

BOOK REVIEWS

The Radical Enlightenments of Benjamin Franklin. By DOUGLAS ANDERSON.
(Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. xviii, 261p.
Notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

This fascinating intellectual biography of Benjamin Franklin embodies persuasive ideas about his career from 1722 to approximately 1760. Anderson's study has several major aims: it primarily emphasizes the great familiarity of Franklin with the literary techniques and tenets of Lord Shaftesbury, Daniel Defoe, and other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British writers. Anderson as well lucidly examines the development of Franklin's religious, scientific, and political thinking. The author, who recognizes the importance of Margaret Jacob's study of the Radical Enlightenment, develops the thesis that as a result of his involvement in these fields, the Philadelphia sage assumed an active part in shaping major ideologies of the transatlantic cultural movement. Anderson's study is both chronologically and topically arranged and consists of eight evenly balanced chapters.

The first three chapters of the book focus on the literary dimensions and on the ethical and religious concepts of Franklin's early life. In the first chapter, Anderson devotes considerable attention to an analysis of select letters of "Silence Dogood." Issued in 1722, the year before Franklin went to Philadelphia, these letters illustrate the influence of ideas and techniques found in Defoe's *Essay on Projects*. The author, moreover, perceptively notes that these casual letters reveal Franklin's views concerning hypocrisy, jealousy, anger, wit, pride, and humility; Franklin's concept of benevolence also appears in one of these letters and closely resembles that advanced in a *Letter concerning Enthusiasm* by Shaftesbury. The chapter also contains a detailed examination of Franklin's *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*, published in 1725. Franklin mentions various forms of pleasure and pain found in civil society and is indebted to Lord Shaftesbury and James Ralph for their thinking about these two pertinent concepts. The *Dissertation* is also important for delineating Franklin's views on the attributes of Deity, the orderly operations of nature, the power of human reason, and the immortality of the soul. The second chapter contains sections outlining his ethico-religious doctrines; Anderson depicts Franklin as an ethical activist, claiming that such virtues as

integrity, honesty, prudence, and benevolence should govern the operations of civil society. Like Alfred Owen Aldridge and Bruce Ingham Granger, Anderson presents a convincing account of the literary significance of *Poor Richard*. As discussed in the third chapter, the almanac, named for Richard Saunders of London, and first issued in 1731 in Philadelphia, lists major events in history, offers advice and predictions, and describes in clever ways Franklin's thirteen virtues.

Insightful orations of Franklin's scientific thinking appear in the fourth chapter. Franklin kept a journal of his voyage from England to Philadelphia in 1726, and Anderson uses it to reveal Franklin's efforts to illustrate the intimate connections between the human and natural worlds. The author as well shows that Franklin's 1743 recommendation to establish the American Philosophical Society was made in order to encourage colonial scientists to seek an understanding of nature's laws. This chapter, which refers to the works of I. Bernard Cohen on Franklin's science, also contains a suggestive discussion of his *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, a work first published in 1751. Anderson efficaciously explains Franklin's views on the electrical powers of attraction and repulsion, on the connections of the electrical plenum to fluid and fire, and on the properties of electrical fire that were observed in his lightning experiments. In a convincing manner, the author demonstrates that Franklin's electrical explanations helped to corroborate John Ray's concept of providential and natural design.

In the fifth chapter Anderson discusses Franklin's views on economics and politics. He shows that significant ideas concerning population growth, industry, and business, which are emphasized in William Petty's *Political Arithmetic* (1690), also appear in Franklin's *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751). In this essay, Franklin argues that the American colonies need immigrants, that they are a vital economic component of the British empire, and that they constitute a vast market for British manufactured goods. Moreover, the author perceives Franklin as a proponent of education and capitalism for proposing that citizens in the colonies should attend schools to be trained for profitable careers in business and agriculture. The sixth chapter concerns Franklin's proposal for unifying the colonies, examining his *Plain Truth* (1747) and other writings to show his concerns over Indian attacks and the need for a defensive system for the colonies. Franklin's plan for a colonial federation emphasized republican tenets; it called, among other things, for a constitution and for an elected assembly empowered to levy funds for defense. Franklin's 1754 Albany Union proposal, which grew out of this plan, was not to be adopted. Anderson explains, however, that well before the American Revolution Franklin became an advocate of the civic virtues of republicanism.

Anderson's study, in so many respects, has much to recommend it. In addition to being impeccably written and fairly well organized, this suggestive and synthetic study offers a new and refreshing way of looking at Franklin's early career. The author succeeds in demonstrating what major literary, moral, scientific, and political

concepts were at the core of Franklin's thinking during the first half of the eighteenth century. However, the conclusion might have been strengthened if he had evaluated the place of Franklin as a radical enlightener and might have explained the implications of his radical thinking. The book is based on primary sources, contains a valuable bibliography, and is closely footnoted. Anderson's study will assuredly be recognized as a classic in the field of Franklin scholarship.

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WILLIAM WEISBERGER

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volume 32: March 1 through June 30, 1780. Edited by BARBARA B. OBERG, ELLEN R. COHN, JONATHAN R. DULL, KAREN DUVAL, LESLIE J. LINDENAUER, CLAUDE A. LOPEZ, and KATE M. OHNO. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996. lxiii, 680p. Index. \$80.00.)

The literary masterpiece of the four months covered by this volume is the audacious bagatelle, "To the Royal Academy of *****." In American literature, Franklin's scatological tall tale has only one rival, Mark Twain's "1601 or Conversation as it was by the Social Fireside in the Time of the Tudors." Franklin's, however, has an underlying serious point, an excellent structure, and a concluding quip; whereas Twain's is pornographic and outrageous, with a rambling, mock-oral narrator. With partial irony, both Franklin and Twain cite Francis Bacon. Franklin's reference, however, is accurate, while Twain invents his. The chief literary pleasure of Twain's "1601" is his burlesque of the styles of Bacon, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis Beaumont. Franklin's scatological bagatelle had never before been dated. He referred to it in September 1783 as "a jocular Paper I wrote some Years since." The editors of the *Papers* identify the particular object of satire as a question posed in the academy of the Royal Society of Brussels, October 13 and 14, 1779, and published on May 19, 1780. (The question was: "given a certain geometric figure, how could one determine the greatest number of smaller figures that could be contained inside the figure?") Therefore Franklin wrote the satire sometime after May 19, 1780. This new information is typical of the painstaking editing of the *Papers*. I was surprised, however, that the editors used the title "To the Royal Academy of Brussels" in the table of contents and as the heading of the piece (p. 396), because they chose as copy-text Franklin's Passy press imprint, which used asterisks in place of the society's name (p. 398). Normal editorial practice requires that the copy-text be followed, unless the editors explain and justify any deviation. I presume the holograph copy at the Chicago Historical Society contains the title the editors chose to use in the table of contents and as the heading of the piece, though they do not say so.

Franklin demonstrated his excellence as a literary critic—and as an editor—in a letter of June 17, 1780, to William Carmichael, providing a context for his bagatelle “The Ephemera.” T. S. Eliot said in “The Function of Criticism” that explanatory facts about a work of art are more important than nine-tenths of all criticism written about literature. Franklin wrote: “To understand it rightly you should be acquainted with some few Circumstances. The Person to whom it was addressed is Mde. Brillon . . . She has among other Elegant accomplishments that of an Excellent Musician . . . The *Moulin Joly* is a little Island in the Seine about 23 Leagues from hence, Part of the Country Seat of another friend, where we visit every Summer . . . At the time when the Letter was written, all conversations at Paris were filled with Disputes about the Musick of Gluck and Picciny, a German and an Italian Musician, who divided the Town into Violent Parties.” Franklin’s information makes the “Ephemera” more interesting and more understandable.

Of course Franklin’s literary greatness is demonstrated repeatedly by his letters in this volume. Alas, almost all of them are official, dealing with naval matters (numerous ship captains who took nonpartisan ships tried to have Franklin condemn them so the captains could sell their cargoes—and, hopefully, the ships too), exchanges of prisoners, escaped prisoners, the finances of the American Revolution, the feud between the neurotic captain Pierre Landais (and his neurotic supporter, Arthur Lee) and John Paul Jones, recommendations for persons who persisted in going to America despite Franklin’s advice, and innumerable details of Franklin’s embassy to France. Nevertheless, even these business letters often contain memorable statements.

On March 5, 1780, Franklin wrote Washington: “Should Peace arrive after another Campaign or two, and afford us a little Leisure, I should be happy to see your Excellency in Europe, and to accompany you, if my Age & Strength would permit, in visiting some of its ancient and most famous Kingdoms. You would on this Side the Sea, enjoy the great Reputation you have acquir’d, pure and free from those little Shades that the Jealousy and Envy of a Man’s Countrymen & Contemporaries are ever endeavouring to cast over living Merit. Here you would know, and enjoy, what Posterity will say of Washington. For a 1000 Leagues have nearly the same Effect with 1000 Years.” Franklin wrote a similar comparison to William Strahan, February 12, 1744/5, concerning the American reputation of Great Britain’s famous writers: “We are a kind of Posterity in respect to them. We read their Works with perfect Impartiality, being at too great a Distance to be byassed by the Fashions, Parties and Prejudices that prevail among you.” Franklin continued to Washington: “The feeble Voice of those groveling Passions cannot extend so far either in Time or Distance. At present I enjoy that Pleasure for you: as I frequently hear the old Generals of this martial Country, (who study the Maps of America, and mark upon them all your Operations) speak with sincere Approbation & great Applause of your Conduct, and join in giving you the Character of one of the

greatest Captains of the Age."

Franklin rounded off this wonderful letter (my favorite to Washington) with an epic simile, suitably based upon a native American plant: "I must soon quit the Scene, but you may live to see our Country flourish, as it will amazingly and rapidly after the War is over. Like a Field of young Indian Corn, which long Fair Weather & Sunshine had enfeebled and discolour'd, and which in that weak State, by a Thunder Gust of violent Wind, Hail & Rain seem'd to be threatend with absolute Destruction; yet the Storm being past, it recovers fresh Verdure, shoots up with double Vigour, and delights the Eye not of its Owner only, but of every observing Traveller." In my limited reading, this is the best epic simile in any eighteenth-century correspondence.

One frequently encounters striking passages even in Franklin's business letters. In the midst of numerous details concerning American prisoners in letters to Thomas Digges, Franklin replied to his request, May 24, 1780, for a new full-length portrait of Franklin so that an "ingenious Engraver" could make a good print from it and take it to America to sell. Digges said it could portray Franklin either sitting or standing, "with such ornaments and emblems to the portrait as You may chuse." Franklin replied June 25 that he was "perfectly sick" of sitting for portraits. "I know of nothing so tedious as sitting Hours in one fix'd Posture . . . There are already so many good Likenesses of the face, that if the best of them is copied it will probably be better than a new one, and the Body is only that of a lusty man which need not be drawn from the Life: any Artist can add such a Body to the face . . . The face Miss Georgiana has, is thought here to be the most perfect. Ornaments and Emblems are best left to the fancy of the Painter." Thus Franklin, a great expert on symbols and emblems, deferred to an unknown artist.

Events in America were paramount to the success of Franklin's mission, and during the spring of 1780, they were going from bad to worse. The winter of 1779-80 was the most severe during the war; the Continental currency was devalued forty-to-one on March 19; the American troops were starving; and Charleston was besieged in April and surrendered on May 12. Franklin nevertheless continued his incredible diplomatic efforts with the French, constantly informing French foreign minister Vergennes and naval minister Sartine of developments in America and of the needs of the American military, and always implying success in the future. Franklin received the second of four installments of a three million livre loan by the French to the colonies on May 23. Finances constantly beleaguered Franklin. To a sympathetic William Carmichael, he wrote on March 31: "Too much is expected from me, and not only the Congress draw upon me often unexpectedly for large Sums, but all the agents of the Committee of Commerce in Europe and America, think they may do the same when pinch'd alledging that it is necessary to The Credit of the Congress, that their particular Credit should be supported." Franklin managed, however, to support all legitimate demands. When John Jay, in Spain,

wrote him that rumors in Cadiz said that the Loan Office bills payable in France had been refused, Franklin hotly denied them, April 7, 1780, as "wicked Falshoods." He declared: "Not one of them duly endors'd by the original Proprietor was ever refused by me or the Payment delayd a Moment." He enclosed a certificate from his banker "in Refutation of those Calumnies." He frequently expressed exasperation with the continual demands upon him for finances and for decisions concerning mercantile details. To John Ross April 22, he wrote: "[I] do not see why it should be expected of me to point out a Vessel for them [soldiers' clothes] to be shipt in, or to approve or accept of any Contract you may make for the freight of them. The affair is yours, I never had any thing to do with it: I know nothing of it, and am quite sick of meddling as I have been too often induced to do with a kind of Business that I am utterly unacquainted with." Franklin nevertheless said he would help pay the freight.

Despite the innumerable demands upon his time and funds, despite the lack of an administrative staff, and despite sniping American enemies in France, in Europe, and even in Congress, Franklin somehow kept up his literary, intellectual, scientific, and social life during these incredibly busy months. Following up on their conversations during the winter, Jan Ingenhousz wrote him on May 3, 1780, concerning the conductivity of different metals (experiments Franklin devised) and a new electrical capacitor constructed primarily of nonfragile parts. Franklin joked to Madame Octavie Guichard, April 23, 1780, that he would have called upon her earlier, but that he feared "to encounter the keen and fine Reproaches" from her that he had previously experienced, "and which his conscience told him he deserved." Now, however, under the protection of "Notre Dame d'Auteuil" (Madame Helvetius), he would venture to visit next Wednesday.

University of Delaware

J. A. LEO LEMAY

Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763–1776.

By JOSEPH S. TIEDEMANN. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997. xii. 342p. Maps, notes, index. \$45.00.)

Historians have offered a variety of explanations for New York's hesitation in jumping on the revolutionary bandwagon, but, surprisingly, there has been no full-scale scholarly study of New York City during the years leading up to the Revolution since Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker published *Father Knickerbocker Rebels: New York City During the Revolution* in 1948. Joseph Tiedemann goes a long way toward filling this gap in *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763–1776*, a carefully constructed book based on extensive research in both the published writings and private correspondence of the period.

Tiedemann, who is known for his work on Queens County, New York, during the revolutionary era, reconstructs the course of events from 1763 to 1776 in meticulous detail, weaving developments on both sides of the Atlantic into a smoothly written narrative. Conceiving of the prerevolutionary years in terms of three Anglo-American crises, the first surrounding the Stamp Act, the second centered on the Townshend Acts, and the third concerned with the Tea and Coercive Acts, he emphasizes the crucial role of Britain's imperial policy in setting in motion the events that culminated in New York's decision for independence.

In Tiedemann's view, the onus for the upheaval in New York belongs to intransigent British officials who failed to appreciate the intense concern colonists had for preserving their liberty in the face of what they deemed unconstitutional exertions of parliamentary power. The customary villains of New York's late colonial history, politicians from the De Lancey and Livingston factions, have their reputations rehabilitated by Tiedemann, who casts them as pragmatists rather than opportunists, and sees their willingness to ally with the Liberty Boys, a more radical group formed in the wake of the Stamp Act, proceeding not from calculations of self-interest but from a realistic appraisal of political circumstances. Ultimately most of those attached to the De Lanceys ended up as Loyalists and a Whig coalition composed primarily of Livingstonites and Liberty Boys brought New York to independence. But the significant point for Tiedemann is that key members of the socially conservative prerevolutionary political elite were not dislodged from power in New York and were able to shape the revolutionary movement.

Crafting a comprehensive and well-documented narrative of resistance and revolution in New York is not the only item on Tiedemann's agenda. Critical of the approaches taken by other historians (he outlines what he perceives to be the shortcomings of previous studies in an appended historiographical essay), Tiedemann is intent on demonstrating the value of social science models—specifically those drawn from the works of Theda Skocpol and Louis Kriesberg—for elucidating the dynamics of resistance in the city. New York's agonizingly slow progress toward revolution, he argues, was the result of the difficulties its leaders faced in forging a consensus for revolution in such a heterogeneous society. Though not oblivious to the gap separating patricians and plebeians, Tiedemann minimizes the degree of class antagonism in the city and sees ethnic and religious differences as far more salient. The challenge faced by New York's political leaders was to find a way for the political process to accommodate the diverse points of view represented in the population. That they were able to do this and slowly but surely unify sentiment in favor of independence is, according to Tiedemann, the unheralded accomplishment of New York's revolutionary generation.

The plausibility of Tiedemann's thesis is readily apparent, but it would take a broader investigation of the values and goals of the city's ethnic and religious groups

to validate it. By concentrating so singlemindedly on the thoughts and actions of the political elite, the author leaves many questions unanswered about the cultural groups that made up the city's political coalitions. Did recent immigrants such as the Germans and Irish manifest solidarity in the political arena? How did the internal conflicts in several of the city's congregations in the 1760s affect the political choices made by their adherents? Were the political sentiments of the city's clergy, never alluded to in this book, influential in motivating their followers? If culture was more important than class in explaining the response of New Yorkers to the imperial crisis, a more convincing case needs to be made.

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JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND

Naval Documents of the American Revolution. Volume 10: American Theater. October 1, 1777–December 31, 1777; European Theater, October 1, 1777–December 31, 1777. Edited by MICHAEL J. CRAWFORD, E. GORDON BOWEN-HASSELL, CHARLES E. BRODINE JR., and MARK L. HAYES. (Washington: Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, 1996. xxiv, 1350p. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$55.00.)

Michael J. Crawford and his colleagues have produced a splendid addition to a distinguished series, the latest volume in a project that began publication in 1964. The goal remains important and ambitious. In the words of the present editors, to offer "no more and no less than those records that are necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the war at sea of the American Revolution. This documentary collection is intended to be comprehensive, not in the sense that it might include every document touching on the war at sea, but rather, in the sense that it should provide comprehensive coverage to naval aspects of the armed struggle, as well as present the reader a meaningful overview of the entire sea effort" (p. xix).

The scope and scale of the project has required its three principal editors (William B. Clark for volumes 1–4, William J. Morgan for volumes 5–9, and now Crawford) to adopt several specific editorial procedures. Instead of arranging the documents in a single chronological sequence, the material here is divided into two separate runs according to whether the documents originated in America or in Europe. Thereafter, "Under each date they appear more or less in geographical order, by place of origin, from north to south, usually following coastlines" (p. xix). This system is a sensible compromise, but the peculiar character of some documents like ships' logs do not lend themselves to being split into daily snippets. The master's journal for HMS *Roebuck*, for instance, was kept periodically over three months and is here divided into fifteen entries scattered across eight hundred pages. (The excellent index helped to make that calculation possible.) The awkwardness

of this arrangement is made more apparent by the editors' choice to reproduce in the appendix similar documents in toto, including the log of John Paul Jones's *Ranger* from November 26 through December 31, 1777.

An editorial decision of greater concern, one that has been in place over the life of the series, is a willingness to print an extract of a document rather than to reproduce it in its entirety. Generally speaking, the editors print those portions that relate more or less directly to *naval* activity, an understandable decision given the purpose of the project and the potential vastness of the material that bears indirectly on the subject. Still, a more inclusive approach would help to increase our understanding of how each side managed combined operations along the coast, up the rivers, and across the inland lakes, the form of naval activity that mattered most in the outcome of the Revolution.

As an example of the problem, take pages 72 and 73, which reproduce extracts of four letters written on October 8, 1777, about defending the Hudson against Henry Clinton's attempt to assist John Burgoyne's advance from Canada. There is less of a problem with the first two letters, from Israel Putnam to George Washington, because both should shortly appear in full in the modern letterpress edition of Washington's papers. The third and fourth letters, however, are from and about people whose correspondence will almost surely remain untranscribed and unedited. The things they saw and reported are thus more difficult to access.

The editors are cognizant of this issue. For many extracts they supply in a note a summary of the omitted portion (although not for the ones mentioned above). In the printed extract of a letter of October 13, 1777, for example, Col. Timothy Pickering describes preparations to defend the Delaware River against a desperate British attempt to establish a firm connection between their navy on the river and their army in Philadelphia. This is all such wonderful information that one yearns to know what Pickering said in the "Two and a half paragraphs . . . [that] are not printed here. They describe conditions in Washington's Army, the maneuver's [*sic*] of Howe's and Clinton's forces, and the response of Pennsylvanians to the presence of the Continental Army" (p. 144). As a historian interested in how Americans organized armed force, on land and on water, during the Revolution—a point of view not necessarily shared by those who fund documentary publications about the history of the U.S. Navy—the more the editors can print about coastal, riverine, and freshwater combined operations, the better. Perhaps they might consider reproducing in full documents unlikely to see the light of print any other way.

These suggestions aside, it must be said that the editors have done a superb job of locating and transcribing documents, including for the first time "rendering non-English documents in their original language, accompanied by English translations" (p. xx); of selecting illustrations and maps that enhance the text; and, in general, of producing a volume that is as vital for scholarship as it is rewarding for the more casual reader. The emphasis is on the American theater: 840 pages as opposed to

320 pages for the European Theater. There is high drama here, for example, in Clinton's expedition up the Hudson and the British attempt to clear the Delaware; both are important examples of how armies and navies cooperated in the eighteenth century. The volume rounds out, especially with British sources, the story of the end of the Pennsylvania navy so ably told by John W. Jackson in *The Pennsylvania Navy: The Defense of the Delaware* (1974).

The volume's greatest value is in providing the reader with much information, in exquisite detail, on the panoply of naval activity during the last quarter of 1777. American privateers were active on both sides of the Atlantic (the volume includes an appendix listing Nova Scotian vessels seized and libeled in New England prize courts); the relationship between the rebellious colonies and France was lurching toward greater cooperation; and British and American soldiers and sailors faced an increasingly complex job of exploiting water in support of their ultimate goals. Famous men appear in these pages, some on center stage, some, like John Paul Jones, still in the wings preparing for their greatest challenge. It is not the object of this volume to explain how all of this activity contributed to some larger purpose. Rather, the editors, and the Naval Historical Center, have contributed significantly to enlarging the indispensable foundation upon which a full understanding of our naval, and revolutionary, heritage can be constructed.

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Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlendorfs aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika, Band IV: 1769–1776. Edited by KURT ALAND. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993. xvi, 773p. Index. DM 468.)

Volume 4 of *Correspondence of Heinrich Melchior Mühlendorfs* is part of a rich, multivolume set of sources portraying the history of the Lutheran church in America. Spanning the period from 1769 to 1776, the volume includes 229 letters, written in German, English, and Latin, to and from church leaders in Georgia, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, England, and continental Europe. Kurt Aland and his assistants meticulously cross-reference related sources and supply comprehensive explanatory notations for the letters. The editor's introduction provides an excellent overview of the religious context for the letters.

In part, the events outlined in Mühlendorfs's letters parallel the political situation of the British American colonies. The most prominent theme in the volume is the growing independence of the American Lutheran church. By 1769, reliance on the Swedish church for financial and clerical support was diminishing. The same year,

the death of Gotthilf August Francke, the founder of the Lutheran institutions at Halle, brought a significant change in European leadership. Mühlenberg's mentor and friend, Francke had maintained a keen interest in the fledgling American congregations. Francke's death and his replacement by Johann Georg Knapp in 1769, and Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen in 1771, marked a growing distance between the American churches and the Halle institutions. At the same time, the American Lutheran clergy became more "Americanized" (p. 11). The most obvious example of changes in leadership is the involvement of Mühlenberg's three sons in the American ministry. During the early 1770s, each of them served as clergy for several colonial congregations. The establishment of educational institutions is another indication of self-sufficiency and Americanization. As early as 1752 Mühlenberg suggested establishing a seminary, but the Halle leaders discouraged his endeavors. In 1773 the church council at St. Michael's, in Philadelphia, hired three university-educated professors and founded the institution which became known as the German Seminary. Thus the American Lutheran church no longer depended solely on European institutions for its clergy or the higher education of the clergy.

While Mühlenberg's letters illustrate a movement away from the European church, his own sentiments toward the political independence movement is less clear. In general, he tended to view the war as a punishment from God. He seldom responded strongly to the movement but did begin to refer to American victories in battles. In 1776, after the state's new constitution was drafted, he joined a group of Pennsylvania ministers in petitioning to clarify the position of the church as a separate institution under the new government. Although difficult to define, Mühlenberg's position leaned more towards the reluctant endorsement of American independence than zealous patriotism.

In any project that spans a wide geographic spread, it is difficult to cover each region equally. Aland and his team reference the European and religious aspects of Mühlenberg's correspondence superbly and they furnish a wealth of detail concerning the political events and battles in America. However, the larger religious context for the Americanization of the Lutheran church is less clear. For instance, how does growing independence for the Lutheran church compare to developments among the Presbyterian, Baptist, or German Reformed churches? Furthermore, although he implicitly addresses the parallel movements of independence in his introduction, Aland hesitates to make connections between the Americanization of the Lutheran church and the growing political and economic autonomy of the British colonies. Are American Lutherans forced to become more self-sufficient because of political events or because of problems in communication owing to the war? While institutional reasons for self-sufficiency are spelled out, the impact of the independence movement on the church remains hazy. Nevertheless, this volume

offers an excellent opportunity to examine the everyday life and growing autonomy of the Lutheran clergy in the years leading to American independence.

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ROSALIND J. BEILER

Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic. By MICHAEL DUREY. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997. xi, 425p. Notes, bibliography, appendix, index. \$45.00.)

In this ambitious study Michael Durey skillfully interweaves the lives of 219 Irish, English, and Scottish refugees who emigrated to the United States partly as a consequence of their heterodox political and religious beliefs. Though they represent only a minuscule portion of the nearly three hundred thousand settlers from the British Isles who arrived in this country between the years 1783 and 1819, the "transatlantic radicals" had a remarkable and immediate impact on American society (pp. 1-4). Federalist leaders from John Adams to Robert Goodloe Harper, alarmed by the widespread involvement of "émigré journalists" in the "production and marketing of knowledge," repeatedly blamed the militants' "vulgarized politics" for the triumph of Republicanism (pp. 200, 256, 257). As Durey (himself a British emigrant who teaches history at Murdoch University in Western Australia) makes clear, only powerful exiles like William Duane possessed the means and motivation first to tarnish George Washington's "living legend" and later to remind Thomas Jefferson of his own "democratic conscience" (pp. 238, 275).

Whether influential Pennsylvania-bound Unitarians like Dr. Joseph Priestley or obscure farmers, minor professionals, and small producers, all those who took part in the three great waves of what Durey terms "the radical diaspora of the 1790s" looked to America as a "beacon of freedom" and an "asylum of liberty" where they might openly espouse "Painite-Jeffersonian" beliefs in "participatory democracy" (pp. 9, 167, 228). Yet almost immediately, the mythic aspirations of many exiles collided with the harsh realities of American nativism and religious intolerance. While a "silent majority" peacefully assimilated, perhaps as many as 30 percent of these fugitives eventually packed up their bags and returned to the British Isles (pp. 211, 219). Most, including James Thomson Callender, James Carey, and other radical Philadelphia propagandists, "soon came to realize that the battles they had fought (and lost) in Britain had to be fought again in America" (pp. 221, 230).

By identifying a discernable group of "British radicals" who waged an important war against "British toryism" on American soil, Durey offers students of the U. S. early republic a provocative means of reevaluating the all-too-simplistic Anglo-French dichotomy that constrains much of the era's scholarship (p. 242). While some intellectual historians may be frustrated by his loose application of the term

"radicalism" and his abbreviated consideration of fiercely contested concepts such as "liberalism" and "republicanism," Durey ultimately is less interested in historiographic debates than in incorporating a constellation of colorful and often marginalized figures within the period's traditional narratives. Indeed, despite the book's title, more than half his study examines the radicals' contributions to the growth of political opposition in England, Scotland, and Ireland prior to their careers in America.

The first time that each of the more than two hundred characters is introduced, his name appears in small capital letters. This feature along with the book's meticulous index invites readers to conceive of the work as a biographical dictionary. Yet, as the author himself recognizes, in order to capture the complicated stories of many of the exiles, separate and extended treatments are needed. See, for example, Durey, *"With the Hammer of Truth": James Thomson Callender and America's Early National Heroes* (1990). While the format of *Transatlantic Radicals* precludes this type of nuanced personal analysis, Durey offers preliminary answers to a wide array of important questions. Why did certain men like William Cobbett renounce their radical ways and become ultra-Tories while others like John Daly Burk stayed Republican extremists until their deaths, and still others like Mathew Carey became political moderates? Why did less than 40 percent of those who condemned the evils of human bondage before their emigration remain committed to the antislavery cause? Historians intrigued by the moral dilemmas and apparent hypocrisies of complex individuals like the University of Pennsylvania professor Thomas Cooper—who was a well-known opponent of slavery when living in England, abridged the *Rights of Man* for the Manchester dissenting radicals, was tried and imprisoned in Philadelphia under the Sedition Act, lost his faith in democracy after the election of 1800, and finally became one of the most prominent proslavery pedagogues of the antebellum South—will undoubtedly find themselves combing Durey's extensive bibliography for further reading.

Yale University

ERIC ROBERT PAPENFUSE

American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson. By JOSEPH J. ELLIS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997. xiv, 365p. Epilogue, appendix, notes, index. \$26.00.)

In 1970, Merrill Peterson, one of the most able of the scores of Jefferson scholars, admitted in a tone almost conciliatory of defeat that "Jefferson remains for me, finally, an impenetrable man." The generation of scholars who continued Peterson's excavation of the Jeffersonian character uncovered flaws—Jefferson the slave owner, the philanderer, the state's rights advocate—and brandished these blemishes to dislodge the Sage of Monticello from the pedestal on which previous

scholars and the American public had placed him. But while these salvos may have chipped his nose, the popular memory of Jefferson uplifts him still as "the Great Sphinx of American history, the enigmatic and elusive touchstone for the most cherished convictions and contested truths in American culture" (p. 10). This fact became especially evident to Joseph Ellis during the "Jeffersonian Surge" of 1993, as Americans celebrated the 250th anniversary of Jefferson's birth in events around the country. All the fuss led the biographer of John Adams to question "What is it about Jefferson . . . who" unlike any other historical figure from the American past "could generate this much contemporary interest?" (p. 4). The answer, as Peterson had earlier identified, was Jefferson's "protean" character and the penchant for subsequent Americans to mold Jeffersonian philosophy to both sides of every contemporary political argument; he has been "America's Everyman." Historians abhor such "presentism," Ellis remarks, but in their zeal to relegate Jefferson to the world of the past they risk making the real Jefferson inaccessible. So it is with *American Sphinx* that Ellis attempts to penetrate the mythological fog of Thomas Jefferson for the general public and explain his "many chambered personality" for the historian, in an attempt to "get to know him as he really was" (p. 23). Because so many Americans readily identify with Jefferson, getting to know him is also getting to know themselves.

Who was the real Jefferson? According to Ellis, Jefferson was the most "wildly idealistic" of revolutionaries, possessing "extraordinary naivete" about the utopian possibilities of unrestrained individualism, and thus he was "not a profound political thinker." On the other hand, Jefferson's sentimental "juvenile romanticism," which led him to view all struggles in the world through the black and white lenses of a moral dichotomy between good and evil, also made him "a brilliant political rhetorician and visionary." These qualities produced both the natural rights and the grievances sections of the Declaration of Independence, a document for which Jefferson did little more "than recycle his previous writings" (p. 56). They also produced his paranoid fear of Hamiltonian federalism in the 1790s. Ellis insists this is not the product of a "Jeffersonian Persuasion" of country opposition revisited but nevertheless writes repeatedly of Jefferson's castigation of federalism as the agency of monarchism. Ellis's historiographical forays are veiled for the general reader, but the scholar can root them out between the lines and in the endnotes. While Ellis's Jefferson is no Applebeian protocapitalist, he is a visionary wedded exclusively to an elusive future of undefined liberalism, not bound to the past like his republican contemporaries. And this is precisely what gave him his "daunting powers of self-deception" and enabled him to be a man of such immense contradiction. In his ideal world, he could accumulate debt to feed his addiction for personal luxuries, while as president dictating a minimalist federal government to retire the national debt; he could retain his slaves even past his death, while calling for gradual emancipation; he could be a man who despised conflict, while at the same time authoring the most

famous political invective. Idealists are not bound to prescriptions for integrity that demand consistency; their commitment to principles offer them not only freedom, but penetrating clarity of vision.

In his five vignettes of Jefferson's life and career—as a continental congressman, minister to France, in semiretirement at Monticello in the mid-1790s, in his first term as president, and finally in true retirement in the last decade of life—Joseph Ellis succeeds not only in providing an intriguing version of the Jeffersonian character, but also in presenting us with a Jeffersonian mirror. Jefferson still stands for Americans as a looking glass into which they must peer in order to glimpse a grainy image, not of themselves, but of what they aspire to be but can never fully become. In this sense, John Adams needn't have worried, "Thomas Jefferson survives" indeed.

University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown

PAUL DOUGLAS NEWMAN

New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America. By COLIN G. CALLOWAY. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. xxi, 229p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.95.)

In *New Worlds for All*, Colin Calloway explores "the new worlds that Indians and Europeans created together in early America and considers how conquest changed conquered people and conquerors alike" (p. xiii). Despite its lack of a single chronological narrative thread, Calloway nonetheless offers a broad-ranging synthesis of much of the recent scholarship on cultural interaction in early North America. Calloway's topical approach allows him to attain a breadth of coverage and coherence of interpretation that likely would have been impossible to achieve if shoehorned into some grand narrative scheme. In the process, he deftly avoids two failings that often plague such ambitious syntheses: he neither inundates his readers with a multitude of trivial "facts" nor bludgeons them with seemingly unsupported, sweeping generalizations. While the research upon which his grand synthesis rests is clearly extensive, Calloway never allows it to overpower the greater story.

Calloway's vision encompasses the entire North American continent, unconstrained by the arbitrary boundaries of traditional "colonial" histories. All North American regions and peoples are grist for his mill. Within this broad geographical framework Calloway examines every conceivable aspect of the native and Euro-American "new worlds" created by interaction between natives and newcomers—from trade and religion to warfare and disease, from houses and clothing to food and medicine. Little escapes his notice. In an opening essay aptly entitled, "The Kaleidoscope of Early America," Calloway lays out his primary theme that the "new societies that grew out of the interaction of peoples in early America were

amalgams, combining Indian as well as European and African influences" (p. 4). Then, in a series of essays, or "impressions," Calloway goes on to explore the new worlds of healing and disease, trade, religion, warfare, diplomacy, life ways, cultural frontiers, and new identities and groups that emerged during the American encounter. While much presented here will be familiar to scholars of early American intercultural relations, Calloway almost unfailingly manages to present even old friends in fresh, new clothes.

If there is a "flaw" in *New Worlds*, at least from the specialist's perspective, it might be the book's lack of formal citations for the wealth of evidence Calloway marshals. Instead, a bibliographical essay at the end of the volume notes the major sources cited in each section, often with specific mention of the source of specific quotations. While frustrating at times, this deliberate omission gives the book one of its greatest appeals for classroom use. Calloway's cogent prose and felicitous style, combined with the lack of overtly intrusive scholarly apparatus, make the book both accessible and engaging for the introductory student or casual reader, while sacrificing little (if any) scholarly credibility or depth. As a result, this provocative little book should find a welcome in a wide range of venues from introductory classrooms to graduate seminars and from aficionados' bedside tables to historians' bookshelves.

In recent years, Calloway has produced a number of fine, thought-provoking works on cultural encounters in early America, and *New Worlds for All* ranks among his best to date. His wide-ranging interests and research have enabled him to achieve what few would attempt: a successful synthesis of current scholarship on early North American ethnohistory from contact through the American Revolution. He has provided the novice with an excellent guidebook for entering the complex world of early American intercultural encounters, while at the same time giving the experienced scholarly traveler an itinerary for future, more in-depth exploration. Few will end their foray into Calloway's *New Worlds* unconvinced that "by the end of the colonial era, Europeans, Indians, and Africans had all created new societies" (p. 194)—and for that all historians of early America will owe him a debt of gratitude.

St. John's University
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NANCY L. HAGEDORN

The Making of Sacagawea: A Euro-American Legend. By DONNA J. KESSLER. (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1996. xii, 258p. Illustrations, notes, works cited, index. \$29.95.)

This book is a rather forced hybrid of history and literary criticism. Kessler traces the transformation of Sacagawea from a minor figure mentioned periodically in the

journals of William Clark and Meriwether Lewis to the heroic guide of the Corps of Discovery who made possible the exploration of the American West. She equates the transformation with the growing American nationalism that accompanied westward expansion, which in turn created a national mythology.

Sacagawea, the Shoshone wife of a French voyageur hired by Lewis and Clark as a boatman, did, in fact, carry her infant son with her through the entire trip. She salvaged some of the corps' supplies when they were washed overboard from a swamped boat. In a few encounters with Indians she translated their words into Shoshone, which her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, then translated into English for Lewis and Clark. In the Bitterroot Mountains she was able to indicate what the party might expect to find in the next valley. The chance encounter with her brother, leader of a Shoshone band, and the reunion of brother and sister, probably facilitated the corps' acquisition of the horses necessary for the overland trek to the head of the Columbia River.

Although Kessler provides a brief sketch of these facts, she is not interested in the historical Sacagawea per se but in others' perceptions of her. The men of the corps referred to her as "squar" or "the Indian woman." For them, her race was her identity. During the Progressive Era, a number of female writers viewed her through the lens of an incipient feminism manifest in social movements for women's rights. The publication of the Lewis and Clark journals in several editions, notably that of Elliot Coues in 1892-93, reaffirmed the glorious American conquest of the west. Kessler analyzes works of Eva Emery Dye and Coues to show how Sacagawea became the noble and beautiful "Bird Woman" of legend, thus contributing to the idea that Indians had finally been civilized through the effects of the Dawes Act and the allotment of Indian land.

During the period between 1940 and 1960, the Sacagawea legend was romanticized in the works of Grace Raymond Hebard (*Sacajawea: A guide and interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* [1932]), Donald Culrose Pettie (*Forward the Nation* [1942]), and Will Henry (*The Gates of the Mountains* [1963]). Here she became more beautiful, nobler, and lighter skinned, with a hint of romantic involvement with Lewis or Clark. The moral of these works is that such a romance simply cannot be, and implicitly they promote the miscegenistic sentiments of an increasingly racially divided society.

In Hebard's book Sacagawea also acquired a life after the expedition, in which she supposedly traveled widely and, finally, in her old age returned to the Wind River Shoshone reservation. Although widely disputed by other historians, this account has gained credence on the reservation and in contemporary literature.

In the final chapters of the book, Kessler traces the various personifications of Sacagawea in contemporary literature and how she has become a voice through whom Native American writers can critique American society. She argues that many other authors used Sacagawea for multicultural education that examines realities

behind the myths. Kessler presents an interesting history of the literature from which the Sacagawea legend has been created, but her major points could as easily have been made in an article rather than a book-length study. She presents some of her data in the form of charts and tables to try to quantify attitudes that she has discussed at some length. Her discussions of the historical circumstances that have affected American Indian life are very superficial.

The book has some merit as a literary history, and it does enlighten us about the process of myth making that is part of American history. If the author does not ponder particularly deeply the implications of the myth for Indian people, she does provide a guide that will allow the more thoughtful reader to do so.

University of Oklahoma

CLARA SUE KIDWELL

The Papers of Andrew Jackson. Volume 5: 1821–1824. Edited by HAROLD D. MOSER, DAVID R. HOTH, and GEORGE H. HOEMANN. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996. xxxii, 613p. Illustrations, appendixes, calendar, index. \$49.50.)

This fifth volume of *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* covers the crucial period in Old Hickory's life from 1821 to 1824, when he emerged as a popular presidential candidate to succeed President James Monroe. The "conflict between Jackson's desire for retirement and his sense of public duty," the editors assert, "forms a major theme of the documents in this volume" (p. xvi). At the beginning of the period (1821) Jackson consented to President Monroe's request that he supervise the transfer of Florida from Spain to the United States and to organize the territorial government. This appointment, however, Jackson regarded as only temporary, for he could "never descend to become a Governor of a Territory—after the offices . . . [he had] filled . . ." (p. 42). He held the position longer than he had intended, withdrawing his resignation when Congress began an investigation into his activities in Florida. The inquiry was no more than a tempest in a teapot, and once it became apparent to Jackson that Congress had little energy or enthusiasm in pursuing the matter, he finally retired from public life in 1822.

Politics, however, dominates most of the volume, with Jackson hearing as early as 1821 that the controlling "party in Pennsylvania are determined to run you as a candidate for the next Presidency" (p. 89). The following year, the Tennessee legislature gave substance to the speculations by formally nominating Jackson for the presidency. Initially, Jackson seems to be mainly interested in denying Monroe's secretary of treasury, William H. Crawford, the presidency. Crawford had raised Jackson's ire by his conduct as secretary of war in 1815 and his friendship with the anti-Jackson forces in Tennessee, as well as by the support he received from the

discredited congressional caucus. As a consequence, Jackson referred to him as "that arch fiend" (p. 139). Two other candidates for president, who only later became political opponents and enemies, John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun, interestingly enough, were held in high regard by Jackson.

After he was publicly nominated, Jackson made it clear that he would not actively seek the presidency. He had been told, he contended, that "the voice of the people . . . would bring me to the Presidential chair, and it is probable, some of the Legislatures may bring my name before the Public—but I have long since determined to be perfectly Silent—I never have been a candidate for office, I never will." But Jackson left little doubt as to what course he would follow if elected, contending that the "people have a right to call for any man[']s services in republican government—and when they do, it is the duty of the individual, to yield his services to that call" (p. 199).

Jackson had low regard for President Monroe who had "disgrace[d] us in the eyes of Urope," for he had allowed intense competition for the succession to develop between his cabinet officers. Foreshadowing his own policy as president, Jackson proclaimed that if he were president he would remove "all who . . . [came] out as candidates for the Presidency" and fill their cabinet positions "with those whose whole time could be devoted to the duties of their office, and not to intrigue for the Presidency" (p. 198).

Jackson wrote a number of letters to his nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson, who later became his private secretary. The letters to the young man were filled with political news and advice. In one letter Donelson was urged to "amuse yourself occasionally with history" for the lessons that could be derived from the study of the past. In particular, Jackson recommended the history of the Scottish chief, William Wallace, who "as a virtuous patriott, & warrior was the best model, for a young man." In describing the virtues and strength of character of Wallace, Jackson revealed a good deal of his own self-image and view of human nature. Wallace, Jackson alleged, had "a stubborn virtue, which was never overcome by vice, it was too pure for corruption—we find in him the truly undaunted courage, allways ready to brave any dangers, for the relief of his country or his friend . . . In the history of Sir William Wallace you will See the great contrast between virtue & vice, between the high Minded honourable man, & the base treacherous deceiver . . ." (p. 163).

The Jackson that emerges from these letters is a deeply human person who could be solicitous, loving, compassionate, and tender to his family and close friends, while at the same time suspicious and hostile to those he supposed were his enemies. His prose often filled with misspellings and ungrammatical constructions, Jackson, nonetheless, expressed himself in direct, colorful language that reflected a shrewd, keen, and insightful understanding of the political world around him.

The editors have done a remarkably able job in presenting this invaluable and

attractive volume which can be read for pleasure and profit by anyone interested in better understanding our seventh president.

Syracuse University

JAMES ROGER SHARP

Shiloh: The Battle that Changed the Civil War. By LARRY DANIEL. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997. 430p. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$26.00.)

The past few years have been enjoyable ones for anyone interested in the military history of the Civil War, as numerous works distinguished by prodigious research, inspired analysis, and lively prose have appeared, offering fresh insights on the battles and campaigns that shaped the course of America's bloodiest war. Foremost among these are Albert Castel's magnum opus on the Atlanta campaign, an outstanding study of Pea Ridge by William Shea and Earl Hess, and John Hennessy's definitive treatment of Second Manassas. Although not quite the equal of these three works, Larry J. Daniel's *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War* is nonetheless a book that should find, and deserves, a large audience.

The story of the Shiloh campaign is a familiar one to students of the Civil War. In March 1862, Henry W. Halleck decided to bring together Ulysses S. Grant's and Don Carlos Buell's armies for a campaign against Corinth, Mississippi. On April 6, 1862, Confederate forces under Albert Sidney Johnston attacked Grant's army, then encamped at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, in an attempt to destroy it before Buell could arrive to effect Halleck's desired concentration of force. Although the attack completely surprised Grant and his men, the Confederates were unable to achieve their objective and Johnston was killed during the first day of fighting. Grant, with his forces augmented by the arrival of Buell's forces, counterattacked the next day and forced the Confederate army to retreat to Corinth.

Daniel's account of the battle and the political and strategic dynamics that shaped the war in the West during the first months of 1861 is highly readable, balanced, and extremely well researched. Future scholars will be hard-pressed to find primary source material related to the Battle of Shiloh that Daniel has not uncovered and scrutinized. In his notes, he does an excellent job presenting and assessing arguments advanced by Steven Woodworth, Grady McWhiney, James McDonough, and others regarding the men and events that shaped the course of the campaign. Daniel joins most students of the war in condemning both the federal commanders for allowing themselves to be surprised and the Confederate high command for mismanaging the battle on the sixth. He also concludes that debate over whether Johnston's and P.G.T. Beauregard's missteps cost the South a great victory is pointless. The resources at Grant's disposal were simply too great, and

Johnston's forces too weakened by the loss of fifteen thousand men at Fort Donelson, for the South to win a victory decisive enough to redeem Confederate fortunes in the Tennessee and upper Mississippi Valleys.

Although Daniel's study is, on the whole, solid and persuasive, there are slips. In his discussion of the clash between Edwin Stanton and George McClellan over Union policy in the West, Daniel writes that "Stanton disliked McClellan from the outset" (p. 35), when in fact Stanton, before he assumed direction of the War Department, had been a close advisor and friend of McClellan's. Daniel also errs in taking at face value Grant's postwar assertion that Shiloh led him to give up "the thought of saving the Union except by complete conquest of the South" (p. 305). In his 1991 study of Grant, which does not appear in Daniel's notes or bibliography, Brooks Simpson demonstrated that it was not Shiloh but occupation duty in western Tennessee in June 1862 (which also coincided with Union setbacks in Virginia) that convinced Grant the war was not going to end quickly and a tougher policy towards Southern property and civilians was necessary.

These criticisms aside, this is still an important and worthwhile book. It will undoubtedly become the standard treatment of its subject for some years to come.

University of Missouri, Kansas City

ETHAN S. RAFUSE

Guide to Civil War Books: An Annotated Selection of Modern Works on the War Between the States. By DOMENICA M. BARBUTO and MARTHA KREISEL. (Chicago and London: American Library Association, 1996. viii, 221p. Illustrations, indexes. Paper, \$32.00.)

Biographical Dictionary of the Union: Northern Leaders of the Civil War. Edited by JOHN T. HUBBELL and JAMES W. GEARY. (Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1995. x, 683p. Bibliography, index. \$99.50.)

The proliferation of reference material available to the Civil War audience offers significant challenges to editors intending to assist readers with information without unnecessary duplication. The editors of two recent works, *Guide to Civil War Books* and *Biographical Dictionary of the Union*, ably confront this task. In the process, they offer valuable resources to both recent publications on the Civil War era, and to military and civilian leadership in the North.

The editors of *Guide to Civil War Books*, Domenica M. Barbuto and Martha Kreisel, have focused upon works published within the past twenty years. They divide their annotated guide into thirty-one different subject areas and include 320 entries. The range of subject areas is fairly extensive and covers social as well as military topics. Readers can choose titles from broad subjects such as "battles and

campaigns," "biographies," and "personal narratives" to more specific categories such as "the assassination of Abraham Lincoln," "medical care," and "native Americans." The guide contains prewar and postwar topics as well as "race and slavery," "reconstruction," and "secession." In addition, Barbuto and Kreisel include topics that will probably appeal more to a scholarly audience: "historiography," "literature and the war," and "manuscripts," although the latter contains only one entry.

In addition to furnishing readers with access to more recently published works, perhaps the most useful aspect of the guide, and the feature which distinguishes it from similar reference materials, is the inclusion of sources for printed reviews of each work. Individuals can thus consult additional assessments of these works from popular magazines and scholarly journals, supplementing the brief annotation already provided.

Guide to Civil War Books is relatively easy to use, with indexes for author and editor, subject, and title. One significant caveat is the lack of cross-referencing. This oversight is particularly inconvenient for readers who are less familiar with current authors or only vaguely knowledgeable about a given topic. Thus, one would not find references to works on Robert Gould Shaw, James Henry Gooding, or Thomas Morris Chester under "race and slavery," since these entries fall under "personal narrative." A cross-reference numbering scheme would have alleviated this problem, making the guide even more useful.

Although the editors have included many recent works relating to the Civil War era, there are some significant omissions. Perhaps the most glaring is Eric Foner's *Reconstruction* (1989), which has found wide circulation, including use in the classroom in both its original and abridged versions. Nevertheless, the editors offer most of the significant recent works on Civil War-related topics in a convenient and manageable reference resource.

John T. Hubbell and James W. Geary, editors of *Biographical Dictionary of Northern Leaders*, have responded to the challenge for new and fresh reference sources with an authoritative volume that includes in addition to traditional military figures, congressmen, governors, Supreme Court justices, newspaper editors, and photographers, to name only a few of the professions cited. The latter two categories, which might seem questionable to some for inclusion in a dictionary of northern leaders, reflect the editors' determination to incorporate those persons "who influenced the course of public policy, opinion, and events" (p. ix).

The dictionary includes the names of popular individuals that readers would expect to find, such as Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, and William T. Sherman, but it also contains Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's vice-president and successor; Elihu Washburne, Grant's early political patron; and John Sherman, the more famous general's political brother.

Altogether, the dictionary provides sketches of 872 individuals from a list of 124 different contributors that is both extensive and impressive. Readers will recognize

names like Edwin C. Bearss or William C. Davis. Scholars will appreciate the range of contributors, many of whom have studied their subjects intensively.

By virtue of its inclusiveness, and despite the editors' insistence upon having the respective authors provide assessments of their subjects, the entries tend to be rather short. Occasionally, the authors and editors do not include some aspects of their subjects' lives that could add richness and color to their entries. For instance, while it is noted that Union general John Sedgwick died of a sniper's bullet at Spotsylvania, no mention is made that this came immediately after Sedgwick spurned warnings about Confederate snipers with the observation that "they couldn't hit an elephant at this distance."

Certainly the editors have tried to present a comprehensive list of northern leaders. They should be commended for including personalities like Robert Smalls, the African American pilot who commandeered a Confederate dispatch boat, and Clara Barton, the nurse dubbed "the Angel of the Battlefield." These individuals represent leadership in a special sense that might have been missed by focusing solely on the prominent political and military figures of the day.

As one might expect, there are the inevitable disagreements over who should or should not be included. In their introduction, Hubbell and Geary note that they have chosen some generals "who were derelict in the discharge of their duties and whose actions caused the needless expenditure of Union lives" (p. x). Unfortunately, they do not explain why they felt compelled to do so. One must wonder at the inclusion of the misfit generals Edward Ferrero and James Ledlie, whose questionable leadership helped to bungle the battle of the Crater for the Union. Nor is the omission of the colorful Irish general Michael Corcoran understandable when Thomas Francis Meagher is included. Finally, except for the recent popularity generated by film and book treatments, would Robert Gould Shaw have found a place in a dictionary of northern leaders?

Both reference works, *Guide to Civil War Books* and *Biographical Dictionary of the Union*, serve readers as appropriate places from which to begin their search for information on current published sources on the Civil War era, and prominent northern leaders, respectively. As such, they should prove to be valuable resources by offering brief, readily available information and as guides to additional material.

Clinch Valley College

BRIAN S. WILLS

Slavery and Freedom in Delaware, 1639-1865. By WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS. (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1996. xvii, 270p. Selected bibliography, illustrations, acknowledgements, introduction, index. \$50.00.)

Slavery did not arrive full-blown in Delaware. As elsewhere in North America,

it evolved from the mid-seventeenth century. At first, one of several forms of term-specific servitude, by the eve of the Revolution it had become a permanent, inherited, race-based system of bondage. Africans imported directly from Africa or to a lesser extent from the West Indies swelled the numbers of slaves in Delaware so that by the end of the eighteenth century they accounted for a quarter of the state's total population. Increasingly slavery became the labor system of choice for down-state planters engaged in wheat and corn farming. Meanwhile, in the northern counties of the state slavery came under attack from Quakers and other abolitionists, encouraging manumission and the rise of a large free black population. By 1790 and continuing to the Civil War, Delaware had a larger proportion of free blacks in its total population than any other state in the nation. But freedom for black Delawareans was precarious and incomplete at best. Restricted by law, economic repression, and virulent racism, they found neither decent housing, nor lucrative employment, nor education, nor basic human rights that most state residents took for granted.

William H. Williams tells this important story in an interesting book, one of the first scholarly studies of race and slavery in pre-Civil War Delaware. Williams does a good job of laying out the politics and the legal structure of racism in the state, but he is less successful in dealing with the African American experience. In some ways, this is an old-fashioned study in that it relies heavily and much too uncritically on slaveholder sources. We learn little about the views of black Delawareans. Williams argues that by the late eighteenth century Delaware slaveholders exhibited a paternalism towards their slaves. Masters, he claims, developed "personal attachments" to their slaves "that often lasted a lifetime" (p. 84). The state's relatively small slave holdings, he contends, facilitated this paternalistic system, promoting close proximity of slave and master and a more humane slavery. "Perhaps even more than elsewhere in early America," Williams says, "Delaware slaveholders felt responsible for the welfare of their black bondsmen" (p. 83). He presents no direct testimony of the slave's view of this situation, so we are left with the master's view alone, hardly acceptable given the massive evidence compiled by scholars over the last two generations.

The closeness of master and slave, he argues allowed for near total slaveholder dominance, supporting his belief that "very little that happened (on the plantation or farm) went unnoticed (by slave masters)." This was total control of black slaves, "exercised from cradle to grave . . ." (p. 85). Yet since we know little about plantation life from the slave's point of view, there is no way to judge the accuracy of the master's knowledge. One example of the limitations of Williams's approach is seen in the question of slave names. As an illustration of the master's power, Williams maintains that "Slaveholders further diminished black families by denying them surnames" (p. 87). But a generation ago Herbert Gutman reminded scholars that slaves used names that masters were never aware of, and evidence affirming this

fact has piled up ever since. Without slave-based evidence, Williams is left with the master's view alone. Thus, what emerges from his work is the picture of enslaved Africans as people with little agency, pulled and pushed by paternalistic masters who were in full control.

Williams is not arguing for a benign slavery, however. He provides ample evidence of the system's brutality. But his picture is simplistic and even slave resistance is seen totally through the fears expressed by whites. Curiously, although his notes and bibliography indicate a reading of much recent scholarship emphasizing the importance of the slave community and the complexity of relationships among slaves and between slaves and masters, little of this seems to inform his analysis. There is little cultural analysis here, and what there is provides questionable conclusions. Williams contends that at least by the eighteenth century African Americans, slave and free, were people without cultural ties to Africa, especially in terms of religious traditions. In doing so, he ignores the work of scholars like Mechal Sobel and rejects Albert Raboteau's evidence of substantial African heritage in the formation of African American religious style. Instead Williams employs an oversimplified reading of Jon Butler's controversial theory of "spiritual holocaust" to argue that Delaware blacks "lost touch with the specifics of the traditional spirit world of their African ancestors," and were instead "heavily influenced by European folk beliefs . . ." (pp. 232-33). Never does he consider that European Americans might have been influenced by African religious traditions or that, as Butler acknowledges, there is much left to learn about African religious heritage and its impact on eighteenth-century America.

In his treatment of the free black community, Williams settles for a cursory description of legal restriction, family size, institutional formation, occupational structure, and the like, acceptable a generation ago but hardly innovative scholarship by today's standards. He provides a foundation for further study of slavery as an institution and the racial attitudes of white Delawareans, but unfortunately he leaves the story of blacks in Delaware and the impact of race in the state's pre-Civil War history incomplete.

*George Washington University and
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JAMES OLIVER HORTON

A House Divided: Slavery and Emancipation in Delaware, 1638-1865. By PATIENCE ESSAH. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xv, 216p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.50.)

Some years ago, Delaware historian William H. Williams observed that there was no scholarly study of slavery in Delaware. That void is now well filled by two

books, both published in 1996, Williams's own *Slavery and Freedom in Delaware, 1639–1865*, and Patience Essah's *A House Divided: Slavery and Emancipation in Delaware, 1638–1865*. Although both authors cover much of the same ground, Williams has written a broad social history of black Delawareans, while Essah's work focuses more pointedly upon the challenging question of why little Delaware, a border state which saw a high rate of voluntary manumissions and had few slaves, failed to embrace emancipation, even to the point of refusing to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution until 1901.

The history of slavery in Delaware is filled with paradoxes that arose from conflicted sentiments. Delaware was the subject of a lengthy dispute between two colonial proprietary families, the Calverts and the Penns, that was not resolved until the Mason-Dixon survey on the eve of the Revolution. The southern half of Delaware took on the tobacco-farming, slave-holding nature of its neighbor, Maryland, while northern Delaware was kin to Pennsylvania. It is a historical truism that Delaware, despite its diminutive size, epitomized the national conflict over slavery. Patience Essah provides the historical evidence and analysis to support this observation. "Divided into two cultural war zones since the colonial era," she writes, "the state maintained a rigid sectional balance of power that made compromise, particularly on the slavery question, virtually impossible" (p. 153).

Patience Essah's story of missed opportunities to end slavery in the First State begins with efforts to curtail the institution in the late colonial period that were led by slave-owning political figures, Caesar Rodney and John Dickinson, and the state's Quakers and Methodists. During the Revolutionary period many of the state's slave owners, acting under the persuasion of religious or political principles mingled with economic considerations, voluntarily freed their slaves, and the state prohibited the slave trade. Despite the increasing irrelevance of slavery to the state's economy, the momentum toward manumission slowed in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, as Essah makes clear, manumissions often came with a catch whereby slaves were kept in partial bondage to their masters for many years. Despite the efforts of Quaker abolitionists and free blacks to give reality to the status of black freedom, the state moved in the opposite direction, and, following Nat Turner's rebellion in Virginia in 1831, imposed severe restrictions on free blacks to keep them subservient to the white race. By 1861 Delaware had few slaves, but many white Delawareans, especially those in the state's southern half, remained hostile to any form of emancipation that did not come from the personal decisions of slave owners.

The Civil War heightened Delaware's internal conflict over slavery. In 1862 the state legislature rejected Abraham Lincoln's generous compensated emancipation plan and, although Delawareans largely remained loyal to the Union, the state's voters swung toward the states rights doctrines of the Democratic Party. In 1864, Delaware was one of only three states to reject Lincoln's bid for a second term, and,

even after Maryland abolished slavery, Delaware's legislators defiantly refused to do so.

Professor Essah's judicious conclusions are well grounded in a close investigation of documentary evidence that includes indentures, petitions, and court records in the state archives, the manuscript U.S. census, abolition society minute books, and contemporary diaries. Her analysis might have been even more compelling had she compared Delaware's actions concerning emancipation and race relations with those of Maryland and other border states. She might also have given more attention to the state's internal politics and politicians during the crucial Civil War years. But these are minor quibbles about a book that deserves a high place among studies of the politics of slavery in the United States. The case of Delaware, that perennial microcosm, is again made to shed light on a major theme in the nation's history.

University of Delaware

CAROL E. HOFFECKER

Thaddeus Stevens: Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian. By HANS L. TREFOUSSE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xiii, 312p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Thaddeus Stevens was born in a small Vermont village in 1792. He formed a strong attachment to his mother, which deepened after his father abandoned the family when Thaddeus was about twelve. Stevens graduated from Dartmouth College in 1814, his character largely formed. He was "very abstemious" (p. 5) in the consumption of alcohol and made lasting enemies with his withering sarcasm. Uncompromisingly honest, he cynically "thought all men were mercenary and all women unchaste" (p. 8). He was a lifelong opponent of the Democratic Party.

Stevens taught school at York, Pennsylvania, but after he passed the bar exam he settled at Gettysburg where his law career flourished. As his wealth increased, Stevens invested in real estate and sundry business ventures, including iron furnaces. He never married, but in later years "was accused of illicit connections with many women, including his mulatto housekeeper" (p. xi). He was, the author notes, an inveterate gambler. Stevens was also interested in politics. He supported John Quincy Adams and was active in the Antimasonic movement. Trefousse surmises that Stevens, born with a clubfoot, "must have been furious at the Masons' exclusion of 'cripples,'" but confusingly adds that becoming bald at this time, due to disease, "must have been emotionally disturbing to him . . . although he seemed to care little about his appearance" (p. 25).

In 1833 Stevens was elected on the Antimasonic ticket to the state legislature. He worked assiduously for internal improvements and the Bank of the United States; he also earned the sobriquet "the father of free education in Pennsylvania"

(p. 40). Stevens "had long been one of [bank president Nicholas] Biddle's attorneys," and his "pet project" of a railroad linking Gettysburg to the Baltimore and Ohio trunk line would "incidentally . . . serve his ironworks in the mountains" (p. 43). His antislavery commitment sprang from purer impulses; he "always sympathized with the downtrodden" and believed that "equal rights were the cornerstone of republican institutions" (p. 46). Defeated for reelection, Stevens returned to the assembly in 1838 and played a partisan role in the "Buckshot War." He had by then formed a working alliance with the Whigs, despite his unwavering Antimasonic convictions. After supporting William Henry Harrison for the presidency, Stevens moved to Lancaster and hired Lydia Hamilton Smith as his housekeeper. She took care of him for the remainder of his life and was "widely thought to be his mistress" (p. 69). Trefousse blandly concludes that the evidence makes it "impossible either to prove or disprove" the allegation (p. 70). Following the Democratic victory in 1844, Stevens collaborated with nativist candidates in an effort to gain influence among the Whigs. He was elected to Congress in 1848 as a "Conscience Whig," where he opposed aspects of the Compromise of 1850, particularly the Fugitive Slave Act. He chose not to seek reelection, knowing his virulent antislavery position was out of favor with the voters.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, as Trefousse rightly points out, completely changed the political landscape. With the disintegration of the Whigs, Stevens joined the American Party, commonly called the Know-Nothings. This secret organization (the ideological successor of intolerant nativism), became the vehicle for Stevens's antislavery crusade. It was, to state the obvious, a curious alliance, even though his connection with the Know-Nothings was brief. In 1858, he was returned to Congress as a Republican. He backed John McLean for the presidential nomination in 1860, "unable to appreciate Lincoln's genius" (p. 101).

Over half of this biography deals with the Civil War era, when Stevens emerged as the "Great Commoner." He wielded power as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and aided in the passage of higher tariffs and the Confiscation Acts. His chief focus was unblinking, however; Stevens repeatedly called for the abolition of slavery and was instrumental in convincing President Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. As the war dragged on, his steadfast support of the Union and racial equality remained unaltered. He introduced a bill providing for the recruitment of African American soldiers, and advanced the theory that the seceded states should be treated as "conquered provinces" (p. 133). The war took a personal toll on Stevens. His nephew was killed at Chicamauga, and Jubal Early's men destroyed his Caledonia ironworks during the Gettysburg campaign. He abstained from the final vote on the Wade-Davis bill because "it was not radical enough" (p. 140). Stevens came to appreciate Lincoln's political skills but continued to prod the president to confiscate Southern plantations and punish Confederate leaders. Trefousse states that Lincoln may have used Stevens to temper his own Reconstruc-

tion plans, but the accession of Andrew Johnson to the White House precipitated open warfare between the president and Congress.

Stevens spent his final years as a champion of Radical Reconstruction. He continued to advocate the confiscation of plantations, and called for distributing forty acres to each freedman. The money earned on the sale of seized property could also fund veterans' pensions and compensate loyal citizens for their losses. Stevens was not motivated by vengeance; he hoped to shape a more egalitarian society in the South. The radical position was strengthened by the infamous "Black Codes" passed by conservative legislatures in the South and Johnson's vetoes in early 1866 of a new Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights bills; but Stevens was unable to convince Congress to underwrite the distribution of land to freedmen.

The congressional elections of 1866 marked a watershed in Reconstruction history. Stevens informed the voters that it was President Johnson, "now worse than Jefferson Davis, who was to blame for the country's difficulties" (p. 197), but Stevens was thwarted from gaining a Senate seat. He kept political pressure on the president, introducing a tenure of office bill when Congress met in December. He contributed to passage of the Reconstruction Acts, although Trefousse points out they "fell far short of his wishes" (p. 208). His last months in the House, however, were dominated by his obsessive attempts to remove President Johnson from office. Stevens chaired the Committee on Reconstruction that drew up the articles of impeachment, and served as one of the House managers during the Senate trial. With his strength failing, however, he did not take an active leadership role, "and more than one historian has blamed the failure of the trial on Stevens's ill health" (p. 231). Stevens died in August 1867, only months after Johnson's narrow acquittal. "His legacy," Trefousse concludes, "was one of pointing the way. It was never one of domination" (p. 238). Perhaps, but the author also acknowledges that Stevens served as a spark plug of the Republican party, "frequently leading President Lincoln and Congress along the path toward racial progress. That, indeed, "was a goal for which he assuredly deserves to be remembered" (p. 245).

Trefousse scrupulously adheres to the evidence in narrating the political career of Stevens, but he could have shed further light on some issues by presenting his analysis of the sources in an unambiguous fashion. For example, concerning Stevens's influence on Congress, the reader is variously informed that his "effectiveness was largely marginal; he certainly was unable to rule Congress." On the other hand, "his leadership was unquestioned," and "he was able to set the tone and give direction to Republican policies" (pp. 187, 188, 190). Despite his impact, however, his personal dealings with Lincoln are given short shrift. And, although he maintained a friendly correspondence with Salmon P. Chase for years, no mention is made of Stevens's thoughts regarding Chase as a possible radical replacement for Lincoln in 1864. Towards the end of his life, Stevens was chastised by a minister for living a life of sin: "Your lips are defiled with blasphemy! Your

hands with gambling!! And your body with women!!!" (p. 215). The author includes several pertinent quotations throughout the text to support the blasphemy claim, but the reader is left to determine the truth of his rumored gambling and "alleged sexual indiscretions" (p. 50). Furthermore, few details are provided regarding Stevens's extensive business ventures. Trefousse has ably traced the public life of Thaddeus Stevens in this well-written biography, yet he does not offer any fresh insight into what motivated the complex individual known as the Great Commoner.

Wichita State University

WILLARD CARL KLUNDER

Frisians to America 1880–1914: With the Baggage of the Fatherland. By ANNEMIEKE GALEMA. (Groningen, Netherlands: Regio-Projekt Uitgevers, 1996; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996. Bibliography, appendixes, index. 357p. Paper, \$29.95.)

This book is a University of Leiden doctoral dissertation (1996), whose author has for some years been affiliated with the University of Groningen but who has had considerable educational experience in our country, most notably at Kent State University under Robert Swierenga, the well-known historian of nineteenth-century Dutch immigration to the United States.

The Frisians are an ethnic minority, with their own ways and language (seen by some as a Dutch dialect), in the northern part of the Netherlands. Galema, a Frisian herself, has produced not only a labor of love but a very useful analysis of the migration of a particular segment of the Dutch population to this country in the years around the turn of the century (when Netherlandic immigration was at its peak). She focuses on those Frisians—almost all Calvinists (Reformed)—in the northern part (clay area) of the province of Friesland who emigrated in disproportionately large numbers, settling in America in Dutch enclaves. The sources for Galema's computer-aided statistical studies are basically two: the turn-of-the-century population registers of six municipalities in Friesland, and the 1900 and 1910 U.S. census records for selected places with heavy Frisian concentrations.

Galema's approach reflects both the local emphasis of much postmodern historiography as well as the statistical orientation of recent social historians. Adding to the readability of the volume is the intermixture of individual immigrants' stories, derived primarily from their letters (many of which were recovered through a media campaign in the Netherlands conducted by Galema and Calvin College's Herbert Brinks). The work is further enhanced by an abundance of photographs of people, ads, etc. There are also many informative endnotes, a thorough bibliography, seven appendixes, a short Dutch summary, and a fairly complete name index.

The book begins by introducing the northern Frisian municipalities that were home to the emigrants. Then Galema looks at demographic factors as well as possible reasons for migration (e.g., the "push" of economic hardship in Friesland and the "pull" of perceived opportunity in the United States), with particular attention to the geographical and occupational mobility of the immigrants here. Next come descriptions of the colonies of urban Frisians (Whitinsville, Massachusetts; Paterson, New Jersey; Chicago; and Grand Rapids) and of rural midwest and frontier Frisians (eastern Wisconsin, northwestern Iowa, southeastern South Dakota, southwestern Minnesota, Montana, and Washington); the tendency of Frisians from a particular area in Friesland to settle near each other in the New World is highlighted. In her final chapter, Galema considers Frisian ethnic identity as it existed in the United States (the "baggage" they brought with them), in terms of family, church, education, language, and politics.

This volume has major virtues: wide and deep research on both sides of the Atlantic; balance between statistics and individual stories; awareness of Dutch and American sociological and historical theory as well as Dutch and American history; clear English (albeit with an occasional, forgivable, Dutchism); sane interpretations avoiding monocausal, ideological explanations (e.g., neither economics nor religion is seen as a complete explanation for emigration, although the former is seen as more influential); tracking the passage of her subjects step by step from the Old to the New World; use of Frisian language sources; comparisons with the stories of other immigrant groups (Norwegians and Italians); helpful summaries at the end of each chapter.

A few, mostly minor (or unavoidable) deficiencies should be mentioned. There is a tendency to word repetition; statistics can have a soporific effect on the nonspecialist; and occasional social science jargon does not always augment intelligibility. The book follows Dutch rather than Anglo-American practices with regard to capitalization (in the chapter titles), alphabetization (of "van" and "de" family names in the bibliography and index), and the use of initials instead of first names (in the bibliography and index). Page numbers should be given in the "List of tables, figures, and maps" (pp. 7-9). Unfortunately, the eight endnotes for the brief "Conclusion" are nowhere to be found, while at least one line of type is missing at the top of page 88. There are remarkably few typographical errors. I found some small factual mistakes, e.g., the Reformed Church in America and the Association for the Advancement of Dutch-American Studies are not always correctly designated. In regard to spelling, *lead* is not (yet!) the past tense of *lead* (p. 311). As for possible lacunae, the Frisian immigrants' attitudes toward the Boer War and the English might be explored in the section on politics, and the seeming affinity of the Frisian newcomers for the Christian Reformed Church is largely ignored.

But this is to quibble, because Galema has given us a very fine study based on

painstaking research. For anyone who has any questions about the who, how, why, when, where, and what of Frisian immigration to certain areas in the United States between 1880 and 1914, Annemieke Galema's study should long stand as definitive.

Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa

EARL W. KENNEDY

Ships for the Seven Seas: Philadelphia Shipbuilding in the Age of Industrial Capitalism.

By THOMAS R. HEINRICH. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. x, 290p. Illustrations, notes, essay on sources, index. \$39.95).

The closing of the Philadelphia Navy Yard in 1996 brought to an end three centuries of shipbuilding in the Delaware Valley. The decline of this industry had begun long before, and to try to explain what happened, *Ships for the Seven Seas* traces the shipbuilding history of the Delaware Valley from its colonial beginnings until the 1920s. With new sources, twice the length, and chronological coverage up to the Great Depression, this book supersedes David Tyler's brief *American Clyde* (1958).

Chapter 1 on the first two centuries and chapter 2 on iron warships cover the years up to the 1870s. Chapters 3 and 4 on the years 1865–85 reflect the effective use of the modest surviving records of the Cramp shipyard. Chapter 5 concentrates on warship construction during the years 1885–98 and reveals the crucial impact of naval orders on the individual shipyards. The most important finding is that only the willingness of shipyard owners to take risks and make sacrifices made possible the battle fleet needed to embark on the imperial adventure after 1898. Chapter 6 on the years between 1898 and 1914 integrates naval and commercial shipbuilding into a single coherent and insightful narrative. Chapters 7 and 8 cover World War I and the 1920s, respectively, while an epilogue summarizes later events.

All those interested in maritime history, civilian or naval, should read this book which stands as the definite account for the pre-1914 period. Although the book concentrates on the Philadelphia region, comparisons with other shipyards in the country and even in Europe provide fruitful conclusions. Photographs, drawings, and maps further enhance the appeal of the text. Fortunately, Heinrich strove to make his book appeal to many readers, and he avoided arcane terms or highly specialized digressions.

The author's thorough research has uncovered unsuspected findings, such as the link between naval shipbuilding and the Homestead Strike (p. 118). No less interesting is the struggle of neighbors to keep a planned dry dock from taking over one of the city streets in Philadelphia (pp. 65–68). The artisanal training or

background of shipyard owners (pp. 85–87) helps make sense of the repeated clashes between these men and the mathematically minded engineers of the late nineteenth century.

The author wisely distanced himself from the argument in the “new labor history” that society shaped technology. In the maritime sector, whether naval or commercial, new technology remained the driving force; only in the brief periods when technological change slowed down did other factors rise to prominence. Missing, however, is the categoric statement that technology shaped the maritime sector. The issue may be one of emphasis on certain topics: while I emphasize marine propulsion for the period before containers, the author devotes greater attention to topics of naval architecture like hull design.

Chapters 7 and 8, although clearly written and cogently argued, did disappoint in one way. The author announced the discovery of abundant Shipping Board records in the National Archives (p. 270), but, except for some illustrations, relied only on published sources for these two chapters. Could the author be saving materials for a separate volume on the fascinating history of the Hog Island shipyard?

Chapter 8 and the epilogue imply that shipbuilding in the Delaware Valley was finished by the 1920s, yet the author hesitated to draw the conclusion or elaborate the analysis. Unlike many authors who think their topic is the center of the world, Heinrich correctly noted that causation came not from shipbuilding itself but from merchant shipping. The failure to create adequate merchant shipping in the United States was ultimately fatal for the shipyards which, deprived of clients, could only flounder at best towards the inevitable agonizing end.

A disturbing glitch is the definition of the merchant marine as including “ships in the foreign trade but not those sailing between domestic ports” (p. 7). Few, if any, share this extremely narrow definition because it totally overlooks the crucial role coastwise trade has played in merchant shipping. The issue is more than mere semantics, because even the author himself repeatedly refers to orders for coastwise vessels (pp. 50, 53, 79–81) that often saved the shipyards. Without the coastwise trade, the end of the financially strapped shipyards would have come much sooner and they would not have been around to build the warships.

For policymakers, the most important finding is that military construction alone cannot sustain for-profit shipyards. The options left for a world power are few: either a return to the tradition of navy yards for most military work, or the adoption of a subsidy policy that will generate sufficient commissions for new vessels to allow a healthy mix of naval and civilian orders.

Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture, 1890–1920. By ABIGAIL A. VAN SLYCK. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996. xxxvii, 276p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$47.50.)

As Americans approach the end of the twentieth century futurists predict the obsolescence of paper, books, and magazines, replaced by the virtual library. Bill Gates's donation of computers to American public libraries will undoubtedly speed up that process, enabling more Americans to experience a cornucopia of information and entertainment twenty-four hours a day. Abigail A. Van Slyck in *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture, 1890–1920* offers a less sanguine perspective on today's information superhighway. Our present-day attitudes towards the value of reading, access to information, and even our definition of community were significantly shaped by events surrounding the building of Carnegie libraries, she argues. She is not pleased by the results: "... the Carnegie program helped perpetuate and reinforce a relatively narrow definition of the public library's function in American society ... the efficiency-driven public library of the twentieth century defined reading as a solitary activity. In the process the library lost its potential to serve as a site—literally and figuratively—for public discussion and debate" (p. 219).

Van Slyck is an architectural historian who cares deeply about the social role of architecture, particularly public buildings. Anyone who is concerned about or excited by rapid changes in the availability of information and wants to understand its origins beyond the glitzy technological wizardry of bits and bytes should definitely read this book. As the first in-depth social and architectural study of Carnegie libraries, it will also be of interest to architectural historians, social historians, librarians, architects, and preservationists.

Between 1886 and 1917 over sixteen hundred libraries were built in the United States with Carnegie Foundation funds. According to Van Slyck, these "familiar, conventional, and appealing" buildings were actually genteel battlegrounds of contested meaning. She organizes her chapters around the people associated with the erection, staffing, and use of thirteen Carnegie libraries selected as case studies. The thirteen represent a range of geographic, economic, and demographic characteristics. The cast of characters in Van Slyck's book includes Andrew Carnegie and his personal secretary, James Bertram, civic leaders and small-town boosters, library trustees, architects, librarians, and, finally, the readers, both adults and children. Van Slyck organizes this complex chorus of voices by grouping similar voices into their own chapters, each of which lays out multiple and often conflicting intentions and experiences. The first chapter provides an overview of the book's theme: the reform of American library philanthropy and the coincidental development of "the Modern Library Idea" that led to significant changes in the architecture and use of American public libraries. She traces the origins of Andrew Carnegie's philanthropic program as they evolved from a traditional, highly personal

program of giving, to the corporate, modern approach manifested in the Carnegie Corporation, founded in 1911. The Modern Library Idea evolved out of a series of articles published in library professional journals that addressed the basic philosophy of service to readers. Today we take open stacks, children's departments, branch libraries, the freedom to take books home, and close community relations for granted, but at the turn of the century these ideas were new and radical. Van Slyck presents the chief players in this dramatic narrative in the first chapter: James Bertram, who managed the philanthropy; library architects intent on protecting their professional status; civic leaders whose involvement in the choice of the site aggravated library trustees anxious to maintain their control over the library; and librarians striving to harness their new facilities to their drive to modernize service to readers. In chapter 2 Van Slyck looks at the process of designing and building the libraries, paying particular attention to the consequences of professionalism in architecture and librarianship, the rise of purpose-built furnishings, and the codifying of library design. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the response to Carnegie's philanthropy in large cities and small towns. In chapter 5 Van Slyck describes the feminization of librarianship and how it affected library work-space design. She draws on the diary of a Texas librarian, Lillian Gunter, between 1921 and 1924, that puts a face on this study of rising professionalism. The last chapter focuses on the experiences of children as library users in small towns and large urban neighborhood branches. She voices her disappointment that in the countless childhood memoirs she examined, few treated the public library as an important component of their lives. What Van Slyck is able to find, however, is skillfully and sensitively analyzed, underlining her skills as a historian.

For this reader, the convoluted stream of voices demanded close reading. The narrative complexity may be unavoidable, given the fact that Van Slyck is writing about public buildings, which by their nature involve multiple agendas. The archival and pictorial evidence documenting the role of the foundation, the city fathers, and the architects is extensive, and it is clear that much of it was self-serving and intended to control the agenda of each library's erection and use. By also including the experiences of the users, Van Slyck adds another richly varied layer. Unfortunately, the evidence she found to demonstrate the users' attitudes was much less extensive and, in the case of interior photographs, is problematic. Most of the photographs she includes in the book show new, tidy interiors, with readers noticeably absent. When librarians and readers do appear, they are formally posed. Was this prescriptive approach to showing populated interiors imposed by the limitations of cameras and film during the period, precluding spontaneity and movement indoors, or was the formal arrangement of subjects a conscious effort by the producers of the photographs to promote middle-class, Anglo-Saxon values concerning appropriate public behavior?

Van Slyck's book is a major contribution to the literature on cultural history

beyond its importance as a history of American libraries. The building of Carnegie libraries coincided with several compelling and intertwined narratives that occurred at the turn of the century. Carnegie libraries are closely related to other public buildings and spaces in the history of the City Beautiful Movement. The selection sites for public libraries aroused intense interest among the cultural elite of large cities as well as small towns, and their points of view were often at odds with those of civic leaders who wanted to showcase their city's growing downtown. The proliferation of Carnegie libraries also coincided with the rise in professional training for librarians and the advent of literature by and for librarians. The debate about access to libraries was a genteel gloss to anxieties about class, race, and gender, that was manifested in the conflicting patterns in the design of libraries. In some libraries the design of interior spaces reinforced segregation of women, new immigrants, and African Americans. Van Slyck's book contributes to the study of gender relations in the workplace. Library directors and members of boards of directors were largely male, and spaces designated for their use were larger, more private, and grandly decorated, while space designated for the female library staff, professional and nonprofessional, was inconveniently organized and located in the public areas of the library.

After 1917 the Carnegie Corporation stopped giving library grants. A study concluded that professional staffing was of greater importance than the library building in bringing books and readers together. The debate continues today, making *Free to All* an important contribution to our understanding of public institutions and their role in the national dialogue about the importance of culture in a democracy.

Research Libraries Group

KATHARINE MARTINEZ

A Virtuous Education: Penn's Vision for Philadelphia Schools. By WILLIAM C. KASHATUS. Foreword by DAVID W. HORNBECK. (Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1997. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Historians have known about the Quaker contribution to early American education for a long time. George Brookes, Joseph McCadden, and Thomas Woody pioneered the subject more than sixty years ago. Now, William C. Kashatus, a teacher at the prestigious William Penn Charter School in Philadelphia, has written *A Virtuous Education: Penn's Vision for Philadelphia Schools*. Based on his doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania, this book argues that Quakers set the course for schooling in Philadelphia for nearly 150 years after the city's founding in 1682. Kashatus rejects the idea that Quakers invested time and money in schools to

maintain the social status quo. Instead, he says, they expected education to bring out the goodness inherent in every living soul, especially birthright Friends. After 1800, when Quaker values fused with those associated with an incipient market economy, Quakers supported school reform to prepare the young for life under commercial capitalism.

Kashatus devotes most of the book to an examination of three important educational organizations: the Overseers of the Friends Public School, the Adelphi Society, and the Board of Controllers of the Philadelphia Public Schools. Chartered in 1698, the overseers were responsible for a string of primary schools in Philadelphia by the middle of the eighteenth century. Some specialized in teaching Quaker children the rudiments of their faith, while others provided moral education to the children of the non-Quaker poor. During and after the American Revolution, the overseers gradually decided to concentrate on sectarian education because the War for Independence had led to a crisis of confidence among Friends. To compensate for the overseers' neglect of the poor, the Adelphi Society was born. Founded by a younger generation of Quaker reformers, it operated a pauper school in Philadelphia for a decade, stepping aside in 1818 after the Pennsylvania legislature authorized the newly created Board of Controllers to establish a school system.

According to Kashatus, the managers of the Adelphi Society, who were druggists, printers, carpenters, and other independent artisans, wanted their school to prepare the poor for life in a market economy. Led by Thomas Scattergood and Roberts Vaux, they had in mind teaching such Quaker beliefs as thrift, hard work, the autonomy of the individual, and self-discipline. The Board of Controllers, which included Vaux and a modest contingent of Friends, applied this ideology to their schools, hoping to uplift many young Philadelphians. Kashatus equates "the basic moral principles that informed the evangelical consensus as well as the Quaker faith" with the "values of the market culture" (p.178) but fails to make clear just how and why these two became one. Are we to conclude that Quakers were always liberals in disguise or did they shed some of their old beliefs in order to make their theology compatible with new social and economic conditions?

Kashatus compounds the confusion by claiming that the controllers mixed rich and poor children in their schools from the beginning, a position from which he subsequently retreats by admitting that common schools in Philadelphia did not really come into being until the 1830s. One has to read both text and footnotes to be reassured that he knows about the Pennsylvania common school law of 1834, which Philadelphia adopted two years later. It is this shift to schools for all that makes it possible to talk about education for success in a market economy because, when taught to the poor by themselves, such values as thrift and industry sounded a paternalistic tone.

Apparently, Kashatus believes that public and private schools today can bring out the best in all children by teaching these values again. How else can his final chapter

be explained in which, jumping ahead 160 years, he argues that only by tending to business in their own schools, can Quakers contribute to the much needed reform of public education. Perhaps this also accounts for the book's foreword written by David W. Hornbeck in which Philadelphia's current school superintendent compares himself to William Penn and touts *Children Achieving*, his plan for transforming urban public education.

Temple University

WILLIAM W. CUTLER III

Beneath the Dome of PMC: The Story of Pennsylvania Military College, 1821–1972.

By VALENTINE DEL VECCHIO. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Reference Desk Books, 1997. vi, 566p. Chapter notes and references, illustrations, index. \$40.00.)

This is the first published book to span the entire 151-year history of the nation's second oldest military college. Founded by Quaker John Bullock, then owned by three generations of the Presbyterian Hyatt family before becoming a public institution in the 1950's, Pennsylvania Military College (PMC)—with no endowment and plagued with chronic financial problems—struggled from crisis to crisis until it became a casualty of the antimilitary feelings of the Vietnam War. Yet *Beneath the Dome* does more than note negatives; it also stresses the college's positive achievement which made possible its subsequent reincarnation as today's successful Widener University.

The author accomplishes his announced goals of providing PMC and Widener alumni, staff, and friends with an enjoyable and factual account of events as they occurred as well as creating a reference for future historians. Valentine Del Vecchio organizes the story by presidential eras and connects the chronology with such perpetual themes as academic programs, athletics, the corps of cadets, faculty, and finances.

Operating under six successive names, from the Bullock School to Pennsylvania Military Academy, the institution upgraded to college status in 1892 and became Pennsylvania Military College. President Charles E. Hyatt wanted a technical school. He offered master of science degrees in chemistry and civil engineering, but even in the early days PMC did not maintain curriculum parity with other universities. Arts were phased out by 1900. The first three decades of the twentieth century found the college denied middle states accreditation in 1924, and spending only \$500 on the library in 1930 but allocating \$34,500 to sports that year. Despite weak admission standards, the school finally achieved accreditation in 1954.

The reader will note similar struggles in athletics, but by 1915 PMC entered intercollegiate contests, fielded baseball and football teams, and even experimented with polo. Succeeding decades also brought basketball, soccer, swimming, and track

to the Chester, Pennsylvania, institution. Over the years the school posted credible records in all these sports.

Self-described as the "West Point of the Keystone State," PMC emphasized its corps of cadets. The uniformed students personified the school's military code of honor, integrity, and self discipline which shaped the mystique of the urban campus. Interestingly enough, however, the college did not adopt a formal honor code until 1968. Del Vecchio invigorates his narrative with profuse pictures of cadets in formation and on parade. Yet the corps suffered from limited size—only 134 cadets in 1931—and high costs. When PMC admitted civilian students to bolster enrollment in the 1960s, tensions soon arose between uniformed undergraduates and these new matriculants who enjoyed many more freedoms.

Beneath the Dome is a comprehensive book in that it includes all parts of the institutional family. The faculty, for example, receives consistent attention. Despite low salaries, living under the same regulations as the cadets, and serving at the discretion of the presidents, the teachers were of good quality.

Cecil B. DeMille and other former students add sparkle to this highly readable history. Honorary degree recipients, including John Philip Sousa and Franklin D. Roosevelt, provide a distinct public posture. Trustee chairmen from John Wanamaker to Fitz Eugene Dixon confirm the school's leadership dimension. Beneath the luster of these identifications, however, lurked the ever-present financial burden of insufficient funds.

The story of Pennsylvania Military College is one of mortgage debt and preferred stock issues, of government loans denied, of auxiliary financial entities such as the Military Academy Stock Company (1867), and the Military College Company (1916). Bankruptcy came in 1935, but the institution stayed open under court jurisdiction.

PMC's last president, Clarence R. Moll, served only thirteen years in that office, but his administration comprises 42 percent of the book. This out-of-proportion emphasis finds validity in that Moll effected the dignified demise of Pennsylvania Military College in 1972 and its appropriate rebirth as the coeducational Widener University.

Eastern College

JOHN A. BAIRD JR.

The National Road. Edited by KARL RAITZ. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xviii, 489p. Notes, references, illustrations, contributors, index, \$34.95.) *A Guide to the National Road*. Edited by KARL RAITZ. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xxiv, 392p. Notes, glossary, references, suggested readings, illustrations, contributors, index. \$34.95.)

Over the last seven years, the Center for American Places has established a distinguished reputation publishing books on the American landscape in partnership with Johns Hopkins University Press and other publishers. The publication of *The National Road* and *A Guide to the National Road* is the center's most notable achievement to date. These two volumes—illustrated with nearly four hundred maps, drawings, and photographs—provide a highly readable, scholarly interpretation of the cultural landscape along the “National Road corridor”—the U.S. Highway 40–Interstate 70 route from Baltimore, through Cumberland, Maryland; Wheeling, West Virginia; Columbus, Ohio; and Indianapolis, Indiana; to Vandalia, Illinois; then along alternate routes ending at East St. Louis and Alton, Illinois. While there have been many highway-oriented landscape guides published over the years, this stands as a worthy successor to George Stewart's masterful *U.S. 40: Cross Section of the United States of America*, published in 1953.

The National Road, now largely obliterated by later highway construction and reroutings, was the nation's first federally planned and funded highway. Built from Cumberland to Vandalia between 1808 and 1850, the road linked back to Baltimore by the existing Cumberland Road and was extended from Vandalia to the Mississippi River after federal involvement. In connecting existing cities and rural areas, the highway served more to diffuse culture than to open the trans-Appalachian region to new settlement. The road became both path and boundary. Migrants carried ideas from the Midland culture hearth, centered in southeastern Pennsylvania, west along this and other routes. Across Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the National Road roughly marked a divide between Northern and Southern cultural dominance. The corridor was a critical component in the cultural mixing during the nineteenth century that led to the formation of the Middle West.

The books address road building and transportation technology, early travelers' impressions of the territory, regional political divisions, and the development of trans-Appalachian resource development for eastern markets. Among the many landscape topics mentioned (and supported by extensive bibliographies) are: house types, from Baltimore rowhouses to the traditional I-house; farm structures, from Pennsylvania barns to modern steel grain bins; the township-and-range land survey system; original town plans and changes in urban morphology; traditional agriculture and the demise of livestock and fences on Midwestern farms.

Though ostensibly about the National Road, these books use the corridor as context for a larger examination of American culture—both historic and contemporary. This is most evident in *The National Road* with Peirce Lewis's introductory essay “The Landscapes of Mobility” and the portfolio section on “The

American Highway in Art" compiled by Thomas Schlereth, neither of which relies solely on the National Road for illustrations. Subsequent chapters deal more specifically with the corridor, but not narrowly so. Joseph Wood's "The Idea of the National Road" is, at heart, an essay on transportation, connecting east and west, and building a Jeffersonian agrarian republic. Richard Shein's study of the Interstate 70 landscape addresses local features and ranges broadly into the formation of the interstate highway system and its role in modern American culture. Other essays deal with surveying and building the road, adapting the road to new transport technologies, the U.S. 40 roadside, and preserving the National Road landscape. *The National Road* includes twelve chapters, along with the art portfolio, a brief coda on "access and landscape," and an appendix on historic archaeology.

In the *Guide to the National Road*, following an introduction to the road and its landscapes by editor Raitz and a portfolio of the National Road in art, also by Schlereth, different authors examine the corridor in seven east-to-west segments. Unlike roadside guides which present detailed driving and mileage directions, this volume takes a more general linear approach appropriate to the great distance covered. Orientation clues make it possible to find one's way in the landscape (e.g., "after a little over three miles, the Old Pike veers toward the north"), with more specific locations and directions provided when necessary. This approach makes the guide as useful for the armchair traveler as it is for the informed tourist driving the route. A drawback of the guide for field use is its unwieldy hardcover book format. In "A Message to the Reader," Raitz provides a list of map sources to supplement the maps provided in the guide.

The nineteen chapters and two portfolios in the two books were written by nineteen contributing authors or coauthors. Thirteen of the authors—including the editor—are geographers, and the other writers are kindred spirits. The books bear the strong imprint of the scholarly approaches of cultural geography: an emphasis on landscape and place, the importance of the physical landscape as setting, the role of the commonplace and vernacular alongside the results of the actions of notable individuals. Through shared scholarly approaches, the skill of the authors, and superb editing, the individual essays work well together.

A few biases are evident in the *Guide*. The writers and photographers emphasize landscape relics dating from the early years of the road through the commercial strips of the 1960s. Landscape changes of the past two decades are often ignored or criticized. Rural and small town landscapes—the majority of the mileage of the corridor—receive more attention than urban scenes. Downtown Baltimore is covered in only two pages and the guide ends at East St. Louis, thus the major urban centers anchoring each end of the corridor are essentially unexplored. These biases reflect, perhaps, the origins and initial funding of the

project in the Pioneer America Society. It is a credit to the editor and publisher that these guidebook shortcomings are overcome, at least in part, in the first volume.

The two volumes are most effectively examined together. They reinforce one another with little sense of repetition. Some landscape elements mentioned in the *Guide* receive fuller treatment in the first volume, which focuses on geographical and historical perspectives. Most, but not all, of the contemporary photographs are in the *Guide*, which has only a few historical images. The chronology in the first volume, and the glossary in the *Guide* are both useful. There is some overlap in the bibliographies, but a few significant publications appear only in one volume. The "suggested readings" section in the *Guide* emphasizes local history publications important to segments of the road. Both books are wonderfully illustrated, but special note must be made of the contemporary photographs (most taken in 1994). Four professional photographers—Charles Walters, Gregory Conniff, Bob Thall, and Michael Putnam—were commissioned to document the National Road landscape. Their work is superb. They produced documentary photographs that illustrate the text and stand as works of art.

Good guides to the American landscape are rare. Though more people go to more places, we are increasingly disconnected from our surroundings. *The National Road* and *A Guide to the National Road* are models of the kind of landscape interpretation that can help us appreciate our cultural environments. Their reach should go far beyond the National Road corridor. I recommend both books to anyone who wants to learn to look more intelligently at the American landscape.

Portland State University

THOMAS HARVEY

Studebaker: The Life and Death of an American Corporation. By DONALD T. CRITCHLOW. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1996. x, 273p. Illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Everyone over fifty can recall the famous Raymond Loewy-designed Starlight coupe and the fabulous Golden Hawk of the late 1950s. With its post-war "bullet nosed" cars that confused front and rear, Studebaker defied the normal, safe, automotive styling trends. It appeared to be a daring company willing to offer its customers a car to set them apart from the more timid.

Donald Critchlow, in this well-wrought interpretative Studebaker history, gives the lie to these perceptions. He examines the company's strategic decisions in light of its corporate traditions and culture, especially the firm's oft proclaimed boast that it was a "family" corporation, to explain how these traditions guided

and limited managers' responses to changing conditions. Critchlow begins with the five Studebaker brothers, offspring of Dunkard parents, fresh from their Ephrata communal experiment, who migrated to Indiana, and brother John Mohler's stash from the California gold fields that saved their wagon business just in time for lucrative Civil War contracts.

The brothers combined their Christian principles with driving capitalist impulses to create a corporation that manufactured a quality product sold nationwide, while affirming their paternalistic concern for their employees, many of whom were hard-to-replace skilled workers.

At the turn of the century John Studebaker's son-in-law, Frederick Fish, urged the brothers to get into the automobile business. President Clement Studebaker was opposed, but Fish triumphed and Studebaker built middle-price-range cars. In 1928 it acquired faltering Pierce-Arrow for an entry into the luxury field. Led by the erstwhile Albert Erskine, Studebaker did everything right; it built a reputation for sturdy cars lovingly crafted by a corporation that cared about its workers. Overextended when the depression hit, the firm declared bankruptcy in 1933 but was rescued by Paul Hoffman and Harold Vance who moved into the low-priced field with the Champion and helped their workers organize a union.

Studebaker was the first company after World War II to bring out a wholly new car. It was also, thanks to the war's cost-plus contracts, one of the highest priced producers in the industry. The buyers' market protected Studebaker until the furious Chevrolet-Ford sales race began in 1953. Sales of South Bend products plummeted, and labor costs became killing. Studebaker merged with Packard and its new president, James J. Nance, a man not sympathetic with Studebaker's labor-friendly tradition, confronted Studebaker's union. Labor unrest, near bankruptcy, and Packard's failure followed. Later, under the ministrations of a Studebaker man, Harold Churchill, the company imitated AMC by seeking a niche with its Lark, and later diversified to abandon the automobile business altogether. Studebaker closed its South Bend plants in 1963 and ended its Canadian operations in 1967.

Critchlow tells the story well, emphasizing the effects of the company's traditions on later managerial decisions. The author joins recent business historians who concentrate on how corporate personalities and traditions limit and guide managerial responses to changing market conditions. He notes that all the auto companies had unique personalities. In Studebaker's case, internal expectations and demands proved fatal only after market conditions changed. By then it was too late for a corrective. On an upbeat note, Critchlow stresses the wonder that Studebaker succeeded as long as it did, outliving 99 percent of all other domestic auto companies. Well-written, provocative, by far the best treatment of the subject,

the book is an engrossing inquiry into corporate sensibilities and their relationship to the decision making process. It needs only photographs of the Starlight and Golden Hawk.

University of Tennessee

JAMES A. WARD

Harry Byrd of Virginia. By RONALD L. HEINEMANN. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. x, 511p. Bibliography, notes, illustrations, index. \$29.95.)

At long last, Ronald Heinemann has filled the widest gap in twentieth-century Virginia historiography. His exhaustive research and biting analysis bring governor and U.S. senator Harry F. Byrd Sr. to life—not that Byrd's admirers will agree with Heinemann's overall assessment. This definitive biography is also a history of Virginia politics from the 1920s to Byrd's death in 1966.

Harry Byrd was destined to serve in public life in Virginia. He traced his lineage to Pocahontas and to James River planter William Byrd II. Byrd's father was speaker of the House of Delegates, and his uncle, Hal Flood, was head of the state Democratic party. Harry Byrd was so anxious to begin his own career that he dropped out of high school to save the family's newspaper and to run the Byrd orchard business, which became the world's largest privately held apple farm.

After his uncle Hal died, Byrd served one term as governor of Virginia in the late twenties, and he put an indelible stamp on the state. Fortunate to preside over flush times, his record was one of business progressivism—fiscal reform and bureaucratic consolidation. These ideas were not new with Byrd; nor did they improve the state's relative standing in spending for education, welfare, hospitals, or prisons, but the tiny voting public adored him nonetheless. He believed his gubernatorial record merited the presidency, which he sought in vain against FDR in 1932. The next year, he was appointed to the U.S. Senate, where he remained a lifelong fixture. Byrd ran for the presidency again in 1944 and received scattered southern electoral votes thereafter.

Byrd became a national Republican in all but name after 1936. He never supported a Democrat for president after that time. He even tried to remove President Harry Truman's name from the Virginia ballot in 1948. Because he was "the most Republican of all Democrats" (p. 294), he helped Senator Robert Taft (R-Ohio) block Democratic reform legislation and was the only Democrat permitted to retain a committee chairmanship (Joint Committee on Government Spending) when the Democrats lost the Senate after World War II. Byrd's con-

servatism was so pronounced that he was even opposed to the government constructing electrical lines and indoor privies for mountain farmers in Virginia. "Sadly," Heinemann concludes, "dollars and cents . . . seemed to be the only thing that counted with him" (p. 293).

Even in the Senate, Byrd was "a tough, ruthless machine politician" (p. 45). For forty years, almost nothing happened in Old Dominion politics without Byrd's explicit approval. He alone decided which politicians would run for office on the Democratic slate, which was tantamount to election. Although Byrd preferred to describe his faction as "the Organization," it was a "machine" in every sense except for its ostensibly genteel style. For many well-off white men, style and low taxes mattered far more than social justice.

Heinemann demonstrates what contemporary critics of Harry Byrd long maintained: Byrd was elitist, racist, and antidemocratic. To be sure, he offered the state generally honest government, more paved roads, and fiscal conservatism. His well-known motto was "pay-as-you-go." But there was a steep price to be paid for such policies. Byrd saw to it that blacks, women, poor whites, and Republicans were effectively disenfranchised via the poll tax and an entrenched good-old-boy network called the courthouse crowd.

The nadir of Byrd's public life came in the wake of the Brown decision in 1954. Heinemann observes that Byrd used the race card in unprecedented and unnecessary ways to defy court-ordered school desegregation. At bottom, the "Massive Resistance" movement that Byrd fathered was intended "to revitalize a dying political machine" (p. 329). Byrd had once belonged to the moderate Commission on Interracial Cooperation and insisted on the South's strongest antilynching law. All that was thrown away to save the Byrd machine, which soon collapsed anyway.

Today, most of Byrd's political philosophy seems antiquated, as political scientist V.O. Key noted in 1949. While Byrd did help create the beautiful Shenandoah National Park and the Skyline Drive atop the Blue Ridge Mountains, his primary legacy was one of low taxes and a host of sorely neglected social problems. This trade-off, Heinemann argues convincingly, cost the Old Dominion dearly.

Canisius College

BRUCE J. DIERENFIELD

The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History. Edited by DAVID HEY. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. ix, 517p. Appendix. \$45.00.)

In recent years, British and American social historians, with the tools of modern scholarship, have continually left the hallowed halls of the "elite" and

returned to the fields and hearths of the common man and woman, as revealed in local and family history. As the author states in the preface, his work is intended as "a starting point for those professional scholars and amateur researchers who are working in these fields . . ." To this end, David Hey has been aptly successful.

Hey is no stranger to the topics examined in his text. His previous volumes, *Family History and Local History in England* (1987), and *The Oxford Guide to Family History* (1993), have received positive reviews and should be consulted along with his present volume. *The Oxford Companion to Local Family History* is multidisciplinary in scope and demonstrates the need for historians in general to familiarize themselves with the tools and terminology of the antiquarian, cartographer, architect, etc. Genealogists will also find this volume of interest and value, since it defines obsolete terms from British court records and culture, and thus permits families to be placed in their proper social and cultural context.

The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History greatly facilitates research, since each of its over two thousand entries are in alphabetical order, covering such diverse topics as "abbey," to a quick perusal of the works of agricultural writer Arthur Young. The subject matter ranges chronologically from prehistory to the present, from rural to urban life, from legal to ecclesiastical history. A valuable seven-page appendix, listing the national, county, and local record offices scattered throughout the British Isles, and their addresses, makes this volume a necessary reference guide for the shelves of individual family historians, as well as local and academic libraries.

Like most such volumes, Hey's present work should be utilized along with other related monographs, such as those by the late British social historian, George Ewart Evans (on whom Hey comments, p. 156). Other excellent companion volumes are Marilyn Yurdan's *Irish Family History* (1993); David Moody's *Scottish Family History* (1994); and John Rowlands's *Welsh Family History: A Guide to Research* (1993). Valerie Raleigh Yow's *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide For Social Scientists* (1994) is also beneficial. Hey's *Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* is unique in that it presents in an easy-to-use, cross-referenced format much of the significant data contained in the above volumes, including valuable bibliographic references to resources pertinent to these and related topics.

One will find information from such diverse topics as "suicide," the "Domesday Book," and the ever valuable VCH or famed multivolume set of *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, first published in 1899. Hey's latest volume is a joy to peruse, a work not to be criticized but utilized by any serious researcher.

Becoming Citizens in the Age of Television: How Americans Challenged the Media and Seized Political Initiative during the Iran-Contra Debate. By DAVID THELEN. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996. x, 247p. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$55.00; paper, \$14.95.)

Bemoaning that "politics and governance have moved beyond the reach of the concerns and conversations of Americans in their daily lives" (p. 1), David Thelen seeks to evaluate how Americans receive and evaluate mass-mediated opinions and truth-claims to form and then express their own conclusions. To explore this process, Thelen focuses on the televised Iran-Contra congressional hearings and compares news and analysis to the opinions ordinary citizens communicated to their elected leaders about the controversy.

It was media reports of widespread popular support for Lt. Col. Oliver North that prompted Thelen to peruse five thousand pieces of mail sent to the House Select Committee conducting the investigation. Thelen, a history professor at Indiana University, concluded that Americans were motivated to write the letters "to reclaim their voice from the opinion managing and interpreting industries that purported to know what Americans were thinking" (p. 8).

The concept of comparing editorial content with individual communications is intriguing and commendable. However, Thelen allows his book to descend into populist frippery, portraying the electorate as valiantly overcoming all obstacles placed in the way by his oddly paired reprobates: the news media and the Republican/conservative bloc.

For example, in the penultimate chapter, "Making Citizens Visible: Toward a Social History of Twentieth-Century American Politics," Thelen argues that politicians draw their conclusions about public sentiment from mass-mediated reports, not through communication from the people themselves. He quotes former senator George Mitchell's (D-Maine) admission, "I can read the *Washington Post* in the morning. I can't read the five hundred letters I get every day" (p. 151). He thus ignores the fact that congressional representatives normally assign staff members the duty of reading and summarizing constituent mail. Thelen proceeds to depict reporters as narrow-minded bumbler who abdicate their responsibility to fulfill their information function by amplifying minuscule controversies, focusing on winners and losers as though covering a sporting event, and maintaining the nerd mentality of reporting the same stories in the same manner.

Their ineptitude is wedded to the skullduggery of Republicans and conservatives in Thelen's morality play. Oliver North espoused "a Nazi vision" (p. 7), and Ronald Reagan was "a president of ordinary talents and unpopular policies" who hoodwinked the American people for eight years with "acting performances" (pp.

26, 49). Even ordinary citizens who supported North through orchestrated mailings are slyly ridiculed. Thelen admits his bias from the outset, though, expressing anger about the covert actions of Reagan operatives in Nicaragua, recalling that he "cheered Democrats' defenses of the Constitution and democracy" (p. 7). Ultimately, the dual problem facing the citizenry is "the timidity of journalists" coupled with "the skill of conservatives" at media manipulation, Thelen laments (p. 41). Despite these barriers to enlightenment, the masses ultimately prevailed: they wrote letters. The people triumphed by demonstrating Lockean independence of thought, thus completing Thelen's literary quest for feel-good populism.

The premise of Thelen's book appears laudable: to explore "how Americans have fought to reclaim government for themselves" (p. 1). However, in so doing, he commits the same sins of opinion management and selective perception for which he chastises government, pollsters, the press, and special-interest groups. He constructs and demolishes straw figures throughout the book—North, Reagan, George Bush, weak-willed congressional representatives, and assorted print and broadcast journalists are all propped up as adversaries of Thelen's noble citizens. Even Richard Nixon, Joseph McCarthy, and Adolph Hitler receive a few gratuitous swipes. Along the way, Thelen identifies the wrong century for the beginning of printing, offers an objectionable view of mass communication history, and reinforces thoughtless stereotypes about journalism.

Media bashers and conspiracy theorists may enjoy this book. Careful scholars should read elsewhere.

East Islip, New York

RALPH FRASCA

Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America. By COLLEEN MCDANNELL. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. x, 312p. Bibliographical references, illustrations, notes, index. \$35.00).

Colleen McDannell's *Material Christianity* offers illuminating, often entertaining, insight into the material landscape of popular Christianity in America. Intellectually, it stands at the intersection of two important streams of contemporary scholarship. Like others in the adolescent discipline of material culture, McDannell finds in "the non-written text . . . a language of expression in American life and culture" (p. 2). In common with those scholars who urge us to treat popular religion seriously and respectfully, McDannell rejects the common view of it as a manifestation of "ignorance, superficial commercialism, status competition, and the desire of institutional churches and 'The Culture Industry' to manipulate people" (pp. 271–72).

Scholars and authority-minded church officials often ridicule popular religious art and paraphernalia, which they believe trivializes, commercializes, or otherwise profanes the sacred and undermines official theologies. Yet many American Christians of every stripe find spiritual comfort in material culture, McDannell notes. They fuse the sacred and the profane in ways that skeptical observers cannot understand but that have enriched Christianity for centuries (although McDannell draws rather lightly on the rich literature on martyria, relics, and other religious material culture outside the United States and before the modern era).

Through eight data-filled chapters, McDannell explores artifacts as disparate as Lourdes shrines, mottoes and other religious household decorations, Mormon sacred garments, Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery, the liturgical art of the 1950s and 1960s, Victorian family Bibles, and the whimsical paraphernalia of the "Jesus freaks" of the early 1970s. Inevitably, in a groundbreaking work such as this, the case studies seem isolated and the catalogue incomplete. The long discussion of the important Gospel Trumpet publishing firm, for example, leaves one wondering whether it was a unique instance, or one of many. At the same time, *Material Christianity* raises some troubling theoretical and ethical issues. Like many of her colleagues in both artifactual and religious studies, McDannell is better at defending the importance of her subject matter than she is at analyzing it. As is the practice in contemporary material culture scholarship, McDannell offers a variety of social and semiotic explanations of the ways religious objects work. Some, for example, "participate in the authority of institutional traditions and origins" (p. 18). In other instances religious devotion "fuse[s] the sign with the referent" (p. 26). Family Bibles "were special objects that activated family memories" (p. 84).

The detailed explanations and theoretical formulations of the social life of artifacts are fine as far as they go, but in the end they are rather flat. One waits in vain for illumination of the individual experience that catalyzes the fusion of sacred and profane and gives these objects the power that McDannell labels "affecting presence," a phrase borrowed from the anthropologist Robert Plant Armstrong. Historians of art often rely on an implicit, romantic model of genius—enlivening spirit—to explain our response to a painting or a statue. The genius of the work of art, a manifestation of the artist's, gives it the power to move us. Historians of material culture usually reject such models, but they have nothing to put in their place. This vacuum is particularly painful in *Material Christianity*, for one imagines that some sort of invested spirit is required to account for the sacralization of the profane. Perhaps material culture studies—religious material culture studies, in particular—require psychological, or even theological, models of some sort to account convincingly for the affecting presence that we all recognize in the physical world.

There is another aspect to the flatness of these studies that has to do with their ethical dimension: how does one discuss religious belief? To what extent is it permissible to comment on the sacred domain of others? In this country the answer too often is to ridicule the socially or theologically marginal and to report the claims of the mainstream uncritically. Americans treat religion like race or physical disability, as an attribute over which the believer has no control, and therefore something that can be described but not criticized. The result is a kind of earnest appreciation or reportage that lacks any edge or point of view. This is the case in most of *Material Christianity*. Only in the essay on the Roman Catholic liturgical art of the post-World War II era does McDannell depart from her scrupulous neutrality. Her gendered critique of that art clearly arises from her personal values, and it is one of the most impassioned and satisfying sections of the book. This essay makes it clear that it is possible to be respectful of religious opinion without abdicating the right to be critical.

Although one might wish for more penetrating analyses of the affecting presence of religious artifacts, we are in McDannell's debt for so thoroughly documenting such common but little-known relics of American religious history. Equally important, she reminds us, as she did in her earlier works, of the importance of Roman Catholicism to American religious and cultural history.

University of California, Berkeley

DELL UPTON

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Building Little Italy

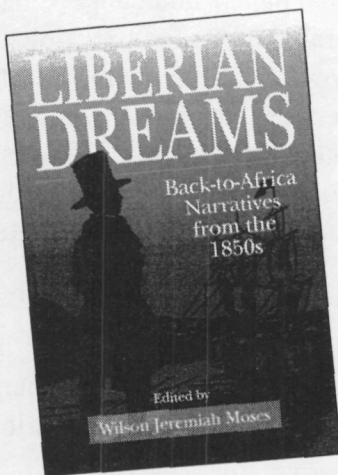
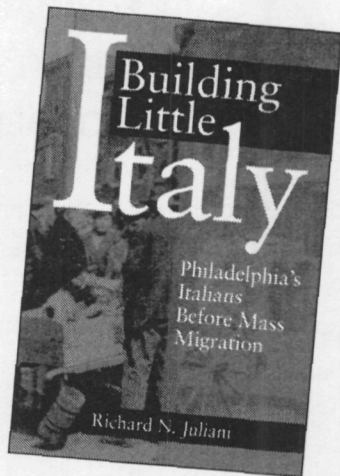
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Revising Charles Brockden Brown

A CALL FOR PAPERS FOR A CONFERENCE

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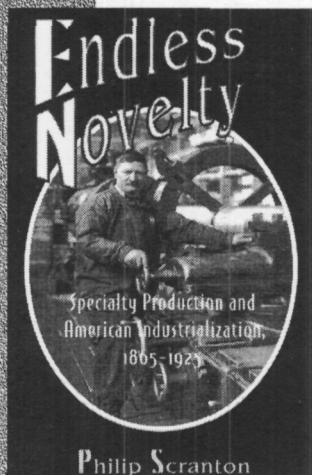
Given the increasing significance of Charles Brockden Brown's work to study of the early American republic and with the bicentennial of Brown's novels fast approaching, a group of scholars is organizing a conference on Brown in conjunction with the Department of English at Penn, the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

The conference will reconsider Brown's work in relation to recent scholarship and critical developments. Scholars from all disciplinary and methodological approaches are invited to submit proposals for papers. The organizers encourage individual papers and panels on: (1) Brown's relation to North Atlantic cultural and intellectual contexts, (2) expanding our understanding of Brown's corpus to include his other writings (short fiction, periodical literature, correspondence, and late historical and political writings), (3) the impact and implications of recent theoretical and methodological developments on Brown studies and how these theories might be reconsidered through their encounters with Brown's work.

The conference will consist of a series of panels on various topics. There will be no concurrent sessions, as we hope to create a new shared collective sense of the spectrum of issues in Brown and American Studies today.

Send one-page proposals and a short letter detailing research interests by May 31, 1998, to: Christopher Looby, English Department, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Advance copies may be e-mailed to: clooby@dept.english.upenn.edu

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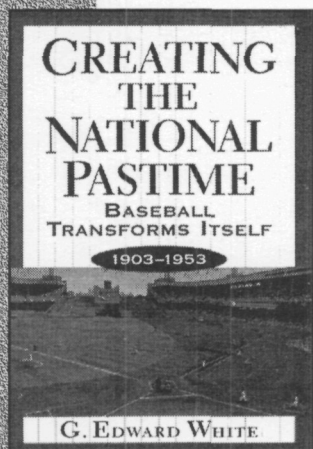
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The Historical Society of Pennsylvania Reopens 10:00 a.m. Tuesday, April 14, 1998

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania will reopen to the public at 10:00 a.m., Tuesday, April 14, 1998, as renovation of its 1300 Locust Street building continues. Full library services will resume on the second floor of the building while construction work continues on the first floor for another year.

Since closing to the public in November 1997, the building has been prepared for the project. The renovation, projected to cost \$6.8 million, will include improvements to the first floor and a portion of the exterior, an increase in collection storage space, enhanced security, easier staff access to frequently paged materials, better climate control, installation of ultraviolet filtered lighting in collection storage areas, and improved fire protection. The renovation is expected to be completed in the spring of 1999.

Starting April 14, the Society will be open Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday from 10:00 a.m. to 4:45 p.m., Wednesday from 1:00 to 8:45 p.m., closed Sunday, Monday and major holidays. Admission to the library is \$5 per day, students with current I.D. \$2 per day. All readers, including members, will be required to reregister on their initial visit after the reopening. Some form of photo I.D. must be presented when registering for the first time or reregistering.

Completion of the renovation will necessitate closing the building again from Wednesday, November 25, 1998, until approximately April 15, 1999. For membership and other information call (215) 732-6200 or visit the Society's web site:

<http://www.libertynet.org/~pahist>