

## BOOK REVIEWS

*William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*. Edited and annotated by GREGORY A. WASELKOV and KATHYRN E. HOLLAND BRAUND. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. xvi, 341p. Bibliography, illustrations, notes, index. \$46.50.)

William Bartram's *Travels* (Philadelphia, 1791; London, 1792) is the least-known and least-read of the late-eighteenth-century natural history writings set in Anglo-America. Peter Kalm, Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, and Thomas Jefferson wrote better-known and critically more appreciated books about humans in nature and the nature of the New World. Arguably, though, Bartram's is the most knowledgeable, based on more firsthand wilderness experience, observationally keenest, most complex, most lyrical, of greatest literary interest, unique in its natural philosophy, and hence richest of those texts.

With two editions of the *Travels* now in print, a new edition of Bartram's published writings just out, and this volume of focused excerpts, there is an unprecedented opportunity for integrating his naturalism with our understanding of early American mentalities. The great strength of this volume is the annotations, especially the anthropological ones. Since Bartram is the best historical source, indeed in some cases the only pre-nineteenth-century source, for our knowledge about the Muscogulges (Creeks and Seminoles) and Cherokees, the editors have provided historians of the region with essential information for interpreting the meanings of what Bartram saw. Their re-editing of his "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians," which Bartram wrote in 1789, is taken from the 1851 edition published long after his death and from multiple primary texts. It is a signal contribution and alone justifies the publication of this book.

The historical, as opposed to the anthropological, knowledge of the editors is less reliable, but space precludes me from picking nits with their understanding of the broader contexts of the volume's subject. Instead, I will share one specific and one general concern about the rationale for including and excluding materials from the book. Perhaps most troubling in this regard is the editors' biggest find, the only previously unpublished text in the collection. "Some Hints & Observations, concerning the civilization, of the Indians, or aborigines of America" is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library and bears the initials "WB." The problem is that the

manuscript is not in William's hand, which the editors recognize. Some of the language rings true—"innocent Youths, sporting on the verdant Lawns," "our injustice & avarice, in pressing upon their Borders & dispossessing them of their Lands, together with the outrage committed against their Persons & encroachments made on their hunting Grounds by the frontiers, provoke them to retaliation" are Bartramesque in content and phrasing.

Other thoughts, though, are in absolute contradiction with ideals espoused by Bartram in both published and unpublished writings. The writer's plea for "civilizing" the Muscogulges by introducing missionaries to teach religion, "spinning, weaving, Smithing, painting, & Sculpture" is not Bartram's and the essay thus uses his ideals to ends with which he strongly disagreed. Rather than seeing this manuscript as Bartram's, which it demonstrably is not, it makes more sense to read it as an interesting example of the uses to which a contrary-minded reader could put Bartram's appreciation of native cultures.

Instead of pushing a dubious new find, the editors would have served readers better by drawing on other writings, most notably correspondence and commonplace books, that clearly were Bartram's. The criteria for selection, which includes the dubious unpublished document in someone else's hand and excludes the commonplace books, are unclear. The two extant commonplace books not only contain Bartram's thoughts on southeastern Indians, but, even more interestingly, on the "ancients"—Indians and other peoples from around the globe who live closer to nature than "civilized" cultures. Such ruminations are critical for understanding the philosophy that supports Bartram's evaluations of southeastern Indian cultures. Excluding them leaves the reader with a shallow foundation for comprehending the excerpts that are attractively and, for the most part, reliably presented here.

*Rutgers University*

THOMAS P. SLAUGHTER

*The Papers of George Washington*. Confederation Series. Vol. 3: May 1785-March 1786. Vol. 4: April 1786-January 1787. Edited by W. W. ABBOT. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. Vol. 3: xxvi, 654p.; vol. 4: xxv, 585p. Bibliographical references, index. \$47.50 each.)

We think of him as "Father of his Country," and "First in War and Peace." And, as we are reminded by many of his foreign correspondents in the twenty-one months covered by these volumes, contemporaries considered him similarly to be "the Great Hero of the Western World" (3:116). Yet George Washington as a hard-working farm manager? George Washington as landlord, lessor, and speculator? Given the mythic proportions of the man, it has always been difficult for us to imagine the commander-in-chief of revolution and first president of the United States in any of these mundane roles. Yet it is precisely as investor and

plantation administrator that we see him in the few years of his retirement after Yorktown, the years covered by these two volumes of the continuing, distinguished letterpress edition of his writings.

While the world beyond Mount Vernon was always intruding, and increasingly so by early 1787, Washington's life in these months was very much centered upon what he called his "rural amusements" (3:296)—his domestic relations, his far-flung plantations and speculations, and projects to improve the conditions of transportation and commerce in the Potomac Valley. Although he was among the wealthiest men in the young nation, Washington considered his situation straitened due to years of forced neglect in service to his country. Complaining often that he was without funds—"I am *really* in want of money," he wrote in 1786 (4:206)—he pushed and cajoled his land managers and tenants in unremitting correspondence to pay the sums due him under leases and contracts of sale, and he was not above angry expostulations and stern threats of court action to those who had defaulted on their debts to him. He carried on continuing correspondence about such topics as the Society of the Cincinnati and the shipment from Europe of particular specimens of jackasses, which he intended to use, and finally did succeed in using, as stud. He wrote about agricultural improvements, in which he had long taken an avid interest, with a wide range of correspondents, such as Arthur Young, to whom he averred among other things his determination to steer clear of dependence upon tobacco. He was frequently in search of farm managers and labor; and, while solicitous of the welfare of his and others' slaves, he clearly detested slavery and the circumstances that forced him to manage and care for bond servants. And then there were members of his family and near family—his nephew Bushrod, for instance, obviously an esteemed favorite, and David Humphreys, his former military aide and surrogate son, for whom Washington had much affection (addressing him as "my dear Humphreys," in contrast to the characteristic formality of most of his letters). Given the extent of his correspondence, it is scarcely surprising that he also worked hard to find assistants who could prepare his letters and arrange his neglected files.

Yet despite Washington's sincere avowals of desire to remain in retirement, he could not sever himself from the larger world whose shape owed so much to his own making. "Retirement from the public walks of life," he wrote Benjamin Franklin, "has not been so productive of the leisure & ease as might have been expected" (3:275). Americans and foreigners, such as Lafayette and Catherine Macaulay (Graham), plied him for letters of introduction and requests for testimony about battle actions and elicited from him commentaries about foreign and domestic politics. And then there were domestic political affairs themselves. They did not intrude upon Washington much in 1785. But by the next year evidence of troubles in the nation's governance began to appear in his letters. He could not avoid correspondence with others about plans for the Annapolis Convention, terming the state of the nation "shameful & disgusting" (4:169) and "rapidly drawing to a crisis"

(4:212). Within two weeks of the commencement of Shays's Rebellion, he began to receive news of events in New England; and by early 1787 Henry Knox and others were writing him every few days about developments in Massachusetts. (See Benjamin Lincoln's extraordinary, balanced assessment of the rebellion [4:417-36]). The most pointed harbinger of Washington's future responsibilities is toward the close of the second of these two volumes in James Madison's celebrated December 1787 letters (4:448-49, 474-76), matched by others, urging upon the reluctant, retired leader attendance at the forthcoming Philadelphia convention whose work would eventuate in a new constitution.

What is one to say about the quality of this great edition of Washington's works at this point in its continuing publication? The Confederation Series, of which these are two of six volumes, the last two of which have yet to appear, covers the years between Washington's retirement from the army and his accession to the presidency. Unlike the monumental Revolutionary War and Presidential series, this one contains few official documents, which thus allows us a revealing look at Washington the man. As usual, its contents are edited impeccably and with characteristic economy; in fact, one occasionally wishes for additional editorial notes, especially those that might set forth for nonspecialists the contexts of particular sets of letters. A CD-ROM version of the *Papers*, which contains many documents appropriately considered too insignificant to be printed, is being produced parallel to the letter-press edition. As I can attest from experience in its use, it will be a continuing boon to scholars, as it will be to everyone drawn to the life of this great man. It contains, along with all the documents printed in these volumes, letters in the original French, whose translations by others (which Washington read) are printed here; Washington's farm notebooks; and enclosures sent to him in other letters.

Given its magnificence, one is led to reflect upon the prospective fate of this and other projects that have been making available—in print, on microfilm, and now on CD-ROM—the works of leading Americans, women as well as men, black as well as white, lesser known as well as renowned. It is conceivable that, should strong political currents prevail, *The Papers of George Washington* and others like it will cease in media res for lack of federal funds. Not only would that grievously injure scholarship; it would be a stain upon the nation's reputation. It is by no means too early for everyone concerned with the preservation and public availability of the national patrimony to ponder this question and to determine together how this and other projects can be sustained in the event of the absence of government subvention.

A final note. Volume 3 contains a February 1785 letter to David Humphreys that was mistakenly omitted from volume 2 in its normal chronological sequence. It is printed here (3:487-89) after the last letter of 1785.

*Washington, D.C.*

JAMES M. BANNER, JR.

*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 30: July 1 through October 31, 1779.* Edited by BARBARA B. OBERG with ELLEN R. COHN, JONATHAN R. DULL, DOROTHY W. BRIDGWATER, KAREN DUVAL, and MARILYN A. MORRIS. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993. lxvii, 701p. Bibliography, illustrations, notes, index. \$70.00.)

This latest volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Barbara B. Oberg and her colleagues, is composed of 349 letters to Franklin and 143 letters and other documents by him in the four months between July 1 and October 31 of 1779. It marks a milestone of Franklin scholarship because the recovery and printing of his writings in France has been so slow in the past. The comparable portion of Jared Sparks's selection, published in the late 1830s, contains less than a dozen letters by Franklin. Half a century later when the U.S. Department of State obtained Henry Stevens's Franklin collection, Edward E. Hale and his son and namesake were able to select from that acquisition seven new letters for their *Franklin in France* (1887). Early in this century, foremost Franklinist John Bigelow, the former American ambassador to France during the 1860s, brought to light an additional nine pieces in volume 8 of *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (1904). Albert Henry Smyth found five new letters and published them in volume 7 of *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (1906), which brought the total of Franklin's writings of the same period to a meager thirty-two. None of these individual efforts could match the painstaking search of the modern team led by a succession of chief editors, Oberg being the latest, who, in close collaboration with the American Philosophical Society, Yale University, and a host of institutions worldwide, plan to publish all Franklin's extant writings. It is against this background that the present publication, like the rest of the edition, is truly a monumental achievement.

As the editors clearly state in the introduction (pp. lvi-lxv), many of Franklin's letters dealt with supervising American naval actions in European waters. Highlights of this activity are found in his correspondence with American captains John Paul Jones, Stephen Marchant, and Pierre Landais, as well as his letters of July 5 to Alexander Gillon, October 20 to Jonathan Austin, and October 27 to Samuel Cooper. Some of Franklin's friends and critics complained about the delays in receiving his letters. Yet reading through the volume, one realizes that Franklin "answered his mail fully and promptly" (pp. lvii-lviii), especially when available information and reliable intelligence—which was not easily come by—warranted doing so. (For Franklin's demand for confirmation and evidence, frustration with rumor and misinformation, and suspicion of espionage, see pp. 213, 220, 234, 249, 257, 312, 319, 324, 485, 521, 538, 539, 597).

The tone of his letters could be unequivocal. "Capt. Conyngham has not been neglected," Franklin assured Jonathan Nesbitt and Mrs. Ann Conyngham, wife of the unfortunately captured captain, immediately after he received their inquiries.

This is but one well-recorded case (pp. 214, 245, 246, 385-87, 414-15, 438-39, 582, 596) of Franklin's persistence in seeking prisoner relief. His correspondence with the English statesman David Hartley, particularly his letter of August 20, reveals his concern for the value of human life and his anger toward the British for their atrocities and ill-treatment of American prisoners. Numerous letters addressed to Franklin further demonstrate that in his official position as minister plenipotentiary and his personal reputation as a humanitarian attracted complete strangers, including both American and British captives, to plead for his help (pp. 167-68, 191, 211, 216-17, 558, 562-63, 572-73).

The Franklin that emerges from this volume is more than a diplomat who communicated with his French counterparts Vergennes and Sartine. His roles extended to gathering intelligence from agents, procuring military supplies, and managing the American delegation's finances. Yet his limited resources could hardly meet all demands—a predicament that seems all too apparent in his letters of September 30 to Arthur Lee, September 30 to James Lovell, October 4 to William Bingham, and October 21 to the Commerce Committee of Congress. Occasionally overwhelmed with inquiries about immigration and applications from favor-seekers, he still had the leisure to enjoy the adulation of French society. Never tired of saying "a Penny sav'd is a Penny got" (p. 430), he saw no contradiction in appreciating fine French wine and high-quality French and English printing materials. At the age of seventy-three, he was perhaps equally moved when receiving the news of the birth of his grandson by Sally and of the death of his friend John Winthrop. Franklin's myriad experiences in France can now be represented through such rich documentation that the editors' carefully prepared head- and footnotes and the extensive index only enhance the immense pleasure of reading and using this book.

Bentley College

NIAN-SHENG HUANG

*Documentary History of the First Federal Congress, 1789-1791, Volume XII: Debates in the House of Representatives, Second Session, January-March 1790. Volume XIII: Debates in the House of Representatives, Second Session, April-August 1790.* Edited by HELEN E. VEIT, CHARLENE BANGS BICKFORD, KENNETH R. BOWLING, and WILLIAM CHARLES DI'GIACOMANTONIO. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. Volume XII: xlv, 917p.; Volume XIII: 882p. Bibliographical references, index. \$75.00 each.)

Just as historians should be grateful to James Madison for taking such detailed and copious notes of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, so, too, should scholars be thankful for the work of the lesser-known individuals who recorded and published the proceedings of the First Federal Congress. The practice

of recording those sessions of the House of Representatives proved more problematic than one might assume. In September 1789, Representative Aedanus Burke angrily denounced those who printed the House debates for "misrepresentation and error" and threatened to have the correspondents removed from the House floor. Although Burke ultimately withdrew the motion, his frustration—shared by other members—over the accuracy and the manner in which the debates were recorded indicated the level of concern and importance attached to the enterprise.

Reporters such as Thomas Lloyd, John Fenno, and other shorthand writers have provided historians with the notes we now have on proceedings in the First Congress. The efforts of Lloyd are of particular importance to these volumes. While his work tended to be sporadic and inconsistent (in part because of the heavy workload of taking down, transcribing, and getting into print all of the proceedings on a regular basis), Lloyd's shorthand accounts were generally accepted as accurate and, for some days in the second session, his notes are the only surviving source.

The editorial staff at the First Federal Congress project has long been at work, setting about the task of transcribing Lloyd's shorthand notes, gathering other newspaper reports on the sessions, and collecting them into these latest publications of the undertaking. The two books are part of a five-volume series of debates in the House of Representatives, with one more volume to follow to complete the series. Already published in this massive and significant project are the House and Senate journals, legislative histories, an edition of William Maclay's journal, and all other existing notes on the debates in the first Senate. The next volume, concluding the House of Representatives series, will contain an important and valuable editorial aid for the entire project—biographies of the ninety-five men who served in the First Federal Congress.

These volumes will be of particular significance to political historians who can turn to them to study a variety of crucial issues, such as the debates over funding, the assumption of state debts, and the residence of the national capital. These issues are among many at the heart of some of the most important new scholarship on the period. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick's *Age of Federalism*, Lance Banning's *Sacred Fire of Liberty*, and James Roger Sharp's *American Politics in the Early Republic*—to name but three examples of recent scholarship—all raise questions and examine issues that were addressed by the First Federal Congress. Since historians are coming to look anew at the early development of political parties, as well as the political thought of many of those individuals (such as James Madison) so crucial to understanding the process of party formation and ideological debate, these works and the entire project will be an important tool for students of the vital, formative years of the republic. Scholars interested in tracing some of the points raised in these other works will find the *Documentary History* useful for digging into the primary records that undergird historical interpretations. Also of particular interest are a series of matters, debated at various times, over Quaker petitions to abolish slavery.

Those seeking a fuller understanding of the debates in the First Congress on that question will find some useful insights here.

Reviewers of previous volumes in this series have raised several points that bear repeating, since they apply to these works as well. One cannot help but reflect on the importance of the role of the reporter/transcriber who attended the session of the House and took notes, along with that of the newspaper editors who printed the reports. The information that was taken down, reported, and printed was passed on as the documentary record of what occurred. Since the *Documentary History* prints every independent account of the proceedings, including what various newspapers printed, it is easy to spot variations in what was reported, how it was presented, and how much space or weight the paper gave to various speeches. Since the *Documentary History* strives to provide every account, scholars might do well to recognize the degree to which various editors provided the language that went into the newspapers and how that practice shaped the way the proceedings were ultimately reported—and, perhaps, the way historians have come to interpret the events, individuals, and issues under discussion.

As usual, the editors of the First Federal Congress project have done solid, skilled, and valuable work on volumes 12 and 13. The index in volume 13 covers both volumes and is detailed, accessible, and quite helpful, containing not only the names of representatives, measures, and bills, but also concepts (separation of church and state, import duties, luxury goods, the Constitution, even “Metaphors and allusions, use of”). For those wishing to follow a particular bill or an individual legislator’s activities, the index will be very helpful. For those who wish to dabble or jump around, looking for a topic that piques their curiosity, the index will be a treat. The indexed entries for each member of the House are valuable for students of the individual members and will be supplemented by the biographical portraits of those who served in the Congress to be published in volume 14. Other useful parts of the editorial apparatus include a list of subjects debated by the House as they were reported in newspapers, and a list of House bills from the second session with a brief note on their ultimate disposition.

In short, these volumes are well done and should prove quite useful to historians. The editorial team is to be commended and encouraged in the swift continuance of its efforts to make available as full and complete a record of the First Congress as possible. Their work continues to pay dividends for scholars of the early national period.

Oakland University

TODD ESTES



*James Madison and the American Nation 1751-1836: An Encyclopedia.* Editor in chief, ROBERT A. RUTLAND. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994. xxiv, 509p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, index. \$95.00.)

Robert Rutland has created an account of James Madison's life using the unconventional form of a one-volume encyclopedia that focuses on Madison's career, especially his contributions to the creation of the new republic. Upon first consideration, the reader questions the need for an encyclopedia of Madison's life and times. However, Rutland, the former editor of the Madison presidential papers, has drawn on the major scholars of the period to create this first-class work, a compendium of 400 entries on people, places, and events of the Madison era and their relationships to Madison.

As the reader would expect, the biographical entry on Madison is a careful and thorough examination. Seven detailed, independent segments by Rutland, Don Higginbotham, Paul Smith, Norman Graebner, and Drew McCoy chronicle the major stages of Madison's life from childhood to the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1776, his service in the Continental Congress and as secretary of state in Thomas Jefferson's administration, his two terms as U. S. president, and, finally, retirement. Portraits, maps, political cartoons, and photostatic copies of Madison documents highlight the biography. Other entries by Merrill Peterson, Melvin Urofsky, and Leonard Levy scrutinize Madison's part in creating the Constitution and Bill of Rights as well as the intricate maneuverings and compromises at the Federal Convention of 1787.

The encyclopedia, however, goes far beyond the achievements of Madison himself. Prominent scholars dissect complex issues to succinctly summarize controversies surrounding national leaders, politicians, legislation, military campaigns, and the formation of government. Entries, for example, by Stephen Kurtz and Jeffrey Brown on John and John Quincy Adams focus on the Adamses' politics, especially their support for or opposition to Madison and the Jeffersonian Republicans; Lance Banning compares and contrasts Alexander Hamilton's and Madison's views on government; Gerald Clarfield concisely examines details of Jay's treaty and the Missouri Compromise; and Charles Hobson expertly handles technical judicial controversies in well-written entries on *Marbury v. Madison* and *Fletcher v. Peck*.

Articles portraying Madison as one player among many strengthen the volume. Tina Sheller's work, for instance, examines France from the perception of its diplomatic history with the United States; Joseph Bradley's entry on Alexander I of Russia depicts an emperor trapped in the dilemma of enlightenment versus monarchy during the era of Jeffersonian republicanism, without relating the czar directly—or artificially—to Madison. James Banner Jr.'s entry on the Hartford Convention also adds depth without undue emphasis on Madison. Other authors labor perhaps too much to make the Madison connection.

The editors and publishers have created a work of quality. The volume contains a directory of contributors, an alphabetical list of entries, appendices of documents, a chronology of important dates, a synoptic outline of contents, and a very usable index. The book is a visual delight; engravings, portraits, maps, and political cartoons abound. Photographs and prints, portraits, battle scenes, and political cartoons (including the British view of James MAD-ASS-SON supported by the devil and Napoleon) add punch to the text.

Oddly, the American Revolution and the continental congresses do not have independent entries. Rather, they are included in the biography of Madison. It is hardly surprising that Madison is the focal point of this volume. Yet Madison was never the center of the early national universe. The book would be stronger if it dealt more thoroughly with the key roles of the other founding fathers.

This is an excellent reference for anyone interested in the early national period of the United States. Rutland, Simon and Schuster, and a fine array of scholars have produced a book of distinction.

*Hampton University*

CAROLYN S. WHITTENBURG

*Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics: Ratifying the Constitution in Pennsylvania.* By OWEN S. IRELAND. (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995. xx, 292p. Bibliographical references, index. Cloth, \$55.00; paper, \$18.95.)

Owen Ireland's analysis of the ratification of the Constitution in Pennsylvania provides a formidable framework to conceptualize this event. Before setting about his task, however, Ireland first challenges those historians who view the late 1780s as a victory of the more urbane, elitist, Federalist few, over "the more parochial or traditional many." Nor, for that matter, was the ratification controversy in Pennsylvania a contest between the forces of an emerging, market-oriented, capitalist society versus an antiquated, socioeconomic elitism. Rather, Ireland diplomatically suggests a more compelling alternate view. In the straightforward manner that characterizes his writing, the author states unequivocally that most Pennsylvanians, whether from the city or the backcountry, "knowingly and enthusiastically" supported the new Constitution. Furthermore, Ireland argues that both Federalist and anti-Federalist voting behavior was fundamentally an accurate reflection of preexisting political conditions, and that those conditions were principally defined by the willingness of individuals to merge their political identification with their ethnic and religious identification. Those circumstances did not suddenly spring into existence in 1787; they were, rather, part of an ongoing process that had found its genesis in the Revolution itself.

Ireland divides his book into two parts, the first half dealing with the remarkable

sequence of events that occurred from September 1787 to April 1788. To the anguish of the anti-Federalists, Pennsylvania's Federalists, who also controlled the state assembly, hurriedly authorized the convening of a ratifying convention, dominated that body's proceedings, and engineered the state's unqualified approval of the new Constitution. In Pennsylvania, the Federalists were able to move swiftly and decisively, easily frustrating the anti-Federalists in their attempt to stop ratification. Yet, Ireland points out, the opposition had "scored enough verbal victories" at that convention to hope that it could generate momentum to call a second convention in order to overturn the work of the first. By hammering on such issues as a lack of a bill of rights, and the threat posed to state governments by the new central authority, and by usually staying off partisan issues, the anti-Federalists hoped to create doubt among the electorate over the new polity. But that would not be the case; in fact, the Federalists won a sweeping victory at the state assembly elections in October 1788. When the dust had settled, the anti-Federalists were the clear losers.

In the second half of the book, Ireland explains why the anti-Federalists had been so thoroughly defeated. He explains that the evidence does not support an economic explanation of voter behavior during the ratification period. Rather, he claims that Pennsylvania voting patterns correlated "almost perfectly with existing political divisions." Those divisions were based upon the traditional partisan opposition of the Constitutionalist Party, which was generally also the anti-Federalist faction, and which consisted primarily of Scots-Irish Presbyterians and German Reformed, versus the Republican Party, members of which were nearly all Federalist, and which was composed of Anglicans, Lutherans, Quakers, and German sectarians. Their ethno-religious antagonism toward one another dates to the Revolution, when the Constitutionalist-controlled government in its fervor to prosecute the war disenfranchised large numbers of sectarian voters. By the late 1780s, however, those same alienated voters had their voting rights restored to them. Returning to the polls, they aligned themselves with the more broadly based, heterogeneous Republican Party that had steadfastly opposed the Constitutionlists. This "quiet revolution," as Ireland describes it, is what provided the basis for the Federalist victory in 1787 in Pennsylvania.

Ireland's ethno-religious analysis of the ratification controversy in Pennsylvania is strong, amply supported by the evidence, and presented in a clear and concise manner. The subject matter itself is not new ground for him; students of Pennsylvania Revolutionary history are long familiar with his several publications and his 1966 University of Pittsburgh dissertation that examined the dynamic political tensions that existed in Pennsylvania's religious and ethnic communities from 1776 to 1787. His latest endeavor is worthy of his many years of careful research and will easily serve as a standard for early American historians for years to come.

*William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic.* By ALAN TAYLOR. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1995. viii, 549p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$35.00.)

Although Cooperstown, New York, is perhaps best known in the twentieth century as the home of baseball's Hall of Fame, the history of the town's founding and subsequent development lends considerable insight into the society and culture of the early American nation. In this fascinating study, Alan Taylor skillfully interweaves a biography of William Cooper, founder of Cooperstown, with a history and literary analysis of the life and work of his son, James Fenimore Cooper, to create a highly readable and jargon-free narrative portrait of one of the mid-Atlantic's best-known frontier families.

William Cooper is a tragically flawed figure in Taylor's eyes. As an insecure opportunist whose dramatic successes and failures raised his family to great wealth and then doomed them to a compromised inheritance, Cooper was a man who did not learn from his mistakes. Rather, in his desperate effort to achieve the gentility of a colonial gentleman, the rough-edged and uneducated elder Cooper used repeated and usually ill-funded speculative ventures into land, town development, and the maple sugar industry, as well as Federalist Party politics, to affirm his social worth. As Taylor illustrates, however, Cooper's efforts were all for naught. He sought to become the benevolent patriarch of his town and county just at the time when the increasingly democratic politics of the early national period were undermining the foundations of the deference which Cooper so desperately thought he had earned. Although he promoted himself as a symbol of the frontier spirit of his age, Cooper was, in actuality, a man out of step with his time. Instead of looking forward to an era of liberal individualism, Cooper, Taylor effectively argues, looked backward to the seemingly stable and highly idealized social order of the colonial American past.

To further demonstrate the interplay of old and new worlds, Taylor contrasts the real story of William Cooper and Cooperstown with the fictionalized account of Judge Marmaduke Temple and Templeton in James Fenimore Cooper's 1823 novel *The Pioneers*. By interspersing his text with excerpts from James Fenimore's novel and devoting the final two chapters to some of the novelist's life and work, Taylor crafts a subtle but powerful comparison of father and son. Just as father William sought to shape the wilderness of upstate New York—and his own reputation—through his speculative ventures in land and politics, son James sought to fashion the history of his family into the mainstream of American literary and popular culture by creating a fictional American landscape that offered nineteenth-century Americans the hope of future consensus and order. In a desperate attempt to regain the lost order of Cooperstown and his family's vanishing gentility, James, like his father, urged continuity with the colonial past and thereby denied the powerful forces of democracy unleashed by the American Revolution.

Taylor is a meticulous historian whose extensive research into the documents and literature of the Cooper family makes this book enjoyable to read as well as highly informative. Although he makes many key points about the tenuous nature of the frontier in the early republic, his frontier, as personified by his subjects William and James Fenimore Cooper, is a frontier forged by men—and not women. In the vein of John Mack Faragher's recent depiction of frontier hero Daniel Boone (*Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* [1992]), the Coopers' frontier is masculine to the core. While Taylor explains that information about the Cooper women is scant, with William's wife, Elizabeth, a Quaker, becoming a depressive recluse, and his well-educated and socially successful daughter, Hannah, becoming a martyr to the family's quest for gentility, one wonders nonetheless if the gendered aspects of the Coopers' many frontiers could not have been explored a bit more thoroughly. That said, however, Taylor's book is without a doubt an excellent study of a key frontier family of the early American Republic.

California State University, Northridge

JUDITH A. RIDNER

*Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America.* By PETER C. MANCALL.  
(Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995. xix, 268p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95.)

At a time when substance abuse has become a national issue, Peter C. Mancall explores previous generations' confrontation with the issue. *Deadly Medicine* looks at the Indian alcohol trade of the colonial period. In the process Mancall investigates the sale and use of alcohol to and by a native population that increasingly interacted with whites in an ultimately devastating way. While not all Indians drank, those who did drank heavily and wreaked havoc upon themselves and their society in the process.

Mancall's initial discussion of modern clinical evidence is a strength of the book, one that could have been even more detailed. Indians, he claims, had no identifiable genetic predisposition to alcohol addiction. They did not metabolize alcohol differently than non-Indians. Therefore, Indian drinking must be seen as a community or individual decision. Native Americans chose to drink to get drunk. If there was not enough liquor to go around, rather than each getting a small amount a few would drink it all. While all might drink, most alcohol was consumed by males. They drank until they passed out or the liquor gave out. Binges could last for days.

There was certainly no lack of alcohol, which became a staple of the Indian trade. This exchange was not only a big business but also was seen by some whites as a civilizing factor. Through trade, Indians would become more like Europeans. In time, any interaction with whites required its quota in drink. Indians expected kegs of rum or brandy as gifts or as a commodity. Whether at treaty negotiations or

in exchange for furs and skins, alcohol was part of the equation. Its manufacture also became part of the business of the Indian trade. From the West Indian sugar planter to the Indian trader, all made a profit.

Drunken Indians were a menace to themselves, their families, and their communities—a fact recognized by everyone at the time. Hunters would sell a year's worth of skins for a fraction of their value in watered rum; they might even sell their wives and children. Inebriates became violent, often taking it out on their families and neighbors. Indian culture recognized this loss of control by not holding drunks responsible for their actions. Traders and treaty-makers encouraged Indians to drink before doing business in order to take advantage of their momentary impairment. Drunken Indians injured themselves, drowned, or froze. What, if anything, could have been done to ameliorate the situation?

The destructiveness of Indian drinking was a concern to some whites but also to some Indians. Given white gain from the trade, there was little incentive to stop the supply. But as Mancall points out, there is more to this story. Traders and Indian negotiators recognized that without drink the Indians would stay away. Indians, not whites, controlled demand. Indian temperance advocates won small, isolated, and temporary advocates. The lure of drink was just too great. Indians did not want to stop drinking.

Why did so many Indians drink, knowing the devastation that it caused? This is the book's central underlying question and the one most difficult to answer. Mancall understands its complexity and his sources allow him little room for a satisfactory resolution. He discusses the dissolution of Indian culture, the rapaciousness of whites, the "tragedy and disaster" that came with contact (p. 82). He sees the positive roles that Indians hoped alcohol might play in their ritual and personal lives. He utilizes medical and anthropological insights and has a fine and up-to-date bibliographical essay that includes them. But in the end the question remains. Perhaps it cannot be answered—why do any of us pursue destructive behaviors?

*University of South Carolina*

JESSICA KROSS

*Revolutionary in Exile: The Emigration of Joseph Priestley to America 1794-1804.* By JENNY GRAHAM. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995. xii, 213p. Bibliography, illustrations, appendix, conclusion, index. \$20.00.)

When Joseph Priestley moved with his family to Birmingham in 1780, there began what was probably the happiest and most fulfilling decade of his very productive life. He was now minister to one of the most liberal dissenting congregations in England. Moreover, a number of wealthy sponsors in Birmingham and elsewhere enabled him to resume his scientific work, which was further

stimulated by his association with the brilliant group of scientific amateurs who called themselves the Lunar Society. He also continued his promulgation of radical Unitarianism, what Priestley and others called "rational Christianity," and the agitation for the removal of the civil restrictions placed on dissenters. Priestley thrived on controversy, and Birmingham provided it, politically, scientifically, and religiously.

Then came the French Revolution, the "Priestley Riots" of 1791 that destroyed his library and laboratory, and his departure first for London, then, in 1794, for Pennsylvania.

While the story of Priestley's American exile has been written before, most thoroughly by Caroline Robbins in 1962, Jenny Graham's study provides substantial new information, placed very nicely within the political context of Pennsylvania and the new American republic in that turbulent era. Graham's research has been prodigious; it is most evident in her extensive utilization of the manuscripts in seven English and eight American libraries, including four in Pennsylvania: the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Haverford College, and Dickinson College.

As the book makes clear, had Priestley been free to choose, he would never have spent his last years on the Pennsylvania frontier. His own situation in London was satisfactory, but their father's notoriety meant that his three sons had little possibility of pursuing careers in England. He—and probably his sons as well—would have preferred France, but the situation there in 1794 made even Priestley hesitant about the Jacobin republic's future.

It was a scheme to develop land in northern Pennsylvania as a haven for exiled English radicals, instigated by his son Joseph's friend Thomas Cooper, that brought Priestley's whole family (with the exception of a married daughter) to the unlikely site on the Susquehanna. The land scheme came to nothing; there would be no college, no Unitarian congregation, no real town. Since his support for the French Revolution, once the Reign of Terror was over, remained intense and uncritical, he continued to contemplate moving to the French republic, in whose bonds Priestley's sponsors had invested heavily on his behalf.

Viewed objectively, Priestley's final decade was one of frustration and disillusionment. His wife and youngest son both died. His son William removed to Louisiana after a domestic scandal that has never been explained. Graham does not mention it, but we know from the letters of his physician, Benjamin Rush, that the episode was extremely painful for him. He did manage to complete several theological projects, but his scientific work was effectively over. Finally, he managed to embroil himself in American politics as rashly as he had in English, a story Graham tells especially well. Nevertheless, fortified by a profound faith in divine providence, possessed of a singularly sunny and uncomplicated personality, and finding himself after Jefferson's election no longer the pariah he had been, Priestley died secure in

his own religious beliefs and in the future of the cause he had seen embodied in the American and French revolutions.

A useful selection of unpublished letters and an especially well chosen collection of portraits and landscapes add to the pleasure of Graham's thorough and compelling account.

*Dickinson College*

CLARKE GARRETT

*The Life of Jedidiah Morse: A Station of Peculiar Exposure.* By RICHARD J. MOSS. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. xiv, 175p. Bibliographical references, index. \$28.00.)

The Reverend Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826) has long been overshadowed in the annals of American history by his son, Samuel F. B. Morse, artist and more notably, the inventor of the telegraph. But Richard Moss shows that the elder Morse, often referred to as "the Father of American Geography," also merits historical study. In reviewing his career, Moss focuses initially on the rural, eastern Connecticut environment where Jedidiah was born and where he absorbed the family-centered, spiritually orthodox, work ethic that would dominate his lifetime. Morse maintained these values while studying and teaching in the less-isolated atmosphere of Yale College in New Haven. And it was during these New Haven years that Jedidiah also became influenced by the secularly oriented business world with the successful publication in 1784 of his book, *Geography Made Easy*. Afterward, Morse took both his Calvinist beliefs and materialistic ambitions with him to Charlestown, Massachusetts, where, in 1789, the recently married cleric took his post as a Congregational minister. In 1789 he also published and then promoted his most famous work, *The American Geography: A View of the Present Situation of the United States*, a book that "became the most widely read description and appraisal of the United States taken in parts" (p. 38). Morse made use of both his Charlestown pulpit and the press, publicizing and defending traditional moral beliefs—Federalist political precepts and moderate Calvinist theological doctrines—from alleged conspiracies of religious liberals, especially Unitarians, European "Illuminati," and Jeffersonian political theorists. In the early phase of his ministerial tenure, Morse was able to incorporate such political-theological proselytizing to advance his career as a successful writer-publisher, bringing out a *Universal Geography* and earning recognition from prominent New England Federalists as well as his idol, George Washington.

Shifting circumstances, however, caused Jedidiah Morse's downfall. By the early nineteenth century, the Jeffersonians had secured national power, several of Morse's crusades had backfired, membership in his congregation declined, his theological tenets became less accepted, and many of his business speculations brought serious financial losses. Involvement in evangelical societies and his role in founding



Andover Theological Seminary provided no security. In 1819 his congregation called for Morse's dismissal, and the next year he removed to New Haven. There he spent the last years of his life, enduring a final indignity when the federal government shelved his paternalistic scheme for administering Indian tribes.

Moss has written an incisive account of the life, motivations, achievements, and reversals experienced by the Reverend Jedidiah Morse. His work is supplemented by an illustrated "Epilogue," in which Moss analyzes five of Samuel F. B. Morse's paintings in which Jedidiah appears. Here the author speculates on Samuel's attitudes toward his father as revealed on canvas. More pertinent, however, are the pages where Moss examines the ways that *The American Geography* reflected Jedidiah's personal beliefs and prejudices as they applied to people and places in the United States. The author succinctly demonstrates how Morse's partialities emerge—glorifying what the parson saw as the simple "republican virtues" of morality, enterprise, temperance, and stability of rural New England while decrying intemperance, wastefulness, indolence, immorality, and slavery that he claimed permeated the South. Moss pointedly remarks, though, that Jedidiah made a notable exception to such aspersions when he described George Washington's Mount Vernon estate operating with "unvarying habits of regularity, temperance, and industry" by "laborers" (p. 60) rather than slaves. Such narrow-mindedness was definitely a fundamental cause for the frustrations and reversals in Morse's later life.

Some items might have received further elaboration. For example, mention could have been made concerning the extent of critical reaction to Morse's geographies in the middle-Atlantic and southern states. Also, since Morse had decried religious pluralism, comments might have been included regarding the parson's attitudes toward the Episcopal bishoprics established in post-Revolutionary New England. These are admittedly minor points and do not detract from this commendable biography.

*Loyola University of Chicago*

SHELDON S. COHEN

*The Quaker City; or, The Monks of Monk Hall. A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery and Crime.* By GEORGE LIPPARD. Edited and with an introduction by DAVID S. REYNOLDS. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995. xlv, 582p. Notes, bibliographical references, illustrations. \$19.95.)

One could scarcely overestimate the need to bring George Lippard's *The Quaker City; or, The Monks of Monk Hall* back into print. In his introduction to the 1970 reissue of Lippard's novel (from which much of this edition is offset), Leslie Fiedler characterized the Pennsylvania author as a "little-known figure in the history of American literature." This is far from the case today. Although Lippard has yet to achieve the full renown he deserves, those who have worked patiently to revive his

reputation have succeeded. Scholars, teachers, and students increasingly have found Lippard to be a rich subject of historical study, creating a demand for an accessible edition of his most popular novel. Issued 150 years after the original publication of *The Quaker City*, this book fills that scholarly need, assuring that Lippard will play a significant role in academic debate long into the future.

The descendant of German Palatines, Lippard was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1822 and raised in Germantown, near the lovely banks of the Wissahickon. After a childhood marked by several family deaths, Lippard moved to Philadelphia, where he achieved national acclaim as the author of urban social fiction in the manner of Eugene Sue. Lippard's work was animated, in part, by four qualities: deep, unorthodox religious faith; reverence for an idealized American past, especially that of the Revolutionary War; passionate advocacy of working-class social reform; and the depiction of female sexual exploitation as a symbol of more general political corruption. In addition to his work as a writer, Lippard fought to advance the interests of the working class on an organizational level, creating the Brotherhood of the Union, a national secret society foreshadowing the Knights of Labor, and supporting a group of Philadelphia seamstresses, a subject deserving further research.

Although *The Quaker City* consists of multiple, interconnected plots, its central story concerns the seduction of an innocent young woman by a member of "Monk Hall," a secret association of libertines composed of the Philadelphia elite. Lippard depicts the debauched exploits of these lawyers, doctors, and judges—some of whom are intended to represent prominent, living Philadelphians—to expose the social inequality and moral decay of postrevolutionary society. In this respect, the extent to which the violated female body in *The Quaker City* registers America's fall from political grace merits close attention, as does Lippard's extraordinary chapter "Devil Bug's Dream," which combines political criticism, mythologizing historical consciousness, and apocalyptic religious judgment (undergraduates in particular should find this gothic chapter worthwhile). The novel also is characterized by a lively sense of place, and readers familiar with Philadelphia will be able to follow Lippard's story as it winds through the urban landscape.

This particular edition of *The Quaker City* contains an introduction by David S. Reynolds, who has championed Lippard in a variety of publications and has written a full-length biography of the author. The introduction will be useful to those beginning their study of Lippard. Those desiring more extensive or theoretical background reading should consult works listed in the bibliography, especially Michael Denning's *Mechanic Accents*. The edition thankfully restores the full title of Lippard's work (Fiedler's edition calls the novel simply *The Monks of Monk Hall*), thereby emphasizing its geographic and historical specificity. The edition also includes original illustrations that are valuable for understanding the novel in its full artistic context. One can only hope the success of this admirable edition will

encourage some enterprising publisher to issue more works by Lippard, particularly *Washington and His Generals; or Legends of the Revolution* and *The Empire City; or New York by Night and Day*.

Yale University

MARK S. WEINER

*Madness in America: Cultural and Medical Perceptions of Mental Illness Before 1914.*

By LYNN GAMWELL and NANCY TOMES. (Binghamton: State University of New York, Binghamton, University Art Museum: Cornell University Press, 1995. 182p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, index. \$39.95.)

*The Art of Asylum-Keeping: Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Origins of American*

*Psychiatry.* By NANCY TOMES. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994. xxv, 387p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, notes, index. Paper, \$14.95.)

The publication of *Madness in America* and a paperback edition of *The Art of Asylum-Keeping* (originally published in 1984 as *A Generous Confidence*) provides an opportunity to reflect on mental illness in nineteenth-century America. These superb books provide two distinct, even discordant, views.

Tomes presents a study of the life of Thomas Story Kirkbride (1809-83), among the most important figures in the establishment of American psychiatry. Born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, to Quaker parents, Kirkbride turned his talents toward medicine, although physical frailty led him away from an early interest in surgery. A residency at the Friends Asylum in Frankford (near Philadelphia) acquainted him with "moral treatment" in the care of the mad. The Pennsylvania Hospital's facilities for the insane were expanded by the opening of a separate institution to be located several miles away in West Philadelphia. When the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane opened in 1841, Kirkbride began his service as its first superintendent.

Tomes uses a rich set of archival materials to paint a compelling portrait of Kirkbride as both a practicing physician and a founder and leader of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane (AMSAI). Of particular value is her reconstruction of Kirkbride's clinical work with the insane, based on his case records as well as his voluminous correspondence with patients and families. The book breaks new ground in explaining the actual practice of institutional psychiatry by one of its most gifted practitioners. Perhaps the book's most original contribution is its assessment of how Kirkbride cultivated "a generous confidence" among his patients and their families. At a time when hospitals were shunned and before medicine had established its cultural authority, Kirkbride

persuaded members of all social classes that his institution could provide care for the insane superior to that offered by families.

It is this position that situates Tomes's contribution in the contested terrain of psychiatric history. Some readers will locate this work close to the "neo-Whig" view associated with the scholarship of Gerald Grob. Tomes credits Kirkbride with genuine, sustained, and even successful care of the insane, whatever decline might mark later generations' efforts. She disagrees with those writers such as Goffman, Foucault, Rothman, and Scull who see moral treatment or asylum care as little more than a massive project in social control. Kirkbride's correspondence yields compelling evidence of how eagerly sought his services were. "Kirkbride's" hardly seems to be a "total institution," and its care appears different from that provided by large state institutions later in the century, whose experiences are discussed by Grob, Dwyer, and this writer, among others.

But Tomes also carefully reports on the resistance that many of Kirkbride's (largely involuntary) patients carried out against him. It is a measure of the complexity of this superb piece of historical writing that it will be cited for support by either side in the debate. There will be no disagreement about how fine a work Tomes has produced. It will be indispensable for those seeking to understand not only nineteenth-century psychiatry but also, in Michael Katz's phrase, the rise of the institutional state.

Among the book's most valuable contributions is its assessment of the impact Kirkbride had on American psychiatry. Kirkbride formulated "propositions" about the construction and organization of the mental institution, the pivot around which care for the seriously mentally ill has revolved ever since. Even today, after "deinstitutionalization" led to the eclipse of the state mental hospital, most state mental health dollars still flow to hospitals founded by the AMSAI "brethren" and their professional descendants. Their success in developing the institutional base of psychiatry is still very much with us.

Readers of Tomes's 1984 book will want to examine the paperback's new introduction. They will be rewarded by reflection on what this historian might do differently with her subject, including giving more attention to gender issues such as the meaning of Kirkbride's marriage to one of his former patients.

*The Art of Asylum-Keeping* rests on handwritten correspondence and case notes. By contrast, *Madness in America* uses art and artifacts as text, presenting the results of a collaboration between an art historian and museum curator (Gamwell) and a medical historian (Tomes). It has a different goal—to explore perceptions of mental illness in both medicine and the broader culture. The two authors cast their net widely, and the result is a remarkably broad set of 170 images and accompanying interpretation. If Kirkbride's asylum shows a particularly humane side of American psychiatry, these images suggest there was another reality as well. The "moral architecture" of the graceful facade of the New York State Lunatic Asylum at Utica

contrasts sharply with such objects as straitjackets, chains, Benjamin Rush's "tranquilizing chair," and the "Utica crib" (a confinement for unruly patients).

Psychiatry's claims to scientific understanding in the *American Journal of Insanity* clash with images of actual performance such as a "phrenological hat" that Amariah Brigham (a leading figure in the practice of moral treatment) commissioned a Parisian hatmaker to construct in order to measure the circumference of the head. Similarly, the "outlines of sarcognomy" in an 1854 drawing show how a woman's "region of insanity" centered on her reproductive organs.

The book examines both "highbrow" and "lowbrow" culture, to borrow from one of the more enduring characterizations of phrenology. Thomas Eakins's *Retrospection* (1880) contrasts with an 1895 ad for "The Electropoise" ("It causes the System to absorb an extra amount of Nature's own great vitaliser—PURE ATMOSPHERIC OXYGEN.").

Writers represented range from Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Walt Whitman to Lucy Ann Lobdell Slater, the "legendary hunter" of Delaware County, New York. Her commitment to the Willard Asylum rested on three reasons: "She insists on wearing male attire. She calls herself a huntress. She threatens violence to herself and others." (No evidence appears to have been produced about the third claim, so the first two apparently were convincing.)

The book accomplishes its goal of surveying "cultural and medical perceptions of mental illness before 1914." But some categories are less adequately represented than others. More attention to the central though changing role of the asylum might have been given, particularly after the Civil War, when it came into its own as an instrument of social policy. Curious omissions occur as well. We learn that Frederick Law Olmsted theorized that well-designed urban parks might help combat stress through "nature's therapeutic effects," and that his career included several commissions for asylum grounds, but we don't learn that Olmsted spent the last years of his life as a patient in one of those asylums. (His name is spelled inconsistently, by the way.) Given the extraordinary range of materials (reflecting the rigorous efforts to include diverse points of view), more discussion of selection would have been appropriate. But on balance the authors have succeeded admirably in presenting a valuable, vivid, and balanced examination. Gamwell and Tomes invite a broad audience to explore this important part of American social history.

*St. Joseph's University*

GEORGE W. DOWDALL

*Brethren Society: The Cultural Transformation of a "Peculiar People."* By CARL F. BOWMAN. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xxii, 491p. Bibliography, appendixes, notes, illustrations, index. \$65.00.)

"Only a dead fish floats with the current" is the parting line in Carl F. Bowman's

*Brethren Society*, a study of the sustained effort of a distinctive American religious movement to purge itself of "peculiarity" and historic nonconformity. The movement Bowman depicts is the German Baptist Brethren, known derisively and colloquially as the Dunkers or Dunkards because of their river dunking baptisms, and known in contemporary life as the Church of the Brethren, one of the historic "peace" churches in American religion (along with the Amish, Mennonites, and Quakers).

Bowman wants his book to be seen by readers as "an exercise in historical anthropology" (p. x), but the stinging "dead fish" closing from a nineteenth-century Dunker elder suggests that this book is not an anthropological exercise. Historical anthropology is exemplified by practitioners such as Anthony F. C. Wallace, the author of *Rockdale* (1980), and John Hostetler, author of *Amish Society* (1963) and *Hutterite Society* (1974), both published by Johns Hopkins University Press in its Religion/Sociology Series. *Brethren Society* is part of this Johns Hopkins series, which also includes Calvin Redekop's classic study of *Mennonite Society*.

*Brethren Society* is more of a sociological than anthropological analysis of the Church of the Brethren in historical context. Carl Bowman is chairman of the Department of Sociology at Bridgewater College, a Church of the Brethren liberal arts college in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. He is "born Brethren" (p. 384) and therefore speaks from inside the movement, generally in a fair-handed albeit hard-hitting manner.

*Brethren Society* is a revision of Bowman's 1989 doctoral dissertation for the University of Virginia. Much of the sociological data for the book is based upon a "Brethren Profile Study," conducted under church auspices in 1985 with approximately 1,000 Brethren respondents, and subsequent personal interviews with selected Brethren teachers and leaders. This material, plus the deliberate effort to let historic Brethren leaders speak for themselves through extensive quotations, personalizes Bowman's narrative and sets a tone for the book that escapes sociological jargon and masks its underlying academic methodology. The result is a generally lively and readable book, especially the first two parts, which provide the narrative heart and soul of *Brethren Society*.

Bowman has organized his study of cultural transformation into a logical tripartite division. Part one is "An Overview of Traditional Dunker Culture, 1708-1850s." Part two, "Pathways Beyond Plainness," "... reconstructs the events, dialogues, and struggles that transformed it [Dunker culture]" (p. 20). Part three is devoted to "Analysis: The Binding and Loosing of Brethren Culture."

In part two Bowman aims at "an understanding of the changes that have completely transformed the Brethren since 1850" (p. 20). He regards this transformation as the most dramatic of any Anabaptist-related group in America (especially when compared to the Amish and Mennonites). How, he asks, did such a plain group move from the certainty that they were "the truest embodiment of

Apostolic Christianity—radically divorced from the Protestant mainstream—to a situation in which many Brethren (in the 1980s and 1990s) question whether there are any meaningful boundaries left between their own and mainline variants of the faith” (pp. 19–20).

Bowman’s delineation of this transformation is in his own words “an essay in interpretive cultural history,” a more satisfying description than his earlier claim to be writing historical anthropology. Bowman is at his best in part two in explaining specifically who wanted to change traditional Brethren culture, for what reasons, and how they did it. Chapter 5 on “Expansion and Dissent, 1850–1883” and chapter 10 on “Purging the Past, 1890s–1920s” are model sections that describe nothing less than revolutionaries overthrowing a traditional religious order by peaceful means.

Having described a remarkably methodical and successful Brethren “cultural housecleaning” that sacrificed tradition for transformation, particularism for unity, and church authority for individualism, Bowman in part three identifies the same culture wars among the Brethren as in American religion and society at large. Rather than embrace either the liberal or conservative factions in the church, Bowman suggests a mediating third way, which recognizes that Dunker tradition is the only common ground on which to build a house of faith for all Brethren. Without turning back the clock, Bowman calls for redefinition of Brethren peculiarity. “Most importantly, the tranquilizing whirlpool of contemporary ‘hot-tub religion’ must be forsaken for the flowing waters of childlike faith. As a Dunker elder reminded the Brethren over a century ago, “only a dead fish floats with the current” (p. 417).

Carl Bowman’s *Brethren Society* appears to be directed primarily to the Brethren church family. Scholars will miss breadth and depth in Bowman’s treatment. There are few references to the larger historical context of the Brethren transformation. The book lacks socioeconomic analysis of the Brethren and appreciation of the role that class and ethnicity played in shaping the Brethren transformation. *Brethren Society* is narrowly conceived, but its implications, like those of the Brethren cultural transformation it describes, are far-reaching.

*Canterbury Shaker Village*

SCOTT T. SWANK

*St. Mémin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America.* By ELLEN G. MILES.  
(Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$95.00.)

The comprehensive study and lavish printing of the neoclassical profile portraits of Federalist-era artist Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin (1770–1852), by curator Ellen G. Miles, epitomizes the finest research and publication efforts of the Smithsonian’s National Portrait Gallery. Miles’s thorough investigation of the “comparatively unknown” (p. vii) St. Mémin began in 1974 when Mr.

and Mrs. Paul Mellon gave the National Portrait Gallery 761 engravings by the artist. This interesting donation was originally owned by a nineteenth-century New Yorker named Elias Dexter, who in 1862 published an illustrated volume of the collection, complete with a keyed list of sitters and short biographies.

The information included in the Dexter volume provided the foundation of Miles's twenty-year project, a study divided into two parts. The first section is an extensive narrative that considers the various intellectual issues surrounding eighteenth-century profile portraiture. The text begins with biographical information on St. Mémin and his family, depicting his early artistic accomplishments and detailing how he came to America. Two chapters examine the European and American antecedents for St. Mémin's neoclassical profile portraits, including a discussion of the physiognotrace and an account of Johann Kaspar Lavater, whose multivolume treatise, *Essays on Physiognomy: Designed to Promote the Knowledge and Love of Mankind* (1788-99), promoted the pseudoscience of physiognomy and popularized profile portraiture. There is also a chapter describing the civilian and military clothing worn by St. Mémin's sitters, a discussion that would have benefited from a bit more detail regarding the costumes worn by the women.

Most of the narrative is devoted to a detailed chronological account of the artist's life and work in the United States. St. Mémin traveled down the East Coast as an itinerant profelist, visiting major settlements of the new nation, whose citizens were receptive to his work. Five chapters focus on the portraits St. Mémin produced in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Richmond, and Charleston. These chapters tell of his use of the newly developed physiognotrace and recount his entrepreneurial activities. They also comment on his training and technique, discuss his contacts with fellow French refugees, and reveal his association with such contemporary artists as Charles Willson Peale, and such notable figures as Thomas Jefferson, William Thornton, and Meriwether Lewis. A concluding chapter discusses St. Mémin's life after his return to France, with an epilogue describing his artistic legacy in the United States.

The second portion of the book, an illustrated catalogue that includes most of the known work produced by St. Mémin in America, fully documents 997 profile portraits and nonportrait works. St. Mémin made profile portraits in America from 1796 to 1810. He charged eight dollars for a drawing or watercolor and charged twenty-five dollars for a drawing or watercolor, a copperplate, and twelve engravings (thirty-five dollars for the more detailed portraits of women). Of his more than 900 profile portraits, St. Mémin engraved more than 800 of them. The other work that St. Mémin produced—landscapes, maps, and figure studies—document the formative years of his career.

The catalogue is divided into two highly detailed sections. The profile portraits are in an alphabetical listing of known and unknown sitters, while the other work is arranged alphabetically by subject matter. The portrait entries are in two parts.



Each one documents both the portrait itself and the life of the sitter. The first portion of the entry gives the sitter's name and life dates, as well as the place and date the portrait was made. This information is followed by specific media listings in the order in which the artist worked (i.e., drawings, watercolors, copperplates, and engravings). For each specific medium the name of the original owner is provided, as is provenance, size, and a record of inscriptions and signatures. Following data on the object is source information identifying the sitter and listings of any previous identifications. Entries include bibliographic sources that discuss the drawing, watercolor, copperplate, or engraving. A brief biography of the subject constitutes the second portion of the portrait entry. This section identifies the person, corroborates the identification, and verifies the place and date of the portrait. Contemporary documentation on the sitting is also provided, as is biographical source information.

The second portion of the catalogue is devoted to St. Mémin's nonportrait works. Information on these rare landscapes, maps, and figure studies essentially follows the portrait entry format, with additional data on the various states and versions of some of the engravings. In addition to the narrative and catalogue sections of the book, there is also a chronology of St. Mémin's life, a list of his sitters by city, and a selected bibliography.

This volume will stand as the authoritative interpretation of the life and career of Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin, as well as the definitive categorization of his work, for years to come. Miles's comprehensive study, sponsored by the National Portrait Gallery, has given heightened significance to the profile portraits produced by St. Mémin. Her research was funded by a Smithsonian grant, preparation of the manuscript was made possible by a donation from Paul Mellon, and editorial support and further financial assistance was provided by Robert L. McNeil, Jr., and the Barra Foundation. Such generous patronage has made this both an intellectually solid and visually rich publication.

*Roanoke, Virginia*

TARA LEIGH TAPPERT

*Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age.* By GILES WORSLEY. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995. xiv, 350p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$55.00.)

Those who pick up this beautifully produced volume may be misled by its title. Giles Worsley offers an account of British architecture from Inigo Jones to John Soane, principally domestic works, and specifically British Palladian designs. The volume's *Books in Print* entry, *Palladio and British Classicism, 1615-1815*, is therefore more descriptive.

While Worsley takes up the country house story from his mentors, Howard

Colvin and John Harris, he strives to provide a fresher perspective of Britain's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture than that offered by Sir John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*. Worsley's reassessment begins with Jones but moves quickly to his principal interest. A dense chronicle of Palladian-inspired designs across two centuries fills most of the remaining chapters. Not far into the story it is clear that Worsley's interpretation remains solidly conventional. As did the country house historians who preceded him, Worsley continues the search for probable design sources or the first appearance of a particular architectural element. At the end of his long labors the familiar story of English Palladianism remains little changed. It turns out, according to Worsley, that Jones exerted a more lasting influence than most historians acknowledge; Colen Campbell's influence may be overstated; baroque, rococo and gothic designs went up concurrently with Palladian buildings; and Palladian designs seeped out to British colonies and back over to the Continent.

Toward his goal of providing a new view of British architecture and its place in building history, Worsley includes two chapters on "Palladianism on the Peripheries," and another titled "The Continuing Gothic Tradition." His meditation on the Gothic seems awkwardly inserted, while the very title of the chapters on the multipart houses of Scotland, Ireland, and the American South undermines his objective of a fresh assessment. By locating these structures on the margins of Palladianism, Worsley treats them as merely derivative of English building efforts. Such determined attempts to link Scottish, Irish, or American designs to an earlier English example often only leads to curious lineages. But more seriously, Worsley's treatment ignores the architectural innovation and transformation inherent in these designs. The problems of this approach emerge in the truncated treatment of American Palladianism.

Drawing his material, it appears, largely from secondary sources, Worsley invokes the usual examples, including Drayton Hall, the Miles Brewton House, and Monticello. Like those who have trod this path before him, Worsley offers the usual explanation for the houses of America's eighteenth-century elites: their owners possessed or had access to English architectural books from which they culled their designs. And Worsley never questions the obvious and crucial fact that these American houses often differed widely in elevation and plan from the very designs he offers as their source. This blinds him to considering the ways American builders, from the start, vigorously altered and adapted imported architectural house types, including Palladian ones. Jefferson appears once again as America's best-known Palladian enthusiast, and in Worsley's estimation, he stands as "the culmination, the very worthy culmination, of English neo-Palladianism." It is regrettable the author did not consult Mark Wenger's exceptional recent essays, which offer an original and more convincing analysis of the complex forces Jefferson knit into his built works.

Early in his study, Worsley observed that the impetus for this book arose from "a growing dissatisfaction with the conventional view of the [seventeenth and eighteenth centuries] as it has been accepted since the 1950s." He has given us a fine retelling of the familiar story of style, shaded by subtle correction and detail. But what a powerful and instructive book this would have been had the author moved beyond convention to consult recent scholarship outside the confines of art history. Anthropologists, cultural geographers, and architectural and social historians—on both sides of the Atlantic—have enriched our knowledge of domestic design with convincing reconstructions of the social, political, and domestic uses of houses great and small. Worsley keeps us standing outside these ever provocative dwellings, pondering the value of the free-standing portico or obsessions with canted bays. As I finished *Classical Architecture in Britain*, I was reminded again of Edward Chappell's observation that, "The western progress of Palladianism from Vicenza to [Virginia] has received its full share of textbook pages, leaving us with a few mildly convincing examples and a not very useful view of society." Worsley tells the old story well, but a truly fresh view of Palladianism remains unwritten.

*Dartmouth College*

MARLENE ELIZABETH HECK

*The Capture of New Orleans, 1862.* By CHESTER G. HEARN. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 292p. Bibliography, illustrations, maps, epilogue, index. \$26.95.)

*The Fredericksburg Campaign: Decision on the Rappahannock.* Edited by GARY W. GALLAGHER. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. xii, 243p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

Here we have two different examples of Civil War military history. Chester G. Hearn's *The Capture of New Orleans, 1862* is a traditional study of one campaign, while Gallagher's *The Fredericksburg Campaign: Decision on the Rappahannock* is an interpretative reexamination of that battle.

Hearn, a naval historian with a previous book on the battle of Mobile, provides the first detailed history of the campaign for New Orleans in 1862. As one might expect, Hearn's focus is on the Union blockade, Confederate attempts to break the blockade, and the Union navy's advance up the delta to New Orleans. The author presents both the Union and Confederate sides of the battle. Especially interesting is his description of the Union navy's problems in the shallow waters of the lower Mississippi. He describes, for example, the deep-draft Union ships literally plowing through muddy shoals.

While Hearn is quite strong on the technical aspects of the campaign, he does not neglect the personal element. He portrays the many commanders vying for

command, victory, and recognition. Jealousies abounded on both sides. David Farragut, commander of the Union flotilla, rose above the pettiness and exercised a strong hand over his subordinates. Farragut was decisive and persistent. Given Hearn's portrayal it is easy to see why Farragut emerged as the naval hero of the Civil War.

The Union capture of New Orleans was probably inevitable, since its navy outclassed the Confederate defenses. But, in an interesting mistake, as Hearn details it, the Confederate leaders believed that the greater threat to New Orleans came from the upper reaches of the Mississippi Valley and not the Gulf of Mexico. For the novice in Civil War maritime matters, Hearn's book is a good place to learn more about the Union navy.

The battle of Fredericksburg (December 1862), as the bibliographic essay says, awaits a full study. Until it appears this collection of essays will provide fuel for thought. In this volume Gary W. Gallagher has continued with his venture of collecting instructive papers about particular battles. Following his Gettysburg volumes, he turns to Fredericksburg. Each of the pieces is well researched and well written, and the authors have presented their theses clearly. Well-drawn maps assist the reader in following the battle events.

William Marvel opens the discussion by attempting to rehabilitate the image of Ambrose Burnside, the Union commander at the battle of Fredericksburg. Marvel cites faulty incriminating evidence that historians have used to indict Burnside as a flawed commander. By the time the reader gets to the end of the book, however, he concludes that despite Marvel's claims both Burnside and Union strategy at Fredericksburg were failures.

Carol Reardon heralds the service of nine-month volunteers in the suicidal charge against Confederate entrenchments at Marye's Heights. She is correct, in a very traditional sense, in praising their heroic charge. More importantly, her essay demonstrates that the Union army so desperately needed manpower that nine-month volunteers were acceptable. Union commanders at Fredericksburg then ordered these amateurs of war into the thick of the fiercest action. These volunteers were, in the truest sense, "cannon fodder."

Alan Nolan has become the *bête noire* of "Bobby" Lee fans with his recent critical biography. In this book he continues his analysis of Lee's strategic thinking. Nolan argues that Lee responded perfectly to the Union attack. Fredericksburg, Nolan claims, was "Lee's most intelligent and well-fought battle" (p. 44). Yet Lee, unlike Longstreet, failed to learn from this experience. Rather than adopting the defensive strategy which this battle proved was a winning scheme, Lee persisted in his aggressive fighting. As a result Lee's subsequent offensive tactics bled the Confederate army dry.

George Rable and William Blair have two very interesting essays that represent the lines of inquiry Civil War scholarship is now taking. Rable focuses on the

carnage at Fredericksburg and the impact that the losses had on soldiers and the public. Depressing but valuable essays like this should be required reading for "buffs" and "reenactors." As Rable's essay shows, the battles were not fun and games. Blair's essay describes the impact of the war on the civilians in Fredericksburg. When the Union army occupied Fredericksburg first in 1862, relations between the military and the residents were civil. The most detrimental threat to the area was the loss of slaves. As soon as the army appeared, slaves began to run away from the plantations. In fact, by the end of the war the African-American population declined by fifty percent in the Fredericksburg area. The second Union invasion of the area came with the battle in 1863. This time civilians fled their homes, Union soldiers indulged in widespread vandalism, and the battle destroyed houses and business property. As Blair shows, the devastation to the economy affected the Fredericksburg area for decades after the war.

A. Wilson Greene concludes the book with his examination and thoughts on the politics and morale in the Army of the Potomac after the battle of Fredericksburg. Despite its heavy losses, Greene shows that morale was still high and the army was poised for a renewed attack. But the army was a nest of political connivers who weakened the command structure and confidence in Burnside. Despite this sniping by subordinates, Burnside planned a January offensive to regain the upper hand for the Union army. Unfortunately, a January northeaster smacked the East Coast just as the Union army began its march. The storm turned roads into impassable mudholes and literally washed away Burnside's aspirations. Greene's description of the infamous "mud march" is the best I have read.

Gallagher's book will be fun for Civil War scholars and enthusiasts. The authors have presented clearly written essays packed with ideas.

*Indiana University of Pennsylvania*

W. WAYNE SMITH

*The Baldwin Locomotive Works, 1831-1915: A Study in American Industrial Practice.*

By JOHN K. BROWN. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xxxii, 328p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$35.95.)

For too long, Alfred Chandler's insights have dominated the writing of business history. Without diminishing Chandler's achievements in describing the mass-production corporations' path to capital accumulation and industrial giantism, scholars are learning that other paths existed. John K. Brown's study of the Baldwin Locomotive Works adds to a growing literature on companies operating in a world of customized, small-batch production, but he focuses on a sector of the industrial economy frequently ignored by followers of Chandler, the manufacture of capital goods. In a fascinating way, Brown returns to an old staple of business history (company history) to ask intriguing questions about industries that do not conform

to the models developed from mass-production-oriented corporations.

Matthias Baldwin's story is truly impressive. Taking advantage of the dramatic expansion of the railroad industry in the early nineteenth century, the young mechanician formed a series of partnerships to compete in the densely packed metal-working community of Philadelphia. Baldwin's strong character and his inventiveness with new technologies helped him survive the chaotic 1830s and 1840s. And by midcentury, his ingenuity as a creator of a factory system of locomotive production, together with his ability to amass an incredibly talented and loyal group of skilled mechanics, positioned his firm to dominate the industry in the latter half of the century. Ultimately, Baldwin's workforce grew to an astounding 18,000 men, and the firm commanded a thirty-nine percent share of the market in the 1890s.

What makes the story all the more remarkable is the fashion in which this industrial giant was built. The firm avoided the corporate form of organization for nearly eight decades. The partners and managers of the firm came, in large part, from the ranks of the skilled mechanics. Baldwin ceded control over design to the railroads and built locomotives to the dictates of the buyers. Consequently, customized locomotive building gave skilled workers considerable power within the firm, and kept an archaic inside contracting system thriving into the twentieth century. For all these reasons, Baldwin's success seemingly ran counter to the dominant trends in American industry. Of course, Harry Silcox's work on the Disston Saw Works and Philip Scranton's books on Philadelphia textiles already demonstrated that a custom-oriented, small-batch path to business success existed and was, perhaps, even the more prevalent avenue to success in the City of Brotherly Love.

Brown's study is equally important because Baldwin's did not eschew all the innovations of modern industrial management. Indeed, the firm began many of the cost-accounting practices business historians have associated with "systematic management" before their mass-production counterparts. Baldwin's also experimented with piecework and some parts standardization, despite the emphasis on a skilled workforce and custom production. Moreover, the company bought labor peace with high pay and strategies to encourage "cooperative labor-management relations" from a fragmented, segmented workforce.

This engaging portrait of the world's preeminent builder of locomotives adds considerably to our knowledge of the variety of industrial enterprise in America. Brown's research is exhaustive and his arguments are clear and well constructed. Likewise, the press and editors of the series, *Studies in Industry and Society*, are to be commended for the lavish illustrations that nicely complement the text. When more of these firm histories are completed, we will have a much richer picture of the development of the American economy.

*West Virginia University*

KEN FONES-WOLF

*Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America.* By JACKSON LEARS. (New York: Basic Books, 1994. xiv, 429p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$30.00.)

To readers already familiar with Jackson Lears's *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (1981) and his and Richard W. Fox's *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980* (1983), it will come as no surprise that *Fables of Abundance* is a deeply meditative work about the meaning of American culture. It is not a book about how advertisements work to sell goods; nor is it a book that deconstructs the meaning of ads. Rather, *Fables of Abundance*, as Lears tells us right at the start, is a work of "intellectual bricolage" (p. 13) that examines the rise of modern advertising with a view toward rethinking the relationship of human beings to the world of goods.

Lears divides his book into three parts. The first part, called "The Reconfiguration of Wealth," locates the rise of advertising in the preindustrial world of magic and itinerant peddlers. Part two, entitled "The Containment of Carnival," examines how advertising served, albeit imperfectly, the interests of the corporate state by looping together ideals of personal efficiency and the ethos of business rationality. The third section, "Art, Truth, and Humbug," addresses the relationship of advertising to art and suggests possibilities in the playfulness of advertisements for suturing dualistic ways of thinking about the world that date to the scientific revolution.

There is much to admire about this book, including the way Lears recasts the terms of the debate about the nature of America's culture of abundance. "Corporate advertisers," he rightly argues, "did not invent the 'culture of abundance'; they refashioned its conventions" (p. 19), especially in the deployment of new rhetorical tropes linking personal and national efficiency. Equally compelling is Lears's insistence that the triumph of corporate advertising was never so absolute as its critics have claimed. Indeed, the triumph of advertising rested on a fundamental ambiguity in the relationship between advertisers and consumers. Advertisers "were not always clear about whether they were serving the sovereign consumer or channeling her desires. They wavered between a postmillennial rhetoric of uplift through professionalism and a sweeping contempt for their audience" (p. 224). And try as they might, advertisers could never quell recurrent popular perceptions that they were master mind controllers. In the end, Lears concludes, the relationship between advertising and the broader culture has been much more complex than either advertisers or their critics have understood.

For evidence to support this argument, Lears turns to a variety of sources, including the work of writers and artists like Edith Wharton, Henry James, and Joseph Cornell among others. In their creations, Lears finds evidence of "a reanimation of playful relationships between people and things, against the disenchanting

power of productivist rationality" (p. 380). For instance, through his almost curatorial delight in the mnemonic value of ordinary things, Cornell created "a kind of poetics of everyday life" (p. 413) that transcended the dominant fable of abundance rooted in an ideology of personal efficiency. What Cornell left unresolved and what remains unresolved at the end of *Fables of Abundance* is whether this new poetics really lays the basis for a new cultural politics that will bring about meaningful change in postmodernist culture.

Lears concludes his book by quoting a short passage from Dutch historian Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* on the value of play. I too am fascinated by Huizinga's insights into play, but I am also reminded of his observations about American advertising after visiting the United States in the 1920s. Advertising, Huizinga wrote, had "swallowed up literature" in the United States and "become the spiritual nourishment of the masses" (*America: A Dutch Historian's Vision, From Afar and Near*, reprint 1972). When Huizinga thought about advertising he thought less about transcendence and more about debasement. But Huizinga would appreciate Lears's argument and so should we. Lears forces us to think hard about the cultural function of advertising. And that is the main reason to recommend *Fables of Abundance* to cultural critics and consumers alike.

Montana State University

ROBERT W. RYDEL



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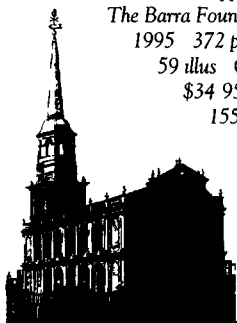
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