

BOOK REVIEWS

Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier. By JAMES H. MERRELL. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999. 463p. Illustrations, maps, chronology, acknowledgments, abbreviations, notes, index. \$27.95.)

Early in the narrative of his important new study, James Merrell makes a symbolic point about the famous Benjamin West illustration adorning the book's cover. *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1771) has become an American icon, a visual celebration of the ostensibly peaceful and harmonious intercultural relations that characterized life in the Quaker colony. Yet the painting includes no portrayal of an interpreter, and Merrell endeavors in his book to understand this critical omission, and to explain how it has escaped the collective attention of students of Pennsylvania history for so long.

Merrell derives his title from an early stage of the Iroquoian condolence ceremony, "Welcome at the Woods' Edge." He points out how both Indians and settlers shared a degree of awe and respect for the woods, or the wilderness that separated them—and describes how the "Woods' Edge" ritual worked to overcome the power of the woods to adversely affect those traveling through them. The "Woods' Edge" ceremony became a staple feature of diplomacy between Native Americans and Europeans in the colonial northeast, as interpreters, translators, and other cultural brokers employed it in their efforts to bridge the linguistic and conceptual chasm between the two societies.

Merrell attempts to assess how well the assortment of go-betweens who plied the woods of colonial Pennsylvania between approximately 1680 and 1760 accomplished their task of bringing about understanding between Native American and colonial communities. Ultimately, the author finds his subjects wanting. Merrell acknowledges that colonists and Indians held divergent attitudes about the purposes of cross-cultural diplomacy (colonists stressed the importance of treaties, the end product of diplomacy, while Indians emphasized the process behind the creation of those documents), but he assigns a considerable degree of collective culpability to the go-betweens for their failure to reconcile these viewpoints. Unable to shed their own prejudices, interpreters and brokers originating from both sides of the cultural divide ended up personifying and perpetuating the fault lines between Native American and colonial societies, rather than obliterating those mental and physical boundaries.

In order to prove his case, Merrell has mined a vast array of manuscript sources

pertaining to colonial Pennsylvania. English-language documentary evidence dominates, but the author has profited from considerable work in German-language material as well. Reading the text, one is repeatedly impressed with Merrell's remarkable ability to assemble bits of seemingly obscure evidence into composite and coherent prose, which constitutes the book's mainly anecdotal style. Numerous emblematic incidents, usually murders (from the killing of Jack Armstrong in 1744 to the violent death of Young Seneca George in 1769) are employed to move the narrative through time and carry the author's argument. The maps and chronology are helpful supplements for the nonspecialist reader.

There is much new in this work for students of Indian-white relations in early Pennsylvania, and Merrell's study will undoubtedly be compared to Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (1991). Merrell's thesis—that there never was any “middle ground” between cultures in colonial Pennsylvania, and that the situation only became worse over time (perhaps manifested most clearly in the author's reference on page 301 to the Wounded Knee Massacre)—is more pessimistic than most of the recent historical literature on people who lived between cultures in early America. While *Into the American Woods* provides a refreshing antidote to unthinking celebrations of the “cultural broker” experience, it might risk going too far in stressing the incommensurability of Native American and colonial worldviews, especially if subsequent scholars apply Merrell's thesis uncritically to other historical contexts.

Merrell has chosen his venue carefully, and it is worthwhile to indicate the unique features of Indian-white relations in colonial Pennsylvania that permit him to form his argument. Two fundamental keys to the disappearance of Pennsylvania negotiators and the souring of cross-cultural diplomacy in the colony by the mid-eighteenth century were: (1) the massive influx of population to Pennsylvania, unprecedented among British provinces, which created incredible pressure on Native American lands and traditional subsistence practices, and (2) the imperial takeover of colonial Indian affairs after 1755, which effectively ended Pennsylvania authorities' ability to shape their own Indian policy despite the noteworthy efforts of the Quaker Friendly Association. These developments, which Merrell addresses but does not emphasize, ought to be kept in mind as specific to Pennsylvania history.

Merrell claims that behavior in land transactions best demonstrates how the interpreters and cultural brokers remained firmly situated on their own side of the frontier. All Pennsylvania negotiators, from “Honest” Conrad Weiser to the more slippery George Croghan, sought and accumulated Indian land for themselves. Yet we learn little of what Pennsylvania's Native Americans thought of this significant business in the colony's history, and this is surprising, given Merrell's emblematic usage of West's painting (which depicts a treaty arranging the first of many land sales). How did Native American cultural brokers handle land deals in colonial

Pennsylvania? Did land sales evolve into an adaptive response by Pennsylvania's Indians to European intrusion, and thereby constitute an important aspect of their own foreign policy? Can we find an unexpected source of agency for Native American cultural brokers in these transactions? In complaints about territorial encroachment, did the Delawares, Iroquois, and other Native Americans living in Pennsylvania distinguish between occupied lands they had legally transferred through treaties and those being squatted upon illegally by thousands of German and Scotch-Irish immigrants?

Merrell's book inspires such questions and comparisons because it is an excellent work of scholarship. All early American historians will want to read this richly textured and thought-provoking book, and consider Merrell's compelling interpretation for themselves.

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JON W. PARMENTER

Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America. By MARIANNE S. WOKECK. (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999. xxx, 319p. Maps, illustrations, tables, appendix, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$60.00; paper \$21.50.)

Wokeck's main argument in this important new study of eighteenth-century German and Irish migration to Pennsylvania, is that colonial German migration established "the form for the later influx of northern Irish in the last third of the eighteenth century and the seemingly endless future waves of mass transoceanic immigration that decisively shaped American history, and indeed the history of the entire New World, on into the present" (p. 222). *Trade in Strangers* is first a sharply focused, impressively researched monographic study of the movement of German-speaking settlers to eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. Based on detailed research in German, Dutch, English, and American archives, *Trade in Strangers* is clearly the best study we have of this important migration and will serve as the starting point for all future scholarship on the subject. Wokeck, however, is able to use her central argument to transcend the usual limits of the monographic form. It permits her to include as a comparative case a detailed analysis of the more obscure, but no less significant Irish migration to the Delaware Valley in the eighteenth century. The argument also permits her to range even more widely, and to bring the concepts and insights of American immigration history to bear on these migrations. If others follow her lead, Wokeck may help change the way American history is usually periodized and organized. Usually early Americanists and immigrationists show little awareness of each other's work, to the detriment, *Trade in Strangers* suggests, of both fields. Yet as Wokeck shows, early American history is illuminated when

examined from an immigrationist perspective, while some central institutions of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century migrations to the United States can be seen to have had their origins in eighteenth-century migrations to Pennsylvania. The most striking continuity among these various migrations lies in the business of moving passengers across the Atlantic, a circumstance that led Wokeck to produce an illuminating piece of business history as well as a first-rate study of migration. While this book is aimed at professional historians even those with a more casual interest in early America will find much of interest here. Wokeck presents the clearest description I have seen of the redemptioner system, and offers a compelling account of the experience of eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic migrants. In sum, this is a first-rate book that deserves a large audience.

University of Minnesota

RUSSELL R. MENARD

Patriot Improvers: Biographical Sketches of Members of the American Philosophical Society, Volume One: 1743-1768. By WHITFIELD J. BELL JR. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997. xx, 531p. Illustrations. \$40.00.)

Consisting of eighty-five biographical essays, *Patriot Improvers* provides short, but lively, descriptions of the individuals who belonged to the original American Philosophical Society, the "Young Junto," and the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge. The three societies were the antecedents of the present American Philosophical Society established in 1769, and formed by the union of a revived American Philosophical Society, the lesser-known Medical Society, and the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, descendant of the "Young Junto." The motivating force behind this impressive collection of biographies is noted historian and former professor of history at Dickinson College Whitfield J. Bell Jr. Previously an editor on the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* for approximately six years, Bell also served the society he so ably documents in *Patriot Improvers* as an executive officer and librarian. A recognized author of numerous books and articles, Bell wrote most of the sketches in this volume, as well as the introductory essays discussing the origins of the several institutions.

The first of several planned volumes, this volume of *Patriot Improvers* covers the period 1743 to 1768. The volume itself is divided into three sections, not including the preface, acknowledgments, short titles, and lists of members and portraits. Each of the three sections is devoted to the early societies, and contains a brief history of the organization. The first section, the American Philosophical Society, begins with an essay about the society, which existed from 1743 to 1746, and is followed by twenty-five biographies of its members. The second section discusses the "Young

Junto" and contains thirty-one sketches. The third section comprises the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, and includes twenty-nine biographies. Some of the more notable individuals mentioned in this volume are Benjamin Franklin, Charles Thomson, John Dickinson, George Clymer, and Benjamin Rush.

According to Bell, the purpose underlying the volumes is twofold. By identifying the members of the various societies and their level of participation in their proceedings, Bell seeks to describe with greater accuracy the eighteenth-century Philadelphia philosophers and amateur scientists who belonged to these organized movements. They were not necessarily the "dignified," the "August," or the "eminent," but were more typically "merchants, shopkeepers, mechanics, artisans, and small farmers, with a leaven of physicians, lawyers, and clergymen." These men were the backbone of the early stages of the American Philosophical Society and its counterparts—the "lesser-known persons" who attended the meetings, paid the dues, and "promoted the Society's objects in many ways over many years." Thus, while the sketches constitute a history of the institution itself, they also contribute to our general understanding of colonial America.

Bell also provides a short discussion on the uniqueness of the volume's title: *Patriot Improvers*. It is a reference to the period when patriotism included devotion to the public good and—as Bell quotes Bishop George Berkeley in 1750—when it was the responsibility of patriots to "study and endeavour to promote" the public prosperity. Thus, throughout the colonial and revolutionary period, and into the nineteenth century, Americans in small and large communities were constantly organizing societies dedicated to the improvement of a particular aspect of their lives, whether political, social, or economic. Moreover, Americans understood it as such, as in the example provided by Bell of an 1811 publication of a book about Philadelphia that lists various improvement organizations under the heading of "Patriotic Societies."

The minutes of the society, according to Bell, do not indicate why an individual was nominated, although he suggests that a reason can usually be inferred. Nor do the minutes necessarily indicate that a member accepted election to the society. In some instances identification of members proved difficult, such as when distinguishing among the five Philadelphians named David Evans, or even impossible, as in the case of a "Professor Famitz" of Naples, Italy. Nonetheless, the essays that follow the introductions are informative, readable, and balanced. Upon the last point, Bell correctly concludes that for those individuals whose lives have already been scrutinized in long and detailed biographies, it is not necessary to duplicate those accounts. Rather, he prefers to ensure that those whose lives have not received such treatment should be chronicled in biographies that are "as reasonably full as could be written." To that end, Bell even includes those individuals who were only minimally or never active. Peter Chevalier, for example,

a prosperous Philadelphia merchant, belonged to the "Young Junto" by the fall of 1758, but ceased attending by December of that year, and John Dickinson, the Delaware and Philadelphia lawyer and pamphleteer, apparently showed no interest in the "Young Junto," the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, or the revived American Philosophical Society, though he was a member of all three. By the same token, a biography is provided for Francis Rawle, a Quaker merchant who attended meetings of the "Young Junto," served as its treasurer, and on several occasions submitted questions for the consideration of the members, inquiring of them on October 12, 1759, "Why are tumultuous uneasy Sensations united with our Desires," and on January 18, 1760, "May we Place Rods on our Houses to guard them against Lightening without being guilty of Presumption?"

Based on a variety of primary and secondary sources, *Patriot Improvers* is a worthwhile endeavor that grants us a look into the civic associations that shaped the eighteenth century, and provides, in reference form, material to the historians and general public that is otherwise not available. We look forward to the remaining volumes.

Biographical Dictionary of Pennsylvania Legislators

JOSEPH S. FOSTER

Benjamin Franklin and His Gods. By KERRY W. WALTERS. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999. xii, 215p. Acknowledgments, notes, index. Cloth, \$44.95; paper, \$18.95.)

Recovering Benjamin Franklin: An Exploration of a Life of Science and Service. By JAMES CAMPBELL. (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1999. x, 302p. Works cited, index. Cloth, \$69.95; paper, \$26.95.)

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volume 34: November 16, 1780, through April 30, 1781. Edited by BARBARA B. OBERG, ELLEN R. COHN, and JONATHAN R. DULL. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. lxii, 641p. Illustrations, index. \$80.00.)

Excepting those professionally engaged in theology (ministers and religious leaders like John Woolman), Franklin wrote more about religion and ethics than anyone in colonial America. Despite his numerous writings on these subjects, only one book in the past has been devoted to them, Alfred Owen Aldridge's *Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God* (1967). Now, happily, there are two more, one entirely devoted to his theology and another in which much of the book concerns religion and ethics. Aldridge is a historian of ideas and a distinguished biographer of Franklin, Paine, and Voltaire. Both Kerry W. Walters and James Campbell are

professors of philosophy and come to the thought of Benjamin Franklin with insights and knowledge gained from their academic specialities. Walters, a specialist in deism and theology, contends that Franklin is an important religious thinker and defines his belief as theistic perspectivism. Campbell, a specialist in pragmatism, finds that Franklin is a pragmatist. Both argue convincingly and bring in supporting texts for their positions.

Theological perspectivism holds that God exists, that God's nature is inaccessible to human reason or emotion, and that humans represent God to themselves in words and symbols that allow them to establish some relationship to God (Walters, p. 10). Walters believes that Franklin made this "great insight" in his 1728 "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion" and that Franklin often expressed the belief later in life. Walters maintains that the references to "gods" and to the Great Chain of Being in Franklin's "Articles" are not meant to be taken literally, but that they were merely expressions that he used to point to ineffable truths: Franklin "and everyone else should and in fact did believe what they needed to in order to sustain themselves spiritually and ethically" (p. 85). Walters has an excellent argument. When one considers Franklin's tolerance for almost all religious viewpoints and especially his appreciation of various religions and religious possibilities, it seems that he sometimes believed in theological perspectivism. Walters concedes that Franklin was not entirely consistent and that some Franklin writings do not fit the scheme. But Walters also ignores elements even within the "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion" and in numerous Franklin writings that clash with his paradigm. If the "gods" are just expressions for the ineluctable deepest realities, why would Franklin attempt to define them in the "Articles": "It may be that these created Gods, are immortal, or it may be that after many Ages, they are changed, and Others supply their Places. Howbeit, I conceive that each of these is exceeding wise, and good, and very powerful; and that Each has made for himself, one glorious Sun, attended with a Beautiful and admirable System of Planets." Franklin continues with speculations about the nature of the "Supreme most perfect Being" as well as the nature of particular gods (*Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:102-3). Franklin's speculations about the nature of the gods would be irrelevant if Franklin believed the words and symbols we used for God were but different paths to one eternal idea.

Following Alfred Owen Aldridge, Walters points out that Franklin defined his religious beliefs four times in the last years of his life: in a letter to Madame Brillon (dated before April 20, 1781), twice in the *Autobiography*, and in a letter to Ezra Stiles of March 9, 1790, written only weeks before his death. Walters dwells upon only Franklin's stated belief in God and ignores the rest of the creed that Franklin says he adopted, for example his statement that God will reward or punish us either here or hereafter for our actions in this life. I have some doubt about Franklin's belief in the repeated credo. He says in the *Autobiography* that as a young man he

became "a thorough Deist," but gradually came to think that "this Doctrine, tho' it might be true, was not very useful." He implies that in consequence he adopted a useful credo, which might not be true. The credo was, in fact, almost the same as the "Doctrine to be Preached" which the editors of the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* dated 1731 (1:212-13). This, like the four statements he made late in his life, were all essentially public. They were not only useful as a credo for himself and other persons to believe in, but they were also useful to Franklin in having others think that he believed them. And sometimes, perhaps, he did.

Hugh Campbell surveys the contrasting scholarly opinions about Franklin, then devotes chapters to his science, religion, moral thought, vision of the social good, and "Franklin and the Pragmatic Spirit." He has valid and penetrating observations on each of these major topics in Franklin's thought. In the chapter on Franklin's religious thought, Campbell begins with a consideration of the influence of the New England Puritan tradition on Franklin, then takes up his radical reaction, then his avowals of deism, and finally his appreciation of religion as a social good. Campbell, too, appreciates that "Franklin recognized that there are many systems of religious belief and practice that have functioned more or less successfully in the lives of different individuals under different circumstances" (p. 127). Writing on his major subject, Campbell defines American pragmatism as having four subjects or characteristics: (1) the natural place of humans, especially with regard to values; (2) the nature and meaning of experience as our criterion of belief and action; (3) a belief in possibility, where melioristic efforts may be successful; and (4) community as both the source of human well-being and the focus of our endeavors to organize improvements (pp. 35-36). He finds that Franklin embodies all these qualities. His thesis is not new (my teacher Robert E. Spiller was among earlier scholars who called Franklin a pragmatist), but Campbell makes a more thorough and more philosophically astute case for the judgment than anyone. One of the many pleasures of Campbell's study is his array of provocative quotations concerning Franklin.

Neither Walters nor Campbell is without mistakes, though Walters has more. Several concern the trial of the Rev. Samuel Hemphill for unorthodoxy (1735). Walters maintains that it was "a personal catharsis for Franklin" because "it made public" his break with the "religion of his boyhood" (p. 140). But the tracts were anonymous, and contemporaries generally thought that Hemphill wrote them. Walters claims that as a result of the affair, Franklin dropped his "subscription to" the Presbyterian Church and became "a pewholder" in the Anglican Church. Franklin, however, says in the *Autobiography* that he regularly paid his subscription to the support of the Presbyterian Church. We do not know when he stopped supporting it. Franklin paid for Deborah's and for William's seats in the Anglican Christ Church, and Francis Folger Franklin was baptized in Christ Church—all before the Hemphill affair. Later Franklin paid for three seats in Christ Church—but by then Sarah Franklin, as well as her brother and mother attended.

We can not be certain that Franklin ever paid for a seat for himself. Thirteen years after the Hemphill affair, Franklin was elected by the trustees of George Whitefield's "New Building" a fellow trustee because he was merely an honest man who belonged to no sect. John Adams is among the persons who attest that Franklin belonged to no religious group. Walters concludes his discussion of the Hemphill affair by saying that Franklin's parents' concern about his religious orthodoxy "could just as well have been sparked by his throwing in his lot with the Anglicans as by his taking on Philadelphia's Presbyterian establishment" (p. 141). But it seems unlikely that his parents knew he wrote against the Philadelphia Presbyterian Synod; he did not ever officially become an Anglican, and the reason his parents were concerned about his religion in early 1738 was because the Boston newspapers reprinted the false reports of Franklin's involvement in a mock Masonic ritual resulting in the death of Daniel Reese.

Like all previous volumes in the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, volume 34 is magnificently edited. Among the masterful jobs of annotation, two of my favorites are the bibliographical comments on the "Account of the Contents of the 34 Boxes of Printing Letters, &c Cast at Passy" (pp. 321-25) and the note on the timing of the meeting of Col. John Laurens with the French naval minister, marquis de Castries (p. 434, n.2). Every volume of the *Papers* contains wonderful personal letters by Franklin (the one to Madame Brillion, dated before April 20, 1781, mentioned above, is in this volume, pp. 560-62), and almost every volume shows the statesman, amidst hundreds of pressures, performing acts of kindness for his sister Jane Mecom (p. 114). The volume is especially notable for several of Franklin's belletristic writings: the "Dialogue between Madame Gout and Monsieur Franklin" (pp. 11-20), "The Deformed and Handsome Leg" (pp. 41-47), "The Petition of the Flies [to Madame Helvétius]" (pp. 226-27), and the earliest known text of his drinking song "Fair Venus Calls" written forty years earlier (pp. 495-97). I was delighted to find a microcosmic example of Franklin's philosophy (the uncertainty of everything in life and the importance of chance) and his literary ability (especially his love for proverbs) in the letter of April 12, 1781, to William Carmichael. John Jay's secretary of legation in Spain, Carmichael had mentioned a saying which seemed to summarize the Spanish attitude toward America. It suggested that Spain would wait and see how the American Revolution turned out before deciding whether to help America and further suggested that Spain must prevail. Franklin translated the saying in the first line of the following distich and replied to it in the second: "I and Time 'gainst any two. / Chance & I 'gainst Time and you."

As usual Franklin was harassed with bills from Congress, from all the other ministers Congress appointed to European courts, and even from individuals such as John Paul Jones. Franklin expressed his exasperation to Jones in a letter of November 25, 1780 (pp. 56-57), and to John Adams, he wrote on February 22,

1781, that he did not see how so many bills could be paid, "Yet I think the Bills drawn upon us by the Congress ought at all Risques to be accepted. I shall accordingly use my best Endeavors to procure Money for their honourable Discharge against they become due, if you should not in the mean time be provided; And if those Endeavors fail, I shall be ready to break, run away, or go to Prison with you, as it shall please God" (pp. 390-91). John Jay heartily expressed his thanks for Franklin's aid (p. 511), whereas Adams never seemed to. And there is a beautiful example of Franklin's diplomacy in a letter to Vergennes, asking for more funds (pp. 371-73). As usual, the shipping of necessities to the American army was beset with difficulties. Franklin's exasperation is revealed in his letter to Jonathan Williams of November 29, 1780: "For God's Sake finish it some how or other. The Delays in sending the Cloathing have been an immense Prejudice to our Affairs in America. The Army is naked" (p. 87).

Franklin's idealism appears in his granting a passport to a ship from Dublin which was taking relief supplies to the Caribbean, hard hit by a hurricane (pp. 354-55), but his practicality and knowledge of the world came forth when Sir Edward Newenham asked for three more passports, on March 2, 1781. Franklin probably suspected, as Dixon Wecter did in 1941 (p. 417, n.2), that Newenham meant to send contraband goods in the additional ships. No further passports are known to have been granted Newenham. Franklin's enemies in Congress, led by Dr. Arthur Lee and Ralph Izard, succeeded in having John Laurens sent to France as a special envoy, thus indirectly impugning Franklin's assiduity and effectiveness. In reply, he submitted his resignation, though he said he would stay on and help in any way that he could until the war's end (pp. 446-47). Franklin's interests in science and economics are represented by Jan Ingenhousz's reporting on the experiment Franklin designed on the conductivity of metals (p. 121) and by another of Franklin's writings on economics, "Of the Paper Money of America" (pp. 228-32).

Walters does a better job than Campbell of indexing the Franklin writings, and Campbell does a better job of indexing the scholars he quotes. The learned and indefatigable Jonathan Dull has, as usual, produced that necessary capstone to a great volume of a great edition, an excellent index.

University of Delaware

J. A. LEO LEMAY

George Washington: The Man Behind the Myths. By WILLIAM M. S. RASMUSSEN and ROBERT S. TILTON. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999. xv, 328p. Illustrations, notes, index. Paper, \$24.95.)

George Washington: The Man Behind the Myths was a catalogue designed to accompany a major exhibition of Washingtonian decorative objects and visual

images at the Virginia Historical Society in 1998. Washington and Lee University and the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association cooperated in assembling the exhibit. The catalogue's text was written by William M. S. Rasmussen, Curator of Art at the Virginia Historical Society, and Robert S. Tilton, Director of American Studies at the University of Connecticut. The work will be of greatest value to general readers, although scholars will discover much that is informative, and sometimes provocative, in this perusal of George Washington's life and character.

The authors and curators commenced their investigation with the realization that less is known of Washington's private life than of his public activities. Although he spent the majority of his adult life—twenty-six of forty-six years—in the pursuit of his private planting and business enterprises, he is best remembered as a soldier and statesman. Rasmussen and Tilton additionally understand that Washington is so shrouded in mythology that he has become enigmatic, more a marble statue than a flesh and blood person. Their intention is to focus primarily on "the man behind the office," to learn of his interests, lifestyle, interpersonal relationships, and how he defined and presented himself (p. xi). Through the artifacts in their exhibit, they seek to understand and explain how Washington came to be a figure of idolatry, and to rescue him from the myths that have obscured the real man.

More than 250 items in the exhibit are reproduced in this handsome volume. These include both familiar and relatively unknown paintings of Washington and members of his family, some rendered by portraitists for whom he sat—such as Charles Willson Peale and Gilbert Stuart—and others by nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists and illustrators. Numerous exquisite photographs of the interior and exterior of Mount Vernon are included, as well as illustrations of contemporaneous maps, Washington's china, flatware, stemware, and furniture, and photographic examples of his ledgers, correspondence, surveys, and architectural drawings for the expansion and landscaping of the estate. Readers will additionally gain insights into Washington's extensive library, which by 1790 was one-tenth the size of the holdings at Harvard College. Several paintings rendered of Mount Vernon during Washington's lifetime, or soon after his demise, provide a sense of how the property must have appeared to its owner.

The text is splendidly crafted. The authors's essay on how Washington was shaped by the colonial world is admirable, and perhaps no better account exists for why this young man wished to soldier. Their assessment of Martha Custis's background and character is impressive. What is most illuminating, however, is their dissection of numerous illustrations. For example, in analyzing A. Henning's 1856 engraving "Mount Vernon in Olden Times," Rasmussen and Tilton demonstrate that the buckskin-clad Washington, shown contemplating a deer he has slain, is misleading. Washington not only consciously sought to distance himself from all aspects of backwoods society and culture, but he eschewed the hunting of deer. In deconstructing Junius Stearns's idyllic 1851 oil of farming operations at

Mount Vernon, the authors explain that in addition to misrepresenting Washington's planting system, the artist depicted a male labor force, whereas more than half the field hands who toiled on this estate consisted of females. They demonstrate how Stuart's flamboyant portraits meshed with how contemporaries chose to see Washington, and show that perhaps better than any other artist Jean-Antoine Houdon, the French sculptor, succeeded in capturing the "resolve that had carried the general through his many trials" (p. 158).

If all who studied Washington saw him in the same way, this book would be unnecessary. Thus, readers, like this reviewer, are likely to take exception with some conclusions in this volume. The suggestion that Washington, who grew to be such a man of action, spent most of his youth immersed in his studies is unconvincing. The authors not only miss the mark on why Washington became a surveyor, but also do not demonstrate how that career contributed to his acquisition of leadership skills. By failing to see why Washington in 1772 elected to pose for his first—and, he thought, last—portrait wearing a military uniform, the authors misunderstand the impetus that drove this man. In attributing the family's inability to have children to Martha Washington's alleged physical disabilities, Rasmussen and Tilton are on shaky ground. To say that Washington abandoned hunting after the war because he lacked time and energy, is implausible and simplistic.

However, these are quibbles. Rasmussen and Tilton have produced an excellent book, one of the best among the veritable avalanche of titles on Washington that has appeared during the past few years. While it can be read and appreciated on many levels, at the very least readers should discover much about how and why Washington was mythologized, and they should come away with a better understanding of this perplexing man.

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JOHN FERLING

The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series. Volume 8: January–March 1777. Edited by FRANK E. GRIZZARD JR. under DOROTHY TWOHIG, series editor. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998. xxxiii, 692p. Map, illustration, index. \$55.00.)

The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series. Volume 9: March–June 1777. Edited by PHILANDER D. CHASE under DOROTHY TWOHIG, series editor. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999. xxxiii, 734p. Map, index. \$60.00.)

These two substantial volumes, covering five months of the Revolution during which no major battle occurred, testify to the resolve of the editors and publishers

of the *Papers of George Washington* to provide a complete resource for scholars. Nearly all the papers printed here are military documents, and the four letters to relatives and friends also included provide military news. No letters to Martha Washington have been located, although some are noted in other correspondence. Nor is Washington's serious illness in March 1777 mentioned. Those interested primarily in military affairs will profit most from these volumes.

Scholars familiar with Washington's generalship will find no major surprises. They have previously noted his views of officers and soldiers, his concept of duty, his preoccupation with detail, and even his insider effort to buy for himself used army horses while instructing Quartermaster General Thomas Mifflin to "keep my name out of the question" (8:598). These volumes amplify what is known, providing considerable detail on important matters.

Volume 8 begins with January 6, 1777, when Washington established his headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey. He remained there until May 28, when, to confront a possible advance of General Sir William Howe's army across New Jersey to Philadelphia, he moved about twenty miles south to Middlebrook, adjoining Bound Brook. By June 10, the date Volume 9 closes, Washington was still uncertain about the British army's next move. Throughout the period, Howe's delay in initiating any offensive both amazed and encouraged him. Washington termed the last week in February 1777 "one of the most critical periods which America ever saw" because Howe could, if he had any inkling of the depleted ranks of the Continental Army, push through Washington's troops toward Philadelphia (8:433). He believed Howe had 10,000 men in New Jersey; the American force was 4,000, mostly militia and raw recruits. About three weeks later, a report to Washington from a spy indicated that the British intended to attack Morristown but delayed because they overestimated the number of Washington's troops. Because Howe was overcautious and Washington had too few troops, no major fighting occurred in New Jersey during this period.

Small detachments of the two armies fought seventeen minor engagements in New Jersey, mostly between British foragers and American forces trying to check them. Washington calculated in January 1777 that the British would run low on provisions, particularly horse fodder, so stopping foragers would delay Howe's inevitable movement against him. According to Washington the British got the worst of these skirmishes, "owing to our Superior skill in Fire Arms" (8:439). Sizeable British raids on Peekskill, New York, and Danbury, Connecticut, captured or destroyed American supplies, but the scarcest supply was men, and Washington was careful not to lose them.

Washington was occupied with every imaginable sort of business while at camp—foreign officers' commissions, clothing, pay, smallpox inoculation, uniform colors, and incompetent buglers, but primary in his mind was raising and retaining troops. He lamented that recruits for the Continental forces "do not come in at all

(tho' I hear that Town and Country are full of them)" (8:452). Pennsylvania was as lax as any other state in raising troops. General Horatio Gates, commanding in Philadelphia, noted that officers disputing rank and men deserting left Continental regiments undermanned. By April Pennsylvania recruiting was characterized as "very backward" (9:128). Washington became convinced that Pennsylvania Continental Army colonels were engaged in massive fraud, recruiting so few men for their regiments because they pocketed the bounty money and listed men as deserted who were never enlisted. He blamed the officers of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment for its high desertion rates—126 of 684 had deserted by June 1777, because, according to the soldiers, the officers were guilty of fraud and mistreatment. Washington had little expectation of raising volunteers by paying bounties; he wanted a draft in which the rich, the timid, and the Tory would have to hire substitutes.

Washington, with few Continentals, began to turn in desperation to state militia. Although, as Mark V. Kwasny points out in *Washington's Partisan War, 1775–1783* (1996), they made positive contributions, Washington dealt them much more criticism than praise in this five-month period. They were undependable, "there today, & gone tomorrow" (8:439). Militiamen went home with the arms and equipment that the government issued them. Because militia officers were interested only in concocting schemes to increase their pay, they gave little attention to discipline. Some militia troops plundered citizens under the pretense of their being Tories. Washington warned that the militia should be kept away from regular troops because it would "spread the seeds of licentiousness among the regulars" (9:127). The militia failed in several cases to provide adequate defense against British and Tory foragers. The Pennsylvania militia did not turn out in a force as large as Washington expected, and many returned home after a dispute with General William Alexander, "Lord Stirling," over the distribution of supplies. Some states planned to raise what were called "colonial" troops because they could not rely on their militias to turn out to defend the state. Washington opposed this because these forces would compete with the Continental Army for recruits.

Washington encountered significant problems with the capabilities and behavior of officers. Only a few generals earned his reprimands. He noted Generals William Heath and Joseph Spencer particularly lacked spirit. Washington reprimanded Heath for letting officers loiter, gamble, and drink with enlisted men, and for falling back rather than checking British foragers. He criticized General Adam Stephen's account of a skirmish in which Stephen claimed the advantage but actually was routed. Washington also had to upbraid Lord Stirling. Field officers gave him more difficulty. A lieutenant colonel paid bounties in counterfeit money, retaining the genuine continental dollars issued to him. Other recruiters gambled bounty money away. He accused the field officers of lounging in "ease and dissipation" (9:446). To avoid going on march, officers falsely claimed that clothing or arms had not been

supplied. Washington believed that officers drew large sums which were misappropriated to finance their high living rather than paid to the men. He warned colonels against discharging or furloughing men at critical times. To remedy this behavior, Washington insisted that none but gentlemen be commissioned as officers.

The editing equals the high standards that the multivolume sets of papers of the great white fathers maintain. Random checking of letters to Washington found no transcription errors. Annotation is lengthy but very helpful, particularly in quoting other primary source material. Although some reviewers have questioned the value of such expensive labor-intensive editing, it clears the path for scholars and students, and is in my judgment worthwhile. It is not clear from any note or preface why some letters are appended to others out of chronological order and set in footnote-sized type. Although they are listed in the table of contents and index these letters might be missed because they are different in appearance and heading. The index is complete and accurate, with adequate cross listings. The one map, the same in both volumes, is excellent for New Jersey, but a map of southern New York and western Connecticut, where military action took place, should also have been included.

Texas Tech University

BENJAMIN H. NEWCOMB

The American Counterrevolution: A Retreat from Liberty, 1783-1800. By LARRY E. TISE. (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1998. 643p. Illustrations, chronology, endnotes, bibliographical note, acknowledgments, index. \$49.50.)

As historian Larry E. Tise tells it, sex and money largely shaped the life of Catharine Littlefield Greene. During her ten-year marriage to revolutionary general Nathanael Greene, she conceived eight children, at least some of them while visiting her husband at camp. General Greene's death in 1786 left the young New England widow alone and dependent on an underdeveloped, debt-ridden, slave-based plantation in Georgia. She turned first to Phineas Miller Jr., a young Yale graduate hired to tutor the children. Catharine promoted Miller to plantation manager and bed partner. A short time after, she submitted to the sexual advances of Jeremiah Wadsworth, her husband's former friend and creditor. Wadsworth insisted on sex in exchange for pressing Catharine's appeal for congressional repayment of her husband's wartime expenditures. When Wadsworth failed her, she turned to Alexander Hamilton, George Washington, and Anthony Wayne, using her charms to advance her cause.

In 1792 Congress awarded her a small fortune most of which she invested in the ideas of Eli Whitney, another young man who had come south to tutor her children

only to end up falling in love with Catharine. By 1798 the financial and apparently sexual ménage à trois of Greene, Whitney, and Miller had collapsed. Catharine, again broke and now married to Miller, fled into virtual exile on her last piece of land, Cumberland Island, Georgia. Ties uses this sketch of Catharine Greene, and scores of other prominent or obscure men and women, to defend a broad thesis. He argues that between 1783 and 1800, the new American nation, as well as most of the rest of the North Atlantic world, moved rapidly toward liberty and then shifted toward an equally compelling commitment to order and discipline. Catharine's story illustrates the thrust of liberty. Other stories, often as fascinating, illustrate the counterrevolution.

Three dimensions of Tise's work intrigued me. First, despite the geographic limits of the title, the book is really about the transatlantic world. It moves easily and rapidly from Connecticut, New York, and Georgia to Paris, London, and the coast of Ireland.

Second, the analysis transcends the stale argument about the tensions between the popular egalitarian impulses of the Declaration of Independence and the elitist thrust of the Constitution. The book accepts the old chestnut of the Constitution-as-Counterrevolution, but makes it into a relatively minor part of a broader phenomenon that involves rich and poor, male and female, black and white, free and slave, European, African and American, and extends through the 1790s. At the same time, Tise separates his analysis from a current historiographical emphasis on class. In Tise's world, we find hosts of different people but few patricians and plebeians, few aggressive eastern commercial capitalists at war with honest yeomen farmers and urban artisans.

Thirdly, Tise's biographical sketches range from the famous (Sarah Franklin Bache, Benjamin Banneker), to the obscure (Andrew Bryan of Savannah, and Lucy Terry Prince of Massachusetts) and each is eminently readable. Many also introduce us, in an almost painless way, into such often murky waters as the political philosophy of Edmund Burke, the muddled musings of John Adams, and the betrayals of liberty by Jefferson whose racist assertions in the *Notes on Virginia*, Ties argues, justified the perpetuation of slavery and the exclusion of Americans of African descent from American citizenship.

Tise's stories also give new and intriguing twists to the familiar. Some, for example, suggest the counterrevolutionary significance of efforts by Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti and Absalom Jones and Richard Allen in Philadelphia to establish order among those they saw as their people.

Through his stories, Tise creates a 1790s world of excitement, optimism, and reaction. Here, we find sexual experimentation, political agitation, black and female liberation, and attacks on established institutions, followed by (sometimes

accompanied by) reactions against perceived sensuality, conspiratorial organizations, orgies of democratic licentiousness, and the Antichrist.

Although Tise favors those committed to liberty, he gives the voices of counterrevolution their due. If Timothy Dwight emerges as a deluded fanatic striking out rhetorically at the evil demons accosting his Connecticut oasis of True Christianity and rural order; Edmund Burke, Noah Webster, and François-René Chateaubriand come to us in more attractive garb.

Finally, is Tise right? Are his stories accurate? And do they justify his conclusion? One might respond on several levels. With respect to accuracy, who can tell? Who has time or the inclination to fact-check six hundred pages of details on the lives of scores (possibly hundreds) of men and women in America, Britain, France, and Ireland?

Or one might question how particular stories fit into the broader theme. To what degree, for example, does the story of Catharine Greene illustrate the point that "[s]he and a few other women had discovered how to operate freely in a world where liberty was preached, however little it might in reality be practiced" (p. 201)?

Or one might argue with particular points. My own research, for example, has convinced me that most Pennsylvania voters viewed ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1787 as an act of liberation rather than restriction, and saw that document as a fulfillment rather than a frustration of the promise of 1776.

Or one might suggest that discussions of accuracy and persuasiveness are largely irrelevant here. Tise's stories restore the excitement, the tensions, the conflicts, the fears, and the hopes of the era of founding of the Great Republic. They take us beyond and beneath and around the Fathers; and, like real life, they blend the sexual, the financial, and the political with the religious and the philosophical. They mix seductions, betrayals, and exploitations with utopian schemes, honest labor, endless conniving, and tireless struggles for the true. Whether or not they prove that the forces of order ultimately crushed the forces of liberty is possibly less important than the way in which they remind us of the humanity of those who molded and were molded by the upheavals of the late-eighteenth-century Atlantic world, and of the contingent nature of the great experiment in popular self-government that began in Philadelphia in 1776 and has yet to run its course.

This is a big book: about six hundred pages of text. It is also an expensive book: nearly \$50. But it is also a well-written book that amply repays the reader for investing the time and money.

SUNY College at Brockport

OWEN S. IRELAND

Indians in the United States and Canada: A Comparative History. By ROGER L. NICHOLS. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. xxvii, 383p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.00)

Professor Roger L. Nichols of the University of Arizona, the well-known editor of the anthology, *The American Indian: Past and Present*, attempts an ambitious task in this history of Indian-white relations in the United States and Canada over the past five centuries. Synthesizing some three thousand secondary sources from a mushrooming, multidisciplinary ethnohistoriography, Nichols has produced a useful and usable comparative study for both lay readers and scholars.

While most U.S. historians totally ignore our northern neighbor, and so limit their geographical and chronological coverage that colonial America, the West, and the twentieth century are regarded as separate fields, Nichols demonstrates the utility of a broad, continental perspective throughout all of those eras, dealing with issues and interpretations down to the mid-1990s. The 324 pages of text and single-line endnotes do not allow him to linger long on any topic with much detail, but the sweeping, forest-not-the-trees approach enables him to generalize about parallel policies. Nichols organizes the book around five stages of ethnic interaction for both the United States and Canada: tribal independence and numerical supremacy when the Europeans first arrived; the growth of ethnic "equality" as the Indians lost their dominant position in population and power; the subsequent dependence of natives on the newcomers; "the further descent of Indian people to marginality at the fringes of the majority society; and for some, a resurgence of cultural nationalism, economic recovery, and political awareness and influence" (p. xiv).

This is a study of policy and diplomacy—not an anthropological survey of native cultures, such as Alice B. Kehoe's *North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account* (1981, 1992). Only half the size of that work, Nichols's book does not deal with the long, productive period of "prehistory" or cover significant developments in Mexico or Central America, and it relies almost exclusively on secondary interpretations rather than on original archival sources.

But Nichols succeeds in integrating Canadian developments with the better-known evolution of Indian-white relations in the United States, using the comparative perspective to enhance our understanding of each country. While Canadian attitudes toward the First Nations are often presented as a superior model to U.S.-Indian relations, events of this century indicate that the policies of the two nations are converging, a surprising development considering how different were their colonial roots.

While a tiny French population fashioned a mutually-desirable fur trade with

native allies and rarely threatened their territorial integrity in Canada, a large, land-hungry population of farmers in the thirteen colonies expanded at Indian expense. Under British control after 1763, Canada used Indian allies to defend its borders from U.S. incursions and welcomed tribes fleeing from its southern neighbor. Canadians also recognized and respected Metis as people of a special status, while Americans were rejecting such "half-breeds" with racist prejudices.

Throughout the centuries in both countries, however, Indians received fair treatment as sovereign peoples only so long as they were deemed necessary and useful in advancing white objectives. When it suited their interests, both the United States and Canada attempted to acculturate and "civilize" Indians, although only the latter nation regarded true assimilation as a real possibility. Canadians generally avoided the extensive coercion and blatant land stealing of their neighbors, and they were horrified at the ruthlessness of Jacksonian America's Indian removal policies in the 1830s. Rapidly expanding non-Indian populations brought land pressure to Indians everywhere, but, significantly, Canada did not develop an all-consuming frontier ideology of Manifest Destiny and avoided the many bloody wars waged by the United States.

On the eve of a new millennium, these two sophisticated, affluent, and technologically superior nations still grapple with their "Indian Problem." A revitalized Indian identity and more militant activism directed toward self-determination in both countries has resulted in notable reforms, such as more native control over Indian education and the 1990 Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act in the United States. But Canada has gone further, producing a five-year, four-thousand-page Royal Commission study of "Aboriginal Peoples" and creating the province of Nunavut—"Our Land"—for the Inuit. The separatist movement in Quebec, however, may halt any future plans for territorial self-determination, as mainstream Canadians fear the dissolution of their nation. That the United States has no such fears and no such plans for break-away regions reflects the stronger nationalism that was unfortunately achieved at Indian expense with centuries of prejudice and punitive policies. Nichols argues that radical change in the future status of native peoples will probably be limited by demographic and political realities, since Indians number only about 2.5 percent of the Canadian population and a mere 0.8 percent in the United States.

Whether as an introductory survey for nonspecialists or a handy reference work for scholars, this book deserves a wide readership.

University of Missouri, St. Louis

J. FREDERICK FAUSZ

Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America. By NANCY ISENBERG. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xvii, 321p. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$16.95.)

At a time when it is fashionable among scholars and students to emphasize the limitations and failures of the antebellum women's rights movement, Nancy Isenberg's brilliant study represents a much-needed corrective. Pointing up the drawbacks of equating the women's movement with the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 and its call for suffrage, Isenberg both furnishes an intellectual genealogy of the "Declaration of Sentiments" and traces the ways the movement's discourse and demands evolved in the years 1848 to 1860. Her book illuminates the ideas of well-known stalwarts of the struggle for gender equality, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and brings to light lesser-known figures such as Clarina Howard Nichols.

These antebellum feminists, Isenberg argues, initiated a conceptual revolution in American political and legal thinking in the very act of trying to "imagine a sovereign female citizen" (p. 198). They faced a formidable set of obstacles: the legal tradition of coverture, which divested women of their property rights and custodianship of their own children; and a political tradition that equated citizenship with self-mastery, and self-mastery with the "male" qualities of physical strength, mental competence, and the capacity for civic sacrifice (as symbolized by military service).

In order to imagine the woman citizen, feminists had to rethink women's fundamental relationships—to the family, the church, the public, and the state. Indeed they saw all these realms as interconnected, as the arguments for women's subordination in each realm buttressed one another. They attacked coverture, which stipulated that husband and wife became "one flesh," as a legal fiction, and by likening the plight of wronged wives to that of fugitive slaves, condemned criminals, and hounded debtors, dramatized women's vulnerability to and victimization by the very men who were supposed to protect them. Taking aim at the age-old notion that women's subordination was divinely sanctioned, feminists revised the very story of creation, finding support in the Bible for the "simultaneous creation," and therefore the moral equality, of the sexes; for them the true spirit of Christianity was the spirit of dissent.

Men's authority within the church and family, women's rights advocates recognized, was founded on men's access to the political public sphere. Whatever influence women may have carved out in the literary world, the prerogative of public speaking and office remained in male hands. (Isenberg underscores this point through an instructive comparison of the careers of intellectuals Margaret Fuller and Edward Everett.) Through their conventions, self-consciously patterned on the era's many constitutional conventions, female activists circumvented the party system and created their own public stage. These conventions and the legislative campaigns that

accompanied them sought to remake the relationship between women and the state. While the Seneca Falls Convention issued the clarion call for rights such as suffrage, subsequent conventions went one step further, pointing up women's legal status as a disabled caste, and demanding due process and equal protection; the right to vote was no abstract entitlement, but a means by which women could protect themselves against "abuses of state power" (p. 37).

What antebellum women sought, in short, was "co-equality," a term they favored and one which Isenberg hopes to restore to the scholarly nomenclature. Coequality was the recognition that men and women were simultaneously the same and different—that men could never fully represent women and that therefore women must represent themselves.

Isenberg's book is ambitious and difficult. It presumes a specialist's knowledge of women's history and historiography. But it rewards the patient reader, and if it gets the careful attention it deserves, *Sex and Citizenship* promises not only to enrich but to transform our collective understanding of the origins of feminism.

Wellesley College

ELIZABETH R. VARON

Sherman's Civil War: Selected Correspondence of William T. Sherman, 1860–1865.

Edited by BROOKS D. SIMPSON and JEAN V. BERLIN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xxii, 948p. Introduction, editorial method, chronological list of letters, list of letters by recipient, index. \$45.00)

One day during the siege of Vicksburg in 1863, Union general William Tecumseh Sherman went riding to inspect his outposts. He encountered a Confederate woman, a prewar acquaintance, whose husband had been killed at Manassas and whose son was in the army then trapped at Vicksburg. "Do, oh do General Sherman spare my son," she begged, and in the next breath pronounced Lincoln a tyrant and Sherman's army "only Murderers, Robbers, plunderers and defilers of the houses and altars of an innocent & outraged People." Sherman recoiled from her, remembering how in 1860–61 he had implored his Southern friends not to secede and warned them of the consequences. "They have sowed the wind & must reap the whirlwind. Until they lay down their arms, and submit to the rightful authority of their Government, they must not appeal to me for mercy or favors." Yet when he saw the woman again, he wrote her a pass to see her son.

This episode and many others equally memorable come to life in *Sherman's Civil War*, a collection of Sherman's letters from November 1860 to May 1865. This volume, expertly assembled by the spousal team of Brooks Simpson and Jean Berlin, exemplifies a new turn in documentary publication. While the ponderous multivolume editions of statesmen's and generals' papers begun several decades ago

crawl toward completion, slimmer collections representing second-level figures like Charles Sumner, George McClellan, and now Sherman have sprung up in their wake. While retaining the scholarly apparatus of transcription protocols, footnotes, and provenance notes, they are selective rather than comprehensive, and clearly aim in price and presentation for a popular audience. *Sherman's Civil War* is intended for, and belongs on, the reader's night table as well as the library reference shelf. It and its compeers in effect revive the old "Life and Letters" genre, while bringing to it modern standards of accuracy and thoroughness.

By necessity, a work that serves two publics must face some compromises. The main decision facing Simpson and Berlin was how to strike the balance between private and official correspondence. Sherman's many letters to his wife, to his Ewing in-laws, and to his brother John Sherman show an explosive side to the man. Here he vented his intemperate and deeply pessimistic views on Union policies and politicians, on the duration of the war and the northern public's fortitude and willingness to see it through, on Southern whites' irredeemable hatred for the Union, and on the blacks' fitness, or rather unfitness, to serve as soldiers and citizens. Though Sherman under Ulysses Grant's tutelage clearly gained in self-confidence during the war, his private letters taken alone indicate a man barely in control of himself and hardly fit to command others.

Yet Sherman did command and brilliantly too, once he found his footing. As the editors caution, the private side of Sherman is not always the most revealing one. *Sherman's Civil War* prints most of his extant family letters, superseding several previous publications. To these it adds a judicious sampling of his official communications, most of which have previously appeared in Sherman's *Memoirs* or the *Official Records* series. These provide narrative continuity and mute the picture of Sherman as an emotional volcano always ready to explode. Not that he was ever tame or unexciting! Included here are Sherman's most famous and oft-quoted missives to Grant, Lincoln, Halleck, and Stanton, along with his epistolary jousts with newspapermen, Union recruiting agents, and Confederate officers. Through these we see Sherman grow in skill and stature, even as his fundamental perception of the war remains unchanged.

This book makes rollicking reading despite its prodigious length. Sherman says something striking on almost every page. Here he is in 1864: "We have accepted the issue and it must be fought out. You might as well reason with a thunder-storm. . . they wanted war, and I say let us give them all they want; not a word of argument, not a sign of let up, no cave in till we are whipped or they are. Those side issues of niggers, State rights, conciliation, outrages, cruelty, barbarity, bankruptcy, subjugation, &c., are all idle and nonsensical. The only principle in this war is, which party can whip." The "canting sneaks" behind Union lines who shirked their duty to fight should be considered "enemies or mere denizens of the land, stript of the right of suffrage, debarred from speaking or writing, yea even from marrying, for

I would stop the breed." Yet Sherman could be diplomatic and even eloquent, as in some letters to Grant and Lincoln and to the fiancée of his slain subordinate James McPherson. His comments about blacks mingle genuine human sympathy with blunt racial prejudice. Read in tandem with the *Memoirs* (recently republished, together with Grant's, in the Library of America), *Sherman's Civil War* provides plenty of grist for controversy on both his character and his generalship.

University of North Carolina Press has not sacrificed quality to bring in the book at a fair price. Handsome design and spacious layout make *Sherman's Civil War* a pleasure to read. There is some evidence of editorial skimping. Typographical errors, or perhaps simple misreadings, are rare at first but increase through the volume. The campaign maps are too few and too sketchy. The index is incomplete and annoyingly does not include recipients of Sherman's letters, who are listed separately by date but not page number. Correctly judging their likely audience, Simpson and Berlin have held annotation to a minimum, but to this reader they sometimes err on the side of austerity by explaining a letter's cause but not its outcome. Several times Sherman exchanged threats of retaliation with Confederate officers for outrages committed by or on his troops. Were these threats executed? One must go to the *Official Records* to find out. Necessarily selective in its coverage, *Sherman's Civil War* cannot stand alone as a source even on Sherman himself. But every Civil War enthusiast will want to read it through.

University of New Mexico

DANIEL FELLER

The Salmon P. Chase Papers. Volume 5: Correspondence, 1865-1873. Edited by JOHN NIVEN. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1998. xxvi, 401p. Illustrations, chronology, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

In this final volume of the *Salmon P. Chase Papers*, the late John Niven and his colleagues have edited and annotated Chase's correspondence from the period 1865 to 1873. These letters include family correspondence and other civil war era topics such as legal tender, the Supreme Court, Reconstruction, impeachment, and civil rights. Several core letters in the volume clarify Chase's position on pre-Civil War issues and his thinking on civil rights. Readers who know of Chase's early unwillingness to accept the label of abolitionist may be surprised by his heartfelt commitment to racial equality. These sentiments are chronicled in this volume better than any other topic.

General readers, including those interested in American popular culture, will find a great deal of interest in Chase's writings. As I read Chase's letter to Edwin M. Stanton, I was reminded of hardcore rap artists. Chase and Stanton had been discussing the label appropriate for runaway slaves and other African Americans

who had come into Union territory. Chase objected to the designation of "contraband," and suggested that an order be given to forbid its use. "Words are things," Chase said, and "terms implying degradation help to degrade" (p. 40). While the editors found nothing to suggest that Stanton complied, it is inescapable that Chase believed this was important: changing the way we label people, Chase continued, "would correct a great evil and help those who need help" (p. 40). Chase's 1866 letter to John Sherman informed my research on the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue of 1859. John Price, a runaway slave, was rescued and directed to Canada when Chase was governor of Ohio. Historians have found evidence that Chase had threatened to use the militia to prevent enforcement of the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Contemporaries had also implied that Chase was willing to support Ohio's secession. Chase admitted that he had been invited to a mass meeting to discuss the fugitive slave law, but he had declined. He later joined the assembly only because he had been warned that trouble was brewing. "I thought it my duty to counsel moderation and forbearance and I did" (p. 79). Resolutions were adopted, but Chase said he knew nothing of them: "I was never a nullifier nor a secessionist" (p. 79).

Chase's nonpolitical letters also intrigue me. His salutations to his family and friends are warm and cordial. He was thrilled by the news of the birth of Kate's second child, and to learn that she had had no problems with the delivery. Letters such as these are delightful to read, and are telling about Chase's compassion. His letter to son-in-law William Sprague, in response to an inquiry, shows his perception of his profession. Chase believed that Sprague would benefit from a legal education, but he believed the course was challenging. "It will impose a very considerable tax on your time and patience" (p. 121). He warned that the principals of law are extensive, recommended a few books Sprague should read, and offered to discuss the readings with him.

Chase's views on civil rights are the most extensive in this volume. In his first letter to William Tecumseh Sherman, written on January 2, 1865, he criticized Sherman's record on civil rights. He described Sherman's policy as harsh, and he reproved Sherman for opposing "their [black] employment as soldiers" (p. 3). Sherman replied that "I meant no unkindness to the negro in the mere words of my hasty despatch announcing my arrival on the Coast" (p. 6). General Sherman never repaired this breach. Chase believed in black suffrage and the use of loyal black voters to reorganize the South; he did not trust ex-Confederates with civil rights matters. "The colored people would be in a sad plight, if they were obliged to depend for justice upon the set of officials which Governor Perry wishes to restore to power" (p. 63).

The *Chase Papers* provide a rich source of primary material from the pen of one of America's most dynamic leaders. Anyone doing research on Chase or various aspects of American history following the Civil War will benefit from using this

volume. In addition to giving scholars a typed transcription of Chase's awful handwriting, the editors have enriched the source material by adding copious notes, an extensive index, and a bibliography.

North Carolina State University

STEPHEN MIDDLETON

1898: The Birth of the American Century. By DAVID TRAXEL. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998. xii, 368p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.95.)

David Traxel's *1898: The Birth of the American Century* is what history buffs call a "good read." In an artful piece of synecdoche Traxel compacts the story of America's emergence from Gilded to Progressive Age into a single symbolic year. His account is also an impressive synthesis of the findings of a host of historians of American politics and society, which he weaves into a compelling narrative of a major turning point in the history of the United States.

Traxel's story opens on a New Year's celebration in New York City, a joyful expenditure of undirected American energy. The curtain rings down twelve months later on Theodore Roosevelt's swearing-in ceremony as governor of New York. In the interim Americans have witnessed but also helped foster a rapid concentration and consolidation of national purpose—military, industrial, financial, and governmental—accompanied by a new vigorous patriotism. Problems, the author readily agrees, remain for the twentieth century to solve, and some of them still need to be addressed a hundred years later. Yet there is little question that the year 1898 saw Americans turn the page on their recent past.

For contemporaries and subsequently for historians as well, interest in the year 1898 centers on the war with Spain which serves as Traxel's main attraction. The triumph of the United States over a faltering Spain serves to introduce the chief architect of American Empire and its most vociferous celebrant. In his prize-winning account of an earlier turning point, *1846: The Year of Decision* (1943), the historian Bernard DeVoto condensed into a single year the transition from Jeffersonian republic to continental empire. Traxel's story of overseas expansion provides a sequel. Turning points, DeVoto explained, require a "culture hero," and he discovered his in a hardy Mountain Man who abandoned the life of a trapper for a career guiding wagon trains bound for Oregon and California. Traxel's choice of a culture hero is a predictable one—the endlessly quotable universal man, Theodore Roosevelt. War hero, idealist reformer, practical politician, presidential aspirant, Roosevelt stands at the very center of the reader's consciousness even when temporarily offstage. Grouped around Theodore Roosevelt and slightly below him are the lesser empire-builders in industry, business, banking, and journalism who are

also busy reshaping the nation's domestic economy and redirecting its energies outward.

Reader interest in Traxel's story of a year centers not on the familiar plot line, but in the details and comments of his participants. The author has an impeccable sense of the quotable and the illustrative, and his survey of the historical literature of the period has provided him with a wealth of both. Most readers, for example, are familiar with the intrepid Colonel Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill, but how many of us knew of the Rough Rider's vigorous swim to an offshore wreck of the *Merrimack* accompanied both ways by an honor guard of sharks. "I've been studying them all my life," Theodore Roosevelt announces between strokes, and never "heard of one bothering a swimmer . . . It's all poppy-cock." The most compelling voices heard in Traxel's twelve-month saga are those of a new social type, the investigative reporter—Richard Harding Davis, George Kennan, Stephen Crane—whose dispatches inform readers of bravery and sacrifice but also of inefficiency, ineptitude, and unforgivable neglect.

For the most part Traxel lets his participants and observers speak for him as an accomplished storyteller should, reserving for himself the aesthetic task of arranging their comments and reports so as to drive home his conclusions. His own point of view is a faintly ironic one which, while displaying a distinct sympathy for the year's little people—dying soldiers, striking miners, displaced Native Americans—also acknowledges, if a bit ruefully, the overwhelming force of national consolidation and corporate capitalism. It is no accident that humorist Finley Peter Dunne's Chicago saloonkeeper, Martin Dooley, is so frequently called upon to offer acerbic comments on the ways of a modernizing nation. "We're a gr-eat civilize'in agent, Hinnissy, an'as Father Kelly says, 'so's th'steam roller.'" To which David Traxel says "Amen."

Brown University

JOHN L. THOMAS

Testament to Union: Civil War Monuments in Washington, D.C. By KATHRYN ALLAMONG JACOB. Photographs by Edwin Harlan Remsberg. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. ix, 192p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$34.95.)

Kathryn Jacob begins the introduction to her book with a brief discussion of the 1914 unveiling of the monument to the Confederate dead in Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia. She observes that such an event before that time would have been unthinkable. She further notes that even though reconciliation between the North and South began after the 1880s it was only superficial until well into the twentieth century. The author then states that the "Civil War remains the defining event in the nation's history" and that a confluence of circumstances created a climate in which that event would be memorialized with particular enthusiasm in

the nation's capital (pp. 7, 9–10). The conclusion of hostilities and the reunion of the United States were cause for celebration and the primary circumstance for creating monuments in the nation's capital and elsewhere in the country.

Jacob makes the interesting proposition that "public monuments constitute serious cultural authority [and] confer a legitimacy upon the memory they embody . . . helping shape collective memory" (pp. 5–6). The *Lincoln Memorial* by sculptor Daniel Chester French and architect Henry Bacon is a particularly powerful demonstration of that point. Although Jacob does not specifically connect that monument to her premise, she does note that "[the] *Lincoln Memorial* has become deeply embedded in American iconography" (no. 24). In 1911 Congress appropriated two million dollars, "the largest amount ever set aside for such a project" (p. 119). The dedication took place on Decoration Day, May 30, 1922, with President Warren G. Harding and Chief Justice William Howard Taft in attendance. Not only is the setting majestic, but its simplicity frames French's magnificent statue of a thoughtful, seated president in a manner that is unforgettable.

The author intends a book that is a "geographic" trip through Washington. She explores forty-one examples of Civil War monuments in the capital and surrounding areas, although she purports to discuss only forty (p. 16). Perhaps she did not consider the *Brigadier General Richard L. Hoxie and Vinnie Ream Hoxie Monument* erected in Arlington National Cemetery in 1915 (no. 39) a Civil War monument in Washington. I suppose that we must finally deduce that *The Confederate Memorial* in Alexandria, Virginia (no. 41) is the odd work out (of Washington, D.C.). Jacob opens and closes her book with a discussion of this monument. But the Hoxie monument is also in Virginia. Her statement about the number of Civil War monuments described in her book without further explanation is confusing at best.

The reader may be somewhat confused by her inclusion of *Freedom*, the colossal statue by Thomas Crawford, installed atop the Capitol during the Civil War (no. 4). *Freedom* was commissioned in 1853, the sculptor died in 1857, and the model was sent to America for casting at the foundry of Clark Mills in Maryland in 1858. The statue was finished in November of 1862, and installed on December 2, 1863, after waiting more than a year for the completion of a new dome for the Capitol. Jacob points to the irony that some of the laborers at the foundry were slaves. It does not seem particularly ironic, however, since Maryland was a border state, with many ties both north and south, and never seceded from the Union. The casting was complete before the Emancipation Proclamation became law on January 1, 1863, and the only slaves freed by that proclamation were those in the rebel states. (Slavery was not prohibited in the entire nation until 1865 with the passage of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution.)

The memorials are not specifically arranged by area, date, or type, but just as one might find them "going along the city's central corridor from east to west" (p. 17).

Each monument is documented both literally and photographically. The archival photographs and the recent ones by Edwin Harlan Remsberg enhance our understanding of the text. Although Kathryn Jacob appears to defer to the opinions of art historians rather than giving her own evaluations of the sculpture, she still communicates her enthusiasms and interest by enlarging upon certain works. Contemporary accounts of the monuments at the time of unveiling are particularly felicitous in recreating the atmosphere in which they were received. The discussions of the sculptors' involvement from inception to installation provide an interesting record. An excellent example is her description of the chronology and execution of the *Ulysses S. Grant Memorial* in Union Square at the foot of Capitol Hill (no. 6). Henry Merwin Shrady (1871–1922), a relatively unknown young sculptor, was chosen in 1902 by a committee which included Daniel Chester French, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Charles Follen McKim, three of the most distinguished American artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The contract was awarded February 3, 1903. Unlike many other Civil War memorials, \$250,000 was appropriated by the federal government, after prodding by the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, which had been one of Grant's Civil War commands (p. 38). Although unusual both in the size of the appropriation and in its source, Grant was not only the most important Union general of the Civil War, but also a much loved president of the United States. This project occupied most of the rest of Shrady's life; he died just two weeks before its unveiling in 1922.

In her observations about the commercialization of the making of Civil War monuments by foundries, the author contrasts these productions with those created by sculptors or artists (p. 8). She gives as an example *The 25th New York Volunteers*, executed by the firm of McGibbon and Curry (no. 29). The successes and failures of artists such as Henry Kirke Brown, Daniel Chester French, James Earle Fraser, Vinnie Ream Hoxie, Frederick MacMonnies, Launt Thompson, John Quincy Adams Ward, and others are also examined.

In her discussion of Edward Hamilton's 1997 monument, *The African-American Civil War Memorial: Spirit of Freedom* (no. 31) Jacob gives a full account of the failure to acknowledge the African American contribution to the successful conclusion of the Civil War. She cites the fact that "not one of the 166 regiments . . . made up of African Americans [was] invited to participate in the victory parade" in Washington in May of 1865, although approximately 178,000 black soldiers fought and about 37,000 died in the conflict. However, her conclusion that this memorial was "the first in the United States to honor the African American troops who fought . . ." (p. 144) is incorrect. The *Shaw Memorial* of 1897, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Charles Follen McKim, at the edge of Boston Common and opposite the Massachusetts State House, must be awarded that designation. Created more than a century ago, the *Shaw Memorial* was the first monument to celebrate the achievements and involvement of the African American community in the

prosecution of the reunion of the United States. It was exhibited both here and abroad and led to international recognition of the sculptor. The formation of the 54th Massachusetts, led by Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, was instigated by abolitionists in Massachusetts who petitioned the federal government to recruit black men as soldiers with pay and privileges equal to those of their white counterparts. After much hesitation by President Lincoln and others who feared that this might ultimately harm the Union cause, Governor John A. Andrew finally prevailed. He convinced the federal government to try his plan as an experiment to prove that black soldiers would fight as successfully as white soldiers. In January of 1863 the recruitment of the 54th Massachusetts began. The entire collaborative involvement of white officers and black soldiers is carefully detailed on the back of the monument itself. Fortunately the final version of the *Shaw Memorial* recently became a part of the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Our nation's capital now possesses both the first and the most recent tributes to black participation in the Civil War.

Some of the premises on which the author predicates her conclusions are debatable, but the book might be of interest to the general reader or the casual visitor to Washington, D.C., with a particular interest in Civil War monuments. It does not pretend to be definitive. Other books which form the basis of a more thorough examination of public sculpture in the nation's capital are James M. Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.: A Comprehensive Historical Guide* (1974), and *A Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol*, prepared by the architect of the Capitol (1965).

New York City

LOIS GOLDBREICH MARCUS

Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926. By Steven Conn. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. viii, 305p. Illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$32.50.)

Steven Conn has written an original and provocative book. His argument is that American museums in the late nineteenth century were at the forefront of American intellectual life. They were the leaders of an "object-based epistemology" which showed great promise of advancing human knowledge. They were centers of original research, and "provided the model for how Americans . . . used objects to order and understand their world" (p. 14). By the early twentieth century, Conn argues, they had been replaced by research universities. Having lost much of their authority as producers of knowledge, museums came increasingly to focus on the dissemination of knowledge.

Conn makes his argument through five case studies that incorporate research on national trends with a more intensive look at five Philadelphia-area institutions: the Academy of Natural Sciences, the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, the Mercer Museum of Doylestown, and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Industrial Design, the forerunner to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

The case is clearest for natural history. The academy's pioneering display of dinosaur bones in 1867 was both enormously popular and central to the growing field of paleontology. Two of the academy's naturalists, Joseph Leidy and Edward Drinker Cope, were national figures in debates that were critical to the reception of Darwinism. Museums such as the Academy of Natural Sciences, Pittsburgh's Carnegie Museum, and New York's American Museum of Natural History provided both the financial and the intellectual leadership for the field. But according to Conn, paleontology represented the high point of museum science and its "last stand." Though Conn does not detail the argument, he sketches the general trend. The rise of the research laboratory, and the redefinition of the biological sciences—which evolved more toward cellular research and the study of function, and away from the "older natural history"—brought universities to the forefront. No museum scientist, for example, would win the newly minted Nobel Prize.

Anthropology followed a similar pattern. The discipline began with an intense focus on objects under the umbrella of the nation's museums. By the 1920s, anthropology had become a largely academic discipline, concerned, in the words of one of its founders, Franz Boas, with "complex mental processes" of which objects were only "incidental expressions" (p. 108). This is a story told by others. Conn's contribution is his focus on the University Museum, opened in 1899 as one of the first museums to display human artifacts separately from natural history. The museum's relationship to the university and to its professors of anthropology seems never to have been sharply defined. Despite good intentions and diligent efforts, the union never took. The museum remained committed in both its leadership and its displays to evolutionary schemes, a world of savages and civilizations, that Boas and many others believed both artificial and out of date.

The argument does not work as cleanly for history. Conn offers an insightful overview of Henry Mercer, a fascinating figure whose collection of colonial and early national tools influenced Henry Ford's collecting and offered a model of understanding history different from the academic history of his time and in some fashion closer to the social history of our own time. But Mercer and Ford had no impact on the development of history as an academic discipline. They were both too idiosyncratic and too late. The field had already emerged as one initially focused on documentary research, treaties, constitutions and other forms of high politics. Conn

realizes all this, and the chapter is well worth reading as the best brief study of Mercer available, but it confirms only a portion of his argument.

Art history does not fit at all. Alone of the museums under review, art museums and their objects have retained, even enhanced their status as cultural icons, and they remain important to art historians. Conn acknowledges this, but then shifts his focus. He drops any sustained consideration of the relationship of the art museum to the academic study of art history, choosing to look instead at two competing visions of the late-nineteenth-century art museum. One, embodied by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was a vision of the art museum as a grand treasure house, sufficient in itself. This is the vision that would prevail. The other, represented at one time by the Victoria and Albert Museum and by the Pennsylvania Museum in its inception, was that of a school devoted to reforming the arts of design. Conn organizes this material intelligently, and the subject is an important one, but it qualifies rather than advances his argument.

Despite these problems of argument, there is much to like in this book. Conn's effort to link the history of museums to the broader currents of the nation's intellectual history reframes museum history in useful ways and avoids the ahistorical reductionism inherent in much of the recent work inspired by Foucault. His chapters on the Commercial Museum and the Sesquicentennial offer original takes on little known and understudied phenomena. He clearly documents the importance of an "object based epistemology" to American museums and the confidence that curators and directors once had in the centrality of objects to knowledge. How widely shared this was in the larger culture, Conn asserts but does not demonstrate. Conn makes no reference to other forms of knowledge, based on textual analysis, nor to the emergence of the social science disciplines which relied minimally on objects. By the early twentieth century, research universities had clearly occupied the commanding heights of knowledge production. But they did not scale those heights by crawling over the nation's museums in the uniform manner Conn suggests.

In his conclusion, Conn acknowledges that despite his conscious efforts to resist it, he has written a "decline and fall" narrative, a story of "failed hopes and reduced expectations." This seems to trouble him, for museums still function "magically" for him. Yet, if my analysis is right, the decline and fall of museums may not have been as pervasive or as steep as he allows. Museums continue to practice one form of their magic, then as now, as great centers of public education. That is a narrative worthy of telling.

Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums. By PATRICIA WEST. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999. xiv, 241p. Illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, index. Cloth, \$40.00; paper, \$17.95.)

Patricia West links Mount Vernon, Louisa May Alcott's Orchard House, Monticello, and Booker T. Washington's birthplace in a fascinating study of the political origins of house museums. Beginning with Ann Pamela Cunningham's well-known efforts to organize the Mount Vernon Ladies Association (MVLA) and concluding with the more obscure story of the National Park Service's (NPS) acquisition of Washington's replica slave cabin, West documents the evolution of the historic house museum movement from a crusade of "voluntarist women" (her phrase) uniting in common cause to protect Mount Vernon in the 1850s, to the Progressive Era movement to protect Orchard House through an already organized women's club, to the professionalization of house museum management at Monticello and, finally, federal control at Washington's birthplace. As preservationists became more professional, men like Fiske Kimball (at Monticello) and the NPS (at Washington's birthplace) displaced the voluntarist women.

While West sees this movement as a continuum, with women out of her story by the 1950s, that approach is too simple to explain everything. Individuals (men and women) still initiate preservation efforts, as do existing organizations and federal agencies. Conspicuously absent from her story, and from most preservation efforts today, are academic historians. In fact, Verne Chatelain, the first NPS historian in 1931, claimed that "he could not turn to agencies like the American Historical Association and get any good ideas" (p. 133).

"Origins" is West's key word, for she focuses on the individuals who first worked to gain ownership of these sites and on some of their initial decisions about preservation and interpretation. She provides background information on the nation's political climate as preservation efforts began at each site, spending comparatively little time on the subsequent management of the sites once protected. For example, she demonstrates how the members of the Concord (Massachusetts) Woman's Club divided over the issue of suffrage in the early twentieth century but put aside their differences to protect Alcott's home. Sidney J. Phillips's efforts to protect, first, George Washington Carver's birthplace in the 1940s and, then, to reconstruct Booker T. Washington's birthplace cabin were linked to the civil rights movement in the 1940s and 1950s.

It is also important to note what the book does not try to cover. West intersperses cryptic comments about other developments in the history of preservation, but this is not designed as a comprehensive survey. Her "Notes to the Introduction" (pp. 163-164) list other histories of the preservation movement if needed. West concludes by noting the "implications in the history of historic house

museums for interpretive and curatorial planning," but this is not a manual for site interpretation. Still, this book gives valuable clues to issues of interpretation, in particular the obvious error made by most southern plantation house museums in ignoring slavery for far too long because whites managed the sites, and the contradiction posed by interpreting Orchard House as Alcott's house while also presenting the building as a model of domesticity where the fictional March sisters lived.

This well-researched volume provides more evidence of the complex effort to preserve our nation's historic sites. To carry on West's work, it is important to know the obstacles house museum founders faced and the political messages they wanted to perpetuate and to incorporate in the interpretation of these sites. For example, knowing that Phillips tried to protect Washington's birthplace while Congress worried about how America's racism looked to Europeans during the Cold War adds immeasurably to our understanding of how a cabin, "reconstructed" according to Phillips's unique interpretation of Washington's *Up From Slavery*, became a national monument in 1956. These are lessons that today's preservationists and government officials cannot afford to ignore.

West Virginia University

BARBARA J. HOWE

Henry F. du Pont and Winterthur: A Daughter's Portrait. By Ruth Lord. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. xvi, 300p. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, index. \$27.50.)

In 1950, shortly before Henry Francis du Pont opened his ancestral home to the public, one of his house guests was so enraptured by her experience of a weekend at Winterthur that she wrote an account in the form of a fairy tale entitled "The Enchanted Castle." H. F. Du Pont, or "Harry" as he was known to his friends, was, naturally, the "king" in the story. The young woman who wrote this account was hardly the first guest to be overwhelmed by the generous hospitality extended by the du Ponts. Who would not be swept away by such scrupulous attention to every detail of the guest's comfort and convenience, amid such grandiose surroundings, all rendered in an atmosphere redolent of Old World aristocracy? (The family still spoke French and used it when addressing the butler and certain other servants.) The woman's mother, out of gratitude for Harry's hospitality to her daughter, subsequently gave him, for his soon-to-be museum, a stunning silver teapot made by Nathaniel Hurd for the 1766 wedding of two of the mother's Maine ancestors. This is but one of hundreds of anecdotes relating life at Winterthur, many of which (such as this one) survive in the archives at Winterthur in addition to all those that have been spread orally by former guests. Ruth Lord mined the Winterthur archives

effectively, but the riches are so great that only a small portion could be included in her fascinating book. (This story was not.)

When children write about their parents, the results can range from indiscriminating adulation to overwrought accounts of parental misdeeds. Fortunately, Lord avoids these extremes and has written a remarkably balanced account of her parents' lives. We learn, for example, that young Harry was seriously handicapped by his emotional immaturity, lacked interest in physical pursuits, had an appalling academic record (probably caused by dyslexia), and was uncommonly dependent on his mother. None of this was helped by his domineering father, Col. Henry Algernon du Pont, who in this account comes across as a cold, self-centered, not particularly intelligent man. When the colonel introduced the trembling Harry to the headmaster at Groton, he said "*Voici mon fils Harry du Pont*" and continued the conversation in French. One can only speculate on the reasons for such a performance, but anyone can sympathize with the embarrassment Harry must have felt. Throughout his schooling at Groton and later at Harvard, he was profoundly homesick. He longed to be back at Winterthur but consoled himself with raising flowers, a passion that would eventually result in the renowned Winterthur Gardens.

Harry and sister Louise were the only survivors of the seven children born to H. A. and Pauline Foster du Pont. They were coddled by their parents who were fearful of every hint of disease. Louise matured into a self-confident young woman, while Harry remained shy and very dependent on his mother. It was therefore devastating to him when in 1902—he was 22—his mother died. It would be fourteen years before, at age thirty-six, he married Ruth Wales. By this time he had been running his father's households and had developed extensive social and vocational skills. While Harry had apparently established a working relationship with his father, the introduction into the household of Ruth and, later, two children, led to increasing friction. The colonel provoked embarrassing scenes, and Ruth refused to be cowed by his domineering and arrogant manner. When Harry and Ruth threatened to leave Winterthur, the colonel in a rage threatened to disinherit Harry. As a result the couple, especially Ruth, while not officially abandoning Winterthur, spent a great deal of time at their other residences in New York City, Southampton, and Boca Grande. Lord, the colonel's granddaughter, relates these family squabbles in some detail, understandably sympathizing with her parents.

The colonel's death on December 31, 1926, was therefore something of a blessing. Not only did it remove a source of tension in the family, but Harry finally came into his own as the lord and master of Winterthur. He had recently become interested in early American decorative arts and was collecting voraciously. He had installed these collections in his large beach house at Southampton, Long Island, but he gradually turned to the possibilities of altering the ancestral Winterthur house for this purpose. By 1929 a huge expansion of Winterthur was underway and by 1931 the house had tripled in size. Ruth Lord and her sister grew up in the

middle of all this activity. She tells of the family's world cruise in 1936 and of their surprise upon returning home to find the marble main stairs gone, replaced by the elegant elliptical staircase from the North Carolina mansion called Montmorenci.

Creating room settings for his ever expanding collection was only one of Harry du Pont's three great passions. Another was the creation of a prize-winning herd of Holstein cattle, and the third was the development of the estate gardens by creating "natural" landscapes. Earlier Harry had been ridiculed by some members of the du Pont family. His cousin Alfred, "the Colonel's erstwhile enemy," referred to Harry as the "only decent milkmaid the family had ever produced" (p. 211). While this was said in jest, it is also true that Harry took little interest in the family business—but he earned their respect as the larger world came to appreciate his accomplishments. It is a remarkable story by any standard: how this singularly unpromising young man—dysfunctional in many basic skills—rose above his limitations. Sure, he had money, lots of it, but few rich people make such creative use of the resources granted to them.

While du Pont had thought of turning his Southampton beach house into a museum quite early, following his father's death the Winterthur house became the central focus of his collecting and display activities. When the house was opened to the public in 1951 it could easily have remained just another house museum—larger and more spectacular than most perhaps but still limited to showing one man's collection. The fact is Harry du Pont was always open to new ideas that often went far beyond his original, or even his current, intentions. It was no doubt a stroke of genius when in 1949 he employed Charles F. Montgomery (along with Joseph Downs) to catalogue the furniture collection. It was Montgomery who proposed—with some trepidation—the creation of the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture with the University of Delaware. H. F., not having had much interest in education previously, responded "Obviously, we have to do it" (p. 107). The graduate program (which has been much imitated) was intended to train young scholars to become curators and directors of cultural institutions with collections of Americana, and it has succeeded admirably. Having such a program required a specialized library which was created using the family library as its core. Subsequent collecting has made the Winterthur Library such a rich resource that it has been designated a Center for Advanced Study by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Scholars come from all parts of the Atlantic world to study at Winterthur. None of this would have come to pass had Harry du Pont been content with merely showing his house and gardens.

Lord clearly admires her father and her mother and acknowledges their accomplishments fully. The value of her narrative lies not only in the insight it provides to her parents as private persons but in the nature of the relationship between the du Ponts and their children. They were not what one would call a close family. Much of the time the children did not dine with their parents, and they

were shipped off to boarding school as soon as possible. When Lord was fourteen she went on a world cruise with her parents. What she describes as a "miracle" was the fact that for once she and her sister had her "hallowed and entertaining parents as captives for an extended period" (pp. 140-41). Both Ruth and Harry had a fear of intimacy with others, including their own children, and worked to avoid revealing conversations referred to as "soul talks."

H. F. du Pont's energy seemed boundless to those who worked for him—even those who lived with him. Lord once said that she felt like a dachshund running after a greyhound (p. 221). When in 1961 Jacqueline Kennedy asked H. F. du Pont to serve as chair of the Fine Arts Committee for the White House—he was in his eighties—he accepted with alacrity. Over the next two and a half years they exchanged over a hundred letters, in addition to their many meetings. Following her visit to Winterthur in May 1961, Mrs. Kennedy wrote: "Mr. du Pont you now have me in such a state of awe and reverence. . . . And all your hospitality and delicious food and flowers and comfortable guest rooms—everything at your own house. It was a day never to be forgotten. I now have an ambition for our old age—for us to be gatekeepers at Winterthur" (p. 227). Just like the young woman visitor in 1951, Mrs. Kennedy too was smitten.

It is in sum a delightful as well as a thoroughly well documented book. There is a regrettable mistake in the genealogical table in Appendix 1: Mary Pauline Foster (H. F.'s mother) is listed in place of Louise Evelina du Pont (H. F.'s sister). Otherwise this book is above reproach in every respect.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

IAN M. G. QUIMBY

His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology. Edited by ROGER HOROWITZ and ARWEN MOHUN. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998. ix, 240p. Illustrations, contributors. Cloth, \$49.50; paper, \$18.50.)

Those little words *his* and *hers* do indeed connote the material aspects of a conventional household, replete with "his things" (in shaving kit or toolbox, perhaps) and "her things" (in makeup case or sewing basket) as well as "their things." Of course many households defy the old rules, yet we recognize the categories: present categories, our parents' categories, their parents'. The "his and hers" of consumer goods has a history. These essays offer provocative forays into that history, from the role of chocolates in courtship to the development of post-World War II shopping malls, deliberately questioning assumptions about production and consumption, technology and culture, and maleness and femaleness in North American life.

Take chocolate, for example. What happens, asks Gail Cooper, if we substitute candy for cars in our stock stories of the shift to mass production and consumption? Candy was, until the late nineteenth century, a luxury product made by hand. Like cars, newly mass-produced candy became affordable by working people, and was marketed in convenient packages—the quotidian chocolate bar rather than the ceremonial box—enabling more frequent consumption. But peek into the mechanized factory, and Cooper presents rows of young women in white aprons; explore purchasing patterns, and Cooper tours us past the Army buying two hundred thousand pounds of regulation lemon drops per month during World War I, young men choosing sweets for their sweethearts, and housewives working chocolate into household budgets.

To candy, add radio receivers, or wedding crystal. Who, asks Louis Carlat, bought factory-produced radio receivers in the earliest days of broadcast radio, and why? These receivers changed the nature of radio, as “the hobbyist’s wireless had become a piece of furniture off-limits to tinkers” (p. 121). The tinkers, of course, had been largely male; the new listening public was a gender-mixed if mostly affluent audience; the arbiters of household furniture, marketed in family settings, more likely female. The family setting, of course, relied on mass-produced goods but should never appear to do so. How then, asks Regina Blaszyk, did manufacturers convince a mass-market of brides that theirs were personalized choices in formal tableware?

In all such stories, the picture is complicated by incorporation of both material objects and culturally situated consumers. In both Joy Parr’s exploration of stove-shopping in 1950s Ontario, and James Williams’s account of energy marketing in early-twentieth-century California, male producers and marketers imagined female consumers, and female users tried to explain the arcane details of real-world housekeeping as they sorted the useful from the superfluous or inconvenient. Technology and gender have also shaped more or less public consumer spaces. What happened, asks Molly Berger, when women travelers led nineteenth-century hotel builders to add female spaces and domestic detail to the male preserves of public accommodations? What did it mean, asks Lizabeth Cohen, to create a public shopping mall under private control, a suburban domesticated cityscape without the multipurpose bustle of downtown? These diverse examples are preceded by Steven Lubar’s broad historiographical overview. Lubar surveys the history of shopping and its association with women as provisioners of the household, and discusses the implications of defining technology broadly enough to encompass the material goods treated in these essays. He synthesizes the growing body of work, insisting that production and consumption cannot be separated, that gendered categories must be treated in cultural context, that both masculinity and femininity must be studied if we are to understand the cultural dimensions of technological change.

Following through on these new conceptions of the history of industrialization is no small task. This volume offers intriguing stories and raises plentiful questions, contributing most to the exploration of middle-class women's active roles as consumers. As the editors suggest, the chapters "demonstrate the value of analyzing consumption as both a material and a cultural process" (p. 1), illustrating the entwined construction of the ordinary objects of consumer society and the gender and class ideologies of modern North America.

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The Patterson Mansion, southwest corner of 13th and Locust Streets, c. 1870; now the site of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Front cover: Addison Hutton elevation, HSP facade, 1905. See articles by Susan Stitt and George E. Thomas.

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