

BOOK REVIEWS

Benjamin Franklin, Politician: The Mask and the Man. By FRANCIS JENNINGS. (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1996. 240p. Notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Francis Jennings has to his credit an impressive array of titles in colonial American studies, including *The Invasion of America* and *The Founders of America* (on native peoples and the contact between them and European colonizers) and *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* and *Empire of Fortune* (both of which treat Six Nations culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). To these well-known, densely constructed, and often-cited studies, Jennings is adding a study of Benjamin Franklin. In introductory matter to the volume, Jennings says that he had studied Franklin closely decades ago. In many ways, though, the major scholarly contribution of the volume—a discussion of Franklin's activities from the 1750s through the 1770s—seems a logical outgrowth of Jennings's earlier work on Six Nations culture and the conflicts between the Six Nations Iroquois and the Lenni Lenape (the Delaware) peoples during the middle of the eighteenth century, as both groups faced continued settlement by Europeans on their ancestral lands.

Jennings assumes from the outset that his book is revisionary. Among the epigraphs is Harrison Salisbury's comment from *Heroes of My Time*, "I harbor deep distrust of obvious heroes." Jennings himself insists in the introduction that the events of Franklin's life "reveal the ego hidden so carefully behind his words" (p. 15), and he avers that "the long life of Benjamin Franklin requires some reassessment of the standard thought about the beginnings of the American Revolution" (p. 16). In "A Note on the Sources," he concludes: "My findings herein are strongly revisionist" (p. 204). Jennings's assertions are to some extent accurate, if overstated. Scholars of the past two decades or so have been reexamining the papers of the so-called "founders" in an effort to fill in gaps left by World War II and postwar historians who sought a predominantly "American" story and made of the founders important "American" heroes. If we find these earlier historians wanting at this stage in the century, it is nonetheless useful if we keep the era of the world wars in sight: midcentury historians had an eye to developing a nationalistic construct, perhaps, just as scholars today might wish to examine colonial history from a transnational and multiethnic perspective.

Jennings's book seems to divide into two sections, the first examining Franklin's common-law marriage and activities in Philadelphia to about the 1750s (the first

eight chapters) and the latter examining the years from the assembly campaigns of the early 1750s through the era of the Revolution. In the first eight chapters, the major thrust of Jennings's revisionism is a filling in of the gaps Jennings finds in Franklin's autobiography. Thus Jennings features Israel Pemberton, Jr., who "is a nonperson in the *Autobiography*" and who in Jennings's view was "as active as Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia's civic affairs outside the Assembly." Pemberton's absence from Franklin's memoir indicates to Jennings that "the competition rankled Franklin, who could be generous to the Quakers who were deferential to himself" (p. 44). Likewise, with regard to his securing the post of deputy postmaster at Philadelphia, Franklin's not having mentioned the unneeded patronage of Thomas Penn's provincial chief justice William Allen is also taken by Jennings as a sign of Franklin's ego (pp. 38-39). Perhaps more surprisingly, Franklin's not mentioning in his memoir his friend James Logan's activities during the nefarious Walking Purchase land-grab—indeed, the omission of any mention whatsoever of the chicanery of the Penn descendants and Franklin's early friendship with them, for patronage—is understood by Jennings to be a "trivialization" of "the struggle by Pennsylvanians against their feudal lord": "The self-consciously wise Franklin of the *Autobiography* could not admit how he had been duped by Penn and, worse, had actually worked hard to support Penn's political machine" (pp. 57, 58). For the same reasons, according to Jennings, Franklin omitted talking about William Smith in the *Autobiography*: "To mention him would have required Franklin to confess that Smith had used and made a fool of him, had outsmarted him, and such a confession would be intolerable" (p. 70). For the most part, the key aspects of these early chapters—the discussion related to Pemberton and the sneaking nature of the Walking Purchase—are detailed in Jennings's earlier writings, though here the discussion centers on people with whom Franklin was in contact. The other matters of these chapters are well-known and much-discussed, often in more detail, by most Franklinists.

Although Jennings's later chapters cover some of the same issues as chapters 6 through 8, they focus on two central issues: first, Franklin's growing personal antagonisms with the Penns and the assembly's distrust of the whole proprietary system; and, second, Franklin's developing disillusionment with royalism and his eventual prorebellion fervor, ultimately ending in his refusal to assist royalist son, William, and his wife, once William had been taken into custody. These later chapters offer, for the most part, a condensed version of Jennings's magisterial book, *Empire of Fortune*. Their contribution lies in their treatment, especially for a general reader, of the events in which Franklin was entangled during the decade just prior to the Revolutionary War. With specific regard to Franklin's place in the growing turmoil, these chapters trace several of the well-known issues in Franklin's dealings with friends and with the British government: Franklin's statement of utter contempt for Thomas Penn after Penn slurred his father William Penn's name; Franklin's initial

acceptance of stamp measures set out by parliament; his attempted land negotiations with a number of lords; his imperialist attitudes that denied the legitimacy of settlement claims by Germans, Irish, Scotch-Irish, and native peoples to lands held by the Penn proprietary. In terms of Franklin's life story, the revisionary nature of these later chapters is less apparent, and thus the tone Jennings takes toward Franklin seems a little less smug, although here, too, Jennings takes Franklin to task for what Jennings sees as Franklin's inability to abide Quakers.

Broadly speaking, Jennings's book seems to have three key issues at stake. Ostensibly, Jennings says he is filling in the gaps that historians (popular historians, really—not specialists) have left open in their celebrations of Franklin and the American revolutionary past. But the book's effect is actually more expansive. Jennings is, first, critiquing New England-oriented history-writing and the New England historians' focus on, for instance, the Boston Tea Party; instead, Jennings posits the centrality of midcentury affairs in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Ohio territory, and the importance of the proprietary charter rights versus Crown prerogative that Franklin addressed during his life. Historians of the American Revolution, in seeking to establish the revolt on ideological grounds based on a Whig interpretation of charter rights and liberties, wrongly focus on the rhetoric that came out of New England and more suitably might stress the economic, ethnic, and land concerns of the Middle Atlantic. Jennings's close analysis of the entanglements Franklin faced indicates the importance of a largely revisioned history that would account for more general tendencies rather than a few selected incidents from New England. If only for this reason, the book is a useful revisionist study. Second, Jennings is establishing (in the discussion of the Pennsylvania proprietary problems and the border settlers) a set of issues that more narrowly depicts the causes of the Revolution as economic and social, more middle-brow, mercantile, and plebeian, rather than ideological, and he thus shows the day-to-day causes as of key importance, not the rhetoric of revolution for which famous men are celebrated. Third, Jennings is participating in a revision of the history of the Religious Society of Friends, based on his assumption that the Quakers have received negative attention because of their pacifist stance during the Revolution.

While Jennings might be correct in his assessment that Quaker calumniators then and perhaps now have driven negative readings about Quakers of the era of the American Revolution, to some extent, he seems to overstate his case with regard to Franklin and the Quakers. It is hard to miss the humor of Franklin's *Autobiography* where Franklin points to the quietness and security of a meeting of the Religious Society of Friends by announcing that, having repaired to such a meeting upon his first arrival in Philadelphia, he promptly fell asleep. To Jennings, however, Franklin's "massive ego is revealed more complexly in his callous conduct toward Quakers" (p. 197). Yet Jennings himself has shown the key issues that were at stake. Franklin initially wanted Crown intervention that would force taxation of the

proprietary lands, because the border areas needed defending. Quakers did not wish themselves to provide for the defense of English settlers, based on their peace testimony; this would be an alternate way to provide for defense while stopping proprietary prerogative. Crown intervention might have mandated test oaths which Quakers would not be able to take. Franklin, an imperialist, not a Quaker, evidently did not see the contradiction that might have eventuated for Quakers between the chartered liberties original to the William Penn tract grant and those "liberties" associated with British imperial policy. Many imperialists might not have seen the potential problems herein. In pushing the position that Franklin disliked Quakers, especially during the 1750s and through the 1770s, Jennings overlooks Anthony Benezet, a key Quaker, who had significant impact upon Franklin the elder statesman, the one-time imperialist, and slaveholder. As Claude-Anne Lopez and Eugenia Herbert (in *The Private Franklin*) and others have suggested, it was in part the impact of the (Anglican) Associates of the Late Dr. Bray in London but then, more especially, the personal intervention of Anthony Benezet that effected a change in imperialist Franklin's view about blacks and about slavery as a trade. In the 1770s, Franklin met leading abolitionists in London, and he published pieces there evoking even the language of his friend Benezet, in opposition to the slave trade. Franklin certainly had some misgivings during his lifetime about Quakers, but not to the extent that Jennings tries to suggest.

To this reader, *Benjamin Franklin, Politician* is important for Jennings's treatment, as I have phrased them, of other, larger, historiographical concerns rather than for its discussion of Franklin. Yet the book contends that it is about Franklin, a Franklin whom Jennings finally does not seem to like much. Indeed, after reading the book, one wonders to some extent how Jennings can come to the conclusion, in the last sentences of the book, that "the evidence has given me great pleasure by its depiction of a giant who was believably human rather than a manufactured icon. I have tried to share that pleasure with readers" (p. 204). Jennings hardly seems to have taken pleasure in Franklin personally, and he seems to have even less patience for Franklin scholars, only a very few of whom he cites. Early on in the volume, Jennings makes "to the critic . . . a request: please do not accuse me of writing with a desire to cry down Benjamin Franklin" (p. 22). There is nothing wrong with "crying down" a famous person, so long as all aspects of the career are responsibly examined. This reservation notwithstanding, the book makes an important contribution to revisionist scholarship of the American revolutionary era.

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CARLA MULFORD

The Papers of George Washington; Presidential Series, Volume 5: January-June 1790. Volume 6: July-November 1790. Edited by DOROTHY TWOHIG, PHILANDER D. CHASE, BEVERLY H. RUNGE, FRANK E. GRIZZARD, JR., BEVERLY S. KIRSCH, MARK A. MASTROMARINO, ELIZABETH B. MERCER, and JACK D. WARREN. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. Volume 5: xxiv, 620p. Index. \$47.50; Volume 6: xxxii, 758p. Illustrations, index. \$57.50.)

George Washington had much to occupy him during 1790, the first full year of his presidency. In January, Alexander Hamilton issued his first Report on Public Credit, and the secretary of the treasury's call for funding of the national debt and assumption of state debts prompted a bitter congressional debate that marked the beginning of the nation's first political party system. Abroad, Algerian pirates continued to threaten American commerce, officers of the British Royal Navy stopped American ships and impressed those men they took to be British, while the chaos surrounding the French Revolution threatened a new and extensive war in Europe.

The two most recent volumes of the presidential papers of George Washington, covering January-November 1790, throw much light on these topics, and this series will become a standard source for political and diplomatic historians. However, the glory of such well-crafted and complete collections as these is that they place high politics within the rhythms of day-to-day life. Washington was head of state, but so too was he a husband, the head of his household, a consumer, an employer, and a planter. Illustrating as they do the tensions between public and private, professional and domestic, there is much in these volumes for the social and cultural historian.

Perhaps the most striking example of this is the detailed correspondence between Washington and Gouverneur Morris. From both Paris and London, Morris sent Washington lengthy missives detailing European politics and alliances, and his value to the administration eventually resulted in his appointment as minister to the French Republic. Yet much of the correspondence between the two concerned such items as tableware and seeds that the president had commissioned Morris to purchase for him. His search for suitable china, along with much else in these volumes, reveal Washington's preoccupation with maintaining a residence fully in keeping with his status as president of the young republic.

The transferral of the federal capital from New York City to Philadelphia prompted a great deal of correspondence between Washington and his long-suffering secretary Tobias Lear, who was responsible for the removal of Washington's household. One doubts that George III or Louis XVI concerned themselves with such trivialities as mirrors and lamps, or the worry that "the dirty figures" of two Virginia "Washer women" would prove to be an "unpleasant sight" in the president's Philadelphia residence. But for Washington these were weighty issues. What is so striking in these volumes is that the boundaries historians have constructed

between public and private were all but invisible to a man so preoccupied with presentation and image, a man who spilled as much ink detailing the refurbishment of the carriage in which many Philadelphians were to see him travel as he did writing about the impressment of American sailors.

In a given week the Washingtons' household and their guests consumed madeira, champagne, claret, sweet and cooking wine, rum, brandy, porter, and cider, to say nothing of coffee, tea, sugar, and all manner of spices, and the staple dairy products, meat, fish, and vegetables. Washington's jotted list of household expenses for the week of March 15-22, 1790, and his rough estimates of yearly expenses for food, rent, fuel, and so forth reflect the difficulty of living within a fixed budget while entertaining in the manner of a head of state (5:231-34). A sumptuous lifestyle in which the president spent more each week on salt and pepper than a common laborer might earn during a similar period was bound to attract criticism. In an unusually candid letter to David Stuart, Washington defended his levees and entertainments, and in his frustration he held them responsible for two bouts of serious illness, threatening that a third "will put me to sleep with my father" (5:527).

Some of those who had taken the egalitarian rhetoric of Paine and Jefferson to heart had begun to criticize both Washington's policies and a lifestyle that appeared somewhat regal, yet these volumes reveal the continued depth of popular feeling for the man. Throughout the year he continued to receive and answer letters and addresses congratulating him on his election and office, from such diverse sources as the public officials of Charleston, South Carolina, the nation's Roman Catholic clergy and laity, and a Providence ship captain. William Tew, a clothier active in politics in Newport, Rhode Island, attempted to prove his "Attachment to your Excellency" by writing that "on the 9th of Feby 1776 Mrs Tew was put to Bed with a fine Boy Who We had Christianed By the Name of George Washington[.] And on the 28th of October 1780 She Was again put to bed With a fine Daughter Who we had Christian'd By the name of Patty after your Excellencys Lady" (5:20). Like many private citizens who wrote to Washington, Tew was begging a favor, in this case a government job.

One senses in these volumes the frustration that Washington felt in his position as president. Having suffered from a painful and potentially life-threatening tumor during his first year as president, he almost succumbed to influenza in May 1790. The president took several months to recover, and worrying that lack of exercise was weakening him he contemplated removing to a small farm outside Philadelphia where, even as president, he might farm and ride to his heart's content. One need not read between the lines of his correspondence with nephew George Augustine Washington to see how much the president missed his beloved Mount Vernon.

Dorothy Twohig and her coeditors have produced two handsome volumes that are a joy to handle. Editorial interventions, both in the text itself and in the form of explanatory notes, are produced in such a way as to illuminate without intruding

upon the text. The index is not as easy to use as it might be, however, and perhaps separate subject and name indexes would render these volumes even more useful for those employing them as reference works.

Yet all in all there is much to praise here. These two volumes of Twohig's edition of the presidential papers of George Washington are a worthy addition to such projects as the papers of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. It behooves us not only to utilize and enjoy these editions, but to fight to defend them. Cuts in federal support for the National Endowment for the Humanities, together with the recent decision of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission to place a relatively low priority on support of the publication of the papers of prominent individuals, threaten the very existence of these projects. Twohig's volumes are a worthy reminder of the value of such scholarly endeavors.

University of Glasgow

SIMON P. NEWMAN

Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society.

By MARY BETH NORTON. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. x, 496p. Bibliographical references, notes, index. \$35.00.)

If the anonymous male Massachusetts Bay colonist who appears on the cover of Mary Beth Norton's new book looks a bit startled, it is with good reason. *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* is an ambitious attempt to reinterpret the foundations of American culture. In this comparative study of New England and Chesapeake colonies between 1620 and 1670, Norton argues that ideas about gender were not peripheral or incidental to the colonial enterprise; rather, gender was central to the conception and enactment of authority.

Norton draws on a fund of over 8,000 court records to illustrate the significance of gender to the workings of familial, community, and state authority in the seventeenth century. These three realms of interaction are treated in three separate sections, although, as Norton points out, they overlap significantly. She analyzes court cases collectively and provides a detailed narrative of particular cases, some well known but most previously obscure. This material is far too rich and extensive to treat fully here, but Norton's greatest strength is showcased in her reconstruction and narration of the lives of such seventeenth-century figures as Nicholas Pinion, the failed patriarch of New England's "most dysfunctional family." The Pinion family's record of complaints, accusations, and over two dozen prosecutions in four colonies during two decades is certainly impressive. More important to her central argument, Norton uses figures such as Pinion and prominent women including Anne Hutchinson of Massachusetts and Margaret Brent of Maryland to demonstrate how gender was central to the conception and exercise of authority. She finds

that while gender was a critical component of authority relations in both New England and the Chesapeake, such factors as demography and religion also created important regional differences. It is hard to argue with that conclusion, particularly given what we already know from the recent work of Cornelia Hughes Dayton (*Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law and Society in Connecticut, 1639-1789*, 1995) and Kathleen Brown (*Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia*, 1996), both of whose conclusions about the causes, consequences, and changes in gendered systems are quite different from Norton's.

More problematic is Norton's major premise that two gendered systems of thought governed ideas about the relationship between the family and the state. Norton describes the first concept as a "unified theory of power" in which all types of authority, from the household to the monarchy, "were said to rest on the same fundamental base, the father's governance of his subordinates" (p. 11). She calls this paradigm "Filmerian," after Sir Robert Filmer, whose treatise *Patriarcha* provided its most classic formulation. Within a Filmerian mode, some women could claim limited access to public authority through their role as important household figures (mothers). In the second system, characterized as "Lockean," the family and the state were conceptualized as distinctly different creatures. In this "dichotomous theory of power . . . sources of authority in the family differed from those in society and the polity" (p. 11). Women were completely excised from the public realm, as the household ceased to be an arena of public concern. Public action was hence exclusively masculine. Norton argues that the Filmerian system was dominant in the seventeenth-century Anglo-American world, but gave way to the Lockean system in the eighteenth century. The Filmerian system was most fully articulated in the New England colonies, while a "proto-Lockean" system developed in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Religious and demographic factors ultimately determined which system was embraced by which region. Filmerian patriarchy fitted neatly into Puritan notions of hierarchy and order. The imbalanced sex ratio, high mortality rates, and higher proportion of servants made for very different kinds of households and society in the Chesapeake, where less attention was paid to patriarchal control of wives and children. Thus New Englanders, for example, were far more interested in prosecuting cases of familial disorder such as fornication and bastardy than were their southern counterparts.

There are a number of problems with Norton's framework. Leaving aside questions about the coherence or transmission of these two intellectual schema, Norton's attempt to tie her case study to broader political change, and the inflexibility of that chronology for evaluating specific historical contexts, undermines much of her argument that gendered systems of authority developed in particular historical contexts, and were dependent on variables such as demography and cultural attitudes including theology. Readers of this journal will find unsettling the

idea that the colonies of the mid Atlantic, by virtue of their founding in the later seventeenth century, contributed little to "the forming of American society." They may also postulate that those later colonies fashioned distinctive systems of gendered hierarchy that fit their unique demographic and religious character, regardless of either Filmerian or Lockean imperatives.

A related, more troubling issue is Norton's failure to address the dynamic of race in colonial culture. While she notes that court records provide scant sources from which to draw conclusions about the experiences of African or Native American people, she ignores that the Chesapeake and the South arguably became in many ways *more* rather than less attuned to the importance of household government. Patriarchy, that bastion of the Filmerian system, was also the foundation of the slave societies that held every man responsible for every other man's appropriate control over his slaves. In some of the same ways that individual disorderly wives threatened the whole of seventeenth-century New England society, disorderly slaves threatened the precarious authority of eighteenth-century slave owners. Social order rested on household order.

Perhaps Norton will take up these issues in a promised sequel. For now, the demonstration that New England and the Chesapeake developed differently gendered systems of hierarchy in the seventeenth century is convincing. That those systems fitted into a broader transition from a Filmerian to a Lockean system has yet to be demonstrated.

American University

KARIN A. WULF

A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf. By KEVIN J. HAYES. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996. xv, 216p. Notes, sources, index. \$35.00.)

Historians of early American women have taken many tacks to explore the intellectual life of colonial women. Kevin J. Hayes contributes to this ongoing project by documenting what books colonial women owned and read, establishing which books were designed for a female readership, and identifying those books which colonial society thought especially suited to women readers. Hayes sets out to reconstruct the "colonial woman's bookshelf" to provide scholars with a reference guide to the books available and popular among colonial women.

The book is organized into a series of chapters devoted to the areas of women's reading. Each chapter develops a genre chronologically. One can imagine an actual bookshelf arranged thematically, beginning with devotional books and concluding with science books. The devotional section of the bookshelf contained catechisms and children's devotional literature, which were used to teach reading as well as religion; private devotionals and prayer books, which children acquired as they

mastered reading; and conversion narratives, meditation books, and mourning books for the adult woman. Conduct books, and historical and biographical books that taught proper female conduct through example, sat next to these religious books and served similar prescriptive purposes. Farther down the shelf were the colonial woman's how-to books on housewifery, physic, and midwifery. The colonial woman's medical resources included everything from Nicholas Culpeper's *English Physician* (1652) to medicinal remedies published in annual colonial almanacs, and colonial homegrown volumes like John Tennent's *Every Man His Own Doctor* (1734), a volume owned, read, and marketed to colonial women despite its title.

By the eighteenth century a new kind of book had arrived on the bookshelf. Read for pleasure, sentimental novels and travel adventure narratives now competed with older genres. Novels and travel books shared a common format, presenting an intriguing series of events for the reader to experience vicariously. But even these entertainment books, Hayes tells us, were read by colonial women, like Eliza Lucas Pinkney and Esther Burr, as conduct books with lessons to be learned and examples to be heeded. Finally, at the end of the shelf, were the colonial woman's books on science. Like the novel, new scientific books on natural history, botany, and geography were written and marketed specifically for women during the eighteenth century.

The organization of *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf* by genre creates a work that gives greater attention to the history of the book than it does to developments in women's reading and intellectual life over the course of the colonial period. This structure of overlapping and repetitive chronological development leaves the reader on her own to draw conclusions about how the shifts and developments within each of these genres reinforced or contradicted the developments in another. The historian wants to know how the development of women's science books was related to the shifts in conduct books, and how each of these changes influenced the intellectual environment colonial women created and inhabited.

The book does, however, provide tantalizing glimpses of some of the ways reading books within acceptable female genres could open more expansive opportunities for women. Subtle shifts in books devoted to women's housewifery training during the eighteenth century supported female education. *Madam Johnson's Presents; or, The Best Instructions for Young Women in Useful and Universal Knowledge*, commonly known as "Johnson's Cookery," went well beyond culinary instruction. It also contained instruction in learning how to spell, write, and perform arithmetic "without the Help of a Master." Johnson's spelling list included the words "astronomy" and "atom" in company with "anchovies" and "artichoak-bottoms," "denominator" with "damask" and "dumpling," and "scholar" between "scallion" and "scallop."

Hayes's evidence of shifts in narrative voice in the most popular eighteenth-century conduct books suggests an expanding realm of female authority and an assertion of female expertise. While authorship of conduct books continued to be

dominated by men, eighteenth-century male authors began to incorporate a female narrative voice to add authority to their advice and instruction. The compiler of *The Ladies Library* (1714), the most widely circulating conduct book during the first half of the eighteenth century, presented his volume as one woman's commonplace book; and John Gregory's *A Father's Legacy to His Daughter* (1774) invoked the voice of the daughter's long-deceased mother to bolster his authority.

Such instances of detailed content analysis of colonial women's reading material whets our appetite for more. For many women in British colonial North America reading was both the main source of knowledge and the primary signifier of learning. Kevin Hayes's *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf* suggests that further research into this intellectual world would be fruitful, and it provides scholars with a solid foundation to begin this inquiry.

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CLARE A. LYONS

American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750-1850. Edited by HOWARD B. ROCK, PAUL A. GILJE, and ROBERT ASHER. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xx, 251p. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$16.95.)

One morning last summer, I climbed out of the garret window of the Powel House museum in Philadelphia's Society Hill to observe the restoration of the Georgian mansion's roof. There, four floors above ground level, craftsmen were removing 200-year-old boards that had rotted. As I arrived on the scene, they removed a board just below one of the garrets and discovered long unseen "notes" of their predecessors who had built Mayor Powel's roof: small cut marks had been made by the earlier artisans, indicating where trusses would be placed when the roof supports were assembled. One set of marks did not have the expected truss set in place, and some in the group observing it immediately became engineers, pondering whether their predecessors had decided that a support was not needed in that spot. Another man took a different approach, looking for the human element: "he probably decided to ignore it because it was time for lunch," the carpenter said. He reminded us not just to look for a deeper understanding of who built the building and what their lives were, but at the divergent things that existed in the lives of eighteenth-century craftsmen.

Like that carpenter at work on the Powel House roof, this new collection of essays seeks to understand the worlds of eighteenth-century American craftsmen beyond merely appreciating what they created. *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750-1850* does not try to be a complete history of artisans in that era; rather, it is a compendium of essays of new scholarship based on a 1990 Maryland

conference. The book shows the influence of the work of Alfred F. Young, to whom it is dedicated (and whose Maryland keynote address is sadly not included in this collection). We see within the essays of this collection several new paths for appreciation and consideration that expand upon earlier studies of American craftsmen. In many ways, one can hear the echo of the late Carl Bridenbaugh's work on the same groups, if only to show that recent studies must be more divergent in their approach.

The first area of divergency examined is that of regional location. Four essays, by Christine Daniels, Tina Sheller, Michele Gillespie, and James Sidbury, explore the artisans of the early American South. Leaving the setting of the urban North that has been explored previously in much depth, these scholars offer some fresh insights into the artisan experience by looking at the South and the ways it affected the artisans' lives. As one would expect, the issue of race and particularly the implications of slavery are strongly evident in this section. Racial identity and the status of free or slave superseded the class issue for Sheller's revolutionary Baltimore subjects as well as Gillespie's Georgia planters and artisans in the early national period. The large African-American population of early Richmond, Sidbury finds, sought the highest levels of autonomy possible even within the very tight mobility allowed them. These essays are useful in that they offer both a deeper understanding of white-black interaction in early America, as well as once again debunking the myths of the industrial North and agrarian South.

Politics, and particularly the divergent ways that political expression could take place in the face of changing class roles, is explored in essays by Ronald Schultz, Teresa Murphy, and Bruce Laurie. Schultz discovers that artisan communities were largely deprived of many connections of community in the early national period. "More than anything else," Schultz writes, "what artisans sought in evangelical religion was what was missing in their daily lives: a community that offered them mutual support and a sense of purpose as they worked out the increasingly difficult details of their everyday lives." As Schultz's subjects found themselves separated rather than conjoined by issues of religion, Murphy's working people were segregated by lines of skill level and gender. The different experiences of men and women workers in New England's early industrial centers, Murphy argues persuasively, affected their perceptions of labor reform movements and political expression, from the creation of organizations to the signing of petitions. Laurie's examination "of the politics of insecurity as reflected in third parties" shows that the numerous third-party movements of the early nineteenth century were far from the "abnormal, dysfunctional . . . insignificant" political movements that have often been perceived and were, instead, significant shapers of the larger parties and their platforms. The composition of these divergent movements shows the complexity of both the working and middling classes and of early work reform movements, Laurie states.

Young's influence is strongly shown in the two biographical sketches offered by

Gary Kornblith and William Pretzer. Like Young's study of George Robert Twelves-trees Hewes and similar work by Billy Smith and Susan Klepp and Michael Merrill and Sean Wilentz, these studies of individuals offer a better perception of the artisan class, its struggles, and its ideals with their exploration of the individual failures and successes of Joseph Tinker Buckingham and William W. Moore.

The final section of this essay collection offers a particularly intriguing exploration of the iconographic representations of work and workers in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. Howard Rock's analysis of craft societies and the ways that masters and workers interacted and chose artistic representations of their crafts, and Harry Rubenstein's study of artisanal portraits, from John Singleton Copley's Paul Revere to tintypes of workdress-clad artisans of the nineteenth century, both offer highly informative essays that bridge the gap between material cultural examinations of the world of early American craftspeople and social historical analyses of workers.

We are still far from being able to say exactly what was going through the mind of the worker who roofed the Powel House two centuries ago, what led him and his fellow craftspeople to make the decisions they made, how they perceived their world and the disparate lines that divided it. But this essay collection—and the longer studies subsequently created by several of these authors—offers several intriguing glimpses into the lives of early American workers and the worlds they created.

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GEORGE W. BOUDREAU

American Windsor Chairs. NANCY GOYNE EVANS. (New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1996. 744p. List of craftsmen, illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$125.00.)

At the price of \$15.39 per pound, *American Windsor Chairs* is as good a value as you can find in the marketplace. The price and physical size of the volume should not deter the reader, especially one who wants to know everything about the origin and evolution of Windsor chair design in the century or so following 1730 as well as the economic conditions that make Windsor chairs one of the most pervasive consumer goods in American history, due largely to the logic and ease of stockpiling interchangeable parts. Consequently, the book is huge and must be enjoyed at a table, unless you are accustomed to reading with a large pet when you snuggle back into your favorite Windsor chair.

Regardless of *how* you read this book, Nancy Evans guarantees identification of your chair's origins and significance. If your questions somehow go unanswered, fear not. Volume 2 on Windsor forms other than the arm and side chairs seen here is scheduled for publication later this year. Volume 3, which tackles shop life and

practices (most anticipated by this reader) is rumored to be in the pipeline. Someday, the trilogy should be reviewed as a whole.

Meanwhile, the current book's massive size already reflects the author's scholarship and commitment to embracing her topic in detail. It holds decades of research and writing and is the ultimate Winterthur master's thesis, reflecting the author's training and professional life at the nation's most comprehensive museum of American decorative arts: the Winterthur Museum near Wilmington, Delaware.

The author introduces her book as "a history of an industry and a description of a craft. . . drawn from both formal and vernacular domestic styles filtered down to the popular level" (p. 13). *American Windsor Chairs* is also a specialized encyclopedia and sometimes reads that way, as thousands of wonderful details about the lives of craftsmen and their preferences in design and construction pass under the eye. To learn from this book, both the text and the photographs must be closely read and compared, or else the reader risks bewilderment in a forest of spindles. Occasional multiple views of a single chair are especially helpful. Fortunately, the illustrations are the superb work of Winterthur staff photographer George Fistrovich.

The book is foremost a stylistic survey of the evolution of American Windsor chairs. It begins with fascinating accounts of the development of British Windsor seating between 1720 and 1850, initially as garden furniture, and the travel of chairs, craftsmen, consumers, and ideas to Philadelphia beginning in the 1730s. (The author actually finds the roots of the American Windsor chair in ancient Egypt!) Evans's story then leaves the Delaware Valley, traveling from one region to the next, according to the chronological introduction of Windsor chairmaking to the area in question. Brief descriptions of the economic history of each region preface the discussion of the chairs, their makers, and to some extent their first owners. Invariably, population growth and capitalization, along with the presence of water power in the nineteenth century, are presented as the environmental formula for Windsor chairmaking, which evolved from workshop to factory and from a reliance on bold, distinctive turnings to ornamental paint. Even regions without a strong legacy in Windsor chair production, like eighteenth-century Boston, are covered in detail. Since Windsor chairs are primarily the products of small-town America, with the exceptions of Philadelphia and New York City, the maps are a great aid to readers whose good fortune has yet to take them to places like Lititz, Pennsylvania, or Windham, Connecticut.

"Section Two: Chair Production in New England" is nearly half the book and literally outweighs the analysis of other regions. The interpretation of the famous Tracy family of chairmakers in southeastern Connecticut is especially good. Evans explains the quality of their work as an extension of specialization and repetition in a climate influenced by family relationships, patronage, and their coastal location between New York City and Newport, Rhode Island. The memorandum book of Tracy in-law Amos Dennison Allen (1774-1855) makes the important point that

many Windsor designs were made simultaneously (rather than sequentially) by the close of the eighteenth century (p. 286). Questionable, however, is the statement that "subsistence farming was integral to the lives of most nonmetropolitan craftsmen until well into the nineteenth century" (pp. 285-86). Specialized farming to produce surpluses was established in most parts of the Northeast before the Revolution.

This section is ponderous because the author takes us through New England twice: before and after the year 1800. A single discussion of each region or state might have streamlined the reference value of the book and permitted a clearer picture of the impact of industrialization on New England after the War of 1812. Despite the New England bubble in the middle of the book, the author must be praised for including groundbreaking text on Windsor chair production in the South, Midwest, and British Canada, providing something for anyone interested in chairs made up to the mid-nineteenth century.

Students of Pennsylvania history will find the strongest chapters of the book. The author documents the first known owner of Windsor chairs in Philadelphia (that is, in America) as Lt. Gov. Patrick Gordon, whose estate inventory of 1736 lists five of them appraised at almost three pounds (p. 65). By the mid-1740s, British imports like Gordon's chairs were joined by the wares of local makers in the best Philadelphia households. Eventually, the prices decreased with specialization and the development of more efficient (less robust, sculptural) designs. The export trade grew, accelerated by Philadelphia's status as America's largest city and one-time seat of government. The Philadelphia Windsor became the paradigm of acceptable design and quality along the eastern seaboard and to the West Indies as early as 1752. Philadelphia Windsors were first advertised in New York City ten years later (p. 194). The author tightly knits the evolution of design, construction, and consumption through this section, balancing interpretation with descriptive detail.

The discussion of Windsor chairmaking in the rural townships of the Delaware and Susquehanna valleys is just as interesting and clear. Here as elsewhere, joiners and cabinetmakers were just as likely as turners to make Windsor chairs in order to expand their line of wares and their clientele. This raises the often-missed point that very few American craftsmen (in any trade) specialized in a single product through the entire course of their careers. By 1810 some craftsmen had combined Windsor and fancy chairmaking as they embraced mechanization (p. 138). My curiosity about whether eighteenth-century chairmakers also manufactured spinning wheels went unanswered, perhaps awaiting satisfaction in volume 2. In southern Pennsylvania, Evans stirs Germanic ethnicity into the mix to explain variant designs and chairmaking techniques complicated by the travel of influential craftsmen between market towns. Simultaneously, chairs made by Anglo workmen, particularly along the Pennsylvania and Maryland border, were drawn so closely from the Philadelphia prototype (like fig. 3-84 compared with figs. 3-39 and 3-40) that family history

alone is not enough to dispel the musing of this Windsor novice that some chairs may be refugees from Philadelphia.

In summary, *American Windsor Chairs* was written by a master in her own field of historical inquiry. The book accomplishes its goal of teaching the reader about the regional variations of Windsor furniture based on defining the distinctions in the economic and cultural environments in which they were made. Nancy Evans's book(s) will remain the standard reference for this type of seating furniture forever, it seems to me. If you are interested in American furniture and the study of American material culture, you will have to acquire this volume: only don't plan to read it in bed.

Historic Deerfield, Inc.

PHILIP ZEA

Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870. By MARGARET S. CREIGHTON. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xiv, 233p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$34.95.)

This artful and engaging study of mid-nineteenth-century American whalemens is a significant addition to a growing body of work that seeks to rescue from obscurity the many men who worked at sea. Creighton spins a good yarn, building her story on "the diary and logbook testimony of nearly 200 sailors" (p. 7), a wealthy vein of largely unmined data.

At its height, an American whaling fleet of over 700 ships employed some 20,000 men, often on voyages that extended over three or four years. Creighton's contention that "the experiences of whalemens were inescapably shaped by land and sea both" (p. 5) might at first seem simple and straightforward, but her use of gender as a prism through which to see and comprehend the very experience of whaling makes her account rather more complicated and nuanced. She argues that "the whaleship bore the stamp of the society that launched it" (p. 195), containing men of different ages, races, and ranks, dividing them accordingly, and even providing for a gendering of space and work aboard ship. Thus, years away from home, men on these ships remained connected to the practices and ideals of the society from whence they came.

At the same time, however, whalemens had experiences that separated them not just from those on land but from merchant seamen too. On their long voyages the struggle to survive and to succeed encouraged these men to create a community that ignored many of the divisions and boundaries of society on land: as a result, many spoke and wrote of themselves as being different, although they might not have agreed on the precise nature of that difference.

The experience of whaling was a profoundly gendered one, something that

Herman Melville recognized and celebrated in his writing. This was men's work, in a world largely free of women. Yet, as Creighton illustrates, women were anything but absent from this world. Occasionally shipmasters brought their wives along, but even in the absence of actual women, space and labor on board ship were gendered. Thus many captains created cozy, domestic venues in their private space aboard, spaces that were intrinsically female, and were a world apart from the male, public spaces of the ship a few feet away. When a captain's wife was present, any attempt by her to become actively involved in the life of the ship was likely to be interpreted by forecandle sailors as an attack on their fraternal community.

Creighton describes the ways in which veteran whalers sought to wean green hands from all dependence upon feminine ways, and it is clear from these men's diaries and journals that their voyages provided young men with an opportunity to enhance their masculinity. They laughed at crewmates who appeared to them too sentimental, yet these men were not attacking women per se. The point here, as Creighton illustrates, is that they were struggling to become men, men who could achieve lasting companionate relationships with women at home or enjoy the affections of other women in whatever port they visited.

If there is a weakness here, then perhaps it results from the strength of a book that gives an extraordinarily detailed account of less than one-half century in the history of American whaling. Consequently, we see relatively little of the changes and developments in the gendered world of these men who worked the seas. With its inordinately lengthy voyages in an era of Victorian sentimentality, whaling occupied a unique position in the long history of American seafaring, and one wonders if more consideration to the nature and experience of seafaring before and after these years might have enhanced Creighton's study.

All in all, however, in this well-written and beautifully illustrated book Creighton has done as much to open up the lost world of American whaling as any author since Melville. It is a book that should interest more than just historians of the sea, for it tells us much about the gendering of work and play among a large group of American workers, many of whom went on to other careers on land.

University of Glasgow

SIMON P. NEWMAN

American Iron, 1607-1900. By ROBERT B. GORDON. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xi, 341p. Illustrations, notes, glossary, appendixes, index. \$49.95.)

Modern consumers take most industrial products for granted. How many chefs think about the precision engineering required to produce the high-quality steel in the knives they use? What about the iron in crowbars, tire tools, or iron skillet?

Shovels, hammer heads, or hoes? Unlike modern Americans, who rarely think about the quality of the metal in their tools, Americans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did. To a farmer, craftsman, homemaker, or frontier family, the strength and durability of a tool could mean the difference between life and death, economic survival or ruin.

Iron, and later steel, was an important element in America's rise to economic power. Abundant iron deposits allowed early iron foundries to grow in size until, as early as 1770, the American colonies had grown to be the world's third largest iron producer. The ready access to iron was important to early industries such as arms making and machine making, and it was vital to the railroads.

Many books could be written about America's early iron industry. One could write about the uses of iron, about the craftsmen who created it, about the economics of iron foundries, about the mining of iron, and much more. Robert Gordon, in *American Iron, 1607-1900*, has chosen to write about one of the most challenging issues within the large subject: the technical details of processing iron. It is a book based on meticulous research and expert knowledge. It is a book that few people could write, and one that even fewer could write with such clarity. The nonexpert with a general interest in the mysteries of iron making will find this book very readable.

Gordon takes us through the history of iron making in the United States, from the earliest charcoal-fueled smelting processes in the eighteenth century to the Bessemer process of steelmaking at the end of the nineteenth century. He first describes the importance of North America's natural resources, not just the obvious presence of iron ore, but also the importance of the forests and the later significance of coal as the process of iron making changed. He then recounts developments in iron making, including the techniques borrowed from Europe, and the difficulties often encountered in what we call technology transfer. He devotes a chapter to the technique of smelting iron with charcoal and another to the switch to coal-fired blast furnaces. The last few chapters describe the transition from iron to steel as steel became the key metal in American industry.

All of these chapters are rich in detail. We read about the subtleties and the difficulties of early processes, from the importance of obtaining properly prepared charcoal to the precision and delicacy of pouring liquid steel into molds. The skill required of the men who made iron is impressive and Gordon writes of these processes in detail and with obvious respect for their talents. At times I felt like I was reading an anthropologist's account of a lost culture.

American Iron is a book that will long be the definitive source for readers with a general interest in the history of iron making. It will also serve as a very important resource for historians writing about less technical aspects of the iron industry.

Auburn University

LINDY BIGGS

Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania. By JAY F. CUSTER. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1996. x, 383p. Illustrations, references cited, general index, site number index. \$29.95.)

This well-illustrated work is volume 7 of the PHMC *Anthropological Series*. It joins a worldwide list of perhaps a thousand or more books and articles on archaeology and anthropology published in the same year. I have wondered, along with many students, how anyone can digest the increasingly enormous literature of this field. Of course, part of the answer is to specialize in a particular area, or skip that which is not worth reading. A rarely seen but happy solution is the regional synthesis. Custer's book serves this need rather well, at least for the initiated reader. It synthesizes a huge archaeological record (approximately 1,000 references) about this region's Native American way of life from at least 12,000 years ago to the mid-eighteenth century.

Of course, the archaeological record is a matter of interpretation, not immutable fact. Any account of past human events involving archaeology or history is meaningful only in light of careful, up-to-date research, logical analysis of results, and continuing critical review. One might call it a matter of best opinions about the past. Those ideas that we are inclined to consider most meaningful are those that most closely match our own subjective efforts at research and logic.

I find many of Custer's opinions about prehistoric cultures of this area to be meaningful in this light, but some of them do not so strike me. He employs the culture ecology approach in his analysis. Although logical, this concept is now considered so obvious that it often appears unnecessary to state that it involves "the interaction of people and their surrounding environment" and especially "how human cultures use technology to adapt to . . . environment."

In keeping with the culture ecology analytical approach, Custer goes on to describe in great and good detail the natural and physical environments of the this region, together with the evidence for changes therein over the past 15,000 years. What always seems to remain largely uncertain are the specifics of cultural adaptation in the face of new surroundings. Probably that is the reason for including detailed descriptions of environment in such reports; eventually someone might figure out the actual cause and effects on ancient cultural sequences.

Another typical aspect of the regional synthesis is the summary of past research; it sets the tone for what is going on today. Custer's treatment of this history will undoubtedly be of greatest interest to those who have participated in it.

Custer feels that the old labels of cultural sequences for this area (and presumably the entire Eastern United States) are out of sync with new research on environment, technological adaptations, and chronology. In an effort to improve the outline of culture change he has created an entirely new set of labels. As indicated above, improvements in the understanding of past ways of life require constant critical

review of the old opinions. So clearly, there is nothing wrong with new scenarios of the past. However, in my opinion these new appellations, chronologies, and presumed culture ecology will not find wide acceptance. They are simply too radical to be readily accepted by researchers who classically resist change. As a result, and because they are now a part of the literature, I suspect they will generate more confusion than they resolve.

For example, he lumps the previously conceived Paleo-Indian period with the early Archaic, calling his new arrangement the Hunter-Gatherer I period. His reason for this, despite obvious stone tool differences, is the similarity of environmental adaptations of the Paleo-Indian and early Archaic folk.

The most perplexing change proposed in this volume is that regarding the old late Archaic, Transitional, and early and middle Woodland periods. These very traditional labels covered rather obviously distinct sets of tools that appeared in sequence from 3000 B.C. to 1000 A.D. Custer has decided to term all of the human activities of this 4,000-year period the Intensive Gathering-Formative Culture period, while at the same time arranging them into a bewildering array of "complexes."

His next period, the old late Woodland, he calls the Village Life Cultural period. It has been rather obvious for some time that the late Woodland is chock full of local complexes or regionally distinct variation. Custer adds some more to this list, including one with a unique astronomical orientation of postmolds and a hearth.

Archaeologists have had to come to grips with these myriad distinctions, especially arguments over real or imagined tool types, in their efforts to envision the way of life the tools represent. Custer's work attempts to refocus much of this. However, it seems to me that the ultimate goal of archaeology should be fewer rather than more labels for past cultural events. In the long run the purpose of archaeology should be a general understanding of the past for the interested layman, not a detailed accounting of minutia for professional archaeologists. *Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania* is primarily written for the latter group. Unfortunately, most archaeologists are still busily seeking to inform their colleagues, not the public.

York College of Pennsylvania

BARRY C. KENT

New Sweden in America. Edited by CAROL E. HOFFECKER, RICHARD WALDRON, LORRAINE E. WILLIAMS, and BARBARA E. BENSON. (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press and Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1995. 366p. Illustrations, index. \$49.50.)

In March 1988 the first academic conference in the U.S. on the theme "New Sweden in America: Scandinavian Pioneers and Their Legacy" was held at the University of Delaware. This book, obviously slow reaching publication, is a result of that meeting. It contains most of the papers presented by the invited participants

from this country and Scandinavia arranged in five thematic sections. Some of the papers go over old ground, a few have appeared before in other publications, and many introduce new scholarship. All seek to go beyond the long shadow left by Amandus Johnson and his important works on this subject.

The first section, "Colonial Enterprise in Sweden's Age of Greatness," comprises three articles. Swedish scholar Margareta Revera, in an essay that also appeared in *The Age of New Sweden* (1988), examines the colony in the context of developments in Sweden central to the emergence of the state as a European power. In fact, little is said about New Sweden, while much is said about the importance of luxury and consumption in the seventeenth century. Revera's colleague, Stellan Dahlgren, looks at the economic purposes of New Sweden and concludes, not surprisingly, that it failed to fulfill its investors' hopes or serve a positive purpose for the Swedish state. Charles Gehring examines the relations between the Swedes and the Dutch, English, and Native Americans and the Swedes' dependence on all these groups in a poor and ill-supported enterprise.

Part 2, "The Colonists and the Native Americans," contains articles by American scholars Karen Kupperman, Lorraine Williams, Marshall Becker, and Ives Goddard, and by Swedish Folk Museum ethnographer Steffan Brunius. Although there is overlap and/or repetition in this section, the perspectives provided are important. Among the themes addressed are the trade system of which the Swedes were a part; the contacts between the Swedes and various Native American groups; the cleverness with which the Swedes, who had little to offer in the way of trade goods, became effective middlemen in that system; the pidgin language(s) that evolved to aid communications and trade; and the ethnographic collections of artifacts that have found their way to Sweden.

"The Swedish Colonists and Their Culture" is the title of Part 3. Here questions of background, both geographic and ethnic, are examined. Sten Carlsson provides an overview of the colonists' roots. Hans Norman considers the extent and causes of the survival of Swedish ethnicity. Peter Wacker attempts to locate and count colonists in New Jersey after 1655. Frank Blomfelt examines the development of Lutheran congregations, principally before 1655, and surveys the minsters, buildings, finances, and service books of these congregations.

Part 4, "The Forest Finns and the American Frontier," is aimed at establishing the importance of Finnish settlers in the history of New Sweden. Per Martin Tvengsberg and Juha Pentikäinen introduce the burn-and-beat agriculture of the Finns, explain its "migration" to Sweden, and examine the importance and retention of this culture in New Sweden—where this method of drying, cutting, and burning the forest to create farmland was particularly useful. Terry Jordan discusses the cultural contributions of the New Sweden Finns and their descendants to American frontier history, contributions that included the V-joint log cabin, cabin floor plans, shanty construction, and split rail fences.

The final part, "Sources and Questions for Further Study," includes brief articles by Richard Waldron, Börje Westlund, and Olavi Koivukangas on research materials in America, Sweden, and Finland. The final article, by C. A. Weslager, surveys the work of the conference. While on the whole positive, he believes too positive a picture of the settlers' relations with the Native Americans has been presented and that some sources (especially Thomas Campanius Holm's *Description of the Province of New Sweden* . . . from 1702) have been used uncritically and excessively. He also suggests that many questions remain to be answered and that many sources remain unexplored—in part, he believes, because translations of Swedish and Finnish sources are not available.

Overall, this is a very fine book. The individual contributions are, without exception, carefully crafted scholarly pieces. They have been well arranged and edited. Most conclude with useful and, at times, extensive notes. Clearly, the goal of conference—to get beyond Amandus Johnson—was attained. Of course, more remains to be done, and the book raises as many questions as it answers. Regrettably, given the only occasional attention New Sweden attracts, it may be a long time before any of these are addressed.

Gustavus Adolphus College

BYRON J. NORDSTROM

Stability and Social Change in Revolutionary Pennsylvania: Banking, Politics and Social Structure. By GEORGE DAVID RAPPAPORT. (University Park: Penn State Press, 1996. xix, 276p. Bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

For students of late-eighteenth-century America, Pennsylvania has become a historical paradise, offering a range of assets that few can rival. They include the largest city and sometime capital of the United States, a complex, rapidly developing economy that had substantial ties with markets all over the Atlantic world, enough religious and ethnic diversity to gratify late-twentieth-century multiculturalists, and—best of all—magnificent and ably administered archives that sustain a wide range of scholarly investigations. Not surprisingly, these assets have led to an avalanche of monographs of which the book under review is one of the more recent.

Rappaport takes pains to distance himself from the "hyperfactualism" (p. xiv) that dominates so much of scholarly literature emanating from the academic profession. Facts are significant for him only in the context of specific theoretical issues. The issue that interests him is change in social systems and particularly the transition from premodern to modern society. This monograph attempts first to define where Pennsylvania stood in that transition in 1780, just before the creation of the Bank of North America, and then to explore how the bank contributed to the advent of modernity.

Throughout the first two-thirds of the book Rappaport deploys facts in conjunction with theory to show the many ways in which Pennsylvania was not fully modern prior to 1780. He explores the role of three "classes"—farmers, artisans, and merchants—in ushering in modern capitalism. Rappaport emphasizes the degree to which the behavior of each was precapitalist. He argues that all were committed to traditional as opposed to capitalist values, and points to the structural constraints—such as the limited extent of the market—that discouraged them from seeking to maximize their economic returns. He also offers a provocative analysis of Pennsylvania's institutional lineaments, which contrasts the paucity of traditional public structures and the rich elaboration of voluntary associations that arose to fill the breach. Readers who consider themselves theory shy need not worry about finding their way through a maze of ethereal abstractions. The theory, presented in unusually succinct form, is tied down to the concrete research findings of the recent monographic literature. For my money this is the best part of the book, yielding many rich and rewarding insights.

The last third of the book is devoted to the Bank of North America. He portrays it as "a prototypical modern organization—large, highly specialized, and bureaucratic," promoting "the spread of business rationality and depersonalized and fragmented social roles" (p. 224). This "enormously powerful, specialized . . . organization" (p. 62) played a significant role in transforming Pennsylvania into a modern society. Rappaport devotes most of his attention to the bank's political fortunes after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War and especially to the political struggle that led the Pennsylvania Assembly first to deny the bank legal recognition and eventually to recharter it under legislative restrictions. He sees this "Bank war" as emblematic of the struggle between modernizers and traditionalists that would reemerge repeatedly during the nineteenth century, most notably in connection with the Second Bank of the United States.

The book's great virtue is Rappaport's skill in highlighting the premodern dimensions of behavior that superficially appears modern, like the farmers' involvement in long-distance markets and the political behavior of Pennsylvania's revolutionary parties—the Constitutionalists and the Republicans. The book's weakness lies in the power imputed to the Bank of North America. One comes away from the text with the feeling that the bank posed far more of a symbolic than a real challenge to the traditional order and that here Rappaport has inadvertently confused the furor it created with its actual capacity to transform basic social and economic structures.

Wesleyan University

RICHARD BUEL, JR.

The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650-1870.
By RICHARD D. BROWN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. xvii, 252p. Bibliographical references, notes, index. \$29.95.)

Richard D. Brown has written another important and controversial book about knowledge in early America. Six chapters and a bold epilogue sketch the evolution of assumptions within British and then American culture about "the mainstream notion of an informed citizenry" (p. 183). Chapters 1 and 2 trace the idea's origins from the Reformation through 1760. In England and its colonies the whole notion "remained inconsequential" at first, concludes Brown, because an informed citizenry's "creation and maintenance" was "not considered a public responsibility" (p. 50). Chapters 3 and 4 explore public thinking from the Revolution, which first gave weight to the idea, through the 1820s. As ideas about an informed citizenry blossomed, "two questions were paramount: Who, precisely, should be informed and what, exactly, should they know?" (p. 86). The final two chapters explore how an informed citizenry might best be created and the fate of other major groups excluded from voting—women, African Americans, and Native Americans—and of the laboring classes.

The answer to Brown's first question—who should be included in "the society of the informed" (p. 131)—was an increasing portion of the white male citizenry. Some women "challenged the restrictions that custom, law, and social prescription placed on their citizenship" and sought to "redefine women's place in the idea of an informed citizenry" (p. 183). The answer to the second question—what informed citizens should know—evolved, between 1820 and 1870, into a sprawling dialogue about the goals of education in a society being transformed into a commercial, early industrial civilization. No agreement emerged. When poor whites or African Americans were included at all, the orthodox view mimicked the English charity school ideal: education's purpose "was to promote obedience" (p. 182). Similarly, the purpose of education for Native Americans was "piety not politics" (p. 167): between 1850 and 1875, the mainstream "idea of an informed citizenry . . . shifted further away from its revolutionary era legacy" toward "personal fulfillment" and one's "own economic opportunity" as more essential than "the public's interest in an informed citizenry" (p. 187).

Brown's analysis reveals that an approving majority increasingly narrowed the intellectual foundation of American citizenship to an "informed white [male] citizenry" (p. 171). Moreover, "the exclusion of women was based even more purely on notions of male supremacy than the exclusion of blacks was based on white supremacy" (p. 187). While the definition of "informed" greatly expanded between 1776 and 1861, the meaning of "citizenry" became fixed and, if anything, narrowed after 1840, once lower-class Yankee working-class males had gained general though not universal acceptance into an emerging Anglo-Saxon American brotherhood.

Brown's judgment about the "level of information and engagement . . . envisioned" is controversial. At first, identifying and avoiding tyranny was the goal (p. 204). In the early republic, a second goal was added: "choosing public officials wisely." However, once chosen, "officials were set off from their constituents as rulers who should do what was best for the public good, not what was most popular." In this respect, elections were "not referenda" (p. 205). While "local affairs . . . could be settled by citizens acting in local meetings," leading "public issues of war and diplomacy, public finance and commerce, education, religion, justice, and law were to be considered only by deliberative, representative assemblies operating at the state and national levels." That "private citizens" were "sufficiently informed to make policy . . . was never contemplated and would have seemed absurd" (p. 204).

Brown's antebellum universe is stark. After 1830, an "ideal of deference" gave way to the democratic notion that "citizens informed on the merits of a particular issue should organize to elect officials to do their bidding, not to serve as guides or guardians" (p. 205-6). Single-issue politics and a cultural marketplace where "being informed came to include boundless occupational, cultural, and recreational possibilities" replaced older ideas, now justifying "the agenda of the moment" (p. 206). Brown's epilogue champions the legitimacy of a "limited sort of deference" in contemporary public affairs, since "we readily defer to experts" elsewhere in life (p. 206). He would have Americans "evaluate the general competence and integrity of officials, not their specific position on a single issue" (p. 207). Whatever one's views, this is a book well worth a careful reading.

Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

WILLIAM J. GILMORE-LEHNE

John Marshall: Definer of a Nation. By JEAN EDWARD SMITH. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996. xi, 736p. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$35.00.)

Each generation of Americans following John Marshall's death in July 1835 has found something in his ideas and work to revere. Albert Beveridge (1916) and Edward Corwin (1919) were among the scholars who introduced twentieth-century Americans to his many legal and political contributions. Their works merely whet Americans' appetite to look even more closely at Marshall's judicial career. In the past three decades nearly a dozen studies of Marshall have appeared. Five important books on the great chief justice have been published in the 1990s alone. But these, and dozens of other scholarly works that have viewed and evaluated Marshall as a participant either in his court or the politics which so interested him, have not attempted a complete portrait. Jean Edward Smith's *John Marshall: Definer of a Nation* is the first full-scale scholarly biography of the man in more than half a century.

Of all the Marshalls portrayed by scholars, Smith's is the most human. Not that Smith (a political scientist at the University of Toronto) either underestimates Marshall's legal contributions or downplays the importance of the judicial interpretations that flowed from his court for over three decades. He does not. His assessments of Marshall's legal and judicial contributions are impressive in their depth, clarity, and even-handedness. And Smith never lets now-famous rulings blind him to significant but lesser-known cases. His descriptions and explanations of the legal issues in each case are carefully done and reflect a close reading of the texts as well as subsequent literature.

But Marshall emerges from Smith's voluminous and gracefully written biography as more than a great jurist. He appears as a gentle and loving husband, an often frustrated and anxious, if frequently absent, father, a genial colleague, and an active, generous, conscientious, and respected citizen. Marshall's wife, Polly, always fragile, was seriously ill and virtually incapacitated following 1807, and the impact of her physical and mental illnesses upon Marshall's private and public life is examined with impressive sensitivity. Marshall generously provided land, resources, and opportunities to his sons who, with the exception of the eldest, proved to be less able and ambitious than their father, and seemed content to live off his largess. Marshall's collegiality was so storied that Smith believes he was capable of forging a consensus in even the most divided of courts.

Still, it is Smith's ability to convey Marshall as simple republican citizen that is among the book's greatest strengths. Marshall's affability and humor impressed and delighted his legal and political contemporaries, as they did his Richmond friends and neighbors. Indeed, according to Smith, it was the early commonsense and moral and political lessons that he learned mingling with the common folk as soldier, citizen, and local politician that shaped his subsequent legal judgments. And no experience had greater impact on his ideas and assumptions than the American Revolution. During that struggle he came to grasp the national ideas and priorities that not only foreshadowed his later legal and judicial career, but eventually set him in opposition to fellow Virginian Thomas Jefferson and prompted Jefferson to become an inveterate enemy of Marshall's court.

Smith offers Marshall as the *Definer of a Nation*. He builds his case for that appellation carefully and gracefully, and in the end his treatment exhibits many of the strengths of his subject: intelligent, insightful, balanced, and commonsensical. Smith's work now stands as the best available biography of the man most responsible for making the federal constitution a binding contract among the peoples of the United States rather than merely an arrangement among sovereign states.

University of Northern Colorado

G. S. ROWE

The Salmon P. Chase Papers. Volume 2: Correspondence, 1823-1857, and Volume 3: Correspondence, 1858-March 1863. Edited by JOHN NIVEN. (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 1996. Volume 2: xxv, 489p., \$35.00; Volume 3: xxxi, 450p., \$45.00. Bibliography, illustrations, acknowledgments, index.)

The most successful challenge to two-party politics in American history had three plausible leaders: Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, and Salmon P. Chase. As Republicans stood poised in 1860 to capture the White House, each sought the party nomination but only one could claim the prize. By way of consolation, Lincoln awarded Seward and Chase his two top cabinet posts—state and treasury. Persistent personal rivalry and disagreements about wartime policy placed the two at the center of storms that continued to swirl through the cabinet and the party. Seward soon recognized that he was subordinate to Lincoln; Chase never did.

Volumes 2 and 3 of the *Chase Papers* provide selections from Chase's correspondence to March 1863. They follow a large initial volume that brought together all of Chase's intermittent diary notations. The material in the second and third volumes is highly selective, skimming the cream from fully twenty-two microfilm reels of collected Chase documents. The majority of items in these two volumes were written by Chase himself, but the editors have included significant incoming letters as well. Approximately 60 pages cover Chase's youth and his legal and political apprenticeship (1808-36), 170 pages cover his growing prominence as a leader of the political antislavery movement (1836-49), and another 170 cover his eventful term in the U.S. Senate (1849-55). Fewer than 80 pages cover Chase's two narrowly successful campaigns for governor of Ohio and his four years in that office (1855-59). His abortive quest for the 1860 presidential nomination and his activities in the months before the war started are disposed of in a mere 30 pages. The wartime segment reflects Chase's role near the center of power: his first two years as treasury secretary are represented by 365 pages of material, culled from twelve microfilm reels.

One of Chase's correspondents, writing in late 1849 at a time when the pending admission of California as a free state prompted the South to buzz with secession threats, found no cause for concern: "The wolf may come; but with all we have seen & heard, we may be permitted to doubt until we see him" (2:265). During the entire quarter century between 1836 and 1861 Chase enjoyed similar confidence. He believed that slavery could be "utterly abolished" (2:119); that the essential first step in extinguishing "Slave Power" was to denationalize slavery through "the absolute and complete divorce of the federal government from all connection with the Slave System" (2:119); and, above all, that such a divorce could be effected "peacefully" (2:375). Following denationalization, he predicted, several slave states would emancipate and "the example of these would speedily be followed by the rest" (2:97). In the months following Lincoln's election, Chase remained confident that no wolf

lurked. Threats of disunion were only calculated to break down the Republican Party; the "deceived people of the South" would quickly come to their senses (3:50). Chase was wrong, but he had plenty of company. The movement he did so much to promote ultimately had consequences far different than he expected. The volumes under review here allow readers to gain many insights about the long gestation and growth of antislavery politics—and about the first two years of the unexpected maelstrom that followed the antislavery victory in 1860.

Chase had reason to feel cheated in 1860. Far longer than his two future rivals, Lincoln and Seward, he had given top priority to building a genuinely antislavery political party. Chase stood aloof from the Whigs and Democrats during the 1840s, working instead to expand the Liberty Party's base beyond a hard core of principled idealists. That quest proved slow and arduous. He abandoned the Liberty Party in 1848 when the Free Soil insurgency offered a more promising vehicle. At a time when most future Republicans, including Lincoln and Seward, remained within the Whig Party, Chase boldly attempted to lead Free Soilers into the "Free Democracy." Their commitment to "equal rights" and opposition to "special privileges" made Democrats more ideologically promising material than Whigs for a genuinely antislavery political party, Chase insisted (2:244, 251). All such hopes soon crashed against the stern reality of a national Democratic Party that was increasingly beholden to proslavery absolutists, but for several years in the late 1840s and early 1850s Chase's Free Democracy played clever balance-of-power politics in several Northern states. Its most notable accomplishment was the election of three Free Democrats to the U.S. Senate: John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, and Chase himself from Ohio.

Chase found the Senate frustrating. A quasi pariah who spurned Whigs and found himself excluded from Democratic counsels, Chase necessarily remained far outside the corridors of power. He watched with dismay as the Compromise of 1850 was enacted, remarking on how hard it was "to stand up against the seductions of influence and the terrors of the slave power" (2:306). The subsequent subservience of the Pierce administration to the South filled him with disgust; he preferred "Slaveholders to doughfaces" (2:379).

In January 1854 Chase gained a large measure of revenge. Enlisting signatures from the small handful of antislavery independents in Congress, Chase delivered a torpedo that soon sunk the Jacksonian party system. His "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" denounced the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a conspiracy to expand slavery and trample Northern sensibilities. Even though Chase failed to secure another Senate term (Free Democrats no longer held the balance of power in the Ohio legislature), he left Congress in 1855 as a key architect of the fast-coalescing Republican Party. "In the long run," William E. Gienapp concluded, "no individual made a more significant contribution to the formation of the Republican party than did Chase" (*The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* [1987], 192.).

Chase was narrowly elected governor of Ohio in October 1855, skillfully courting antislavery Know-Nothings. As the first Republican governor of a major state, he aspired to lead the party in 1856. The presidential nomination went, however, to the more "available" John C. Frémont. Chase fought hard to retain the Ohio governorship in 1857, barely surviving a scandal among his subordinates. His great hope was to win the presidency in 1860, but it was not to be. Instead, Republican managers in lower Northern states such as Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois determined that neither Seward nor Chase would suit.

Chase's official wartime duties centered around the complex matter of stabilizing Union finances at a time when expenditures exceeded typical prewar levels by a factor of twenty. He relied especially on the sale of bonds, accompanied by tax increases, issues of paper money not supported by specie ("greenbacks"), and a system of federally chartered national banks. The treasury secretary aspired, however, to gain influence on a wide range of other matters. Like other wellpositioned amateurs holding high office, he eagerly sought the role of armchair strategist, talking up the advantages of using Ohio as the base for a campaign into East Tennessee and from there "down to the Gulf" (3:74). He sponsored, in turn, a trio of ill-starred Ohio-connected generals: Irwin McDowell, George B. McClellan, and William S. Rosecrans.

Readers of Chase's correspondence will gain many insights into the ways that a war to restore the old Union became a war to end slavery. Chase feared that God was punishing America for the sin of "Complicity with Slavery" (3:89). When the Lincoln administration initially tried to appease pro-Union slaveholders, Chase grumbled that "it was bad policy as well as bad principle to give any support to the institution" (3:153). By the summer of 1862, Chase and like-minded Republicans became convinced that "slavery must go"—that the Union could never be restored while leaving slavery "untouched" and that the time had come to enlist black soldiers (3:218-19). Chase and his friends also demanded greater military boldness, energy, vigor, and success (3:241, 244, 251, 284). As these momentous changes in Republican attitudes unfolded, Chase's Treasury Department appointees undertook to demonstrate the efficacy of free labor agriculture in the Union-occupied Sea Islands of South Carolina.

Did Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862 bear witness to the importance of Chase's influence? The treasury secretary himself thought not. He complained repeatedly to friends that he had jurisdiction only over his own department, and that he was no longer consulted on broader matters pertaining to war policy or slavery (3:275-76, 284-85, 372-73). The showdown between Lincoln and his congressional critics in December 1862 further marginalized Chase. Quite plainly, Lincoln distrusted Chase, even while valuing his management of the treasury and hoping to keep him in the cabinet. Lincoln knew that Chase was a rival in waiting if the Union army continued to flounder.

The contents of these two absorbing volumes are sufficiently selective to require frequent reference to related sources. Readers must keep the Chase diaries close at hand, along with the modern biographies of Chase by Niven (1995) and Frederick J. Blue (1987). Intervals of many months sometimes separate entries in the prewar years, obliging one to consult Stephen E. Mazlish, *The Triumph of Sectionalism: The Transformation of Ohio Politics, 1844-1856* (1983), Stanley Harrold, *Gamaliel Bailey and Antislavery Union* (1986), Richard H. Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom: Antislavery Politics in the United States, 1837-1860* (1976), Blue's *The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics, 1848-1854* (1973), and Gienapp's book on the rise of the Republican Party.

In the end the baffling enigma of Salmon P. Chase remains. As presented by Niven—and so Chase must almost inevitably be understood for the foreseeable future—no comparably important figure in American political history combined so paradoxically a commitment to abstract principle with a relentlessly unprincipled quest for self-aggrandizement.

The College of New Jersey

DANIEL W. CROFTS

Arguing about Slavery: The Great Debate in the United States Congress. By WILLIAM LEE MILLER. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996. x, 577p. Bibliography, notes, sources, acknowledgments, index. \$35.00.)

Arguing about Slavery is an often gripping account of congressional debates over the gag rule that blocked consideration of abolitionist petitions by the House of Representatives from 1836 to December 1844. In addition to providing massive information on this crucial episode in sectional relations, it illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of good old-fashioned historical writing.

Several things about *Arguing* suggest an era before social and cultural history placed the "inarticulate" on center stage and asserted the constructed and contingent nature of meaning. The book is elitist (a term Miller dislikes) in its emphasis on political leaders and nothing if not certain in its moral convictions. Most of its action takes place in Congress and, unlike historians who stress social and economic forces, Miller believes in heroes. The narrative, he acknowledges, "features the agency of one, or a few, individual actors" on the antislavery side, notably John Quincy Adams, whose moral courage bests villainous proslavery Southerners and accommodating Northerners (p. 477).

The style as well as the story has an old-fashioned tone. Although often dramatic, the prose defies present-day conventions with its leisurely asides and copious use of long quotations, mostly of congressional debates. The latter may reflect Miller's deep-seated belief in rational discourse, although what the congressmen actually said sorely tests such a faith. In all, this is a book to reach the cultivated lay readers at

whom earlier generations of historians aimed and for whom much recent social and cultural history would be repellent.

The strengths of Miller's approach are considerable. To make a claim he does not: we may know the American Anti-Slavery Society, small in membership and uncertain in influence, better than Congress' debates over slavery. If so, Miller helps redress the imbalance. If not, he has still written an informative book that is often a great read, particularly for admirers of the narratives, musings, and heroic moments of nineteenth-century histories.

There are costs. Miller largely ignores the last few decades of scholarship. A major source on antislavery is sixty years old and few items on the subject published after 1980 appear in his skimpy notes or bibliography. Such disengagement with newer scholarship comes at the expense of analytical opportunities. His discussion of the petition campaigns that provoked the gag rule, for example, shows little awareness of the fine literature on antebellum women's activism. Pondering these works might have led Miller to consider more deeply the connections, or lack of connections, between petition campaigns and what went on in the House. On that score, his focus on congressional debates might have enabled him to say something fresh that has escaped social historians.

The book's rhetorical strategy likewise has costs. Readers' patience with congressional bombast will vary and Adams's heroic fight against the gag rule will not inform them very much about slavery as an issue that the political system could not contain. In attempting to reach his larger audience, moreover, Miller avoids jargon, but sometimes adopts an irritating colloquial tone. A stunning example occurs when Miller correctly notes that fifteen-year-old John Quincy Adams "was not practicing his jump shot every afternoon in the junior high school gym, or hanging around the drive-in hamburger joint every evening . . ." (p. 166). Whether or not such prose attracts genteel lay readers, if they still exist, it is unlikely to move present-day fifteen-year-olds from hoops to books.

At its finest moments, *Arguing about Slavery* is deeply immersed in a nineteenth-century world of politics, debate, and principles. To lead readers into that world is an achievement, without denying that other worlds of politics and scholarship exist. Greater engagement with them might also have been a fruitful form of debate.

Johns Hopkins University

RONALD G. WALTERS

Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War. By JAMES M. MCPHERSON. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. xiv, 258p. Index. \$25.00.)

For years, James M. McPherson has been recognized as one of America's foremost Civil War scholars. His numerous books, notably *Battle Cry of Freedom*

and *Ordeal by Fire*, have earned him this distinction; however, the essays and articles he has penned also help place him in the forefront of Civil War historians.

Drawn with the Sword presents fifteen interpretive essays written by McPherson during the past decade and a half. Although all but one have been published previously as review essays or independent articles, the author has updated them by drawing upon recent studies and "slightly revised the essays in order to give the volume thematic coherence" (p. xi). The book is divided into five sections: three chapters analyze the "Origins of the Civil War"; four focus on "The War and American Society"; four explain "Why the North Won"; three consider "The Enduring Lincoln"; and one examines "Historians and Their Audiences."

McPherson brings fresh insights to his discussions of the personalities and issues that make the Civil War "the most dramatic and crucial experience in American history" (p. 65). Themes resonating through this work include slavery as the major issue that divided the North and the South and that led inexorably to war, the centrality of Abraham Lincoln, the critical (though often overlooked) significance of the military aspects of the war, and the multilayered meaning of "a new birth of freedom." The review essays are interesting but the most informative chapters explore the enduring appeal of the Civil War, why the South lost the war (emphasizing the role of contingency), how a strategy of limited war evolved into one of total war, how U. S. Grant's personal memoirs "both in their substance and in the circumstances of their writing" (p. 173) reflect the qualities that enabled him to defeat Confederate armies, and what the Civil War meant to Lincoln and other people and nations around the world.

Still, McPherson is at his best when he assails a currently fashionable view that diminishes or dismisses the role Lincoln played in freeing the slaves. He convincingly shows how Lincoln "as antislavery political leader, president-elect, president, and commander in chief" was "the common denominator in all of the steps that opened the door to freedom" (p. 197). It was Lincoln's unfaltering commitment to emancipation after 1862 and his victorious armies that truly liberated the slaves, not themselves. In this case and others—for example, his acceptance of Hollywood's use of dramatic license to change historical details in *Glory* as long as "the underlying meaning of events" helps drive home "a deeper truth" (p. 108)—readers may not agree with what McPherson has to say, but they will be forced to consider his point of view.

The last selection—a recent lecture entitled "What's the Matter with History"—critically examines the polarization between professional and amateur historians and how the professionals' abandonment of narrative history has left the historical education of the American public to popular magazines and television programs, such as Ken Burns's documentary on the Civil War. Perhaps more instructive than the remedies he suggests are the examples his own writings have provided, because McPherson successfully reaches all three of the audiences he identifies. Scholars,

buffs, and the general public alike will welcome this collection of thought-provoking, perceptive essays. *Drawn with the Sword* reminds us that good things often come in small packages and lucidly demonstrates why James M. McPherson is not only one of our finest historians but one of America's finest writers as well.

Pennsylvania State University, Erie

RALPH L. ECKERT

All the Modern Conveniences: American Household Plumbing, 1840-1890. By MAUREEN OGLE. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xii, 191p. Notes, illustrations, index. \$39.95.)

In *All the Modern Conveniences*, Maureen Ogle takes a look at that quintessentially American phenomenon: plumbing. Most historical studies, Ogle suggests, start with the 1890s, assuming that the development of an infrastructure (water and sewer systems) marked its beginning. But interest in plumbing emerged in the 1840s; this was followed by a half century of experimentation with a wide variety of self-contained household systems, the core of which were cisterns for holding fresh water and cesspools for accepting wastewater. The impetus behind these independent systems was not scientific theory but rather the generalized reform ethos of the day, combined with increasing class differentiation and the connection of household "conveniences" with domesticity and middle-class status.

Beginning in the 1870s, reformers initiated a shift in concepts of plumbing, arguing for "sanitary appliances" related to a network of sewers and water mains. They attacked independent household plumbing as disease-ridden. By 1890 municipal codes, water, and waste systems—indeed the very appearance of household fixtures—resembled today's. The root of this transformation, Ogle maintains, was not in the germ theory of disease, in mass production, or in urbanization per se. Rather, a rising "culture of scientism," a new view of disease as preventable, and the post-Civil War view of an organic, integrated society all contributed.

Ogle uses patent records, trade catalogs, periodicals, municipal records, manuscript family papers, and plan books to make her case. She vividly describes the material culture of early plumbing in a way that brings home the realities of everyday life in the nineteenth century. Perceptively, she points out that in the enthusiasm of the day for domestic "convenience" (defined as "any object or arrangement that facilitated domestic labor, reduced dependency on servants, safeguarded the health of the family, and generally improved home life" (p. 17), the plumbing fixtures *themselves* came to be called "conveniences." She argues that by midcentury, plumbing had reached into the homes of "those of middling circumstances living in both city and country" (p. 8). While the evidence does suggest a substantial level of interest in plumbing fixtures, more documentation for these assertions would have been

welcome. For example, fixtures are assumed to have been available primarily as consumer goods; but in this society of tinkers, is this a valid assumption? A vast informal economy existed in which household fixtures may well have been improvised locally and never appeared in any publication.

Other questions arise about the extent to which household plumbing fixtures really were "conveniences," especially where women were concerned. Surely, "running water" in the kitchen may have saved women's time and labor; but curiously, Ogle never mentions the significant debates over household technology (and domesticity) and their ambiguous implications for women. The stove, for example, was a "convenience" too, but it brought more work of other kinds (blackening, extra cooking). Moreover, especially in rural areas, running water within the home may have been acquired not so much with an eye to class status or gentility but for increasing agricultural production, from the dairy perhaps. And who took care of the new water closet facilities? A look beyond the prescriptive literature—beyond such dubious assumptions as that A. J. Downing and other writers exerted wide influence—into why specific families acquired plumbing would help to assess the influence of domestic reform ideas. A more nuanced consideration of all of these questions would have made the analysis richer.

Another problem with this slim volume is its lack of sustained engagement with the substance of relevant historical debates. Perhaps this was a matter of editorial policy, but excluding historiography seriously limits the book's usefulness. Ogle herself admits (p. 158) that "descriptions of the midcentury drive for reform in the name of progress and of the late-century obsession with science, professionalism, and centralization are hardly original contributions; they simply serve as devices with which to explain the appearance of a seemingly unrelated but concurrent technological phenomenon, plumbing." While the author certainly cites the major works, she does not clearly relate her own contribution to the thrust of their arguments. Without such an analysis, the work is of limited appeal to readers who might seek insight into historical understanding of the cultural dynamics of the age.

Pennsylvania State University

SALLY McMURRY

The Architect of Desire: Beauty and Danger in the Stanford White Family. By SUZANNAH LESSARD. (New York: The Dial Press, 1996. xiv, 338p. Illustrations. \$24.95.)

Stanford White (1853-1906) was a brilliant architect who, along with Charles Follen McKim and William Rutherford Meade, constituted the principals of the turn-of-the century New York architectural firm of McKim, Meade, and White. The firm is known especially for its interpretations of Italian Renaissance designs, which have a kind of imperial grandeur that suited the grandees of the Gilded Age.

Examples include the Villard Houses and the Morgan Library in New York City and the Boston Public Library. White himself was known for his flamboyant interiors that he filled with fireplaces and other architectural fragments scavenged from the castles and palazzi of Europe. Imperial Rome was another source of architectural inspiration for White, whose collaboration with Frank Furness resulted in the Girard Trust Building, Philadelphia's version of the Pantheon.

White was a womanizer on a scale to match his architecture. Even after he married the respectable and retiring Bessie Smith of Smithtown, Long Island, and expanded the family seat at Box Hill, he continued to lead another life in the city that included wild parties with his friends and the unrelenting pursuit of pretty young women, whom he first befriended and then seduced. One of his conquests, Evelyn Nesbitt (she was only sixteen), ultimately proved fatal to him. Some time after her seduction, Nesbitt married Harry Thaw, a rich but troubled young man from Pittsburgh who already harbored hostile feelings for White. Thaw suspected that his wife had been one of "Stanford's girls," and he forced her to give him the unpleasant details. Finally, on June 25, 1906, Harry Thaw shot and killed Stanford White at the Madison Square Roof Garden where both were attending a performance of "Mamzelle Champagne." White's death under these circumstances led to a great deal of publicity, and it was the latter as much as the former that devastated the family. How they coped with this tragedy is one of Lessard's major themes. They coped in silence, never speaking of it and regarding those who did with disdain. This conspiracy of silence carried into subsequent generations, even into the time of the author, who is Stanford White's great granddaughter.

What the code of silence concealed was not just great granddaddy's peccadilloes and their scandalous denouement but an ongoing sense that predatory sexuality and violence were inherent in the family. The female members, at least, were subjected from time to time to sudden outbursts of violent behavior or untoward sexual advances on the part of male relatives, about which one never spoke. The author herself was apparently a victim of sexual abuse by her own father, thereby ensuring trauma sufficient to serve as the mainspring of the book.

The dark side of the White family saga is by no means the whole story. This is also a wonderful family history filled with interesting characters and great stories. There is, for example, the author's Grandmother Chanler, who had been raised in Rome and who became what must be called a "professional" Roman Catholic—nonwithstanding that her parents remained staunch Protestants. Daisy, as she was known, held court wherever she happened to be staying, with a relic of the True Cross clasped in one hand that she allowed children to approach and kiss—if they were good. Eccentric she may have been, but she bequeathed Catholicism to her children and their descendants. Her daughter Laura (known to the author as "Mama") married Stanford's son Lawrence (known as "Papa") who was also an architect. When he published his translation of Dante to some critical acclaim,

Mama was unimpressed. Papa couldn't possibly understand Dante, she said, because he was not a Catholic, only an Episcopalian.

The sixty-acre family compound at Smithtown, Long Island, some sixty miles from New York City, was and is known to the family as "the Place." Sitting in the middle of the property is the ancestral Smith house which, along with its gardens, is known as Box Hill. It was, we are told, a traditional farmhouse until Stanford gave it the beaux-arts treatment. The author grew up on the property, in the Red Cottage, and later built a house of her own at the Place. Notwithstanding her dark memories, she clearly loves this property and her evocation of it is brilliant. It helps that Lessard is a prose stylist of the first order and an acute observer. She deftly blends descriptions of nature with recollected emotions—almost Wordsworthian. As one would hope from the great granddaughter of Stanford White, she is also sensitive to architecture. Indeed, near the end of the book she visits some of his finest creations with her cousin Pamela—the Bowery Savings Bank in New York and Rosecliff in Newport. But for Lessard architecture is not just buildings; it is a metaphor for life. She saw the interior of the Bowery Savings Bank in all its grandeur as she also conjured up a vision of rape.

Afraid, I walked across the mosaic floor toward Pamela. It was a transformative passage, though one I had made before . . . and one I would make again. This is a journey that is made in increments. One cannot easily break the habit of looking for protection to that which is powerful. One cannot in one motion cast one's lot with the unprotected. One cannot in one day learn to see sanctuary and strength in *that*. . . We therefore cannot know ourselves truly without seeing when there is terror in harmony; without registering in our marrow a coldness that may feel like warmth, or a violence that presents as lust for life. We try to see these things not to demolish but to strive toward a whole world, because an unwhole world is ghostly: no matter how beautiful it might be, no connection is possible there. We do this not to place blame but to make connection possible. We do this to live. (p. 325)

As this passage makes clear, this is an intensely personal book. (Thankfully, the author is not so self-absorbed as to exclude the reader.) It is rather a meditation on contrarities, a coming to terms with the base and the beautiful, the best and the worst of which human beings are capable. Let us hope that Suzannah Lessard, having dealt with her demons, will now turn her enormous talent to another subject.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

IAN M. G. QUIMBY

Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art. By MICHELE H. BOGART. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995. xvi, 427p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$40.00.)

The advent of corporate-dominated commerce brought big changes to the arts as well as business. The formidable apparatus of selling, promotion, and communication erected around mass production and distribution had profound consequences for artists and indeed for art itself. The opportunity to advertise in magazines, billboards, newspapers, and posters created an insatiable commercial appetite for visual imagery. While such demand brought unprecedented opportunities to many artists, it challenged traditional notions of their vocation as one removed from the corruption and compromises of the market. Between 1890 and 1960 relationships of artists, advertisers, and ideas and practices of art were altered by rapid changes in business, in concepts of professionalism, and in the American public's experience of high and popular culture. Now Michele Bogart has given us a rich, persuasive, and exhaustively researched account of those changing relationships.

Bogart argues that many artists responded to advertising by asserting their right to define the meanings and parameters of art, for both themselves and the public. Artists, ad men, clients, academicians, curators, and critics all debated whether "pure" art could be used to sell goods, or if art that sold could ever be pure. They fought over the role of the artist in commerce and the degrees to which artists could truly function as independent creators in a commercial environment. They argued over the relationships of public and patrons to sales art. Seismic shifts in boundaries between art and commerce occurred along fault lines crossing different genres and media. Bogart shows similar skirmishes in magazine illustration, poster and billboard advertising, and photography. In each case, commercial hunger for art led to new employment and protracted battles over autonomy, legitimacy, and the production and meanings of art. Less well established artists often organized to market themselves and gain bargaining power, usually with little success; advertisers exploited a two-tiered labor system of well-paid stars with distinctive styles and journey-men who struggled for a living.

Bogart captures these dilemmas best in her treatment of ad agency art directors, well-meaning middlemen who stood between corporate clients and the artists themselves. They often fought for artistic autonomy, yet their efforts almost always depended upon securing artwork that correlated with sales and profits. Fine art, or "art-art" as she terms it, had at best an embattled place in advertising. Most often, clients and publics consistently preferred art that critically fell short, but which resonated with the greatest number to sell the most goods. By the 1960s, the twin ideals of art free from commerce and artists as romantic lone figures had virtually disappeared. The battles of artists to maintain a distinct identity in commerce were effectively ended; the notion of pure art for selling had vanished. Andy Warhol and

others built upon the collapse of such professional distinctions by relocating them as aesthetic concerns, as in pop art's use of advertising and pop culture conventions.

In a real sense, the outcome seems inevitable. With advertisers always creating and controlling demand for art, they could dictate the role of art in selling. There seems little that artists could do to protect their own interests. While Bogart places her argument in the context of professionalization, it would also have been helpful to see these artists as workers in industrial America, battling to control the nature and conditions of their work. The author avoids simplistic judgments about philistinism or the pernicious prevalence of consumer culture as the enemy of art. Yet her work reminds us that culture can take a large toll: by limiting where an idiosyncratic vision can thrive, corporate capital destroys the very life-affirming and creative opportunities it claims to create.

National Museum of American History

CHARLES MCGOVERN

Creating the National Pastime: Baseball Transforms Itself, 1903-1953. By G. EDWARD WHITE. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. xiii, 368p. Bibliographical references, notes, illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

There is perhaps no sport that is as cloaked in nostalgia as baseball. Those who follow the game closely know its traditions, its statistics, its personalities; even those who do not follow the game recognize players such as Babe Ruth or Jackie Robinson as important national figures. It is this mythic understanding of baseball and American culture that led it to be perceived as something more than a sport. G. Edward White's *Creating the National Pastime* examines this "peculiarly anachronistic, peculiarly evocative character of baseball in America" (p. 126) as it developed in the fifty years between the National Agreement of 1903 that bound the National and American Leagues together within a single administrative structure and the decisions of 1953 that led to the first franchise relocations and a new understanding of the business of baseball.

Although baseball had been played professionally at least since the 1869 Cincinnati team, it was in the early years of the twentieth century that baseball became both a modern business and a backward-looking enterprise. White argues convincingly that organized baseball was characteristic of Progressive Era America. The new "permanent" ballparks that were erected in the first decades of the century were a clear embodiment of Progressive ideas about civic identity. Unlike the earlier wooden parks, the new stadiums were built of concrete and steel and were designed to be showplaces. Integrated into the fabric of the city, Brooklyn's Ebbets Field, Boston's Fenway Park, Philadelphia's Shibe Park, and New York's Yankee Stadium demonstrated that these teams had made long-term commitments to their communities.

The labor structure of baseball also reinforced this civic association. The reserve clause of the standard player's contract bound a player to his team for as long as the team wished; this eliminated the contract jumping that had been prevalent in previous years and made it easier for a franchise to develop a stable, recognizable roster. White, a professor of law and history at the University of Virginia, gives a clear account of the legal challenges to the reserve clause and the development of baseball's exemption from federal antitrust laws. A series of decisions in the federal courts in the teens and twenties cemented the sport's unusual legal status, one that was virtually unchallenged for another thirty years.

As America changed, organized baseball's view of itself did not necessarily keep pace. Baseball's leaders were reluctant to embrace new ideas and new technologies that they feared would erode the game's identity. The natural place to experience a game was in a stadium, in the sunlight. Thus radio broadcasts and electrically illuminated night games were viewed by many within the baseball establishment as unacceptable—they changed the nature of the game. The signing of black ballplayers presented other image problems. The Negro Leagues, White notes, were seen by those within organized baseball "as a reverse mirror image" (p. 158). In the aftermath of the 1919 Black Sox scandal and with the hiring of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis as commissioner, the major leagues had worked to cleanse themselves of the taint of gambling. Many Negro League team owners were involved in numbers running; association with the Negro Leagues and their players would only serve to recontaminate organized baseball. This, White notes, provided baseball's leaders with further justification, beyond simple racism, for the segregation of the game.

Baseball did eventually change. The game and its magnates could no longer ignore the changing ethnic and racial character of America, the influence of the automobile and suburbanization, and the nation's demographic shift to the South and West. In doing so, the "game that simultaneously embodied America's urbanizing, commercializing future and the memory of its rural, pastoral past" (p. 319) may have lost its position as the national pastime. White's wide-ranging account of this transformation should be of interest not only to the baseball fan but to anyone interested in the history of twentieth-century America.

University of Pennsylvania

TIMOTHY WOOD

Hoods and Shirts: The Extreme Right in Pennsylvania, 1925-1950. By PHILIP JENKINS. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. 343p. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

Philip Jenkins has written a well-researched and fully documented study of Pennsylvania's interwar fringe groups. He begins with a good overview of Depression-era activity and the contemporary literature. He makes a very good point

that no matter how ridiculous the so-called fascist threat appears now, it was as real as unemployment in its time. And he has successfully captured that reality. Concentrating on the local level, he shows vividly that there was a genuine political base to support these movements, there really were subversives, there was violence, and it really was a scary time.

The field, in this case, is America's fringe organizations—those groups that defy easy categorization right or left and that most of us tend to erroneously lump together as allies. *Hoods and Shirts* addresses several major radical groups of the interwar years in Pennsylvania. Included are the Ku Klux Klan, the German-American Bund, the Christian Front, and to a lesser degree the Italian-American fascist movement, William Pelley's Silver Shirts, the Khaki Shirts, several other colored shirts, and the Coughlin following. Jenkins characterizes these groups as the paramilitary right and thus makes two common but prominent mistakes: one, lumping these groups together as if their aims or goals were similar or the same; and two, referring to them all as rightist organizations.

Except in the title of the work, Jenkins does not make these disparate organizations easy bedfellows. Each group is handled separately, usually within its own chapter, and no attempt is made to do much beyond draw very obvious and grand comparisons. Generally, with each group the national organization is presented first, followed by particulars as found in Pennsylvania. Not unexpectedly, given its population, immigration patterns, and industrial base, Pennsylvania serves as an apt case study for between-the-wars extremism.

All of these groups were certainly extremist groups. All operated on the fringe of society while being fed by that same society. All were influenced by the same national and international events as they were filtered through American society. But there the likenesses stop, despite some similarities in costume. In actuality, the "shirted" organizations, to include the German American Bund, were leftist in sentiment, in that they advocated definite change rather than a return to the established order. In reality, fascist and Nazi organizations were as extremist and leftist as communist and socialist movements, especially in their countries of origin. Ideas transplanted to the United States were thus even more extreme when laid against the backdrop of democracy and industrial capitalism and the accepted "Americanism" of the time. That they were successful at all attests to their ability to blend foreign with domestic concerns while capitalizing on the fears engendered by economic depression and increasing international tension. Jenkins is right when he asserts that the extremists were not as extreme as they sometimes appeared.

This book is decidedly a contribution to the literature in that it fleshes out the grassroots movements present in Pennsylvania. Jenkins is exactly right when he encourages more local and regional studies.

Fighter with a Heart: Writings of Charles Owen Rice, Pittsburgh Labor Priest. Edited by CHARLES MCCOLLESTER. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996. xx, 244p. Illustrations, epilogue, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$19.95.)

If Monsignor Charles Owen Rice had died fifty years ago, working-class Catholics would remember him as a gallant friend of the steelworkers' union and a determined foe of Communism. Instead, Rice forged on, developing new political interests. In the sixties Rice became an antiwar and Black Power advocate. He quickly earned the hatred of Pennsylvania's blue-collar Catholics.

Charles McCollester has compiled a valuable collection of Rice's political musings. McCollester's introduction is especially useful in establishing the context in which Rice crossed swords with Pittsburgh's industrial titans, Communist Party officials, and the architects of America's Vietnam policy. There is no question that Rice is a fascinating, controversial historical figure.

During the Great Depression Rice helped build the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Without the support of Catholic clergy like Rice, organizing the steelworkers' union would have proved even more difficult. As is evident from his collected works, Rice had an activist, not an intellectual, bent. He left discussions of Catholic social thought to comrades-in-arms, notably Father Carl Hensler of Pittsburgh. Rice's forte was the often amusing, and sometimes outrageous, polemic. McCollester provides excellent photographs and reproductions of leaflets that give extra flavor to these polemics.

One of the problems with this collection is that Rice revises his past with the verve one would expect of a politician, not a priest. In one article Rice fondly recalls Pittsburgh's first activist priest, Father James Cox. Truth be known, Rice savaged Father Cox in the thirties, being especially critical of his opposition to the CIO. The passage of time must soften memories, for Rice gave no indication of the depths of his dispute with Cox.

Rice has spent the past thirty years apologizing for his role in expelling Communists from the ranks of organized labor. He need not be sorry. The recent opening of Soviet archives has vindicated the Rice of the forties. As Rice had once argued, the Soviet Union used the CIO as a tool for promoting its foreign policy ambitions. American Communists infiltrated the CIO and the federal government in an effort to advance Joseph Stalin's fortunes. Rice's present misgivings notwithstanding, it is not red-baiting to call a Communist a Communist.

In the seventies, Rice castigated working-class Catholics who opposed court-ordered busing and other dubious civil rights initiatives. Rice believed that busing would promote the racial integration of the public schools. Instead, it led to some violent racial confrontations and provoked white flight from urban school systems. Angered, Rice called the foes of busing racists, failing to take seriously their concerns about the safety of their children.

The antipathy Rice felt for socially conservative Catholics was fully reciprocated. Those who followed Rice in the thirties no longer had any use for him. It seemed that Pittsburgh's "labor priest" had moved on to other, more fashionable, causes, leaving working-class Catholics far behind. In Rice we see the very embodiment of twentieth-century liberalism gone awry. If only for that reason, McCollester's collection deserves a place on your bookshelf.

Ohio University

KENNETH J. HEINEMAN

The Last American Aristocrat: The Biography of Ambassador David K. E. Bruce, 1898-1977. By NELSON D. LANKFORD. (Boston, New York, Toronto, and London: Little, Brown and Co., 1996. xi, 484p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, epilogue, index. \$27.95.)

Nelson Lankford, who is an assistant director of the Virginia Historical Society and editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, has written an attractive and frequently entertaining biography of a figure who, as his subtitle suggests, may be taken to represent the end of an American aristocracy. Born to Virginia gentry, with wealth and married to wealth, handsome, very intelligent, Bruce was ambassador to France, West Germany, and Great Britain at the height of the cold war, was the first United States diplomatic representative to the People's Republic of China, and earlier, head of the Office of Strategic Services in London during World War II and of the Marshall Plan in France following the war. He was friend and confidant to presidents, secretaries of state, and leading figures in American, French, and British social life. Thus his biography cuts across a significant range of American and international history.

Yet, Lankford's biography tends to demonstrate that Bruce was not crucial to many, if any, of these activities. He followed John Hay Whitney and preceded Walter Annenberg to the embassy on Grosvenor Square, and some British observers simply thought of them as interchangeable rich men. The real work of OSS in wartime London appears to have been performed largely by others. China required a person of age and dignity, and Bruce met these needs, as well as showed great politesse and interest in Chinese culture. Perhaps Bruce was most important in France, and in particular for his support of Jean Monnet and European unification. Bruce was a charming ambassador, well-informed and tough-minded, and it is scarcely his fault that he served in embassies at a time when much high-level diplomacy was conducted above the ambassadorial level.

Bruce's life is told predominantly from his point of view, with his diaries forming the single most important primary source. This means at times that we do not see an event in the round, as when Kathleen Tynan, antiwar spouse of British

playwright and theater critic Kenneth Tynan, used a party at the Bruce's ambassadorial residence to paste anti-American stickers in the rest room. Without quotation marks, but cited to Bruce's diary, is the judgment that she "explained her behavior with the sanctimony of the ideologue whose opinions supersede the obligations of civility toward her hosts" (p. 338). I would like to know what she actually said. Similarly, the chapter on the OSS is nearly without reference to any of the quite extensive OSS documentation in the U.S. National Archives and appears to be a reprise on Lankford's edited book based on Bruce's wartime diaries, finished before all the OSS materials were fully available. There are frequent references to how the public in France, Britain, or elsewhere felt about some aspect of American policy, almost always without any reference to newspaper files, and one realizes that in the main we are filtering these perceptions through Bruce. There are also minor oddities (the British Labour Party is precisely so, not the Labor Party, as always referred to here, just as the site in Hawaii is, properly, Pearl Harbor, not Pearl Harbour, even if the author is British) and minor slips, including a reference to this reviewer as W. Robin Winks.

This said, Lankford's Bruce is a charming book about a charming (though not charmed, given the violent deaths of his two daughters) man who was in some measure representative of his class, generation, and country.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

Imagining Philadelphia: Travelers' Views of the City from 1800 to the Present. By PHILIP STEVICK. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. 204p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

In this all-too-brief essay, Philip Stevick asks What are the qualities about Philadelphia that visitors most admire? What do travelers find interesting or unique about the city? What image does the term "Philadelphia" conjure in the imaginations of past or would-be visitors?

Structurally, this book is divided between physical destinations and ideas of the city. Initial chapters are devoted to Independence Hall, Eastern State Penitentiary, the Fairmount Waterworks, and Fairmount Park. Nineteenth-century travelers found Philadelphia a walkable city, delighting in its easily comprehended grid plan. They enjoyed the startling juxtaposition of green, spacious parks within the city's dense urban fabric, marveled at the technological virtuosity of the waterworks, and visited the city's experimental social institutions, where they preferred chatting with the prisoners of Eastern State Penitentiary to meeting the students at Girard College. Stevick astutely observes that Philadelphia was always a stop on a longer itinerary, never a final destination for recreational travelers. Despite Philadelphia's

identification with Quakerism, no traveler expressed a desire to meet a Quaker. Rather, visitors believed they saw a strong Quaker influence in Philadelphia because they imputed their own ideas of Quaker values to the city's character. A description of travelers' delight in the intellectual richness of Philadelphia marks the book's transition to the conceptual aspects of Stevick's thesis.

Stevick's best chapters are those devoted to a modernist's view of the city's repulsive aspects. In "Loathing Philadelphia" he discusses visitors' negative impressions. What do they despise? Inconvenient public transportation, urban decay, and suppurative municipal corruption. In his summation, "Dreaming Philadelphia," Stevick notes that the city began as an idea in William Penn's mind and remains an ideational device in films or novels. In modern literature, however, the dream turns to nightmare. He makes a convincing argument that the Philadelphia portrayed in modern literature and film is a thin veneer of normalcy overlaying a carcass of seething putrescence. Certainly, the city in the films *Witness* and *Twelve Monkeys* is not inspirational.

This book is somewhat mistitled. Frequently, the sources cited are residents, not travelers. In addition to locally published guidebooks, Philadelphians such as Elizabeth Robins Pennell, Christopher Morley, George Lippard, John Lukacs, and John Fanning Watson are quoted. It appears that even above informational value, the paramount criterion for admission to the author's database is literary skill. An English professor, Stevick has collected perspicacious, well-written, terse descriptions of the city. He laments, however, that Philadelphia never had a major author who immortalized it. The city needs a Joyce, Dickens, or Balzac.

Whether the entire epilogue of thirty-six vignettes contributes to this volume is questionable. Some are insightful descriptions; others, such as humorist S. J. Perelman's, are more precious than valuable.

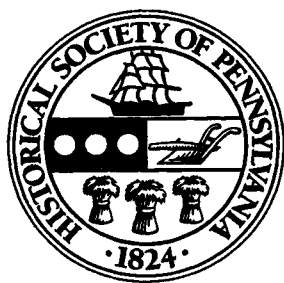
The next edition of this book would benefit from factual editing. The Second Bank of the United States and the United States Customs House are the same building, for instance (pl. 16). By his own account, Benjamin Franklin walked up Market Street (then High Street) carrying "three great Puffy Rolls," one under each arm, eating the third, not a "loaf of bread" (p. 29). That traveler, who always returned to his adopted city, had far more literary skill than Stevick accords him.

But these are minor problems. Those who believe that attracting vacationers and conventioners will reverse Philadelphia's decline would do well to read Philip Stevick's little volume. It's going to take more than putting a shine on the Liberty Bell to revive the noteworthy qualities of Philadelphia's glory days and make the contemporary city an object of tourists' desire.

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES	Page
<i>A Scottish Printer in Late-Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia: Robert Simpson's Journey from Apprentice to Entrepreneur</i> Rosalind Remer	3
<i>The Evolution of Woodford, an Eighteenth-Century "Retirement"</i> Mark Reinberger	27
<i>"The Double Curse of Sex and Color": Robert Purvis and Human Rights</i> Margaret Hope Bacon	53
<i>J. H. C. Helmuth, Evangelical Charity, and the Public Sphere in Pennsylvania, 1793-1800</i> A. G. Roeber	77
<i>Polk, Politics, and Patronage: The Rejection of George W. Woodward's Nomination to the Supreme Court</i> Daniel J. Curran	163
<i>Assessing Gender: Taxation and the Evaluation of Economic Viability in Late Colonial Philadelphia</i> Karin Wulf	201
<i>Anticipating the Brethren: The Reverend Charles Nisbet Critiques the French Revolution</i> David W. Robson	303
<i>"To Rescue the Germans out of Sauer's Hands": Benjamin Franklin's German-Language Printing Partnerships</i> Ralph Frasca	329
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS	
<i>London Merchants and the Launching of Pennsylvania</i> Mary K. Geiter	101
<i>From Saratoga to Valley Forge: The Diary of Lt. Samuel Armstrong</i> Joseph Lee Boyle	237
<i>Thomas Paine's Response to Lord North's Speech on the British Peace Proposals</i> Kevin T. Springman	351
BOOK REVIEWS	123, 271, 371
INDEX	Conrad Woodall 415

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