

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia.* By KARIN WULF. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000. xvii, 217p. Illustrations, tables, notes, index. \$39.95.)

In *Not All Wives*, Karin Wulf argues that despite a general view of marriage as the normative experience for adult women in the colonies, it was neither a universal nor a permanent state. Some women never married, and those who did often spent much of their lives without husbands through widowhood, divorce, or separation. Given the large numbers of such women in urban areas—in some parts of Philadelphia they accounted for over twenty percent of household heads—the need for Wulf's approach is clear. Drawing upon a wide range of literary, legal, and economic sources, she presents a complex analysis of the place these women held in Philadelphia society and their relation to an increasingly masculine public and political culture on the eve of the Revolution.

Wulf opens with a review of the "problem of marriage" in early American historiography and a survey of gender norms and social prescriptions that shaped views of marriage and singleness in various parts of the colonies. In so doing, she highlights the lack of attention paid to unmarried women, noting that both contemporaries and historians have marginalized women's experiences, even when those experiences, such as being unmarried, were "quite common" (p. 7). Wulf also establishes the significance of locating her analysis in Philadelphia, arguing that in contrast to other regions, "diversity in the mid-Atlantic created a much less coherent culture of gender," one that demonstrated a greater toleration for spinsterhood, for religious and other reasons (p. 20).

Especially valuable is Wulf's presentation of literary treatments of singleness and the literary culture that involved unmarried women as both authors and readers. Here, as in other arenas, women exercised influence, shaping discussions about courtship and the problems that could attend marriage. In particular, as they described the dangers of marital unions fraught with disharmony or inequities, women writers articulated arguments that supported the value of the single life. If marriage to a tyrannical spouse could hinder a woman's ability to pursue her relationship with God, for example, then some, like the Quaker women who devoted themselves to ministerial work, might find the unwedded state a spiritually appealing, if not altogether blissful, alternative. In short, there were options for and models of women's individual identity that did not demand marriage and

submission to patriarchy.

Just as unmarried women took part in literary and religious activities, so, too, did they play important roles in community formation and economic development through maintaining their own or others' households. As domestic servants or as dependents, women like Mary Sandwith, who lived with her sister Elizabeth and brother-in-law Henry Drinker for at least fifty years, provided essential support and labor. As heads of households, women, typically widows, grappled with the demands of their domestic responsibilities and the need for income. In urban centers like Philadelphia, the economy could not only absorb unmarried women into the work force, it required their labor. As they performed a range of tasks in a variety of occupations, women participated in networks of association and built neighborhood communities. Yet the specter of poverty loomed especially large for women and remained a deep-seated problem throughout the colonial period, one exacerbated by policy shifts that limited the forms of assistance women were most likely to receive. Wulf skillfully links discussions of dependence, possession of property, and politics in the late colonial period in ways that highlight the importance of gender as a central feature of a public culture that increasingly accorded the right to participate in political life on the basis of masculine identity. At the same time, that culture exempted women from participation, even when they owned property.

In considering the impact of a woman's marital status on her legal position and social identity, Wulf simultaneously illuminates the meanings of marriage and the choices of those who did not pursue it. Her fine book makes an important and welcome contribution, allowing readers to appreciate how evolving and contested notions of femininity permeated women's lives and decisions, as well as the larger society which they inhabited.

California State University, Long Beach

PATRICIA CLEARY

*In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America.* Edited by HARTMUT LEHMANN, HERMANN WELLENREUTHER, and RENATE WILSON. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. xii, 320p. Notes, notes on contributors. Cloth, \$60.00; paper, \$21.50.)

Over the past three decades, historians have demonstrated that many places in early modern Europe were characterized by high rates of migration, both within individual polities and across national and imperial borders. Migration, of course, was also the story of the Americas. Some migration patterns are better known than others: it is possible, for example, to identify thousands of migrants to British North America by name, age, and place of origin, while other migrant flows remain



obscure and poorly explained. Amid this continued interest in migration to North America, German migrants have only recently come into their own, and German migration to America has not been set sufficiently in the larger context of German migration within Europe. In this strong volume of essays by historians in Germany and the United States, the editors Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson remedy this deficiency and offer a model approach to the study of migration. Reacting to the intellectual limitations of studying migration only within national frameworks, the editors have gathered together fourteen essays on the migration of German-speaking people both within Europe and to America. Thus we learn of German migration to Russia, central Europe, and America, and we can begin to comprehend what factors prompted what kinds of people to move to different places. Strong introductory and concluding essays anchor the volume, lending this collection an impressive coherence. While graduate students and historians will certainly find the collection as a whole to be of great value, the general reader will also find much to savor in this volume.

Readers of this journal might be particularly interested in the eight excellent essays that examine North America. Six essays focus specifically on German migration and settlement in a range of places, from Georgia to the mid-Atlantic to the Ohio Valley, and examine German migrants from a broad range of religious and economic experiences. Two essays, those by Jon Butler and A. Gregg Roeber on the subject of religious history in the eighteenth century, address broad issues of great importance to colonial historians and deserve a wide readership. At their best, these essays make a strong case for the importance of examining the experience of German migrants in America and point effectively, as in the essays by Rosalind J. Beiler and Marianne S. Wokeck, to the differences between German and British immigrant experiences. Beiler's essay on the merchant Caspar Wistar is particularly interesting in its depiction of Wistar's transatlantic commercial networks and on the larger issue of the challenges facing non-British merchants in colonial America. Direct trade from America with the European continent, for example, was prohibited by Britain's Navigation Acts, forcing Wistar to choose between smuggling and higher tariffs. Also forbidden was trade by German immigrants without a special dispensation, which Wistar secured from the Pennsylvania and New Jersey assemblies. The essays by Thomas Müller-Bahlke, Mark Häberlein, Renate Wilson, and Carola Wessel on different aspects of German settlement in America are similarly rich, with Wokeck's reminder that we attend to the heterogeneity in the German experience particularly timely in light of the array of patterns described here.

A particular interest in American history should not discourage people from enjoying the splendid essays on German migrations elsewhere. Essays by Thomas Klingebiel on the Huguenot migration to Central Europe, by Mack Walker on the Salzburger migration to Prussia, and by Andreas Gestrich on religious migrants to

Russia highlight some of the political and diplomatic challenges of migration within Europe and point to the real alternatives Germans considered when contemplating migration.

Together these essays point to illuminating and underused sources and to further avenues of research. The recent opening of archives in the former East Germany, for example, has the potential to alter and enhance our understanding of pietism, as Thomas Müller-Bahlke demonstrates in his chapter based on research in the Halle archives. Some of the authors suggest creative ways to probe questions about cultural adaptation that should prod more research. Wellenreuther, for example, in a fruitful analysis of the writing of the German Pennsylvanian Christopher Sauer, explores some of the challenges Germans faced in their adjustment to British America, where their unfamiliarity with new political and judicial institutions was echoed in the absence of vocabulary to describe these new features of their new lives. Wellenreuther's second essay, "Recent Research on Migration," offers a useful survey of major trends in migration history while pointing to new directions for study.

I would identify only two concerns with the collection as a whole. First, the collection greatly overemphasizes German migration to America, among the least popular destinations in the eighteenth century if I understand the statistics correctly. Second, it would be interesting to see historians tackle some of these questions thematically, not geographically. For example, there are two essays here that deal with Moravian settlements, but each region is treated separately, leaving the reader to puzzle out the variations in the *herrnhut* (the unusual residential system) in different places. Taken together the essays in the collection bridge national borders, but individually too many essays remain within one particular regional context. But on the whole *In Search of Peace and Prosperity* is an exemplary collection deserving a wide readership.

Georgetown University

ALISON GAMES

*William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier.* By EDWARD J. CASHIN. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. xii, 319p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

The Bartrams of Philadelphia have drawn much scholarly attention during the last decade. And much of it is certainly deserved. John and William Bartram, both members of the Society of Friends, traveled extensively through the southeast following the Seven Years' War exploring Britain's newest acquisitions and documenting in letters and journals the natural phenomena they encountered. Several years later, on his own and on the eve of America's War for Independence,



William Bartram returned south, this time employed by Dr. John Fothergill an eminent physician, a well-known naturalist, and a fellow Quaker. William Bartram retraced some of the earlier Bartram explorations, but pushed further into the southern and western reaches of Britain's colonies, entering lands still occupied by a number of Indian nations and by only a handful of Euroamerican settlers. In 1791, years after his return to Philadelphia, William Bartram published his notes and adventures in a widely read book that we know as *Bartram's Travels*, but whose full title was *Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, east & West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the country of the Chactaws: containing, an account of the soil, natural production of those regions, together with observations on the manners of the Indians.: Embellished with copper-plates.*

Bartram's account is remarkable for its descriptions of newly discovered plants, its references to numerous native American cultures, and its sublime descriptions of nature. But what is remarkable also, and the central thrust of Edward Cashin's latest treatment of Bartram in *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*, is not what Bartram included in his writings but what he consciously omitted. After all, while William Bartram traveled between 1773 and 1776, America's relationship with Great Britain was deteriorating fast. Moreover, much of the southern frontier became embroiled in complex negotiations between a number of Indian nations, including the Cherokee and the Creek, and the British and American colonials about choosing sides and deciding who would enter the war. Despite all the turmoil that was swirling around Bartram, Cashin documents how almost none of those conflicts between people, countries, or Anglos and native Americans made it into his published account. Understanding why *Travels* remained for all intents and purposes a book about the wonders of nature and not the full descriptions of Bartram's encounters and adventures is the question Cashin sets out to answer.

Cashin begins his study of Bartram by trying to understand the man and his actions during the years of his travels. Failed attempts at indigo farming and other business ventures eventually led Bartram to propose to Dr. Fothergill a trip to document with drawings and words the flora and fauna of the southern frontier. Cashin follows Bartram from Philadelphia to South Carolina where he begins staging his trip through much of the southern frontier, including east and west Florida and much of the lower Mississippi Valley. While *Bartram's Travels* remains largely about Bartram's observations of the natural world, like his encounter with a lake full of snapping alligators, Cashin fleshes out those events to reveal that Bartram came across much more in his travels than rebellious reptiles and new plant species. Each chapter reveals a host of interactions with some of the leading personalities in the south, including George Galphin, Lachlan McGillivray, Lachlan McIntosh, and John Stuart. Bartram used letters of introduction to parley further

travels into Indian lands with some of the most infamous traders of the eighteenth century. As Bartram moves from place to place, the reader is informed about the larger context of the southern frontier. While most accounts of the years surrounding the American revolution concentrate on events in the North, Cashin relates an entirely different story. His greatest contribution is to show the early divisions between loyalists and those supporting American independence in places like Georgia and South Carolina. While much more has been written about the war's southern cockpit once the British moved their campaigns south in 1780, the intensity of the fighting in those later years can only be fully understood if one can see that the divisions began much earlier. Many of those divisions came from conflicting understandings about Anglo-Indian relationships.

This latest treatment of Bartram offers a close reading of Bartram's accounts as well as the fruit of a good deal of careful research that included in many cases retracing Bartram's steps in his travels through the South. Cashin concludes that Bartram's avoidance of conflict in his writings stemmed from his desire to portray a more Edenic country, one where all peoples could live together peacefully, an America that would become a great and favored nation. This conclusion is generally supported by Cashin's evidence, but Bartram's motivation is not fully explained. Bartram's membership in the Society of Friends should not be overlooked. While Cashin often mentions Bartram's Quakerism, he does not fully explore how the tenets of the Society might have shaped Bartram's vision of the world. Still, the details of this treatment of Williams Bartram's travels as well as the focus on the southern frontier make this a valuable contribution to eighteenth-century scholarship.

*Appalachian State University*

NEVA JEAN SPECHT

*Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois.* By MAX M. MINTZ. (New York: New York University Press, 1999. xi, 232p. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$28.95.)

*Seeds of Empire* aims to tell the stories of the battles, sieges, skirmishes, and campaigns in what is now upstate New York that culminated in the Sullivan Campaign of 1779 and the destruction of the homelands of the Six Nation Iroquois who occupied the area. The story is told with verve and in painstaking detail.

The history of the fledgling American nation's efforts to humble the Iroquois and of the campaign of destruction led by Gen. John Sullivan is familiar. The Iroquois, although divided, tended to support the British during the Revolutionary War and caused problems for the Americans on their northern and western flanks. Determined to put an end to this problem, George Washington sent General



Sullivan into Iroquoia to bring the Six Nations to heel. The Iroquois, in time-honoured practice, abandoned their villages and engaged in occasional ambushes against the invaders. Sullivan then destroyed the Iroquois villages and fields. There are few, if any, new insights here into what happened and why, nor is there much that can be said that has not already been said about the consequences of the attacks against the Iroquois. Abandoned by the British during the 1783 Paris peace negotiations, the confederacy lost much of its land, became further divided, and many Iroquois abandoned New York to live in Canada.

*Seeds of Empire* does not really advocate a thesis although it suggests, by dint of detailed description, that frontier warfare was cruel and nasty and that the Sullivan campaign devastated the Iroquois. The title, which does not appear in the text until the end and is not explained, seems to suggest that the battles against the Iroquois foreshadow the nature of American imperialism—possibly against other Native Americans in the west. But such a conclusion is neither obvious nor a particularly telling insight on the part of the author if that is what is intended. The Iroquois, after all, were hardly the first Indian group to be devastated by Euroamericans.

The publisher's dust jacket "blurb" claims that the book "showcases Mintz's meticulous historical research and renowned story telling ability . . . [and] probes the mechanisms of the American Revolution and the structure and function of the Iroquois Six Nations." If "mechanisms of revolution" refers to details of battles and troop movements and to jockeying for position among generals, then they are well described. If by "structures and function of the Iroquois Six Nations" is meant the structure of Iroquois culture and functioning of the League of the Iroquois, then they are not well probed. The whole matter is covered in four paragraphs in the prologue. On the other hand, there appears to be little doubt that the book is well grounded in numerous primary sources—the detail attests to that—however, the book is still poorly documented. Too often whole pages filled with facts and quotations, and wherein motivation is attributed to historical actors, go by without a citation. The reader later encounters a footnote with a wealth of data and is left to wonder what data can be found in which source. (This, presumably, editorial decision seems at odds with the very virtue the publisher extols.) Certainly the narrative is written with verve. Mintz's description of Daniel Claus, "[a]n undersize, beefy stump of a man" (p. 12), cannot fail to conjure the image he intends to portray of Claus. But, in the end, one is left with little more than a familiar, if richly detailed story.

*Seeds of Empire* seems aimed at a general reader. Those who like detailed, anecdote-filled stories of sieges, battles, and carnage are sure to appreciate Mintz's efforts. Readers interested in understanding why these things happened, and in learning the Six Nations' perspective on these events, need to turn elsewhere.

Western Michigan University

JOSÉ ANTÓNIO BRANDAO

*Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation.* By JOSEPH J. ELLIS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. xi, 288p. Notes, index. \$26.00.)

After biographies of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, as well as a study of early republican poets and writers, Joseph Ellis has turned to a collective biography of the preeminent members of the "revolutionary generation"—in Ellis's view, George Washington, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Abigail Adams, Aaron Burr, and Benjamin Franklin. Two themes run through the book: the threat posed by partisanship to the friendships these men and one woman had developed during the movement for independence, and their lifelong debate over the meaning of the American Revolution and the interpretation of the federal Constitution. Ellis's clear prose, succinct expositions, and poignant observations make reading *Founding Brothers* highly rewarding, even for the specialist. However, what appears to be his central contention—that focusing on the collaborations, friendships, and rivalries of his subjects reveals new facets of their lives and the period—is not fully demonstrated.

Ellis devotes each chapter to one of the early republic's critical political moments. He describes the personal and political relationships between the founders and, at the same time, guides the reader through the familiar territory of the period's political history. For example, Jefferson's clandestine dinner, at which Hamilton and Madison bargained over the assumption of the state debts and the future location of the national capital, gives Ellis the opportunity to describe the contending views surrounding Hamilton's financial proposals and Jefferson and Madison's fundamentally different assumptions about economy and society. Similarly, Ellis uses Adams's presidency to talk about the 1796 presidential election as the first openly contested election in which politicians simultaneously embraced and condemned partisan activities. More importantly, Adams's presidency opens a view onto the collaborations between Madison and Jefferson as the leaders of the Republican opposition on one side and Adams and his wife Abigail, a founding sister Ellis admittedly slights in the book's title, on the other.

Ellis does not always focus on just a few actors. One chapter uses Franklin's sponsorship of an antislavery petition to the House of Representatives in 1790, and Madison's efforts to contain its disunionist force, to offer a wide-ranging description of slavery in early American politics and society. A considerable number of related interpretative issues and especially characters flesh out this account. They challenge Ellis's stated conviction that the creation of the American republic and a viable national government can best be comprehended as a conversation between his main subjects—in fact, that they are the main story, because they "wielded power" (p. 13). This approach discounts the influence of local and national elites who chose to support a republican experiment whose success was not at all assured, and who continued to fight over the direction that experiment should take for decades to



come.

Elsewhere Ellis does not fully explore the context in which his actors operated, a circumstance that leads him to neglect crucial dimensions of his material. In discussing George Washington's Farewell Address, he concentrates on the warning against foreign alliances but overlooks its partisan purposes. After all, the address was the opening shot of the 1796 election, as contemporaries such as Fisher Ames immediately pointed out. Hamilton, who wrote most of the address (a circumstance Ellis downplays by stressing Washington's editorial control), used it to attack political associations, specifically the Democratic-Republican societies, as well as the Republican opposition in general. The problems resulting from incomplete contextualization become most evident in Ellis's account of the Hamilton-Burr duel. Despite suggestions that he will consider the duel as part of the political combat and honor culture of the period, Ellis remains focused on the details of Burr and Hamilton's personal and political rivalry. For him the duel is a singular event: Hamilton had to confront Burr, whom he considered the most dangerous politician of his time, and Burr had to retaliate against Hamilton's campaign to destroy his political future. Consequently, Ellis cannot fully acknowledge the cultural imperatives that compelled these men to act as they did. He does not mention the frequent occurrence of political dueling at this time, or that other men clearly recognized and commented upon the constraints that forced Burr and Hamilton to defend their reputations. Their fear of losing face, their willingness to sacrifice their lives to preserve their honor—and their attendant political influence—made dueling such a potent, unavoidable, and ultimately lethal political ritual.

In the end, Ellis does not persuasively explain how considering the revolutionary generation as "founding brothers" measurably adds to our understanding of the late eighteenth century. In the publicity material for the book he mentions that the revolutionaries referred to each other as brothers, but this barely appears in the book itself. *Founding Brothers* is a fine, if occasionally flawed, synthesis, filled with sharp insights, but not a coherent analysis that offers significant new interpretations of old problems.

Florida State University

ALBRECHT KOSCHNIK

*The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828.* By SAUL CORNELL (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xvi, 327p. Map, appendixes, notes, index. Cloth, \$55.00; paper, \$19.95.)

The era of crisis that stretched between 1776 and the early nineteenth century profoundly shaped American political culture. While the political thoughts and

actions of many in this generation have been examined intensely, much about them remains debatable or simply unknown. And among the least known of those from the founding generation were the Constitution's original opponents, the anti-Federalists. They produced an extensive body of political literature and yet we still don't fully understand their thought or legacy. It is these questions that Saul Cornell examines in his study *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788-1828*. His goal is to establish that while "the structure of American government was crafted by the Federalists, the spirit of American politics has more often been inspired by the Anti-Federalists" (p. 1). He hopes to achieve this end by examining "the evolution of a dissenting public discourse about politics and constitutionalism" (pp. 8-9).

The book is divided into three sections. The first examines anti-Federalist thought as it took form in the period 1787-1789. The second section probes the transformation of anti-Federalism and political dissent in the political maelstrom of the 1790s. The final section traces the use and abuse of anti-Federalist thought through to the Nullification Crisis. There is something worthwhile in each of these sections. Cornell's loose categorizing of the anti-Federalists as high, low, and middle is no doubt accurate. His discussion of the influence of the anti-Federalists on the Democratic-Republicans is interesting at some points, as is his discussion of the political and legal meaning of St. George Tucker's edition of Blackstone. That said, though, this study begins to miscarry in its first pages and never really regains its footing.

Part of the problem is that *The Other Founders* is also a celebration of the political philosopher Jürgen Habermas. Habermas has become an icon in some historical circles for his insights on the development of a public sphere in the early modern world and has influenced a spate of recent studies. There can be little doubt that Cornell is as enthusiastic and loyal a follower as any philosopher could possibly hope to have. He not only structures his study around the philosopher's insight, he apparently also believes that Habermas may save contemporary democracy and the rule of law itself. "Habermas," Cornell writes, is "one of the most important modern theorists of democracy. . . [he] has turned his attention to this connection [between constitutionalism and the public sphere] as a means of developing a postmeta-physical grounding for law, an antifoundationalism that can withstand the corrosive critiques of postmodernism" (p. 306). Only academics believe things like this or say them in quite this way.

The goals of studying the influence of anti-Federalist thinking and celebrating Habermas and the rise of the public sphere produces a strangely bifurcated study. Much of *The Other Founders* reads as if it could have been written forty years ago; Cornell traces the influences of anti-Federalist writers in an old-fashioned way, looking for instances where they are cited or invoked. But at various points in the main text, there is a discussion of the development of the public sphere in the early



republic. The study swings back and forth between these two poles.

There are other conceptual problems. Despite Cornell's grounding in advanced theoretical discussions, he fails to really interrogate terms like popular, plebeian, democrat, democracy, or localism. He seems to feel that there is a scholarly consensus on the meaning of these terms, and when he does define them the nature of his understanding is revealed to be problematic. On page one, for example, he seems to claim that the anti-Federalists discovered localism: "Ratification of the Constitution did not, however, eliminate Anti-Federalist ideas: localism continues to be a powerful force in American life."

The author's efforts to examine the long-term impact of the anti-Federalists is commendable and indeed helps us break the chronological straightjacket in which they have been imprisoned, it also creates problems in the study. While rightly understanding that the anti-Federalists were a loose coalition, he assumes, incorrectly, I believe, that their Federalist opponents were an ideological monolith until they absorbed the loyal opposition as constituted by the anti-Federalists. The various fissures that appeared in the Federalist movement, and the subsequent diverse ideological courses of Publius's two main pens, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison (whose later views Cornell repeatedly touches on) seem to call for a more nuanced discussion of the founders' politics. In his discussion of the public political debates of the 1790s, he only mentions the French Revolution once (pp. 196-97), which, even given his goal of tracing anti-Federalist influences, stretches credibility. A more careful reading of the politics of the 1790s and the Democratic-Republican societies, and the various intellectual influences on them, is called for if we are to fully weigh the influence of the anti-Federalists on the early nation and the formation of its public sphere. The result of these shortcomings is that the study fails to carry its main thesis.

Some of these problems could have been solved with more thorough research. This book is heavily dependent on secondary sources. About half the footnotes are to books or articles (he cites himself an unusual number of times) and the others to published print sources. Manuscript sources are cited by my count less than twenty times, which, given the issues discussed and the time frame involved, again stretches credibility. Most of the citations are to two manuscript groups and concentrated between pages 207-214 and 255-257. We are repeatedly referenced to general citations not listing page numbers (see p. 43, note 39, p. 53 note 4, p. 290, note 34 for a few examples). Given his dependence on these secondary writers, one would have hoped that Cornell would have documented their contributions more carefully.

Beneath all the bows to Habermas, what is *The Other Founders*, really? *The Other Founders* is an intellectual history of the Great Men and almost great men who struggled over constitutional principles early in the nation's history. They are here treated as "texts," performing in the "public sphere," but still, it is their history and their words the study examines. Maybe this is a good thing in the sense that the

virtual ignoring of the founding generation's contributions to the shaping of American society by some schools of professional historians in recent decades has certainly been a bad thing. Clearly, a thoroughgoing study of the anti-Federalists' thoughts, and lives, and political legacy has been long overdue. Close readers of *The Other Founders* will realize that it still is.

Binghamton University—SUNY

BRENDAN MCCONVILLE

*The Elite of Our People: Joseph Willson's Sketches of Black Upper-Class Life in Antebellum Philadelphia.* Edited by JULIE WINCH. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, xiv, 196p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$60.00; paper, \$16.95.)

Julie Winch employs her expertise on the nineteenth-century middle- and upper-class African American community of Philadelphia to edit Joseph Willson's *Sketches of the Higher Classes of Colored Society in Philadelphia* (1841). The author of *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787–1848* (1988) and a forthcoming biography of James Forten, the wealthy Philadelphia businessman and community activist, Winch uses Willson's book to further elucidate the perspectives of black Philadelphians during a period when their considerable accomplishments were under attack.

*The Elite of Our People* is composed of three parts. In the seventy-three-page introduction, Winch discusses the African American community of antebellum Philadelphia using her own research and the work of historians Emma Lapsansky, Gary Nash, James Horton, Nick Salvatore, and others. Like Joseph Willson, Winch focuses on the social structure of the black community, including occupations, wealth, residence patterns, education, and literary societies. She places Willson's *Sketches* into the context of assaults on black suffrage, property, and lives. The period between the sixteen-year-old Willson's 1833 arrival in the city and publication of the book eight years later witnessed the adoption of the 1838 state constitution that deprived African Americans of the right to vote, a series of riots targeting blacks, and the burning of the abolitionists' Pennsylvania Hall.

Winch's introduction also includes an impressively researched biography of Joseph Willson, who was born in Georgia to a free woman of color and an affluent Scots-Irish businessman. Willson, his mother, and four siblings inherited a substantial amount of property from his father and moved to Philadelphia when Georgia laws became ever more restrictive. The family settled in the predominantly white Spring Garden section; Joseph attended school and made connections with members of the black elite, including his future brother-in-law Frederick A. Hinton, who helped Willson secure a printer's apprenticeship with abolitionist



William Lloyd Garrison in Boston.

Joseph Willson published his *Sketches* at age twenty-four, before he married and moved from printing to a lucrative practice in dentistry. Winch's edition of *Sketches* comprises the second section of her book, while lengthy endnotes primarily identifying individuals mentioned in Willson's text make up the third section. Her transcription of the text appears faithful and complete, interrupted only by her occasional but irritating use of *sic* to note what we might now consider misspellings. The biographical endnotes are exhaustive and well documented. A more effective presentation of this valuable material would be a biographical section organized alphabetically.

Overall, *The Elite of Our People* provides insight into the Philadelphia African American community from the perspective of a young participant. Willson seems angered most—as he should have been—by loss of the right to vote just as he came of age. He was proud of black society's achievements in the face of discrimination and political impotence, but also frustrated by infighting and inaction among the city's black leaders. He complained that they held meetings and condemned legislators who deprived them of their rights rather than finding more savvy means of influence. Willson's main purpose in publishing the book, however, was to highlight the social and cultural sophistication of African American elite families, which Winch amply illustrates with portraits and art. Willson recognizes African American organizations, not groups such as the American Anti-Slavery Society, which included black members but were dominated by whites. Although he might have passed as white because of his affluence and mixed background, he identified firmly with African American communities in Philadelphia and Cleveland, to which he later moved. Like Winch's other works, *The Elite of Our People* is an important addition to the literature on free black northern society, for it gets beyond historians' interest in white antebellum abolitionists to allow a young African American to speak for his community and himself.

Lehigh University

JEAN R. SODERLUND

*Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America.* Edited by JOHN R. MCKIVIGAN and STANLEY HARROLD. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. 322p. Essays, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

This book is a compilation of scholarly essays that focus on violent acts against slavery during the six decades prior to the Civil War. The book originated in a 1994 meeting of the Southern Historical Association and consists of the work of ten contributors. Unlike previous works that delve into the violent actions of mostly

white northeastern abolitionists, John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold have edited a study that is much broader in scope.

The book is divided into two parts, five essays apiece, starting with "Black Liberators." Douglas Egerton begins with an examination of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Virginia slave insurrection plots. Motivated by the Haitian revolt, Egerton contends these uprisings were not intended only for the emancipation of defiant individuals, but were attempts to stop slavery altogether. Junius Rodriguez agrees that Haiti had a significant impact, which he addresses in his essay on the 1811 Louisiana River Road Rebellion. Rodriguez believes the insurrectionist strategy in Louisiana, both ideologically and militarily, came from Toussaint L'Ouverture. In terms of the cost in human life, property, and the resources required for its suppression, the Louisiana rebellion went down as the largest in our history. Next, Stanley Harrold delves into the role of the abolitionists and how they romanticized the slave revolt, specifically through their reactions to Madison Washington and the slave mutiny on board the *Creole*. Harrold concludes that "romanticism contributed to a willingness among ostensibly nonviolent black and white abolitionists to embrace violent resistance by slaves against their oppressors" (p. 101). Carol Wilson evaluates the efforts of African Americans in the North to obstruct the greedy and unprincipled individuals who utilized the fugitive slave law to abduct emancipated blacks. The former slave Frederick Douglass clandestinely assisted fugitives in the North, but he did not hide his intrepid position on slavery, which sometimes led to confrontations. James H. Cook discovered, however, that as Douglass became more belligerent in his stance against slavery, conversely he experienced less violence on a personal level. "Though the evidence suggests that this pattern was more circumstantial than by design," writes Cook, "it nonetheless produced in Douglass a form of self-consciousness about the relationship between one's use of violence and the level of commitment to the antislavery cause" (p. 129).

Part two of *Antislavery Violence* focuses on "White Abolitionists and Violent Means." James Brewer Stewart looks at Joshua R. Giddings, an abolitionist congressman from Ohio. Giddings's verbal assaults in the House of Representatives were, according to Stewart, "a highly provocative version of northern religious radicalism . . . he emphatically defended the right of freedom-seeking slaves to shed the blood of their oppressors, commended fugitives who slew their pursuers, and lauded whites who assisted escapes" (p. 168). Chris Padgett studies the region that many abolitionists, including Giddings, called home. Northeast Ohio's Western Reserve was a hotbed of abolition sentiment and Padgett found individuals residing there, many with ties to New England, devoted to a "religious comeouterism." Padgett maintains "the comeouter creed held that all Christians were law-abiding constituents in God's government, and were bound to resist those connections, whether religious, political, or social, that violated God's law" (p. 196). And resist



they did, exemplified by an irate mob that freed a fugitive who was arrested in Oberlin. Shifting to the west, Kristen Tegtmeir analyzes the role of women crusading for Kansas to become a free state. She discovered that women not only protected themselves against proslavery confrontations in the territory, which challenged customary gender roles, but also forced abolitionists to revise their own principles: "Free State settlers blended violent-masculine and passive-feminine strains of antislavery activism into one ideology . . . reformulating the ideology of male antislavery itself" (p. 229). John Stauffer looks further into the male perspective, specifically the "manhood" of John Brown, Frederick Douglass, James McCune Smith, and Gerrit Smith. He argues that although they obviously had very different backgrounds, they all came to associate themselves with the brave, powerful, and combative Native American warrior; they used this as a basis to rationalize their own intense fight against slavery. Lastly, John R. McKivigan studies John Brown's raiders after their unsuccessful attack at Harpers Ferry. McKivigan found that they clandestinely plotted another attack below the Mason-Dixon Line.

By examining antislavery violence through time, region, race, ideology, and gender, the essayists demonstrate that physical aggression against slavery can be traced to the country's early development and contrary to previous interpretations, the use of force was not out of the ordinary before 1850. In addition, race and gender played an important role by joining participants rather than dividing them. *Antislavery Violence* presents new findings as well as reaffirming that the antislavery movement was a significant forerunner to the larger struggle between North and South. It is a scholarly and insightful contribution to the ever changing historiography of the abolition movement in general, and antislavery violence in particular.

*New Egypt High School*  
*New Egypt, New Jersey*

MICHAEL P. GRAY

*To Read My Heart: The Journal of Rachel Van Dyke, 1810-1811.* Edited by LUCIA MCMAHON and DEBORAH SCHRIVER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index, \$59.95.)

From May 1810 until July 1811, Rachel Van Dyke, a seventeen-year-old resident of New Brunswick, New Jersey, recorded her daily life and her intimate thoughts in a journal. This journal gives modern readers not only a glimpse into one young woman's "heart," but also insight into education, friendship, and courtship in the early national period.

A recurring theme in Van Dyke's journal is her desire to continue her studies.

After her departure from school in May 1810 she attempted to improve her mind by teaching herself botany, checking out instructive books from the library, and studying Latin with "Mr. G—," as she playfully called her former schoolmaster, Ebenezer Grosvenor. Initially fearful that her domestic duties would interfere with her intellectual development, she soon admitted that the reverse had happened. "I was afraid before I left school that at home I would neglect my studies for my work," she remarked in June 1810, "but now I very much fear if I go on as I have done today, I shall pay so much attention to them that I shall never get my work done" (pp. 45–46).

To fulfill her varied responsibilities, Van Dyke rose early—often as early as five A.M.—and studied in her room until after midnight. She also shunned social engagements, preferring solitude and study to the "transient pleasures" of well-to-do society (p. 89). She was "vexed" at the need "to waste so much time" in entertaining guests, making calls, and attending teas, parties, and balls. "I have a better opportunity to improve now than it is likely I shall ever have again," she reflected, "and I don't wish to spend it in visiting or amusements" (p. 85).

But it was not only time constraints that hindered Van Dyke from devoting herself to her studies. Although she vigorously defended her sex against the "sneers" of the "Lords and Masters" who regarded women as incapable of learning (pp. 53–54), she remained sensitive to negative views of learned women, criticizing a female acquaintance for being "ostentatious" in her display of her knowledge and worrying that she herself would present the appearance of "vanity" if she attempted to publish her writings (pp. 55, 249).

Van Dyke's regard for society's ambivalent views of educated women hampered her devotion to her studies. When she encountered two "young gentlem[e]n" at the lending library, she "felt ashamed" at her intention of checking out works of history and belles lettres rather than the "novels or plays" that interested most young women. "I . . . was afraid of appearing pedantic by asking for such books," she recorded in her journal, and she left empty-handed (p. 45).

In part because of her commitment to women's intellectual ability, Van Dyke regarded relationships with men with some caution. She commented frequently on marriages in her social circle, but was in no hurry to marry herself: "Heaven defend me from such preparations," she prayed (p. 45). Van Dyke wrote often of unhappy matches that she believed were based on money rather than love. She also objected to the idea that women should be submissive in marriage, telling one older gentleman, "I would never promise to fear and obey" (p. 68).

Van Dyke's ideal of marriage was one of equality, not hierarchy, and was based on shared intellectual interests, not "mercenary principles" or blind passion (p. 64). People should only marry, she believed, when they were "formed for each other" (p. 157). Ideally, husband and wife would "live like true friends" and "share equally" in both affection and intellect (p. 131).



In her relationship with "Mr. G—," Van Dyke found her elusive ideal relationship, one that combined love and learning. Grosvenor respected Van Dyke's intellect and encouraged her to continue her studies. "His sentiments on the female sex," she remarked, "are generous in the extreme"; unlike many men of her acquaintance, the young teacher regarded women as "conversable beings, blessed with abilities to reflect and acquire knowledge," rather than as "pretty, fashionable, simpletons" (p. 81). Van Dyke and Grosvenor's relationship extended well beyond that of student and teacher; the two deepened and strengthened their bond by exchanging journals, sharing reading material, and carving romantic (although anonymous) messages for each other on a tree at a secluded rural hideaway. Through such exchanges, Van Dyke and Grosvenor achieved a relationship of mutual respect, admiration, and candor. The budding romance was cut short, however, when "Mr. G—," after a serious illness, left New Brunswick to return to his hometown of Pomfret, Connecticut, in late 1810. Although the two continued to correspond, the formality of this exchange was in marked contrast to their former easy banter, and both eventually married others.

The editors of *To Read My Heart* have rendered a valuable service to historians and general readers alike. The journal is meticulously edited, with the individuals, places, and books mentioned in its pages identified in a useful preface and a series of appendices. Selections from a later journal kept by "Mr. G—" and from the periodical that both Van Dyke and Grosvenor read and wrote for, the *Rural Visitor* [sic], offer further glimpses into the era. Finally, an insightful essay by co-editor McMahon places Van Dyke's experiences in the context of the shifting and often contradictory ideas about gender roles, female education, and relations between the sexes in the early American republic.

University of Montana

ANYA JABOUR

*The Papers of John C. Calhoun. Volume 24: 1846–1847. Volume 25: 1847–1848.*

Edited by CLYDE N. WILSON and SHIRLEY B. COOK, with ALEXANDER MOORE. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998, xiii, 727p.; 1999, xix, 715p. Bibliography, index. \$59.95 each.)

These two volumes cover some of the most important years of John C. Calhoun's public life. Volume 24 begins with the Mexican War in full swing and the Wilmot Proviso at the center of congressional discussions. Volume 25 ends with the war concluded but with the contentious and troubling question of slavery in the territories very much alive. Like nearly all of Calhoun's papers, these volumes remind us of several things: the sophistication of his constitutional thought, his suspicion of party politics, and his frustration with both northern antislavery forces,

who, in his mind, sought to undermine the delicate constitutional settlement between the North and the South, and his fellow southerners who failed to recognize and act upon the impending threat those antislavery forces posed to the Union and southern society. In addition, Calhoun's papers strikingly demonstrate how impoverished modern political discussion has become. No matter how sectional and defensive Calhoun became, and in these volumes he is decidedly both, he remained committed to a constitutional vision informed by both a love of his region and an equally strong suspicion of centralized power. Thus, while in the midst of defending the enormity that was slavery, Calhoun uttered warnings about the dangers of foreign intervention, majoritarian rule, and the loss of local control that continue to resonate today.

Calhoun had opposed the Mexican War, and in 1846 and 1847 he was convinced that it would cost America dearly not only in terms of men and resources but also in bringing to the fore the question of slavery in the territories. Even when Calhoun was wrong, such as in his predictions of a long and drawn-out war, he raised questions that forced both his contemporaries and Americans today to contemplate the consequences of foreign military intervention. As was often the case, Calhoun expressed some of his most revealing thoughts in a letter to his daughter, Anna Maria Calhoun Clemson. Writing to her on December 26, 1847, he lamented the changes in the American people as they became intoxicated with expansionist visions. Noting that "the interest in favor of its [Mexico's] entire conquest & subjugation is exceedingly strong," he soberly concluded that "our people have undergone a great change. Their inclination is for conquest & empire, regardless of their institutions & liberty; or rather, they think they hold their liberty by a divine [*sic*] tenure, which no imprudence, or folly on their part can defeat" (25:41). For Calhoun, conquering and subjugating the Mexican people would benefit neither them nor the United States, and it was clearly the latter that he worried about. "We plunge into war," he warned in his January 4, 1848, speech in the Senate, "we contract heavy debts, we increase the patronage of the Executive, and we even talk of a crusade to force our institutions, our liberty, upon all people" (25:69). Far better than conquest would be a policy of "acting justly towards our neighbor, and wisely in regard to ourselves," of remaining "quiet, resting in idle and masterly inactivity." By thus letting "our destinies work out their own results, we shall do more for liberty, not only for ourselves, but for the example of mankind, than can be done by a thousand victories" (25:71).

Calhoun directed his warnings about the dangers of war to all Americans. Early in the war he declared, "Mexico to us is the forbidden fruit; the penalty of eating it would be to subject our institutions to political death" (24:118). But he soon focused on the ways in which the war and its consequences particularly threatened the South and her institutions. What emerges clearly from both the private and public writings in these volumes are the consistency and forcefulness of Calhoun's constitutional



defense of southern interests. Although he proudly acknowledged that "I am a planter—a cotton planter. I am a Southern man and a slaveholder" (24:175), he grounded his arguments in defense of the South in an understanding of the Union as a confederation of equal states. Thus, in a July 1848 speech addressing one of the bills regarding the western territories, Calhoun "begged" that a fellow senator "not represent me as an advocate of slavery. That is not the attitude which we maintain. We stand here only as claiming the rights which belong to us as confederated members of this Union" (25:616). Slavery may well have been the specific target of bills seeking to determine the character of the territories, but Calhoun insisted that the larger victim of such actions would be the Constitution and its delicate federal system. As he argued in an April 1848 speech, "I do not stand here as a southern man. I stand here as a member of one of the branches of the Legislature of this Union—loving the whole, and desiring to save the whole." Calhoun was, of course, a southern man, but he was not being disingenuous. He recognized that the sectional struggle threatened the Union he truly loved, the Union of confederated states. Southern resistance, as Calhoun understood it, was both pragmatic and principled. "We are a minority," he reminded his fellow Southerners, "we have peculiar institutions and peculiar productions" (24:188). But in defending themselves from northern aggression, Southerners defended the Constitution and the Union that reserved to states a considerable amount of political autonomy. In that April 1848 speech Calhoun asserted, "I hold equality among the confederated States to be the highest point, and any portion of the confederated States who shall permit themselves to sink to a point of inferiority—not defending what really belongs to them, as members, sign their own death warrant, and in signing that, sign the doom of the whole. Upon the just maintenance of our rights, not only our safety depends, but the existence and safety of this glorious Union of ours. And I hold the man responsible and the State responsible, who do not raise a voice against every known and clear infraction of the stipulations of the Constitution in their favor" (25:348).

As this speech makes clear, Calhoun addressed his grim and ominous words especially to his fellow Southerners. What these two volumes make clear is that Calhoun recognized that southern unity was the only means of stopping northern aggression and, thus, preserving the Union. He regularly attacked those southern "men of standing and influence" who were "so blinded by party feelings, or the prospect of personal gain or advancement by the success of their party," that they endorsed acts "which must prove so fatal to their portion of the Union" (24:257). Calhoun loathed the way the South had "yielded step by step; made concession after concession; permitted aggression after aggression, and submitted to insult after insult, until the North . . . lost all respect for us, and [came] to believe, that we cannot be kicked into resistance" (25:662). And in his speech on the Oregon bill Calhoun directly challenged southern leaders to resist, regardless of the cost, the

northern attack. "I now turn to my friends of the South, and ask, what are you prepared to do? If neither the barriers of the Constitution nor the high sense of right and justice should prove sufficient to protect, are you prepared to sink down into a state of acknowledged inferiority?" If they refused to stand firm, if they compromised once more, then they would demonstrate that they were "woefully degenerated from [their] sires, and will well deserve to change condition with [their] slaves." But if they did not wish to insult their ancestors and shame themselves, then they must "prepare to meet the issue. The time is at hand . . . when the South must rise up, and bravely defend herself, or sink down into base and acknowledged inferiority" (25:531). If the North would not "desist from agitation and assaults on our rights," Southerners would be "bound by the highest obligation of duty to ourselves, and our posterity, to continue our resistance to [those] assaults and to adopt whatever measures may be necessary to make it successful" (25:671).

Reading these words at the end of Volume 25 reminds one of both Calhoun's prescience and his sense of loss. By late summer 1848 he knew that notwithstanding his having devoted "nearly forty years of my life . . . to the service of the Union," and notwithstanding his "deep attachment to it and our federal system of Government," the sectional crisis had only grown worse. His thundering call for the South to "rise up, and bravely defend herself," was, at bottom, the battle cry of a passionate but gloomy man. He took no pleasure in announcing the impending death of the Union he had loved. These superbly edited volumes, like their predecessors, leave us deeply in the debt of Clyde Wilson and Shirley Bright Cook.

*Hamilton College*

DOUGLAS AMBROSE

*Jefferson Davis, American.* By WILLIAM J. COOPER, JR. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. xv, 757p. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$35.00)

Though one of the most important public figures in American history, the enigmatic Confederate president Jefferson Davis has lacked, to date, the right biographer. William J. Cooper's *Jefferson Davis* ends the historiographic drought. Thoughtfully conceptualized, exhaustively researched, engagingly written, nicely illustrated, and intelligently reasoned, Cooper's study represents biography at its best. Cooper patiently covers and helpfully contextualizes all aspects of Davis's life, including his Jacksonian-era army career, role in Mississippi state politics, Mexican War service, family relations, chronic health problems, racial attitudes and slaveholdings, antebellum political career, post-Civil War internment and indictment for treason, and final years with as much care as he provides Davis's record as the Confederacy's leader. As a result, historians and the public at long last have a reliable, comprehensive treatment comparable to the finest work on Lincoln.



Cooper lays out his theme in the title's adjective. As most antebellum specialists know, Jefferson Davis was by no means a radical secessionist (or "fire-eater") in the years prior to the Union's breakup. Taking Davis's caution as his cue, Cooper casts him as a "patriotic American" (p. xiv), and weaves his study around this premise. Davis remembered his father's record soldiering in the Revolution, swore loyalty to the United States at West Point, absorbed a bad wound for his country in the Mexican conflict, and offset his famed states' rights predilections with a progressive's backing for the Smithsonian Institution and a federally supported transcontinental railroad. He could extol Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, enemies of each other in the 1830s Nullification Crisis, because he saw both as "patriotic Americans" (p. 112) who balanced a commitment to states' rights with a love of Union. Despite his angry stance against the Compromise of 1850, Davis publicly disavowed secessionism and continued to speak with emotion of his love of country. Even as Davis reluctantly embraced disunion in December 1860, he hoped that Republicans would save the country at the last moment by finally demonstrating that they bore no hostility to the South. As Confederate president, Davis became his cause's most fervent apostle, all the while insisting that the new nation represented "the last hope" (p. 420) of continuing the system of government intended by America's founding fathers. Years after the Confederacy's defeat, he refused to seek either a pardon or restoration of his political rights on the logic that such solicitations represented admissions that Confederate affiliations had been un-American acts. Rather, Northerners had been the ones corrupting the Constitution, by assaulting slavery and thus endangering "the liberty of white southerners" (p. 7).

Cooper's assessment of Davis's record as Confederate president is positive, though by no means hagiographic. He criticizes Davis for his faith in King Cotton, his trust in such generals as Albert Sidney Johnston, Braxton Bragg, Theophilus Holmes, and John C. Pemberton, his poor handling of cabinet meetings, and his being "unreasonably optimistic" (p. 440) about the situation at Vicksburg in 1863. But he never suggests that the Confederacy had a better alternative, and he frequently praises Davis's judgment, aligning with what might be called the James M. McPherson-Gary W. Gallagher school of recent Civil War historiography. That is, Cooper defends Davis's and Robert E. Lee's strategic judgment (including the decision to invade Pennsylvania that led to the battle of Gettysburg), and he reserves some of his severest strictures for Confederate general Joseph E. Johnston, who fought far less aggressively than did Lee and who has been something of a model for historians who argue that the Confederacy's best chance was to remain on the defensive. Perhaps Cooper's most significant finding is that Davis was more successful at public relations and in his interactions with Confederate congressmen than prior scholarship would indicate. Cooper's president gives public speeches with surprising frequency, with his wife Varina hosts public receptions and plenty of "informal gatherings" at his White House, and sets aside an hour each morning for

"any visitors who happened by" (p. 425). This chief executive is certainly more impressive than the horribly flawed leader portrayed by such eminent scholars as David M. Potter, George M. Fredrickson, and Bell I. Wiley in various works.

Cooper's preface nowhere indicates that the book reveals anything dramatically new about its subject, and for want of documentary evidence he is forced to leave unresolved several mysteries about Davis. For instance, Cooper neither finds proof confirming nor negating the suspicions of many of the Cuba "filibusters" of the 1850s that Davis was responsible, when U.S. secretary of war, for President Franklin Pierce's unexpected opposition to private military expeditions designed to liberate the island from Spanish rule. Cooper depends upon logic about Davis's notorious micromanagement of Confederate affairs to substantiate his suggestion that he probably sanctioned plots to abduct Abraham Lincoln and other Union leaders. He decides that "circumstantial evidence" (p. 629) rules out his having had intimate relations with Sarah Dorsey, at whose home ("Beauvoir") he lived during his late life. In fact, readers familiar with the large extant literature on Davis should find relatively few surprises here. For instance, anyone who has read Janet Sharp Hermann's *Pursuit of a Dream* (1981) will already know about Davis's dealings with the African American Montgomery family, and his post-Civil War struggle to gain title to the Brierfield plantation, though Cooper covers these matters, like almost everything else, exceptionally well. Cooper's contribution, I feel, is his enrichment of what we already know about the man. It is hard to imagine anyone writing a more thoughtful, even-handed, better informed, and, indeed, more moving biography of Jefferson Davis. This reviewer feels completely satiated.

Purdue University

ROBERT E. MAY

*America's Public Holidays, 1865-1920.* By ELLEN M. LITWICKI. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000. ix, 293p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Ellen M. Litwicki has written a useful study of the emergence of American public holidays in the era between the end of the American Civil War and the end of World War I. She argues that different groups from veterans to emancipated slaves to ethnic industrial laborers all sought to celebrate their respective heritages in an increasingly diverse and disparate nation. Holidays also served to represent and encourage Americanism and a sense of national unity for a country whose growing population had no direct memory of its struggles for independence.

Following the end of the Civil War, as veterans and widows both in the North and South attempted to find ways to honor the war's dead and the causes for which they fought, the modern celebration of Memorial Day emerged, put into law by



both northern and southern states. These celebrations served to remind both regions of the country of the suffering and the devotion of these men to their beliefs. There was an inherent competition between both regions, as they sought to honor their veterans while neglecting soldiers who fought for the other side. For African Americans, the celebration of emancipation took on equal importance, as they gathered in cities across the nation to celebrate their release from bondage. These particular commemorations served as the "other side of the coin" to the almost exclusively white remembrance of Memorial Day.

For those in the largely ethnic laboring classes, holidays served as a release from the drudgeries of their vocations, as well as a way of commemorating their contribution to American society. Since remuneration for most of these participants ranged between poor and abysmal, these festivities were a way of gaining public recognition for their work, as well as demonstrating their numbers and strength to their employers. In addition, ethnic holidays served to remind workers, many of whom were immigrants, of their particular heritage within the increasingly diverse American populace. In many cases, these holidays competed with traditional American celebrations, which many ethnic groups felt did not represent their experience in the United States.

Holidays were also used by communities across the country as a form of civic education which sought to instill a sense of patriotism in the local citizenry. Many schools adopted drills and exercises as a way of involving students directly in the holiday celebrations. Teachers could also purchase items such as hatchets and cherry sprigs to use as props in celebrations of Washington's Birthday. In this way schools sought to teach Americanism through pageants and the like. Clearly, the promotion of ideology was more important than historical accuracy in many of these shows.

In addition, holidays such as Arbor Day and Bird Day began as a way to highlight the needs of the environment and served those who wished to promote natural conservation. Yet these holidays never had the widespread appeal of Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day, which had the strong support of groups that wanted to foster a sense of Americanism, national pride, or respect for the American worker.

Overall, Litwicki has ably covered the role of holidays in American culture during her indicated time period. While she touches very little on holidays such as Thanksgiving and Christmas, her work augments that of historians such as John Bodnar, Roy Rosenzweig, and Stephen Nissenbaum whose studies of patriotism, ethnic celebrations, holidays, and the role of leisure help elucidate a vital yet contested area in American society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

*Long Island University*  
*C. W. Post Campus*

ANDERS GREENSPAN

*The Red Rose Girls: An Uncommon Story of Art and Love.* By ALICE A. CARTER. (New York: Abrams, 2000. 216p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

This delightful book traces the lives of three talented artists: Violet Oakley, Elizabeth Shippen Green, and Jessie Wilcox Smith. Alice Carter has combined delightful prints of all three artists' work with descriptions of their genteel lifestyle rendered in very readable prose. These three young women, all students of Howard Pyle's illustration class at Drexel, were encouraged by their teacher to take on commissions as a means of self support. In 1897, Pyle was instrumental in securing work for Oakley and Smith to jointly illustrate Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline* for Houghton Mifflin. Little did the women know that this would be the beginning of a lifetime of friendship and a career in art that would allow them to remain largely self-sufficient.

Violet and her sister Hester rented a large studio apartment in Philadelphia where, along with Smith, Green, and Jessie Dodd, all students of Pyle, they shared expenses as they attended classes and worked on illustrations. In 1898 Violet was awarded a commission for two mural paintings, a mosaic altarpiece, and five small lancet windows for the chancel of All Angels Church in New York City. The commission won her a silver medal at the St. Louis Exposition. Favorable publicity from this assignment propelled Violet toward a contract that would last nearly twenty-five years with the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for a grand total of forty-three paintings. Joseph Miller Huston, architect of the new capitol, announced to the press in July 1902 "that noted Pennsylvania artist Edwin Austin Abbey, the famous painter, and George Grey Barnard, the famous sculptor" have accepted commissions and "one of the rooms in the building was to be decorated by a female Pennsylvania artist." Huston named "Violet purely because of the superior excellence of her work," stating that she was to be entrusted to paint fifteen panels for the Governor's executive reception room. Within days came another news release, headlined "Woman's Hand to Ornament Capitol," noting that "Pennsylvania has again taken a forward step in the interest of art by naming a woman as one of the principal mural painters for the new Harrisburg Capitol." The article related that "this is the first time such recognition has been accorded a woman in America."

In an attempt to escape the heat and noise of Philadelphia, Oakley, Smith, and Green moved to the Red Rose Inn at Villanova. They had seen the old stone house with its barns and stables on a drive in the country to visit Green's parents, and Violet described her first sight of the house as the most intense and mystical experience of her life; she knew at once that she had come home. They tried to purchase the property but had to settle for renting it from the owner. It was to become the house of Oakley and her mother, Green and both her parents, Smith, and Henrietta Cozzens, as well as the Green's housekeeper who took care of the



cooking, the grounds and gardens, and helped with the aging parents. In January 1906 the families received notice that their lease would not be renewed. This heartbreak was offset by good news when Elizabeth Green's cousins, Dr. and Mrs. George Woodward, provided the women with one of their properties in Chestnut Hill. The Woodwards remodeled the buildings to accommodate the extended family and to create studios for the women.

Jessie Wilcox Smith originally taught kindergarten before she changed professions and took up drawing. She was one of Pyle's oldest students, but her talent propelled her toward a lucrative career illustrating book and magazine covers. Her clients included the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Century*, *Colliers Weekly*, *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, *Leslie's*, *McClure's*, and *Scribner's*. Smith's subject matter dealt mostly with children and would become the focus of her life's work. Her covers for *Good Housekeeping* magazine that she created for over fifteen years, made her one of the most recognized women artists in the country. Even puzzles of her art were produced. She became the most prosperous of the girls and was affectionately nicknamed "the mint." She had an even temper, a likable disposition, and a generosity that was boundless.

While Jessie Smith's paintings of children were making her a household name, Elizabeth Green was also gaining national recognition. In August 1901 she was invited to join illustrator Edwin Austin Abbey and her teacher Howard Pyle as one of a select group of artists under exclusive contract to *Harper's Magazine*, and for the next twenty-three years her services would be retained by the publishers. Her picturesque drawings depicted an idyllic family home life that appealed to *Harper's* readers. Her illustrations were so widely admired that *Harper's* reserved their expensive color printing for their most acclaimed artists, Pyle and Green.

Green was awarded the Pennsylvania Academy's Mary Smith prize at its 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Exhibition. Her illustrations were used for such well-known magazines as *St. Nicholas* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. She was called upon to delineate stories featuring a wide range of topics that included romances, Shakespearean dramas, and several children's stories. In 1911, Green, then forty years old, married Huger Elliott an architect and instructor at Penn. She left Cogslea and returned in later years to the neighborhood, renovating a house near her life-long friends Oakley and Smith.

Alice Carter's *The Red Rose Girls* is a fitting tribute to these skilled women artists. The treasures they have given us continue to inspire and delight generations who have seen their work.

Pennsylvania Capitol  
Preservation Committee

RUTHANN HUBBERT-KEMPER

*Grand Master Workman: Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor.* By CRAIG PHELAN. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000. 294p. Notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00.)

In the introduction to *Grand Master Workman: Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor*, Craig Phelan promises to rescue Powderly from the "contempt of historians." He suggests that older generations dismissed Powderly as either "self-centered and self-glorifying" or backward-looking and ineffectual, while the "new labor historians" in focusing almost entirely on local community studies, ignored him altogether. Phelan suggests, rather, that Powderly was a "great leader," a "superlative orator," and one of the "most charismatic men of his day" (p. 6). Powderly, Phelan argues, believed in democratic leadership and spent his career searching for a "way to bind together the disparate forces under his command." "That he ultimately failed to unify the Knighthood through democratic means," Phelan concludes, "reveals not poor leadership but rather the virtual impossibility of harmonizing the cacophonous voices of a working class fractured along the lines of skill, gender, race, ethnicity, and geographic parochialism" (p. 7).

Phelan retraces familiar ground in his history of the Knights of Labor, but he does it from the point of view of Powderly and the order's national leadership. His first chapter is the most intriguing as he details Powderly's early career as a machinist, his involvement in Scranton's labor movement, his foray into electoral politics, and the origins of the Knights' movement. We even get a glimpse of Powderly's personal circumstances in Phelan's depiction of his "youthful idealism" and the trade union militancy of the 1870s. From early on, Phelan argues, Powderly asserted a democratic vision and a commitment to the labor movement. Unfortunately, as Phelan points out, the Knights' expansive vision "greatly outstripped its performance." Organizational cohesion eluded the order throughout its existence.

Succeeding chapters document Powderly's struggles to bring order to the Knights' movement. Operating, Phelan suggests, with compassion, charisma, and devotion to the cause, Powderly managed to organize the order's national leadership and set the stage for its unprecedented growth during the 1880s. Powderly, in Phelan's view, was a "popularizer, not a philosopher" (p. 56). Thus he took a pragmatic approach to the order's difficulties. Powderly's attitude toward strikes, for example, has been "distorted" by historians, Phelan says. The Grand Master Workman, he suggests, did support "well run strikes" (p. 62). Preaching a "gospel of proletarian self-help," Powderly pursued a multiplicity of goals within the order (p. 129). Phelan admits that Powderly had little control over the Knights' rank and file, and was in constant battle with various factions inside the organization. In addition, Powderly was no match for shrewd negotiators like Jay Gould. Whatever Powderly's missteps and failures, however, Phelan attributes the Knights' ultimate



demise at the end of the 1880s to forces outside their own ranks.

Phelan is at his best when documenting Powderly's day-to-day activities and organizational maneuvers. It is less successful as a portrait of Powderly as an individual. Phelan relies almost entirely on the Knights' proceedings and Powderly's extensive papers. Unfortunately, while those papers contain hundreds of letters from local members across the nation, they seem to hold little of Powderly's personal ruminations outside his organizational life. Those letters allow Phelan to suggest that although some historians have written Powderly off as a "myopic pedant," the Knights' membership saw him as a "powerful symbol of manhood, courage, and selfless dedication" (p. 92). Epitomizing the "ideals of manliness, sobriety, honor, and courage," it seems clear that Powderly stood as a popular hero (p. 88). But these sources point more toward Powderly's popular image than they reveal about the man himself. Phelan does not tackle the difficult questions implied in Powderly's self-presentation as "manly," nor does he attempt to critically analyze the implications of the order's racial practices. Ultimately, Phelan has revisited the Knight's history but has not altered the context of the discussion.

University of Illinois at Chicago

SUSAN LEVINE

*Fighting Bob LaFollette: The Righteous Reformer.* By NANCY C. UNGER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xii, 393p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

By most accounts, Senator Robert M. LaFollette was the Progressive Era's leading legislative reformer at the national level of government. With this much-needed biography of the Wisconsin firebrand, Nancy C. Unger has filled a void in the literature of Progressivism by reminding readers of LaFollette's vital contribution to twentieth-century social, economic, and political reform. In so doing, she provides a colorful portrayal of an insurgent who never wavered in his commitment to the fight against entrenched power.

Well researched and gracefully written, this study is a model of lively political history. In an age that often disregards the scholarly examination of the legislative process, it is reassuring to read such an intelligent analysis of one of the nation's most significant politicians. Unger excels at writing solid political history with a modern flair. Not only does she trace the key events and stages of an eventful career in government, she effectively places LaFollette's triumphs and failures in their personal, family, and social contexts.

In this regard, the book is especially successful in describing the crucial role played in LaFollette's career by the accomplished Belle Case LaFollette, a feminist and activist in her own right. As adviser, consultant, and sometimes comforter, Belle

exercised significant influence on her husband's career. Unger describes a political partnership rarely found in our history, one based on mutual respect between two strong and independent spirits. The result was a creative tension that helped shape both the well-known Wisconsin Idea and the senator's distinguished record as a national Progressive leader, accomplishments all the more remarkable in view of LaFollette's consistent tendency toward overwork and physical breakdown. Unger's account documents a history of psychological distress that has been underestimated in the existing LaFollette scholarship. Throughout these periods of physical and mental stress, Belle was Bob's constant supporter and sympathetic counselor.

What is most striking about LaFollette's long and productive career is a remarkably consistent dedication to the public interest and the bold courage with which he confronted the many challenges to his view of the public good. Unger is especially effective in describing LaFollette's principled opposition to American involvement in World War I and his defiant presidential campaign in 1924. While true strength of character is a scarce commodity among our political leaders, it can honestly be said that Robert M. LaFollette remained true to his political ideals to the end of his life in public service. Unger's sensitive account of a lifetime of personal struggle against special interests in American political and economic life reveals a strain of integrity not always found in those who lead.

As she deals with the LaFollette legacy, Unger places her subject squarely within the ranks of modern reform. Not only did LaFollette's Wisconsin Idea provide a model for state reformers in the early Progressive Era, but his combined record of legislative and administrative innovation places him in the vanguard of twentieth-century liberalism. Unger argues persuasively that LaFollette's ideas anticipated many of the reforms that were to be implemented in the New Deal era. While some of his Wisconsin successors, including his talented sons, would find it difficult to jettison petit bourgeois liberalism, LaFollette's contributions to New Deal thought and practice were substantial. Unger has done a service for historians of twentieth-century politics by refocusing on the modernity of LaFollette's ideas. His rejection of partisanship and endorsement of the public interest, as Unger notes, have continued to inspire progressives of later generations.

*University of Wisconsin—Marathon County*

JAMES J. LORENCE

*The Mapmakers.* By JOHN NOBLE WILFORD. (rev. ed., New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. xi, 508p. Illustrations, bibliographic notes, index. Cloth, \$50.00; paper, \$18.95.)

Those who still believe that maps, especially contemporary maps, exactly reflect physical dimensions and configurations of the land and water masses defining our



planet must read John Noble Wilford's revised edition of his much praised *The Mapmakers: The Story of the Great Pioneers in Cartography—from Antiquity to the Space Age*. Such readers need look only at Wilford's discussion in his chapter "Mapping from Space" to learn how NASA's Landsat program, initiated in 1977, immediately began producing data that resulted in redrawing the maps of Antarctica and its satellite islands and even in filling in largely unexplored areas such as Tibet. The entirety of *The Mapmakers*, however, meticulously details how cartography evolved, and continues to evolve, in response to efforts to depict the earth accurately. One of the book's central truths indeed insists that a map, even one reputed to be the best, is but a fleeting record of how we have perceived a geographic subject at one historical moment. Now that great cartographic efforts have been extended to cosmic and microscopic realms, perceptions of truth and reality are being turned on end repeatedly, with expectations existing seemingly only to be upset. One passage in the revised edition cogently captures the spirit of one of the book's essential themes, namely, the surprise that invariably accompanies almost every cartographic advance:

One day in the summer of 1985, Valerie de Lapparent, a Harvard graduate student . . . , fed the distances and positions of 1,000 galaxies into a computer to produce a graphic representation of their distribution through this slice of sky. The results were totally unexpected. Here was evidence of structure to the universe beyond previous conjecture and imagination. De Lapparent saw the galaxies arranged in a broad pattern resembling a child's drawing of a stickman (p. 464).

Wilford's is an instructive, rich, and delightful history of its subject. What John Dryden said of Chaucer might aptly be applied to *The Mapmakers*: "here is God's plenty." Applying a combination of narrative and anecdotal techniques, Wilford passionately surveys the history of the discipline from its Babylonian, Chinese, and Greek innovators down to the most contemporary advances in cosmic Ageography," touching on as well great discoveries in cellular and molecular mapping, and intimating great discoveries to be made in those areas. Much of the book surveys the standard subjects and developments in workmanlike fashion, but Wilford often delightfully expands on lesser known events and developments, such as the clandestine and arduous mapping of India and Tibet. He also draws out and delineates the personalities and achievements of cartographers sometimes overlooked—men like topographic engineer John C. Frémont's first-rate mapmaker Charles Preuss, as unromantic and malcontented an explorer as can be imagined. For example, in his diaries, discovered and published in the late 1950s, Preuss wrote: "Eternal prairies and grass, with occasional groups of trees. . . . Frémont prefers this to every other landscape. To me it is as if someone would prefer a book

with blank pages to a good story. . . . To the deuce with such a life; I wish I were in Washington with my old girl" (pp. 230–31). For all his discontent, however, Preuss's maps were of the highest order.

A journalist, Wilford writes in a genre best exemplified perhaps by James Gleick's national bestseller *Chaos: Making a New Science* (1987). He makes the arcane, the obscure, the difficult accessible to the nonspecialist reader. Avoiding mathematical and geographic technicality, he surveys his subject lucidly, passionately, and thoroughly (reinforcing his discussion with a fifteen-page bibliography), while his revisions make this second edition a more timely introduction to its subject.

Students of eighteenth-century frontier history in Pennsylvania will be pleased with Wilford's coverage there. He does justice to the Herculean Mason-and-Dixon boundary survey (1762–7), notes the role played later by astronomer-mathematician David Rittenhouse (with Andrew Ellicott) in completing what Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon were forced to leave unfinished and in extending the finished survey to the Ohio in 1785. He also rightly stresses at great length the achievements of Thomas Hutchins, who did much to ascertain the geography of the colony's and later the state's western territory and boundary, and went on to initiate (as geographer-general of the United States) Jefferson's innovative rectangular survey of the Ohio territory and other western territories. Wilford errs, however, in some minor matters. He notes that Hutchins joined the Revolutionary army "when the Revolution broke out" (p. 217). Actually, Hutchins, an engineer, was marooned in Great Britain in 1776 with a captain's commission in the British army and was refused permission both to refrain from fighting against his countrymen and to resign. As a consequence, he was imprisoned on charges of treason, eventually released, and allowed to resign. After escaping to France, he later made his way to North America, where in May 1781 he was appointed as Gen. Nathaniel Greene's geographer-general in the southern army. Similarly, Wilford observes in passing that Rittenhouse was a "self-educated" astronomer and instrument maker, an assertion challenged by evidence in the 1813 biography written by his nephew, William Barton.

I regret that Wilford ignored some undertakings, such as the watershed Ordinance Survey mapping of Ireland (1825–41). Although *The Mapmakers* invites favorable comparison with Gleick's *Chaos*, it falls short in one respect: a history of cartography, directed at the readership it claims, should be enhanced with some evidence of the exciting visual, artistic richness that is one of cartography's legacies. The first edition disappointed with its skimpy and often poorly reproduced black-and-white illustrations. One hoped that Knopf in bringing out the revised edition would rectify this earlier lapse; it did not, and the book's appeal is sadly the lesser for it.

Notwithstanding these caveats, the revised *Mapmakers* represents a most worthy effort to bring this obscure, complex, and somewhat neglected—and to this reader



exciting and valuable—subject to a wider audience than has hitherto been the case.

Gettysburg College

JAMES P. MYERS, JR.

*Pennsylvania Architecture: The Historic American Buildings Survey, with Catalogue Entries, 1933–1990.* By DEBORAH STEPHENS BURNS, RICHARD J. WEBSTER, and CANDACE REED STERN. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2000. xv, 629p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$85.00; paper, \$65.00.)

Founded during the Depression as a program to hire unemployed architects, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) continues to document historic buildings today. Its impressive collection of measured drawings, large-format photographs, and written histories is available to the public at the Library of Congress. By happy circumstance, Pennsylvania is the state that has been most documented, with graphic information on more than 1,600 Pennsylvania buildings. This book serves as a catalog of that collection, a summary of HABS activities in Pennsylvania, and an overview of the state's architecture.

Although Pennsylvania's is probably one of the last of the state catalogs to be issued under the aegis of HABS, the HABS collection has a new relevance thanks to the internet. The Library of Congress has digitized the entire collection, so that you can download documentation in your own home (<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/hhhtml>), bringing public access to a higher level. Although the catalog curiously does not include a reference to this digital capability, it does provide for each building its name, address, capsule description, statement of significance, and the kinds and dates of documentation, serving as an entry point into the collection. An appendix lists the structures documented by the Historic American Engineering Record, HABS's industrial counterpart. Revealing the limits of paper publishing, though, the catalog is of course incomplete, having an arbitrary cutoff date of 1990.

In a brief foreword, Charles E. Peterson, HABS's founding father and indefatigable advocate, mentions the origins of the program in providing study material for restoration work. HABS documentation also enables reconstruction of since-vanished buildings and allows a scholar to compare a multitude of buildings spread over a geographic area. Richard Webster's essays included in this volume demonstrate the advantages of the kinds of comparisons that the HABS collection permits, as well as some of the limitations of the collection.

In a 128-page essay that is comprehensive without being all-inclusive, Webster outlines the history of Pennsylvania's architecture, beginning with homes of English and German settlers and ending, in the mid-twentieth century, with commercial and public buildings designed by nationally known architects. Highlighting the

HABS documentation, without relying solely on it, Webster devotes a paragraph or two to important or particularly representative buildings, mentions ongoing debates in architectural history, and points out areas ripe for research. The forty-six pages of notes, which are far more thorough than the bibliography, also contain biographies and other engaging facts.

An essay on the architecture of each of six regions precedes the catalog entries. In these regional essays, Webster addresses issues of geography, economics, and industry, topics that are absent from the general essay. Within these frameworks, he sketches the architectural development of each region. Philadelphia's collection is so rich that it merited its own HABS catalog, published in 1976; still, its architectural history dominates the story of the state, and is repeated in the regional essay. In some cases, the author is hampered by the lack of research as well as by the thinness of the HABS collection. Sixteen counties have no HABS documentation at all, and Webster's essay on the "Ridge and Valley" region—the southcentral area of the state—suffers from the lack of a body of work on which to draw. Still, the regional analysis is an effective approach to a very large state and is similar to that generally employed in the Society of Architectural Historian's Buildings of the United States series, which in some respects may be seen as the successor to the HABS catalogs.

One of the weaknesses of the HABS collection is its bias toward early buildings. The initial guidelines for the survey suggested a cutoff date of 1860, which was later extended to 1900, and although the collection contains many twentieth-century buildings, it is still weighted toward earlier centuries. As Deborah Stephens Burns and Candace Reed Stern discuss in their essay on HABS in Pennsylvania, documentation came into the collection in a variety of ways. This uneven approach to acquiring documentation produced uneven coverage, so that the state capitol, for instance, is not included in the collection (although discussed in Webster's essay).

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has produced a volume that is handsomely designed, which is especially important for a collection that is largely graphic. The generously sized book (10 inches square) devotes a full page to each measured drawing, and photographs also usually receive a full page, and no less than a half. Through these high-quality reproductions, the virtues of the HABS collection—the meticulousness of the drawings, the clarity of the photographs—can be experienced.

In fact, it is impossible to read this book and not become excited by the possibilities: the wealth and range of Pennsylvania's historic resources, the opportunities for research, and the potential of the HABS collection. This publication manages to draw the reader into architectural debates and alert readers to egregious omissions in Pennsylvania's architectural documentation, while at the same time providing the starting point for any research project: the HABS collection.

*Michigan Technological University*

ALISON K. HOAGLAND



*Building America's First University: An Historical and Architectural Guide to the University of Pennsylvania.* By GEORGE E. THOMAS and DAVID B. BROWNLEE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. xii, 374p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

The college campus is one of America's great artistic achievements. Yet the scholarship on such astounding collections as Princeton, Yale, or the University of Pennsylvania has lagged behind that devoted to, say, the skyscraper, Frank Lloyd Wright, or even barns or diners. While the whole panoply of the best of American architecture could be studied at various universities, Modernists tended to denigrate anything built before the International Style arrived from Europe in the 1930s. Now, with the waning of Modernist influence, historians are reevaluating the contributions of such too-long-ignored architects as Ralph Adams Cram and Frank Miles Day.

A new genre of campus guides—notably the series published by the Princeton Architectural Press—reflects a growing interest in the physical fabric of American colleges, while reinforcing the need for more in-depth studies. Paul Turner's *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (1984) is perhaps the best known, but monographs like Bainbridge Bunting and Margaret Henderson Floyd's *Harvard: An Architectural History* (1985) and *Collegiate Gothic: The Architecture of Rhodes College* (1989) point to an expanding literature on the topic of campuses. George Thomas and David Brownlee's *Building America's First University* is one of the best books on an American college so far. This historical and architectural guide to the University of Pennsylvania is remarkable because these Penn historians understand that an institution's building history is inseparable from its social and political history. Their affectionate but comprehensive portrait of Penn demonstrates that the university is a more than bricks and mortar: it is an expression of three centuries of idealism, compromise, aspiration, disappointment, and triumph.

Relating Penn's long history naturally includes the Old City campuses—Franklin's Academy and Charitable School, and early buildings by Robert Smith, Benjamin Latrobe, and William Strickland. The 1872 move to West Philadelphia marks the beginning of the campus as we know it, with the appointment of the idiosyncratic Frank Furness as university architect (hired because of connections rather than abilities).

The story of the modern university begins with the marketing genius of Charles Curtis Harrison, provost from 1894 to 1910. Harrison packaged Penn in the "romance of the past," firing Furness and employing such masters of scenographic design as Frank Miles Day and Cope and Stewardson. Inspired by St. John's College, Cambridge, "The Quad" set the tone for the great American university in the English mold (Cope and Stewardson built a similar recreation of Oxbridge for Princeton). The same firm gave the Law School the imprimatur of Sir Christopher Wren, while architects like Charles Klauder, Wilson Eyre, and Horace Trumbauer

effectively clothed up-to-date facilities in Old World garb.

How many Philadelphians remember that only the Great Depression kept Penn from moving to a 175-acre farm in Valley Forge? Or the 1948 master plan, which called for the destruction of Furness, Logan, and College Halls? Despite some near disasters and its share of dreadful buildings over the years, Penn has been blessed by an architectural faculty second to none: Paul Cret, Ian McHarg, Robert Geddes, Sir Peter Shephard, Romaldo Giurgola, Louis Kahn, and on and on. (Penn has even had a run of architecturally literate presidents in Gaylord Harnwell, Martin Myerson, and Sheldon Hackney.) Penn was the crucible for the "Philadelphia School," led by Robert Venturi, which finally challenged and routed the Modernism espoused at Harvard.

Valuable as is the historical half of the book (including a chapter on campus legends—the free green stone of College Hall, the fallacy of the 1740 founding date, or Furness's recycling a train station design for the library), it is the gazetteer that will prove more useful. Every building at Penn has an entry, complete with architects, dates, historical lore, an illustration, and often passionate evaluations.

The gazetteer provides more of a mosaic than a flattering painting, and, perhaps in spite of itself, gets closer to the truth than hagiography. Trumbauer ("architect of choice of parvenu Philadelphians"), Eyre, Cope and Stewardson, and Day have all aged well, outfoxing those whose dismissed them as "eclectic." Hill House, like its designer Saarinen, has grown on us, while much of the construction of the 1950s and 60s is still aggressively awful—Van Pelt Library and Myerson Hall, especially, along with the Stalinist high rises. Robert Geddes's work looks better every year, while one has to wonder if Penn has too much Robert Venturi. Kahn's Richards Labs are as good as their supporters hoped they would be, while an equally picturesque composition, the less-known Philadelphia Divinity School by Zantlinger, Borie, and Medary is a real discovery.

Taste is ephemeral, and no doubt another generation will venerate buildings now out of favor. But the important thing is that Thomas and Brownlee's *Building America's First University* has established the framework for understanding and building upon the continually evolving architectural treasure that is Penn.

Roger Williams University

WILLIAM MORGAN

*"Adorn the Halls": History of the Art Collection at Thomas Jefferson University.*

By JULIE S. BERKOWITZ. (Philadelphia: Thomas Jefferson University, 1999. 725p. Illustrations, notes, indexes. \$79.00.)

It is not surprising that a catalog of Thomas Jefferson University's (TJU) art collection would devote several substantial chapters to Thomas Eakins and *The Gross Clinic*. The iconographic role the painting has had for the university is even



more meaningful when one considers the fact that it was Samuel D. Gross, M.D., who was responsible for initiating the school's program to collect artwork in the 1870s. Serendipitous relationships like this one are often illustrated in Julie S. Berkowitz's immensely informative and highly readable catalog.

The genesis of TJU and its art collection is a twisted tale highlighted by the fact that during the course of her research the author unearthed a founding document missing for many years. The 1824 certificate from the trustees of Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, established the Medical School of Jefferson College in the city of Philadelphia and appointed George McClellan (father of the Civil War general) as the professor of anatomy and surgery. In order to circumvent the University of Pennsylvania's attempts to prevent other medical schools from locating in Philadelphia, McClellan and three other founders looked west, past Pittsburgh, to find an educational institution to sponsor their medical school. In 1838, the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia became an independent institution when it separated from what is now Washington and Jefferson University.

It was not until the 1870s, and at Samuel Gross's request, that the college followed the example of European institutions and began a program to place portraits of "illustrious teachers" throughout the campus. His suggestion was well received but did not lead directly to commissioning Thomas Eakins to create *The Gross Clinic*. Gross clearly stipulated that the artwork should be "memorials of the dead as among the proudest trophies of art, adorning the halls . . . and inspiring the pupil. . . ." What it did lead to was the creation of perhaps the finest art collection held by an American medical university.

How did Gross become the subject of what could arguably be called one of the best-known paintings of an American medical subject? Berkowitz uses Eakins's careers as a student, teacher, and "expert anatomist" as an introduction to the artist and his association with TJU. Illustrations include Eakins's admission tickets to Dr. Joseph Pancoast's anatomy lectures at Jefferson in the 1860s and 1870s (although these are not from the TJU collections). As with other catalog entries, the author's discussions of Eakins's portraits are thorough, and engagingly written. Detailed information on the subjects, media, provenance, and history of conservation, inform the reader, as do contemporary commentary, excerpts from personal memoirs, and references from art and medical historians. Extensive visual analysis of the catalog entries is supported by well-chosen illustrations and details which encourage careful examination of the images.

Berkowitz discusses the personal connections between Eakins and his Jefferson subjects and suggests that Eakins's 1874 portrait of Benjamin H. Rand was painted to solicit future commissions from the college. She also convincingly argues that *The Gross Clinic* was inspired by, if not painted specifically for, the Centennial Exposition and discusses the difficulties Eakins encountered in his attempts to have it exhibited there.

The catalog is well organized and the major chapters are broken down into sub-

chapters with topics such as "The Life and Career of Samuel D. Gross, M.D.," "Participation in the Civil War by Jefferson Faculty," and "Clinicians in the Surgical Specialties."

Catalog entries, the bulk consisting of painted, sculpted, and printed portraits of faculty and alumni, also include American, Asian, and European decorative arts, architectural renderings, medical instruments, sixteenth-century European medical prints, coins, medals, and photographs. Artists represented range from Albrecht Dürer, to William Merrit Chase, to Bo Bartlett, to the Samuel Yellen Metalworks, to Robert Susan, to the Franklin Mint (a replica of a case clock owned by Thomas Jefferson, the original is at Monticello).

It is interesting to follow the family dynasties of the McClellans, Pancoasts, Grosses, Solis-Cohens, Montgomerys, and others throughout TJU's history and to note the contributions to the field made by so many staff and alumni. Considering Philadelphia's reputation as a center for medicine, the history of medical achievements recorded in the catalog remain impressive.

One very minor criticism concerns the widespread use of medical terminology, which often leaves the nonmedical reader at a disadvantage. For example, the entry for a photograph entitled *Professor William W. Keen's Clinic at Jefferson Medical College* notes that Dr. Keen "performed his first successful gasserian ganglionectomy by temporal method in 1893." Considering that the primary audience for the catalog consists of students, staff, and alumni, a glossary of medical terminology might seem superfluous, but this reviewer was lost after "successful."

Thomas Jefferson University should be commended for its sponsorship of Julie Berkowitz's work on the university's art collection almost as much as Ms. Berkowitz should be commended for producing such a comprehensive and consistently readable catalog. This work is destined to become an invaluable resource for anyone interested in art history, medical history, Philadelphia history, art collections in academic institutions, as well as students, staff, and alumni of TJU.

*Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

KRISTEN FROELICH

*Material Culture.* By Henry Glassie. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999. 413p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

*The Potter's Art.* By Henry Glassie. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000. 149p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$25.00; paper, \$12.95.)

"History," argues Henry Glassie, "is not the past. History is a story about the past, told in the present, and designed to be useful in constructing the future" (p. 6). But in order to be useful to most people in the world, history requires a trans-



disciplinary approach. "History is a force so potent in our lives that it would be irresponsible to leave it shattered at the convenience of the conservative economy of the academy" (pp. 5-6). To Glassie, material culture has always seemed to offer a unique arena for just such a transdisciplinary approach to historical investigation, because it is in the study of material culture that history and art connect. Yet, while the promise of material culture studies seemed bright enough thirty years ago, at some point since then progress was derailed when discipline-bound scholars began reinventing old ideas and losing touch with one another. In both *Material Culture* and *The Potter's Art*, Glassie aims to show us how material culture scholarship can reformulate the study of history and art. He seeks new "points of convergence that will become the basis for a new transdisciplinary practice, at once humanistic and scientific." He writes, he says, to get the study of material culture "back on track" (pp. 2-3).

*Material Culture* is organized as preface and five interlinked thematic essays, each essay building upon the previous one. The essays focus on history, material culture, the life of a single artist, pottery, and vernacular architecture. *The Potter's Art*, a slightly expanded and more heavily illustrated version of this book's fourth chapter, was issued as a separate volume in 1999 and is the first of a planned series of books on material culture to be co-published by Material Culture of Philadelphia (a gallery dedicated to world folk art) and Indiana University Press.

"History," the first chapter of *Material Culture*, sets the stage for what follows. To Glassie, "writing history is speaking myth" (p. 6). Like Claude Levi-Strauss, Glassie views the past as an important "mythic resource" for the historian; like Bronislaw Malinowski, the author sees the historian as a storyteller who taps into a shared cosmology to reorder the past and draw people together. Glassie's solution to the fragmented and constrained academic version of history is thus a more complicated history that can serve everyone, "a myth that entails progress and opposition and continuity, a story that is spatial as well as temporal, moral as well as factual, [and] gentle to diversity" (p. 39).

The chapter entitled "Material Culture" extends this argument. As he suggested in *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* nearly a quarter of a century ago, Glassie maintains that "studies focused on words . . . omit whole spheres of experience that are clumsily framed in language but gracefully shaped into artifacts . . . when we restrict historical research to verbal documents . . . we miss the wordless experience of all people, rich or poor, near or far" (p. 44). Because objects absorb their significance within not one but at least three overlapping contexts of creation, communication, and consumption, Glassie reminds us that the study of consumption in particular (including patterns of use, rebuilding, and collecting) should go hand-in-hand with the study of artifact creation.

An essay entitled "One Life" builds upon the previous discussion of approaches to material culture study. Here Glassie underscores just how complex the processes

of creation, consumption, and use can be in the lives of objects by relating the story of Hagop Baryn, a master carpet repair craftsman who began learning his trade in Istanbul and eventually emigrated to Philadelphia in the 1980s. Carpet repairmen like Baryn occupy a unique position in relation to the material artifacts they labor over because they must balance their own personal style with the style of the object's creator; they must also relate simultaneously to the object itself as well as the multifoliate traditions within which they work. And, as the author reminds us, this polyvocality complicates the meaning of such objects. "Artifacts, being human creations, bear meaning, but how artifacts mean is a difficult, delicate question" (p. 122). While some have attempted to view oriental carpets as texts that can be "read" like narratives, Glassie maintains that the meanings in carpets are far less literal and linear than we might like them to be. For Hagop Baryn, the rug thus becomes "an emblem of village experience, the epitome of a way of life. He pulls out of it what the women wove into it" (p. 122).

In the chapter entitled "The Potter's Art," Glassie demonstrates the comparative study of ceramic art across cultures. The author maintains that meaningful cross-cultural comparison is better suited to art forms such as ceramics and textiles because they are far more global in their distribution than paintings. To illustrate just how clay carries cultural value, he examines ceramics, their creators, and some of their consumers in Bangladesh, Sweden, America (Mossy Creek, Georgia, and Acoma, New Mexico), Turkey, and Japan. Of all the chapters, this essay is perhaps the most effective at realizing the author's desired "points of convergence" and moving toward a more inclusive concept of art. So, for example, we see how two types of ceramic vessels in Bangladesh, one made to hold water, the other formed to hold sacred power, demonstrate the conjunction between use and art. Similarly, we see how the potters of Acoma, New Mexico resemble their Turkish counterparts: both simultaneously adjust to their times by adapting to new technology and expanding upon traditional designs, but both also show their reverence for tradition by selecting the best from the past.

In the final essay, the author returns to the notion of the more complicated history proposed in the first chapter. "Architecture," he argues, "provides a prime resource to the one who would write a better history" (p. 342). Here Glassie extends arguments advanced in a number of his earlier works by tracking major conceptual shifts in vernacular architecture, but on a global stage. He finds that the shifts that are so familiar to him from his field work in the United States resemble similar shifts in England, Turkey, Ireland, Bangladesh, and Sweden, and he concludes that his "better history" based on architecture can be divided into three great periods that occurred at different times in different cultures. The first of these was the period of the village, in which the great creation was a sacred community edifice that was usually built to last when houses were not. With the spread of enclosure, the landscape was divided and divided again, and the second period—the period of the



house—began. The big buildings of this period were political rather than religious, but the period's grand achievement was the family home. "When a closed house stood on the enclosed landscape," Glassie maintains, "the modern age began" (p. 345). The third period in Glassie's scheme is the "period of the commodity," in which the "big building" of the time relates, not to religion, politics, or the family, but to business, and in which "commodities are assembled into domestic environments" (p. 348).

The bibliography, like the previous chapters, is global in scope. It is divided into two sections: one part contains texts that influenced the author's arguments in this book; the other is designed to compile a useful collection of works for students of material culture.

While *Material Culture* builds upon many of Glassie's previously published works, such as *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*, *Passing the Time in Balleymenone*, *Turkish Traditional Art Today*, *The Spirit of Folk Art*, and *Art and Life in Bangladesh*, it is a very personal statement by a mature scholar and one that also incorporates much new material into a thought-provoking and idiosyncratic whole. Glassie's elegant prose occasionally lapses into obscurity, but *Material Culture* is the kind of book that, like many of the author's earlier works, is densely packed with ideas and thus warrants multiple readings. An important book by one of the major scholars in the field, *Material Culture* bears close scrutiny and belongs on the shelf of any serious student of material culture.

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GABRIELLE M. LANIER

*Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America.* By ALISON J. CLARKE. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999. Illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95.)

"A Tupperware party takes place somewhere in the world every 2.5 seconds, and an estimated 90 percent of American homes own at least one piece of Tupperware" (p. 1). Thus begins Alison J. Clarke's scholarly and entertaining history of one of the most well-known American household products of the twentieth century. Tupperware was celebrated by modernists for its "tasteful, restrained" character; in 1956 curators at the Museum of Modern Art in New York included Tupperware in an exhibition of outstanding American design. Yet authentic design has not been the source of its extraordinary popularity. "Despite the ingenuity of the airtight container," Clarke writes, "it was Tupperware's appeal to sociality and the valorization of women's domestic lives, in its objects, sales system, and corporate culture, that led to its success" (p. 5). Clarke concentrates on the 1940s and 1950s,

interweaving the details of the Tupperware story with perceptive analysis of feminine popular culture, suburbanization and consumerism.

Two personalities loom large in this account. Earl Silas Tupper, a self-taught Yankee inventor, was a sample maker for a DuPont Company satellite in Massachusetts in the late 1930s when he began experimenting with new plastics. Around 1942 Tupper created the "flexible, injection molded polyethylene bell-shaped container" (p. 35) and five years later he patented the famous Tupper "burp" seal. Tupper was a relentless diarist, and his self-conscious writings reveal how carefully he studied domestic life, giving Tupperware not only a practical but also a moral mission to fulfill.

Despite Tupper's careful marketing, expanding line, and the product's genuine success, he was unable to make Tupperware a ubiquitous household item. That was the achievement of Brownie Wise, a middle-aged divorced mother from Detroit who created her own highly successful direct sales network. Tupper tapped Wise in 1951 to lead his new distribution division, Tupper Home Parties (THP). With a keen knowledge of women's culture and spot-on intuition, she encouraged Tupper to use the party plan exclusively. Based on a long tradition of women's gatherings, these parties relied on loyalty and reciprocity to sell a product. Yet, as Clarke argues, the result was not simply a bland, homogenizing consumerism. Tupperware parties and products empowered women and allowed them to escape from the domestic routine. With glamour and sophistication, Tupperware salesmanship, parties and the goods themselves bound women together amid the isolation and dislocation of postwar suburbia.

The astounding success of THP depended in large degree on a compelling corporate culture. The "Tupperware Family" was a gigantic sorority that encouraged pride, gentility, self-betterment, and a positive attitude. In 1954 the division built its Orlando headquarters, a fantasyland that included Poly Pond (where one could be baptized by "Tupper Magic"), the Loyalty Garden, a Museum of Dishes, a Magic Kitchen, and a swimming pool for the "Homecomers," as visiting salespeople were called. Each year thousands of pilgrims made their way to the annual Tupperware Homecoming Jubilees. "There's only one place for me / One place I want to be / A part of the Tupperware Family" sang homecomers at the 1957 Jubilee—"Gone are the lonesome days / These are the golden days" (p. 146).

Brownie Wise's Tupperware golden days ended in 1958 when, under mysterious circumstances, Earl Tupper dismissed her from her post. The tension between these two characters is indicative of the contradictions in postwar consumerism. Clarke brilliantly illustrates this by contrasting their two homes: Tupper's sedate and traditional New England home, punctuated occasionally by extravagant purchases of new-fangled luxury goods, and Wise's Florida retreat, a thoroughly modern, open plan, pink creation that was an unabashed celebration of modern style and abundance. Wise's exuberant style was out of step with Tupper's vision of moral

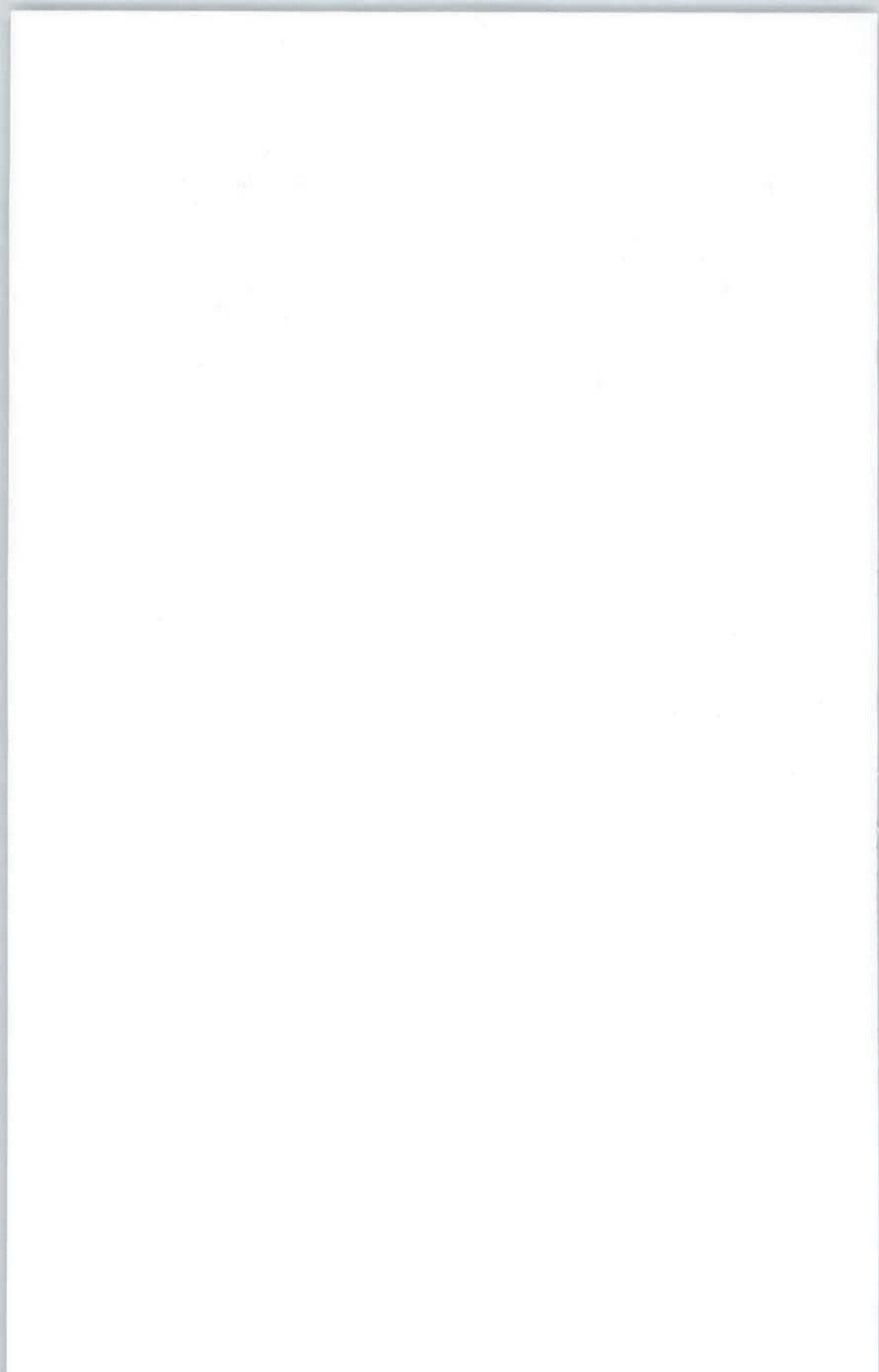


economy.

Despite the subsequent reorganization, Tupperware survived in fine shape and both company and product have shown remarkable adaptability and longevity. Today the majority of sales are international. "Virtual parties" take place over the internet, and recently the award-winning salesperson of the Los Angeles franchise was a drag queen named Pam Teflon. Alison Clarke's account provides an intriguing window into postwar American life and a fine history of this extraordinary company.

*Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library*

GRETCHEN BUGGELN





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To reserve a place at the symposium,  
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