants for,” she wrote to him (5:181, 259, 277).

Adams was not dissuaded. Not until four days after the definitive peace treaty was signed in Paris, and on the day that he received word of Congress’s resolution to appoint him, together with Benjamin Franklin and John Jay, to negotiate a commercial accord with Great Britain, did he at last summon her. He would take the fastest horse, or perhaps one of the newfangled aerial balloons, to greet her, he said.

Numerous letters add to our knowledge of Abigail’s transatlantic crossing and journey to London. We also discover that she entrusted the care of their house in Braintree to Phoebe Abdee, once a slave owned by Abigail’s father. The neighbors were unhappy, but Abigail’s uncle, Cotton Tufts, wrote that Phoebe kept up the property, although he fretted over the “Spirit of the African” within her (6:87).

Little in these volumes touches upon politics, but social historians will find them to be filled with treasures. Insights can be found into eighteenth-century parenting, courtship, sibling relationships, travel, customs, diet, race relations, recreation, and medicine. It is especially fascinating to read how Abigail, who had never been outside Massachusetts, responded to England and France. She feared their larger cities, thought the English were lazy and corrupt, was dismayed by French manners and morals, loved the French theater and cuisine, and concluded that Americans were a more attractive people than either the French or the English.

A brief review cannot do justice to the richness of these two superbly edited volumes. Many papers of public figures are of interest only to scholars; this is not true of the Adamses. The finest novelist would find it difficult to convey the drama, anguish, sorrow, pain, humor, wisdom, common sense, and, at times, selfishness that resonates in their correspondence.

Twenty years passed between the publication of the fourth volume of this series and these two volumes. This should not be permitted to occur again. Not only does the *Adams Family Correspondence* offer a wealth of information on a leading Founding Father and his family, but it sheds important light on the daily lives of eighteenth-century American women.

West Georgia College

JOHN FERLING

The Papers of Henry Bouquet. Vol. VI: Selected Documents, November 1761–July 1765; With a Catalogue of Bouquet Papers from November 1761 to June 1767. Edited by LOUIS M. WADDELL. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1994. xxvi, 898p. Illustrations, bibliography, chronology of events, index. \$55.00.)

Colonel Henry Bouquet’s papers reveal an able, forthright, and conscientious officer in the service of the British army during the French and Indian War.

(The material suggests that the colonial appellation for this frontier conflict may be the more appropriate title to use rather than simply borrowing the name of and subsuming the fight within the Seven Years' War, which was the title of the British conflict in the European theater.) Bouquet's dedication to duty and disdain for the colonists embroiled him at times in controversy, but seldom to the detriment of the ultimate accomplishment of his mission: securing the Ohio territory for the British empire. Caught in the crossfire of many interests—including those of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the settlers, and Native Americans—he found both refuge and ammunition in his own, as he rather beguilingly put it, disinterest and lack of ambition in the colonies (p. 72) and returned fire with the demands of the empire and its army.

Volume 6 of *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, as edited by Louis M. Waddell, is a collection of selected documents. Although some of Waddell's choices reveal the private Bouquet, his selections serve primarily to illuminate the administrative skills and military tactics necessary to vanquish foreign foes, subdue allied malcontents, and expand an empire. As interesting as these papers are on frontier management and logistics, the most fascinating ones are those that serve to magnify and clarify the impact frontier intertribal (Indian, English and colonial) conflicts had on governmental and military decisions. Even though Bouquet and his correspondents focused on army and imperial requirements, their letters often reveal the strength and determination as well as despair and dependence of the Native Americans who had been battered by the Europeans' imperial conflict. The Delawares in particular were caught in the middle of the fight between the tribes to the west and the growing white tribe to the east. Before they joined in the attack on Bouquet's forces near Bushy Run in August 1763, some of their leaders met with Capt. Simeon Ecuyer of Fort Pitt to address the problem. As one of them put it: "Brothers you have Town's & places of your own; you know this is our Country; & and that your having Possession of it must be offensive to all Nations therefore it would be proper, that you were in your own Country where our friendship might always remain Undisturbed" (p. 334). Ecuyer's unwelcome response was that the forts were there to protect them and that the lands taken were only "such parts as our Enemies the French did Possess" (p. 336). The British government wanted to make its own decisions regarding the disposition of the newly acquired lands, which left its officers with the task of making that clear not only to the natives but to the colonists. As these papers disclose in the various discussions of Pontiac's and then the Paxton Boys' rebellions, as well as the 1764 Ohio expedition, once the French were pushed back, frontier conflict became a three-way fight between the British, the colonists, and the natives—with each seeing the other two as adversaries but each also willing to make expedient alliances.

This volume is a welcome, well-crafted addition to a series that illuminates

life and war in the late colonial frontier. Though it is unfortunate that not all the available documents could be included in the collection, the editor appears to have chosen wisely in culling the material. It is noted that those not published in this volume will be available later in a microfiche supplement. In the meantime a researcher intent on finding and reading the documents not chosen for publication in this volume can use the very clear and complete catalog at the back of the book to find out which repositories hold which papers. A nice touch is the inclusion of information about papers that were referred to in the available documents but that were either destroyed or lost. In addition to the catalog, there is a chronology providing short descriptions that give not only the placement and activities of key players but which highlight some of the humor, hostility, humanity, and inhumanity of cultural contact and conflict. Add to all of the above clear and comprehensive footnotes and you have a very usable and informative resource.

Duquesne University

HOLLY A. MAYER

The Salmon P. Chase Papers. Vol. 1: Journals, 1829-1872. Edited by JOHN NIVEN with JAMES P. MCCLURE, LEIGH JOHNSEN, WILLIAM M. FERRARO, and STEVE LEIKIN. (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1993. lxxvii, 789p. Editorial procedures, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

Until now students of mid-nineteenth-century political history who have attempted to evaluate the complex character and motivation of Salmon P. Chase have had to come to grips with his often illegible handwriting. Many have given up in frustration, while others have had to do an excessive amount of interpreting. Now John Niven and his staff have begun the lengthy and difficult process of "translating" Chase's writings into a form accessible to all. The first of a projected four-volume edition of Chase's writings successfully establishes the highest editorial standards for such collections. It includes Chase's many diaries or journals that he kept over forty-three of his sixty-five years.

Chase's journals as well as his letters, which will follow chronologically in the remaining volumes, are scattered in more than eighty libraries and other repositories, although most are divided between the collections of the Library of Congress and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In this volume the editors have successfully pieced together what they label as nineteen separate journals, the excessive number resulting from the frequent lapses in his diary and from the dividing of his papers at the time of his death between two competing biographers.

Chase's journals provide a window into a varied and fascinating life in politics,

with brief glimpses into an often tragic private life. Chase began his journal in 1829 when he was a twenty-one-year-old schoolmaster in Washington. His first entry, which describes the levee or presidential reception of the recently defeated John Quincy Adams, immediately establishes the writer as conservative, elitist, and anti-Jacksonian. For the next four decades we see him evolve into a dedicated antislavery attorney and activist, albeit one with insatiable political ambitions. As we follow him through his memberships in the Whig, Liberty, Free Soil, and Republican parties, we see his twin goals of genuine humanitarian reform on the one hand and the presidency on the other, sometimes at odds with each other and sometimes complementing each other. As the defender of fugitive slaves, Free Soil senator, Republican governor of Ohio, Civil War secretary of the treasury, and chief justice of the Supreme Court during Reconstruction, we learn much of national affairs as well as much of what drove Salmon Chase. Especially important are Chase's ambivalent feelings toward Abraham Lincoln, his role in the emancipation process, his description of the events surrounding the president's assassination, and the part he played in the impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson. We also share Chase's grief over the loss of three wives and four of six children to sickness and disease, and we learn something of his religious beliefs and personal relationships with his two surviving daughters and his many political colleagues.

Niven and his staff are to be commended for undertaking the vast project and for providing the essential explanatory notes needed to place Chase's words in context. The editor's forty-page introduction gives additional insight into the Chase writings. Although there are numerous references to the letters and diaries throughout the introduction, Niven unfortunately felt the need to include a biographical sketch of his subject rather than focusing exclusively on how Chase's words reveal his activities and feelings.

After reading the journals we are left wishing that Chase had written a more complete diary and had been less ambiguous in his observations. Nor do we ever cease to marvel at how he consistently failed to understand why so many saw through his denials of political ambition and, as a result, distrusted him. Yet modern readers will also respect his antislavery conviction and his genuine belief in racial equality, feelings shared by so few of his contemporaries.

Youngstown State University

FREDERICK J. BLUE

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789. Vol. 20: March 12-September 30, 1783. Vol. 21: October 1, 1783-October 31, 1784. Edited by PAUL H. SMITH. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993, 1994. Vol. 20: xxix, 791p. \$39.99. Vol. 21: xxxi, 861p. \$41.00. Illustrations, editorial methods and apparatus, chronology, list of delegates, index.)

These two volumes edited by Paul Smith document both the political and personal struggles of the members of the Continental Congress in the twilight

of the Confederation. Volume 20 opens on March 12, 1783, a bittersweet moment of triumph. On that date, Capt. Joshua Barney arrived at Philadelphia bringing the provisional peace treaty with Great Britain and a much-needed supply of silver, the initial installment on a loan from France. Several weeks before, Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris had published his intention to resign if Congress did not pass a revenue measure that would adequately support public credit. When this news reached the army, before the treaty arrived, it became inextricably linked to the threat by a group of officers at Newburgh to refuse to disband unless their demands for pay and pensions were satisfied. In the months that followed, weary delegates struggled to implement the treaty, demobilize the army, settle accounts for and finance debts contracted during the war, reinvigorate commerce, manage diplomacy, and negotiate treaties with the Indians. As resignations of executive officers created vacancies, Congress downsized the government to meet peacetime needs and to satisfy parsimonious critics of centralized power. Volume 21 ends on October 31, 1784, the day Congress failed to muster the quorum needed to reconvene at Trenton, New Jersey. Although the final letters predict that the session will soon begin, it was several weeks before nine states were represented: the future of Congress as an institution and the permanence of the union it was constituted to represent were both in question.

Both Pennsylvania and the City of Brotherly Love figure prominently in this drama. During this period, Congress began to consider relocating the national capital. Philadelphia is, thus, one of the major protagonists around which political passions swirled. As proposals for alternate sites were being received, armed soldiers of the Pennsylvania line surrounded the State House in Philadelphia to demand pay for years of service to the cause of independence. In the chaotic days that followed, Congress fled Philadelphia for Princeton where the level of discomfort was acceptable only to its most ascetic members. Despite pledges from Pennsylvania authorities to guarantee its safety and dignity and petitions from prominent Philadelphians, a congressional majority could not be mustered to approve its return. To the distress of advocates of a stronger, more effective national government, Congress conducted business at a distance from its government offices and the influence of Financier Robert Morris and French minister La Luzerne for the remainder of the session. A year after the mutiny of 1783, Philadelphia filled with retired army officers as the controversial Society of the Cincinnati held its first meeting in the former capital.

At the inception of his series, Smith adopted a transcription policy originally defined by Julian Boyd and Lyman H. Butterfield, pioneers of modern historical editing. This seeks "a middle ground between facsimile reproduction and thorough modernization," and allows the editors to follow contemporary capitalization and punctuation practices, to expand abbreviations, supply in brackets words omitted by copyists and to silently correct slips of the pen. General

readers will find their way to the content of the documents without having to pass through a thicket of thorns, abbreviations, superlineations, and other obstacles. While most of these modifications can be justified, it is not clear why the editors felt the need to insert a "P.S." in brackets for passages appended after signatures. Endorsements and addresses are supplied only when they are considered to contain more than routine information. Scholars interested in a more exact replication of text must seek out originals at the repositories indicated in the manuscript identification notes.

The series is a definitive replacement of Edmond C. Burnett's earlier edition of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, many of which also appear in other scholarly editions as well. Smith's careful searching has, however, turned up letters from lesser-known congressmen that do not appear elsewhere, and they are published in their entirety. This is a valuable corrective to Burnett, who published only those portions of delegates' letters that cast light on the proceedings described in the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. Although Smith generally excludes the correspondence of Congress's executive committees, boards, and officers, his decision to publish the letters that Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress, wrote to his wife while Congress was at Princeton is amply justified, even though they also have their own separate scholarly edition. Here, in Thomson's descriptions of back-room conversations and dinner parties, we find the delegates' correspondence tellingly contextualized. Smith also publishes Thomson's memorandum book, which records when Congress received information, issued instructions to its officers and to the states, and deferred matters into the indefinite future.

While more amply annotated than its predecessor, these volumes are generally restrained in the information provided in its notes. The editors identify persons and members of congressional committees, track action on matters brought before Congress to its conclusion, cross-reference documents published in their own and others series, and occasionally quote passages of some length from them. Smith also identifies Stephen Higginson as the author of five anonymous letters critical of French influence on American policy, several of which Burnett had attributed to Arthur Lee. Another noteworthy venture into interpretation is the detailed argument for identifying Virginia delegate John Francis Mercer as the author of "The North American" essays that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* in the autumn of 1783. The editors further suggest that South Carolina delegate Jacob Read was the conduit through which the essays were presented to the Philadelphia press.

In volumes that conjoin the disparate correspondence of delegates from thirteen states, the index is the most effective means of giving the reader meaningful access to the full range of material within. It is especially important to this edition since, in the place of the synthetic essays provided by Burnett, Smith includes only a chronology detailing Congress's activities or lack thereof.

His index is, understandably, focused on the congressmen. Readers must look under the names of delegates, printed in bold type, more than to nuanced subject entries for entrée to these volumes. Although some subject entries highlight nonpolitical topics of interest, more could have been done in this regard. For instance, Smith prints a series of letters from Maryland delegate James McHenry to his Philadelphia sweetheart, Margaret Caldwell. The entry for McHenry calls attention to his engagement to Margaret Caldwell, but Charles Thomson's correspondence with his wife is intermingled with his other correspondence under "letters from." Under "Thomson, Hannah," we find only "letters to" (20:786); the readers must suspect that family matters may be discussed. Where Burnett, by design, stripped the personal from the letters he published, Smith, by publishing them in their entirety, gives us politics set in the complexity of personal lives. To leave an interested reader to discover this only by chance because there are no general subject entries for such material underserves volumes that give a more complete portrait of the political contests of the period and the persons through whom they were agitated than has hitherto been available.

The Papers of Robert Morris

MARY A. Y. GALLAGHER

Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake. Edited by PAUL A. SHACKEL and BARBARA J. LITTLE. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. xiv, 299p. Maps, photos, illustrations, bibliographical references. \$49.00.)

The purpose of this book, say the editors in their introductory chapter, is "to take a much-needed step in collecting in one volume some of the work under way in Chesapeake historical archaeology." This is a firm step and covers quite a bit of ground, including interethnic relations and class conflicts analyzed with modern scholarly, holistic, interdisciplinary resources, including the "grey literature" of site reports commissioned under the terms of cultural resource conservation legislation and generally uncirculated, together with hard-to-find or hard-to-afford books and scholarly journals of limited distribution. In all, the book meets a considerable challenge and meets it very well.

Editors Shackel and Little, respectively National Park Service archaeologists at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park and National Capitol Region, have mustered eighteen chapters by field investigator-researchers who are experienced proponents of the holistic analyses of archaeological evidence utilizing the resources of other scholarly disciplines. The result often casts light on subjects previously limited to a reurning of undeveloped or overlooked archival resources. For this reviewer, who spent thirty-seven years as archaeologist for the

National Park Service, it is a pleasure to find this study generated by NPS archaeologists—a quantum advance from the days when government archaeologists were viewed as useful chiefly for finding artifacts for museum display or structural evidence for architectural developments.

The book is divided into four parts: Early European Settlements, Plantation and Landscape Studies, Eighteenth-Century Life, and Nineteenth-Century Life. Each part is briefly introduced by the editors, who attempt to define the settlement's cultural context, the landscape patterned by cultural values, the group relations of class, race, ethnicity, and gender and their cultural tensions in the colonial period, and the cycles of capitalism in a period of national growth.

In Part 1 Stephen R. Potter and Gregory Waselkov analyze the reason English settlers of Virginia's Northern Neck located their houses among the worn out and abandoned field clearings of the Amerindians, while using regenerated aboriginal fields for cultivating tobacco, employing a technique taken directly from the natives' hoeing of corn hills. Here in thin soil, useless to plow, unlike deeper upland loams, the settlers found it natural to follow the familiar medieval British practice of swidden agriculture; this explains the dispersed settlement pattern which took hold in Tidewater Virginia and Maryland.

Matthew Emerson and Ann Markel consider the creation and maintenance of group identity. Emerson cites the decoration of locally made clay smoking pipes by African slaves, and Markel views the paradox of the official discouragement of colonial manufacture as a threat to English economic control, while the planters, with increasing affluence, came to prefer British-made goods, even as they moved toward total colonial independence. Henry Miller cites the seventeenth-century country house as manifesting power transformation as it changed from rural plantation mansion to a governmental center, a change manifested as well in the character of all of its outbuildings and landscape settings.

In Part 2, Dennis J. Pogue and Douglas W. Sanford analyze the evidence of slave quarters and life at Mount Vernon and Monticello, and conclude that both Washington and Jefferson, both of whom had reservations about the ethics of slavery, feared impending ruin if the quickly multiplying slaves were retained as family and social units on their plantations. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid views the transformation of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's eighteenth-century formal garden in Annapolis by unadorned pragmatic use of the Catholic Redemptionists in the nineteenth century.

Part 3 is oriented toward gender in eighteenth-century life, as Ann Smart Martin considers patterns of tableware usage, and Barbara Little and Mark Leone note the material culture of printer Anne Catharine Green of Annapolis, who took over the shop of her deceased printer husband Jonas, putting a feminine imprint on what she published. The paradigm of garden layout, page layout, and town layout is even suggested as integrated. More sophisticated

investigative techniques throw new light on the monopolization of the Antietam Valley iron industry by two families, according to Susan Winter. Marley R. Brown III and Patricia Samford trace colonial Williamsburg themes literally from the bottom up, drawing new and better focus on African-American presence and noting that the gun maker (like Philadelphia's printer, Franklin) left an impressive inventory of elite material goods—he did pretty well by himself.

In Part 4, among other studies, Charles D. Cheek and Donna J. Seifort examine diachronic records from a working-class household and a brothel in the prostitution district of Washington known in the Civil War as Hooker's Division, now the Federal Triangle, close to the White House. It seems the women did pretty well as evidenced by more disposable income, while their family-nurturing sisters left little more than tableware sherds as domestic evidence. *Fanny Hill* and Hardy's *Ruined Maid* might cast literary confirmation in that direction. (The term hooker for prostitute was originally applied to those who provided rest and recreation for the men in General Hooker's command when they were in Washington.)

This is a significant book worthy of close attention by colonial and federal American researchers. No longer can historians ignore historical archaeology as irrelevant to archival research and scholarship. The earth and its material culture evidence constitute an unbiased archive inviting accurate and exhaustive use.

*University of Pennsylvania Museum
of Archaeology and Anthropology*

JOHN L. COTTER

Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864. By JAMES DEETZ. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993. 204p. Illustrations, tables, appendix, index. \$24.95.)

James Deetz's very readable synthesis of the archaeology of Flowerdew Hundred represents an important contribution to historical archaeology. Site reports tend to be the dominant type of publication in the field, and it is good to have Deetz break out of that mode. Fieldwork at Flowerdew over the last couple of decades has excavated a number of domestic dwellings dating from the earliest settlement in 1619 up into the Civil War period. If these sites had been published as a series of reports, very few people would have read them. Deetz takes these sites and provides an overview of how a community changed from an early, isolated tobacco plantation into an integrated community. Along the way he provides the reader with insights into such small and seemingly insignificant artifacts as clay pipe stems and potsherds, integrating them into a

readable text that brings together documents and history for a better understanding of how they evolved. Despite these contributions, Deetz leaves some questions unanswered, and his conclusions are not the final answers to the issues addressed.

Deetz raises the issue of who produced "Colono" ware and the "Chesapeake pipe." He presents a masterful summary of the argument that African-American slaves were the major producers of Colono ware. However, he omits important evidence suggesting that these wares were potted by Native Americans. Mary Ellen Hodges, in "Colono Ware in Virginia" (1989 Jamestown Conference), lists seventeenth- and eighteenth-century references that document Native Americans trading their bowls and pipes to the settlers. Deetz has ignored these references. The case for Native American production of these wares is made by Daniel Mouer, Mary Ellen Hodges, Stephen Potter, Susan Henry, Ivor Noel Hume, Dennis Pogue, Martha McCartney, and Thomas Davidson in *African American Archaeology* (forthcoming), edited by Theresa Singleton.

Jim Deetz is one of the few historical archaeologists attempting to elicit deeper structural meaning from the data recovered from historical sites. In his seminal article "Ceramics from Plymouth, 1635-1835," he provided an overview of the evolution of ceramic usage from seventeenth-century Stuart yeoman foodways to the Georgian mind-set in the 1760s. Deetz's descriptions of these changing consumption patterns provided archaeologists and social historians with a structure around which to organize their data. In chapter five of *Flowerdew Hundred*, Deetz attempts to find a deeper structural meaning to a discard pattern for ceramics that he feels took place in the 1820s.

The argument begins with the fill in the Miles Selden icehouse, a short-term event that took place between 1825 and 1830. The fill represents the discarding of the contents of a house. From there, Deetz lists similar deposits from the Narbonne house in Salem, Massachusetts, four sites in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Black Lucy's garden in Andover, Massachusetts. According to Deetz, all these deposits took place during the 1820s and all represent primary deposits of household goods discarded en masse rather than an accumulation of vessels broken over time. Deetz goes on to state: "The most important question that must be addressed in using major life events for explaining a dump like this (the icehouse) is why such deposits have not been found anywhere on American sites which date either earlier or later than the third decade of the nineteenth century" (p. 124). In looking for the reasons for these deposits, Deetz shifts to the Hall site in South Africa, which has a major deposit from the 1870s. He then jumps to the conclusion that there are major changes in the development of nations and colonies that result in a reworking of their cultures about fifty years after independence, in the American case, and fifty years after settlement, in South Africa. Such leaps of faith and logic leave one dizzy.

Let's consider some points that Deetz has overlooked. To start with, there

are major house-cleaning deposits outside the 1820s. Published examples include: (1) the John Hicks site, St. Mary's County, Maryland, deposited between 1741 and 1745; (2) the Custus well, Williamsburg, Virginia, deposited ca. 1757; (3) the Diaz privy, Monterey, California, deposited in the mid-1850s; and (4) the Brigham Young house privy, Nauvoo, Illinois, deposited sometime in the 1860s. This list could be expanded with a literature search. Clearly, the point is the practice of cleaning out houses and throwing away unbroken ceramic tablewares, for whatever reason, was not confined to the 1820s.

Deetz chose not to share with his readers certain aspects of the Selden icehouse story that shed light on the deposit. Peggy Scully's dissertation on the Selden icehouse deposit, which Deetz directed, documents the death of Miles Selden and his wife of "malignant fever" in the spring of 1814. After their deaths, the vacant house was under the care of the overseer until it was sold in 1827 to John Wilcox. Deetz hints at these transitions by saying that Miles Selden died in 1814 (p. 120) but does not mention the "malignant fever" from which he died. Later, in a discussion on a broader cause for household-cleaning events, he states: "To begin, site-specific explanations seem far too particularistic. Such explanations have ranged from a fear of sickness leading to mass disposal and replacement with 'uninfected' objects, through a correlation with major life events to the need to provide drainage at the bottoms of pits . . ." (p. 129). To those who have not read Scully's dissertation, Deetz's comment comes out of the blue and is meaningless. Given that the Seldens died suddenly of "malignant fever" and that the house stood empty for over a decade, it would seem clear that a particularistic explanation is the best one for what happened. In short, when the new owners appeared they cleaned the house and discarded its contents, along with materials from fixing up the property. Clearly if John Wilcox is discarding old dishes from a family that died twelve years earlier, this event has nothing to do with the fact that it took place fifty years after independence.

A particularistic answer also provides the most reasonable explanation for the discarding of the household wares belonging to the freed slave Black Lucy. Black Lucy's cottage was built for her by a provision in Hanna Foster's 1812 will. Lucy occupied the cottage until her death in 1845. Towards the end of her life, she received support from the Overseers of the Poor. After her death, the cottage was probably torn down and the contents of her house became cellar fill. Clearly, the date of this deposit is outside of the third decade where Deetz placed it. Black Lucy's economic conditions would not have allowed her the luxury of refurbishing her household. Her ceramics were probably secondhand items that Lucy received from the families for whom she worked. The point is that the deposit can best be explained by the particularistic conditions of Black Lucy's life rather than in some "deep structural" pattern that Deetz is trying to define.

In conclusion, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619-1864* provides plenty of food for thought, but the argument is not over and the case has not been proved. Deetz serves archaeology well in provoking us into thinking, but building intellectual models is a bit like fishing: sometimes you come up empty-handed.

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GEORGE L. MILLER

The Second Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership. Edited by GARY W. GALLAGHER. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1993. xi, 210p. Bibliographical references, maps, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$24.00; paper, \$14.00.)

The Third Day at Gettysburg and Beyond. Edited by GARY W. GALLAGHER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. x, 217p. Bibliographical references, maps, illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

The eleven essays by eight different authors in these two volumes complete the trilogy on the battle of Gettysburg that grew out of papers presented at the annual Mont Alto conferences sponsored by Pennsylvania State University. Volumes 1 and 2, on days one and two of the battle, focus on "the evaluation of selected commanders" (*Second Day*, vii)—a traditional form of military history, carried to its highest form in essays about brigade, division, corps, and army commanders and grounded in thorough research and offering provocative insights.

The Third Day marks a new departure, inaugurating a Military Campaigns of the Civil War series published by the University of North Carolina Press. Three of its six essays, to be sure, concentrate on prominent generals: Lee, Longstreet, Armistead, Garnett, and Meade. But the focus of *The Third Day* shifts to "some of the ways in which campaigns influenced the civilian sphere and how expectations from home in turn affected men in the armies" (vii). These themes emerge particularly in Gary Gallagher's lead essay evaluating the impact of the battle on morale in the Army of Northern Virginia and on the Southern home front. He finds that most soldiers and civilians did not consider Gettysburg a devastating defeat or a negative turning point in the war. The loss of Vicksburg, he maintains, had a far more dispiriting effect on Southern opinion. Carol Reardon's fascinating essay on the changing image of "Pickett's Charge" in Southern history and myth is a brilliant exercise in one of the newest historiographical genres, the study of memory and the invention of tradition. Robert Bee's analysis of Sgt. Benjamin Hirst's (14th Connecticut) account of

his experience on the receiving end of Pickett's assault examines two letters Hirst wrote immediately after the battle and a longer narrative he wrote three months later. Using the anthropologist's technique of "thick description," Bee teases out the themes of masculinity and courage that loomed so large in the value system of Civil War soldiers and of the Victorian culture from which they came. A. Wilson Greene's discussion of Meade's pursuit of the retreating Confederates after the battle sensitively explores the relationship between military realities and civilian expectations in the North. While not uncritical of Meade, he finds Northern censure of the general's sluggishness to be largely unjustified.

Robert Krick's narrative of the uncanny parallels in the lives and careers of Lewis Armistead and Richard Garnett, right up to the moment of their mortal wounding at Cemetery Ridge, contains material new to the most dedicated of Civil War buffs. William Garrott Piston offers an intricate analysis of Lee's desire for Longstreet to renew the attack on the morning of July 3 and Longstreet's persistent preference for a flanking maneuver south of the Round Tops. The problem with any analysis of this controversy is that almost all of the relevant evidence comes from accounts written long after the event, distorted by the selective and often self-serving filter of memory. In any event, Piston may be correct in asserting that "Longstreet was actually much more vulnerable to legitimate criticism" for his actions—or non-actions—on July 3 than on the previous day (*Third Day*, 51).

Robert Krick might disagree. His essay in *The Second Day* revives many of the old charges against Longstreet of sullen noncooperation and petty mind-fulness that may have cost a Confederate victory. Michael Shaara's novel *The Killer Angels* and its cinematic version *Gettysburg* have influenced millions in Longstreet's favor in recent years. Krick is determined to redress the balance and reinstate Longstreet's "unseemly sulk" (p. 80) on July 2 as an important cause of Confederate defeat. He partly succeeds. But he pushes the argument too far. Krick's animus against Longstreet is revealed by such statements as "the contentious Longstreet launched a steady flood of attacks against his former Confederate colleagues" (p. 57) after the war, when in fact most of Longstreet's admittedly ill-tempered and sometimes inaccurate statements were responses to attacks launched against him. To cut through the debate, Krick expresses an intent to "focus on primary evidence" (p. 69). But some kinds of such evidence are less primary than others. First-person accounts by participants are primary sources, to be sure, but the longer after the fact they are written the less reliable they are. Of the twelve firsthand accounts of events on July 2 by participants other than Longstreet on which Krick's sharply critical appraisal is based, only two dated from 1863; the others were written from 1875 to 1897, after Longstreet's postwar Republican allegiance as well as his non-Virginia nativity made him a convenient target.

Each of the other four essays in *The Second Day* focuses on a disputed issue

about the battle, though in less provocative fashion than Krick's. Gary Gallagher argues that Lee's decision to attack on July 2 may have been wrong, but it was not unreasonable and it was almost justified by success. William Glenn Robertson makes a case for Daniel Sickles's decision to move his III Corps forward to the high ground at the Peach Orchard. A. Wilson Greene praises the stout fighting of George S. Greene's (no relation) New York brigade at Culp's Hill on the evening of July 2, but concludes that neither that valorous action nor anything else the XII Corps did on July 2 had a significant impact on the battle's outcome. D. Scott Hartwig painstakingly reconstructs the timely actions and decisions of Brig. Gen. John C. Caldwell whose II Corps division reinforced the III Corps in the Wheatfield and helped slow the Confederate advance there, with heavy casualties to both sides.

To single out any of the essays in these volumes for special praise might seem invidious, for all of them are well written, original, incisive, and thought provoking. But perhaps a reviewer may be pardoned if he names his favorites essays: those of Gallagher and Reardon in *The Third Day*. Even while impressed by Gallagher's argument that most Southerners in 1863 did not consider Gettysburg a decisive defeat, however, I wonder why Lee found the "discontent" with Gettysburg expressed by portions of the Southern press so disconcerting that he offered to resign. Gallagher's efforts to extract this thorn from his thesis are not entirely persuasive. And while Reardon's account of the running 130-year contest among Virginians and North Carolinians (along with partisans of troops from other states) over who penetrated deepest and fought most heroically in that fabled charge on July 3—and whether it should even be called "Pickett's Charge"—is superb cultural as well as military history, one wishes that she had gone further and probed the most interesting question about this phenomenon. Why has Pickett's Charge (if we can call it that) become the symbol of valor, devotion, and all that is best in the Confederate tradition while Grant's assault at Cold Harbor exactly eleven months later has become a symbol of callous bungling? Both were equally futile; both suffered the same number of casualties (7,000) in the same amount of time; and the Union casualties at Cold Harbor were fifteen percent of the troops involved while Confederate casualties were fifty percent. Here is a question for historians of memory and myth to ponder.

Princeton University

JAMES M. McPHERSON

What They Fought For 1861-1865. By JAMES M. McPHERSON. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994. xv, 88p. Notes, index. \$16.95.)

Letters from a Sharpshooter: The Civil War Letters of Private William B. Greene Co. G, 2nd United States Sharpshooters (Berdan's) Army of the Potomac, 1861-1865. Edited by WILLIAM H. HASTINGS. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1993. 329p. Postwar letters, index. \$24.95.)

Fascination with why soldiers fought in the Civil War has, if anything, grown over the years—especially what caused common folk to voluntarily join and continue to support the causes of both Union and Confederacy. Most works have tended to play down the role of ideals in motivating Northern and Southern troops, stressing instead that men fought either because they did not want to let their comrades down or to show themselves wanting in courage. Men remained in the ranks, according to these works, for communities and neighbors with little reference to a broader cause. The two works under review advance understanding of these questions in vastly different ways. In *What They Fought For*, James M. McPherson meets these impressions head-on by arguing strongly against the prevailing ideas about the minds of soldiers. He does not claim that all prior assumptions have been wrong; only that we must make room for ideology as an important component in the motivations of Union and Confederate soldiers.

McPherson's conclusions rest on examination of more than 25,000 letters and a hundred diaries representing the combined output of 936 soldiers. Reading these primary materials impressed him with how frequently the men linked their role to a broader cause. Although ideology admittedly formed only one aspect of why men fought, McPherson highlighted this unappreciated dynamic in these essays delivered as Walter L. Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University. In a future published work he plans to expand on the other elements—such as duty, manhood, leadership, and coercion—that also kept soldiers in the ranks.

McPherson shows that both Northern and Southern soldiers, ironically, used many of the same concepts to justify their actions. Soldiers from either the Union or the Confederacy characterized their actions as preserving liberty, republicanism, and the heritage of revolutionary ancestors. These concepts, however, embraced different meanings depending on whether articulated by Johnny Reb or Billy Yank. Consequently, the author has devoted separate chapters to each, with a concluding section on the influence of slavery on the meaning of the conflict.

McPherson begins with Southerners, for whom liberty meant remaining free of the tyranny of Northern people bent on subjugating the Confederacy through armed force. Invasion by Union soldiers persuaded Southerners that the threat to liberty was more than an abstraction, indeed something painfully real. Although vengeance and defense of homes supplied strong reasons to resist Northern

encroachment, McPherson claims that the men also were infused with patriotism cast in terms of protecting their country from enslavement.

Northern soldiers, meanwhile, believed they could not let the South leave the Union because secession would fragment the country and repudiate the experiment in representative government. The inability to hold the nation together would, in their view, prove the contention of Europeans that democracy could not survive. Union soldiers thus saw themselves as protecting the legacy of the revolution of 1776.

In the final section, McPherson ably traces the ambiguity that emancipation posed for federal soldiers, many of whom eventually accepted the policy less from antislavery sentiments than the hope that slavery's destruction would help end the war and bury a divisive issue. A more innovative insight is a reminder that while Northerners had to come to terms with slavery as a war aim Southerners did not. Because most Southerners took slavery for granted they failed to discuss the institution much in their correspondence. Although only twenty percent of his correspondents even mentioned proslavery views, McPherson's writers offered no dissent against the peculiar institution.

The author judiciously assesses whether the findings can be considered representative of soldiers' views, concluding that the sources bias themselves toward the most committed people within both societies. For Southerners, the material leans toward planters, professionals, and slaveholders in general. Overall, though, he is probably correct that this bias does not hurt the outcome because the letters illuminate the motivations of soldiers who did most of the fighting. It should also be remembered that he deals with the same evidence that others use to reach opposite conclusions on the presence of ideology.

One recommendation for future discussion would be a more precise definition of terms. It was not clear, for instance, of the differences between what the author called simple patriotism and greater ideological conviction. The reader can generally sense the author's criteria, but a more complete discussion—perhaps in notes—would help historians apply the researcher's method to their own work and better test the validity of the assumptions.

Letters from a Sharpshooter, meanwhile, reveals a different soldier from that of McPherson's study. This collection of letters involving a New Hampshire soldier in Berdan's Sharpshooters reveals a man who quickly becomes disenchanted with the war and stays in the ranks primarily because of coercion from military authorities and pride in his unit. Many of the letters of William B. Greene detail his efforts to get out of the service, including an attempt to milk an ankle injury. He also deserted the army, returning only when arrested. He did little fighting until 1864 and performed his job then for complex reasons: because he was forced to by the provost marshal, because he did not mind proving Southerners inferior, and because he had developed pride in his company and regiment.

Although Greene's letters contain few overt ideological musings of any sort, they reveal glimpses of underlying motivations. A number of people from his home in Raymond, New Hampshire, apparently were Democrats who harbored no love for Radical Republicans or anyone who advocated antislavery as a cause or consequence of the war. Greene himself held little regard for black people and supported George B. McClellan for president in 1864. Whether this particular soldier wanted to preserve the Union from dissolution remains anyone's guess.

Despite this welcome look at an unpatriotic soldier, *Letters from a Sharpshooter* remains an unsatisfying book. Typically one congratulates a documentary editor for limiting explanatory material, but in this case the editor neither placed material in context nor shed light on the people. The maps are wholly inadequate and illustrations add to the appearance of the book but not the substance. The result is an artfully attractive collection that does not help the reader understand either Greene or his experience fully. Nonetheless, the richness of the letters overcomes the lack of editing and provides material well worth reading.

McPherson's study is more satisfying overall, even though it only begins the job that a future study will complete. His analysis casts doubt on the prevailing interpretation that internal conflicts split the South assunder—that Confederates could not find a common cause that smoothed over class divisions within their society. At least within the army, McPherson found surprisingly little evidence of Confederate soldiers expressing anger over a rich man's war. He also steers inquiry from why the Confederacy lost toward the equally difficult question of what kept soldiers in the ranks for four hard years. As Willie Greene demonstrates, the challenge in answering this question actually may lie more with the Northern side.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro

WILLIAM A. BLAIR

Embattled Bench: The Pennsylvania Supreme Court and the Forging of a Democratic Society, 1684-1809. By G. S. ROWE. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994. 366p. Bibliographic references, index. \$45.00.)

G. S. Rowe has taken on the task of "integrating legal history into the customary story of early America" (p. 9) through reviving the somewhat lost art of institutional history. Eschewing the traditional focus of legal historians on substantive law, he instead examines the first 125 years of Pennsylvania's Supreme Court through the lenses of social and political history. Using a chronological organization, Rowe views the court within its broader historical context, showing how it responded to forces and conditions in Pennsylvania society and attempted to shape that society through its rulings. His conclusion, that the court achieved a "steady accumulation of power and influence until it

could successfully challenge the Legislature itself" (p. 67), is not startling but it is nonetheless persuasively argued.

Rowe's most impressive accomplishment lies in his portrayal of the court's first ninety years. Lacking case files until 1778 and lacking even appearance dockets until 1740, he was nonetheless able to reconstruct much of the court's work from collateral sources. The early controversies over the court's jurisdiction made the court not a player but a playground in political disputes. After these issues were resolved, there followed years of increasing competence on the bench and increasing formalism of the law, which produced public confidence in the court and an expanding docket. While problems with extending the court's reach into the hinterlands remained, the court had succeeded in legitimizing itself as an institution. Such a pattern fits well with such models of colonial social development as Jack Greene's, but this section would have benefited from putting these changes in a broader context. Nonetheless Rowe has done a commendable job assembling the disparate evidence of the court's performance.

The court records extant for the Revolution and early national period provided Rowe much greater detail. The court first broke down in the early years of political chaos, then reasserted itself under the leadership of Chief Justice Thomas McKean to take back legal control from the hands of extralegal committees. During the highly politicized treason trials of 1778, the court achieved power through a pursuit of "harsh and lenient policies, sometimes simultaneously" (p. 149). Here, Rowe implicitly echoes Douglas Hay's analysis of mercy as a means by which judges can achieve legitimacy while lacking coercive power. Thereafter, political issues increased their presence on the docket, including those involving property confiscated from Tories, land disputes between settlers and warrantees, women's property rights, the rights of servants and freed slaves, and the power of juries. After two decades of growing institutional power, the court confidently asserted its right of judicial review in the 1790s. Yet there were limits; the court's reach was never very strong in western Pennsylvania, and antagonism among farmers flared. The court's high-handed treatment of a litigant in an obscure insurance case formed the pretext for the legislature to impeach (but not convict) three justices. In 1809, the legislature trimmed the Supreme Court's power but did not destroy it, leaving the institution as a balance between a conservative legal culture and a more democratic and dynamic populace.

Rowe has succeeded in grounding this institution in its social context, but his work is unlikely to help integrate legal history into colonial social history. To do so, the issue of legitimacy—and the causation of such public acceptance of legal authority—needed to be addressed systematically. For Rowe, sometimes it is the court's personnel, sometimes it is fair process and the rule of law, and sometimes it is the politics of result-oriented Pennsylvanians that grant or deny the court its authority. Furthermore, it is the actions and reactions of all litigants

and accused that forms the best evidence for a court's level of authority. One need not be a cliometrician to count the different types of cases on the docket and analyze how they were processed and decided. But Rowe provided no such statistical overview for the post-1778 court, relying on individual cases primarily for their precedential or exemplary value. *Embattled Bench* is a good start, but legal historians will need to do more to make the law integral to the customary story of early America.

Pace University

WILLIAM M. OFFUTT, JR.

ERRATA

In the January/April 1995 issue, the review of Dale A. Hathaway's *Can Workers Have a Voice? The Politics of Deindustrialization in Pittsburgh*, by Irwin M. Marcus, the last sentence of the review should read: "Hopefully, this book will encourage historians to study deindustrialization and to draw on the vast accumulated scholarship *about industrialization* to illuminate its causes, character, and consequences."

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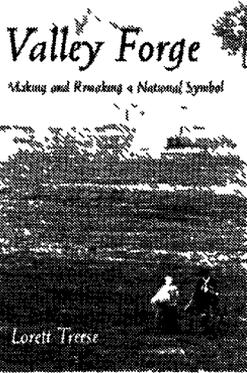
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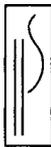
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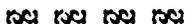
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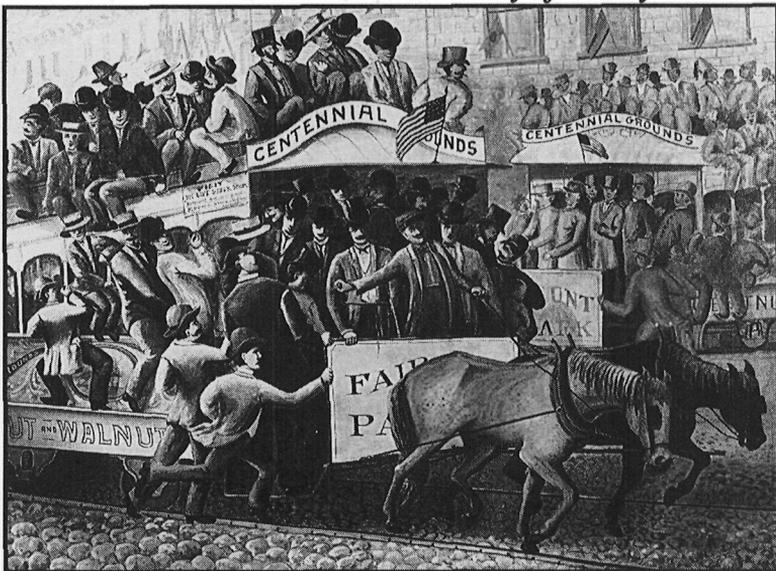


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