

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Christ Church, Philadelphia: The Nation's Church in a Changing City.* By DEBORAH MATHIAS GOUGH. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995. xxii, 424p. Bibliography, illustrations, maps, index. Cloth, \$29.95; paper, \$14.95.)

Histories of parish churches tend to drift into two rather tiresome organizational currents. In attempting to deal with the sweep of the years and centuries, they use the tenure of rectors as chronological benchmarks with the result that the parish history becomes focused on the character and accomplishments of each minister and the work moves with leaden predictability from one rectorship to the next. Secondly, such histories often degenerate into scrapbooks of parish life which focus on the programs and politics of the parish family, rarely placing them in the context of the greater communities which envelope and sustain them. Like that famous poster of New York City from the cover of the *New Yorker*, images of the parish and its rectors fill the foreground, assuming a disproportionate size and importance in comparison with the history of the city and the nation. Given the title of this particular parish history and its publisher, one hoped to encounter an exception to these historiographic trends, but I'm afraid that Gough was only partially successful in avoiding these pitfalls.

Gough's doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania was on the first hundred years of Christ Church's three-hundred-year history, and certainly the earlier portions of this work reflect that research and interest. The first half of the book deals with the very important role of Christ Church within eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Philadelphia. In these chapters, the history of the parish is on an equal footing with the chronicle of the city and the nation. It is a truly fascinating portrait of a church struggling with the issues of ecclesiastical authority and their political and social undercurrents. Gough does a skillful job of weaving the testimony of a diverse collection of historical sources into her narrative of the church's life and ministry. It is a succinct and interesting study that is a must for anyone interested in the histories of the Episcopal Church, the city of Philadelphia, or colonial and revolutionary America. This is particularly true with regard to the chapters on the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the rectorship of William White, which reflect an insightful and sensitive treatment of

the political and ecclesiastical dynamics that marked White's lengthy term as minister of the United Parishes and bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

The second half of this work concerns the history of Christ Church during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Gough's defense, it is a daunting and imposing span of history that would be incredibly difficult to do justice to in 200 pages. Confronted with this overwhelming scope of history, the book tends to focus on parish life, methodically going through the list of rectors, highlighting parish programs and events. In this portion of the book, the history of the city and the nation retreat into the background, serving largely as a demographic backdrop for the chronicle of parish life and rectorial accomplishments and failures. Little attention is paid, for example, to the remarkable political and ideological changes that marked the history of Philadelphia in the second half of the nineteenth century. This chronicle of parish life, however, is certainly not without its own appeal. For anyone interested in the Episcopal Church and the neighborhood of Second and Market, it affords many intriguing and provocative glimpses into the life of the national church, the diocese, and that section of Center City.

The book itself is beautifully presented and easy to read; however, in my copy at two points entire lines of text have been omitted and I would be unfaithful to my own parish if I did not also note that the location of St. Peter's is consistently misrepresented on the maps of the city, particularly that of colonial Philadelphia.

Despite its unevenness, the work makes a significant contribution to the field of church history, presenting an inspired portrait of a parish community seeking to adjust to radical changes in its political and social environment while remaining faithful to its calling to worship and to minister as the Body of Christ.

*St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia*

WENDEL W. MEYER

*A Geography of Pennsylvania.* Edited by E. WILLARD MILLER. (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995. xviii, 406p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$75.00; paper, \$25.00.)

This comprehensive geography of Pennsylvania, written by ten faculty members and two former students of Pennsylvania State University, all but one geographers, is easy to place in the very top rank of geographies of U.S. states. The book is divided into chapters by topic rather than by region. Most of the chapters include two very important sections: one laying out concepts and principles that explain the spatial dynamics of the subject, the other treating in satisfying depth the historical geography of the topic. Nearly 200 illustrations, mostly maps, the majority prepared for this publication, enhance the authoritative text. With an 8½-by-11-inch format and three-pound weight (paperback), the book is not for reading in bed.

Peirce Lewis's perspective, "American Roots in Pennsylvania Soil," which might be equally apt if "American" and "Pennsylvania" were switched, finds Pennsylvania a practical and individualistic pioneer of American ways. Part one, "The Natural Landscape," has chapters on landforms by Ben Marsh and Lewis, climate by Brent Yarnal, water and soil resources by Miller, and forest resources by Richard D. Schein and Miller. Marsh and Lewis develop a single scheme for making the variations of Pennsylvania's topography intelligible and a measure of cogency in relating the human use of the land to the same variations. Climate comes out as much less variable than other aspects of nature within Pennsylvania's bounds. Water and forest resources are examined in relation to their uses, exploitation, management, mistreatment, and need for future care. The treatment of soils is brief and, in part, expressed in the difficult language of soil scientists.

In part two, "The People," Paul D. Simkins writes on population, Anthony Williams on political geography, and Wilbur Zelinsky on ethnic and cultural geography as well as recreation and tourism. The first two subjects make for some of the most difficult reading in the book (along with Philadelphia and Pittsburgh later). Many readers will find the statistical or cartographic intricacy hard to follow. The ethnic chapter deals largely with national origins of population. The cultural geography chapter treats a number of significant culture traits and their movements, giving most attention to the mainstream and its derivative parts.

In part three, "The Economy," Miller presents strong chapters on agriculture, transportation, and manufacturing. His chapter on mineral resources is largely on coal, and, with Allan Rodgers's chapter on steel, records the deep plunge of these basic industries in which Pennsylvania so long led the nation. Ronald Abler's account of the highly diverse service industries, now employing seventy percent of the workforce, finds a strong tendency toward concentration in metropolitan centers.

Part four, "Cities," comprises two chapters by Rodney Erickson on metropolitan areas, and chapters by Roman Cybriwsky on Philadelphia and Miller on Pittsburgh. The section on metropolitan counties, which cover half of Pennsylvania, deals only with their metropolitan functions. The chapter on the internal structure of these areas mostly generalizes on all such areas rather than considering them individually. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, treated in considerable detail, can be followed most readily by readers already familiar with their neighborhoods.

The topical organization accounts for the absence of general treatment of Pennsylvania's subregions, their structures and landscapes, constituting the most conspicuous lack in the book. This is not to deny that much of the regional geography can be put together from study of the individual topics. Although ethnic populations are identified in appropriate parts of the text, there is very little material on the culture traits they exhibit.

It is interesting that this volume should be published for a state that already had an excellent geography in the elaborate 1989 *Atlas of Pennsylvania* with around a

thousand maps, numerous diagrams, and a text not greatly shorter than in the newer volume. Although several of the same people had significant parts in producing both volumes, the text and maps in the two are almost entirely different except for the topics of climate and tourism. The *Geography's* accounts of services and of the rise and decline of the steel industry would be hard to glean from the *Atlas*. Topics of the *Atlas* hardly touched in the *Geography* include wildlife, communications, health care, banking, commercial fishing, and literature. The distinctive contribution of the *Geography* is its readability, stemming from articulation of its complimentary topics in longer chapters.

The book has its quota of errors. Sometimes figures in different chapters are inconsistent, probably because of taking data from different sources or from different dates. The percentages of Pennsylvania's milk cows given for its four dairy regions add up to more than 120 (pp. 191-92). Errors on maps may have been computer-assisted, as in switching legend symbols on a glaciation map (p. 40) and on maps of manufacturing industries (pp. 268, 271, 273, 274, and 275). A map entitled, "Pennsylvania railroad network" presents only the Pennsylvania Railroad network (p. 238). Errors of words seem as likely to be substitutions of similar words as to be misspellings or typos: e.g., Alexander rather than Andrew Hamilton as the founding proprietor of Lancaster (p. 319).

University of Oregon

EDWARD T. PRICE

*Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic.* By EDWARD T. PRICE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995. xviii, 410p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$26.00.)

What could be more fundamental in shaping American society, livelihood, and life in general than the ways in which all those huge expanses of presumably empty territory became the individual domains of millions of owners and users during the early onrush of settlement—and, specifically, the actual geometry of this initial carving up of the land? For the three-quarters of the national area, including most or all of thirty states, falling within the federal rectangular survey system begun in the late 1780s, we have had exemplary studies of the origins, implementation, and consequences of a rigorously simple mode of land disposal. But for the remaining nineteen, with their crazy-quilt mixtures of procedures and geometries, we have sadly lacked overall perspective and analysis, relying instead on the local and piecemeal. Now, finally, help is at hand!

Taking as his study area the original thirteen states, four of their territorial spin-offs (Vermont, Maine, Kentucky, and Tennessee), and the singular (and fascinating) cases of Louisiana and Texas, Edward Price has delved into "the variety of geometric

patterns in which the lands of the present United States were originally laid out by their European settlers . . . the processes that turned the land into those parcels of private property . . . the variables that controlled these processes, and . . . comparison of both the patterns and processes that were characteristics of the various colonies and states" (p. xiii). Of particular interest to an author with the peculiar curiosity of a geographer are the sizes and shapes of the individual properties.

Since perusal of a million or two individual grants and deeds is an improbable task for a single lifetime, our author has exploited virtually every piece of relevant literature and such land grant maps as are available, in addition, apparently, to some archival research of his own. The result is rather variable coverage, since in only a single state, New Hampshire, has all the spadework been completed—by William Wallace in a series of papers not yet formally published. Consequently, if we have relatively detailed discussions for New England and Virginia, for example, the pickings are much leaner for Delaware or Tennessee, the latter being treated in only two and a half pages.

Although it is peripheral to his central mission, Price does offer the occasional note on the latter-day persistence and impact of early grants and surveys while introducing recent aerial photos and maps of selected tracts. A more thorough investigation, which would certainly be of great benefit, would call for a whole series of monographs by a gang of dogged scholars.

Has Edward Price given us the definitive account of land disposal in those nineteen pre-rectangular states during their formative phase? No. Are we likely to see anything more nearly definitive within the foreseeable future? Again, no. Let us be grateful, then, that Price has presented us with the most comprehensive and thoughtful treatment of an important topic that is feasible under present circumstances. He is also to be commended for including a glossary and table of measures, without which some passages would be difficult to decipher. The only negative comment I can offer is to note a calamitous set of errors in the key to the Texas map on page 326.

There are reasons for reading the 300-odd pages of text other than a fascination with the complexities of early property demarcation and disposal. This process did not occur in a vacuum. Among the relevant factors were physical geography, political, military, and economic history, sociology, and social philosophy. And, turning things about, if the political, social, and economic historian or historical geographer is to explore the American story in all its depth and intricacies, he or she must acquire some familiarity with the patterns of the initial landholdings and their ramifications.

The general reader should be advised that this volume is not an easy read, not because of any deficiencies in its prose but rather because in the central fifteen chapters that proceed chronologically with one colony or state after another, the details are intricate and not necessarily gripping. He or she would do well to read

with care the valuable outer chapters, the introductory "Framework of the Land," and a final "Perspective: Summary, Conclusion, Aftermath," which do offer such generalizations as are possible. Persons with local or regional interests will, of course, gravitate to the appropriate chapter(s). Thus patrons of this journal are urged to rush to chapter 14 (pp. 257-76) and find themselves immersed in the very best discussion yet produced on the hopes, plans, speculations, surveys, sales, squatting, and other connivances whereby the commonwealth's real estate came into the hands of its first generation of landholders.

*The Pennsylvania State University*

WILBUR ZELINSKY

*Eighteenth-Century Capitalism: The Formation of American Marine Insurance Companies.* By MARY ELIZABETH RUWELL. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993. xiii, 184p. Tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$49.00.)

Garland Publishing selected this volume, the author's 1989 Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania, for its series on "The Financial Sector of the American Economy." Ruwell's history of the Insurance Company of North America (INA) demonstrates the wealth of information yet untapped with which to understand the economy of early national America.

Founded in 1792, INA was the first American marine insurance company. The industry grew rapidly. Within five years, seven competitors had joined INA; by 1807 there were forty. These companies could offer many more policies, and policies of a much larger size, than had been possible for individual insurers. Ruwell emphasizes that the emergence of INA and its competitors enabled merchants to continue trading with hazardous ports despite escalating British and French hostilities. In addition, they played a major role as financial intermediaries in the rapidly changing domestic economy. INA offered individual savers a relatively risk-free outlet, while providing low-cost insurance and a source of investment capital for merchants and entrepreneurs. According to Ruwell, INA originally offered 60,000 shares at \$10 each at a time when bank stock sold at \$200 to \$500 a share. The initial capitalization of the firms and the float on insurance premiums left each company in control of sizable funds, which they placed in commercial paper, government bonds, mortgages, banks, bridges, and toll roads. The number of stockholders precluded their direct involvement in decision making, which was left to an elected board of stockholders and a salaried managerial staff. In both structure and function, these corporations differed substantially from their precursors.

INA's activities diverged as well from the standard historical narrative. Historians have viewed this period as a transition between a static, traditional colonial

society and the rapid changes of the industrial revolution. Theory emphasized the role of merchant capitalist; the prevalence of shipping records led to an overemphasis on international trade. Despite a growing body of literature on the maturity and complexity of the eighteenth-century American economy, historians of the early national period have retained a perspective rooted in port cities, facing the Atlantic Ocean.

Confronted with the inherent incompatibility of the primary sources with the historiography, Ruwell shifted away from INA as a firm and domestic financial intermediary. In the process, she left the economic analysis incomplete. She relied on dividend payments alone to judge INA's value to investors, ignoring information on the price of shares traded in the open market after the initial offering to the public. Ruwell compared average rates over time in an effort to assess the impact of these companies on prices. However, by offering coverage of voyages once considered too risky to insure, INA had created a new market entirely. High rates charged for these new policies offset to some degree the lower rates for previously insurable voyages. Information on average rates cannot disentangle these two effects, yet both would be the result of lowered costs in the industry.

The attempt to ascertain the impact of international events on insurance rates ran aground on discrepancies between the historiography and the data. Ruwell asserts that international politics caused a steady rise in insurance rates between 1793 and 1797, but the significant jump occurred only in the last of those years (pp. 78-91). The volume, content, and rate of INA-insured voyages fluctuated mildly in the years between 1793 and 1796, and mean insurance rates actually fell in 1794 and 1795 (pp. 80, 82). In 1796 and 1797, however, mean insurance rates jumped from 6.2 percent to 11.8 percent, while the number of INA-insured voyages nearly doubled, from 1,149 to 2,026. Ruwell offers little to explain why this latter period should have been so different from the others. Finally, transoceanic voyages were always hazardous. It would have helped for Ruwell to provide more information on losses due to natural causes as well as those caused by war.

The decision to publish the dissertation unedited led to a number of mishaps. For example, Ruwell referred to the currencies issued by colonial legislatures as "dollars" rather than pounds (p. 10). Philadelphia was plagued by yellow fever epidemics in the 1790s, not smallpox (p. 80). The author twice noted twenty-seven INA-insured voyages to New Orleans in 1796, yet elsewhere listed only thirteen voyages insured by INA in 1796 to all of "Spanish U.S.: New Orleans/Pensacola" (pp. 71, 87-88, Appendix I). Estimates of the number of INA-insured voyages to Cuba in 1796 ranged from eleven (p. 95) to one (pp. 87-88) to twenty for the period November 1795 to September 1796 (Appendix III).

Tables often obscure more than they clarify. On page 91, one of two columns was left blank, while the other contained the apparent combination of the numerals intended for each (10.2511.45, 1312.7, 18.511, 11.515.1; etc.). The unusual format

of the bar charts on pages 94-95, in Appendix I, and in Appendixes IV through XI, rendered them virtually indecipherable. Sources cited in footnotes did not always match the corresponding text. Ruwell included verbatim passages from copyrighted material without quotation marks or block form. In one case, a lengthy passage was repeated in full without quotation marks, and then attributed to the wrong author (p. 10, fn. 11).

The unfinished nature of this work limits its usefulness as a secondary source. Nevertheless, scholars should be grateful for this introduction to an amazing set of records. Ruwell's insightful recognition of INA's innovative economic role represents a significant contribution to the literature. Future studies of the early American republic must take note of the impact of marine insurance companies in providing financial intermediation for a nation on the eve of modern economic growth.

*Villanova University*

MARY MCKINNEY SCHWEITZER

*Political Partisanship in the American Middle Colonies, 1700-1776.* By BENJAMIN H. NEWCOMB. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. xiv, 258p. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

In 1969 Richard Hofstadter made the point, with his usual grace and effectiveness, that the middle colonies and states exercised an especially creative role in the development of party politics in the United States (*The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840*). About the same time, however, a group of historical monographs written by Michael F. Holt, Ronald P. Formisano, William G. Shade, Paul Kleppner, Richard J. Jensen, and others, subsequently identified as "ethno-cultural" studies of American politics, focused attention on the electoral competitions that distinguished the high electoral turnout period of American politics from about 1840 through 1900. The quantitative methods employed by the authors of these books quickly earned the title the "new" political history. Substantively, the rise of the new political history had equally important results. Focusing largely on the midwestern states, which have foreshortened political pasts, and on the consequent rapid mushrooming of mass political parties, the new political historians tended to suggest that the key development in American politics was the appearance of a *party system* in which two *mass parties* regularly competed for office. That this change constituted a genuine transformation seemed to follow not only from the ethno-culturalists' work but also from the immense historiographic impact of the well-known "republican paradigm" that emphasized the extension of the anti-party ethic, fundamental to the ideology, well into the nineteenth century. By this logic the so-called First Party System wasn't that at all; there may have been party but there was no system. Many legislative



blocks, whether in Congress or in state government, were fluid, temporary alliances. And colonial politics consisted of factional strivings.

It is in this context that Newcomb places his book. Picking up on Hofstadter's insight, Newcomb argues that the chief distinguishing feature of political life in the three main middle colonies (Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York)—as opposed to that of other colonies—was the party competition that animated public affairs during the half century before the American Revolution. The way in which the author makes his case is as important as the argument itself. In one sense it might be said that the method is the argument. "What follows," writes Newcomb, "is an attempt to apply it ['the new political history'] to a portrayal of party politics in its earliest American stage" (p. 1).

This examination of colonial politics begins with the positing of a well-accepted set of criteria by which modern political parties may be distinguished. Parties may be seen as legislative organizations, as parties in the electorate, and as continuing organizational entities. Having made that point, Newcomb goes on to use as many of the same quantitative tests as he can that nineteenth-century ethno-cultural historians have employed, given the limitations of the colonial data. He employs roll-call analysis in New Jersey and New York (the Pennsylvania Assembly held very few roll-call votes), examines patterns of assembly leadership, compiles and analyses election returns, calculates voter cohesion indices, and correlates such characteristics as religion, wealth, occupation, and residency with assemblymen's partisanship, where that is possible. From all of this he draws clear conclusions. In behavioral terms middle colony parties developed into entities much like modern parties by the late colonial era.

Beginning in the period 1737-53, legislative factions transformed themselves into legislative parties, and subsequent periods of warfare (1754-64) and imperial crisis (1765-73) strengthened partisan adherence. As election campaigns unfolded, larger numbers of electors adopted party allegiances. Only in the case of party as organization were colonial parties unlike their modern counterparts, remaining temporary occasions of cooperation rather than permanent clubs and institutions. Important, too, is Newcomb's binary scheme of party identity. He sees two-party systems active in all three colonies, a party alignment which, after dismissing various classification systems, including court and country, he labels administration and opposition. Finally, he points out that along with party principles, assertions, policies, ideology, and beliefs, religion was an important variable of partisan alignment.

What are we to make of this approach and the attendant arguments? First, this is a very thoroughly researched book. Newcomb has carefully gone through a huge array of sources. Some shreds of material directly bearing on elections or electoral behavior may have escaped his notice but, if so, not much. And he has brought all of that data together in his succinct summaries of successive political episodes in each of the colonies. His very success, in this respect, however, may have robbed the

book of some of its potential impact. It lacks some of the contextual layering necessary to sustain the "drama of spirited conflict" he hoped to convey (p. 1). Second, and perhaps most important, the book establishes, indisputably, that political partisanship was deeply ingrained in the provincial political cultures of the respective three middle colonies by the Revolutionary era.

Beyond that there remain some questions and reservations. Some of these have to do with the extent and form of party organization and competition and their relation to methodology. Take the case of roll-call analysis in New Jersey, for example. We now have three quite sophisticated studies of legislative voting in the New Jersey Assembly, and each has provided data supporting different conclusions about party and faction in that colony. In a sense the methodology determines the outcome, and, after reading Thomas Purvis's and Michael Batinski's studies and a sample of the New Jersey primary sources, it is not entirely clear why we should accept Newcomb's conclusions about a two-party system rather than the different ones of either Purvis or Batinski. Or look at New York. There is a good deal of evidence that the New York factions of the 1750s and 1760s don't easily and consistently fit the criteria for administration and opposition parties that Newcomb carefully lays out on page 18. On the issue of the relationship between religion and partisanship in the electorate, again methodology is a problem. Because of the ethnic and religious entanglement of the New York City population, the use of surname analysis to correlate religious affiliation and voting record is problematic at best.

Lastly, there is one important overarching issue that this book raises: the relationship of colonial political cultures to their nineteenth-century American successors. By taking the approach and the apparatuses of the nineteenth-century ethno-cultural historians, applying them to the middle colonies, and then arguing that party organization, electoral participation, voter mobilization, and, in truncated form, that ideology, political consciousness, mobilization, and politicization operated in much the same way as in the new era of democracy, Newcomb reduces the difference between colonial politics and nineteenth-century political culture to slender margins. We are back to the point where Robert E. Brown's colonial democracy looms on the horizon, if without the prominence of the middle class. It is not necessary to share in Republican or new left-inspired enthusiasm for a "traditional" eighteenth-century America to make this point. The middle colonies were in many ways, including their partisan politics, somewhat more modern than their counterparts to the north and south. But their political cultures distinctively grounded them in a nuanced eighteenth-century world that the new political history is not really designed to uncover.

*University of British Columbia*

ALAN TULLY

*The Papers of Lewis Morris*. Edited by EUGENE SHERIDAN. (Newark, New Jersey: New Jersey Historical Society. Vol. 1.: 1838-1730 (1991), xxxiii, 413p; Vol. 2.: 1731-1737 (1993), xxi, 326p; Vol. 3.: 1738-1746 (1993), xxi, 487p. Introduction, editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, index. \$40.00 each.)

The three volumes of papers of Lewis Morris offer access to material that sheds light on political relations in the British colonies of New York and New Jersey from 1691 to 1746, while also offering insights into cultural and imperial relations between the provinces and London. These volumes include an amazing array of public and private documents, many of which have been available, but even those previously published in the magisterial *Archives of the State of New Jersey, 1631-1800* (1880-1906) have whenever possible been reedited meticulously and to the most scrupulous standards of modern editorial practice. The quality of the editing should come as no surprise because the editor, Eugene Sheridan, is senior associate editor of the Jefferson Papers project based at Princeton University. Sheridan is also the author of the standard biography of Morris.

The volumes cover most of Morris's public career from his beginnings as a wealthy upstart assailing New Jersey governors in the 1690s through his business relationship with the West Jersey Society, which at various time claimed both governing authority and title over much of New Jersey, and covering his years as an important ally of New York governors (1710-27), including his time out of favor with two governors (1728-36) and climaxing, as it were, with his tenure as the first person to act as royal governor of New Jersey who was not also governor of New York (1738-46). Included are his correspondence with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, his petitions to George II and various bodies including the Board of Trade, his letters and appeals from his trips to London in 1701-1702 and 1735-36 designed to garner support and favor, and the letters, published pamphlets, public screeds, and friends' commentaries documenting his constant involvement in the governmental affairs of New York and New Jersey.

Morris founded an American dynasty. He was grandfather of both a signer of the Declaration of American Independence—Lewis Morris III—and of a member of the Constitutional Convention and minister to France under President Washington—Gouverneur Morris. His family's success would have pleased him.

These collected documents reveal that Morris was constantly aspiring to adopt the manners and tastes of a cultured English gentleman. While these papers may not be very illuminating to people who are not specialists in colonial history, some of Morris's attempts to ape the manners of English gentlemen included amusing stabs at dialogues, satire, drama, and poetry. The poetry is more interesting for its barbs than for its ability to avoid banality. There is a 200-line poem Morris wrote about 1740 on the advantages and disadvantages of various proposed sites for a new "Capital for New Jersey." One example might be enough. Hackinsack [*sic*] is

described as abundant in good food and drink, "Tho company not so polite/As you would wish to Spend a night."

Although the editor identifies Morris's political principles in terms of pro-assembly or pro-empire, and as pro-country and anti-trade, perhaps the closest thing Lewis Morris had that might be called principles would be his own desperate, constant bid to be numbered as a member of an elite to whom deference ought to be given.

The quirks of colonial politics forever had Morris in the peculiar position of wanting to be ruling over the very people to whom he had to appeal in order to hold status and power. Yet electorates were willing to reject him. It first occurred in East Jersey in 1699; all he could do was describe the voters' attitude as "impudence." In 1727, when Morris was chief justice of the Province of New York, while worrying that juries might be made of "Scruffle," he also showed that his influence depended on the support of the ordinary jurors. Morris's constant dilemma in New York and New Jersey was that "those persons of best estate in ye Countrie . . . would be at ye disposal of ye tag, rag, and Rascality." What forever complicated his life was that, over and over, to prevent himself from being at the disposal of ye tag, rag, he found himself needing to appeal to them, usually as their friend and protector.

These published papers represent as rich a collection as there is in print documenting the workings of imperial politics from the perspective of an ambitious colonial living in the middle colonies in the first half of the eighteenth century. Given that fact, it needs to be noted that in the end the papers are a little unsatisfying. They do reveal much of Morris—his imperious nature, his willingness to engage in double dealings with the West Jersey Society, his contempt for inferiors and for dissenting religions—but the papers do not reveal how Morris sought to develop the trappings of status. They reveal precious little about how he traveled, or how he dealt with family or servants, or how he generated income, or whether his aping of British upper-class manners extended to style and art, or whether his contempt for inferiors was as obvious to those to whom he sought to appeal, often as implied equals, as it is to us. Morris was a major slaveholder; by his own accounts he owned upwards of a hundred slaves, some of whom must have been part of his personal retinue. We have no sense of the impact, if any, on people of more modest means of his appearance at public events or even if that appearance included liverymen or slaves.

If there are personal papers or accounts or letters, those by and large are not included. Not even included are the letters now in the New-York Historical Society that describe Morris's fall from grace in 1728. These letters from relatives and friends document Morris's major electoral defeat—a defeat that presaged a new "popular" or democratic approach to politics that Morris displayed in his famous dispute with Governor Cosby in the 1730s, but which Morris never made into principle.

Indeed, Morris's career ends on a peculiar note; he dies while locked in a bitter dispute with New Jersey's assembly representatives. Finally in a position of real status as governor, Morris totally repudiates his earlier defenses of popular prerogatives only to find that the popular mistrust he gave voice to was now completely turned against his own pretensions.

Even though these collected papers do not reveal much about how a person such as Morris went about utilizing the freedom of his orphan status and his wealth to craft a persona and a life that in turn became in his obvious and repeated frustrations a symbol of the anti-hierarchical tendencies in colonial politics, they do make interesting reading because of their reckless but literate quality, describing through innumerable minute disputes and struggles, and some larger ones as well, the constancy of his striving.

*Ursinus College*

JOHN STRASSBURGER

*Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History.* By JACK P. GREENE. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994. xx, 488p. Bibliography, index. Cloth, \$60.00; paper, \$19.95.)

Jack P. Greene is among the most prolific and influential historians of early America. This welcome collection adds two previously unpublished papers to a selection of fourteen reprinted articles and book chapters. A few items, like "Political Memisiss," "The Role of the Lower Houses of Assembly in Eighteenth-Century Politics," and "Legislative Turnover in British Colonial America" are readily available, but some reprints will be valued discoveries for most readers. Together these papers document Greene's enduring interest in the distribution of political power in the first British empire. His broader interpretive pieces occasionally lose something upon rereading because of intervening scholarship, but only one of the monographic articles has become seriously dated, that on the Currency Act of 1764.

The title essay, "Negotiated Authorities: The Problem of Governance in the Extended Polities of the Early Modern Atlantic World," draws on recent work concerning European state formation to establish the volume's theme. England's "other kingdoms" of Scotland and Ireland might have received a little more attention. Scotland's union firmly established an integrated, not federated, British state and thereby limited constitutional options. Ireland's oppressive Protestant minority was so dependent on English power after 1690 that they regularly funded 12,000 British troops and accepted the sweeping British Declaratory Act of 1720.

These essays illustrate that imperial commands were often unenforceable in the empire, and compromises with local power were inevitable. Those Greene calls the "self-produced possessing classes" (p. 16) of British America certainly found metropolitan authority useful when they could appropriate it. One could even

suggest that insecure colonial elites reinforced their positions not only by appropriating, infiltrating, and "naturalizing" royal authority but, increasingly, by insisting that royal ministerial corruption was a threat that justified a near monopoly of local and executive power by the assemblies.

Greene consistently defends the assemblies' political victories, seen as culminating in the creation of the United States. The assemblies repeatedly defeated governors, Whitehall, and Parliament, and exploited each precedent created. Yet those same assemblies, led by an increasingly persistent and professional governing caste, are portrayed by Greene as defending ancient democratic constitutional rights of Englishmen. He never regards colonial assemblies as self-aggrandizing accumulators of power. Greene's American Revolution begins when "unconstitutional" imperial initiatives were resisted by justifiably outraged colonial assemblies. This classical patriot perspective remains popular, but its strength here may surprise those familiar with Greene's impressively broad historiographical essays and his insightful "Search for Identity: An Interpretation of the Meaning of Selected Patterns of Social Response in Eighteenth-Century America" in the *Journal of Social History* (1970), not reprinted here. The King-in-Parliament and the colonial assemblies were both consolidating power as elements of Whiggish government, and a serious collision became probable after 1763. Both innovated, while claiming that the Constitution had always been whatever they said it was.

Pennsylvania's political and constitutional history is not featured in a volume that emphasizes the south and considers charters as constitutionally peripheral. Pennsylvania's assembly accumulated power rapidly in the eighteenth century but, atypically, had to be overthrown in 1776 before the Revolution could progress. Pennsylvania's experience is a reminder that the Revolution may have been encouraged by aggressive colonial assemblies, and would be inherited by the state assemblies, but it had to be achieved "out of doors."

These stimulating and durable essays will join Greene's *Peripheries and Center* (1986) in animating the study of early American constitutional history.

University of Western Ontario

IAN K. STEELE

*Transatlantic Brethren: Rev. Samuel Jones (1735-1814) and His Friends: Baptists in Wales, Pennsylvania, and Beyond.* By HYWEL M. DAVIES. (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press and London: Associated University Presses, 1995. 361p. Selected bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$49.50.)

Anyone not fluent in Welsh who has used the Samuel Jones papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania or elsewhere will be grateful for *Transatlantic Brethren*. This prominent Baptist leader's many correspondents, American and English as well as Welsh, provide the data for Hywel M. Davies's study of Baptists

around the turn of the nineteenth century.

Making Jones the center allows Davies to present Baptist history from a Pennsylvania perspective, with less emphasis on New England than some other denominational histories. But even more, this is a study of how Welsh Baptists influenced their coreligionists in England and America. Davies argues for a Welsh or "British" dimension to Jon Butler's "English" denominational order in the many faiths in the Delaware Valley (p. 69).

In two biographical chapters, Davies provides a refreshing Welsh consciousness and frame of reference for Samuel Jones's life. He creates and then resolves the mystery of how Jones, who was two when he left Wales, could have "preserved Wales in his mind" (p. 13) for most of his life. His was a Welsh connection of nostalgic remembrance, nourished initially by his parents and then by more recent immigrants and correspondence with at least twenty countrymen. But Jones was thoroughly of the new world and never returned to Wales as an adult. He made his reputation through his leadership of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, and was prominent enough to be referred to by one contemporary as "his Lordship," who called his home the "Bishop's Palace" (p. 248). If the dissenting imaginations of Pennsylvania Baptists could have allowed a bishop, Jones would have been it.

As its title suggests, however, *Transatlantic Brethren* is not a biography of Samuel Jones. While Davies makes some attempt to characterize Jones in the final chapter, he only fleetingly explores important questions like his wealth relative to other Baptists and to the Lower Dublin community. The son of a prosperous farmer and Baptist preacher, Jones was educated at the College of Philadelphia, which was to become the University of Pennsylvania. His employment was as a country pastor at Pennepark or Lower Dublin, now within the city of Philadelphia; he also kept a school for much of his life. His and his wife's inheritances and investments must have provided the margin that created their unusual affluence. One investment was the land in Kentucky that Jones bought and then wanted to sell to Baptist immigrants from Wales (p. 259), a charming combination of religious and financial motives. Davies also explores early Baptist antislavery sentiment, but only alludes to Jones's holding of slaves in reference to a debt he was owed (p. 104).

Rather, the focus of *Transatlantic Brethren* is Baptist history organized by people and topics in the correspondence to and from Samuel Jones. Davies provides a broad context for many issues, using primary and published sources and recent scholarship from Wales, England, and the United States. Many Baptist leaders are profiled, with special attention to those of Welsh background; Morgan Edwards, Joshua Thomas, David Jones, John Williams, and Morgan John Rhys/Rhees are only a few examples. Davies suggests that Winthrop Jordan referred to the latter, an itinerant preacher from Wales, as John Morgan Rhees, a southerner, in *White over Black* (p. 222). With Rhees and many others, Davies moves beyond Samuel Jones to tell other stories and discuss other issues, from the Welsh Indians in this country to the

controversies over American independence among Baptists in the British isles.

A less-than-fluid style, occasional typographical errors, and an oddly placed Lower Dublin near the Delaware River (map, p. 38) are distracting. Overall, however, *Transatlantic Brethren* provides a new perspective on those most often seen as either immigrants or emigrants by historians focused on one country. Instead, Davies argues that these men of Welsh background were united across an ocean, rather than divided by it. Probably this makes the Welsh connection more real than it actually was, but Davies adds to our understanding of this moment in Baptist history by clearly presenting the transatlantic dimension.

Temple University

REGINA BANNAN

*Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century.* Edited by CARY CARSON, RONALD HOFFMAN, and PETER J. ALBERT. (Charlottesville and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1994. xii, 721p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$79.50; paper, \$22.95.)

Museum professionals and material culture scholars have enthusiastically followed recent interest in the history of the market economy and its attendant "consumer revolution." Indeed, some of the impetus for this historiographical trend came from this camp itself; questions about consumerism offer an opportunity to put artifacts at the center of scholarly conversation, thus lending both validity and pertinence to the study of material life.

These twelve essays, largely the work of students of material culture, are useful for two reasons: they provide a focus for a scattered literature on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century American cultural life, and they draw our attention to changes in place before the advent of later nineteenth-century mass marketing and "consumer culture." Along with *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter (1993), *Of Consuming Interests* helps us to look earlier for the roots of modern materialism. Although the subtitle, "The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century," promises a certain chronological focus, most of the writers take us well into the nineteenth century, where the historical sources are more abundant and the historical change more visible.

*Of Consuming Interests* began at the 1986 U.S. Capitol Historical Society conference. Much has been written about consumerism since then; fortunately, most authors were able to deliver final papers that incorporated some of that scholarship. The essays sweep across many topics: architecture, decorative arts, living standards, portrait painters, clothing, methods of merchandising, reading, music and theater, tourism, and sport. All are highly informative and valuable for their exhaustive footnotes; anyone interested in cultural history could build a substantial bibliography



by following these scholars' tracks. Excessive theorizing is, for the most part, refreshingly absent, and many of these essays could be effectively used in undergraduate teaching. Most of the interpretation is rooted in the Chesapeake and New England, reflecting the institutional affiliation of the authors and the state of the scholarship on which they build.

As with most collections, it is futile to look here for a coherent argument. A wide range of approaches and concerns, however, helps the reader recognize the complexity of the subject and its unanswered questions. Lorena Walsh and Lois Carr discover the acquisition patterns of colonial Chesapeake households. Articles by Nancy Struna and Barbara Carson discuss the spread of "patterned leisure" and gentility, and those byproducts of a market society, time and work discipline. Margaretta Lovell illuminates the use of portraits as a means of reifying family power. Kevin Sweeney writes about American trendsetters in "High Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite." Timothy Breen finds that Americans learned to exercise their shared consumer power by curbing their demand when oppressive English trade policy made objects vessels of political as well as cultural meaning.

Cary Carson, in his substantial 200-page essay, most thoroughly covers the historiographical ground while aiming to establish the primacy of his own question: Why demand? Why did Americans welcome the consumer goods dumped on them by European producers? In a consumer revolution he finds stirring in the late seventeenth century, Carson sees a "great transformation when whole nations learned to use a rich and complicated medium of communications to conduct social relations that were no longer adequately served by parochial repertoires of words, gesture, and folk customs alone" (p. 488). Highly mobile Americans, uncertain of their social positions, leapt eagerly at a make-up kit of words and things that enabled them to create and then transport themselves and their stature from situation to situation. Carson's message, in the end, is Veblenesque: "consumer goods became the currency of social emulation" (p. 523).

While not disagreeing with the importance of emulation as a motive for consumption, other authors caution against a narrow interpretation and argue for a more complex interplay of cultural forces. As Edward Chappell writes in his careful essay on architecture: "Arguments for a consumer revolution are strongest when they avoid the tendency to become a new consensus history portraying populations with more the character of lemmings than real people with varied individual and group sensibilities" (p. 220). Sometimes the reality of consumption patterns is surprising. For example, David Hall shows that in New England the attraction of novel reading was hardly a match for the tremendous persistence of traditional works of history and religion. Hall reminds us of a tenacious vernacular religious tradition and cautions against an interpretation that would have eighteenth-century Americans simply and uncritically replacing the old with the new. What one purchased or chose not to purchase depended on the strength and

diversity of the local economy and customs, ethnic and religious traditions, and idiosyncratic personal discretion. How those local forces worked together or against each other is in large part missing from this collection of essays. The intricate process by which consumer goods were accepted, adapted, or rejected emerges as the great unanswered puzzle and perhaps the most interesting part of the story of the "consumer revolution."

*Winterthur Museum,  
Garden, and Library*

GRETCHEN TOWNSEND BUGGELIN

*Valley Forge: Making and Remaking a National Symbol.* By LORETT TREESE. (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995. xv, 269p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$15.95.)

Lorette Treese's study of the changing interpretations of the "Valley Forge story" represents the latest contribution to a growing historiography of American historic preservation. Building on the more generalist works of Charles Hosmer, Michael Kammen, and Karal Ann Marling, Treese presents a narrative of the "the longer, harder, and less well known ordeal of Valley Forge" (p. xiv)—the battles among organizations and individuals over the site and the legacy of that famous encampment.

Readers may be surprised to learn that Valley Forge did not rise immediately with George Washington to the heights of American collective memory; even with Parson Weems's fable of the "prayer in the snow," the story of the encampment somehow failed to strike a chord with Victorian Americans. The site finally found a champion in 1877-78, when a private centennial and memorial association began calling for the purchase and preservation of Washington's Headquarters. By the turn of the century visitors were pouring into the area, and the state of Pennsylvania established a Valley Forge Park Commission to manage the land. The increase in tourism throughout the twentieth century brought a growing tension at the park, as proponents of strict historical accuracy battled advocates of increased recreational opportunities. Meanwhile, private organizations operating in or near the park—the Washington Memorial Chapel, the Valley Forge Historical Society, the Freedoms Foundation—offered their own interpretations of the Valley Forge story. With the 1976 transfer of the site to the National Park Service, Valley Forge gained its most powerful and influential official voice; yet, as Treese clearly demonstrates in her final chapter, the contests and conflicts have continued.

Treese's strength lies in her attention to local detail, the product of considerable research in the area's archives and newspapers. She nicely traces the evolution of the community at and around Valley Forge, from the industrial village of the late eighteenth century and the fashionable resort of Victorian times to the suburban

sprawl of more recent years. Her descriptions of the park's numerous celebrations are often vivid and evocative, and her portrait of W. Herbert Burk, longtime guiding force at the chapel and the historical society, captures all of that minister's energy and stubbornness.

Absent from this narrative, however, is a careful consideration of those influences *outside* the Delaware Valley that have shaped Valley Forge into the *national* symbol it is (a status noted in Treese's own subtitle). Treese's focus on local interpretations sidesteps a crucial question: what were visitors' "stories" of Valley Forge *before* their arrival at the park, and where did those stories come from? For example, Treese largely ignores the role of historians, biographers, and textbook writers in disseminating assorted versions of "Valley Forge." Popular culture has played its own imaginative role, through novels, plays, even television mini-series. Presidents have brilliantly manipulated the Valley Forge image; Ronald Reagan's second inaugural address concluded with a Weemsian vision of the penitent Washington falling "to his knees in the hard snow of Valley Forge." With this history of national mythmaking behind it, Valley Forge's symbolic status has spread well beyond the confines of the park itself.

To be fair, one might well argue that Treese never intended to tell anything more than a local story. Penn State Press has issued this volume as "A Keystone Book," an imprint dedicated to general-interest studies of Pennsylvania history and culture. Treese herself outlines a site-specific focus in her preface: "This book examines the words, the structures, and the objects that have been used to tell the Valley Forge story *at this physical place*" (p. xiv, emphasis added). On those terms, Treese succeeds admirably, offering a well-told case study in the politics of historic preservation. Nevertheless, for such a powerful national symbol, this approach feels incomplete; the "physical place" of the park and its surroundings has long been only the most concrete manifestation of the Valley Forge story.

*Cornell University*

JEFFREY HYSON

*Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784-1789.* By GEORGE GREEN SHACKELFORD. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. 219p. Bibliography, illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95.)

"I would go to hell for my country," Thomas Jefferson vowed in 1784. Luckily, the Confederation Congress asked him to venture no farther than France. First, as one of three trade commissioners, and then as minister to the court of Louis XVI, the Virginian served his nascent nation from fashionable quarters in Paris. From time to time, however, Jefferson journeyed beyond the capital city. These treks, according to George Green Shackelford, transformed the curious provincial into a man of the world.

From Le Havre to Oxford, from Dijon to Milan to Amsterdam and Strasbourg, Shackelford's lavishly illustrated study describes Jefferson's travels in copious detail. Readers learn when this "cultural tourist" (p. 1) called in barbers, when he bought and sold horses, and what he said—or failed to say—regarding Europe's architectural attractions. Relying for evidence primarily on Jefferson's letters and account books, Shackelford takes issue with Gilbert Chinard's decades-old contention that the American envoy's adventures on the continent little affected his artistic tastes. "His European experiences hastened, if they did not cause," the author argues, "the change in his aesthetic preferences to simpler styles that would continue for the rest of his life" (p. 2).

This is a controversial thesis. While few scholars would agree with Chinard's argument that Jefferson held on to pro-American cultural prejudices, no small number will dispute Shackelford's assertion that the master of Monticello virtually abandoned Andrea Palladio and other classicists for the more adventuresome architectural designs of Charles-Louis Clérisseau, whom he commissioned to help him design Virginia's new capitol. After Jefferson's return from Europe, the author contends, he recommended Palladio's treatises to friends as "only a convenient encyclopedic source" for designs. He himself preferred "more modern, more modest, more utilitarian, and more comfortable" structures, according to Shackelford, who views Jefferson's Monticello and Poplar Forest as exemplars of a "far-ranging revolution in taste" (p. 163).

But if Jefferson took some liberties with private dwellings, the same cannot be said concerning his public edifices. These he based on classical designs taken primarily from the pattern books of Palladio and his French admirer, Roland Fréart, Sieur de Chambray. As late as 1816 Jefferson referred to Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* (rev. ed., London, 1721) as "the Bible," and it served, along with Fréart's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* (Paris, 1650), as a source for the University of Virginia, Jefferson's greatest and final architectural accomplishment.

Readers may quibble over Shackelford's interpretation of Jefferson's cultural education, but they can only be impressed by his diligence in assembling information. Taken together with Howard C. Rice's authoritative *Thomas Jefferson's Paris* (1976), the present volume allows for an exceptionally rich picture of the entirety of Jefferson's five-year sojourn. Because, as Shackelford points out, this period figured crucially in the future president's intellectual development, this study should interest Jefferson scholars and antiquarians alike.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

ROBERT M. S. McDONALD

*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 25: 1 January to 10 May 1793.* Edited by JOHN CATANZARITI et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. xliii, 773p. Illustrations, index. \$65.00.)

This volume covers less than half of 1793, what its editors call the critical year of Jefferson's four years as the first secretary of state. We quickly learn that Jefferson clung to his belief in the French Revolution as each diplomatic pouch from Europe contained more disturbing news of executions and armies on the march.

Jefferson's famous "Adam and Eve" letter to his protégé William Short sets the tone. If only an Adam and an Eve were left alive in each European country and were "left free"—Europe would be better off than under monarchies. Short had been wounded, as had he, by the sufferings of mutual friends in France, where Jefferson had served five years as envoy during the last years of the ancien régime.

As Jefferson prepared to resign as secretary, he put Short on guard against "characters of great wealth in the U.S." around Alexander Hamilton, who was so successfully influencing President Washington. Writing "without reserve" to his young friend, he used a cipher for sensitive passages. Jefferson admitted he had not been able to crack the impenetrable reserve "of the prest. [*sic*] of the U.S." to discover Washington's true view of the French Revolution.

Were this letter fiction, there would be enough tension and drama in it to sustain the rest of this long volume. As it is, it is necessary to work patiently through 707 pages of letters, headnotes, and sometimes maddeningly disproportionate annotation to learn how Jefferson and those around him in Philadelphia and in his diplomatic loop reacted to the spreading violence in Europe.

The volume offers a unique perspective on the American diplomatic, political, and economic shock effects of the decapitation of Louis XVI, leading to Washington's proclamation of American neutrality, over Jefferson's objections, in the war between England and France. It makes clear Jefferson's immediate grasp that the war offered a boon to American farmers, merchants, and shipowners.

But for Jefferson personally it was his *annus horribilis*. He was increasingly locked in combat with Hamilton, under attack by the Hamiltonian press. He had informed Washington that he would resign, but Washington, the frosty chief magistrate, didn't take him seriously. Letters home to Monticello reveal his mental anguish at the thought of leaving his post while under fire. Waffling, he sublet his expensively remodeled rented house at Eighth and Market streets, sold off many of his furnishings, then decided to stay on indefinitely. Moving into a tiny three-room summer cottage in East Falls, he studied, wrote letters, and conducted meetings outdoors.

And saved money. As always with Jefferson, there were strong financial undercurrents. He was, as usual, strapped for cash, as were many Americans in the backwash of major financial collapses in New York and London. He was not even sure he would have enough money to move back home to Monticello. He was

selling off land, renting out slaves, ducking creditors. One more cash-poor American farmer, we see him waiting and hoping for a good harvest: war-torn France would need American crops!

As he camped out along the Schuylkill, he worked to undermine Hamilton. In cabinet, Jefferson lost no opportunity to bring to Washington's attention what he considered Hamilton's fraudulent conversion of Dutch loans to benefit friendly stockholders in Robert Morris's Bank of the United States, quite a few of them in Congress. Through his lieutenant, James Madison, Jefferson can be seen orchestrating the Giles Resolutions that would have brought about Hamilton's impeachment had they not been defeated four to one. That minority vote, however, provided the impetus and included the partisans for forming the Democratic-Republican Party.

By late spring, after Washington upbraided him for urging him to stay on for a second term (foregoing the pleasures of Mount Vernon while Jefferson fled to Monticello), Jefferson busied himself with myriad projects, notably André Michaux's abortive expedition to the Pacific Northwest. Using papers discovered in the vault of the American Philosophical Society in 1976, this volume shows the society's president, Jefferson, hard at work organizing support for the venture that foreshadowed the Lewis and Clark expedition of his presidential years. Like so much else, the French botanist's voyage of exploration was ruined by the French Revolution, whose reverberations come to dominate Jefferson's thought and letters as the volume ends.

This particular volume of Jefferson papers makes a major contribution to understanding the mature mind and the final politicization of this perhaps most elusive Founding Father. One can only hope that subsequent volumes follow more quickly.

*John Cabot University*

WILLARD STERNE RANDALL

*Altogether American: Robert Mills, Architect and Engineer, 1781-1855.* By RHODRI WINDSOR LISCOMBE. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. viii, 372p. Illustrations, select bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

A new monograph on Robert Mills, one of America's seminal architectural figures, is long overdue. H. M. Pierce Gallagher's pioneering *Robert Mills, Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781-1855* (1935) was severely limited in scope and by the author's antiquarian-based methodology. Blanche Marsh's *Robert Mills, Architect in South Carolina* (1970) qualifies as a well-illustrated appreciation accompanied by unreliable (and unannotated) text. There have been four contemporary book-length studies, *Robert Mills's Courthouses and Jails* (1981), *An Architectural History of the South Carolina College, 1801-1855* (1982), *The Church Architecture of Robert Mills* (1985), and *Robert Mills, Architect* (1989). The latter was an exhibit

catalogue with essays by four authors who were instrumental in collecting and publishing on microfilm *The Papers of Robert Mills, 1781-1855* (1990). Each of the books is fragmentary, covering selected aspects of Mills's long, productive, and peripatetic career. The purpose of the collected papers is to bring together widely scattered, and often deeply buried (archivally speaking), documents to aid scholars in a variety of historical disciplines.

Thus formidable resources were poised for a major reassessment of Robert Mills's life and career. In *Altogether American: Robert Mills Architect and Engineer, 1781-1855*, Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, the author or coauthor of the studies on Mills's churches, courthouses, and jails, presents an in-depth chronological account of Mills's migratory career in search of education and then work. Liscombe brings to the attention of scholars the remarkable range of Mills's accomplishments, and the number of his commissions, particularly his less exalted ones. In seven chapters Liscombe introduces and educates Mills (1781-1808), then chronicles his life in Philadelphia (1808-1814), Baltimore (1814-1820), Columbia, South Carolina (1820-1830), and Washington (1830-1855), concluding with a three-page "retrospect." In each chapter Liscombe pieces together a running narrative of individual episodes of Mills's activities as they occurred rather than synthesizing the facts of each project, many of which spanned several years. Thus the text has the fragmented and confusing character of daily life and the mundane aspects of Mills's career receive the same treatment as his most exalted works.

In all instances Liscombe presents a mass of detailed information that gives his text an authoritative air. Unfortunately, facts are so interwoven with errors, misleading assumptions, and unwarranted conclusions that it will take a massive revisionary work to present accurately the details and significance of Mills and his architectural output. Written and visual documents are incorrectly presented or misinterpreted, but more seriously, Liscombe draws conclusions from flimsy or unsubstantiated data (p. 8), compares Mills's designs to obscure buildings that he neither illustrates nor provides adequate information about (p. 179), and accepts unverified general sources as indisputably correct (p. 8, 13, 14, etc.). Although he cites the recent work of other scholars in his footnotes, Liscombe neither acknowledges their contributions nor engages in a dialogue if he disagrees with their points of view.

A small sampling: the U.S. Capitol's north wing finished by 1800 was not "brick and stucco" (p. 7); Georgetown is not "across the Potomac" from Washington (p. 8); the "Report of the Survey of Jones Falls" could not have appeared in the *Baltimore Daily Advertiser* on October 3, 1817, because the newspaper was not published that day; Mills did not write on "The Public Buildings" for the March 22, 1854, issue of the *Washington Sentinel*, but did write on "Houdon's Statue of Washington" the following day; there is no "Manuscript Division" at the National Archives (p. 359); Jefferson scholars do not know what part of his library he took

with him to Washington, so the specific works Liscombe claims Mills consulted therein must be viewed with skepticism (p. 13); an unsigned drawing of the Hermitage is attributed to Mills (p. 186), although Liscombe concedes that it is "not inscribed in his usual handwriting" (p. 185) (there is no firm evidence that Mills designed Andrew Jackson's house); two drawings for a pavilion to cover Horatio Greenough's statue of Washington were done by Edward Clark in 1862, seven years after Mills's death (p. 230). There are more. All books contain some factual errors and honest misinterpretations; rarely are they riddled with such a combination of carelessness and shoddy scholarship.

*Altogether American* cannot be considered a reliable resource on either the minutiae of Mills's personal and professional lives or a thoughtful evaluation of his real importance in the checkered history of American architecture. In addition, the book's design and production leaves much to be desired. Photographs are often muddy or unfocused, many seemingly made from photocopies. No chapter title, or number, or page range is included in the notes to help readers quickly look up citations. All in all this is not only a very unsatisfactory book but a dangerous one, because its density may convince readers that it results from careful scholarship. Liscombe's basic premise—the peculiarly American nature of Mills's architecture—is not demonstrated by either a careful analysis of actual designs or a clear understanding of the local, state, and national political milieus in which Mills operated with varying degrees of success. A straightforward presentation of Mills's life and work that could be used as a basic reference for years to come would excuse a paucity of ideas; an unreliable work does not.

Cornell University in Washington

PAMELA SCOTT

*The Supreme Court in the Early Republic: The Chief Justiceships of John Jay and Oliver Ellsworth.* By WILLIAM R. CASTO. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995. xxv, 267p. Bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

Too many people still assume that the early history of the Supreme Court refers to the John Marshall court. By giving short shrift to the period prior to Marshall's chief justiceship in his *History of the Supreme Court of the United States: Antecedents and Beginnings to 1801* (1971), Julius Goebel contributed to the impression, even among scholars, that nothing of significance occurred in the high court prior to Marshall. Important strides have since been made to undermine that assumption. *The Documentary History of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1789-1800* (four volumes to date, 1985-1992) has not only provided valuable materials on the court's formative years but it has encouraged historians to scrutinize more closely the years between 1789 and 1801. The appearance of the *Documentary History of the*



*Ratification of the Constitution* (nine volumes to date, 1976-1990) also has added to this impetus, as have recent publications by, among others, Maeva Marcus, James Perry, Stephen Presser, and Wythe Holt.

Now, Casto, a professor of law at Texas Tech University, has undertaken to provide the first comprehensive examination of the Supreme Court to 1801, and to do so from the perspectives of the chief justices during those years. His is the first in a series designed to "provide readers with a convenient scholarly introduction to the work and achievements of the Supreme Court . . . for the period of one or more chief justiceships" (p. xi). Casto is particularly adroit at clarifying debates over the extent of the national court's authority, Oliver Ellsworth's role in drafting the Judiciary Act of 1789, and the high court's moves to identify a federal criminal law. He devotes over forty percent of his coverage to what he views as the court's primary concern: cases and issues touching the nation's security. His greatest contribution is his demonstration of efforts on the part of the federal justices to isolate clear and direct national interests, then to serve those interests in both their professional and private capacities. At the same time he shows that the justices labored to allay fears on the part of those convinced the federal courts would swallow up state judiciaries. Although Casto emphasizes the justices' consistency, his treatment makes clear that their commitment to national interests encouraged pragmatism. They championed the doctrine of separation of powers; they also violated it. Individual judges provided advice to the executive and acted as diplomats at his behest. They also worked with other branches of government to invent the *Hylton v. United States* (1796) case by agreeing to "facts" that were spurious but convenient.

There are minor flaws in Casto's work. His assertion of a pro-judicial review consensus existing in 1787 is at least debatable, and his argument concerning the role played by natural law principles in judicial thinking appears inconsistent. More crucially, Casto does not address the partisan politics that shaped views of the court and its jurisdiction. The political and judicial dimensions of the state's efforts to limit federal jurisdiction in the 1790s also go largely unexamined. Ironically, Casto's demonstration of the workings of the Jay-Ellsworth court does not fit smoothly into the series format of viewing the court from the perspective of the chief justice, for he discovers no real cohesiveness or collegiality under either man. Neither Jay nor Ellsworth by dint of personality or intellect seemed capable of putting a distinctive stamp upon "his" court. Casto does not argue this so much as illustrate it. He does understand that brief dockets and onerous circuit duties isolated justices and discouraged camaraderie.

Disappointments aside, Casto's is an impressive and informative work that stands now as the standard work on the Supreme Court prior to 1801.

*William Otter: History of My Own Times*. Edited by RICHARD B. STOTT. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995. xiv, 230p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$39.95; paper, \$14.95.)

In this new edition of artisan William Otter's little-known 1835 autobiography, editor Richard B. Stott has brought to life one of the "extraordinary ordinary" men of the early republic (p. xii). Otter, a Yorkshireman by birth, emigrated to America in 1801, residing first in New York City and then Philadelphia, finally settling in rural south-central Pennsylvania and Maryland, where he spent the bulk of his adult life laboring as a plasterer.

William Otter is not a likeable character. A man who relishes telling his audience tales of his participation in street brawls, attacks on African-American churches, slave catching, and animal cruelty, "Big Bill" Otter, as he was sometimes known, glories in his "devilment" (p. 65), rabble-rousing, lying, and scheming. Yet, as editor Stott notes in his thoughtful introduction, the appalling and ungenteel nature of Otter's actions and attitudes serves as intriguing correctives to modern social historians who either celebrate the virtuous achievements of the early republic's laboring men or, in the case of rural artisans, forget them altogether. Otter's many "sprees" make a mockery of the nineteenth century's emerging Protestant work ethic of discipline, frugality, and temperance. His autobiography reads instead as a rather perverted Darwinian tale of the survival of the fittest. In the vein of recent works such as Billy G. Smith's study of laboring Philadelphians, *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800* (1990), Otter's *History* reminds us that for a workingman in the early republic, survival demanded that one be not only strong, but shrewd, selfish, and sometimes cruel as well.

Readers of *History* will find few intimate glimpses of William Otter, the man. While in the book's first chapters, Otter details the many acts of kindness bestowed on him by others and speaks openly of both his joys and his sorrows, as the book progresses and he matures, Otter's human side is more fleeting. The sections dealing with Otter's adulthood offer few details of his private life. Family plays little role in his story. Otter tells readers of his marriage to "a little Dutch girl" (pp. 86-88), but then seldom mentions her subsequently. Stott attributes much of Otter's emotional distance to his intense identification with the masculine, working-class subculture of young America. He speculates that *History's* narrative style, as well as its content, reflects Otter's desire to validate and perhaps embellish his own manly local legend.

Stott's conclusion provides a frank and insightful editorial commentary of the work. In it, he makes no apologies for Otter's abhorrent behavior and is openly critical of his subject, even going so far as to assert his own belief that Otter's sadistic actions were signs of a "disturbed personality" (p. 222). Yet Stott is also careful to remind his readers (and himself) that Otter's life must be viewed in the context of his times and his class. As one of the early republic's many "jolly fellows"

(p. 207), Otter's life serves as important testimony that drinking, carousing, and practical joking were integral components of the social world of many pre-industrial working men.

This edition of Otter's autobiography is a welcome addition to the scant volume of literature dealing with the rural laboring men of the early national period. Otter's autobiography also offers an interesting commentary on the nature of nineteenth-century American character, highlighting its admirable as well as its contemptible qualities. For these reasons, and many others, this work deserves recognition and further discussion by scholars and students of American history alike.

California State University, Northridge

JUDITH A. RIDNER

*The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child.* By CAROLYN L. KARCHER. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994. xviii, 616p. Bibliography, chronology, illustrations, index. \$37.95.)

In the past several years, important biographies of prominent nineteenth-century women intellectuals have appeared, most notably Charles Capper's *Margaret Fuller* (1992) and Joan Hedrick's *Harriet Beecher Stowe* (1994), both Bancroft prize winners. Carolyn Karcher's *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* is a candidate for this eminent company. For the first time historians and literary scholars have a full biography of Lydia Maria Child that includes discussion and explication of her voluminous writings.

While the broad outlines of Child's life should be familiar to readers of this journal and need no retelling, they will discover that their knowledge is incomplete, because it probably focuses on only one or several components of Child's extremely full life. We know of Child the antislavery activist, Child of the *American Frugal Housewife*, or Child the dutiful wife of a financially and politically inept husband. Karcher integrates these pieces of Child's life and completes her portrait with pieces heretofore unappreciated. Her portrait includes Child as Indian activist, antislavery activist, women's rights advocate, journalist, and wife and daughter. This Child stands apart from the nineteenth-century literary domestics by speaking directly and forcefully to the public issues of her day.

Karcher is especially thorough in showing the interrelationships among Child's causes. Her racial interpretation of the Indian problem anticipates the themes of her antislavery writings. Thus we begin to see Child as more than an antislavery and Indian activist. Although her many stories and tales used conventional plot devices, such as mistaken identity and intermarriage, she looked forward to an America in which all human beings recognized and were respected for their membership in the family of humanity.

Karcher's biography follows Deborah Clifford's recent biography of Child, *Crusader for Freedom* (1992). Reader's wishing a more compact account of Child's life probably will turn to that volume. Karcher separates her biography from earlier works by emphasizing its completeness. It deals with all aspects of Child's life and contains exegeses and lengthy quotations from many of Child's works. Because all but a handful of these works are out of print and because it is illuminating to have the entire corpus of an author discussed in one place, this inclusiveness has value. Child was a pathbreaking American author. As Karcher points out, she pioneered in almost every important nineteenth-century literary form and her entire corpus is huge: forty-seven books and tracts, a wealth of other uncollected writings, and extensive correspondence.

Although I will turn to *First Woman in the Republic* often for details of Child's life and descriptions of her many writings not available in reprint, I am more hesitant about recommending Karcher's interpretation of Child. Her exegeses of Child's writings may be suspect for two reasons. The author intrudes frequently to suggest what might have been if Child had shared the author's contemporary politics. For instance, we learn on page 470 that Child had a "skewed perception" of the New York City draft riots due to her "class blinders." In her old age, Karcher argues, Child failed to adapt her abolitionist and feminist views to the changes found in industrializing postwar America. Even more unsettling, the author often comments that Child anticipates certain current political positions, such as those set forth in Martin Bernal's *The Black Athena* (1987). In placing Child firmly within her constructed tradition of American radicals, Karcher has overlooked the full import of Child's own writings. Although Karcher's political commitments help her to illuminate themes of interracial cooperation, sexual exploitation, and democratic humanitarianism in Child's writings, they also may cause her to interpret these issues narrowly—from a twentieth-century perspective. The pot may be calling the kettle black. Karcher's commitment may have skewed her analyses and caused her to minimize issues insignificant to contemporary radicals but significant to nineteenth-century critics of American life.

Additionally, Karcher finds that Child's writings reveal her psychological development and especially her attitudes toward sexuality. But Karcher steps beyond her evidence when she reads Child's writing as a map for Child's own sexual longings and desires. For example, Karcher says that the 1857 collection *Autumnal Leaves* has fewer stories depicting unhappy marriages, and that this change "reflects Child's evolution toward a reconciliation with" her husband (p. 407). A sophisticated literary biography should acknowledge the complex and multiple relationships that the author's writing may have to her life. One story may reflect reality in an author's life, another wishful thinking, and a third an altogether different reality.

This biography challenges. It provides hypotheses that readers may want to test by reading more of Child for themselves. Although no sure prize winner, *First*

*Woman in the Republic* will have its own success if it encourages greater interest in Child, surely one of the nineteenth century's most prolific literary women and committed political activists.

*Franklin and Marshall College*

LOUISE L. STEVENSON

*A Surgeon's Civil War: The Letters and Diary of Daniel M. Holt, M.D.* Edited by JAMES M. GREINER, JANET L. CORYELL, and JAMES R. SMITHER. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994. xvi, 289p. Bibliography, index. \$28.00.)

Firsthand accounts of service in the Civil War abound. But their usefulness as historical sources varies greatly. The best were prepared by perceptive and articulate observers. The letters and diary of Dr. Daniel M. Holt, skillfully edited by James M. Greiner, Janet L. Coryell, and James R. Smither, rank among the most informative to appear in recent years. Holt was a forty-two-year-old doctor with a successful practice in New Port, New York, an upstate village, when the war broke out. At first he resisted the emotional patriotism of the times and declined to volunteer, choosing to continue his medical career. But in August 1862, when a second regiment was organized locally, the 121st New York Volunteers, Holt decided to do his duty and accepted a commission as an assistant surgeon. Middle-aged in a youthful regiment, he was the oldest staff member. Holt served until October 1864, when ill health forced him to resign. During his twenty-six months with the 121st New York, the regiment, part of the Army of the Potomac's Sixth Corps, was engaged in nearly all of the major campaigns in the eastern theater of the war.

Holt died in 1868 from tuberculosis contracted in service. In the months before he died, Holt busied himself copying the letters he had written home to preserve them for his wife and children. Despite rapidly failing health, he prepared a preface and an introductory narrative of his first days of service. The manuscript reveals Holt to have been a remarkable observer. Indeed, intelligent and insightful, little escaped his searching eye. Foremost, as a physician, he underscored the sad fact that this celebrated conflict was a biological holocaust. He wrote at length on the rigors and health hazards of camp life. He bemoaned the persistent ravages of disease that were exacerbated by shortages of crucial medical stores and an incompetent medical department. In addition, Holt concerned himself with a wide range of military matters, from the daily workings of his regiment to military operations to commanders and their tactics. And he railed at army politics, which he felt were responsible for his failure to be promoted to surgeon. Finally, Holt commented on a variety of national events—such things as the effects of the war on Northern and Southern society and slavery and emancipation.

It is clear throughout that Holt was keenly aware of the historic events that

swirled around him. Consequently his memoirs are especially valuable. Their significance is immensely enhanced by the outstanding work of the editors. This volume is a model in historical editing. One of the most important strategies adopted was to keep editorial intrusions to a minimum and let Holt speak for himself. Well-done explanatory notes enrich his commentary. The result is a work of enduring value. It will appeal to a wide audience, including the general reader, students of the Civil War of all stripes, and the student of medical history.

*Southern Methodist University*

JAMES O. BREEDEN

*Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century.* By WALTER LICHT. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xviii, 219p. Bibliographical essay, index. Cloth, \$38.95; paper, \$13.95.)

Spend the money, buy this book. It is Penn professor Walter Licht's contribution to Stanley Kutler's American Moment series, the sixteenth volume in these compact treatments of key themes and issues within the American saga. Licht neatly handles one of the trade's most difficult challenges: summarizing and assessing a generation's research on the deployment of industrial society across the decades from the Revolution and Constitution through the early twentieth century. Licht rightly notes at the outset that no such overview has, in recent decades, been undertaken. Previous studies, including distinguished works by Stephen Lubar and Brooke Hindle, *Engines of Change* (1986), and by Alfred Chandler, *The Visible Hand* (1977), have emphasized either the antebellum or postbellum eras, but no inclusive analysis of the first century of America's industrial rise has appeared. This slim volume more than compensates for the long wait.

The book opens with the author questioning his own title and its implicit message that industrialization was natural, even inevitable on this continent. He inquires why this scatter of settlements and regions became "market oriented" and urges readers to appreciate that the United States passed "first from a mercantile to an unregulated and then to a corporately and state-administered society" during the century (p. xvi). In examining the dynamics of these uneven and uncertain transitions, Licht outlines a host of disciplinary controversies (without cluttering the text with the combatants' names). These include debates about the scarcity of labor in the early republic, the South's industrial lag, market and nonmarket behavior, early working-class organizations, the transience of American residency, economic inequality and the standard of living, government's role in economic growth, the significance of railway development, the economic impact of the Civil War, industrial location patterns, the second industrial revolution, and the rise of big business. As he makes plain what arguments he finds compelling or faulty, specialists will doubtless contest some of Licht's judgments. Still, the sweep and

scope of this tight narrative, together with its accessibility, should draw more applause than brickbats.

More important, at the level of broad conceptualization Licht resolutely rejects single-mover explanations for economic and institutional change, emphasizing instead the complexity of conditioning factors and the play of historical contingencies. If this is not by any stretch a postmodernist text, it is clearly a postdeterminist one. Perhaps for this reason, it is plausible that, unlike many of its colleagues in the series, this volume may well be discussed and debated for years to come. As well, it will be invaluable for upper-level undergraduate or thematic courses, and could readily serve as a hub around which to structure a graduate readings course on industrialization. For either use, the chapter-keyed bibliographical essays at the close are exemplary. Finally, *Industrializing America* provides an ideal means for veteran scholars in social, economic, or political specializations to encounter a rich array of fresh perspectives, while offering novices the opportunity to extract the outlines of survey course lectures from its chapters. This book does not, however, reflect or resonate with the recent "culturalist" vogue in American history; constructions of identity or crises of masculinity do not figure largely in what is broadly a realist approach to interpretive narration. This relative traditionalism at the level of rhetoric and theory may provoke some readers yet be a relief to others. Overall, in rendering the complexity of nineteenth-century American economic change with care and concision, Licht has mastered a daunting task.

*Rutgers University, Camden*

PHILIP SCRANTON

*A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America, 1865-1925.* By THOMAS J. MISA. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xxvi, 376p. Bibliography, illustrations, notes, index. \$49.95.)

Thomas Misa's superb book should be of interest to most students of Pennsylvania history. Although the book's focus is national, and even international, Pennsylvania's leading role in the American steel industry ensures that the state and its many metal-related businesses receive considerable attention. Misa's study emerges from an expanding volume of high-quality research that emphasizes the important role of technology and economic development. It is about "how people create technologies, and how technology shaped the world" (p. xv). The study originated as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania's History of Technology unit and received considerable guidance from Robert Kohler and Thomas Hughes.

Misa examines the development of steel for four major consumers: the railroad industry, structural steel for urban construction, armor plate for naval vessels, and automobiles. The study begins with the rail industry and analyzes the switch from

iron to steel rails and the emergence of the Bessemer process for making steel. Many historians of technology focus their attention on producers and examine corporate records with the idea of tracing and explaining the evolution of new technological processes. While Misa is thoroughly familiar with the major American steel companies, he finds that the real force of technological change came, not from them, but from the railroads who set standards for steel rails and monitored their wear and tear. Misa concludes that "because railroad officials promoted, funded, and even founded early Bessemer steel works, in addition to consuming all the new steel, their influence was immense" (p. 47). This book, therefore, greatly strengthens Alfred Chandler's thesis (in *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* [1977]) that the railroads were pivotal players in transforming the U.S. nineteenth-century agricultural economy into a modern industrial economy.

Misa finds the influence of the consumers of structural steel even more important than the railroad corporations in shaping the steel industry. Here his story shifts from Pennsylvania to Chicago, which pioneered the use of iron and steel in the construction of tall buildings. It was Chicago's architects and builders who rejected traditional Bessemer steel products. It was their standards and influence that caused innovation to shift from Carnegie, a traditional Bessemer rail producer, to smaller companies that pioneered the open hearth process. These included, among others, Pennsylvania Steel.

Armor plate was a different story. Here the author analyzes the importance of political influence and the relationship between American steel mills such as Bethlehem and foreign firms such as Henri Schneider of Le Creusot in France, Krupp in Germany, and various steel firms in Great Britain. In this saga, the national defense authorities of the various major powers played the important role in developing the technology to make armor plate. It is a complex tale in which U.S. government officials rigged tests in order to support their predetermined conclusions.

The other major strength of this book is its superb analysis of technological change in steel overseen by Frederick W. Taylor. While Taylor's concept of factory management has received widespread analysis, his role as a technological reformer has received less attention. Misa makes up for this previous gap in our knowledge with a superb description of Taylor and the invention of specially hardened steel that could be used by firms making capital goods. Since most of this story takes place in Pennsylvania, this book should be of particular interest to readers of this journal.

Perhaps the best part of the book is its extended preface. In this section, Misa puts forward a simply marvelous analysis of the theory of technological change. It also explicitly ties his case studies to the analytical framework. This book is a model work. It should be required reading for all those interested in either the steel industry or in the history of technology.



*Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community.* By JAMES OLIVER HORTON. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993. 238p. Bibliographical references, photos, index. \$39.95.)

James Oliver Horton's *Free People of Color* points the history of free African Americans in the nineteenth-century North in a new direction. The book, the author states, "is not a survey of their community development, nor is it a comprehensive analysis of their political activism. Rather, it is a series of discussions about many of the major concerns that animated their private deliberations and structured their relationships" (p. 2). Horton examines the internal dynamics of free black communities in northern cities, and the work benefits from previous scholarship set in motion by social historians of African Americans in nineteenth-century Philadelphia. Regional location and diversity of experiences, then, assume a central place in this work. Horton conceived this project as a preliminary investigation, and, as such, it will be valuable for scholars wishing to further explore the topics examined.

"The Scholarly Discussion," with which the book begins, is informed by recent literature in African-American history and the wider contemporary debates about the nature of black communities. The literature and debates that form the basis for the book's organization are generally concerned with African-American solidarity, identity, and perceptions of opportunity. Rather than progress chronologically through issues as they arose in any given community, the author addresses these topics thematically.

Horton arranges the book in three sections, each of which aims at elaborating upon a particular theme. In Section I, "A Community of Commitment," the author examines racial solidarity as expressed by and acted upon among black people. In the chapters that constitute this section, the author demonstrates that they exercised considerable agency in their vigorous pursuit to establish and maintain their often-imperiled communities. In Section II, "Multiple Identities: Gender, Color, and Nationality," the author explores some of the more controversial topics within African-American history. Two chapters in this section are particularly noteworthy. One examines the differences between the ideal and the reality of gender conventions among free African Americans, and the other is an investigation of the meaning of "mulatto" social position that changed over time and location. The third section, "Race and Ethnicity," includes two chapters that suggest new directions for research on free African Americans. One chapter investigates the economic structures and relations of German- and African-American communities in Buffalo, New York. As Horton and his coauthor appropriately point out in this chapter, considerable work has been undertaken on the social and economic relations between the Irish and African Americans, though little has been done on relations between African Americans and other immigrant ethnic groups during the

nineteenth century. The second chapter of this section describes the development of policies during Reconstruction that made it necessary for black people in Washington, D.C., increasingly to rely on education.

As with any project that embarks upon setting a new direction for scholarship, *Free People of Color* exhibits weaknesses. One problem with this book is its conceptualization, which might have been more compellingly presented; it is not apparent why Horton chose the particular topics he examined or those topics' relationship to each other. Another problem resides in Horton's claim that region played a significant role in free African Americans' efforts to establish their nineteenth-century communities. Despite the veracity of his assertion, Horton neither explains why he chose the particular vicinities he did, nor is the examination of the chosen communities consistently sustained.

Horton explicitly states that this work is preliminary. Therefore, such criticisms should be viewed as equally preliminary. *Free People of Color* substantiates its claim that there is a need for close community studies of the nineteenth century and earlier periods. Moreover, it raises controversial topics that have not received deserved attention. Finally, *Free People of Color* clearly demonstrates that there was no monolithic black "community."

*Bucknell University*

LESLIE PATRICK-STAMP

*Divided Loyalties: The Public and Private Life of Labor Leader John Mitchell.* By Craig Phelan. (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994. xii, 438p. Bibliographical references, notes, index. \$19.95.)

Reading Craig Phelan's fine study of John Mitchell took me back over twenty-five years to when I was a graduate student spending what seemed like a lifetime among the mountain of Mitchell Papers at Catholic University of America. As an apprentice historian, I was not only overwhelmed by the voluminous Mitchell collection (some 300 boxes of material), but I also found Mitchell a very difficult figure to grasp. For over a year, my feelings about Mitchell ran the gamut from admiration and respect to hostility and contempt. In the end, I labored mightily to arrive at a fair and balanced view of his life and work.

Today John Mitchell remains a formidable study due to his enigmatic personality and his meteoric public career. On the surface he came across as a simple, straightforward champion of the working class. Underneath, this appealing simplicity gives way to a morass of conflicting values and drives that are difficult for the scholar to sort out. His career also created problems as he rode a roller coaster from obscurity to national prominence, followed by an equally rapid descent into the arena of the forgotten. Fortunately, the obstacles that Mitchell's life and career presented for the young graduate student are overcome by Craig Phelan in a first-rate examination of

this important labor leader. The author skillfully unravels the many contradictions and ambiguities encompassing Mitchell's personality and his work.

John Mitchell embodied the myth of the self-made man popular during the Progressive Era. The product of a poor, coal-mining background, physically abused as a child, raised without traditional parental affection and guidance, denied all but a few years of a formal education, he went on to become one of the most admired, powerful, and famous public figures of his time. Over eighty boxes of the Mitchell Papers contain thousands of newspaper clippings about some aspect of his life. For a time Mitchell was the most prominent labor leader in America. In part, this notoriety was based on the concrete advances that his leadership won for the coal miners and his overall contributions to the broader labor movement. Mitchell led the anthracite mine workers during the famous strikes of 1900 and 1902, and he served as a symbol of the reasonable and responsible trade union leader who appealed to Americans for social justice on behalf of all working people. On top of this, Mitchell was a warm, friendly, and likeable man. Even his enemies, both within the ranks of employers and among his colleagues in the movement, commented favorably on Mitchell's genial and amiable qualities. Today he would be considered a genuinely good guy.

Phelan juxtaposes all this against the darker features of Mitchell's personality and work. He led the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) during a period of impressive expansion and consolidation, but the gains often came at the expense of union democracy, local rank-and-file control, and constitutional rule. He made no attempt to fight racism and segregation within the UMW and the American Federation of Labor (of which he was second vice president). Once the UMW received its industrial charter in 1901, Mitchell never advocated unionism outside his own coal industry. Although a skilled and intelligent negotiator and a brilliant field marshal, Mitchell seriously miscalculated during national negotiations in the bituminous industry in 1904 and in both the bituminous and anthracite industries in 1906. Instead of using the institutional power of the UMW, which he had largely constructed, coupled with his immense personal popularity with the rank and file to fight for much-needed gains, he retreated from the unpredictable path of struggle, pursuing instead disheartening and demoralizing alternatives. He came to rely too heavily on the friendship of politicians like Mark Hanna and Theodore Roosevelt, public figures like Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation and powerful coal operators like Francis Robbins. He sought their assistance during crucial battles instead of appealing to the militancy and solidarity of his miners and their families. And his obsession with personal gain and a comfortable living seduced him into participating in investment ruses that were blatantly unethical and compromised his independence as UMW president and his integrity as a labor leader.

Craig Phelan presents a thorough investigation of Mitchell's character, both its strengths and flaws, along with a penetrating analysis of how his life offers insight

into several important issues involving labor during the Progressive Era. A close reading of Phelan's book linked with my own thinking about Mitchell over many years leads me to the following reflection. The real tragedy of John Mitchell's life revolves not around what he accomplished, for he accomplished a great deal in a short time, but rather what he might have achieved given his talent, popularity, and influence.

*Rider University*

JOE GOWASKIE

*Sporting Gentlemen: Men's Tennis from the Age of Honor to the Cult of the Superstar.*

By E. DIGBY BALTZELL. (New York: The Free Press, 1995. xi, 420p. Bibliography, references, notes, illustrations, index. \$30.00.)

Since his *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (1958), E. Digby Baltzell has scrutinized the white eastern Protestant establishment's struggle to maintain cultural, political, and moral authority in America. In *Sporting Gentlemen*, the genteel historian and tennis buff brings his expertise in the lifestyles of the rich and famous to the study of tennis. It is, he maintains, a history that reflects the decline of traditional upper-class authority in the larger body politic.

Baltzell chronicles the game's prominent stars from the Gilded Age America to the present. The book's most compelling section recounts the well-known exploits of the story's protagonist, William Tilden, a Philadelphia gentleman who was not only the darling of the tennis world between the 1920s and early 1940s but, in the author's opinion, the "most exciting, catalyzing, frustrating, self-aggrandizing, and ultimately revolutionizing force in modern tennis." Unfortunately, Baltzell's exclusive reliance on Tilden's autobiography (and Frank Deford's biography) is symptomatic of the research throughout. The author attends only marginally to the relevant primary and secondary sources, particularly the thriving body of scholarly literature on sport history. The "golden age" of tennis prior to 1950 dominates Baltzell's attention (fifteen chapters), while the last forty years receive only two cursory, condemnatory chapters and a pompous, moralizing epilogue.

During the post-Tilden era of the 1940s, a new generation of world-class stars from the public courts of southern California staged a quiet revolution from the shamateurism ("professionalized" sport masquerading under the "amateur" banner) of the eastern country club scene to open, legitimate professionalism. But the pivotal moment in the alleged decline of gentlemenly tennis allegedly occurred in 1968. During that monumental year, Baltzell imagines, "our democratic traditions of discussion were replaced by the new age of the bullet and the bullhorn" in larger American society, as well as in the world of open (professional) tennis, and the century of "amateurism" was eclipsed by a "ruthless moneyed game." Rather than analyzing the commercial and cultural forces that transformed tennis into a "vulgar"

and "rowdy" spectacle, he blames the new generation of "college drop-outs," "rough-necks," "brats," and "computerized one-dimensional men" who were "programmed, almost from their cradles to make money out of tennis," and castigates the "dehumanizing" environment of the new National Tennis Center at Flushing Meadow.

Beyond such contentious assertions, the principal problem with Baltzell's nostalgic infatuation with the lost innocence of gentlemanly tennis is its omission of the substantial literature on amateur sport. Contrary to popular wisdom, western sport, from the ancient Greeks until the mid-nineteenth century, was more "professional" than "amateur" in nature. In its classic guise, amateurism was invented in the 1860s at Oxford and Cambridge, and was only exported to the Ivy League in the early 1870s. Baltzell's account fails to properly explain "amateurism" as an *ideological* construct invented by elites that enabled them to develop a bourgeois sporting lifestyle that contrasted with the seamier but well-established professional tradition of the working class and its moneyed, upper-class cohorts.

Perhaps a sounder argument would be that tennis sustained the *appearance* of an already antiquated notion of amateurism precisely because the socially insulated elite country-club set protected it from the censure of the sport establishment's duplicitous "shamateur" system. Certainly, the fact that Tilden stayed in luxurious hotels and entertained celebrities in high style—at the expense of the tennis establishment—made him "amateur" in name only. Moreover, Gentleman Bill was also an arrogant showman who threw tantrums and quarreled with and intimidated linesmen and tennis officials, characteristics Baltzell excoriates in contemporary "brats" like Jimmy Connors and John McEnroe.

Given the paucity of scholarship on tennis, *Sporting Gentlemen* is a welcome contribution. Future studies must, however, transcend the anecdotal and personal dimensions of the sport to analyze its institutional development, the phony appeals of "amateurism," and tennis's reputation within wider American society through a more judicious survey of newspaper, magazine, and archival sources. *Sporting Gentlemen* will, no doubt, provide a conceptual point of departure for such investigations.

Portland, Maine

S. W. POPE

*The Book of American Diaries: From Heart and Mind to Pen and Paper, Day-by-Day Personal Accounts Through the Centuries.* Edited by RANDALL M. MILLER and LINDA PATTERSON MILLER. (New York: Avon Books, 1995. xxii, 522p. Bibliographical directory, sources, and permissions. \$12.50, paper.)

*The Book of American Diaries* is misleadingly titled. It is neither a history nor an anthology of American diaries but a collection of diary excerpts that follow the year's calendar. Each day of the year has three or four entries from that date from the

writing of an American diarist. For instance, I write this review on July 17 on which date in the past: the African-American teacher Charlotte Forten despaired in 1854 that slavery and prejudice would ever end; Thomas Edison complained about the heat ("Hell must have sprung a leak.") in 1885; and in 1957 Sylvia Plath had an awful trip to the beach: "The boom, boom of great guns throbbing in the throat, then the ride back, bad-tempered." The editors have taken selections from 200 diarists, fifty-four of whom are women. The diarists range from John Winthrop to Allen Ginsberg, the latter still alive and still writing. There is a biographical directory that gives a brief summary of the diarist's life and diary. There is, probably inevitably, a bias toward the privileged and famous, although the editors have included entries from anonymous and "ordinary" people. The diarists are probably as representative as it is possible to get. The entries themselves are not annotated, so one does not know, for example, where Edison was when it was so hot and what beach Plath visited in 1957 where "the sun was cold and the wind colder." Nor is it clear whether the entry given is the entire entry from that day. Did Edison go on to invent the air conditioner later on that hot July 17? Did Plath's day improve or, ominously, get worse? Since most of the diary selections are from already published editions (there are a few manuscript diaries), anyone particularly struck by an entry can go to the source. The editors have written a brief foreword that discusses diaries and diary keeping in a scholarly context of personality fashioning, as well as touching on the occasions and circumstances in which diaries were kept. It is hard to see what the purpose of this book is, but it is entertaining and sometimes illuminating. It's the kind of book to put in a guest room or on a bedside table.

Having completed this review I note in my diary that I have done so. The weather today is very hot and as Thomas Edison once wrote, "Hell must . . ."

*Peale Family Papers,*  
*National Portrait Gallery*

DAVID C. WARD

*American Lives: An Anthology of Autobiographical Writing.* Edited by ROBERT F. SAYRE. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. xi, 732p. Select bibliography, bibliographical references, index. Cloth, \$65.00; paper, \$24.95.)

Autobiography stands at the center of American literature and culture. Although autobiography as a form and an expression of self in the western world harks back to St. Augustine's *Confessions*, it assumed particular relevance to "modern" men and women who combined both the introspective of the confession with the retrospective of the memoir. In America the autobiographical act gained favor early, from John Smith's self-serving and mythmaking accounts of Jamestown, to the Puritans' efforts to understand their own sin and praise God's wonders and mercies in their errand into the wilderness, to captivity narratives such as Mary Rowlandson's *True*

*History* (1682), which reiterated themes of God's deliverance, to the "Memoirs" of Benjamin Franklin in the Revolutionary age when Americans were wondering who they were as a people and what was their place in history. Americans grew up with autobiography. In forging a new nation, they also created a new people whose story(ies) needed to be told so that others might share in and profit from the American experience. Immigration and migration added to the autobiographical impulse in America. So, too, did widespread literacy, which encouraged people to write down and to read autobiographies. Slave narratives, Civil War soldiers' reminiscences, the Southern Lost Cause memoirs, travelers' accounts from the overland trails going westward, government-sponsored "life histories" recorded during the New Deal, and more—all helped make autobiography a popular, "democratic" form wherein the "common folk" might be heard and read. Autobiography offered everyone a history and a place in American history.

More than anyone else, Franklin transformed autobiography and gave it a distinctly American stamp. Franklin's unfinished autobiography mapped a practical way to wealth and, more important, a moral tale toward human progress. He combined the needs of self and society in creating, for many, the American type. And, in the spirit of the American Revolution, he constructed a past in order to build a future. In the end, he also sought to control access to his own biography by writing his autobiography, through which all subsequent renderings of him and his age would have to pass. Countless Americans followed Franklin's lead.

Autobiography in American terms became an act of self-justification as much as one of self-expression. It became the principal means whereby Americans realized themselves individually and collectively. In the *conscious* creation of a self, Americans demonstrated how the essential American character was one of invention and self-invention. Autobiography allowed Americans to renew themselves in each act of self-creation. And they have done so with a vengeance. More "classics" in American "literature" are autobiographical in nature than any other form. The realization that autobiography is essential in any understanding of American life and lives undergirds Robert F. Sayre's wide-ranging anthology.

Sayre's rich collection introduces students to the varieties of American autobiography over almost three centuries of writing. Fifty-four excerpts from "Americans" as diverse as Anne Bradstreet to Gertrude Stein and Bell Hooks compose this well-conceived anthology. Sayre defines "autobiography" broadly—so much so that he sweeps up diaries, letters, apologies, one campaign biography, essays by Emerson, promotional tracts, and fiction in his canvass. For Sayre, the principal concern in choosing American "autobiography" is less the form than the act of creating a self. That the authors of some of his selections might have done so only implicitly, as in the case of Mary Boykin Chesnut in writing her diary, to cite one example, seems not to bother Sayre. Any act of self-creation counts as autobiography in his calculus. Sayre does not include passages from several classics, such

as Franklin's autobiography, because these works already form the marrow of public knowledge about American autobiography and culture. He wisely looks to other voices to give as full a chorus of American voices as the autobiographical tradition has produced. Even so generous a reach as Sayre's omits certain subsets of the genre. He ignores the celebrity autobiography—a particularly American phenomenon of breast-beating that has filled bookstores since P. T. Barnum's day and especially in the current age of instant, and often fleeting, fame from mass media, music, sports, politics, and other forms of mass entertainment. He also slights the "how to" narrative so common in an America that wants to know how to get ahead and feel good. All this said, Sayre serves up plenty to ponder. In a series of deftly written introductions, he also places autobiographies in historical contexts that suggest the variable nature of their form and content over time. Autobiographies, Sayre argues, speak to and about their own age, not just for the ages.

Sayre divides his selections into eight chronologically arranged periods, each covering between thirty to ninety years and having from four to nine entries. The anthology spans the confessionals of the colonial era to the more recent Freudian grapplings with the *self*. In all, this kind of self-exploration holds the key to understanding the age. Thus, in what Sayre terms the "vital period" of American autobiography, 1700–1775, men *and women* moved from the earlier preoccupations with Christian confession and travelers' narratives to describe and celebrate their own lives as farmers, traders, preachers, or travelers. They chose to emphasize self-control as much as, and even more than, Providence as the way to fulfillment and independence. And in the period 1920–60, Americans experimented not only with new forms of literature but also with new definitions of being American and human. In the process, some, like F. Scott Fitzgerald, "cracked up" or, like Richard Wright, gave up on the promise of America altogether. The most recent autobiographical acts have been the most self-conscious. Since World War II, opines Sayre, Americans have sought an "identity," which has changed in meaning from a common cultural trait shared by all Americans to an individual's particular essence of being and almost tribal ties to members of a particular group. Race and ethnicity now loom large in autobiographical equations of self.

No short review can suggest the salience of Sayre's samplings or the acumen of his own observations on the meaning of autobiography. In sum, more than any other anthology of its kind, Sayre's excellent collection introduces fifty-some American lives. It gives us America itself.

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