

BOOK REVIEWS

Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic. By ROSALIND REMER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. xiii, 210p. Bibliography, appendix, illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95.)

Anyone who has conducted research in the extensive holdings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania or the American Antiquarian Society has come across the odd book list or letter of an early Philadelphia book publisher and has wondered what to make of it. Rosalind Remer does not attempt to piece together such fragments for any single publisher's business history, but she does provide a long-needed aggregate view of a "transitional" period in the book trade (roughly from the 1780s through the 1820s, although exact periodization is sometimes blurred), using individual cases to illustrate the entrepreneurial initiatives and pitfalls of Philadelphia's prominent publishers.

What the reader enjoys is a clear description of the evolution from printer to publisher, and the transformation of publishers into "men of capital" (p. 69). As she argues, these new entrepreneurs used "aggressive techniques" (p. 93) in their often futile attempts to establish personal success, including concentrating on retail, wholesale, and commission sales; participating in exchanges of books with other publishers; entering publishing partnerships with rivals; attempting to seize control of the ancillary businesses of ink making, papermaking, type-founding, and stereotyping; manipulating a complex system of debts and credits with printers, purchasers, and others; and seeking to turn distant, frontier markets to advantage through itinerant sales agents and branch stores. "Philadelphia's first publishers..." she argues, "had crossed an invisible line into a world of bourgeois solidity, leaving behind an eighteenth-century craft tradition for the new realm of the nineteenth-century entrepreneur" (p. 151). "If America's first publishers had remained 'meer mechanics,'" she concludes, "their impact upon the new nation would have been limited; but the American book trade, developing according to its own internal logic, was linked to the entrepreneurial spirit of the early republic" (p. 152).

No work could more clearly reflect how we write history for our own time. For Remer, the book publishers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are

the counterparts of today's postindustrial entrepreneur, having to manipulate precarious and changing markets, never finding the comfort of permanence and stability in any one formula, never achieving the security of their industrial-era successors like George Putnam, the Harper brothers, or John Wiley. At the working-class end of the spectrum, Remer chronicles the decline of the eighteenth-century printer-artisan, who fought a nostalgic rear-guard action "to cooperate for the purposes of personal gain, protection of the trade, patriotism, and exclusivity" (p. 66). In the process, we see printers forced through cutthroat competition or business debts to offer ruinously low bids for book printing jobs and journeymen printers pushed out of employment by their employers in favor of cheaper apprentice labor.

Despite occasional proclamations of the obvious—"Publishing meant taking risks" (p. 116, reiterated on pp. 4 and 15, and repeated or suggested in many other instances)—and the exaggerated conclusion in the second chapter that newspaper publishers in the early republic stood protected under ideological and financial umbrellas provided by the political parties of the era, Remer remains subject to criticism for a book based largely on market economics while excluding virtually any mention of book publishing as a cultural activity. This is not to say that she should have written a different book. It is to say that even the economics of book publishing cannot be understood without something more than a nod toward the special character and "calling" of book publishing. When she notes, without analysis, that the bankrupt book publisher John Melish "concluded that had he not been in 'a public business' which he conceived to 'be of great importance to the community,' he would have abandoned it 'to its fate'" (p. 118), she is only revealing how production and market analysis require a cultural-ideological supplement.

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JAMES TAGG

Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775. By AARON SPENCER FOGLEMAN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. xii, 257p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$34.95; paper, \$16.95.)

Hopeful Journeys is an account of German migration to colonial America that focuses on emigration and settlement in "Greater Pennsylvania" (p. 38) with the ambitious aim to "link the questions, issues, and sources of central European social-demographic history to the migration, settlement, mobility, and politics of eighteenth-century British North America during the critical decades preceding the revolution" (p. 11). The book is divided in two parts. The first deals with the world the emigrants left behind, the second with the *Neuland* (New World).

The introduction explores the theme of early America as an immigrant society,

a topic that the conclusion (chap. 6) resumes with the assertion that by the time of the early republic America had become a multiethnic society—a development to which the German-speaking immigrants made a lasting and decisive contribution because their migration, settlement, and politicization were closely linked.

The picture of the Old World (chaps. 1 and 2) focuses on two broad developments, namely the characteristics of the recovery of southwestern Germany after the devastation of the wars in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and the nature of the communities that had to deal with mounting pressures not only because of increasingly scarce resources but also from impoverished yet greedy territorial lords. The discussion of the forces that set the stage for long-distance migration—more often to the East than to the American colonies—includes sweeping generalizations for the whole region as well as specific details for particular locales (especially the northern Kraichgau). There is very little, however, on the dynamics that shaped the communities in which returning refugees and immigrating newcomers (mostly from Switzerland), acting in concert and in competition, first rebuilt their lives and then protected their ways. This omission is curious in a study that declares the demographic social origins of emigrants to be a principal focus.

The experience of the immigrants in the New World is organized around three major issues. Patterns of settlement and the importance of networks that linked families, neighbors, and coreligionists are the themes of chapter 3. Chapter 4 explores the case of the radical pietists (foremost the Moravians). The author demonstrates persuasively that settlers in greater Pennsylvania succeeded when they planned their relocation across the Atlantic well and when they could count on the support of those already well established in the colonies. Dispelling the myth of apolitical behavior among ethnic Germans is the task of chapter 5, which emphasizes the keen interest and political astuteness German-speaking settlers displayed in securing and preserving their rights to property. What is missing from this picture is a discussion of the circumstances under which hopes were dashed because connections among German settlers and newcomers, and the former's familiarity with German ways were used to exploit rather than assist.

The scholarly apparatus of the book includes five appendixes whose relevance to the argument in the text is not always clear and that make the presentation and analyses of the data appear more accurate and sophisticated than they actually are. The bibliography is strangely divided between secondary sources on Europe and North America and does not include all works cited in the endnotes. It omits several works of scholars recently active in the field of eighteenth-century German-American and migration studies which deal with the same or closely related topics.

The study purports to be aimed at a varied audience. Genealogists will find information about emigrants from the Kraichgau and Baden and about the Moravian migration particularly helpful. Graduate students are likely to pick up on the diversity of experience among German immigrants and settlers and to make the connec-

tion between local cultures and the framing of "ethnicity." They may also be inspired to broaden their own inquiries on the peopling of the American colonies to include both sides of the Atlantic. Undergraduates and general readers, however, will be confused by some of the social science jargon and the lack of an explicit framework for the fragmented components of the story. Scholars will come away with many uncertainties about the analyses of the findings and their interpretation. As the debate continues, these questions are likely to center more fruitfully and more fully than Fogleman does on how, and how well, some new pieces of the puzzle about German-speaking migrants in colonial America that are presented in *Hopeful Journeys* fit into the ongoing historical reconstruction of early American society and advance our understanding of how migration and settlement work in general.

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MARIANNE S. WOKECK

Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760-1835. By MICHAEL MERANZE. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996. xii, 338p. Index. \$45.00.)

American penal history seems unable to escape from Michel Foucault's prison. Michael Meranze is the latest American historian to have borrowed from Foucault in his study of penal practices in Philadelphia. In doing so, he deliberately parts company from early histories that celebrated the improvement represented by the emergence of the prison over the use of corporal punishment. Meranze demonstrates conclusively that the reform of penal practices failed to produce the desired effect.

Meranze's conceptual framework is one in which "the body" and "mimetic corruption" assume center stage. Both concepts obscure an otherwise fascinating approach to this history. The body as the object of discipline needs little explanation. "Mimetic corruption," on the other hand, is defined by Meranze as "the very presence of embodied criminality [that] overwhelmed spectators' virtue and led them to identify with and replicate criminality." Here, as elsewhere in the book, one is reminded of the pervasive influence of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and why it may now be time to move beyond it.

Meranze draws on various disciplines and conventions to argue that penal practices served as the archetype for other mechanisms to control the city's "lower sorts"—the poor admitted to the almshouse, incorrigible children, prostitutes, people who reveled in public theatrical performances. The spatial dimension of punishment, public and private, also assumed importance in controlling those who threatened the city's well-being. During the days of corporal punishment, the use of public space demonstrated the state's ability to control the convicted; once the

prison emerged, the use of private space served the same function. With the birth of the prison, public health—physical and moral—resided at the heart of reformers' concerns, as enunciated in official and authorized descriptions, analyses, and depictions penned by prison visitors and authorities who believed the institution represented an enlightened and rational improvement over corporal punishment. Simultaneously, the prison served as a source for imagined and unofficial representation, gothic horror, "with its repetitive invocation of crypts and dungeons, mysteries and murders, secrets and sadistic practices." In making this latter claim, Meranze draws on a source seldom recognized among penal historians, Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn: Memoirs of the Year 1793*. In Brown's literary portrayal of "gothic space," Meranze claims the protagonist's encounters with the penal netherworld exercised considerable influence on the imagination of the conjunction between disease and criminality in early national Philadelphia. Finally, Meranze acknowledges, although not so clearly, the role of classical liberalism as one of the guiding forces underlying the development of penal practices—a point made by Thomas Dumm, who authored *Democracy and Punishment: Disciplinary Origins of the United States*, and one that many American historians seem loathe to endorse. Such an eclectic range of traditions at times threatens to obscure *Laboratories'* argument, but at other times it provides keener insights than would have been achieved by relying only upon conventional sources and perspectives.

Only when Meranze eludes Foucault's grasp does it become apparent that this is an impressive work. Meranze has collected an immense amount of primary material to assemble this story of failure. He examines three stages in the development of penal practices in Philadelphia, each in its turn and each with its attendant consequences. Proceeding from public display in punishing the convicted criminal, to the removal of the offender from the community by imprisonment, to organizing an institution solely dependent upon separation and penitence, Meranze sets the stage for comprehending precisely the extent to which penal reforms failed. These stages of penal development are discussed in terms of the contrast they present between what they were supposed to achieve and what they actually did achieve.

Meranze concludes that the development of penal practices was one failure after another, each heaped upon its predecessor. Once penitence was finally arrived at as the solution to correct the offender, some reformers returned to recommending practices such as banishment, a penal practice that had long since been abandoned. In this respect, Meranze amply shows that the later generation of reformers did not learn from the past and failed miserably in not doing so.

Despite a conceptual framework that is shackled to Foucault, Michael Meranze has made significant and valuable interventions in understanding the failure of penal practices as they evolved in Philadelphia.

Religion in a Revolutionary Age. Edited by RONALD HOFFMAN and PETER J. ALBERT. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994. xvii, 350p. Bibliography, index. \$39.50.)

Before historians of the American Revolution and the Constitution "got" religion, they tended to present spiritual beliefs and practices (if at all) rather formulaically. The Founding Fathers were Deists, and the Federalists and anti-Federalists could be divided fairly neatly into urban, rational Enlightenment men and less sophisticated Evangelicals, respectively. In the midst of the changes wrought by the Revolution, Americans were more interested in politics and government than in religion. As eminent a historian as Sydney Ahlstrom claimed that the conflict with Britain had brought on "a prolonged religious depression."

As the editors and authors of the eleven essays in *Religion in a Revolutionary Age* show us, religion was not eclipsed. Instead, Americans continued to be a deeply religious people, and religion continued to play a crucial role in shaping Americans' perceptions and experiences, especially as they set out to create a new government. And, religion was in turn influenced by the political values and structures engendered by the Revolution. Although the essays bear little resemblance to one another, several themes emerge. Most important is the primacy of religion; a close second is the varied and complex relationship between religion, politics, and society. Finally, the essays ask new questions using innovative sources.

The first two essays serve as a good reminder of the varieties of the American religious experience and how integral religion was to the political system. Jon Butler shows the incorrectness of the view that evangelicalism represented the national belief system. Instead, religious experiences were more dynamic. Patricia Bonomi argues that many of the virtues of American religion—autonomy, voluntarism, and the importance of the laity in decision-making processes—were also valued in a republic. In contrast, as Paul Conkin argues, not everyone found orthodox Christianity fitting for a republic; Thomas Jefferson found the Unitarianism of Joseph Priestley a more suitable faith, for traditional Protestantism was too cruel and irrational.

As one might expect, some of the articles take as their subjects topics that are de rigeur: women, African Americans, and laborers. Elaine Forman Crane considers how "religious convictions motivated many women to take sides in the struggle for Independence" by examining the experiences of two different women (p. 54). One, Faith Trumball, expressed her sense of the Revolution—which she equated with the biblical story of the hanging of Absalom—through the womanly art of needlework. In her imaginative essay, Ruth Bloch considers how women not only were politicized by their reading of didactic, religious literature and novels, but found in both these genres the means to reconcile republicanism and classical liberalism, which historians have hitherto found irreconcilable. Sylvia Frey shows how the creation of

an African-American Christianity was a second revolution, and how this important institution took shape. Ronald Schultz's "God and Workingmen" looks at how some clergy in Philadelphia learned to tailor their message to appeal to the emerging working class. As he shows, it did not take the second Great Awakening to create a class of evangelical laborers.

Other essays examine how specific groups or denominations responded to the Revolution. Robert M. Calhoun argues that republicanism appealed to the evangelicals in particular because of the role it assigned to virtue and communalism. M. L. Bradbury, in his lengthy essay, one reminiscent of older histories of denominations, looks at how Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Baptists reorganized their governmental organizations after the war, imitating to varying degrees the new federal structures.

Two essays consider the role of religion in constitution-making: Edwin S. Gaustad shows that while the makers of the federal Constitution "walked a tight-rope" in how much authority to accord to Protestantism, the architects of the state constitutions had greater leeway. Stephen Marini, considering the church affiliations and positions held by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, argues that religion held a privileged position in the proceedings in Philadelphia.

Religion in this volume means Protestantism almost exclusively (only Gaustad mentions Jews); it would have been interesting to consider how members of other faiths were affected by the Revolution, no matter how small their numbers. Still, for bringing new questions to light and reminding us that religion and government are not mutually exclusive entities in America, this volume will be welcomed.

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The Transforming Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement. Edited by RONALD HOFFMAN and PETER J. ALBERT. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. Index. \$47.50.)

Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert have brought together some of the most important and interesting recent work on the American Revolution in their edited collections. Organized around John Franklin Jameson's provocative *The American Revolution as a Social Movement*, *The Transforming Hand of Revolution* measures up to the standard established by the previous eleven volumes stemming from conferences sponsored by the U.S. Capitol Historical Society.

Two synthetic essays strive to place the Revolution in a larger interpretive framework. Allan Kulikoff argues in a previously published essay that while the Revolution may not have led to the triumph of the bourgeois in strict marxist terms,

it did help to create a state that accelerated the development of capitalism. Moreover, he believes, revolutionary ideals reflected the possessive individualism of the bourgeois. Barbara Clark Smith, based in part on her own recent work on women in revolutionary crowds, claims that the social vision of the resistance movement, which sought to place society on a more equitable footing, promised more than it delivered. As the war dragged on, the practical matters of creating states and fighting a war left women and the poor out of the political loop. Implied here are some of the limitations of the transforming hand of the Revolution.

In a short review it is difficult to do justice to the six in-depth studies on more specific issues. Each represents a research report on work just published or that is in the process of development. Jean B. Lee summarizes her study of the political transformations in Charles County, Maryland, during the Revolution, and Gregory Nobles explores the relationship between political popularity and leadership in revolutionary Massachusetts. Marcus Rediker offers a fascinating exploration of the influence of slaves and sailors on the revolutionary movement that extends some of the material he has published with Peter Linebaugh and foreshadows what he promises will be a longer study on the subject. Jean B. Russo provides her assessment of the impact of the Revolution on rural artisans in the Chesapeake. Alan Taylor, revealing the breadth of his understanding of the eighteenth-century frontier, examines the contest over land in Vermont and northeastern Pennsylvania. Billy G. Smith adds to our growing understanding of the impact of the Revolution on slaves in the middle colonies by demonstrating how running away and resistance by blacks contributed to the end of slavery in the middle Atlantic region.

Although these focused studies are important, they have been, or will be, superseded by the books out of which they grew. The three historiographical essays, however, will stand for a longer period of time as important reference points for future generations of scholars. Morey Rothberg has spent much of the last twenty years studying John Franklin Jameson. Rothberg's examination of the creation of Jameson's classic book will help everyone who reads it understand not only the book's genesis but also the intellectual and personal currents that led to its publication. Robert Gross's examination of Shays's Rebellion is a model of historiography on a specific subject. If a graduate student ever asks how to go about writing historiography, send them to Gross's essay.

Alfred Young's 146-page contribution could have been published as a book by itself. Young uses Jameson's idea of the transforming hand of Revolution to evaluate the last sixty years of scholarship. Young plays favorites, trumpeting Staughton Lynd, Jesse Lemisch, and Gary Nash at the expense of Bernard Bailyn, Edmund Morgan, and Gordon Wood. Despite this partisan elan, the rigor and panache of the essay will make it must reading for any serious student of the revolution.

Fields of Battle: The Wars for North America. By JOHN KEEGAN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. xiv, 348p. Acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, index. \$30.00.)

Its title notwithstanding, John Keegan's book-length venture into American military history focuses less on battlefields than on forts. The reason is that it is a book largely about North American military geography and how that geography shaped the wars for control of the continent. The formative military influence of geography dictated in turn the construction of fortifications by any power seeking control, so that in parts of the United States and Canada the remains of bastioned traces are almost as ubiquitous as in Europe's Franco-German borderlands.

Keegan concerns himself particularly with the forts and the military geography of four conflicts: the struggle between the French and the British for North American hegemony, during which French fortifying of strategic places along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi waterways systems threatened to confine the British to the narrow seaboard east of the Appalachians, only to be undermined by a different kind of military strength, British sea power; the War of Independence between the British and their American colonists, in which the British enjoyed both the assets formerly benefiting the French and their own formidable naval power; the American Civil War, wherein the North was in a position of advantage similar to that held by the British during the 1775-83 war, albeit the military routes for penetration of the Confederacy were often difficult; and the final campaigns to eliminate Native American military power, campaigns based on multiple forts dotting the Great Plains. Once the United States had overcome rival forts and utilized its own forts to master its continental geography, Keegan finds it a corollary that Americans should have been the first to fly airplanes, because their immense continent called for such a means of travel. He also sees an American airplane called the Flying Fortress as a logical outcome of such a history and geography.

His analysis of the War of Independence is his most intriguing, because he has set for himself the problem of explaining British defeat despite possession of the geographic and fortification advantages that the French had held in the preceding contest for empire, along with the continuing asset of superior sea power. His principal explanation is that Great Britain lacked sufficient military manpower. The British retained or recaptured and fortified key geographic locations, such as the St. Lawrence entry into the interior and the port of New York, but they simply did not have enough troops to repress all the rebellious parts of the American population.

In addition, however, in a welcome step back from the verge of geographic determinism, Keegan cites plain old human error. In the Southern campaign, Lt.-Gen. Charles, second Earl Cornwallis, retained the strategic initiative against considerable odds, until 1781. "It was taken from him by his own superior," Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, "less able and more timorous," whose "confusing and contradictory"

orders ended in placing Cornwallis in the Yorktown trap when the Americans' French allies gained temporary naval control of Chesapeake Bay (p. 182). Earlier, "by the spring of 1777 the way was clear" for the British to cut off New England from the rest of the rebellion. "All that was lacking was the impulse to start," on the part among others of Gen. Sir William "Howe, whose relocation to Philadelphia had taken him away from the scene of action . . ." (p. 167).

The alert reader will note, however, that something is wrong here. Howe had not yet gone to Philadelphia by the spring of 1777. He was still in New York, whence he could have marched to the aid of Maj.-Gen. John Burgoyne's invasion from the St. Lawrence. This mistake, of course, is the kind of minor slipup that all of us who write history are forever making; unfortunately, it is symptomatic of a larger casualness that plagues the whole book.

Keegan tells his tale by mixing history with accounts of his various personal journeys of discovery in America. Much of the personal narrative is charming, for John Keegan is an amiable man, and he is admirably self-effacing about aspects of the American character that still puzzle him after many visits. Yet the travel narratives also convey an offhanded approach to the history, a suggestion that useful homework often did not precede the journeys, and that Keegan might have perceived more if he had prepared better to know what he was seeing. He goes to Lexington Green, for example, to visit the nearby house of his historian friend Simon Schama: "On the way back, I asked, 'Where are we?' 'Lexington,' he said. 'This is the village where the battle happened' " (p. 149). A curious approach to writing a history of American *Fields of Battle*.

The result of this approach may prove especially troubling to readers of the *PMHB*. Keegan has of course visited Philadelphia, and he gratifies us by saying, ". . . it was, and remains around Society Hill, a European city of well-ordered streets, decorous architecture, and fine public buildings" (p. 171). But in addition he writes of an early tour of battlefields of the middle states: "Everything seemed in the wrong place, too far away from the seedbed of the American Revolution in New England to connect with its significant events" (p. 143). And nothing in the book indicates that he has subsequently gotten this aspect of the military geography right. He says that before the war "the large colonial cities—Boston and New York—were the scenes of riots and mob violence . . ." (p. 153). Nowhere will it become clear to the uninformed that Philadelphia was also a large city, indeed the largest; and while Keegan locates the Continental Congress here, he does not suggest that there might have been a certain strategic value for the British in capturing the American capital, even if it was not exactly London or Paris, and even if it was so awkwardly situated as to be a long way from Boston.

Altogether, *Fields of Battle* is less a systematic military history than a volume of travel literature. That genre to be sure is thoroughly respectable, and Keegan's graceful prose helps make his book a specimen of the high quality that the genre can

attain. Yet in saying so, there has to be disappointment. John Keegan can be so excellent a military historian that we wish he had bent all his professional talents to his military history of North America.

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The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784. Volume 8: May 5-December 31, 1783.
Edited by ELIZABETH M. NUXOLL and MARY A. GALLAGHER. (Pittsburgh:
University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996. lxix, 948p. Bibliographical references,
illustrations, index. \$100.00.)

Robert Morris was superintendent of finance of the United States from 1781 to 1784, during which time Yorktown decided the war, a treaty of peace was negotiated, the American army was demobilized, and the effort to establish a peacetime economy and government under the Articles of Confederation sputtered and began to show clear signs of failure, perhaps of catastrophe. Morris's role during these early days of the peace was equivalent to Washington's role during the war. It could be argued that, in the long run, Morris was as successful as Washington, in that disaster, in the form of a coup d'état, a breakup of the union, or financial collapse was averted, and in time a new form of government, far more congenial to Morris's vision of government than the Articles, was created under the U.S. Constitution. In short, Robert Morris is a truly important figure in American history, and these arguably are the most important years of his life.

The time covered by this volume is perhaps the most sensitive period of his superintendency, when the peace was real but unofficial and financial necessity required demobilizing the army. But there was no money to pay the officers for their service. There was an eerie and dangerous resemblance to conditions that existed during the English Civil War, a terrible similarity between the decisions Cromwell and Washington had to make concerning their soldiers and their legislatures. Morris was a crucial figure in this drama and in virtually every other important issue Americans had to confront. The effort to make the government under the Articles work, to find the money to run the government when the states had become recalcitrant and the French government was no longer willing to support the United States with loans, and to reorder American commerce at a time when Britain, France, and Spain were all intent on excluding American ships from the West Indies, made Morris the most important man in the government. But the financial complexities of these issues are immense. Few historians have ever understood them. Therefore, Morris's importance has been underestimated and the Confederation has been perceived as an obscure interlude between the end of the war and the beginning of the new government under the Constitution.

This edition is really a documentary history of the financial, commercial, and political events in this critical period. The function of the edition should be to make the documents available to historians and others in such a way that they are understandable, once and for all. The crucial word is "understandable." To do this requires an expertise that only a handful of historians have had. (The first editor of this project, E. James Ferguson, wrote one of the few books that make sense of this subject.) It requires an ability to explain the jargon and the complexities of eighteenth-century financial and commercial practices. The current editors have that rare knowledge and ability. The documents, which have resisted historians for so many years, yield to their ministrations. The effort is not easy. The annotation is substantial, far beyond the normal practice under modern canons of editing. I examined these documents from two perspectives: as an editor myself, generally skeptical of other editors who use their editions to write monographs, and as a historian who has struggled to understand the history of the Confederation. My conclusion is that the huge annotation in this volume is necessary. There are, it is true, excesses. But generally the annotation serves not to rewrite history, but to provide the information necessary to understand the documents. This is not grandiosity; it is heel-and-toe annotation to lead the reader through the difficulties. Document after document, the cumulative result is splendidly revelatory.

This is not to say that all is perfect with this volume. The selection of documents for publication was too generous. The editors fell victim to the well-known dictum that a document will always argue for its own inclusion. Many of the documents, such as the reports from the receivers of continental taxes on their skimpy tax collections and Morris's disappointed response to them, are repetitious and should have been relegated to the microform companion. There are few cross-references to the microform. Many of the documents of secondary value, which are printed in reduced type, could also have been relegated to the microform edition. The organization of the documents might have been improved. The editors enter into the details of the Pennsylvania Line's mutiny, which forced Congress to flee Philadelphia and was pregnant with even worse possibilities, by annotating an eleven-line letter with a thirteen-page headnote and ten pages of footnotes. And the letter never explicitly mentions the mutiny. It might have been wiser to combine the documents dealing with the army and the mutiny and to annotate the grouping.

The editors sometimes veer over the line in their annotation, as when they go from a very valuable heel-and-toe description of the mutiny into a rejoinder to historians who have argued that Morris instigated the mutiny. However, this deviation from their usual self-discipline is only a tiny part of the notes on the mutiny and is useful.

It is important to criticize editors who use their annotation not to explain their documents but to intrude into the historiography or to demonstrate mastery. I have recently made such criticism. But if the annotation is intended simply to explicate,

to facilitate the writing of history by others, if it invites historians to reexamine great events and issues that hitherto have been obscure, then a critic can only say that the editors have done their jobs well. And this the editors of the *Papers of Robert Morris* have done. Very well, indeed.

*Documentary History of the
Ratification of the Constitution*

RICHARD LEFFLER

The Papers of James Madison, Secretary of State Series: Volume 3: 1 March 1802–6 October 1802. Edited by DAVID B. MATTERN, J. C. A. STAGG, JEANNE KERR CROSS, and SUSAN HOLBROOK PERDUE. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. xxxix, 657p. Bibliography, index. \$47.50.)

This volume of the James Madison Papers covers a seven-month period in his career as secretary of state, from early March to early October 1802. The major foreign policy issues facing Madison and the scarcely year-old administration of Thomas Jefferson involved France, Spain, and the future of Louisiana and the Floridas, Toussaint L'Ouverture's rebellion against the French in Saint-Domingue, and the ongoing conflict with the Barbary States, which included Morocco's short-lived declaration of war against the United States. In addition, it fell to Madison's department to begin to implement the settlement between Georgia and the United States, by which the state ceded land west of the Chattahoochee River in exchange for a cash settlement, a confirmation of prior land grants on that ceded land, and the extinguishment of Indian land claims within the state of Georgia. This issue, like all of the above-mentioned foreign policy questions, was not resolved in this period.

The most alarming and potentially most consequential problem facing Madison and the administration was the rumored retrocession of Louisiana from Spain to France. Madison wrote Robert R. Livingston, United States minister to France, on May 1, 1802, that the "Cession of Louisiana to France becomes daily more and more a source of painful apprehensions." The secretary of state instructed Livingston to urge the French "to revise and abandon the project," for it would "have an instant and powerful effect in changing the relations" between the two countries, especially if the "session [*sic*] of the mouth of the Mississippi is to be added to other causes of discord, the worst events are to be apprehended" (pp. 175-76). But if the French persist, Livingston was told, he must ascertain the extent of the cession, and if it included the Floridas and New Orleans, press the French to sell those possessions to the United States.

During this time Madison was getting conflicting reports from his ministers in France and Spain. Charles Pinckey, United States minister to Spain, asked Madison in April for instruction "on the Terms, the Sum, mode and times" (p. 143) of what

the United States might offer Spain for the Floridas, while Livingston, at the same time, assured the secretary "that the floridas [*sic*] are given to France" (p. 156). Three months later, however, Livingston had changed his mind when the Spanish ambassador to France pledged to him "that the Floridas are not included in the cession" (p. 443).

The United States' concern about Louisiana was closely tied to France's fortunes in Saint-Domingue. For while the black revolt on the island uneasily reminded southern Americans of their vulnerability to the potential violence of their own slave population, they also worried that if the French were successful in subduing the rebellion this would make it easier for them to reestablish themselves in Louisiana. Much of Madison's correspondence on this issue reflected this ambivalence and was concerned with French requests for loans and credit and their protests against Americans trading with the rebels.

The editors have produced an impressive, attractive, and superbly detailed volume. And their thorough and painstaking scholarship enriches and enlarges the meaning and significance of individual letters. And while one might be impatient with only getting seven months' correspondence in a 657-page volume and be eager to trace to conclusion a number of fascinating and crucial foreign policy issues, our consolation is that if the succeeding volumes are as good, they will be worth the wait.

Syracuse University

JAMES ROGER SHARP

The Minister from France: Conrad-Alexandre Gérard, 1729-1790. By RUTH STRONG HUDSON. (Euclid, Ohio: Lutz Printing and Publishing Co., 1994. Distributed by Strong Bindery, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio. xiii, 279p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$40.00.)

Conrad-Alexandre Gérard was the first French minister to the United States. He was appointed after France recognized the United States in 1778. Named minister by French foreign minister Count de Vergennes, Gérard had negotiated the commercial and defensive treaties of February 1778 with United States commissioners Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee. Gérard had worked in previous diplomatic posts, primarily in German states, under the tutelage of duc de Choiseul and, after his dismissal in 1773, under Vergennes. Gérard was ennobled just before departing for the United States. He returned to France in 1779, partly due to poor health. Gérard served his remaining days as royal praetor of his native Strasbourg until his death in 1790. In this work Ruth Hudson has given us the most scholarly as well as the most complete biography of Gérard available. The author rightly concentrates on Gérard's critical role in French aid to the United States and his service in Philadelphia.

The author traces the numerous problems that Gérard faced in inflation-ridden and war-torn Philadelphia and his less than harmonious relations with many members of the Continental Congress. After the official ratification of the treaties between the two countries, Gérard was given a taste of the difficulties ahead with the debacle at Newport in 1778. He insisted, above all, that France and Frenchmen receive no official blame for the failure. Later, in the longest and most convoluted controversy of the Revolutionary War, he became a focal point of the emerging conflict over peace terms. The author devotes much attention to this eight-month debate in 1779, also known as the Deane-Lee affair. Although the issue was finally resolved, the outcome did not redound to the benefit of Gérard or the French position in the United States. Perhaps because his background was in dealing with minor German states, Gérard developed little understanding of the politics of the American Revolution. By the end of the debate on peace terms and boundaries, Gérard had so identified himself with the Deane forces that he became embroiled in internal American politics, both to his and his country's disadvantage. Wrongly calling the Lee forces anti-French, he condemned the group that first fostered independence, including Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee, the latter the author of the resolution for independence and proponent of the alliance with France. Hudson does not flinch from giving a critical appraisal of Gérard's performance, although she suggests that Gérard's unknown illness might have contributed to his less-than-stellar role.

Gérard, as the author rightly emphasizes, was deeply loyal to his king and to the French state, gaining wealth and position in the process. Both in the United States and later during the outbreak of the French Revolution in Strasbourg, Gérard had limited understanding of the underlying causes of the Revolution and even less sympathy with the people. His highly successful successor, Count de la Luzerne, received accolades as the finest example of a French diplomat and proved how close French-American relations could become. Unlike Gérard, Luzerne had towns and counties named after him. Later, when he served as ambassador to Great Britain, Luzerne received American visitors who sought his advice and quickly conveyed his opinions back to the United States. The contrast with Gérard could not have been greater. The author, in this fine biography, shows us why.

Syracuse University

WILLIAM STINCHCOMBE

Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts. By DANIEL R. MANDELL. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. ix, 255p. Bibliographical essay, notes, illustrations, index. \$40.00.)

The English victory in King Philip's War devastated but did not destroy Massachusetts's Indians. The character of their postwar lives, however, has until

now remained a mystery. Daniel Mandell rescues them from historical oblivion, but the story he tells is a depressing one indeed.

Mixed groups of refugees, including many Christian converts interned on Deer Island during the war, drifted back to praying towns such as Natick and Hassanamisset or to native villages on Cape Cod and the islands. There they attempted to pick up the pieces of their shattered lives. They rebuilt wigwams, returned to farming and hunting, reestablished kinship ties, and reinstated native rulers. Geographical isolation protected them from English encroachments, but not for long.

During the eighteenth century, waves of settlers engulfed the native communities, which steadily shrank in number. Indian villages lost population to disease and low fertility, land to aggressive settlers and insistent creditors, and resources to English poachers and trespassers. A new generation of natives adopted English methods to protect their dwindling property. In 1719 Natick Indians abandoned communal land ownership for English-style proprietorships, and other villages followed with modified versions of private property. Ironically, such measures aimed not only to preserve native lands from encroaching settlers, but also from immigrant Indians. Private ownership often provoked disputes among villagers and did not, in the end, stem the loss of land; nothing prevented native proprietors from selling their land to whites. The General Court intervened in 1746, appointing English guardians to protect Indian lands and resources, but these officials were at best ineffectual and at worst corrupt.

The decline of native communities accelerated in the era of the Seven Years' War and the Revolution. Many Indian soldiers died on campaigns, while surviving veterans brought disease back to their villages. Natick's disintegration was particularly dramatic. Its native population shrank from about 160 in 1754 to a mere thirty-seven in 1764; in 1778, only twenty-one Indians remained, seventeen of whom were women and children. Demographic crisis compelled native women to seek husbands among New England's other outcast population—African Americans—leading to tensions when such men gained rights to Indian land. Only a few communities, such as Mashpee and Gay Head, survived these terrible years, in part by absorbing population from disintegrating towns and in part by seeking state protection for their remaining lands.

Mandell ably constructs this story out of fragmentary evidence and gives voice to a previously silent people. He argues that the story of New England's Indians is one of creative adaptation under extreme duress. In his final chapter, Mandell contends that, far from being destroyed, New England's Indians developed "a startlingly modern ethnic identity that transcended race and place" (p. 165). Despite the loss of land, a dwindling population, and racial intermarriage, a sense of "Indianness" endured. It manifested itself, he maintains, whenever a mixed-race husband chose an Indian wife, a homeless native decided to settle in Mashpee, and an Indian woman made native handicrafts for sale. By retaining such cultural

elements, Indians built "a new community that would ensure their survival" (p. 202).

Despite his laudable effort to make New England Indians agents of their own history, Mandell overstates his case. He is too eager to find native survivals in Indian behavior under English domination. He sees Indian wage labor forming "a link with native traditions" (p. 37) because it was seasonal and migratory, and insists on the "aboriginal" character of whaling (p. 197). Such comparisons ignore crucial differences, particularly laborers' dependence on employers and the debt peonage that compelled Indians to hunt whales. Likewise, his contention that natives wandering about the countryside in search of work helped to expand family and community networks (p. 169) is strained. Such conclusions do less than justice to the fine research that underlies this otherwise valuable study.

University of Colorado, Boulder

VIRGINIA DEJOHN ANDERSON

Oley Valley Heritage, The Colonial Years: 1700-1775. By PHILIP E. PENDLETON. (Birdsboro, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania German Society and the Oley Valley Heritage Association, 1994. 232p. Bibliography, illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$49.95.)

Before the Revolution, Berks County's Oley Valley typified the pluralism for which Pennsylvania was famed. The Swedes, Netherlanders, English, French, Swiss, and Germans who settled there together worked out most of their differences and exhibited generally warm relations during the colonial years. The Oley Valley, which ranks with Skippack, Goshenhoppen, Conestoga, and Tulpehocken as one of Pennsylvania's earliest settlements, thus constitutes for historians an important example, in miniature, of the adjustment and accommodation that characterized Pennsylvania's broad mixture of ethnic and religious groups. Today, the Oley region is also just as widely recognized by preservationists and architectural historians for its historic landscape. The area's remarkable concentration of surviving eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century buildings spurred the nomination of Oley Township as a National Register Historic District in 1983; this was the first rural municipality in America to be listed in its entirety. In *Oley Valley Heritage, The Colonial Years: 1700-1775*, historian and preservationist Philip E. Pendleton, whose personal roots run deep in the Oley region, adroitly combines the story of the valley's early history with its extraordinary architectural legacy. The result is a rich and thoughtful place narrative that focuses on the cultural landscape of the Oley's prerevolutionary years.

The book is organized into five chapters that deal with the land, the economy, architecture, religion, and community. Excerpts from contemporary newspapers and real estate advertisements are collected at the ends of several chapters. Appendixes include excellent early township zone maps, an architectural glossary, genealogical

information, and lists of local officials, schools, ministers, and preachers in the colonial period. Especially useful is a compilation of isometric drawings that illustrates regional house plan types. Pendleton mined family papers, newspapers, wills and inventories, tax lists, road papers, petitions, letters, diaries, and account books as well as surviving buildings and landscape features for this study. He defines the Oley Valley region the same way that its colonial inhabitants did—as a much larger area than that encompassed by the present-day Oley Township; the name “Oley” in early documents included portions of present-day Oley, Exeter, Amity, Earl, Pike, and Douglass townships.

Pendleton traces this area’s settlement from the earliest migrations of British, Swedish, German, and Netherlandish settlers through the massive influx by German-speaking people in the mid-eighteenth century. As in other parts of the region, wheat drove the local economy and enabled many Oley farmers to create and perpetuate a family legacy, expressed in material terms by a well-tended homestead capped by a two-story stone “mansion house.” Yet this wheat-based agricultural system, Pendleton argues, also may have facilitated communication among the different nationality groups in the area, for “after a few years in the Oley Valley, the German, Welsh, Swedish, Swiss, and English farmers could speak a common agricultural language” (p. 31).

Religious as well as ethnic diversity characterized the Oley, with Quakers, Lutherans, Moravians, and various German sectarian groups adding to the mix. While the mixture of European regional identities “soon coalesced into just two camps: those who spoke German as their primary language for everyday use, and those who spoke English” (p. 137), this language and cultural barrier proved both permeable and transitory. The valley’s community life forced cultural contact in many different settings. Nationalities typically mixed at weddings and funerals, as in the case of the 1753 funeral for Philip Beyer, where Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg followed his German sermon with an English one out of respect for Beyer’s English neighbors in attendance. The community-building practice of “neighboring,” a virtual institution in the valley and one that took on quasi-legal status, also played a part. Thus, in a region where it was considered part of one’s duty to protect the well-being of one’s neighbors, it was not just an accident of fate that a nearby neighbor was usually present to witness a will or appraise a deceased man’s estate (p. 140).

Architecture, too, reflected some of this melding; still, the complex process of accommodation and adaptation was multidirectional, and both Anglo and German architectural forms underwent gradual, if fitful, transformations. While many Germanic stove-room houses surviving from the later eighteenth century exhibit more balanced, well-lit, and orderly facades than their more medieval-looking predecessors from several decades earlier, Pendleton also cites the examples of two Oley Valley Englishmen who chose to build homes for their German wives in the

German-derived house mode. Just as significantly, the author suggests, the “split personality” exemplified by German Palladian buildings did not necessarily signify a reconciliation of vernacular German and fashionable English Palladian architectural practices, but instead may have constituted an expression of a distinctively German Palladian architecture.

By the later eighteenth century, contact between diverse settlement groups and responses to American conditions had produced a distinctive regional architecture—an architecture that was not only a combination of old and new elements but also notably different from anything in Europe. Likewise, a regional culture that deviated from the culture of the inhabitants’ various European forebears had also evolved in the Oley, and Pendleton argues that the widespread adoption of the Pennsylvania agricultural system by all groups was one of the most critical factors underlying its formation.

For architectural and local historians, the fine photographs, drawings, and period illustrations alone make *Oley Valley Heritage* worth a closer look. But while anyone with even a passing interest in the Oley Valley or Pennsylvania-German building traditions will want to read this book, its broader significance rests in the deftness with which its author effectively integrates architectural and documentary evidence to relate the story of this important early American cultural landscape.

University of Delaware

GABRIELLE M. LANIER

The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania. By CHARLES MORSE STOTZ. Introduction by DELL UPTON. (Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996. liii, 296p. Bibliography, illustrations, notes, index. \$60.00.)

Pity the publisher that has an important, out-of-print book by a dead author on its hands! Update the book, and the purists will cry foul. Reissue the book unchanged, and working scholars will decry a missed opportunity to keep pace with a changing field. The University of Pittsburgh Press took a middle option with Stotz’s *Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania*, which was first published in New York in 1936, then enlarged and reissued as *The Architectural Heritage of Early Western Pennsylvania* (1966). Stotz’s pioneer study now regains its original title and original plates (from refurbished negatives) and emerges in a third edition, enlarged yet again with a perceptive new introduction by a noted historian of vernacular architecture, Dell Upton.

Thus a book about preservation has itself become a preservation issue. Should this badly outdated book have been preserved or modernized? The 1966 reissue kept the old plates and text but added a contextual introduction by Stotz and a listing of

other historic buildings in western Pennsylvania that had been independently recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). This second reissue declares (p. xli) its intent "to supplement the original edition but not to alter the existing book." This, however, is less innocuous than it sounds, for not only must a reader wade through fifty-three new pages to get to the original text, but Stotz's text and illustrations get deconstructed in the process.

When the École Française of Rome faced a similar problem with Emile Bertaux's 1904 *L'Art dans l'Italie Meridionale* (another pioneer effort in a field not previously regarded as worth investigating), it reprinted the old book intact, but also released four companion volumes of updates. The result is visually choppy, but it gives the monuments themselves new life: they are once again worth arguing over and visiting. The University of Pittsburgh Press chose to preserve Stotz's text and plates both untouched and free of factual updates. Collectors of books on early America may treasure this third edition, but it is questionable whether workers in the field will be stimulated by such an antiseptic repackaging of Stotz, even with—especially with?—Upton's contextualization of the original book.

For several reasons it is unlikely that this reissue will cause the old monuments to be either studied or visited. Two minor reasons are small but telling: Stotz provided neither driving directions nor inducement to visit the buildings in the original book, and sixty years later the reader has no idea how to get to the old buildings or whether they are even standing. Take "Plantation Plenty," the Isaac Manchester House. Stotz cited it on eleven separate pages, and gave it twelve illustrations: vastly more than any other of the ten dozen buildings in the book. But where precisely is the house? The captions on the drawings specify "Near West Middletown—Washington County," which is unlikely to help potential visitors. The book's map—just one for the whole volume—offers no more than an elegant geographical approximation. Given that a dozen or more of these structures have been demolished since 1936, a reader has no idea what the status of the Manchester House is today. Since the same publisher's *Guidebook to Historic Sites in Western Pennsylvania* contains that information, with concise driving directions to this and hundreds of nearby houses, it would surely have been a simple matter to include it.

Why, one wonders, was Stotz so summary and laconic on building locations in his 1936 text? My guess is that he did not want to disturb the building owners. How else to explain why he illustrated merely one door from the Shields House, indubitably the great Federal house of the region, on a main road just north of Pittsburgh? He was evidently loathe to disturb the Shields dynasty with the riffraff of visiting architectural historians.

These logistical failings of Stotz made his book of minor value to me in writing my own *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*, but its inadequate text was an even larger shortcoming. Stotz *has* a text, certainly, and on building techniques it is well worth reading. But ultimately the text reads as a checklist of selected structures, not as an

integrated history of early buildings in western Pennsylvania. Perhaps that is why the book's influence has been slight. Morrison failed to take advantage of it in writing his *Early American Architecture* a generation later. Hamlin did acknowledge Stotz in his *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, but his half-dozen pages synthesized the movement in western Pennsylvania in a masterly way that was beyond Stotz. (It is not irrelevant to record that the drawing Hamlin used from Stotz was radically cropped: to a modern eye the illustrations are as scattershot as the text.)

Now that the Society of Architectural Historians has launched its Building of the United States series (one volume of which will redo western Pennsylvania), many scholars are asking themselves again how to get at the distinctive qualities of an architectural region. Here the reissue of Stotz serves us well, not only for its pioneer effort to record what few had thought worth studying in one particular region, but for reopening a wider discussion of what and who the regional architectural survey is serving in the first place.

University of Pittsburgh

FRANKLIN TOKER

April '65: Confederate Covert Action in the American Civil War. By WILLIAM A. TIDWELL. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1995. xvi, 264p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$30.00.)

This book really is two books in one, and each has its own strengths and weaknesses. The first treatise details all of the Confederate covert activities in the Civil War. Tidwell lists the key personnel and recounts their various intrigues and plans in great detail. The efforts of many of these individuals to help the Confederate navy and to save the Confederate nation are all laid out for the reader. Their attempts to free prisoners of war, as well as to convince the Union that the war was lost, are extensively documented. In addition, it explains the funding for the operations, and paints a fairly convincing paper trail. The details though are almost overwhelming at points. This part of the work is well-researched, well-developed, fully noted, and a great contribution to Civil War historiography.

The second book, woven around and throughout the first, attempts to argue that John Wilkes Booth was a member of the Confederate Secret Service, and that he was involved in several different plots. First, he attempted to capture Lincoln; then he worked toward blowing up the White House. When both of these efforts failed, he supposedly decided to kill the president. It should be noted that Tidwell links the Confederate Secret Service only to the kidnaping and explosion plots. After those failed, he suggests, Booth, for unknown and unstated reasons, decided to kill the president on his own initiative. Tidwell is seeking to answer critics and further the thesis that he first advanced in his coauthored work *Come Retribution: The*

Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln (1988). The proof for these assertions is much more circumstantial than those for Tidwell's arguments about the Confederate Secret Service. For instance, he claims that Colonel Mosby was directly involved in the efforts to blow up the White House. In support of this assertion, he cites the fact that Mosby was only fifteen miles from Washington on April 10, four days before Lincoln was shot. However, with only one hundred miles between Washington and Richmond, Mosby would have at least a one-in-seven chance of being within fifteen miles of Washington merely on the basis of probability. Second, he uses the existing Confederate records, which are admittedly incomplete, in an attempt to trace the funds used. He often jumps over gaps in the record and always concludes that the patchwork of evidence supports his thesis. For instance, he holds that a man carrying alleged secret service funds was supposedly aiming to link up with Booth. He insists that this man had such monies because "no other activity under way at that time would have required similar amounts from the secret action account" (p. 12). It goes without saying that this is a strong statement given that all of the records are not extant. The author later argues that this mystery man involved Mosby in his plot, while the only solid evidence is that he traveled with Mosby and was escorted by his men. Thus, even with this new work, the jury still seems to be out on the Confederate Secret Service's involvement in the Lincoln assassination. However, for those who want to learn about that organization's participation in a myriad of intrigues during the Civil War and about the various colorful personalities who made up these units, this volume is well worth reading.

Northern Kentucky University

SCOTT A. MERRIMAN

The North American Railroad: Its Origin, Evolution, and Geography. By JAMES E. VANCE, JR. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xvi, 348p. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Unlike many railroad histories which focus on individuals who financed and built American railroads, James Vance has written a detailed account of the relationships between the development of American railroad technology, on the one hand, and the commercial economy and landforms which dictated the actual location of individual railroad lines on the other. Vance characterizes the development of the North American railroad as fundamentally different from that which developed concurrently in England.

English railroads were built to connect urban places in an already developed economy and, as such, adopted high standards of construction that minimized grades. Steam locomotives used by these railroads were smaller and had less pulling power than their American counterparts. By way of contrast, American railroad

construction was constrained by scarcity of capital, lack of on-line business, and at times difficult terrain. Accordingly, American railroad lines were built to less exacting standards, with steeper grades, utilizing whatever low gradients landforms might provide, even at the expense of greater circuitry. Steeper grades favored the development of more powerful locomotives on American railroads.

Vance's insightful knowledge of American economic development in the nineteenth century, changing rail technologies, and constraints placed upon the developing railroads by the pattern of landforms of North America make this a true "geographic" study of American railroad evolution. The book is organized chronologically. Chapter 1 traces railroad development in the eastern United States, pointing out that cities like Baltimore and Boston were poorly located to be connected to the interior of the continent by canal development. Railroad development became imperative if these two cities were to profit from trade with interior locations. Chapter 2 describes the integration of local railroad links into railroad systems, tying the eastern seaboard with the Middle West and continuing westward across the Great Plains. The role of early surveys attempting to find possible locations for the first transcontinental railroads are outlined together with the politics involved in route selection.

Chapter 3 traces the development of the concept of "natural territory" as applied by railroad companies and the construction and operation of additional transcontinental railroads. A final chapter examines the role of railroads in the developmental history of Canada, and the role of the Canadian Pacific Railway in tying together eastern and western Canada. Vance carries his account of Canadian railroading past the midway point of the twentieth century, strongly pointing out the developmental aspect of Canadian railroads.

A few errors are to be found in this book. On page 97, Vance indicates that Saluda grade, the steepest main-line track in America, was abandoned. A 1996 railroad map from the Norfolk Southern Railroad indicates that the line remains in operation. The double-page map of North American railroads in 1994, inside the back cover, contains some very significant omissions. Arguably, one of the highest density lines in North America is not shown, namely the Powder River coal line in Wyoming. Further, important rail lines in Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia are omitted.

This is an excellent book and should be a delight to readers interested in the evolution and geography of the North American railroad. A good knowledge of the landforms of North America, or at least a somewhat detailed map of landforms of the North American continent would be most helpful to the reader.

Louisa S. McCord: Poems, Drama, Biography, Letters. Edited by RICHARD C. LOUNSBURY. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xii, 487p. Bibliography, afterword, index. \$37.50.)

Louisa Susannah Cheves McCord (1810-79), poet, essayist, and playwright, wrote from a commitment to the ideals of the Confederacy. As such, her work has most often been considered as that of a minor figure in Southern literature or of an unusual woman who did not fear to write essays about political economy. With its companion volume, *Louisa S. McCord: Political and Social Essays* (1995), also edited by Richard C. Lounsbury, this book makes available all of Louisa McCord's written work. Such a book demands to be considered on two levels: as an edition and as the work of an author largely ignored in literary scholarship.

As far as the former goes, Lounsbury has provided readers with a skillfully edited, thoroughly documented book. Not only does it include the complete texts of McCord's most important imaginative work—a volume of poetry, *My Dreams* (1848), and a play, *Caius Gracchus* (1851)—but it also has all her surviving letters, fragments of a biography of her father, Langdon Cheves, and very detailed ancillary materials: genealogies, chronology, textual and explanatory notes, bibliography, and a critical assessment in the form of an afterword. Scholars interested in her work can now find reliable texts with excellent notes.

It is McCord herself who is the harder to review. Fiercely attached to her father, Louisa McCord identified intensely with his commitment to uphold the Southern slave economy. Her essays on slavery, echoes of which appear in her correspondence, defend what she calls “United States negro slavery” as a benign institution, saving a race that would otherwise be unable to care for itself. McCord refused to see the perversities in the system that her slaveholding friend, Mary Boykin Chesnut, did and blistered Harriet Beecher Stowe for perpetrating falsehoods about violence against slaves. Unlike such recovered authors as Lydia Child, whose politics find sympathetic readers now, McCord's single-minded, if sophisticated defense of the Lost Cause will not generate many modern supporters.

Her belles lettres consist of poems and a play. The poems, published by her husband, David McCord, without her knowledge, have little to recommend them. Most of the pieces in the *My Dreams* section are vague and formulaic. In his afterword, Lounsbury makes a gallant attempt to show that the poems have formal complexity, but too many lines with phrases like “Heavenly beams” show McCord's poems as lacking in originality of language or content. More lively is her searing satiric poem called “Woman's Progress,” which ridicules the women's movement of the time. McCord found women seeking to surpass their ordained roles to be as laughable—and threatening—as African-American slaves seeking freedom and equality. Considered by her contemporaries as “manly” or “mannish” in her force of character and appearance, she detested any agitation for women's rights.

The one work that transcends her politics and poetics is *Caius Gracchus*. As vigorous in language as any of the classicized dramas of the time—for instance, Robert Montgomery Bird's *The Gladiator* (1831)—McCord's unstaged play bears similarity to Mercy Otis Warren's drama *The Sack of Rome* (1790). In both, male republican heroes are bolstered by strong female figures. Caius Gracchus leads the plebs in Rome with appeals to principle and receives support from his noble mother, Cornelia. In her lifetime and since, writers have likened McCord herself to Cornelia and seen the play as reflecting her more notorious views. Are the maligned senators to be taken as Yankees, as one critic has suggested? Perhaps, but the play's artistic merit and complexity of character prevent its being read as only a North-South allegory. By giving scholars an accessible edition of the play and freshly researched background about McCord, Lounsbury's volume makes a contribution to historical and literary studies.

Old Dominion University

JEFFREY H. RICHARDS

Popularizing Pennsylvania: Henry W. Shoemaker and the Progressive Uses of Folklore and History. By SIMON J. BRONNER. (University Park: Penn State Press, 1996. xxii, 277p. Bibliographical references, notes, index. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$17.50.)

Simon Bronner has painted a larger-than-life portrait of Henry Shoemaker, an innovative and creative force in Pennsylvania's cultural development. Certainly Shoemaker's career as a banker, newspaper publisher, diplomat, folklorist, and state government official was unique by any standard. His personal wealth and his prolific writing gave him visibility and easy access to leaders in politics and the press. His tireless search for folk stories and characters and his flair for publicity literally put hundreds of new geographic names on Pennsylvania's map and figuratively altered the commonwealth's cultural landscape.

Bronner occasionally interrupts this rich biographical narrative with long sections of literary criticism and scholarly analysis of the style and content of Shoemaker's work as a folklorist. As a result, he does not devote enough attention to the context in which Shoemaker worked and flourished. This omission is important because Shoemaker endured extensive criticism in the later stages of his career. Although Shoemaker was a singular presence in Pennsylvania in his approach to collecting and preserving state history and folklore, he was not out of step with his counterparts in other states.

The support Shoemaker received from state government is of particular interest, since he advocated public participation in cultural conservation and, later, he benefited from state sponsorship for his work as a staff member of the Pennsylvania

Historical and Museum Commission. Once again, the unfavorable reviews he received as a state official might be better understood by further discussion of parallel episodes in the commission's efforts in public history. For example, the reconstruction by the commission of Pennsbury Manor in Bucks County, which occurred in the 1930s, achieved instant notoriety as a colonial revival version of late-seventeenth-century architecture. Shoemaker was a tastemaker and innovator, as Bronner suggests, but he also represented the first generation of cultural conservators and preservationists who created a new field of inquiry and interpretation.

Bronner's concluding chapter on Shoemaker's legacy and the role of heritage conservation in contemporary life is provocative. Shoemaker recognized the connections between cultural, natural, scenic, and recreational values. His vision of a regional culture, however romantic and exaggerated it may have been, continues to enjoy broad interest among policy makers and the general public. The emergence of heritage parks programs in Pennsylvania and the proposals for a national network of heritage regions clearly strike the same intellectual and emotional chords that attracted Henry Shoemaker to his subjects and attracted readers and followers to his work. A more thorough discussion of Shoemaker's audiences, in fact, would be worthwhile to include in this otherwise very worthy and timely book.

*Pennsylvania Historical
and Museum Commission*

BRENT D. GLASS

Twentieth Century Pittsburgh, Volume II: The Post-Steel Era. By ROY LUBOVE.
(Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996. xiii, 413p. Bibliographical references, notes, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$19.95.)

With the publication of *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh, Volume II: The Post-Steel Era*, the late Roy Lubove of the University of Pittsburgh completes one of the most valuable and complete modern historical surveys of twentieth-century Pittsburgh. An informative and admirable book, it is, of course, the sequel to the widely appreciated first volume, *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change* (1969). In the new volume, Lubove describes and analyzes the major decisions, institutions, events, programs and personalities that recast the one-time steel city over the last two decades. Moreover, he presents the united resolve of a wide assortment of community leaders to lure high technology and reverse the negative economic consequences from deindustrialization occasioned by the decline of the local steel industry. Any number of urban specialists in the disciplines of history, sociology, social work, political science, and economics will welcome this highly useful study.

Lubove begins by briefly profiling the "bygone world" of industrial Pittsburgh

during the first half of the twentieth century, and then he vividly describes the painful shutdown of the steel industry in human terms of the suffering of workers' families. He also analyzes the strategy of decision makers to rebuild a post-steel Pittsburgh founded on advanced technology-based modernization, and explores essential "research and development" contributions from the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon University, as well as the 1985 "Strategy 21" of a public-private partnership.

As the heart of *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh*, Lubove describes the phenomenon of Renaissance II (1977-1992) as the city's fundamental transformation from a manufacturing to a diversified service center. Pittsburgh's Renaissance II witnessed the erection of resplendent skyscrapers in the Golden Triangle as well as fresh, vigorous commitment to neighborhood revitalization. Civic leaders who carried out this ambitious rebirth also stressed culture, science, and art embodied in the downtown cultural district and in backing vital, innovative undertakings such as the Andy Warhol Museum and the Carnegie Science Center.

In the second half of the book, Lubove tells the story of neighborhood-based renewal projects and finds "subsidized empowerment" much more effective at rejuvenating poor areas than what he refers to as out-of-date, counterproductive, good-intentioned liberal welfare measures of the past. Lubove devotes two chapters to Pittsburgh's community development corporations and their workings, one chapter to community development in the city that investigates the varieties of nonprofit components, one chapter on the new political economy of culture in the Pittsburgh area, and one on historic preservation and the industrial heritage of the Pittsburgh region. In a strong conclusion, Lubove defends his findings against more pessimistic, critical studies of recent and present-day Pittsburgh.

The amount of research undertaken by Lubove is impressive. A survey of his endnotes, acknowledgments, and appendixes clearly reveals that he has thoroughly explored all source material relevant to his subject. He also has a sure-footed sense of perspective that is grounded in the consensus tradition: "In essence, Pittsburgh governance and public policy formulation has been rooted in a public-private partnership ideology that discouraged confrontational strategies of change in favor of consensus building" (p. vii).

In spite of occasional attacks on the Clinton administration and "liberal" figures, *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh* is a book that commands respect. Everything that went into the making of it was done with great care. Based on extensive research in primary and secondary materials, this well-written study is an important contribution to a growing body of scholarly literature on post-industrial urban America. And in this regard it is an admirable model sure to serve as an instructive guide for many future studies of other modern American cities.

A Community of Memory: My Days with George and Clara. By JEFF GUNDY. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. xvi, 158p. Photographs. \$14.95.)

Jeff Gundy's book is hard to categorize. According to the Library of Congress cataloguing-in-publication data, it is genealogy. But this reviewer, who is a librarian and a genealogist, is not comfortable with that classification. Most of the text is an imaginative recreation of the "voices" of various ancestors, from the early nineteenth century to the present. There are no notes, references, or much supporting documentation. Most of it is made up by the author. The clue to understanding what is going on here is found in the blurb on the back cover: "A volume in the series Creative Nonfiction." And that is indeed what it is. Gundy writes: "I soon found out that no history is just one story. . . . There were voices there that wanted to speak, that took on lives of their own as I tried to listen to them, to fill in their blanks" (p. xv). And fill in the blanks he did.

After years of reading diaries, church minutes, letters, and interviews, Gundy composed narratives based on historical facts but written as historical fiction. This is not to say that what he wrote is not true; it is historical fact dressed up as historical fiction. In his own words, "What is here is not complete, not satisfactory, not to be trusted, but it's what I, with the help of all these others living and dead, have been able to do" (p. xvi).

Gundy begins with the voice of John Strubhar, talking about his life in Ohio since he arrived in 1826. Marie Strubhar's voice is next; she tells about life on the prairie in Illinois. She is followed by Barbara Gundy and then Joseph Joder. Joder was an interesting poet and "heretic" who believed in universal salvation. He was accepted for the former and rejected for the latter. The voice of the wandering preacher, Peter Nafzinger, follows. His wife left him and his wandering and moved in with their son. On his sojourns at home, they would get together, but she refused to move in permanently with a traveling man.

Chapters 6 and 7 are Jacob Gundy and Valentine Strubhar respectively. They are the fathers of George and Clara for whom the book is named. Besides a full-time ministry in the Mennonite church, George and Clara run an old-folks' home. Clara bakes, cleans, and tends to the needs of the residents. George, though not healthy, preaches, fundraises, and does all the other things needed to keep the place going.

Who are these people and why do their stories—factual or otherwise—need telling? The clue is in the final chapter. The book is not so much about the lives of these two individuals; it is a book about memory—individual and collective. To the author's credit, he steers clear of hagiography—so tempting in a book of this nature. Jeff Gundy is an English professor at Bluffton College who uses his literary abilities to interpret and write the voices.

My telling is guilty and compromised in all the usual ways. My only excuse is that this human world is not objective either. Its true substance is not bodies and soil and homes and weapons, but thought and speech and memory; those things that flit through us while we are at rest or trying to sleep or about some ordinary business. The true substance of the world is in those images, feelings, words that come back to us, memories that simply arise and linger, making no demands except that we acknowledge them, as real an any other piece of this terrible, humdrum, miraculous world" (pp. 155-56).

There are some inconsistencies in the format. The voices are all in block text; the commentaries by Gundy are in italics. However, at the end (p. 115), the heading is George but the voice is Clara. Elsewhere (p. 138), the heading is Murphy but the voice begins as an unknown narrator; later it switches to become George. The final voice of the book is Gundy himself as an eleven year old.

Gundy does a fine job of writing fiction as fact. It is not, however, a great genealogical work, nor does it purport to be. "The story as it's given here is only some fragments drawn from the tangled thicket of the past, tinkered and arranged and planted here for you like an imitation garden. . . . It's not objective and not fair" (p. 155). The author's methodology may not appeal to scholars or serious genealogists, but the book certainly belongs in a sectarian or regional library. It does give a flavor for the people and the times. But as any genealogist or historian knows, fact is more reliable than fiction.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

LEE ARNOLD

Our National Park System: Caring for America's Greatest Natural and Historic Treasures. By DWIGHT F. RETTIE. Foreword by STEWART F. UDALL. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. 293p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$36.95.)

The concept of national parks was the "best idea the United States ever had," according to more than one writer. In 1872 Congress reserved the spectacular Yellowstone country in the Wyoming and Montana territories "as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." There being no state government yet to which it could be entrusted, Yellowstone remained in the custody of the federal government's Department of the Interior as a national park—the world's first area to be so designated. Congress followed the Yellowstone precedent with other national parks in the 1890s and early 1900s, including Sequoia, Yosemite, Mount Rainier, Crater Lake, and Glacier. Soon presidents, most notably Theodore Roosevelt, were using newly granted powers to proclaim national monuments such as Grand Canyon and Devils Tower. By 1916 the Interior Department was responsible for fourteen national parks and twenty-one national

monuments. In that year Congress created the National Park Service to manage the emerging system. Under the leadership of Stephen T. Mather, the new bureau undertook to develop policies for administering the national parks. The policies created today's unresolved tension between preservation and development, between the mandate to preserve the wilderness values of the parks as nearly undisturbed as possible and the simultaneous desire to open them up to extensive recreational use.

Dwight F. Rettie is a retired Park Service employee with a long career in park and recreation management. In this well-written and closely reasoned book he undertakes to survey the current state of the park system and recommend changes in policies and management to see it into the next century. Most significantly he finds that there is in fact not a "park system" at all but rather a conglomeration of almost 400 parks, monuments, reserves, preserves, recreation areas, affiliated areas, etc., which grew up through congressional action and bureaucratic expansion. One chapter gives what is probably an intentionally amusing picture of an insider's view of the congressional "park barrel" politics that often saddle the Park Service with unwanted units. Rettie has critical views of the lack of professional standards for the employment of Park Service rangers, contrasting this situation with the highly professionalized Forest Service. The result, he says, is that the Park Service lacks a solid core understanding of its mission and has a cadre of employees who are generalists with little specific training. Of course, unlike forestry, national park managers may be dealing with historical sites, natural wilderness areas, and artistic and cultural resources, which are not easily subsumed under one academic specialization. Rettie is also critical of the Park Service's tendency to emphasize the "crown jewels" of the system, the great western scenic parks such as Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon, at the expense of "lesser" areas. Often the service's own best friends, such as the Sierra Club and the National Parks and Conservation Association perpetuate this attitude, suggesting that the system is overloaded with areas of little scenic, wilderness, or historic value that divert scarce resources from the "jewels."

Rettie's most surprising conclusion may be that the Park Service, despite the conventional wisdom, is not really underfunded. In a pathbreaking analysis of budget requests, operating funds, visitation statistics, and number of units, he shows that the national parks have actually fared much better than most other government bureaus since 1916. The parks are among our most beloved and revered national icons and on an overall basis park operating budgets have more than kept pace with inflation. Rettie recommends a number of solutions, including a new definition of the national park system to convey an objective concept and standard against which proposed new areas may be judged. The book is recommended for anyone seriously interested in the history of the national park idea and its current status in the United States.

Harlem at War: The Black Experience in WW II. By NAT BRANDT. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996. xv, 277p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$28.95.)

Historical studies on the United States' entry into and its involvement in World War II generally focus on, among other salient issues, the commitment of families, friends, and neighbors to the struggle against the Germans and Japanese. Nat Brandt's engagingly written *Harlem at War: The Black Experience in WW II* identifies and comments on obstacles that prevented the inhabitants of America's largest black community and those in other cities and states from enjoying full equality and equal opportunity.

He begins this study in 1664, when Holland ceded its New Netherlands colony to Great Britain, and carries it through the end of World War II, ending with a brief commentary on Harlem in the 1990s. Brandt compares the slow growth of slavery in the colony when it belonged to Holland with its rapid expansion after it became a British possession.

Several of the more interesting sections of this book explore the impact of the introduction of segregation into the New York colony by the British and the resulting racial conflicts between colonists and blacks, the tensions between immigrants, notably the Irish and black workers, and how each drove blacks to seek a section within New York where they could establish a stable, unified community.

Harlem is the site that was ultimately chosen. The change in the complexion of this area was swift, beginning in 1904. But blacks in Harlem neither created a unified community nor were they able to free themselves of a heritage shaped by economic and social conditions that relegated them to a second-class status. The racial violence which has marked New York history was caused largely by white insistence on black subjugation and growing black militancy, in particular that following the end of World War I.

During both world wars black New Yorkers were faced with a dilemma: caught up in economic and social discrimination at home, should they support America's involvement or fight for democracy abroad when they did not have democracy at home? Influential black leaders during World War I feared that whites would misconstrue opposition to the war and saw it as detrimental to black goals. A majority of blacks, including black leadership, supported the war effort during World War II because they believed they could secure equality by proving themselves on the battlefield.

Those blacks who enlisted or were drafted in the military and those remaining on the homefront were subjected to numerous indignities. An electrified barbed wire fence surrounded the black soldiers' barracks at Fort Huachuca, Arizona. Singer Lena Horne walked out of a performance for troops at Camp Robinson, Arkansas, upon learning that German prisoners of war were seated in the best seats in front

of black soldiers. Race riots erupted in cities as diverse as Newark, Mobile, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and New York, oftentimes because of employment and housing discrimination but more often because of white-led violence.

This book's title is misleading. Chapters 1 through 5 concentrate almost exclusively on blacks in New York; chapters 6 through 14 are about black life throughout America, but again in chapter 19 Brandt concentrates primarily on black Harlem. These cavils aside, this book offers a compelling analysis of the racism that blacks were faced with daily. It is an important work that provides interpretations and is a welcome addition to histories that treat the black condition in American society over several centuries. *Harlem at War* is an insightful historical account of those factors in particular that have contributed to conditions, attitudes, and customs that set the stage for conflict between blacks and whites in Harlem and elsewhere during the World War II era.

University of Rochester

JESSE T. MOORE

All at Sea: Coming of Age in World War II. By LOUIS R. HARLAN. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. xiii, 212p. Illustrations. \$24.95.)

Louis Harlan is a distinguished scholar whose works on Booker T. Washington have won the Bancroft, Beveridge, and Pulitzer prizes. He is a past president of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the Southern Historical Association. Just why he undertook to write a coming-of-age autobiography in the confessional vein is hard to understand.

The story he tells is a pedestrian account of service in the U.S. Navy late in World War II as a young naval officer aboard a not especially seaworthy type of landing craft. From an upper-middle-class Georgia family, Harlan graduated from Emory University before attending midshipmen's school at Columbia University. He was then sent to an amphibious training base at Solomons, Maryland, where he was assigned to an LCI (Landing Craft Infantry) as its most junior officer. In April 1944 his LCI was sent to England where the crew engaged in practice landings to prepare for the Normandy invasion. Harlan's craft helped to carry the second wave of troops to Omaha Beach. Later his vessel was reassigned to the Mediterranean where it shuttled between the North African coast, Italy, and France. In 1945 vessel and crew were reassigned to the Pacific theater, but the war ended before they arrived. Ironically, one of their tasks was to ferry Chinese troops from the Red River area of Vietnam to transports waiting offshore.

Harlan stayed with his ship as it recrossed the Pacific, with a layover in San Diego, before sailing south to the Panama Canal and home to Charleston, South Carolina, where his vessel was decommissioned and he was finally released from the

navy. He closes with a brief description of his early graduate work at Vanderbilt, his admission to the graduate program in history at Johns Hopkins, and his marriage to Sadie Morton.

Harlan's military service was not particularly exciting—aside from the landings in Normandy he was not under fire—but the steady useful work performed by this little vessel and its crew suggests the huge amount of effort required to move armies and supplies during wartime, often in difficult weather.

Harlan wrote to his girlfriend Diana throughout his time away, and, indeed, he quotes extensively from his letters to her. She had saved his letters, which he later borrowed; he had not saved hers. Sadly, these letters reveal little of interest about him or his experiences. Indeed, they are so jejune and conventional that one cringes upon reading them. Since he kept no written accounts of his own and readily admits forgetting a great many details, he relies heavily on the accounts kept by his friend Harold "Cotton" Clark. Indeed, it is disconcerting when Harlan starts to relate an event only to slip into extensive quotes from Cotton's diary. Harlan also relied heavily on the ship's log, which he found in the National Archives. Harlan is self-deprecating and readily admits his youthful ignorance, sometime arrogance, and occasional incompetence.

His relationships with women are chronicled in embarrassing detail. Not Diana, his erstwhile correspondent, for she was the girl-on-a-pedestal back home to whom he wrote regularly and who, he seemed to assume, was waiting for him to come back and propose. Other women were fair game. A one-night stand with a working-class English woman—his first "real" sexual experience—is related in detail, all of which he recalls—except her name. He was attracted to another young English woman, but she proved "too respectably middle-class to be seducible" (p. 83). While in San Diego, on his way to the Far East, he met Sylvia with whom he conducted a passionate affair. She was an obsession, he says (p. 139), but his subsequent letters to her were filled with cruel ambiguities. Seeing her again on his way home, he made it clear, implicitly if not explicitly, that his plans did not include her. After all, she was older than he, could not have children, and she was Jewish. She got the message, however, and over his protestations their affair ended.

Harlan is not alone in confessing his sexual peccadilloes. Celebrities do it all the time. He apparently views his younger self as a different person for whose actions he is not responsible. That would explain the air of amused detachment. No doubt the recent flood of recollections by other participants in World War II helped to inspire this book. We can only wonder, however, what his family thinks of it. No doubt it will provoke a few chuckles from his former students. But it adds little to the literature of remembrance of World War II—he was not an astute observer—and adds nothing to the stature of a prominent historian.

American Reform and Reformers: A Biographical Dictionary. Edited by RANDALL M. MILLER and PAUL A. CIMBALA. (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1996. xviii, 559p. Bibliographical references, index. \$115.00.)

The latest reference work by Greenwood Press catalogs celebrated reformers in the United States with an emphasis on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thirty-nine individuals and reform programs are represented in the study, ranging from the "usual suspects" (such as William Lloyd Garrison and abolitionism, Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor, Martin Luther King and modern civil rights, and Ralph Nader and consumer politics) to those whose significant contributions are only recently being recognized (including Barry Commoner and environmentalism, Russell Means and Native-American rights, Rachel MacNair and feminism, and Harvey Milk and gay rights). The scope and depth of the single volume is intended to provide for the first time, according to coeditor Randall Miller, both a "full-bodied biography and history" of individual reform agendas and a "longitudinal, comparative perspective" for modern reform in the United States (p. xvii-xviii).

Miller acknowledges that the volume is not an exhaustive list of reform in America. The book borrows from Anthony Blasi's *Early Christianity as a Social Movement* in defining legitimate social reform as causes that extend beyond the reach of the original organization and which rely upon significant popular participation. To their credit the editors "chose not to impose any uniform theory of social or protest movements" (p. xvi) on their contributors. History, not social theory, takes center stage in their treatment. While such an approach generally ignores less prevalent yet possibly more pivotal radical reforms, it does force the reader into acknowledging that those included in the text represent a significant portion of the American public. In addition to reducing the subjectivity of the list, this tactic demonstrates that any unifying theory of American reform based on such a vast social history is illusory.

Still, as the particular life histories of modern American reformers unfold on the pages it becomes clear that "reform" in America can be generalized. According to the editors, many of these movements shared characteristics of "idealism and realism, with pragmatism often tempering visionary renderings of what American society ought to be" (p. xiv). More often than not that pragmatism was grounded in traditional republican concerns over individual responsibility and communal "obligation." Moreover, since the Populist crusade these reformers increasingly viewed the national government as a powerful tool in combating social evils. Given these familiar attributes, and the book's preference for modern topics, I was disappointed to see that conservative reformers hoping to limit the role of the federal government were not included in this study. The restrictive ideas of the

Moral Majority and the fiscal limitations underpinning the "taxpayers' revolts" of the 1970s and 1980s, for example, imply that millions of Americans interpret these reform characteristics in ways that are contrary to actions of the federal government.

This minor criticism notwithstanding, *American Reform and Reformers: A Biographical Dictionary* would make a fine addition to any library or research institution. The individual contributions are universally well-written and researched. More importantly, each submission provides novice scholars with the central problems and questions surrounding their respective topics. While significant reform programs, such as those championed by W. E. B. Du Bois or Catherine Beecher, are accorded larger chapters, even the smaller entries remain faithful to the goal of the editors to provide a concise yet inclusive overview. The chronology of reform in America, condensed yet up-to-date bibliographies, and cross-referenced index at the end of the volume are useful and well-organized.

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