

BOOK REVIEWS

Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World. By ALISON GAMES. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999. 322p. Illustrations, tables, appendixes, notes, archival sources, index. \$45.00.)

To readers with interests in Pennsylvania, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* is a powerful reminder of how fortunate William Penn was in planting his "holy experiment" late in the English colonizing game. In the 1630s the founding and peopling of plantations on the North American mainland and in the Caribbean were high-risk gambles with uncertain outcomes. Alison Games's collective biography of the adventurers who left London in 1635 to colonize the western periphery of England's nascent and precarious empire makes that point vividly and convincingly.

The book presents the findings of a database that is centered on the London port register of 1635 with special emphasis on the colonial migrants (the tables, references in the notes, and the list of archival sources attest to the skill of the author in gathering biographical details about the voyagers who appear in this listing). Based on this cohort of travelers to distant and foreign places Games explores questions about transatlantic migration from England and the nature of the English Atlantic world.

About 7,500 passengers left London with destinations outside of the British Isles. Just over 1,000 civilians and 1,595 soldiers crossed the Channel. The remaining 4,878 sailed westward to the American colonies (about 40% to the Chesapeake, nearly 25% to New England, 20% to Barbados, and 15% bound for the islands of St. Kitts, Bermuda, and Providence). The majority of those colonial travelers remain beyond the grasp of historical inquiry, but Games could trace 1,360. Although this constitutes a small and unevenly distributed group, it offers a further perspective on the Atlantic world the English knew in the 1630s. Geographic mobility was spectacular in that decade, with 80,000 people moving overseas, 10,000 of them leaving the nation in 1635. Clearly, England provided a diverse and troubled seedbed for plantations on the western shores of the Atlantic.

In the first chapter Games establishes the historical context for the London port register, explores some features of transatlantic shipping, and

examines the characteristics of the travelers (last known residence, destinations, demographic characteristics, occupations, and puritan associations). What stands out against the considerable diversity of their backgrounds overall is how specific the profiles are that describe passengers and soldiers on vessels to the continent and colonists to New England and those to the Chesapeake and the islands. The features that characterize the colonial travelers of 1635 are the focus of the following two chapters. They underscore poignantly five generally accepted truths about early America: a very large majority of the migrants were young adults, male, and bound as servants. The exception was the flow to New England, which included a considerable proportion of families and puritan exiles from religious persecution in England. For all travelers the voyage and seasoning were dangerous; for many they meant an early death. For servants in the plantation colonies, who were comparatively much younger than their counterparts in England and whose conditions of service differed significantly from customary practices back home, it mattered not only whether they were bound to Chesapeake Bay masters or those on Bermuda or Barbados (the comparison set up in chap. 4) but also when they entered colonial society, since for freedmen the window of opportunities for worldly success was limited. Circumstances were different in New England, where survival was difficult despite the much more favorable demographic characteristics of the colonists and where faith contributed significantly to the restlessness among the early settlers (chaps. 5, 6).

Games's topical approach works well for highlighting particular themes, foremost among them the transformation of servitude in the plantation colonies and the impact of Puritan divisiveness on community building in the crucial years during which an English Atlantic world began to coalesce out of the chaos and wilderness the early settlers faced in their westward migration (chap. 7). It is less successful for more systematic comparison concerning questions about fundamental characteristics and patterns of transatlantic trade and communication and about the extent and dynamics of migration networks. Readers familiar with the literature on early America will find this prosopographical study of early English colonization illuminating in detail; genealogists with interests in the travelers included in the sample will delight in the detailed information they can glean from it; others may be overwhelmed by the amount of data that portrays this large and varied cast of characters and miss the connections to the broader context of European expansion across the Atlantic and the implications of creating an

English Atlantic world for later developments.

Indiana University, Indianapolis

MARIANNE S. WOKECK

Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776. By JON BUTLER. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. x, 324p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$27.95.)

This book is an important synthesis of recent historiography on colonial British America. It explicitly sets out to illumine the period between 1680 and 1776, a time that Butler and other colonial historians have sometimes mocked as the era's "dark ages," sandwiched between abiding interest in the well-documented Puritan culture of the seventeenth century and the rise of revolutionary forces. The material in this book demonstrates how busy historians have been over the last twenty years as they explored a wide variety of areas and topics critical to the emergence of the United States.

The central theme of the book is that colonial Americans created what was essentially a "modern" and distinctively "American" society before the Revolution. This society was characterized by rapid population growth, ethnic diversity, pockets of urban concentration, increased social stratification, material prosperity, complex and flexible economic strategies, sophisticated political structures, and religious pluralism. These changes did not embrace the massive urbanization or technological alterations that defined critical social features of the next century, but they served to distinguish American society from Europe and erected the armature upon which descendants would sculpt a fully modern nation. While there is much to admire in this story, Butler does not gloss over the ugly side of the narrative. As they experimented with the implications of greater political and religious diversity than Europeans were generally accustomed to, colonial Americans also dramatically expanded the use of slavery, codified racial caste, encroached upon, conquered, and selectively exterminated Native American lands and cultures, and aggressively exploited environmental resources.

Butler divides his approach to the period into well-studied categories before considering the implications for the Revolutionary era. His chapters on "Peoples," "Economy," and "Politics" provide a helpful synthesis of recent historiography without the tedious name dropping that characterizes so

much historiographical literature. The names are all present in the notes for graduate students and professional historians, but nonspecialists will enjoy the book as much as the professionals. The chapter "Peoples" reminds readers that America was settled by many different kinds of Europeans and Africans, not just the English. In the chapter "Economy," Butler considers the arguments of historians who define the era as pre-modern and subsistence oriented, but clearly comes down on the side of those who have stressed broader market linkages to the Atlantic rim and the commercialized production of the tobacco, rice, and indigo producing regions. In the chapter "Politics," the author considers the diverse political practices different colonies adopted, the growing sophistication of provincial assemblies, the effect of the press on political discourse, the role of urban artisans and mobs on provincial placemen and government agents, and the ill-considered structural changes prompted by imperial planners who had limited tactical understanding of how much colonial politics had diverged from British experience. The contours of this literature are generally well known to professionals, but Butler will prompt us all to think more clearly about the structural relationships that evolved during these years, sometimes slowly, occasionally abruptly. The chapter "Things Material" may surprise many historians who have neglected the study of material culture, but objects reinforce the argument Butler is trying to make. Americans became consumers in this period on a scale that cut across classes and regions and they increasingly bought from and sold to an international market place. This chapter is a brave attempt to master an immensely complex field of study, one that has often overemphasized the relics of the rich and normalized their possessions as typical in type if not quantity. The shortcomings of this chapter are more a reflection of material culture's modest representation in the kinds of published studies historians rely upon than on the potential to use this information to understand the past. By contrast, the chapter "Things Spritual" returns the author to one of his fields of specialty with rich results. In just a few pages, Butler does a remarkable job synthesizing the most recent literature on colonial spiritual life, and includes groups often neglected in mainstream religious history—Native Americans and African-born slaves.

Finally, the chapter "1776" considers how the changes explored in the preceding chapters inflected the political debates and actions of the Revolutionary period. Specialists may quibble with points of emphasis and omission, but *Becoming America* is an excellent, well written synthesis that

will help many different kinds of readers understand how a small group of mostly English and geographically isolated immigrants in the seventeenth century became an independent, polyglot nation.

University of Delaware

JOHN RITCHIE GARRISON

Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic. By STUART LEIBIGER. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999. x, 284p. Illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

"Select the most deserving only for your friendships, and before this becomes intimate, weigh their dispositions and character *well*. True friendship is a plant of slow growth; to be sincere, there must be a congeniality of temper and pursuits." Stuart Leibiger begins his inspection of the Washington-Madison friendship and collaboration with this quote from the first president in 1796 at the moment when their intimate and crucial relationship was disintegrating. Oddly enough, according to Leibiger, it was precisely the elder Virginian's lack of a "congeniality of temper" in his graying years that doomed the partnership. Washington, who could not separate the personal from the political, interpreted Madison's Republican opposition to Hamiltonian financial schemes, his opposition to Washington's handling of the Whiskey Rebellion and Democratic Societies and, most important, his opposition to the Jay Treaty, as personal betrayals at least and, perhaps, a politically conspiratorial betrayal at worst. For his part, Madison always extended the general the benefit of the doubt, explaining the president's swerves from the path of republicanism in true country fashion as the result of the maniacal machinations of a corrupt minister, Hamilton, of course. Until now, this has been the Washington-Madison relationship that most scholars have focused on, if they have recognized it at all. The collaborative efforts of Madison-Hamilton, Madison-Jefferson, and Jefferson-Adams have drawn far more attention, but by refocusing on the years 1785-90, Leibiger contends that the, "George Washington-James Madison collaboration, which has received little notice, was the most important and revealing pairing of all . . ." (p. 1).

In terms of tangible political accomplishments, Leibiger may be right. He makes an excellent case that the "collaboration played an indispensable role

in putting down a threat to civilian control of the government at Newburgh, in calling the 1787 Federal Convention, in getting Washington to attend the convention, in putting forth the Virginia Plan, in securing the Constitution's ratification, in managing Washington's acceptance of the presidency, in launching the federal government, in obtaining the Bill of Rights, in working out the Compromise of 1790, in getting Washington to accept a second term, and in producing his Farewell Address" (pp. 223-24). To all this can be added the physical establishment of the national capital at Washington, D.C. (their longest collaborative effort), a formative role in the launching of the canal craze, and a host of other instances when Washington relied on his "right hand man" in Congress for critical advice and speech writing in the precedent-setting first administration, most times to the exclusion of his own cabinet.

Leibiger argues that Washington placed so much political trust in Madison because of the intimacy of their friendship. They became acquainted at the war's end, when Madison battled in the Continental Congress on behalf of the general's needs. Their friendship matured thanks to their mutual interests in scientific agriculture, internal improvements to the west along the Potomac River, the desire for a national capital along the Potomac, and the shared belief in the need for continental reform as "democratic nationalists." By the time Washington accepted the presidency, thanks to Madison's encouragement, the president had been addressing Madison as "My Dear Sir" and signing his letters "Affectionately" for nearly four years, a form he extended to only his closest circle of friends and family. The two valued their friendship and guarded it from the public eye and this, argues Leibiger, is precisely why the Washington-Madison pairing has eluded scholars of the early republic for so long. They collaborated and helped one another behind the scenes. Leibiger makes an excellent case that it was their friendship that made their collaboration so effective. Unfortunately, the author performs such a thorough job on the collaboration that at times the friendship and the basis for it within each man becomes lost. This fault becomes most evident when the author discusses the deterioration of the collaboration in Washington's second term. Washington, a man who Leibiger builds up as loyal and judicious, comes off as both petty and paranoid. And Madison, a man who Leibiger portrays as the president's ingenious "prime minister," appears in denial or just plain naive when he continually forgives Washington of his sins and blames Hamilton instead. It is not until the last three sentences of the last chapter that the author

attempts to reconcile these character lapses: "Coming of age in the years before the Revolution, Washington viewed politics on a personal rather than an organizational level. He could not reconcile himself to political parties and equated political opposition to unpardonable betrayal. But for Madison, whose apprenticeship came during the ideologically charged 1770s, partisan differences did not interfere with his individual loyalty to Washington." This book reads very much as a dual biography, charting the critical intersection of two remarkable lives, yet the author avoids the biographical technique of examining his subjects' formative years, even on a cursory level, to make sense of their later relationship.

Another curious omission is the absence of full-text correspondence between the two founders that could easily have been attached in appendices. This would not only help the student to compare this partnership with the others mentioned above, but it could also exemplify many generalizations made by the author but not clearly shown. For instance, when Leibiger is discussing the fallout from the Jay Treaty, he writes that as of the spring of 1796 "Washington by then had become so fed up that he preferred publicly humiliating Madison . . ." (p. 211), yet the author provides no examples. That may be true, but considering the depth of their friendship it would be more instructive to hear the insults straight from Washington himself. Or consider when Leibiger writes of the relationship's first strain under the weight of Hamilton's financial program, that whereas "Washington continued to see localism as the great threat to the American Republic, Madison began to fear nationalism" (p. 138). Again, we hear few words from Madison, other than the clipped phrased that "if not only the *means*, but the *objects* [of national government action] are unlimited, the parchment had better be thrown into the fire at once." Could we see a fuller text of Madison's correspondence surrounding assumption of the national debt and the Bank of the United States, it might appear that it was not nationalism, per se, that Madison began to fear, but rather Hamilton's "monarchical" manipulation of national affairs.

These quibbles should not detract from what is a well conceived, crisply written, important and entertaining book. Through the lens of the Washington-Madison friendship, Professor Leibiger has re-identified Washington as an active, energetic, and thinking (even if "hidden-hand") president, and added to Madison's stature as a founder by peering beyond the Philadelphia Convention to his role as friend and collaborator to the first executive. His book certainly will force me to make changes to my courses

in the early republic.

University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown PAUL DOUGLAS NEWMAN

Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal. By ANYA JABOUR. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. ix, 217p. Essay on sources, notes, index. \$42.00)

Anya Jabour's book places one elite couple's experience within the broader framework of shifting ideas about marriage in the antebellum Chesapeake. Elizabeth and William Wirt's marriage began in 1803 and ended with William's death in 1834. The Wirts were "lifelong border residents" (p. 3), who lived in upper-South cities including Norfolk, Richmond, and Washington, D.C. He was a prominent lawyer who served as attorney general in the Adams and Monroe administrations. She was the daughter of a prosperous Richmond trader, and in many ways an archetype of the southern republican wife and mother.

Through the Wirts' lengthy correspondence during William's regular absences from home, Jabour attempts to unravel and then to analyze ideas about marriage that gained particular resonance during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A new emphasis on the importance of affection accompanied the notion that women could find a special authority in the domestic realm that would complement their husbands' authority in the public world. Historians have long recognized that the ideology of domesticity was largely rhetorical, but few have managed as carefully as Jabour to measure its formulation and impact. What she finds is that both Wirts claimed to desire a companionate marriage. And yet William and Elizabeth Wirt had remarkably divergent notions of how to achieve that kind of marriage, and what it would mean to do so.

One of Jabour's central premises is that structural inequities, chiefly legal and economic but also cultural, posed the greatest threat to the companionate ideal. Disparities in power meant that William's perceived needs, desires, and judgments predominated. This dynamic is highlighted by a methodological difficulty which Jabour acknowledges: only a few of Elizabeth Wirt's letters survive from the first nine years of her marriage, so key issues are often refracted through William's rhetoric. Even when Elizabeth's side of the correspondence is available, it is almost painful to read

her beseeching letters and William's cagey replies. While Elizabeth emphasized the importance of the Wirts' domestic partnership, as parents and as spouses, William insisted that devotion to career was the best means of providing for his family. In this way his long absences from home (sometimes he spent ten months a year traveling on legal business) did not constitute neglect but rather familial duty.

Jabour concludes that the Wirts' correspondence is "testament to the power of the emerging ideal of companionate marriage" (p. 4). One might argue that the discourse of companionship was often simply harnessed to patriarchal goals. Certainly William Wirt rarely let his oft-professed desire to be with his wife and children, or to consummate a working partnership with his wife, get in the way of his political ambitions or his determination to control the Wirt household, even if from afar. Changes in their political and economic fortunes, as well as in their emotional connection to one another, provided the impetus for some renegotiations between the Wirts, but Elizabeth's real power to define her marriage and position came only in the long years of her widowhood (she died in 1857). Then she launched a campaign to salvage both the family's finances and her husband's reputation as a true patriot and gentleman.

This book has much to offer students and scholars of the early republic, and of gender relations in the nineteenth century. Jabour's study is somewhat under-analyzed and under-theorized, but the relatively unadorned arguments leave the reader freer to imagine the constraints and the imperatives under which the Wirts labored. I expect that a paperback edition would find a large audience, for students in particular will find the Wirts a valuable case study of the tensions and possibilities that elite men and women perceived available to them in the early republic.

American University

KARIN WULF

Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans. By JOYCE APPLEBY. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2000. viii, 322p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$26.00.)

In the last two decades, Joyce Appleby has produced a distinguished body of work on the complex relationship between economic development and political ideology in seventeenth-century Britain and Revolutionary America.

No stranger to the ways in which human beings create the social categories by which they perceive the world, as if by nature, Appleby has controversially argued that Jefferson's Democratic Republicans reinterpreted the American Revolution to match their faith in the benefits of a free market and their confidence in the common man's political abilities. Espoused at a time when the "republican synthesis"—positing that Americans were only just moving away from traditional definitions of governance in and after 1776—was in full swing, Appleby's near missionary zeal for a liberal interpretation of the Revolution was both bold and challenging.

In *Inheriting the Revolution*, Appleby fully expands on this theme by reconstructing the circumstances, lives, and consciousness of influential Americans born between the years 1776 and 1800. Most significantly, Appleby's book redirects American intellectual history toward the task of synthesizing the experience of great numbers of creative Americans with the great political, social, and cultural developments of their time. For the first independent generation these changes included the irrepressible rise of democratic politics, entrepreneur-driven economic growth, the ending of slavery in the North and its cotton-propelled expansion in the South, new meanings attributed to gender and family relations, and new experimentation in religion and reform. While taking a generational approach to the era means that significant public actors, such as Philadelphia's Mathew Carey, who happened to have been born before 1776, fall outside the range of vision, the fact that this particular defining cohort has not been treated collectively before justifies the method's novelty. The result is an empirically grounded yet extraordinarily dynamic foray into the multivalent experience of America's first nation-builders, "the self-conscious shapers of a liberal society" (p. 11).

They are a singular cast of characters. Making appearances, among hundreds of others, are entrepreneurs John Ball and Francis Cabot Lowell, inventor Peter Cooper, merchant John Jacob Astor, publisher Hezekiah Niles, editors Paul Allen, Thurlow Weed, and Sarah Hale, children's book author Samuel Goodrich, writers Henry Brackenridge and Washington Irving, educators Catharine Beecher, Julia Tevis, Matthew Vassar, and Mary Lyon, proto-paleontologist Samuel George Morton, revivalists Lorenzo Dow and Charles Finney, artists John James Audubon, Titian Ramsay Peale, George Catlin, and Edward Hicks, feminists and abolitionists Lucretia Mott and Sarah Grimke, transcendentalist Bronson Alcott, politicians Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, and John C. Calhoun, and spokespeople for black

liberation Charles Ball, Sojourner Truth, and David Walker. Appleby's fresh treatment of religious seekers' "intense feelings aroused by thoughts of God" (p. 165) and the proliferation of evangelical, especially Methodist, culture after 1800, is especially striking in light of the near absence of such material in her earlier work.

As in any far-reaching synthesis, Appleby's representation of the world of this first cohort is not without overstatement. Slavery was not as easily overthrown in the North as Appleby suggests: emancipation took two generations to complete, during which time thousands of northern black men and women continued to live out their lives as bonded indentured servants. And despite Appleby's emphasis on Jefferson as a model liberal democrat, the North receives far more attention in her study than either the South or the frontier. The South appears as a largely retrograde region, slavishly wedded to an aristocratic way of life. Yet the South was also intensely Democratic Republican, espousing an opposition to centralized government (the antifederalism of the founding generation) that has survived into our own time. Indeed the democratic and reforming urges in American society are not necessarily compatible, and the difficulty of transmuting Americans' absorption in economic gain and personal reformation into a viable national commitment continues to haunt American politics today. It is in fact the great liberal quandary, in both eighteenth- and twenty-first-century senses: how to be a free people who are also willing and able to limit freedom in sacrifice for the larger good.

Appleby has nonetheless written a brilliant page-turner, filled with insights, and truly a feast of period detail for general history readers, biography buffs, and American historians. Attentive to the power of words to shape conceptions of reality, and aware of the fate of those whose inability to meet the demands of a market society leave them "exposed . . . to a form of ideological ostracism" (p. 264), Appleby has successfully taken on one of the most difficult tasks for early American historians: discovering the origins of American national identity in the welter of social and cultural forces shaping the new republic, while mindful of the civil calamity between North and South lying ahead.

California State University, Hayward

DEE E. ANDREWS

Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey 1613–1863. By GRAHAM RUSSELL HODGES. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xii, 413 p. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00; paper, \$18.95.)

In this compelling and provocative book, Graham Hodges asks us to look at the early history of African Americans in the New York region with fresh eyes. Rejecting conventional periodization that divides the story of northern blacks into slavery and post-slavery eras, he stresses unifying elements in the first 250 years of black presence in the area as he traces the “pilgrimage to liberty” (p. 5), from the arrival of the first African on Manhattan Island in 1613 to the savage Draft Riots of 1863 which left the city’s black community reeling. The broad chronological sweep of *Root and Branch* is matched by its geographical scope. Hodges opts for a regional approach that allows him to weave together the history of the city and its hinterland in New York and East New Jersey. Comparisons between the situations of urban and rural blacks recur throughout the book and serve to highlight the varieties of experience that characterized the area’s black population. Most significantly, Hodges places African Americans at the center of the story and argues that despite enslavement, restrictive laws, and enduring prejudice, they were able to contrive means to protect and advance their interests. In making his case, he in no way underestimates the power of the whites who created and refined the institution of slavery and then presided over its agonizingly slow demise while they fabricated more impediments to black equality. His emphasis is on showing how slaves and free blacks, drawing on their African heritage as well as their evolving religious culture, managed to define their own lives.

Root and Branch rests on intensive research in a wide array of primary and secondary sources. It is to Hodges’s credit that out of these voluminous materials he has been able to construct a narrative that gives extended treatment to the major events and movements that shaped the African American history of the region—the Dutch West India Company’s inauguration of slavery, the 1712 slave rebellion, the 1741 slave conspiracy, the British occupation of New York City during the American Revolution, gradual emancipation, the evolution of a free black community, and the emergence of sentiment for a return to Africa—yet also includes illuminating accounts of the everyday routines of black men and women. Learning how ordinary black people worked, played, studied, and worshipped brings into sharp relief the parallels with and divergences from the life patterns of the

region's white population. Particularly interesting is Hodges's reconstruction of the distinctive street culture of lower class blacks in the nineteenth century.

At its heart, this book is an inquiry into the wellsprings of black resistance. In Hodges's view, African culture and African American religion were the primary sources of black values. Much of his analysis is devoted to exploring how Africans recreated their identity and communal life in new settings. The dynamics of the process are suggested in his demonstration of how Africans adapted the Dutch holiday of Pinkster to their own ends. Deciphering the singular African American perspective on the world ultimately provides the key to understanding the political choices blacks made, both as slaves and as free people.

In a work that covers so much ground, it is not surprising to find occasional errors. A case in point. Hodges characterizes New York City's Dutch Reformed minister, Lambertus De Ronde, as "a primary proponent of black baptism" and asserts that in the 1760s, he "announced plans for a book of first truths for the slaves written in Dutch and 'Negro English'" (pp. 122-23). In fact, De Ronde's project was undertaken in Surinam around 1747. One searches in vain in the baptismal records of New York City's Dutch Reformed Church for evidence of "De Ronde's reforms" (p. 123).

Notwithstanding such lapses, Graham Hodges's work clearly deserves the attention of all who study African Americans in the mid-Atlantic area. This compact overview of the struggles of the founding generations of New York's large and influential black community offers the mature reflections of a scholar who has spent many years recovering the stories of a people who indelibly shaped the region's history.

University of Denver

JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND

A History of the Book in America. Volume 1: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World. Edited by HUGH AMORY and DAVID D. HALL. (New York: Cambridge University Press for the American Antiquarian Society, 2000. xxiv, 638p. Essays, illustrations, tables, graphs, notes on contributors, appendixes, bibliography, notes, index. \$125.00.)

In recent years, historians of the United States have investigated "the history of the book" in an attempt to gain new insights into American

culture as reflected in the creation and uses of printed materials. *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, the first volume in a projected five-volume series, is a great addition to this growing field. Edited by Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, this book presents the history of the book in colonial America through discussions of the book-trade in general and more specifically as authors investigate the different regions of the British colonies. Through a series of essays, the work clearly shows the multifaceted aspects of the production and dissemination of books and other printed materials throughout Britain's North American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Prior to the eighteenth century, colonial booksellers depended primarily on imported works, although some materials were produced on local presses. David Hall's study of the Chesapeake shows limitations for the book trade because of conflicts between various groups, such as the Protestants and Catholics in Maryland, and the emphasis on developing the colonial economy. Hugh Amory's piece indicates that local production occurred more often in New England, where the church encouraged the publication of materials that supported its effort to create "a city on a hill." However, the government maintained control through licensing and import restrictions on presses and thus New England did not develop a free press that served "the diffusion of useful knowledge" until the eighteenth century. For most of the seventeenth century throughout the British colonies, England remained the center of publication and source of printed materials.

The last decades of the seventeenth century showed signs of change for American printers and booksellers, brought on primarily by growth in the colonies up and down the Atlantic seaboard. As the population increased, the need and desire for printed matter grew as well, as shown in essays by James N. Green, Calhoun Winton, and others. The history of the book in America entered a new phase in the 1720s in places such as Philadelphia and New York, as each town gained a second printer. The original printers in these urban areas had been supported by local authorities. The new printers, such as Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, automatically gravitated to the people who were out of power. Printers thus became part of the political debates that became increasingly important and influential during the eighteenth century. Even Boston, which had had several printers since the seventeenth century, reflected these changes as James Franklin established an independent print shop that spoke out against the dominant Puritan authorities.

This growing involvement in partisan political debates encouraged the development of early American journalism, particularly newspapers. Charles E. Clark discusses the growing emphasis on the importance of newspapers in the colonies, particularly during the years of the American Revolution and the debates over the Constitution. Richard D. Brown explores "the shifting freedoms of the press," declaring that the American colonies did not move directly from censorship to a free press in the eighteenth century. The new nation took a stand supporting a free press, but the people did not agree on what that meant. This resulted in a sort of "popular censorship" that limited what was published, particularly in the newspapers.

Having described the growth of the book trades and the establishment of a news media in the colonies, the book continues with a series of essays that explore the "practices of reading" and the development of a learned and literary culture in British North America. The spread of literacy and the development of libraries encouraged reading throughout the colonies. Americans increasingly saw the ability to read and write as a necessary and useful skill, a trend that encouraged the book trades everywhere.

Amory and Hall conclude the book by summarizing the various structural changes emphasized in the various essays. The appearance of competition as towns acquired more than one printer changed how the book trades operated. The growth of the colonies produced more contacts between the various colonies and London and thus enlarged the potential market for books and other printed matter. Groups such as civil governments and religious denominations also supported the publishing industry as they sought to disseminate items of interest to their constituents. Benjamin Franklin, in creating his network of partners throughout the colonies, also encouraged the growth of the book trades. Finally, the growth and spread of newspapers throughout the colonies increasingly became the foundation for printers' business. The result is that the American book trades changed in many ways from their beginnings to the end of the Revolutionary era. Despite the changes, the connections with Britain remained strong.

Overall, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* presents a detailed description of the book trades in the British North American colonies. Although written by a variety of people, all the essays contribute to the "history of the book." This book is recommended for anyone interested in the history of early American culture or publishing.

Oklahoma Baptist University

CAROL SUE HUMPHREY

Republic of Letters: The American Intellectual Community, 1775–1865. By GILMAN M. OSTRANDER. (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1999. xvi, 379p. Notes, index. \$35.95.).

This posthumously published book by Gilman M. Ostrander is not an intellectual history or literary criticism so much as a genealogy of writers. Ostrander begins by taking issue with the by now thoroughly hashed over Beardian thesis on the economic basis of the Constitution, arguing instead that educational background—defined as college attendance—was as important, if not more so, than property ownership to the founders and their world view. From a discussion of the world of the eighteenth-century colleges, Ostrander goes on to trace the dispersion of those formative genes through the “Philadelphia Enlightenment,” “Brahmin Boston,” “Knickerbocker New York,” and the democratic North and the slave South before sounding the death knell of America’s literary gerontocracy in the Academy of Arts and Letters (founded 1904, average age 65).

Ostrander’s study is an attempt to avoid either vaporous concepts of the American “mind” or the minute parsing of individual texts. As such, Ostrander intends to demonstrate that America once had a common culture from which we have now declined and that culture can be demonstrated through the careers of its leading intellectuals, generally defined as writers. *Republic of Letters* is a family biography of an elite, an elite which Ostrander decouples not only from any consideration of their texts but from their audience and the public as well. Incidentally, as a family biography the only way that Ostrander can account for change is by generational conflict, with sons rebelling against fathers. Implicitly arguing for an elite culture, Ostrander’s republic is not modern but ancient, as his celebration of the classical education of the eighteenth-century college indicates. (Ostrander might have profitably explored the implications of why the students of those exemplary institutions spent a good deal of their time rioting and mobbing their professors.)

The problem with *Republic of Letters* is not that it has an implicit political point of view but that it is consensus history of a distinctly old-fashioned kind. Ostrander is a wonderfully mellifluous writer and one soon gets seduced by his lapidary prose. There is a soothing quality to the book as Ostrander chronicles the interrelationship of careers; it’s almost Biblical as writer begets writer, circle begets circle, and career begets career. But one

is seduced only up to a point. One has to stop and ask not about Ostrander's imposition of similarities but about actual differences, even conflict. To take a trivial instance, Ostrander has John Adams visiting C. W. Peale's studio in 1776 where he was "charmed" by Francis Hopkinson. Actually, playing Sparta to decadent Athens, Adams disparaged Hopkinson and the arts (he also thought Peale a fop), concluding that Hopkinson's apple-sized head was the most comical thing ever seen in nature; Hopkinson, in other words, did not even have a mind worth engaging! One is brought up short: there are real intellectual and ideological issues at stake here and any attempt to homogenize the relationships among these three men has to keep the argument solely on the surface of apparent similarities. Ostrander's method can only work if he ignores what made these men (and some women) intellectuals: their writing. Making American literature clubbable, Ostrander has to omit its two most important voices: Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman. No "barbaric yawp" in the genteel halls of this Republic! It is striking that the best part of *Republic of Letters* is the section on the South, since there it is impossible for Ostrander to ignore the differences between, say, Thomas Dew and William Ellery Channing. This section is also the only one in which Ostrander quotes extensively from his writers' works.

In a footnote Ostrander pays tribute and acknowledges his debt to Van Wyck Brooks's *The Flowering of New England* and one can see the influence of that earlier chronicle in the sensibility and method of *Republic of Letters*. A throwback to the era when American literature was first becoming constituted as an area worthy of study, *Republic of Letters* is an elegant anachronism.

Smithsonian Institution

DAVID C. WARD

The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War. By MICHAEL F. HOLT. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. xxx, 1248p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00.)

The American Whig Party was the rival and partner of Andrew Jackson's Democrats in the political system that dominated the United States for most of the three decades prior to the Civil War. While the Democrats survive to this day, noisy, divided, and contentious as ever, their sober, serious, and

responsible Whig counterparts collapsed amidst the sectional and ethnic strife of the 1850s, never to rise again. Historians have long agreed that the disappearance of a Whig Party spanning North and South was a crucial step in the train of events that led to the formation and victory of an exclusively northern Republican party, the secession of the slaveholding South, and the ensuing Civil War. Michael Holt set out to explain the Whigs' fall, but found the job impossible without tracing their rise as well. The resulting volume is massively detailed and formidably erudite, though its fundamental argument is reasonably straightforward.

Holt explains that Whig founders like Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Willie P. Mangum genuinely believed that Andrew Jackson's use of presidential power threatened the existence of the American republic. They could not oppose him successfully, however, without adopting a substantive economic policy, based on government support for economic development, that sharply distinguished them from Democrats and gave the electorate a clear reason to prefer one set of leaders to another. Here as elsewhere, Holt tends to treat public policy as a series of expedients that politicians support in order to win office, rather than a set of independent objectives that drives men to seek political power in the first place. On the whole, historians who view substantive goals like economic development or slavery expansion as driving forces in political history will not be satisfied by this approach.

Like most major political parties, the Whigs shared moments of victory and defeat, suffered from mistakes and internal disputes, and quarreled over patronage as often as principles. Holt finds that none of these vicissitudes proved fatal so long as voters could see clear policy differences between Whigs and Democrats that offered plausible alternative visions for the defense of public liberty and the common good. Drawing on an idea he introduced in *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (1983), Holt argues that older political differences declined in the 1850s, as general prosperity drew the parties into consensus over the economic issues, such as tariff protection, corporate and railroad subsidies, and banking policy issues, that once divided them. Lacking a clear policy mission, the Whigs fell into disputes over patronage and personal ambitions, while sectional and nativist extremists stepped forward as more attractive alternatives to self-interested office seekers and bipartisan "me-tooism." Holt's core analysis here is sound and convincing, and will probably dominate future interpretations of the period.

Whig disintegration began in earnest, Holt finds, when southern Whigs abandoned a standing agreement to tolerate sectional disagreement over

slavery and demanded that their northern counterparts accept the finality of the Compromise of 1850, including every feature of its obnoxious Fugitive Slave Act. Indifferent to the party's larger interests and riven by self-interested factional disputes, northern Whigs could make no common reply to this demand. Instead, their existing factions split even further between pro- and anti-Compromise wings who simply used the issue against each other as they conducted more compelling struggles over place and preferment. In the presidential campaign of 1852, pro-Compromise forces wrote the party platform while their enemies named its candidate, Gen. Winfield Scott, but each side remained furious with the other. They were thus unable to unite against the Democrats' infamous Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, but slowly disintegrated as Whig voters divided themselves between more compelling anti-Democratic alternatives, the Republicans and the more evanescent Know-Nothings.

Throughout this struggle, the often-overlooked figure of Millard Fillmore emerges as Holt's unlikely hero. In his view, Fillmore presciently saw that northern Whigs who rejected the Compromise for the sake of local advantage would tear the party apart, but he bravely kept struggling to exclude anti-slavery agitators and unite its warring factions on common, pro-slavery ground. When most of Fillmore's conservative northern friends refused to associate with Know-Nothing rabble-rousers in 1856, the Whig party truly breathed its last and Holt concludes his narrative. Correspondingly, Holt's implicit villains include northern Whigs like William Seward, who willfully persisted in resisting the Slave Power when he evidently should have been thinking about winning the next national election.

Holt supports his argument with massive research and voluminous detail. A central part of his argument is that local, state, and national parties depended closely on each other, so the rise and fall of the Whigs as a national party cannot be understood without mastering the corresponding story in every state. While this part of the argument may well be true, Holt's description of every leaf and twig on every tree will undoubtedly leave some readers looking vainly for the forest. When he pauses to summarize the broad outlines of his story, as in his final chapter, Holt proves that the tale can indeed be condensed and will probably lead many readers to wish he had done so more often.

Despite the book's exhaustive detail, specialists will also notice some startling omissions. Holt focuses on Whiggery purely as an organization

designed to conduct election campaigns, and he largely passes over recent scholarship on the Whigs' political culture. He neglects the practical significance of Whig economic policies to the transformation of the early republic, as well as the relationship between Whiggery and the nation's evolving class structure. Most surprisingly, Holt halts the story abruptly in 1856 and ignores the Constitutional Union Party of 1860, which historians have often interpreted as the Whigs' final political appearance. Perfectionists may argue that less attention to obscure state elections and patronage quarrels might well leave space for more discussion of these equally compelling subjects.

More fundamentally, Holt uses his detailed analysis to argue that the destruction of the Whigs and the second party system was not driven by faceless social forces, but by a series of contingent events and decisions which might have happened otherwise. He acknowledges that this argument opens him to the charge of "revisionism": the older view that the Civil War resulted from preventable human blunders rather than an "irrepressible conflict" in a nation half slave and half free. Holt is obviously right to insist that the antebellum political breakdown happened through a specific series of events and decisions. Surely he is wrong, however, if he means to imply that Whiggery might have survived and war been averted if only certain missteps had been avoided. Being human, politicians will always make mistakes, but it is only when they make mistakes in explosive situations that conflagrations like the Civil War ensue. Holt attempts to prove that sectional pressures were not wholly responsible for the death of the Whig Party, but time and again, it is the ineluctable sectional dispute that lies in wait to exacerbate every Whig blunder. Most historians will probably continue to believe, therefore, that underlying conditions in antebellum America were more responsible for the onset of the Civil War than the sadly constant fact of human fallibility.

Michael Holt has written a stunningly comprehensive account of a central element in American political history. After his work, it is hard to imagine that much more relevant information about the Whig Party remains hidden in the archives, so specialists will depend on his scholarship for decades to come. On central issues of interpretation, however, it is doubtful that more information alone will settle the ongoing discussion. Historians' debates about the American Whigs will undoubtedly continue.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

HARRY L. WATSON

The Antietam Campaign. Edited by GARY W. GALLAGHER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xvi, 335p. Maps, illustrations, bibliographic essay, notes on contributors, index. \$32.50.)

The Antietam Campaign, the latest Gary Gallagher-edited volume in the Military Campaigns of the Civil War series, like the earlier entries significantly advances our understanding of a well-known clash between the North and the South. Historians have long recognized Antietam as one of the most critical campaigns of the Civil War. More Americans died on September 17, 1862, than on any other day in the nation's history. Confederate hopes of diplomatic recognition by the European powers faded with their retreat from the Sharpsburg battlefield, while Lincoln took advantage of this costly "victory" to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and broaden the North's war aims to include the destruction of slavery. This volume's essays, some of them written by leading scholars, explore a wide range of issues related to this pivotal, sanguinary event.

Some contributions, instead of focusing on the well-known events of the battle itself, profitably cover less familiar ground. Gallagher's contribution, which leads off, explores the Confederate reaction to the battle. Although historians have tended to look at the results of the Antietam campaign as being favorable to the Union, Gallagher argues that Confederates for the most part did not share this outlook. Instead they saw the campaign, particularly the capture of Harper's Ferry and its federal garrison, as a continuation of the Army of Northern Virginia's generally successful offensive operations which commenced several months earlier on the peninsula. Brooks D. Simpson focuses on the morale of that much-written about but little understood beast, the Army of the Potomac. He finds that many officers and soldiers in the eastern federal army shared the cautious, anti-administration attitude of their beloved commander, George B. McClellan. Although the general's failure to pursue the Confederates vigorously following the battle led to his relief, Simpson demonstrates that McClellan was not alone in believing that his forces were in no condition to undertake such a campaign.

Although supporters of the Confederacy expressed disappointment at the failure of many Maryland citizens to assist or join Lee's army during the Antietam campaign, William A. Blair convincingly illuminates the vital earlier role the state played in the rebellion. Lincoln's suspension of the writ

of habeas corpus and use of arbitrary arrests in order to ensure that the state remain in the Union convinced many Southerners, even if they had opposed secession, that they were engaged in a righteous struggle against Northern tyranny. Thus, by forcing Lincoln's hand, Maryland made an important, if indirect, contribution to the Southern war effort. Keith S. Bohannon devotes his essay to the Confederate army's grave logistical problems, which resulted in an immense amount of suffering as well as straggling. Publicity devoted to this issue within the Confederacy quickly led to both administrative reforms and widespread public efforts to provide supplies for the South's premier army, and ensured that conditions would improve substantially for Lee's men.

Lesley J. Gordon offers an intriguing analysis of the manner in which the survivors of a Union regiment shaped the postwar memory of their undistinguished involvement in the fighting. In letters written shortly after the battle the men of the Sixteenth Connecticut frankly admitted their fear and confusion, but in later years their accounts became romantic and celebratory. Carol Reardon's essay concerns the U.S. military's use of the battlefield as a training ground and classroom for its officer corps early in the twentieth century. Although many of these young men were reluctant to move beyond their ingrained veneration of Lee in order to more objectively evaluate the battle, a substantial number learned valuable lessons from the close study of the Antietam campaign.

Other contributors focus on more traditional battle-related subjects, bringing fresh interpretive approaches to bear. D. Scott Hartwig notes the disastrous effect of large numbers of almost untrained new recruits on the effectiveness of the Union army during the battle. Robert E. L. Krick reveals the often-underrated effectiveness of Confederate artillery during the battle, while Robert K. Krick provides a lively narrative of the stubborn Confederate defense of the aptly named Bloody Lane. Peter S. Carmichael's essay examines the appalling incompetence of Confederate artillery chief William Nelson Pendleton (who did not directly supervise the artillery during the battle), and attempts to understand Lee's failure, then or later, to replace this ineffective subordinate.

The essays in this volume, as in the earlier entries in this fine series, show that it is still possible for scholars to explore new and challenging interpretations of the legendary but familiar battles of the Civil War. Blending tactical and strategic analysis with insights into social, cultural, political, and economic trends, *The Antietam Campaign* is fascinating and

instructive in its own right. Perhaps even more importantly, along with its sister volumes it should inspire historians of the Middle Period to adopt a similarly rigorous, analytical approach to the study of the war's battles. Historians and the general public, as this volume demonstrates, still have much to learn about the Civil War.

Louisburg College

MICHAEL THOMAS SMITH

Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion: The Making of a President, 1884. By MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xv, 377p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55.00; paper, \$19.95.)

The Democrat Party, famously denounced by its enemies as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," recaptured the presidency in the election of 1884 for the first time in almost twenty-five years. The contest between Grover Cleveland and James G. Blaine has usually been characterized as just another meaningless Gilded Age set-to, filled with riotous campaigning, flawed presidential candidates, unsavory political activists saying inane and outrageous things, extraordinary mudslinging, not to mention corruption and fraud at the polls. Mark Summers strongly disagrees with much of this. In this interesting and ably argued book, he suggests that historians have overemphasized the colorful and banal and missed the essence of what was being played out in 1884. Beneath the campaign hoopla, there was a more mixed and complicated reality. The long established partisan political nation chugged along in its accustomed grooves, but the differences were far from meaningless. The battle reflected—and epitomized—the defining elements of the political culture: real differences between the parties in their approach to governing, and over specific economic and social policies, differences that they forcefully articulated, and which drew much support to them; intense popular commitment to each party as voters understood "that election of a Democrat or Republican president would make a difference" (p. 7); all resulting in one of the closest elections in our history. At the same time, there was a growing sense among political activists that all was not well with the American political system, that it was increasingly angst ridden, filled with extraordinary distrust and significant signs of disfunction. Corruption at the polls, vote buying and intimidation, elections—as in 1876—apparently

stolen by the other side, the collapse of Republican efforts in the South, minor parties nibbling at the edges, articulating familiar ethno-religious and new economic issues, often with important impact on voter loyalties in a particular election, all led to a dismaying sense that something was very wrong in American politics.

A party manager's lot was not easy in this atmosphere. A system so tightly contested that each side desperately sought ways to crack off pieces from the other party by fair means or not, while sweating out the threat posed by one's own potential defectors gave them nightmares: Who to run, what to emphasize, what deals to make, where to spend effort and money. Each party was riven by factional splits over candidates and policy emphases. The Democrats remained bedeviled by their alleged treasonous behavior during the Civil War which drove away many northerners, the Republicans by their impotence in the South in presidential elections, and the threat posed by implacable moral demands from intensely determined Prohibitionists and other reformers. Both parties spent much time on the defensive. The Republicans suffered greatly from the provocative remarks of a Protestant minister against Roman Catholics, blunting both their hope to attract such voters, and their wish to stress economic issues, especially the protective tariff, as the key to national development and their own success. On election day the system's basic impulses showed through, as did glimmerings of the new forces rising. A narrow victory went to the party that mobilized and held its voter base most competently.

Summers's look at the American political system through the lens of a single election is largely successful. First, he lays out the many elements in play, large scale and immediate, the mechanics of the campaign, the decisions made, and the underlying seriousness of what was going on, in a series of insightful chapters that well cover the ground. Much of this is old-fashioned political history, focussing on the toing and froing of the party leaders in back rooms, caucuses, and conventions. But he never loses sight of the audience that they addressed, what the voters heard, and how they reacted, decided, and were brought up to the mark by election day. In contrast to his treatment of the party leaders' activities, he does not elaborate as much on some of this as he might, particularly in his analysis of electoral behavior. But he does offer a reasoned presentation of a politics simultaneously locked into the past and moving into crisis, making his points with a real feel for the culture under observation.

At the same time, he is no cheerleader for this system. While arguing that

politics was vibrant, energetic, to its constituents meaningful, and revealing of larger elements in play, he bleakly condemns much of what was afoot in 1884. Whatever the system's positive qualities, it was also built on democratic denial and squalid corruption, financial and otherwise. Southern politics had become grotesque in its limitations—the need for money to fuel the system and the demands for spoils—consumed much of the whole. Thus, he concluded, whatever positives the political nation had, its darker sides were part of the story as well—limiting the reach and effectiveness of the nation's democratic impulses.

Cornell University

JOEL H. SILBEY

Making Iron on the Bald Eagle: Roland Curtin's Iron Works and Workers' Community. By GERALD G. EGGERT. (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999. xvi, 189p. Illustrations, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

A few years ago when Penn State joined the Big Ten athletic conference, a Big Ten coach offered the opinion that moving athletes in and out of Centre County reminded him of a camping trip. In brief, it has never been easy to move anything in and out of central Pennsylvania, and this surely included iron from Roland Curtin's Eagle Ironworks in Bald Eagle Village as early as 1810. Curtin, an Irish immigrant, came to the valley in 1797 and erected the first forge along Bald Eagle Creek thirteen years later. This was the beginning of the Eagle Ironworks plantation that survived until the early 1920s. Having said this, almost nothing ever seemed to come easy for this frontier industrial enterprise.

The transportation challenge alone was staggering. Picture in the mind's eye, for a moment, beasts of burden with iron mounted on their backs making the trek to market. Or consider, arks laden with iron trying to navigate the shallow Susquehanna, even as far as Columbia. (The Main Line and West Branch canals were too far away to be important to Centre Countians.) The first rail connection, the Bald Eagle Valley Railroad, was not established until 1864. An earlier effort, the Lock Haven and Tyrone Railroad, failed in the 1850s.

Roland Curtin's labor force, obviously, had to be housed on the plantation, along with all the necessary components including company housing, the

Eagle Emporium (company store), Curtin Village Methodist Church, and a school. The workers, eighty-seven percent of whom were native born, were cared for paternalistically. While they never formed unions or rebelled, they did slow down their pace as a response to perceived injustice.

Professor Eggert pays careful attention to technology by describing the ironmaking procedure, including the gathering of wood, the production of charcoal, the mining of ore, and smelting. Production technology, however, was easily overshadowed by market forces, rising and falling prices, and the tariff.

Either consciously or unconsciously, Roland Curtin plunged into land speculation as a counterweight to the vagaries of the iron market. Between 1796 and 1850, in endless transactions, he purchased a total of 21,528 acres for \$63,873, and sold 3,371 acres for \$49,415 (p. 81). Accordingly, it seems appropriate to ask which business really took priority in Curtin's efforts? The whole story reminds the reviewer of Richard Hofstadter's old argument that the aggrieved populist was not really much of a farmer, but more decidedly a land speculator. Indeed, what was Curtin's primary business?

Apparently, Curtin was enough of a major figure in mid-nineteenth-century central Pennsylvania with sufficient power and influence to coexist with endless debt, endless land deals, and the ever-present threat of foreclosures and sheriff's sales. This activity, in the hands of another historian, might have generated a rather different book. The debt that Curtin built up was dutifully retired by the second generation. But, alas, the second generation, in time, buried the third generation in debt by "selling out" at a terribly high price. The third and fourth generations really had very little chance for survival beyond 1890.

Today the Curtin Mansion and plantation are trying to survive as a museum with the help of the Curtin Foundation and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Like many historical museums, the revenue generation by admissions does not cover expenses and therefore the future is uncertain.

Professor Eggert has made another solid contribution to the history of the iron industry in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania. This chronicle of iron barons and industrial workers in Curtin Village adds a central Pennsylvania accent to already existing narratives of iron barons in Hopewell Village, the efforts of Rebecca Lukens in Coatesville, or those of David and Samuel Reeves in Phoenixville. Again, in conclusion, this study raises some very serious questions concerning Roland Curtin's business priorities. It also

serves to remind readers of the subjective nature of credit and finance.

Elizabethtown College

THOMAS R. WINPENNY

Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930.
Edited by EDWARD C. CARTER II. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999. xv, 344p. Essays, illustrations, notes, appendix, notes on contributors, index. \$25.00.)

The study of North American scientific exploration in the nineteenth century defies disciplinary boundaries. This is aptly demonstrated in *Surveying the Record*, a collection of essays originally presented at a conference on exploration at the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia. Scholars from the fields of geography, Western history, literature, history of science, art history, anthropology, and geology have contributed to this fine volume, which explores various aspects of geographic exploration either by North Americans or in North America.

Edward C. Carter II, librarian of the American Philosophical Society, has edited the book with a light touch, preserving the flavor of the conference. Like the conference, the purpose of the collection is to raise a variety of issues and suggest areas for further research. Contributors come not only from a variety of academic disciplines, they also represent widely different points in their careers, reflecting, in Carter's words, the conference's "goal of stimulation of discussion and intellectual interchange between the new and older generations of scholars."

While it is impossible to review here each of the sixteen essays in this volume, important themes run through the collection. Perhaps the most important issue is the state of exploration scholarship. After Carter's brief introduction, there is a useful essay by John L. Allen on "geosophical historiography," acknowledging the influential work of earlier scholars of exploration, particularly John Kirtland Wright, Bernard DeVoto, and William H. Goetzmann. Throughout the essays that follow, by authors who owe an intellectual debt to this previous generation's research, we learn about the progress of exploration studies since midcentury.

Of particular importance to many of the authors in this volume is that exploration, like all science, does not go on in a vacuum. Knowing the cultural context is vital to understanding the meaning of geographical

explorations. Certain essays do a particularly good job demonstrating this simple, yet often forgotten, point. John Rennie Short, for instance, successfully combines cartography with nationalism in his discussion of creating a map of America during the early republic. Maps were not just depictions of geographical reality, they were a part of how citizens in an emerging nation imagined themselves as a nation. Another essay that successfully places science within its cultural context is Elizabeth Green Musselman's description of the relationship between scientific and naval members of the U.S. Exploring Expedition. Musselman describes the way both scientific and cultural boundaries were negotiated by members of the expedition. Finally, in this same vein, Brad D. Hume explores the influence of romanticism on what historians of science call "Humboldtian science." Hume points out that the romantic and the technical were often mixed together rather than opposed in nineteenth-century scientific exploration.

This collection also emphasizes that the boundaries between science, literature, and art are not as impermeable as we sometimes assume. Katherine E. Manthorne's interesting essay looks at the overlapping boundary between art and science in the work of painter Frederic Church. Like many artists who portrayed far away lands for an audience back home, Church had to reconcile the informational and the artistic uses of his paintings. Other essays on exploration art, by Ron Tyler and Debora Rindge, look at the illustrations that accompanied the findings of government sponsored explorations of the West. Rindge's essay, "Science and Art Meet in the Parlor," makes the point particularly well that the whole nation experienced scientific exploration through the materials explorers produced. In a similar way, Albert Furtwangler focuses on the Lewis and Clark expedition and journals, looking at the relationship between doing exploration and writing about exploration.

In some papers, authors emphasize that explorers encountered new people as well as new places. Barry Alan Joyce's essay on the relationship between the Inuit of northern Greenland and the American explorer Elisha Kane considers the ethnocentrism of nineteenth-century explorers. Kane, who owed his very survival to the Inuit, portrayed them as "savages" in his narrative of the expedition. At other times explorers admired the people they encountered, as demonstrated by Donald Worster in his essay on John Wesley Powell, who admired the cooperative society of the Mormons he encountered on his second Colorado River expedition. An essay by Douglas Cole and Alex Long and another by Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox

explore the relationship between exploration and nineteenth-century anthropology.

On the whole this volume "surveys the record" quite well. The essays and the valuable references to be found in their footnotes provide a useful resource for present and future scholars of exploration. Almost all of the essays in *Surveying the Record* are well written, with little or no academic jargon, making the collection easily accessible to an educated audience with an interest in exploration. It will be of value to scholars in the multiple fields represented, and will make an excellent teaching tool in college classes in history or geography.

Nottingham, New Hampshire

DAVID CHAPIN

Displays of Power: Memory and Amnesia in the American Museum. BY STEPHEN C. DUBIN. New York: New York University Press, 1999. xiv, 290p. Illustrations, list of interviews, notes, index. \$24.95.)

Once upon a time, in a society and culture long ago and far away, a museum was a place where the past could be held in stasis and passively viewed by streaming crowds. No longer is such the case. The museum of today, argues *Displays of Power*, is where cultural fusions and battles take place for control over the history and culture of the community. The museum is a space where myriad and diverse groups come to struggle for and define their histories and their images in the public eye. *Displays of Power* discusses several of the battles over the last few decades for control of this public space.

The book seeks to examine symbolic politics as a process. It examines the struggles that erupt in and around museums and that are often intense but then fade into obscurity after a brief period, though the museums as institutions continue to "solidify culture, endow it with a tangibility" (p. 3). The interaction between the institutions and the communities who use the museums as platforms is called by the author "academic power plays," but this is not a work of taxonomy and the author refuses to force his examples into "a single theoretical box." Why have museums become so controversial? The thesis of this book is that museums have become more strident about how to represent, chronicle, revise, and display the past.

The ancestry of the museum reaches back at least to the early modern *Wunderkammer* in which were assembled the junk and treasures of the rich

and powerful. These private viewing rooms developed into huge collections filling room after room with fossils, precious stones, artwork, tools, and technology. Sometimes, as in the case of the now defunct Soviet Union's Lenin Museum on Red Square, for example, these collections were intended to illustrate an ideology as well as history, and so the visitor is led from the Stone Age artifacts in the basement up through all the ages of man until the uppermost floor is a shrine to Leninism, arranged with the subtle touches of an ancient Orthodox rite. Dubin, however, is concerned with a more modern role for the museum.

The modern museum is much more specialized and no longer as accountable to the quirks and vagaries of wealthy patrons and collectors, but rather more to a "diverse constituency," which leaves the museum vulnerable to the "intellectual fads and trends" of these constituencies who seek to influence how their history and patriotic images are depicted and displayed. Museums have become more sensitive to the people whose history and culture they collect and display. And they have had to learn to survive in a more carnivorous struggle for funding, publicity, and paying customers. The museum gift shop has become an essential element for attracting revenue. Because of these changes, and the culture wars that have surrounded many exhibitions, museums have become a major target for controversy, illustrated by the recent furor over the use of elephant dung in a representation of the Virgin Mary exhibited in a New York museum.

The purpose of this book is to understand the consequences of increased community involvement in what museums show the community about itself, and to accomplish this task, Dubin has mapped out a multilayered analysis of the struggles for cultural mastery. He seeks to understand the intentions of the exhibitions' creators, the social context from which the exhibitions arise, and the reception the exhibitions receive in the community. The chapters discuss exhibitions on various subjects from the black and Irish communities of New York to Freudian analysis to the Enola Gay.

The difficulty with the book is perhaps a strength also: it reconstructs in painstaking detail the course of development of each exhibition and does not shy away from the backbiting, in-fighting, political struggles, and general nastiness that erupts around it. Because these altercations sometimes take place among relatively small or limited groups one can see little value in rehashing the pettiness of some of the participants. Indeed, there are paragraphs in this book that lead the reader to conclude he is a fly on the wall in a house full of teenagers, rather than a participant in a discussion of

an important cultural phenomenon. The sometimes chatty tone and the volume of minute and seemingly extraneous detail about the staging of various exhibitions reinforce this impression. But perhaps this conclusion is too harsh; perhaps Dubin's intent was, in fact, to describe these conflicts in great detail in order to demonstrate graphically the role museums have come to play in modern American culture. In either event, the book fails to move the reader beyond the pale of urban cultural minutiae toward a deeper understanding of museums as "places where conflicts over some of the most vital issues regarding national character and group identity—the struggle between universalism and particularism—regularly break out" (p. 245).

Illinois State University

W. M. Reger IV

A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century. By Witold Rybczynski. (Scribner: New York, 1999. 480p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$28.00.)

Within the last generation, Frederick Law Olmsted has been the subject of two full-length biographies, an inept psychobiography, a splendid study of his major landscape designs, numerous articles, exhibitions, and catalogues, and the publication of seven volumes of his personal and professional papers (upon which I worked) that the author describes as a "monumental series, intelligently annotated and exhaustively researched." *A Clearing in the Distance* thus takes the informed reader across much familiar biographical terrain—the Hartford of Olmsted's youth, early educational experiences and avocations, the southern travels and writings, Olmsted's publishing career, the Civil War years and California frontier—and through a familiar set of landscapes, including Central and Prospect parks, Yosemite, the suburb of Riverside, Illinois, Boston's Emerald Necklace, Biltmore, and the Worlds Columbian Exhibition grounds.

There are two principal ways of assessing the significance of *A Clearing in the Distance*: one is to ascertain whether the author brings to the task newly discovered information or a new way of thinking about familiar events or documents; the other is to measure how effectively the author brings his subject to a much broader audience. Although Rybczynski has written intelligently about domestic architecture and urban life, it is not a unique sensitivity to design that is the hallmark of this biography; Charles

Beveridge's *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape* (1995) remains the most detailed and imaginative analysis of Olmsted's work in creating landscapes. Nor is there any new information or a novel interpretation that might make this a compelling biography.

Instead, in what may mark a terrible new direction for biographical writing, Rybczynski adopts a variation of the strategy Edmund Morris made notorious in his memoir of Ronald Reagan, *Dutch* (1999)—the author as part of the biography. Thus we experience Rybczynski's sense of adventure in discovering Olmsted's Staten Island farm house (as if previous biographers had not visited the same place and described it as fully as he did); we learn firsthand his growing frustration at Olmsted's meandering path toward his professional career; we read of the author's collegiate routine of walking up the carriage road in Mount Royal, the mountain park Olmsted designed in Montreal. As awkward as these and similar passages are to readers who value Flaubert's dictum that the author should be everywhere present but nowhere intrusive, more problematic are occasions where Rybczynski simply invents conversations: "I can imagine his father advising him: 'I'll help you Frederick, but this time don't rush into it . . .'" (p. 59). This is one of a number of sentences a more adept biographer would have handled with greater sensitivity.

Especially unsettling are the passages in which Rybczynski attempts to give an immediacy to Olmsted's experiences or thoughts at several critical points in his life. The first presents Olmsted pondering his future in scientific farming at Sachem's Head, Connecticut; the second retells Olmsted's chance meeting in an inn at Morris Cove, Connecticut, when, his hopes for a publishing career dashed, Charles Wyllys Elliott encouraged him to apply for the superintendency of laborers at Central Park. These and eight other italicized vignettes are based on well-known letters or memoirs Olmsted wrote, but invariably Rybczynski embellishes the story with what he imagines Olmsted must have been thinking and feeling. Instead of enabling the reader to share in his personal quest—"I also want to see the world through his eyes" (p. 70)—the vignettes (roughly eight percent of the book) blur the critically important line between author and subject.

Authorial intrusions and inventions are unnecessary in telling a life as richly documented as Olmsted's. A conscientious biographer could have presented the several children's stories Olmsted wrote as a way of teaching life's lessons to his offspring and probed the psychology that created them. She or he might have offered a more sustained analysis of the strengths and

talents Olmsted and his various partners brought to their collaborations. Careful scrutiny of the documentary evidence would have revealed that Olmsted was sole author of the Riverside report and of preliminary plans for what was arguably the most influential suburban community designed in the second half of the nineteenth century (Calvert Vaux was in England at the time); instead, the chapter devoted to Riverside counts the number of trees and shrubs planted there. Surely some readers would have appreciated greater attention to Olmsted's life and designs in the post-1874 years, which receive remarkably short shrift in a very long book. And Rybczynski could have studied more than a handful of Olmsted landscapes—the list of places he visited is embarrassingly short, and omits the Buffalo, Rochester, Louisville, and Essex County, New Jersey, park systems, individual parks in cities across the nation, dozens of college campuses and institution grounds, and numerous private estates. *A Clearing in the Distance* is biased in favor of the relatively few places the author visited, which are important but not wholly representative of Olmsted's life or work. The result is a biography that doesn't do justice to the richness of Olmsted's professional career.

The subtitle, *A Clearing in the Distance*, attempts to identify the subject with the "life and times" genre of biography practiced so effectively by the late James Mellow, but the promised attention to America in the nineteenth century is largely undeveloped. We learn of Olmsted's experiences in the U.S. Sanitary Commission during 1861–1863, but following his move to the California frontier the Civil War virtually disappears as an authorial concern. Readers learn of Olmsted's involvement with the *Nation*, but not of its attempts to raise the level of civilization in the United States or to influence national policy during Reconstruction. Rybczynski describes Olmsted's battles with Andrew H. Green and Boss Tweed, but not the conditions that gave rise to the political machine or the transformations of political culture in the nineteenth-century metropolis. Too often Rybczynski focuses so narrowly on his subject that his prose fails to make good on the subtitle's promise to illuminate the broader patterns of American life.

A Clearing in the Distance is a book that genuinely admires its subject. But given the wealth of scholarship devoted to Olmsted published over the last generation, and the value of the author's previous writings, it is unfortunate that Rybczynski was content to summarize existing knowledge. General readers, as well as scholars, deserve better.

A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh. By KENNETH J. HEINEMAN (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999, xv, 287 p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$60; paper, \$22.50.)

In *A Catholic New Deal* historian Kenneth Heineman reassesses the role that Catholic workers, priests, and social thought had on the New Deal Democratic Party and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in Pittsburgh during the 1930s. Many historians have argued that New Deal and CIO success depended on breaking the hold that the Catholic Church had on its working-class parishioners. Historians also have maintained that activist priests who supported the CIO were primarily motivated by a virulent and uncompromising anticommunism that had negative consequences on industrial unionism. Heineman, on the other hand, argues passionately that many Catholic workers and priests vigorously supported and shaped the New Deal Democratic Party and the burgeoning CIO. They were motivated by a Catholic social reform tradition that spurned both laissez-faire capitalism and an activist state. The social philosophy of Father John Ryan, built on the Papal encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI, formed the basis of a "Christian Democracy." According to Heineman, the New Deal Democratic Party and the CIO did not sever the connection between Catholics and the church communities as others have argued, but rather an activist clergy utilized the New Deal and the CIO in their quest to create a moral society where labor and capitol worked together.

Heineman has an impressive grasp of the political and social history of Pittsburgh. The book is based on a wide array of local primary sources and a firm understanding of the published and unpublished secondary sources on Pittsburgh history. Beginning with Father James Cox's 1932 poverty march on Washington, Heineman describes the importance of Pittsburgh's Catholic priests, like Cox and Fathers Carl Hensler and Charles Owen Rice, in the rise of Catholic social activism in the 1930s and the transformation of Pittsburgh's Democratic party into the majority party in a city previously dominated by Republicans. He closely addresses the interplay between ethnicity and Catholicism among the primarily immigrant (mostly Slavic) Pittsburgh Catholics, and the fragile coalition of Catholics, African-Americans, and Jews that created the successful Democratic voting bloc in 1936. Heineman's command of Pittsburgh politics, Catholicism, ethnicity,

and social movements makes *A Catholic New Deal* successful as local political and social history.

Although important and sometimes thoughtful, Heineman's analysis of the CIO is much less nuanced and more problematic. He convincingly argues that labor historians have unfairly dismissed both Catholic social thought and the role of Catholic labor priests. For example, Heineman's chapter on the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) demonstrates the important role that Catholic CIO leaders, like Philip Murray and John Brophy, and Catholic priests, like Father Rice, played in the organization of steel workers in Pittsburgh. Heineman very well may be correct that Pittsburgh's Catholic activists "won the day" for the CIO in Pittsburgh (p. 210).

A Catholic New Deal is nonetheless an important contribution to the already rich social and political history of Pittsburgh. Although unbalanced in his treatment of Catholic influence in the CIO, Heineman is correct in arguing that labor historians should more seriously consider the influence that Catholicism and Catholic social doctrine had on the CIO and New Deal politics.

Catholic University of America

JOSEPH M. TURRINI

Connie Mack's '29 Triumph: The Rise and Fall of the Philadelphia Athletics Dynasty. By WILLIAM C. KASHATUS (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1999. viii, 216p. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.50.)

The recent successes of the New York Yankees have revived arguments about which is the greatest baseball team of all time. The current Yankee squad, the Cincinnati Reds of the mid-1970s, and the powerhouse 1927 Yankees have all been mentioned frequently. One team less commonly acknowledged, however, has been the Philadelphia Athletics of 1929. In *Connie Mack's '29 Triumph*, William Kashatus makes the case for the team's spot at the top of the list.

Using an extensive variety of sources, ranging from newspaper accounts and statistics to player autobiographies and interviews with fans and sportswriters, Kashatus has written a narrative history of the way in which Athletics owner-manager Connie Mack assembled a championship team at

a time when many thought that the game had passed him by, and of Mack's eventual dismantling of the team after a series of strong seasons. Building around aging stars like Ty Cobb and future stars like Jimmy Foxx, Mickey Cochrane, and Lefty Grove, Mack began to assemble a winning team in the mid-1920s. By 1929, the Athletics took the American League pennant by eighteen games over the still strong Yankees, and won the World Series twice in three appearances between 1929 and 1931. In an appendix, Kashatus gives a statistical comparison of the A's of those years and the Yankees of the 1926-28, and makes a convincing argument that the Philadelphia team was the stronger of the two.

While Philadelphia was a two-team city, the Athletics were always the more popular franchise; the Phillies perpetually finished at or near the bottom of the National League. Kashatus does a fine job placing the A's in particular, and baseball in general, within the civic context of the 1920s. In a chapter on "Philadelphia in the Roaring Twenties," he shows the ways in which the A's home, Shibe Park at 21st and Lehigh, became "the focal point of adventure for many Philadelphians" (p. 27). Game days, and especially World Series games, drew tens of thousands to the neighborhood, filling the grandstands, the roofs of the rowhouses across 20th Street, and the streets surrounding the park. Athletics players were part of the neighborhood, as well; many lived in rowhouses and boarding houses within blocks of Shibe Park.

Kashatus' descriptions of the Athletics' rise and fall in the years between 1924 and 1935 give vivid accounts of the up and down textures of any baseball season. The managerial skills of Mack, "the Tall Tactician," held the volatile personalities of players like Cobb, Cochrane, and Grove in check through the team's rebuilding process and subsequent successes. When Mack saw that the key members of his team were aging or losing their skills, he did not hesitate to release them, or trade or sell them to another team. Mr. Mack, as he was known to his players, is remembered today for the suit, tie, and the hat he wore on the bench, as well as for building and then dismantling two Athletics dynasties. In his Hall of Fame career, he managed nine pennant-winners and seventeen last-place finishers.

While marred somewhat by frequent typographical errors, Kashatus' book is a fine addition to the literature on baseball in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as a companion to Bruce Kuklick's 1991 book *To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976*. In addition, it is sure to add fuel to the still-burning debate over what team can claim to be the best in

the history of the game.

University of Pennsylvania

TIMOTHY WOOD

City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972. By MARK STEIN. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. xi, 437p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$35.00.)

Mark Stein has made a major contribution to lesbian and gay history in the United States with this exhaustive study of gay men and lesbians in Philadelphia during the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century. The work surveys the geographic, social, and political patterns of gay and lesbian Philadelphia. It makes extensive use of newspaper and magazine accounts, materials published by gay and lesbian groups themselves, and oral history. Stein has amassed formidable evidence of a vibrant and developed gay and lesbian life in a city not usually known for its contributions to gay and lesbian history.

As the title suggests, Stein is interested in correcting the common assumption that gay men and lesbians did not have heterosocial relationships or work in concert prior to the AIDS epidemic. He illustrates the connections between gay men and lesbians, but is also cognizant of the distance that sometimes existed between the groups. A great strength of the book is that, unlike much gay history, this book tells the story of both men's and women's communities with great depth and sympathy. Stein is very familiar with feminist analysis and theory. He often uses feminism as a standard by which to judge the activities of predominantly male and mixed groups. This is unusual for a work in gay history, and makes the book appealing not only for the student of gay and lesbian history, but also for women's studies.

The early geographic and social landscape are well documented and presented in great detail. The story of gay and lesbian Philadelphia becomes much more interesting when Stein reaches the political developments that began in 1960. Stein supplies solid evidence to refute the widely held assumption that gay politics began with Stonewall. He tells the story of the homophile groups that existed throughout the 1960s that prepared the groundwork for later developments. He gives excellent evidence of the political strategies these groups used, and describes in detail the relationships

that existed among them. Stein is particularly effective when he examines the philosophy of "militant respectability" employed by these groups, and the way that philosophy was challenged by sexual liberation. This issue is still a crucial one for gay politics today, and Stein's insightful reading of the way this conflict functioned in the 1960s reminds the reader that historical studies are very useful in understanding complex dimensions of current conflicts.

City of Brotherly and Sisterly Loves makes a strong case for the crucial role of local history in the study of gay and lesbian community development. Stein's study distinguishes Philadelphia as a city that does not follow the patterns defined by other cities that have been studied. It is a place of gay and lesbian activism, a locus for publication of important early materials, a place where men and women worked together, and a community that developed unique strategies for political engagement. Stein makes clear the need for more works of this kind that would examine gay and lesbian life in other cities and smaller towns prior to Stonewall.

Temple University

REBECCA ALPERT

Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City. By ELIJAH ANDERSON. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999. 352p. Notes, bibliography, index. \$25.95.)

Code of the Street has its flaws. It is repetitive, and longtime students of Elijah Anderson's work will find it recycles much material from earlier books. It is vague about numbers, lacks historical perspective, and, unlike Anderson's mentor William Julius Wilson, offers little in the way of specific prescription for the ills it describes. Yet here again Anderson shows himself a master of clearly written exposition, as full of insight into the habits, mores, and attitudes of the inner city as any scholar now active. Philadelphians will find him especially intriguing, as the book opens with a tour down Germantown Avenue from Chestnut Hill through Mount Airy, deeper into ghetto, across Broad Street until the African-American gives way to Hispanic. At every stage Anderson describes in vivid detail the changing physical setting, from upscale shops through barred check-cashing establishments on to the bullet-pocked, partly demolished blocks in the heart of North Philadelphia. More important is the changing behavior of the

people, as the noise level moves up, the comfort level down, and passersby increasingly display the characteristic wariness of the Code of the Street.

Some of the code, Anderson insists I think rightly, is as old as history, and most any male will recognize it from childhood: "At the heart of the code is the issue of respect—loosely defined as being treated right, or being granted . . . the deference one deserves" (p. 33). Young men, especially, must be ready to fight, if necessary, for this respect. But what distinguishes the code in the ghetto from the one in the schoolyards of Lower Merion is the lack of alternatives: given profound alienation, no promising job opportunities, a lack of faith in cops or courts, violence becomes part of a way of life that is hard to outgrow. It is embedded in a number of related issues: jealousy of those whose success is based on "straight" behavior, the pervasiveness of crime and the drug culture as means of fulfilling material wants, the "zero sum" nature of much interaction, as young men and women, for example, hustle each other in an especially stark version of the battle of the sexes.

Much of the book is about the contest between the values of the street and those of the "decent" minority. A decent family that embodies the old fashioned values of hard work, honesty, and loyalty is virtually the only defense against a young person's slipping into "street" values. (Schools and other public institutions simply do not figure in this account, and even the organized church plays a minor role.) Even among those who have such families the contest seems almost hopeless: the kid who "acts white" is liable to beatings and taunts, without cash or the right clothes young men cannot score with the girls, girls are alternately subject to ostracism, threats, and seductive promises based on the wistful hopes for husband and family.

The traditional anchors of the community, "decent daddies" and grandmothers acting as "kin keepers" are weakening. "Old heads" who work as, say, bus drivers are hardly glamorous competitors to drug dealers and rapsters. The structural problems of the inner city economy in the Information Age mock its stress on success based simply on individual effort; so does pervasive white racism, although in practice ghetto dwellers rarely encounter white folks on a regular basis.

A reader wants to cry out, to wonder about the role of public policy, how to break out of the vicious cycle of anti-work attitudes, racism, and lack of jobs. Besides urging the authorities to back the heroic efforts of the old heads who are still providing campfire girls, little leagues, and block cleanups, Anderson is not in the answer business. But in his own words, and

in long selections from those of people on the ground, he gives us a matchless and utterly human account of the problems themselves.

Haverford College

ROGER LANE

The Emperors of Chocolate: Inside the Secret World of Hershey and Mars.
By JOËL GLENN BRENNER. (New York: Random House, 1999. 366p.
Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$25.95; paper, \$14.00).

The drama of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in July 1990 opens this impressive book that blends biography with cultural history as it combines investigative reporting with literary journalism. It was a significant time for both preeminent candy companies. Mars went to war along with the American troops as it flooded the desert region with M&Ms and Snickers bars. Hershey, the chief candy maker for the U. S. military for some eighty years, continued to dominate the market back home and participated in the patriotic effort with a new heat-resistant "Desert Bar."

Emperors of Chocolate contrasts the founders, the families, and the fortunes of the Hershey and Mars companies through their perpetual struggle for dominance in an industry which the author calls "a world of dreams, fun and joy," with "treats, laughter and solace."

The book stresses the differences between the two extraordinary men who built commercial empires based upon dissimilar dreams. Milton Hershey created a candy company as part of an industrial utopia. Forrest Mars, Sr., declared "I'm an empire builder."

Hershey, first to make milk chocolate in America, brought that confection to the masses. He made candy bars the way Henry Ford made cars. By 1945 the name Hershey had become synonymous with chocolate and purchasing a Hershey bar seemed as patriotic as reciting the pledge to the flag. Milton Hershey created a company town and gave orphans a home and school to develop the image of a benevolent, soft-spoken, gentle uncle making treats for children across the nation.

The Mars corporate culture and family management method, the reader soon learns, stood in stark contrast. Frank Mars founded the firm in 1922. His son, Forrest, Sr., ran the company for almost forty years with an eccentric, quirky, nonconformist style based upon office tantrums, unannounced factory visits, and night-time phone calls to managers. Executives

endured his harsh tongue and unforgiving approach because he paid salaries three times the industry norm. Some survived for years and grew rich as Mars became four times the size of Hershey worldwide.

The author, a former *Washington Post* reporter who spent eight years writing this work, emphasizes the intense competition that drives both firms and which energizes her story. She also notes their early cooperation. For example, in World War II Hershey was large and efficient enough to supply Mars with chocolate to manufacture its candy bars. Furthermore, Hershey and Mars were actual business partners in the 1920s. R. Bruce Murrie, son of the Hershey Company president at the time, was Forrest Mars, Sr.'s associate in the M&Ms business named for those two men, Mars and Murrie.

Joël Glen Brenner succeeds in telling her compelling story for two reasons. She presents Hershey and Mars as reflections of what has been described as one of the most secretive of industries. She also reveals a myriad of operational and personal details of the two great candy corporations.

Although today some 300 contemporary confectionary companies compete for the public's sweet tooth, Hershey and Mars control seventy-five percent of the 14 billion dollar business in a world of corporate intrigue, secrets, and spies. Hershey is publicly traded but remains as uncommunicative as possible. Privately held Mars releases virtually no information. The author reports that most of the people she interviewed in both companies spoke only after she guaranteed their identities would remain confidential.

In contrast to the highly publicized Coke-Pepsi rivalry, few outside the candy industry realize the true dimensions of the Hershey-Mars struggle characterized by recipes stored in safes, manufacturing employees kept ignorant of the complete process, and machinery made and serviced in-house to prevent outsiders from entering the factories.

Tantalizing tidbits flavor the text. For instance, Hershey was the only Fortune 500 company without a marketing department as late as 1960 and for decades it did not hire college graduates. At Mars, executives lack private offices, answer their own phones, and do without memos or staff meetings. It's a first-name-basis company.

In the perennial seesaw of candy business leadership the seemingly unmatchable Hershey fell behind the more aggressive Mars which became number one in the world. Today, however, Mars faces a revitalized Hershey with future supremacy uncertain. The total market continues to grow, but

comprises fewer independents as more drop out or are acquired by the two titans making them truly the emperors of chocolate.

Eastern College

JOHN A. BAIRD, JR.