

BOOK REVIEWS

Of "Good Laws" and "Good Men": Law and Society in the Delaware Valley, 1680-1710.
By WILLIAM M. OFFUTT, JR. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. xi, 340p. Bibliographical references, index. \$39.95.)

Were the British North American colonies the site of significant law reforms? And were those reforms the product of conscious effort of colonial leaders? In his detailed, authoritative, and closely reasoned study of Quaker lawmaking and litigation in the Delaware Valley, William Offutt, Jr., answers both questions in the affirmative. His thesis is that Quaker leaders determined to create and operate a legal system that would be easily accessed, simple in procedure, and generally fair. In so doing, they maintained their authority over their own number and non-Quakers with a minimum of force. They constructed a working model of "the rule of law" (p. 15) two centuries before A. V. Dicey laid out the theoretical grounds for it.

Offutt contends that the Quaker communities of the Delaware Valley were not given their character by law as much as by piety and fellowship. What is more, the Pennsylvania and Jersey law was a blend of elements of Quaker belief and English practice. Harassed in their meetinghouses and their homes under color of law in England, in the New World Quakers gave English law a gentler face. The face-lift worked. Civil litigants abided by court rulings (sometimes after years of foot dragging, to be sure), and even those at the top of Quaker society bowed to the judgments of neighbors. Of course, if one was well placed, one did not have to bow too often. The economic leaders of the community served as its judicial officers, and they were served in turn when they were called to court or brought suit. Procedural fairness did lead to social equality.

Massaging evidence from the local courts to draw out trends in who brought and won civil suits, comparing the data case by case with what amounted to a directory of who was who in the Delaware Valley (itself a major research achievement), Offutt establishes the inherent tilt of the system. This is a book that pairs lively anecdotes with copious numerical tabulations. Offutt takes some risks in this effort, notably by using as his baseline not the entire population (for there was no way to get at this information), but a constructed subset of the residents—a "legal population" (p. 26).

All his comparisons and conclusions are based on those individuals who are named in the legal records. The extent to which ordinary people participated (voluntarily and involuntarily) in the proceedings of the courts is remarkable, but there were those who were not present. Offutt notes that disproportionate numbers of women were not involved in legal proceedings, for example. The same would be true of transients and those without a stake in society. Nevertheless, his findings seem convincing for those who were in the legal population.

Few civil litigants asked for juries. Most cases were settled by consent or default without a trial of any kind. Disputes over land titles were one exception, for concessions in such cases might leave a family without a home. Defamation cases were also fought to the bitter end—dignity was at stake and in a face-to-face community dignity mattered. Quaker leaders would settle a suit that they had brought far more readily than one brought against them, another question of dignity. Whether they sued or were sued, they won slightly more often than other lower-status groups. As Offutt remarks, it was simply a matter of “bargaining power” (p. 136). Official (court-ordered) arbitration rarely worked, but Quaker alternative dispute resolution did reduce the number of unresolved disputes.

Offutt’s analysis of criminal cases is not quite so sharp as his breakdown of civil litigation. The data for the entire period is lumped together, so that it is impossible to see any trends in it. Conventionally, criminal justice studies at least make an attempt at longitudinal analysis. Offutt ignores the problems of the “dark figure” (of unreported crime) and the corresponding effects of shifting official interest in pursuing reports of crime. These cavils aside, Offutt proves that this community was much better behaved than its neighbors to the north and south. He has uncovered for us America’s true “peaceable kingdom.”

In his conclusion, Offutt may be too effusive in his praise for the Quaker lawgivers. He lauds the Quaker lawgivers and magistrates for placing more control of the legal system “in the hands of the parties themselves” (p. 263) than did the leaders of other colonies, but his own figures demonstrate that status tilted the scales of justice. His claim that Quaker attention to fair process “led parties to conclude that the system was treating them fairly” (p. 263) is open to the objection that we simply do not know what parties concluded. Some people may have decided to lump their losses rather than contest them. But Offutt’s copious data have given his readers the chance to make such judgments for themselves. This study will not soon be superseded.

University of Georgia

PETER CHARLES HOFFER

Life in Early Philadelphia: Documents from the Revolutionary and Early National Periods. Edited by BILLY G. SMITH. (University Park: Penn State Press, 1995. xiii, 318p. Bibliography, maps, illustrations, glossary, index. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$13.95.)

Life in Early Philadelphia is an anthology of documents arranged in chapters, with each chapter introduced by a historian or team of historians. Billy G. Smith conceived the volume while editing the Documents section of the journal *Pennsylvania History*, intending to make this “stuff” of history” (p. xii) available for classroom use and general readers. The book succeeds because the contributors approach the sources from a common perspective and because the documents themselves are fascinating.

Smith begins with the physical dimensions and social and economic structure of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Philadelphia, “the Athens of America,” including excerpts from Clement Biddle’s *Philadelphia Directory* (1791) and James Mease’s *Picture of Philadelphia* (1811). Next, in the section titled “Down and Out,” Smith presents excerpts from the almshouse daily occurrence docket; the prisoners for trial and vagrancy dockets (edited with G. S. Rowe); and advertisements for escaped slaves, indentured servants, and apprentices published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (edited with Richard Wojtowicz). The third part of the volume, titled “Daily Life,” includes selections from Elizabeth Drinker’s diary, edited by Catherine Goetz, and excerpts from the autobiography of middle-class-woman-turned-renegade Ann Baker Carson, edited by Susan E. Klepp and Susan Branson. Klepp and Smith then offer extracts from the marriage and death records of Gloria Dei Church and from Zachariah Poulson’s bills of mortality that give vivid demographic detail of an ethnically and economically diverse, disease-ridden city. Steve Rosswurm and Ronald Schultz complete the volume with documents from the struggles over the militia and price controls during the Revolution.

The vitality of the volume comes in part from the brief yet highly informative introductions to each chapter. The authors bring insights from their own research and that of other scholars to place the documents in historical context. Together the introductions provide a fairly coherent synopsis of early Philadelphia, with emphasis on the “lower sort”—who were, of course, the majority.

The selected documents testify powerfully about the lives of ordinary Philadelphians. We read about one young woman who took an overdose of opium; of a deserted four-year-old whose mother died of yellow fever and whose father went to sea; of a man jailed for drunkenness, who for thirty-six hours was to receive only bread and water; of a black man and white woman who asked to be married at Gloria Dei but were refused. We learn what Philadelphians were thinking as well as how they spent their time. While the selected excerpts from the diary of Elizabeth Drinker, a wealthy, somewhat reclusive Quaker matron, dwell primarily

on her servants and neighbors, she also comments on Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792): "In very many of her sentiments, she, as some of our friends say, *speaks my mind*; in some others, I do not altogether coincide with her. I am not for quite so much independence" (p. 149). Interestingly, the editors include Ann Carson's reference to Wollstonecraft as well, though without commenting on the divergent ways in which the two Philadelphians discussed the English feminist.

Last semester, I used *Life in Early Philadelphia* with some success as a text in my course on Revolutionary America, and would use it again. The students found particularly compelling the chapters on politics and ideology during the Revolution, "Daily Life," and "Down and Out" in Philadelphia. As a tool for discussion, the book addresses many issues: class structure and class relations; status of African Americans, women, and the disabled; evolving concepts of poverty relief and punishment; nonelite contributions to political thought; material conditions and disease in the preindustrial city. Some of the selections, such as the compilation of runaway advertisements, are quite long—too long if used only for discussion, but could serve usefully as the basis for short analytical papers. The book is a welcome addition to the list of accessible texts for courses in early American history.

Lehigh University

JEAN R. SODERLUND

Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies. By ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1996. xiv, 256p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$22.00.)

The prologue, "The Modern Enemies," of Robert Middlekauff's *Benjamin Franklin and His Enemies* briefly discusses Mark Twain's "The Late Benjamin Franklin" and D. H. Lawrence's attack on Franklin in *Studies in Classic American Literature*. While Middlekauff appreciates the complexity of Twain's sketch, he nevertheless considers it a criticism, though I read it as a compliment in which Twain presents himself as a later and weaker version of Franklin. Middlekauff is right on target with his characterization of Lawrence's essay as basically a diatribe against America with Franklin being its embodiment.

Middlekauff surprisingly devotes chapter 1 to "the Friends of Benjamin Franklin": "He was a good friend to all sorts, ranks, and ages of people" (p. 3). Middlekauff briefly describes Franklin's Philadelphia circle, his London circle, and his Paris circle, doing as much justice as one possibly could in twenty-one pages to so many people, ladies and scientists, politicians and artisans, children and philanthropists. "Making Enemies" (chap. 2) describes his early relations with Thomas Penn and especially with Penn's placeman in Pennsylvania, William Smith. Political

differences caused the problems: Franklin identified with the Quaker party in most matters (not in military defense of the colony) and the proprietaries wanted to be exempt from all taxes. Franklin thought Thomas Penn incredibly mean, and Penn in turn feared Franklin as "A Sort of Tribune of the People." Chapter 3, "The Irrational Mr. Franklin," takes place in London, where Franklin, as the Pennsylvania assembly's agent, negotiated with Thomas Penn and British officials concerning taxing the proprietary estates in common with other Pennsylvania property. Through their interactions, Penn and Franklin learned to despise one another thoroughly.

Chapter 4, "The Triumph of the Enemies," describes Franklin's loss in the Pennsylvania election of 1764 and his later failure in London to have British officials end Pennsylvania's proprietary government. "An Old Friend Becomes an Enemy" (chap. 5) claims that "before the American Revolution, he loved England and the British Empire more than anything else and probably more than anyone else" (p. 116). Many good scholars have written that until attacked by Solicitor General Alexander Wedderburn on January 29, 1774, Franklin was more an Englishman than an American, but I have never found the opinion convincing. Franklin expressed his love for England to the English, not to Americans. When he wrote Boston friends, he told them how much he loved New England, when he wrote Scottish friends, he told them how wonderful Scotland was, and later, when he wrote French friends, he told them how he loved France. But at age twenty, he recorded in his private journal that his eyes filled with tears of joy on returning to Pennsylvania. And he always came back. Middlekauff traces what he believes to be Franklin's gradual alienation from Great Britain, including the famous letter of July 5, 1775 (never sent), to his former good friend William Strahan, which concluded: "You and I were long Friends: You are now my Enemy, and I am, Yours, B. Franklin."

Chapter 6 describes his relations with the jealous and, indeed, paranoid Arthur Lee and the would-be aristocrat Ralph Izard. Both Lee, the minister to Spain, and Izard, the commissioner to Tuscany, found themselves in Paris with nothing to do and both assumed that Franklin needed and wanted their advice. He didn't, but they persisted in meddling and were insulted when he did not spend his time listening to them and cultivating them. Consequently, they maligned Franklin and became his implacable enemies. Chapter 7, "John Adams," brilliantly describes the personalities of Adams and Franklin and the reasons for Adams's jealousy. The epilogue assesses Franklin's character and concludes with his estrangement from his son William.

Middlekauff has written an excellent book, one that focuses upon and interprets Franklin's relations with his enemies, gives explanations and contexts for the actions of the day, and recounts his life story.

Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered. By STEPHEN SAUNDERS WEBB. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995. xiv, 399p. Illustrations, notes, appendix, index. \$30.00.)

Stephen Saunders Webb in *Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered* again shows himself to be a prodigious researcher, a lively narrator, and an insightful observer of early modern Britain. But unlike the arguments of his previous books, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681* (1979) and *1676: The End of American Independence* (1984), this one is more subtle, and at times is obfuscated by the reiteration of the earlier arguments about a militarily oriented empire. As biography, however, *Lord Churchill's Coup* offers the potential for tempering his other works and allowing all three to be more fully integrated into the historical literature.

Webb argues that the army, led by John Churchill, earl of Marlborough, turned against James II in 1688 to protect Protestantism, English constitutionalism, and the empire. Churchill, like scores of ambitious men, used military service for social advancement, and consequently became deeply committed to the monarchy, the Church of England, and the empire—cornerstones of the military and hence their success. Churchill, a man of humble origins, good looks, military genius, and the nine lives of a cat, advanced quickly from ensign to general, miraculously survived many battles on the Continent, assumed the title of the earl of Marlborough, and wrung wealth from shrewd investments. He also became indispensable in the household and military corps of James, duke of York, brother of the king, and a presumptive heir to the throne. Churchill assisted James's ascension by negotiating with Charles II to exile James in Scotland rather than Flanders, and thus propitiously positioned to move to London with the death of the king. Within four years of James's ascension, however, Churchill defected to the side of William of Orange, taking a critical number of the king's officers and troops with him.

The Protestant and constitutional angles to the story of the Glorious Revolution are well known. What Webb does is elevate the importance of the empire in explaining the critical defection of Marlborough by demonstrating that the overseas military service of men like Churchill shaped their perceptions of domestic politics in England. While Churchill never served in America, he spent many years in France and in Flanders where he met William of Orange. Churchill was governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and many of his fellow officers held appointments as governors in the colonies. As a member of James's corps and household, Churchill gained an appreciation of the place of the empire in domestic and Continental political strategies. Webb argues that a strong solvent in Churchill's support of James was the Treaty of Whitehall, in which James appeared willing to sacrifice empire in America for Louis XIV's support, a crown, and Catholicism in England.

Webb has assembled a compelling amount of evidence to suggest that concerns

about the empire under James influenced the army officers who supported the Glorious Revolution. This biography of John Churchill, though, suggests that the military was not the end but rather the means of ambitious men, a mechanism for breaking into the ranks of the aristocracy. Churchill never held a post in the colonies, a route which he managed to short-circuit in his meteoric rise. But the large number of officers sent to the colonies in proportion to the number of troops (approximately 1,500) suggests that a colonial commission was a ticket not to garrison life but civilian respectability and colonial riches, and ultimately social, and perhaps landed, respectability back in England, the apogee for all parvenus, whether their avenue of advancement had been the military, commerce, or a West Indian plantation. A colonial posting as governor allowed men to move into the ranks of the civilian elite and therefore gentlemanly respectability. This biography of John Churchill suggests that Webb, and the rest of us, might want to rethink the dynamic between military commissions, social advancement, English politics, and the imperial enterprise.

University of Akron

ELIZABETH MANCKE

Benjamin Lincoln and the American Revolution. By DAVID B. MATTERN. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995. xi, 307p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

If the goal of the biographer is to popularize history—specifically the story of one individual—then David Mattern has hit the mark. Indeed, his compelling presentation of the life of Benjamin Lincoln, with all the general's accomplishments as well as his faults, achieves two goals: it brings us closer to understanding one of the lesser-known but widely respected generals in the American Revolution while illuminating the rise to power of an individual of common stock.

Mattern has written a rather interesting biography that not only centers on Lincoln's revolutionary involvement but also aptly explains his sudden conversion from an outstanding supporter of the Articles of Confederation to a staunch Federalist in his attempt to "secure the Revolution." Students of the American Revolution will be delighted with this short volume which has many pluses, not the least of which is that Mattern thoroughly researched General Lincoln's life and times.

Utilizing scores of sources, Mattern's narrative traces Lincoln's life from his birth in 1733 to his death seventy-seven years later in 1810, while highlighting his military contribution to the revolutionary cause. His entire career, his personal philosophy, indeed his own sense of right and wrong were all based on the trilogy of family, church, and community. The Lincoln family was a highly respected one in Hingham, Massachusetts, where Lincoln grew up. His father set the standard by which

young Lincoln molded himself. Commitment to his church and community taught him right from wrong and, above all else, to dedicate his life to being a highly principled and honest public servant—a decision not always embraced by his wife or his children. One of the very real drawbacks to public service in the Revolution involved being absent from one's family for long periods of time, sometimes over a year as in Lincoln's case. To serve his country first in war then in peace was the highest calling he felt drawn to over the years. And he did it willingly right to the end.

Lincoln's initial military venture was at Saratoga where a shot to his right leg proved nettlesome the rest of his life. Still, he did not let that handicap him even as head of the Southern Department, where defeats at Savannah and later at Charleston capped his command between 1778 and 1780. Throughout, Mattern points out Lincoln's errors when he sees them—such as his yielding to Charleston's town fathers rather than evacuating the city. As a result, he had to surrender the better part of 5,000 soldiers and civilians. He never got over these disasters, but the victory at his next engagement, Yorktown, vindicated him in his own mind, if not publicly. With Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in October 1781, Lincoln was appointed the first secretary of war in the Confederation government. Throughout his entire revolutionary experience he was amazed at Congress's lack of support, supplies, and attention, thereby confirming one of Wayne Carp's themes in *To Starve the Army at Pleasure* (1984).

After the Peace of Paris, Lincoln returned to Hingham, his family, and friends. Not long after this, however, he was called upon to suppress Shays's Rebellion in central and western Massachusetts. This was a turning point in the general's life, for he saw that the Confederation government was too powerless to put down the likes of Daniel Shays and his men. Heretofore, Lincoln interpreted "republicanism" to be based on public virtue rather than the coercive powers of the state. After Shays's lawlessness, Lincoln became an ardent supporter of a much stronger centralized national government and a leader in the Federalist Party through much of the 1790s. Mattern's presentation of this sudden switch in Lincoln's personal philosophy—Lincoln would not support federal taxation to support the Revolution prior to this!—is convincing.

Finally, the last two decades of Lincoln's life are dedicated to being a public servant in Massachusetts politics, first as lieutenant governor for a brief stint, then as collector of the port of Boston, while also serving as negotiator to the Creek Nation and later to the Indian Confederacy in the Old Northwest. Unfortunately, none of these activities, with the exception of the collectorship, proved successful for Lincoln. The lieutenant governor's role was lacking in substance, the relationship with Governor John Hancock soured, and Lincoln quickly learned that politics can be very "political."

Despite Lincoln's selflessness, which Mattern underscores repeatedly, the author also shows Lincoln from less flattering perspectives as well—his naivete in lending

money to Henry Knox, his self-serving requests of President Washington for an appointment in his administration, his racist view of Native Americans, his hypocritical views on slavery, his hard-line approach to the leaders of Shays's Rebellion, and his inability to make a firm decision when military matters warranted it. Mattern's Lincoln is real and human. His portrayal presents a balanced view, one that is credible and admirable. We may not always like what we see, but a more biased portrayal would not be history.

There are a few minor criticisms. Some of Mattern's sources are dated and more current research should have been consulted. The author also could have shown Lincoln's "representativeness" more clearly, as this was one of his initial points. He does show that Lincoln's life parallels that of many others who served their country during the American Revolution or the early national period. At times one needs to know more about the history of the period in order to understand where General Lincoln fit into the picture. A few more maps judiciously inserted would also have been welcomed, as with the chapter on the siege of Charleston. What happened between the British defeat at Yorktown in October 1781 and the beginning of peace negotiations in August 1782? Mattern should have attended to that detail so that the story is complete.

On balance, however, Mattern's remarkable biography of General Benjamin Lincoln adds a great deal to our understanding of one of the lesser, though significant, generals in the American Revolution. It enables us to better understand various segments of this important period in American history because, as we read his work, we see the Revolution through Lincoln's eyes.

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JAMES F. SMITH

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 26: 11 May to 31 August 1793. Edited by JOHN CATANZARITI. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995. 875p. \$75.00.)

One can only stand in awe of the erudition, skill, labor, and insight evident in this remarkable 800 pages of documentation (plus more than 100 pages of front matter and index) of a crucial moment in American history. Between May and August 1793 the new American government, still uncertain in its procedures and policies, had to deal with the crisis brought on by the war between Great Britain and France, of deep and complex significance because it was between the former mother country and still chief trading partner, and a sister republic in alliance with the United States. The crisis thus touched deep attachments, heightened domestic political contests as nascent political parties "took sides" over the belligerency, and sharpened the profound dispute over the nation's future between Thomas Jefferson

and Alexander Hamilton. The short mission of the minister of the new French Republic to the United States, Citizen Edmond Charles Genêt, entirely documented in this volume, brought both politics and diplomacy to the boiling point. Not only can students of that mission not afford to overlook this volume; indeed, they can virtually complete their study using it alone, so rich and authentically presented are the documents in it. The diplomatic letters and dispatches, reports from American ministers and consuls abroad, cabinet memoranda, letters to political colleagues, reports on press coverage, and inter-cabinet correspondence are all presented with the editorial expertise for which *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* has been renowned for half a century.

The volume is also vintage Jefferson. We see the pater familias, the scientific farmer, the gracious friend, the capital city planner, the political strategist, and the world citizen, but most of all we see the brilliant, responsible, diligent, and faithful public servant, altogether President Washington's trusted and effective right hand in the Department of State. Although the tension created by Washington's tendency to side with Hamilton on policy matters is certainly evident, one understands from these documents why the president begged or virtually ordered Jefferson to remain in the cabinet in such trying times: his thoughtful advice and deft management of diplomacy were indispensable. Jefferson's deeply principled analyses and proposals in cabinet meetings, his scrupulous handling of business with his colleagues and with American and foreign diplomats in Philadelphia and abroad, and his masterfully drawn official papers all were public service at its very best. His letter, for example, to Gouverneur Morris, the American minister in Paris, explaining why President Washington was demanding Genêt's recall, is a masterpiece of diplomatic clarity and courtesy, but it entirely retained the tone of American sympathy for the principles of republican France for which Jefferson had fought so tenaciously in his cabinet disputes with Hamilton. At the same time, Jefferson politely but firmly warded off the insolent demands of British minister George Hammond that the United States "tilt" its neutrality toward Great Britain in the war with France on the high seas—even in American harbors. Although the tone in Jefferson's letters to his friends is often one of frustration, beleaguerment, and even defeat, in fact these documents make clear that he sustained republican principles (and American interests) far beyond what would have been the case had he not held his office.

Compared to volumes in other series of "founders" papers covering periods spent in executive office (I am thinking especially of the *Papers of James Madison*), this volume has much more Jefferson in it and much less trivia of office. Many of the documents are either by him or are weighty correspondence clearly of great interest to him. One gets a sense of Jefferson's mind at work on the problems of his office, and sees a further validation of a point Bernard Bailyn made forty years ago in reviewing some of the first volumes in this series: Jefferson's genius was not so much to articulate new or original propositions as to pursue their implications and

application to every matter of detail. Even the rather dubious practice of printing some of Genêt's letters only in French (many readers will wish for English translations) seems somehow appropriate as an acknowledgment of Jefferson's own language skills—that's the form in which he could and did read them. In fact, to this reviewer there is little more to complain about in the editorial craftsmanship in this volume. Although the labor of editing and publishing this edition of Jefferson's papers seems likely to extend to the project's centennial, it all seems worth it. It is surely definitive and presents us with a priceless record of one of the most creative, interesting, and useful lives ever lived.

Syracuse University

RALPH KETCHAM

The Papers of James Madison, Presidential Series. Volume 3: 3 November 1810–4 November, 1811. Edited by J. C. A. STAGG, JEANNE KERR-CROSS, and SUSAN HOLBROOK. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xlii, 548p. Bibliographical references, index. \$55.00.)

With this, the third volume in the Presidential Series, Stagg, Kerr-Cross, and Holbrook have taken us into Madison's third year of his first term as president of the United States, a point in Madison's public career that many historians regard as an anticlimactic era in the life of our most prestigious founder. Most feel that Madison's real importance to the development of the early republic came as the author of the Virginia Plan, or as the Speaker of the House of Representatives during the tumultuous days of the "first party conflict," or as the leader of the Democratic-Republican Party during the 1790s. When, most recently, one of our foremost Madison scholars, Lance Banning, chronicled a period of Madison's life in *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic*, he, of course, chose the period from 1780 to 1792. This emphasis makes sense from a historiographical standpoint, too, as the popularity of Elkins's and McKittrick's mammoth synthesis *The Age of Federalism* attests to the current rekindling of interest in the politics of the founding era. But Madison's career obviously did not close with the eighteenth century, and while historians have placed his significance rightly in the founding, Madison himself certainly did not comprehend this. As much as his republican ideology instructed him to fear centralized power, and as much as he himself distrusted that power in an executive, this volume makes clear that Madison took seriously the execution of his duties as president. As president he believed that he was singularly responsible for the success or failure of the republican experiment. By the close of this volume, the nation and the experiment stood on the brink of its greatest challenge, and it stood there largely because of Madison's actions.

This volume begins its coverage of Madison's correspondence the day following

his proclamation to Great Britain that she lift orders in council against American shipping within three months or face the prospect of nonintercourse with the U.S. while her Continental enemy, France, would then enjoy the full benefits of a trading relationship with the Americans. The volume then proceeds for a year and a day squarely focused on the problems that those warring European superpowers posed for the young republic. In public opinion from November 3, 1810, on, Madison found himself in a precarious position, caught between Federalists, on the one hand, who argued that the French had lifted their Berlin and Milan decrees against American shippers in name only, and patriotic Republicans on the other who clamored for a quicker and more forceful remedy for British disregard of American neutrality. Into the middle of this crisis stepped an insubordinate secretary of state, Robert Smith. Smith was no more sure than were the Federalists that France had actually lifted the Berlin and Milan decrees, since American vessels still found themselves prone to French detention. Neither was Smith convinced that threatening the British with nonintercourse was the best course, given the poor record of embargo tactics since the Jefferson administration. It was bad enough for Madison that his secretary of state held such contradictory views on the eve of the arrival of John Foster, a new and, Madison hoped, more reasonable British minister to Washington, but the fact that Smith so publicly spread his views around the capital made him more than just a political and diplomatic liability. Madison summarily replaced Smith with James Monroe. Smith responded with his *Address* to the people of the United States openly criticizing the president and his entire administration in its handling of foreign policy. That "wicked publication of Mr. Smith," as Madison derided it, served the British with support for their refusal to repeal orders in council and left Madison with few options other than to begin preparing the nation for war.

This volume also reveals Madison's execution of a foreign policy of a different sort in his presidential interaction with the Native Americans of the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest. In the former, he gives William Henry Harrison of Indiana tacit approval to militarily disband the inter-tribal organization of Tecumseh and the Prophet at Tippecanoe, and in the latter, he instructs the Creeks to allow the construction of a road from Tennessee to Mobile. Madison was no unqualified champion of internal improvements in 1811, however, for he ignored pleas for federal assistance from the New York State Canal Commission in its attempts to begin construction on a canal connecting Lake Erie and the Hudson River.

Madison's personal life rarely escapes through his correspondence. Occasionally we hear him invite the Monroes or Thomas Jefferson to Montpelier in the late summer, and we listen in on conversations with Benjamin Rush, in whom Madison placed his confidence as physician for his nephew, Alfred Madison, stricken with consumption in the autumn of 1810 and doomed to expire before spring.

This third volume of the Presidential Series to appear in the last twelve years is,

like its predecessors, expertly edited. The editors apply accurate footnotes to detail the minutiae, explain missing correspondence, and paraphrase long-winded writers when appropriate. One helpful tool for the nonspecialist is the "Significant Federal Officers" page, which names Madison's cabinet, the Supreme Court, and others like the vice president, Speaker of the House, and so on. Yet it would be more helpful, even for the specialist, if the editors could provide a brief, one-line biographical note on each of Madison's correspondents either as a separate page or as a footnote to each entry. This suggestion aside, *The Papers of James Madison* continues to be a first-rate collection and a must for research libraries large and small.

University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown

PAUL DOUGLAS NEWMAN

The Papers of William Thornton. Volume 1: 1781-1802. Edited by C. M. HARRIS, assisted by DANIEL PRESTON. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. lxxxiv, 614p. Editorial method, illustrations, index. \$60.00.)

This volume clearly establishes William Thornton (1759-1828) as a genuine early American "versatile," a multifaceted man—like Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Charles Willson Peale, and Benjamin Henry Latrobe—whose interests were catholic and whose professional career cannot easily be summed up in a few words. Thornton was something of an anomaly. Although he was trained as a physician he never practiced medicine; although he was without formal training in architecture, he is best remembered (when he is remembered at all) as the architect of the U.S. Capitol; and although he was a Quaker and an abolitionist, he was a militia officer and a slave owner.

Thornton was born in the Virginia Islands, apprenticed to an apothecary in England, attended the University of Edinburgh as a medical student, traveled in Europe, and came to the United States in 1786. He resided at first principally in Philadelphia, where he boarded at one time with James Madison and married Anna Maria Brodeau, the daughter of the proprietress of a young ladies' academy. With a competence derived from his West Indian plantation, Thornton occupied himself with the earliest American steamboat experiments (he was a director of John Fitch's steamboat company), with his first building design (for the Library Company of Philadelphia), and with his plans (unfulfilled) to lead a settlement of blacks (both his own slaves and North American free blacks) to a projected colony on the west coast of Africa. Then in 1794 Washington appointed him one of the commissioners of the new federal district. He spent the rest of his life in the District of Columbia, first as commissioner (until 1802) and then as superintendent of the Patent Office. Throughout the years covered by this volume, Thornton never truly established himself in a profession; this volume documents his unsuccessful efforts to gain

appointments to such disparate positions as professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, George Washington's private secretary, and treasurer of the United States.

The two principal themes that emerge from this period of Thornton's life are his strong commitment to the idea of colonization and the design and early phases of construction of the U.S. Capitol. As to the first, we see Thornton, newly arrived in the United States, traveling to New England to enlist support for colonization and corresponding with prominent British and French abolitionists. His letters on this subject are written with particular passion and humanity. Regarding the Capitol, as one of the three commissioners charged with overseeing the erection of the public buildings, Thornton often found himself in the awkward position of having to accede to (and sometimes to oppose unsuccessfully) deviations from his original plan for the building made necessary when design flaws became evident during construction. This volume documents objections to Thornton's plan by Etienne Hallet, James Hoban, and George Hadfield, which were but a mild prelude to the bitter and protracted fight that later broke out between Thornton and Latrobe after the latter's appointment by Jefferson in 1803 as surveyor of the public buildings. Thornton clearly viewed the new national capital and its buildings as worthy of monumental treatment as befit a nation on the verge of greatness. He lamented the opposition to large congressional appropriations for the Capitol, "which has been thought by some contracted minds, unacquainted with grand works, to be upon too great a scale. If we consider the grandeur of the nation, and its amazing increase in wealth, power and resources, we shall, I am sometimes afraid, conclude that it is upon too contracted a plan," as he wrote to John Marshall on January 2, 1800 (p. 527).

What comes across clearly in this volume is Thornton's fertile mind and his innovativeness. His papers reveal a fascination with (and contributions to) such fields as taxidermy, lexicography, orthoepy, and steam engineering. On one occasion, however, Thornton's inventiveness took a bizarre turn; several days after George Washington's death Thornton concocted a plan to revive the late president by tracheotomy, inflation of the lungs, and transfusion of blood from a lamb! Fortunately, Thornton "was not seconded in this proposal; for it was deemed unavailing" (p. 528).

To this reviewer's mind some editorial practices are questionable. Passages in Latin are not translated; the index lacks sufficient subject entries and sufficient subheads within subject entries; Thornton's journals, never before published, are inexplicably not included in this edition; and the notes following each document are unnumbered and keyed to the text only by words and phrases in capital letters. These few criticisms aside, this volume should do much to confirm William Thornton's status as a principal player in the life of the new nation.

Salmon P. Chase: A Biography. By JOHN NIVEN. (New York: University Press of New York, 1995. xii, 546p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$35.00.)

Salmon P. Chase's controversial career as treasury secretary, chief justice, and presidential candidate prompted commentators to stress the dualistic nature of his character. In particular, political rivals—usually men of equal ambition but less achievement—dismissed Chase's benevolent objectives while denouncing his ambition. Niven's portrait of Chase not only follows this familiar pattern but likewise evinces a dualistic quality. In some respects an impressive account of a complex career, the work also includes some inexplicable lapses.

Niven's approach to Chase's career is remarkable primarily in the extent to which he indicts Chase's purposes. While noting Chase's lofty motives, he adds that these only "masked a thirst for office and power" (p. 5). Lifelong activities in pursuit of equal justice merely "aimed at his own advancement politically," which Chase successfully rationalized for the greater good (p. 74). The preface promises to present Chase as "preeminently a representative nineteenth-century man" (p. vii) and yet the conclusion tells us he was in the end an "unusual person" (p. 449).

One need not admire Chase to question the hostile approach. Chase buried three wives, several children, and countless other family members, yet we are told (despite contrary evidence) that the rising politician took his family life for granted. And it may be true that Chase provided valuable service in defending fugitive slave cases, yet the Cincinnati lawyer is made to court defeat deliberately for his forlorn clients. Supposedly he valued his daughter Kate's captivating presence partly to promote his political prospects. Despite a life of dedication, Chase is criticized for later appreciating the finer things in life and relishing the public acclaim he sometimes garnered. Could anyone withstand such withering and misplaced scrutiny?

Niven examines a variety of complicated issues; he can be excused for minor errors such as exaggerating Chase's influence in the tiny Ohio Liberty Party. But more puzzling are comments such as the one that has Chase opposing all the features of the Compromise of 1850. (The Free Soil senator voted for California's admission as a free state and ending the slave trade in the federal district.) Some may also doubt Niven's view of Reconstruction, yet in this lone instance Chase approaches heroic proportions because he resisted the "extremism" of radicals Sumner and Stevens. Cast as a sincere defender of the separation of powers, Chase lent a judicial tone to the impeachment proceedings where the radicals were supposedly more stubborn and irresponsible than President Andrew Johnson.

Just as one should recognize Chase's many achievements, the strengths of Niven's work should be acknowledged. The author shows successfully how Chase's private and public lives intertwined. All aspects of Chase's long career are examined, with his role as architect of Union financial strategy earning special notice. The Civil War years constituted the pinnacle of Chase's public life and they rightly

represent the centerpiece of Niven's work.

Yet in Niven's account Chase's "insidious ambition" (p. 450) is always to the fore. (Considering his often futile longings, should his political "realism" be so stressed?) Chase's lifelong efforts in behalf of emancipation and equal suffrage are depicted as political in nature. Although Niven seeks to develop Chase's complex motivations, we are nonetheless told that Chase's "political ambitions always came first" (p. 325). Evidently in the end it was more convenient to reduce Chase's complex character to a rather primal drive for position and power.

Despite its flaws Niven's portrait of Chase's private and public life warrants attention. The narrative is quite engrossing while careful readers should spot the dubious or contradictory conclusions. Chase was no doubt a driven person, but considering our own failings, should we be so severe on those we study?

University of Nebraska at Kearney

VERNON L. VOLPE

Only for the Eye of a Friend: The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton. Edited by CARLA MULFORD. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. xxi, 336p. Manuscript sources, appendixes, bibliography, indexes. \$35.00.)

A major project in women's scholarship for the past twenty years has been to rescue from obscurity the work of women authors and artists of previous ages. The effect has been the vast expansion of the literary canon that in turn disrupted previously fixed notions of taste and value. Definitions of quality based upon print culture no longer sufficed, and the existing canon, once believed to have been standardized, was opened to a different set of topics, forms, even diction. The process has not been without resistance. Nevertheless, the project of unearthing new sources has proceeded with increasing success and surprising results as women poets and artists emerge from their burial places in the past.

For instance, argues Carla Mulford, editor of this new volume of poetry by Annis Boudinot Stockton, because women poets were not encouraged—were, in fact, discouraged from publishing their work—they instead circulated their poetry through networks of reading clubs or correspondence. The effect was that a literary culture existed outside of the print world in which women were well-known to each other and supportive of each other's work. That oral and manuscript culture, argues Mulford, was as much a public culture in its time as was print culture. The disadvantage, of course, is that while printed sources survived and became the formal canon, a predominantly male literary canon, women's more fragile sources disappeared at best into archives.

Such was the case of Annis Boudinot Stockton (1736-1801). Until 1984, only

about forty of Stockton's poems were known, of which perhaps twenty had been published in her lifetime. The accessioning in the mid-1980s of a copybook of Stockton's by the New Jersey Historical Society from a private collection more than tripled her known opus. With this edition, Mulford has brought into print for the first time the entire collection of Stockton's work, some 140 poems written between 1753 and her death in 1801.

Born into the prominent Boudinot family of Princeton, Annis was well educated. She began to write poetry before her marriage to well-connected New Jersey lawyer Richard Stockton in 1757. Together they moved to Morven, a family seat of poetical pastoral proportions, and six children were born within fifteen years. The Revolution disrupted their lives; their estate was occupied and destroyed by the British. Stockton died in 1781 of cancer, leaving his widow to operate their properties, which she did successfully until 1795 when she moved in with her daughter. Throughout this entire period Annis Stockton recorded the effects on her life of the war, of friendship and family, of her love of nature, and of women's status—American topics, argues Mulford.

In a skillfully developed introduction, Mulford places Stockton into a literary framework that explains much to the expert and the novice about poetry in Revolutionary America. Stockton wrote within an eighteenth-century ethos which drew on British neoclassicism, and she modeled her poetry on eighteenth-century writers that included Dryden, Pope, and Thomson. The standard forms were odes, elegies, epics, and eclogues. The emphasis was on order, logic, emotional restraint. The form was chosen to best convey the message to the reader.

Stockton's work, doubtlessly derivative in form and diction, nevertheless is substantively original. She wrote with youthful elegance of her impending marriage and with the grief of a bereft widow upon the death of her husband. She dedicated words of high praise to the great national hero and received laudatory words in return from George Washington. The recently accessioned copybook, with the eponymous title of this volume, was written for her friend Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson. She wrote about peace and dreams and roses, and she mocked the conventions that defined women as subordinate to men in intelligence. The voice is urgent and distinctive. This volume is a welcome addition to the canon of eighteenth-century American poets.

Stanford University

EDITH GELLES

Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors. By PATRICIA OKKER. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995. vii, 246p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$40.00.)

Patricia Okker's *Our Sister Editors* is a well-crafted study of Sarah Josepha Hale's editorial career as the "editress"—as she referred to herself—of Boston's *Ladies' Magazine* from 1828 to 1836, and of Philadelphia's *Godey's Lady's Book* from 1837 to 1877. By endorsing the Victorian notion of essential sexual difference and women's moral superiority rather than the Enlightenment principles of intellectual equality, Hale, Okker argues, fostered the production of women-identified texts edited by and for women and made her gendered periodical a commercial success. Okker seeks to document Hale's contributions to the making of a separate women's culture in nineteenth-century America, because she proposes to restore the literary reputation of the woman often remembered only as the mother of Thanksgiving Day. The core of the book is Hale's ideology of gendered separatism, which Okker interprets as empowering women, albeit white middle-class women who already enjoyed both education and financial security. Hale advocated a separate public space for women and used her editorship to promote expanding women's sphere beyond the private sphere, without dethroning domesticity. She was particularly adamant in her support for professional authorship, that is, financial compensation for men and women writers. In so doing she participated in the shift from the eighteenth-century patronage of scholarly gentlemen to the nineteenth-century professionalization of authorship. However, as Okker's insightful analysis suggests, by using the "sisterly editorial voice" that bonded readers and writers, Hale rejected "the idea of a distant and impersonal audience" (p. 90). Although Okker's subsequent interpretation of the feminization of authorship is less persuasive, because of Hale's ambivalence about women writers, she does a good job of fending off the "sentimental trash" label traditionally attached to the *Lady's Book* and evaluates Hale's literary merits. A chapter on Hale's aesthetics of poetry is particularly provocative in underscoring the joint venture of Hale's editorials and Lydia Sigourney's poems in the *Lady's Book* of the early 1840s, which both promoted women's sensibility as a strong and moral public authority.

Our Sister Editors is a refreshing look not only at stories of *Godey's Lady's Book* but also at its images and material culture. In particular, a well-illustrated chapter on the iconography of reading offers a careful decoding of the magazine's engravings from 1845 to 1865 which portrayed the periodical at the center of women's culture. Like a bouquet, a scrapbook, or a quilt—all gendered metaphors—the magazine featured variety and provided both knowledge and pleasure. Hale also argued that "unlike a novel, a magazine would enrich a woman's mind without making reading an obsession" (p. 124).

Based on exhaustive research in both the *Ladies' Magazine* and the *Lady's Book*, Okker's study spans the fifty years of Sarah J. Hale's career. Nonetheless, most quotations pertain to the antebellum era, when the ideology of separate spheres was most pervasive. Further details on the postbellum transformation of the *Lady's Book* would have helped to contextualize Hale's place in the tradition of women editors. If the late nineteenth century witnessed the rise of women's journals, those thrived as much on advertising for women consumers as on fiction for women readers. One wonders how Hale's values of gentility and gendered separatism could be reconciled with the mass literary marketplace of the Gilded Age. Was her pioneering vision of women's letters ultimately endangered by the magazine's new emphasis on sewing patterns and household hints? Although Okker aptly traces Hale's legacy in the twentieth century, greater focus on the later part of the nineteenth century might have shed light on the demise of Victorianism and the coming of what Christopher P. Wilson has described as the masculine ideal of authorship and the quest for a democratic man of letters in the Progressive Era (*The Labor of Words: Literary Professionalism in the Progressive Era* [1985]).

These reservations aside, *Our Sister Editors* is a fine monograph of American literary history and an important addition to earlier biographies of nineteenth-century women writers. Also, the appended inventory of more than 600 nineteenth-century women magazine editors represents an invaluable source of reference for further studies of publishing history and women's literature.

University of Quebec, Montreal

ISABELLE LEHUU

A History of Medicine in the Early U.S. Navy. By HAROLD D. LANGLEY. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xix, 435p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$49.95.)

Langley has made a valuable contribution to naval history in his *History of Medicine in the Early U.S. Navy*, a work he researched extensively from primary sources. He takes his reader from Congress's recognition of the need for medical doctors in 1794, both at sea and ashore, to reorganization of the navy and establishment of the Bureau of Medicine in 1842. The importance of good medicine to a navy cannot be overemphasized. If two opposing sea forces are evenly matched in terms of experience, skill, weaponry, ships, and manpower, the navy whose men are healthier will usually be victorious in combat. After the American Revolution, Congress began to see the need not only for a permanent naval force but for a healthy one also.

In the forty-eight years Langley covers, he holds the reader in constant amazement that the navy survived at all, let alone that it developed an adequate

medical service of surgeons and surgeons' mates and a system of health for the men. The entire navy appears to have been governed by politics, and the interminable change of secretaries of the navy did nothing to alleviate the situation. Fortunately for the medical service, the capital was first in Philadelphia where the navy was able to get help from medical educator Dr. Benjamin Rush of the College of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania. While some appointments to the rank of doctor were political, most appointees were dedicated, loyal physicians who served with honor despite very low pay and long hours. They were constantly battling Congress to be paid as much as line officers or even as much as army doctors. Despite all this, the navy had a relatively low death rate from disease and battle wounds.

Langley does especially well regarding port cities and the development of medical knowledge and practice in this country. For example, his sections on Philadelphia and Boston are among the most informative. The Philadelphia story is particularly interesting because of the city's efforts to keep out infectious diseases as early as 1774 and the fact that Pennsylvania had appointed a health officer in 1794. In the case of Boston, Harvard Medical School used the navy hospital as a teaching hospital for its students. The 1811 act establishing naval hospitals saw these cities, as well as others, vying to establish hospitals with what may have been the first health insurance; i.e., money collected from all naval and merchant seamen to fund their own hospital care. Langley also gives the reader considerable insight into some early navy doctors: Edward Cutbush, Benjamin Waterhouse, William P. C. Barton, Lewis Heermann, and many others. Cutbush and Barton wrote books on naval medicine and tried to give new doctors an orientation to proper procedure.

Langley has done an excellent job of portraying the old navy, warts and all. Much of his material was in private hands and he is to be commended for having pulled together so many facts. Factual information on navy life prior to the War of 1812 is scarce at best. There are a few problems, however. The author provides far too much detail. While the "life and times" are interesting, this reader wanted to move on to the main story. The volume should have had better copyediting and proofing. In addition, there are terms that should have been explained. For example, "one marine league" (p. 25) and "protection certificates" (p. 39) are probably unfamiliar terms to those who are not naval historians in the first instance and or experts on impressment in the second.

This study provides the first overall account of naval medical practice in the old navy as well as an in-depth look at the service itself. Navy scholars and buffs alike should enjoy Langley's work.

Auburn University

FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY, JR.

A Quest for Glory: A Biography of Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren. By ROBERT SCHNELLER, JR. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xvii, 452p. Bibliography, illustrations, notes, index. \$37.95.)

This is the first full-scale biography of John A. Dahlgren (1809-70) that is based on his extensive official and private papers, including his diary. Previously those who sought information about this life tended to rely mainly on the book written by his second wife. Born in Philadelphia in an upper-class family of Swedish descent, Dahlgren entered the navy as a midshipman in 1826 when the death of his father forced him to earn a living. Duty with the United States Coast Survey put him under Superintendent Frederick R. Hassler, who became a father figure to him and who gave him the navy's equivalent of a graduate education in science. This background led to a subsequent assignment to the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography and to teaching classes in gunnery at the Naval Academy.

By the time of the Civil War, Dahlgren had invented the heavy cannon and boat guns that bore his name and had established an organization to test, improve, and manufacture naval ordnance. His book, *Shells and Shell Guns*, had won international acclaim. But he was unhappy that fame did not bring him the power to shape the future of naval ordnance.

During the Civil War he was a trusted advisor of President Lincoln. Almost every week for two years Lincoln visited Dahlgren in the navy yard and discussed the plans of the War Department. Dahlgren passed such information on to the secretary of the navy. The battle of the ironclads represented the triumph of armor over guns. There was a need for further work on naval weapons. Dahlgren was placed in charge of the Bureau of Ordnance in July 1862 and promoted to captain. He did not want the job, for he had learned that the Navy Department did not recognize or reward technological work. Dahlgren tried to be both an administrator and an innovator and failed in both. He was unwilling to delegate tasks and he spread himself too thin. Still, he succeeded in getting promoted to rear admiral. In elevating Dahlgren, Lincoln had violated the navy tradition of basing promotion on sea service and seniority as well as Secretary Welles's policy of rewarding successful battle commanders. Hoping that a victory at sea would give him the glory he craved, Dahlgren succeeded in getting the command of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Its major mission was the capture of the fortified city of Charleston, South Carolina. Dahlgren found himself confronted by uncooperative superiors, a scheming army commander, and a strongly fortified city. The result was a stalemate, with boring blockade duty, and defending his squadron and its base. Twice he tried unsuccessfully to resign. As a commander, Dahlgren showed courage and he took care of his men, but he failed to inspire most of his officers. On the personal level, he suffered from the death of his first wife and a son who was serving with the army.

After the war Dahlgren remarried and started a new family. He had a sea

command prior to his appointment as chief of the Bureau of Ordnance. According to Schneller, Dahlgren was a highly intelligent, determined, meticulous, rigorous, uncompromising, and egotistical person. He revered knowledge, respected wealth, had a moderate sense of religion, and a well-developed sense of wrong. His reputation was of major importance to him, and he resented anyone who slighted it. To those who shared his views, he was a devoted friend. At home he was a loving and romantic husband and a concerned and hard-to-please father.

This well-written work will probably become the standard biography of Dahlgren. It is unfortunate that it did not have more rigorous copyediting.

Smithsonian Institution

HAROLD D. LANGLEY

Davis and Lee at War. By STEVEN E. WOODWORTH. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995. xiii, 409p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

In 1990 Steven Woodworth published his well-received book describing the relationship between Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his generals in the western theater of the Civil War. His thesis was evident from the book's subtitle: *The Failure of Confederate Command in the West*. In this new book, which complements his earlier effort, he considers the presidential-military relationship in the East, particularly between Davis and Lee. Woodworth once again tells a tale of failure. The book documents Davis's "inability to find and direct generals in such a way that they would carry out his ideas in the operation of southern armies" (p. 327).

Davis believed that, in order for the South to win the war, it had to make the North grow so tired of the conflict that it would quit and let the South have its independence. Extensive offensive operations were to be avoided except in particularly favorable situations; otherwise, they could lead to Southern exhaustion.

Robert E. Lee, the major Confederate general in the eastern theater of the war, took a completely different approach. He believed that for the South to succeed it had to win decisive victories quickly, demoralizing the North and forcing it to quit. The longer the war went on, Lee believed, the more the Confederacy's weaknesses and the Union's strengths would grow. "Thus Lee was prepared to take massive gambles, not because the South could afford to lose them but because it could not afford failure to win them, even by refraining from taking them" (p. 330).

In short, then, Woodworth argues that Davis had one strategy and Lee had another. Either one, Woodworth maintains, made sense; the problem was that neither strategy was followed with any consistency. Lee pushed for his approach, and Davis held on to his. Davis supported Lee's actions that were "all but reckless within his defensive framework," yet he insisted on holding back enough so that the Confederacy could "go on enduring should the gamble fail." Consequently, Davis

did not give Lee every chance to succeed. Yet by allowing Lee "to force battles and assail his opponents beyond the necessities of holding his ground," Davis allowed "the hemorrhaging [of] Confederate manpower at a rate the South could not possibly sustain in a long war" (p. 331), the kind of war that Davis believed the South had to wage in order to win.

In short, Davis and Lee worked against each other, preventing neither of their strategies from being fully implemented. Despite this argument, Woodworth also says that Davis's choice of Lee to command in the East "probably deserves to be ranked with the few most brilliant command decisions of military history" (p. 329). Believing as he does in "Lee's brilliance" (p. 331) and that Davis "was close to possessing . . . military genius" (p. 333), Woodworth could perhaps come to no other conclusion. But how is this conclusion justified within Woodworth's argument that the South's two main military leaders disagreed so fundamentally on the most basic question of how to win the war: i.e., to attack the other side or wait it out?

It is only an important book like this one that allows its readers the opportunity to debate such major issues. Steven Woodworth has produced a study that will long remain a major source for anyone studying the Confederate military effort and wrestling with what it was or might have been. *Davis and Lee at War* provides numerous insights into personality and strategy, and it is well written. It deserves to be widely read and discussed.

Mississippi State University

JOHN F. MARSZALEK

Illegal Tender: Counterfeiting and the Secret Service in Nineteenth-Century America. By DAVID R. JOHNSON. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996. xviii, 222p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95.)

This admirable book examines the development of the Secret Service as a federal agency in the wake of the Civil War, detailing the creation of a centralized administrative apparatus to combat the threat of counterfeit national currency. Johnson directs his attention to three primary topics: the socioeconomic world of counterfeiters as a criminal group, which he traces through periods of demographic and urban change; the work of Secret Service directors to expand the bureaucratic domain and coercive authority of their agency; and the antipathy toward national police power widespread among Americans in the late nineteenth century, which according to Johnson the success of the Secret Service helped displace. While Johnson's subject is the police effort to quell the danger counterfeit currency posed to national stability and economic growth, he reaches toward a much larger historiographic goal in his work: to connect "the federal government's assertion of

sovereignty over the currency to a continual process of state building" (p. xiii). His analysis in this respect constitutes a case study in the establishment of a national bureaucracy during a transitional period in the history of federal administration.

The story Johnson tells is straightforward. Although the federal government has always maintained constitutional authority over currency, it was not until the Legal Tender Act of 1862 and the National Banking Act of 1863 that this authority became meaningful. Driven by the Civil War emergency and a Republican vision of national economic control, the two acts authorized the Treasury to issue paper notes to meet wartime financial obligations and shifted power over currency in general from state banks to the national government. But counterfeiting was so rampant that nearly half the bills in circulation were fake. Public trust in federal government and the vitality of the growing national economy would suffer if a similar situation were to develop with the greenback. The Secret Service was formed in 1865 as a branch of the Treasury Department to deal with this situation. Its difficult and complex growth from a suspect representative of national power to a successful and widely praised enforcement agency was the result partly of chance and party politics, but also of the work of its directors, who increasingly strove to implement civil service professionalism in their organization and fought for greater bureaucratic autonomy.

Among its merits, Johnson's book provides a detailed view of counterfeiters from the ground up, shedding light on their motivations and methods, and offers helpful insights into the development of a significant federal agency from the perspectives of its individual actors and those politically interested in its growth. The book is engaging, lucid, and soundly researched, and will make a strong addition to undergraduate and graduate courses on crime, law enforcement, and the formation of the administrative state. With the current rash of international counterfeiting that forced the redesign of some federal notes, as well as recent judicial and popular concern over the reach of national law enforcement, the book also has the merit of timeliness. Future scholars might consider extending Johnson's work by examining the relation of money and crime to state building as it registered in the realms of culture and judicial decision making. In particular, they might wish to weave Johnson's social and institutional history of an agency dedicated to the stabilization of value into the cultural history of American capitalism as it shifted into its corporate phase. They also might wish to examine in greater detail the legal doctrinal history that made the Secret Service and the federal currency possible.

Jewish Agricultural Colonies in New Jersey, 1882-1920. By ELLEN EISENBERG. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995. xxvi, 220p. Illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$17.95.)

At the turn of the century Jews fleeing from oppression in Russia founded agricultural colonies in southern New Jersey, settling in Alliance, Brotmanville, Norma, Carmel, and Rosenhayn. The colonies, founded in the 1880s, lasted until the 1920s, making them the most successful Jewish agricultural colonies in the United States. Ellen Eisenberg's meticulously researched history of these colonies is an excellent example of the social historian's ability to ask large questions in small places. Into her story of Jewish farmers in New Jersey, Eisenberg weaves the history of Jews in Europe and America; the tensions within the Jewish community between followers of the Jewish enlightenment, the Orthodox, and the Hasidim; descriptions of the conflicts between American Jews and the newcomers; and much more.

Eisenberg's story begins in Russia in the 1880s. Oppressed by laws that confined them geographically and economically and terrorized by pogroms, Russian Jews began a mass migration outward. European Jewish relief agencies, worried that a massive influx of eastern Jews would lead to an increase in anti-Semitism, encouraged the refugees to go to America. The American Jewish community, mostly of German Jewish origin, reluctantly accepted the responsibility of helping the refugees, whom they considered to be ignorant, primitive, and infected with dangerous ideas such as socialism. They also did not want the refugees to crowd into the northeastern cities and create American ghettos.

Meanwhile, among the immigrants were members of the Am Olam, a loosely organized society of believers in "productivism," the theory that Jews were being persecuted because they were economic "parasites." The Am Olam held that if Jews became farmers and proved their willingness to toil, anti-Semitism would disappear. Am Olam members agreed only that farming was a good thing; they disagreed about collectivism, religion, and practically everything else. Some were secular radicals, some Orthodox, and some Hasidim. From Am Olam came the nucleus of the New Jersey colonies, settled with the help of Jewish relief agencies and individual sponsors.

Despite constant conflict and bickering, the colonies survived for a generation. Colony sponsors discouraged collectivism, despised "charity," and pushed settlers to become independent quickly. Settlers chafed under sponsor supervision and squabbled among themselves over religion, ideology, and personalities. Neither the sponsors nor most of the settlers knew much about farming. To provide markets for farm produce, sponsors funded the establishment of factory settlements near the farms (Brotmanville, for example). Many farmers supplemented their incomes with factory work. Yet despite all these difficulties, the colonies persevered, and even, in a modest way, prospered. Their success proved their undoing: the children of the

most successful farmers typically obtained an education and took jobs in the cities. By the 1930s the colonies had all but withered away.

Eisenberg believes the colonies were successful at one of the sponsors' primary goals: the "normalization" of the refugees. On the farms, Russian Jews became "Americanized." Then they joined a new migration, that of farmers' children off the land into the cities—ironically, a "normal" outcome.

Eisenberg's strong suit is her description of the colonies' background and the sponsors' motives. Students of immigration and American Jewish history should find much of interest in these sections. Eisenberg's focus on Jewish history is so tight, however, that her description of the actual farming communities in New Jersey suffers from it. I would like to know more about life on the farm. For example, what did the communities produce? Where, and how, was it marketed? Similarly, Eisenberg neglects the American context of her story. The colonies' troubles in the 1890s were surely related to the national depression going on at that time, but no connections are made. Colonists remembered the early twentieth century as a "golden age." Eisenberg attributes this to internal factors, but historians of rural America would note that these years were the "golden age" of agricultural prosperity for small farmers. Eisenberg devotes little attention to the relationship between the settlers and their neighbors, other than to mention occasional outbreaks of anti-Semitic hostility toward the newcomers. Yet she cites the "normalization" of the immigrants, their acculturation to America, as one of the colonies' achievements, and attributes that achievement to the fact that the colonists learned to be American by interacting with the local community. If so, how?

These criticisms aside, this is a solid piece of work, rich in information and insights that will be of interest to regional historians, immigration historians, and students of the Jewish experience.

Bloomsburg University

JEANETTE KEITH

Making a Place for Ourselves: The Black Hospital Movement 1920-1945. By VANESSA NORTHINGTON GAMBLE. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. xviii, 265p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, notes, index. \$45.00.)

Before World War II black hospitals played a major role in the training of black doctors and in providing health care to black communities. The civil rights movement led to the closing of nearly all black hospitals; in 1993 only eight remained. In *Making a Place for Ourselves* medical historian Vanessa Gamble examines the history of black hospitals and their relationships to wider issues, including integrationist and

nationalist trends among black leaders and the impact of philanthropy on race relations.

One of the strengths of this work is the analysis of how class and educational factors influenced the debate over black hospitals. The history of Chicago's Provident Hospital illustrates these patterns. Provident was founded in 1895 by Daniel Hale Williams, one of the first Americans to perform open-heart surgery, as well as the only African American elected a charter member of the American College of Surgeons. Williams initially envisioned Provident as a biracial rather than an exclusively black hospital. After 1910, however, nearly all the patients and staff were black, due to the rapid growth of Chicago's black population. Some Provident directors embraced the idea of a black hospital, arguing that it provided needed opportunities for black doctors, particularly graduates of black medical schools. Williams argued that many of these graduates were unqualified to practice at Provident, and in 1912 he resigned in protest. Gamble suggests that these tensions were irreconcilable, and the reader gains a sense of the tragedy of the whole affair.

The Progressive Era movement to standardize hospital regulations led some black doctors to form the National Hospital Association (NHA) in 1923, in order to strengthen black hospitals. The NHA feared that the closing of black hospitals, most of which could not meet the new standard requirements, would result in fewer internship opportunities for black medical students. Throughout its history the NHA was handicapped by financial difficulties, lacking even the money to hire a full-time director. The NHA was unable to win any substantial assistance from black physicians, most of whom were too preoccupied with making a living to support the new organization. The integration of northern hospitals—by 1931 black doctors held appointments at nonsegregated hospitals in six northern cities—also undermined the *raison d'être* of the NHA and other black medical organizations. Gamble argues that the NHA “played a vital role” through its public relations work and by providing an opportunity for black physicians to meet and discuss common problems, but this seems somewhat overstated.

It is only in her account of the Tuskegee Veterans Hospital that Gamble provides evidence of a national black movement related to health and hospital issues. In 1921 the federal government announced that it would build a hospital for black veterans in Tuskegee, Alabama. A group of white Tuskegee residents objected, arguing that the presence of black doctors at the hospital would disturb southern race relations. Despite the federal government's wavering, the NAACP and the black press helped bring about black control of the Tuskegee hospital by 1923. The author demonstrates that African Americans across the country took a strong interest in the Tuskegee campaign, despite their generally ambivalent attitudes towards all-black institutions.

Making a Place for Ourselves contains a wealth of information on African-American medical history. Despite the overemphasis on the NHA and the stilted

references to the "strength of the black community," this book will appeal to students of black hospitals and doctors as well as more general readers.

Cornell University

LAWRENCE LAMPHERE

Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852. By DAVID SCHUYLER. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xii, 290p. Bibliographical essay, notes, illustrations, index. \$39.95.)

During the course of his regrettably short life, landscape designer and horticulturist Andrew Jackson Downing was an enormously influential figure. He published numerous books and articles in which he set forth a new vision of American landscape design and rural architecture. This rural vision was not intended as an aesthetic abstraction; Downing's ideas had an underlying moral mission. He believed that a well-designed house and landscape would inspire homeowners to rise to higher levels of refinement and taste, thereby improving the very character of young America. The clearly stated building and gardening ideas found in his books such as *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1841), *Cottage Residences* (1842), *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), and in his magazine *The Horticulturist*, appealed to an eager, primarily middle-class audience of homeowners who willingly and quickly turned those ideas into reality, radically changing the physical appearance of nineteenth-century America. Downing was also the champion of public parks, built to bring enjoyment to the lives of the working and middle classes (an idea barely imagined before the 1850s) as well as a supporter of public art museums, lyceums, and botanical gardens.

Given that Downing was such an important intellectual force, a fact attested to by the many reprintings of his books, the popularity of his architectural and landscape designs, and the outpouring of grief at his death at age thirty-six in a steamboat disaster, why has there not been a full-length biography published about Downing until now? Perhaps it is because Downing left behind almost no sign of himself other than his published works and a few letters that have mainly to do with the planning for those books. Even after reading David Schuyler's biography, in which Downing's ideas and influence are admirably explained, unfortunately, Downing the man remains unknown. A quote attributed to Downing's admirer, Swedish writer Fredericka Bremer, that states "If ever a writer incarnated his very nature in his work, truly and entirely, it was done by A. J. Downing," seems to be placed at the head of one chapter almost as an excuse for the fact that we are unable to learn much about Downing's personality. It is frustrating to read about how Downing seemed "exclusive and aristocratic" to Bremer when she met him in 1849, yet two years later, when he was an outspoken advocate of public parks, she rejoiced

“to see the development of life and activity which has taken place in Downing.” There are no clues in the book to help us understand what brought about this development. I am sure that researching Downing was many times more frustrating to the author than to me as a reader, but I came away from the book with the feeling that the moral, kind, upright character described by Downing’s contemporaries remained more myth than man.

Schuyler generally does a good job in explaining the significance of Downing’s work within the larger cultural context of the time. Sometimes, however, after pages of explaining the meaning of Downing’s writings (most of which are pretty clear to begin with) the cultural commentary seems tacked on. I think the book could have used a bit more rigorous editing to make the sections within chapters flow into one another better, to avoid repetition, and to keep certain chapters from sounding like complete articles that don’t relate well to the chapters on either side. I have small quibbles about Schuyler’s interpretation of Downing’s collaboration with architect Alexander Jackson Davis. For a somewhat different perspective, I recommend Jane Davies’s essay “Davis and Downing: Collaborators in the Picturesque,” which can be found in *Prophet with Honor: The Career of Andrew Jackson Downing 1815–1852* (1989), a highly informative book of essays pertaining to many different aspects of Downing’s career, edited by George B. Tatum, the pioneering Downing scholar. Once Tatum’s student, Schuyler was clearly inspired by his groundbreaking work to complete the task of learning all that could be known about Downing. He has written a useful book which helps to further illuminate the work of one of the men most responsible for the visual appearance of nineteenth-century America.

Metropolitan Museum of Art

AMELIA PECK

J. Horace McFarland: A Thorn for Beauty. By ERNEST MORRISON. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1995. xxi, 393p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

In this gracefully written and sympathetic biography, Ernest Morrison reveals the many facets of a man now largely forgotten. The McFarland he triumphantly brings to life once enjoyed national prominence as the oracle of the City Beautiful movement, a leader of the preservationist–environmentalist wing of conservationism, and a writer on varied topics including plants and trees. McFarland enjoyed an international reputation among rosarians. All the while he conducted his successful Mt. Pleasant Press, a printing and publishing firm that he operated on advanced business principles. He was, as well, a first-rate photographer and a contributor to improvements in color printing.

Born in 1859, McFarland lived most of his nearly ninety years in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Despite only four years of formal schooling, he wrote or coauthored eleven books and more than 200 articles. His letters, although frequently long, usually were clear, incisive, and witty. Often the wit had a bite.

McFarland was deeply and decisively involved in the Harrisburg City Beautiful campaign that began in 1900. One and one-half decades later, Harrisburg was transformed from a dowdy riverfront town, notable chiefly for being the state capital, into a contemporary city with paved streets, a pure water supply, and a fine park and boulevard system. In the meantime McFarland became a traveling speaker on behalf of urban beautification. Morrison narrates these stories well. He recognizes that the City Beautiful movement was not primarily a matter of art and architecture, but a means to the end of improving citizenship by eliminating urban ugliness and squalor.

Morrison skillfully leads his reader through the complexities of Niagara preservation—of halting the continuing hydroelectric power diversion from Niagara Falls. McFarland and the private organization he headed, the American Civic Association, played key roles in the fight from 1905 onward. The author develops an unsurpassable analysis of McFarland's gallant, if failed, struggle against the conversion of the sublime Hetch Hetchy valley into a reservoir for San Francisco. Regarding the establishment of the National Park Service (1916), Morrison may claim too much for his subject, given the important roles played by several others, but his statement of the park problem fully meets his high standards.

Morrison ably treats McFarland's business innovations, such as his concern for eliminating the seasonal peaks and valleys in the printing industry. The Harrisburger's development of his Breeze Hill estate into a major experimental rose garden and his work in the American Rose Society are masterfully developed. McFarland's complex life created difficult organizational problems which his biographer solves with aplomb. The six appendices are valuable references.

There are some slips or omissions in this otherwise excellent book that a reviewer is obliged to note. The name of the widely known landscape architect was George E. Kessler, not William Kessler. In my study of Harrisburg's City Beautiful campaign, I did not compare mean income and vote results by precinct but rather mean assessed house values and vote results by ward. While Morrison was at Cornell University's Olin Library, he should have examined the papers of the American Planning and Civic Association, which include American Civic Association materials. He should have read the tables of contents of the leading scholarly historical journals beyond the boundaries of Pennsylvania. In the *Journal of Urban History* he would have discovered Jon A. Peterson's pathbreaking "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings" (August 1976) as well as other useful articles. More could have been made of McFarland's family life from the references in his correspondence.

But let no reader be deterred by this list. Morrison has produced a superb book. May it enjoy a wide and thoughtful audience.

University of North Texas

WILLIAM H. WILSON

Martin Grove Brumbaugh: A Pennsylvanian's Odyssey from Sainted Schoolman to Bedeviled World War I Governor, 1862-1930. By EARL C. KAYLOR, JR. (Madison and Teaneck, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; and Cranbury, New Jersey, and London: Associated University Presses, 1996. 382p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$45.00.)

Earl C. Kaylor, Jr., believes that Martin G. Brumbaugh has been underrated and misinterpreted by historians. His *Martin Grove Brumbaugh* is the first comprehensive biography of the distinguished educator and World War I governor of Pennsylvania. Three of the fifteen chapters are devoted to Brumbaugh's gubernatorial candidacy (1914) and governorship (1915-19). The first and second chapters pertain to his family, religious heritage, and boyhood. Ten chapters relate Brumbaugh's achievements and disappointments as an educator.

Brumbaugh was deeply loyal to the Church of the Brethren (Dunkards) and to his alma mater, Juniata College, which he served as president from 1895 to 1906 and from 1924 to 1930. He is the only career educator and the only Dunkard to be elected governor of Pennsylvania. Kaylor, an emeritus professor of history at Juniata College who wrote its centennial history, emphasizes Brumbaugh's ties with the school. Occasionally Kaylor raises questions about Brumbaugh's motivations and choices, but the author is generally complimentary. Kaylor regrets that "M.G." revealed little of his innermost self, notwithstanding the ample materials on Brumbaugh in the Juniata College archives. The biography indicates that Brumbaugh was an ambitious man of modest origins and fine character, a reformer, scholar, and administrator, a workaholic, and a famous lecturer and orator who was often absent from his family.

Brumbaugh began teaching in his teens, and at age twenty-two was elected superintendent of Huntingdon County schools. He conducted teachers' institutes and promoted free public schools in Louisiana. He earned a Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania, where he wrote his dissertation on the poetry of John Donne. Brumbaugh was the first Dunkard to earn a Ph.D. While president of Juniata College, he also taught pedagogy at University of Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia was his primary residence. A McKinley appointee, he was, for fifteen months, Puerto Rico's first commissioner of education after the Spanish-American War. Brumbaugh wrote a history of the Brethren, countered accusations that the early Pennsylvania Germans opposed education, and became president of the

Pennsylvania German Society (1927-28). For grammar school children, he co-authored stories about Pennsylvania history and wrote graded readers. Active in the Religious Education Association, Brumbaugh's best known work, *The Making of a Teacher*, focused on Sunday school methodology, not dogma. Philadelphia was regarded as one of the most corrupt cities in the nation, and Brumbaugh accepted as a challenge the superintendency of Philadelphia's mismanaged and deficient school system. He increased the number of schools, improved teacher pay, and promoted urban playgrounds. He believed playtime and the outdoors were essential to health, fitness, and socialization.

In 1914 U.S. Senator Boies Penrose, the state GOP leader, grudgingly endorsed the respected Brumbaugh as the party's gubernatorial candidate. After the 1912 Progressive ("Bull Moose") secession, reunification was important, especially if Penrose were to win in the first popular reelection of U.S. senators. A truce with the Vare brothers, Philadelphia politicians, allowed Penrose to accept their suggestion that Brumbaugh be the party's choice for governor. Penrose resented complying, detested reformers, and did not encourage competing leaders in the Keystone State, especially potential presidential candidates. After the election, Penrose directed a campaign to damage Governor Brumbaugh's reputation and cripple his effectiveness. Kaylor indicates that Brumbaugh admired innovative reformers such as Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson.

Brumbaugh, a cigar-smoking teetotaler who favored prohibition, failed in his effort to pass a bill allowing county local option; female suffrage and abolition of the death penalty also failed. He was successful in convincing the legislature to pass a child labor law and a pension for teachers, and in creating seven normal schools as state institutions. Most of the 409 bills he vetoed were the pork barrel type. He capably led Pennsylvania during World War I. Nearly two-fifths of America's war production and eight percent of the armed forces came from Pennsylvania.

Brumbaugh was prominent in the forward-looking wing of the Brethren Church, but some conservative members were uncomfortable with his involvement with politics, government, and war. The Brethren had a pacifist tradition. Like Wilson, another Christian, academic, and progressive, Brumbaugh believed that, during a confrontation between good and evil, a Christian and patriot should support "the war to end [all] wars."

There are few significant biographies of Pennsylvania's leaders for the period from 1870 to 1930, and Kaylor's well-written *Brumbaugh* is a welcome addition. It also provides an overview of the period and is useful for following developments in education.

The Lively Arts: Gilbert Seldes and the Transformation of Cultural Criticism in the United States. By MICHAEL KAMMEN. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. x, 495p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$35.00.)

Given the popularity in the academy of such arguments as Lawrence Levine's, that "high" culture has justified itself through standards that are neither natural nor given but are designed to consolidate the cultural power of a beleaguered minority, and Jane Tompkins's, that "mere" entertainments have complexity and breadth, it was only a matter of time before historians rediscovered Gilbert Seldes. Born in 1893 in the utopian farming community of Alliance, New Jersey, the son of Russian Jewish immigrants, Seldes devoted much of his adult life to exploring popular culture. After his graduation from Harvard in 1914, Seldes served as an editor of the *Dial*, perhaps the most renowned "little" magazine of the 1920s, a commentator for *Vanity Fair*, the first director of television programming for CBS, and the first dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania. Through it all he continued to write on the conditions and meaning of cultural production for popular audiences.

As varied as Seldes's career was, *The 7 Lively Arts* (1924) was his most significant accomplishment. Written to champion the aesthetic virtues of such popular yet critically ignored or denigrated forms as vaudeville, musical revues, jazz, comic strips, and movies, the book located their value in their authenticity, energy, and comedy in the broader sense of the word. Rejecting the notion that high seriousness was the only artistic quality worth crediting, Seldes found in the privileged arts mostly pretension. Properly understood, he argued, the high and the lively arts were allied against the mediocre and bogus ones that dominated American cultural life. No cultural populist in the present-day sense of the term, he frankly admitted that the minor arts were an opiate. While they did not corrupt neither did they completely satisfy. Seldes, like a whole strain of 1920s modernists, embraced the popular arts that transformed the materials of everyday life with which people had become disenchanted through usage and familiarity. In his reading, Chaplin, *Krazy Kat*, and Jolson were modernist gems. Not surprisingly, he relegated to oblivion much of the popular arts that did not meet his criteria.

Seldes's text, then, provides an opportunity to analyze the intricate relationship between "high" and "low" culture at that critical moment when the boundaries seemed more permeable than they had previously been or would later become. His later work allows us to chart how his cultural position fared through Depression and the development of a full-scale "culture industry." Although Michael Kammen makes gestures in this direction, his loosely written, poorly organized biography fails to engage fully the implications of Seldes's life and work. A mixture of tantalizing suggestions, incomplete analyses, and barely relevant anecdotes, the book never takes

full measure of its subject. For all the voluminous material Kammen has collected, Seldes's psychological and intellectual dynamics remain a mystery. *The Lively Arts* never remains on one topic long enough to conduct a sustained probe, jumping from Seldes's writings to his dress in a matter of sentences.

Kammen's discussion of the cultural landscape of the 1920s is particularly disappointing. Correctly recognizing the importance of Van Wyck Brooks's writings in the 1910s, he misconstrues Brooks's famous distinction between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" as one between cultural levels rather than between abstract theorizing and everyday practices. This interpretation leads him to regard *The 7 Lively Arts* as primarily an intervention against cultural dichotomies rather than an effort to rewrite the modern canon by discovering aesthetic virtues in new forms. This argument leaves Kammen in a quandary when Seldes later asserts in *The Great Audience* (1950) that the creativity of the modern-day mass arts lies in their manipulation of viewers and listeners. Uncertain whether Seldes had "highbrow" or "middlebrow" tastes (Kammen claims both at various points in his narrative), Kammen resolves his dilemma either by labeling apparent disparities a contradiction and letting it go at that or by trying to distinguish between a popular culture that Seldes championed and a mass culture that he opposed. The first option gives the book an unfinished, offhand quality; the second involves Kammen in a confusing exercise in taxidermy.

Had Kammen been more attuned to Seldes's aesthetic commitments he might have seen, as the historian Paul Gorman has recently argued, that since Seldes was not challenging the aesthetic criteria by which critics made judgments in the longer perspective, he laid the groundwork for later criticism of the mass arts. He might also have explored more deeply the meaning of Seldes's favoring white over black jazz in the 1920s, a position Seldes revised in the 1930s. Kammen might also have seen *Mainland*, Seldes's 1936 effort to bring a modernist cultural sensibility to the political crisis of the 1930s, as more than disorganized but an effort to discover a "third way," rooted not in social democracy but Populism. He might well have gone on to speculate how Seldes's Americanism, which was so vital in the context of the 1910s and 1920s, floundered in a different historical environment. In the process, Kammen would have given us a more valuable examination of Seldes's importance.

University of Rochester

DANIEL H. BORUS

Maverick's Progress: An Autobiography. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1996. xi, 510p. Illustrations, index. \$29.95.)

James Thomas Flexner is an old friend to the readers of *PMHB*, who will be familiar with and have profited from his extensive bibliography. As part of the first wave of the postwar Americanists whose assertion of the richness of the American

past was a correlative to the dawning of the "American century," Flexner produced influential studies in American art, culture, and biography; his multivolume *Washington* (and its one-volume abridgment) remains the standard *Life*. The term "independent scholar" is now a euphemism for an unemployed academic, but for Flexner it accurately describes his career as a writer able to make a living outside of academia. He is, as the title of his autobiography suggests, a "maverick" in that he has been a free agent with no master. *Maverick's Progress* contains detailed histories and summaries of all of Flexner's various projects as a freelance writer.

Unfortunately, Flexner also wants to convince us that he was a maverick in the more frequently used sense of a dissenter and rebel. This case is harder to make and Flexner works too hard to make it; what could have been the occasion for a gracefully written (and shorter!) summation of an estimable, well-lived life becomes a grinding rehash of every slight received at the hands of the "authorities" and a trumpeting of every success attained without the aid of the "Establishment." Do we really need, for instance, a humorless recapitulation of the undergraduate Flexner's quarrels with the old boys of the Harvard English department? Or the author's advertisement of how good his honors thesis was? This kind of score-settling runs throughout *Maverick's Progress* and makes for wincing reading. The final effect of Flexner's apologia is to vitiate his claim to be a rebellious maverick. However much Flexner proclaims his ornery independence, the effect of his narrative is to show someone who desperately wants "in." And, indeed, through his indefatigable work he *did* make it. After all, as Flexner is happy to tell us, he and CBS's Morley Safer are members of the same tennis group.

Some books would be better off unpublished and *Maverick's Progress* unfortunately is one of them. It should not, however, detract from the author's distinguished career and his many books which will continue to be read and used with profit and enjoyment by scholars and the public.

Smithsonian Institution

DAVID C. WARD

The Court-Martial of Mother Jones. Edited by EDWARD M. STEEL, JR. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996. xii, 319p. Illustrations, notes, transcript, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$18.95.)

The Court-Martial of Mother Jones contains the transcript of the March 1913 military court-martial in Pratt, West Virginia, of forty-eight civilians charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Governor William E. Glasscock had declared martial law in the Kanawha Valley, in response to the continuing violence of the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek coal strikes organized by the United Mine Workers of Am-

erica. The National Guard arrested the defendants following a day-long battle in February 1913 near the town of Mucklow between strikers and company guards and nonunion workers. One guard was killed in the battle. Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, who had worked actively in support of the striking miners, also was arrested as she led a group of striking miners to present a petition of grievances to the governor.

The transcript includes selections from the voluminous printed materials read into evidence at the trial. These selections, such as excerpts from the weekly socialist newspaper *Labor Argus*, published in Charleston, West Virginia, have not been accessible in other printed sources. In his introduction to the transcript, editor Edward M. Steel, Jr., draws from congressional hearings, state and federal court records, numerous local and national newspapers, and archival records located at West Virginia University and the National Archives to supplement the information contained in the court-martial transcript.

Steel's introductory chapter provides a valuable description of the coal strike and the legal issues raised by a military trial of civilians arrested under martial law. Did the imposition of martial law override constitutionally guaranteed civil rights? The West Virginia Supreme Court dismissed two appeals challenging the constitutionality of the military court. Steel traces the legal reaction to these cases (*Nance and Mays v. Brown* and *In re Jones et al.*) and the unresolved legal debates concerning the use of martial law in the years following the trial.

Steel argues that the 1913 court-martial "was unique to its time and place." The local law enforcement and judicial systems in West Virginia were weak, unable to meet the needs of the changing industrial society. Governor Glasscock imposed martial law "reluctantly," only as a last resort to end the continuing strike violence when local officials were unable to handle the crisis. The adverse national reaction to the trial and the suspension of civil liberties helped assure that martial law and the court-martial would not be used as a form of "social control" again, either in West Virginia or nationally.

Martial law and the court-martial also were an exercise of political power. In 1912 Socialists were elected to local offices in the Cabin Creek District, including positions as magistrates and judicial officials. An exploration of the political relationship between these Socialist officials and the state government would have added to Steel's discussion of the need for the declaration of martial law. The leaders of the strike, several of whom were involved with the Socialist Party, were "silenced and immobilized" by their imprisonment. "Outside agitators," like Mother Jones, were kept in jail several weeks longer than the other defendants following the conclusion of the court-martial. Steel argues that political leaders, such as the newly elected Governor Henry Hatfield, were anxious to bring an end to the strike and used the arrested leaders as "hostages" while the strike settlement was finalized.

This court-martial transcript, supplemented by Steel's introduction, is a valuable historical document for both legal scholars and labor historians. This volume also

will be of interest to those studying violations of civil liberties, the power of the state, and the activities of Mother Jones.

Pennsylvania State University

LYNN VACCA

Invisible Philadelphia: Community through Voluntary Organizations. Edited and compiled by JEAN BARTH TOLL and MILDRED S. GILLIAM. (Philadelphia: Atwater Kent Museum, 1995. xxxviii, 1364p. Bibliographical notes, indexes, illustrations, maps. \$62.50.)

Invisible Philadelphia is large and full of information, and it calls to mind another compilation, published by the Internal Revenue Service. That publication, *Cumulative List of Organizations*, is dry and mundane (though occasionally useful) and lists every single nonprofit organization in America, by name only, in two fat volumes. Just after the Phil Zwickler Charitable and Memorial Foundation of Hollywood, Florida, are all those nonprofit organizations that begin with the word *Philadelphia*. More than 300 appear, and it is tempting to put the new and gigantic tome, *Invisible Philadelphia*, to the test with a handful.

Of course, the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries is there with an essay by Marie E. Korey. So, too, the Philadelphia Folk Song Society and the Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks are treated with brief essays describing their history and operations. But *Invisible Philadelphia* is far more than a compilation of the cultural city. One will also find the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis, the Philadelphia Coordinating Council for Family Planning, and the Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation, each with an informative narrative. In addition to several informative introductions, *Invisible Philadelphia's* organizational and institution index, one of several useful indexes, invites readers to learn more about hundreds of groups, past and present, that begin with the word *Philadelphia*, as well as a few hundred more located in the city. The list is so thorough and the product of such sustained in-depth work, that when a gap is finally found, one is inclined to believe the editors and question the Internal Revenue Service rather than vice-versa.

In times when publishers of local-interest books look beyond content and straight to the bottom line, leaving readers high and dry with what's left of out-of-print books found at the used-book store, the completion of an undertaking so ambitious as *Invisible Philadelphia* is nothing short of stunning. More than 500 volunteer authors of 585 histories is enough to make anyone who has ever dabbled as an editor to shudder at the job.

The project was a logistical quagmire, with missed deadlines being the least of the problems. Years of delays required unforeseen updates. Contributors changed

careers, left town, or died before edits were final. One publisher gave up on the project. Funders came and went and came again. Through it all, the editors steadfastly moved forward with a vision for a book that some thought could not be done, and one that most certainly will never be done again.

Although one should be glad (and relieved) that it is here, *Invisible Philadelphia* seems out of character with its medium in the mid-1990s. How does a 1364-page book fit into a world where even university presses shorten text and cut illustrations? Kenneth T. Jackson's recently published *Encyclopedia of New York City*, which is a mere fourteen pages shy of *Invisible Philadelphia*, also seems to be the exception that proves the rule. Sadly, these efforts seem more like the last great gasps of a publishing past than anything we'll see again. We know things are turned on their head when Philadelphia boasts of its organizations and New York boasts of its history. If Toll and Gilliam has an afterlife, mustn't it be, for better or worse, on the Internet? We'll miss the heft but relish the reliability, as well as the many other possibilities. (Quick, make an archival copy from the editor's hard drive!)

But for now this one-of-a-kind book sits with rare presence, inviting readers to glimpse the world that is called invisible, a world whose institutions are sometimes also touted as "best kept secrets." It is another case of Philadelphia self-depreciation, as Edwin Wolf 2d once called it on these pages. If Tocqueville once boldly praised the nonprofit sector (as the editors remind us early on), why do we need to diminish the same world as invisible? It may be quiet, but this infrastructure of independent organizations is now larger than ever. Why continue to damn it by framing it negatively? It would be better, and more accurate, to trade in the legalistic term *nonprofit* and the pejorative term *invisible* for the less-loaded one that seems to be on the rise: the independent organization and the independent sector.

Marie C. Malaro, a Washington, D.C., lawyer and professor who writes about the unique role of the nonprofit and the independent sector, makes the case for its protection in her book *Museum Governance: Mission, Ethics, Policy* (1994). The ability to form an organization to advance and protect a group's interests, interests that the majority certainly will not share, stands to enhance the wide array of work by many diverse individuals for the enrichment of all society. Extend our nation's separation of church and state to the independent sector and imagine the fertile results. Dip into the pages of *Invisible Philadelphia* and confirm that this infrastructure is real, fragile, and at the heart of what is interesting and hopeful about American society, past and present.

But, as the title bluntly implies, this infrastructure is misunderstood and undervalued. One of the fascinating aspects of this book is that it holds at the brink so much about Philadelphia and its people that seems to be not only fragile but actually slipping away. Given the current, often repeated sentiment that "there are too many nonprofits," readers are soon likely to find this giant tome, which already projects a wonderful seamlessness between past and present, more valuable as a history than

as a working reference. *Invisible Philadelphia* represents many valuable ideas and events that reach deep into the past. If interest and care will make them more visible, the sector that sustains them can have a useful future. That will be an important legacy of our time and this book should be considered one of the manuals to guide it.

The William Penn Foundation

KENNETH FINKEL

Princeton University: The First 250 Years. By DON OBERDORFER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. 272p. Illustrations, chronology. \$69.50.)

In this visual age, more and more colleges and universities have chosen to commission lavishly illustrated histories as a way of commemorating their important anniversaries. *Princeton University: The First 250 Years* falls into this category and is a superb example of the genre in many ways. The mixture of contemporary and historic images, many of them in brilliant color, is extremely effective in conveying an overall sense of how Princeton evolved over two and a half centuries, from the struggling College of New Jersey (its official name until 1896) to a great world university. The text by Don Oberdorfer, a member of the Princeton class of 1952 and now a retired journalist, is extensive in comparison to many illustrated university histories, and is both colorful and easy to read.

Oberdorfer organizes his text chronologically as well as topically. There are, for example, chapters on the founding decades, the Civil War era, Princeton between the two world wars, and the campus uprisings of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Other chapters focus on subjects such as scholarship, coeducation, and the rise of the residential colleges. Still other chapters are organized around famous Princeton presidents, such as John Witherspoon and Woodrow Wilson. Between each chapter there are brief segments that highlight important persons, events, or themes, including "Things Named After Princeton," "The Princeton Tiger," and "Nobel Prize Winners."

To his great credit, Oberdorfer does not shy away from Princeton's reputation for racial, religious, and ethnic discrimination well into the twentieth century, or from Princeton's reputation as a socially elite university. Also chronicled are the failures of several Princeton presidents and the struggles among powerful players on campus, with the well-known contention between Woodrow Wilson and Dean Andrew F. West understandably receiving the most attention.

Oberdorfer also attempts, in the limited space allotted to him, to suggest how a tiny college which began in 1746 in a Presbyterian parsonage in Elizabeth, New Jersey, became the famous Princeton University of today. One of the reasons, he proposes, is location, particularly after the college moved permanently, in the fall of 1756, to the village of Princeton, New Jersey. Removed from easy access to the vices

and temptations of the city (an important selling point to many generations of parents), the institution was close enough to the large population centers of Philadelphia and New York to have a firm demographic base and fertile fields for fundraising. Princeton's founding by a group of "New Light" Presbyterians, in part as a training ground for ministers, was also crucial to the college's early success. Many Princetonians went south and west to fill pulpits and sent young men back to their alma mater.

Oberdorfer does less well—again due, no doubt, to lack of space—in explaining just why Princeton came to have a reputation for preparing young men for "the national service" (in the words of Woodrow Wilson), or how it became renowned as a center for scientific research. Nor does he have much to say about Princeton's less successful decades during the early and mid-nineteenth century. Happily, many of these subjects were well represented in the history of Princeton written by Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, the respected historian, and published on the occasion of Princeton's 200th anniversary back in 1946. Unfortunately, Professor Wertebaker only took his account up to 1896, the year when Princeton observed its sesquicentennial, doubtless working under the then widespread belief that historians should regard the last fifty years or so as more in the nature of current events than history. The field would thus appear to be wide open to the historian who wants to tackle a comprehensive history of Princeton University. Given Princeton's important place in the evolution of American higher education, one can only hope that such a historian will emerge.

Chestnut Hill College

DAVID R. CONTOSTA

Villanova, 1842-1992: American-Catholic-Augustinian. By DAVID R. CONTOSTA. (University Park: Penn State Press, 1995. xvi, 331p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$35.00.)

Institutional sesquicentennials are marked by common rites and appurtenances, including celebrations and, more than likely, a history. Villanova's programs and celebrations in 1992 are enumerated in the conclusion to this volume. Three years later the university offered a history of its origins and development by David Contosta. He is a professor of history at neighboring Chestnut Hill College and the author of several books on Philadelphians and their environs. He succinctly but solidly describes how Villanova has maintained its mixed American, Catholic, and Augustinian character and how these distinct forces contributed to its development. To the extent he could, Contosta compared developments at Villanova directly to competing Catholic institutions, to neighbors with other affiliations, and to national trends.

The Augustinians are a medieval order of friars who follow a rule of life

composed many centuries earlier by Saint Augustine, bishop of Hippo. The historical "stars" of the order are Martin Luther, the religious reformer, and Gregor Mendel, who patiently accumulated the data to formulate the basic laws of genetics. The pioneer-immigrant of the order arrived from Ireland in 1796 and settled in Philadelphia where he established a parish. By 1840 there were three Augustinians serving this congregation and it was they who willy-nilly founded Villanova.

What they had in mind was not entirely clear; nor do the records disclose a wholehearted commitment by all three. Nevertheless, in the fall of 1841 they purchased a farm of nearly 200 acres a few miles west of the city. In addition to a traditional liberal arts college, the Augustinians also envisioned "a farm, workshops, an orphanage, a monastery, [and] a seminary." These other elements get minimal attention in Contosta's focus on the development of the college.

Because presidents during the first five decades or so served for an average of only two or three years, their terms could not be used to organize the narrative. Instead the account is arranged in broad chronological periods with the various subjects handled thematically. This results in some backtracking and repetition but not to the point of distraction. In addition to the short-termed presidents, the main problem was a lack of clearly defined responsibilities and authority. There was a board of trustees (with two laymen, be it noted), but decisions were really made by the Augustinians living at Villanova or by various higher agencies or authorities in the order. Yet even this chain of command was not really well defined. During the nineteenth century necessary facilities were added, but the institution was repeatedly described by perceptive Augustinians as less than it should be.

This cycle was broken at the turn of the century when Father Laurence Delurey was installed as president. He served from 1895 until 1910. During his presidency Delurey was able to capitalize on the repeated criticisms of Villanova, because he was supported by Father John Fedigan, his religious superior who had also, briefly, served as president. The basic liberal arts curriculum was augmented by programs in civil, mechanical, chemical, and sanitary engineering. Pre-legal and pre-med programs were offered along with a teacher-preparation course. Commuter students were also admitted. President Delurey even got William Howard Taft, president of the United States, to address the 1910 commencement. Two days later Delurey was forced to resign over his management of the college's finances. After a thorough investigation his only fault proved to be a naive investment that went sour. Caution again ruled Villanova.

Two of the more engrossing sections deal with student attitudes in the 1920s and 1930s and again in the 1960s and early 1970s. During the earlier episode the curriculum emphasized neo-Thomistic philosophy and the need to offer the world an alternative to the rampant "isms" of the time. Various facets of this thinking were reflected in the editorials and activities of Villanova students. Similarly, what drove the students to protest and demonstrate in the 1960s is well covered. Between 1967

and 1974 the Villanova campus was wracked by ten major demonstrations, mostly over local issues, especially parietals. After several presidents tried to stem the tide with a "hard line," a more flexible and responsive approach was instituted under Father John Driscoll (1975-88). Fortunately for him the incubus of war was shed and the threat of being drafted also ended. The turmoil of the 1960s had produced structures for better communication and a greater willingness to rely on them. The progress of Villanova (now) University was glowingly noted in the 1980 and 1990 accreditation reports of the Middle States Association.

This is a well-written, well-documented, fast-paced history of a long-lived and fully developed Pennsylvania institution.

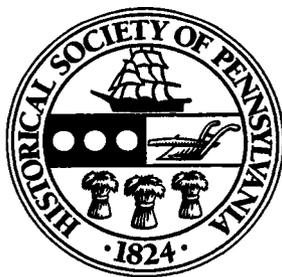
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CONTENTS

ARTICLES	Page
<i>Family, Work, and Nation: Hazelton, Pennsylvania, and the 1934 General Strike in Textiles</i>	Christopher M. Sterba 3
<i>Henry Baldwin and Andrew Jackson: A Political Relationship in Trust?</i>	Robert D. Ilisevich 37
<i>Wright's Ferry: A Glimpse into the Susquehanna Backcountry</i>	Willis L. Shirk, Jr. 61
<i>Race, Reaction, and Reform: The Three Rs of Philadelphia School Politics, 1965-1971</i>	Jon S. Birger 163
<i>Nicholas Biddle, Anacharsis, and the Grand Tour</i>	R. A. McNeal 247
<i>Philadelphia's "Miniature Williamsburg": The Colonial Revival and Germantown's Market Square</i>	David R. Contosta 283
<i>Andrew Brown's "Earnest Endeavor": The Federal Gazette's Role in Philadelphia's Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793</i>	Mark A. Smith 321
<i>"Education for Success": The International Correspondence Schools of Scranton, Pennsylvania</i>	James D. Watkinson 343
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS	
<i>The Records of the First "American" Denomination: The Keithians of Pennsylvania, 1694-1700</i>	Jon Butler 89
<i>"Back Country" Politics and Culture: A Letter from Thomas Cooper to Joseph Clay</i>	Lawence Beaston 107
BOOK REVIEWS	119, 249, 371
INDEX	Conrad Woodall 415

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