

BOOK REVIEWS

George Washington Reconsidered. Edited by DON HIGGINBOTHAM. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001, x, 336p. Illustrations, notes, index. Paper, \$18.50.)

A resurgent interest in George Washington during the last decade has led historians to reassess the "Father of the Country's" contribution to the American Revolution and the new republic, to analyze his greatness as a national hero, and to plumb his personality and self-image. In *George Washington Reconsidered*, Don Higginbotham has selected thirteen stimulating essays, many of which reflect "the new trend away from mainline political and institutional history" (p. 3). Higginbotham argues that eighteenth century "great white men," despite their racism and different view of the world, deserve the attention of historians, and he expresses hope that "the old historical avenues will come back" as "political, intellectual, constitutional and military history" (p. 328).

With the exception of two of the essays (one by Robert and Lee Baldwin Dalzell and one by Dorothy Twohig) and the compiler's fine historiographical introduction, the other works (including two by Higginbotham) are reprinted from earlier journal articles and book chapters. The other contributors are Martin H. Quitt, Bruce A. Ragsdale, Glenn A. Phelps, W. W. Abbot, Joseph J. Ellis, Peter R. Henriques, Edmund S. Morgan, and Gordon S. Wood.

Robert and Lee Baldwin Dalzell connect the architecture of Mount Vernon to Washington's commitment to republican principles and "conventional details" (p. 106). Despite Washington's years of work on the great estate, he did not intend that it would remain in tact after his death. Like the rest of his vast wealth including his personal possessions, it would be divided among his many heirs. Ultimately "his dominion would become—once again, fully and finally—nature's" (p. 112).

Dorothy Twohig's balanced assessment of Washington's position on slavery emphasizes the Virginian's determination not to allow it to disrupt his nation-building agenda. Keenly aware of the potential for destruction of the republican experiment, Washington was always cautious about discussion of the subject even though, unlike many others who fought for liberty, he made arrangements to free his slaves at his death. In the preface to Twohig's article, Higginbotham's discussion of Thomas Jefferson and slavery is a distraction which diverts the reader's attention from Washington's position.

Martin H. Quitt challenges the cavalier loyalist image of Washington's grand-

father, who immigrated to Virginia in 1656, seeing him as one "detached from the traditions in which [he] had been reared" (p. 29). Bruce Ragsdale focuses on Washington's problems with the English merchants upon whom he depended to sell his crops and from whom he purchased the goods which befitted his station as a Virginia gentleman. Glenn Phelps and Don Higginbotham examine Washington's military skills in the colonial and revolutionary eras; W. W. Abbot describes Washington's commitment to the West; and Peter Henriques explores Washington's view of death and life beyond the grave.

Joseph Ellis calls the Farewell Address "a great prophecy" (p. 240). "A veritable virtuoso of exits" (p. 221), Washington strove to carry forward the "panoramic and fully continental vision of an American empire" (p. 223) that he advanced in the 1780s. Ellis emphasizes the importance of Washington's neutrality policy, and he sees the Jay Treaty as a "landmark in the shaping of American foreign policy" (p. 226). Ellis might have added that by the end of his second term, Washington became an adept politician. In the Jay Treaty battle, the president urged Federalists to galvanize public opinion in favor of the accord. In 1796, he rejected the demands of the House of Representatives for the Jay Treaty papers and established precedent for executive control of foreign affairs, but in January 1797, when it suited his political interests, he submitted papers on French negotiations to the House of Representatives as well as the Senate. Hence although his professions of opposition to political parties were genuine, he used his enormous prestige skillfully to carry forward his political agenda.

Washington's image of himself is the subject of essays by W. W. Abbot who explores "the sense he came to have of the importance that his life held for history, for posterity" (p. 278), and Edmund Morgan, who explains Washington's "deliberately cultivated aloofness" (p. 303). In their assessments of Washington's personal relationships with his large family, Higginbotham and Henriques soften somewhat the image of Washington's detachment and icy reserve, but the historians all agree that the founder was ever mindful of his public image.

Together the essays in this volume portray Washington as a courageous nationalist with Virginia roots, a creator of the American national army, a successful planter, an Enlightenment proponent of "gentility and civility," and "a truly classical hero" (Wood, pp. 311, 314). Fearful of social disorder and personal dishonor, quick-tempered and unforgiving of political opponents, Washington was a great man because of his continental vision, leadership, and moral character.

Don Higginbotham has collected a group of first-rate interpretive essays. The book provides ready access to an impressive sample of recent scholarship and offers insights which will inspire additional historical research in the colonial and early national periods.

Sweet Land of Liberty: The Ordeal of the American Revolution in Northampton County, Pennsylvania. By FRANCIS S. FOX. (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. xix, 212p. Map, notes, index. \$29.95.)

By presenting eighteen capsule biographies, this account of the American Revolution in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, eschews a conventional analytical narrative in favor of letting historical actors "speak for themselves" (p. x). This strategy is most effective in the book's longer chapters where the multifaceted conflicts of local people in this northern frontier area come to life. Robert Levers and Lewis Gordon, both of whom established themselves in colonial Northampton County through the patronage of provincial secretary Richard Peters, begin the book strongly with their distinctive trajectories. Gordon's prominence as an attorney and justice of the peace at the county seat of Easton prompted him to the head of various resistance committees, but he never embraced the independence movement and only seems to have sworn allegiance to the new state to ensure that his children could legally inherit his property. Levers, by contrast, emerged from relative obscurity and economic insecurity as a backcountry land speculator to secure numerous local appointments in the revolutionary government; but, as a zealous keeper of patriot standards, he became embroiled in wide-ranging disagreements about the nature and boundaries of revolutionary authority. As the county prothonotary, Levers helped ensure that the controversies he fanned were well documented. Although certainly not the solitary focus of the book, Levers looms as its central figure, largely due to his strong presence in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's Northampton County Papers and in the massive microfilm collection *Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments* (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Collection, Record Group 27), both of which Fox has carefully examined.

Although the project began with a genealogical inspiration (the author's ancestors settled in Northampton County in the 1760s), this is no shallow account or mere celebration. Another of the strongest chapters presents the brutally intertwined revolutionary experiences of militia lieutenant John Wetzel, "the most powerful man in the county" (p. 74), and the Moravian leader John Ettwein of Bethlehem. Fox levels his sharpest criticisms at the militia enforcers of revolutionary conformity, whom he views as an "internal police force" whose "dictatorial power" enforced an "undeclared state of martial law" in which "the authority of the people became cradled in the arms of the militia" (pp. 84, 17). The author's sympathies clearly lie with Moravians like Ettwein and, in the book's final chapter, with Eve Yoder and Esther Bachman, members of two of the eleven Mennonite families whose seized property was purchased at auction in 1778 by 350 local people for a sum of more than £6,200 (p. 153). The Revolution in Northampton County, probably even more than most other places, had an unpredictable tempo

and mean-spirited edge that distant state officials occasionally tried to restrain, but without much local success.

The study's biographical approach brings the uncertainty and trauma of these conflicts to the fore and includes many briefer sketches that streak off in tangential directions from those typically encountered in histories of the nation's founding. Here we meet the drowned soldier Henry Legel, whose personal possessions were fought over by different revolutionary authorities; the enslaved woman Phillis, who legally documented accusations of rape against her master in 1783; and the striving German immigrant Henry Geiger, whose bid for local leadership may have been curtailed by his awkward grasp of English and cultural distance from the central authorities of both colony and state.

Such stories, however, also lead to some frustration. The major external forces that helped to shape Northampton's course in the Revolution need to be repeated in each separate biographical account. British general William Howe's amnesty proclamation of November 1776, the Pennsylvania government's severe demands in the Militia Act (March 17, 1777) and Test Act (June 13, 1777), British control of Philadelphia from September 1777 to June 1778, and Indian and loyalist attacks on the Northampton frontier, especially the "massacre" at Wyoming on July 3, 1778, each appear as important causal forces whose retelling in several chapters becomes repetitious. Ultimately, one wishes that Fox had more forcefully exercised his own judgment in arranging this material that he knows so well. The historical actors often can't tell their own stories persuasively enough and the author's arguments are usually implied rather than articulated. The book helps us, nevertheless, to understand the extraordinarily factionalized nature of Pennsylvania's Revolution outside of Philadelphia and allows us to see that those conflicts were as often about petty grudges and self-interest as about the Revolution's formally stated aims; *Sweet Land of Liberty* recalls that all too human dimension with compassion.

University of Maine

LIAM RIORDAN

Parker Pillsbury: Radical Abolitionist, Male Feminist. By STACEY M. ROBERTSON (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. xiii, 232p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$35.)

When Parker Pillsbury agreed to have his head examined in 1842, the phrenologist Orson Fowler concluded that his strongest characteristics were his physical and mental strength coupled with his "combativeness" and "resistance." Pillsbury also exhibited a strong "moral principle" and "deep love for his family and friends." And he was humble to the point of lacking "self-esteem." Yet he was fiercely independent, "did his own thinking," and "let others do theirs." It was an

accurate assessment of Pillsbury's personality, as Stacey Robertson notes, despite the subsequent discrediting of phrenology. In fact it was more accurate than the assessment of twentieth-century historians, who have generally dismissed him as an irritating crank.

Pillsbury devoted his life to ending all sin and "preparing the nation for the millennium through provocation and agitation." Born on a farm in Henniker, New Hampshire (about twenty miles west of Concord), he was raised as a Congregationalist, received little education, never had much money, and always considered himself an outsider. He left home in 1829 at age twenty to work as a wagon driver and soap boiler, and was derided by his co-workers for not getting drunk with them. In 1835 he decided to join the ministry, but at Gilmanton Theological Seminary and Andover Academy he felt "disconnected" from his fellow students owing to his age (he was older than most students) and lack of education. He soon renounced the church altogether, because it refused to countenance abolitionism. He became a life-long anti-cleric and "come-outer" who attacked the corrupt nature of institutional religion, doctrine, and theology. Even within William Lloyd Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society, where he worked as a field agent and editor beginning in 1839, Pillsbury considered himself an outsider; he felt uncomfortable about his lack of refinement in relation to the organization's Boston elite.

Pillsbury's devotion to radical reform often disrupted his family life. His parents accused him of heresy, he resented their "narrow Calvinism," and he blamed them for his lack of self-confidence. He and Sarah Sargent, his wife of fifty-eight years, sought to fulfill their feminist ideals of equality and mutual respect. But their marriage was punctuated by "long separations, financial problems, illnesses, and distrust." As a field lecturer, Parker was absent from home more often than not, leaving Sarah to maintain the house and raise a child on his meager income. And although he wanted to participate fully in his daughter Helen's upbringing, his parenting usually took the form of didactic letters, written while on the road, in which he urged her to practice self-control and purification as the first step toward achieving the millennium.

During the Civil War and Reconstruction, Pillsbury began to drift apart from his Garrisonian friends and colleagues. While they increasingly embraced political action in the form of Lincoln and the Republican Party, he remained committed to nonresistance and disunion. In this sense Pillsbury was more consistent than other Garrisonians; he never compromised his belief that God's government stood separate from civil government. While other abolitionists entered the mainstream, he remained an outsider. At times, Pillsbury seemed to be courting the enemy: he argued that the Lincoln administration was the worst ever; that Jefferson Davis "would be preferable as a President to Abraham Lincoln"; and "that Emancipation would be a curse, if decreed as a political necessity" or war measure. He also wavered on black suffrage, and ultimately endorsed literacy tests for all potential vot-

ers. Despite his controversial views, he remained a committed radical until the end of his life. In the 1880s he turned to health, women's rights, and especially "Free Religion," which combined for him "the perfectionism of his antebellum years with the science of the postwar generation."

Robertson's is the first full-length treatment that we have of Pillsbury, and it should remain the standard biography of him for quite some time. Her research alone represents a heroic feat; his papers are scattered over thirty archives, and she unearthed a previously unknown cache of letters at Whittier College. She is at her best in capturing a sense of the inner workings of reform, especially Pillsbury's grueling job as a field lecturer; his efforts to balance family life with vocation; and the ways in which his various reform efforts fit together. She also provides a graceful and unobtrusive context that links Pillsbury both to other Garrisonians and to the literature on antebellum reform.

Robertson is extremely sympathetic in her portrayal of a man who was considered even by his abolitionist friends to be combative and truculent. Her sympathy is crucial, for it allows her to use biography as method for creating compelling and vivid cultural history in which the past comes alive in all its tensions, ironies, and contradictions. But her sympathy also means that, at times, she avoids playing judge, and thus downplays the limits of Pillsbury's reform vision. This is especially true in racial matters. Like most other white abolitionists, Pillsbury seemed to treat slavery more as a symbol of all that was wrong than as an institution that oppressed and killed real people. Robertson might have done more with Pillsbury's relationship with black abolitionists and the problem of freedom after the war, from his sobriquet for Julia Griffiths as "Miss Jezebel Douglass" to his unforgiving criticism of such prominent blacks as J. W. C. Pennington, Alexander Crummell, Henry Highland Garnet, and Samuel Ringgold Ward; his opposition to black suffrage and political emancipation; his willingness to work for George Train, the openly racist Democrat who was shunned by almost all blacks; and his apparent delight in phrenology, which most black abolitionists condemned as a pseudo-science that fueled racist thought. To be fair, her primary analytical concern is gender, and here she is extremely insightful. On matters of race, where she seems less comfortable, she liberally quotes Pillsbury and allows her readers to judge. One can only wish that more biographers would do the same.

Harvard University

JOHN STAUFFER

Landmarks on the Iron Road: Two Centuries of North American Railroad Engineering.

By WILLIAM D. MIDDLETON. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1999) x, 194p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$39.95.

As they approach Boston, few of today's riders on Amtrak's much-heralded Acela high-speed train will have the time or reason to take notice as the train

crosses the Neponset River at Canton, Massachusetts. But the 615 foot, stone Canton Viaduct is a notable structure indeed, for it has provided infallible service to travelers since 1835, the dawn of the railway age. That span is one of many unheralded examples of railway civil engineering that William Middleton reviews in this well-illustrated compendium. Aimed at general readers, the book provides well-crafted capsule histories of landmark bridges, tunnels, freight yards, and port facilities that have proven integral to America's railway network over the past two centuries.

In the huge literature on railway history, comparatively few works focus on civil engineering: the routes, structures, spans, and bores that *are* the railroad. Yet these elements tend to endure, as any Philadelphia commuter traveling the Main Line can attest. So Middleton deserves credit for opening up some new and fascinating terrain. His core accomplishment lies in distilling a broad range of disparate secondary sources (listed in a useful bibliography) to provide this compendium. There is only modest original research here, scant analysis, and no notes; clearly its author and publisher seek general readers. Its well-chosen illustrations and well-informed text will delight rail fans.

Middleton certainly has the resume for this job. A trained civil engineer, he has authored an impressive number of authoritative works in railway history. Chapter 1 covers bridges and viaducts. It opens with an overview of evolving bridge forms, from the early railways' stone arches to successive forms of trusses in wood, wrought iron, and ultimately steel. He provides capsule histories of leading spans and capsule biographies of their engineers. The material is nicely presented, although most of these structures have been amply chronicled by industrial archaeologists and others. Chapter 2 explores fresher ground: the creation of key routes through mountainous terrain in the Appalachians and the Rockies. Here the three- to four-page capsule histories cover the initial surveys through untracked wilderness, the labor of building these high-pass lines, and their subsequent upgrades or alterations. Chapter 3 goes underground to recount the histories of important railway tunnels, including the Hoosac in Massachusetts and the Pennsylvania Railroad's Hudson River tubes. Yards, docks, and terminals are treated in chapter 4, and it represents the most original contribution of the book, as these crucial facilities have received little historical attention. As with the earlier chapters, Middleton combines an overview (here on evolutions in cargo handling) with capsule histories of leading facilities, including Pennsylvania's now-abandoned Enola Yard in Harrisburg. The book closes with a chapter devoted to examples of lost landmarks: bridges and viaducts that have not survived. These include a 250 foot arched span of white oak on the Erie Railroad, Roebling's Niagara River suspension bridge, and the Key West extension that took the Florida East Coast Railway to sea.

In considering the book on its own terms, I can point out only two shortcom-

ings. First is the absence of maps that would have helped to situate these engineered structures in their landscapes. As a work of historical/industrial geography, that omission seems pretty fundamental. Yet sufficient maps in useful scales admittedly would have been a tall order, given the quantity of landmarks included. The other limitation is the book's lack of definition or clarity on the criteria for according landmark status. Many of the bridges and tunnels that Middleton chronicles were granted landmark designations by the History and Heritage Committee of the American Society of Civil Engineers. Although he does not describe them, ASCE does have rigorous criteria for its landmarking program (ASCE landmarks are detailed in a fine 1987 book by Daniel L. Schodek). Conversely the yards, docks, and terminals of Middleton's book are landmarks only because he says so. The lack of coherent criteria is more of a missed opportunity than a problem per se. If the book had to discipline its selections by way of some key principles, then it would have offered a more significant and analytic portrait of the intertwined evolution of railways and civil engineering.

Offsetting these criticisms, *Landmarks on the Iron Road* demonstrates two attributes that are exceptional in a book of this type. First, Middleton goes beyond the standard and heroic narratives on construction to detail the operational histories and structural modifications that his landmarks endured over time. Here his engineering expertise and his talents as a historian combine to particularly good effect. Second, to encourage readers to see these structures for themselves, each entry closes with a description of the landmark's location and driving directions. Many will appreciate this feature above all others in the book. In sum, *Landmarks on the Iron Road* provides compelling narratives and a unique field guide to significant exemplars of railway civil engineering, underscoring their historical and economic importance over the centuries.

University of Virginia

JOHN K. BROWN

Frank Furness: Architecture and the Violent Mind. By MICHAEL J. LEWIS. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2001. xii, 273p. Illustrations, notes, index, \$45.)

In an odd coincidence, major new studies of late nineteenth-century Philadelphia's most renowned artistic *enfants terribles* appeared in 2001. The Philadelphia Museum of Art staged a major exhibition on once-controversial artist Thomas Eakins, accompanied by an impressive catalogue, and W. W. Norton issued Michael Lewis's long-awaited study of architect Frank Furness. Of the two, Eakins is no doubt the better known by the general public due to his having received far more public attention and the accessibility of his paintings. (Eakins was not controversial because of his works but as a result of his insistence on nude male

models in mixed company.) Furness (pronounced *furnace*) is far more remote because much of his work had gone out of style or seemed eccentric, and consequently many of his buildings were destroyed. He was for all practical purposes consigned to the junk heap of history for the first half of the twentieth century because he embodied the worst of Victorian excess in the eyes of modernists. Only in the 1960s and 1970s was his genius again acknowledged, and his reputation resuscitated by a small but dedicated group of scholars—especially George E. Thomas—who sought to identify and rehabilitate his work.

Frank Furness (1839–1912) was the son of William Henry Furness, a New England-born, Harvard-educated, Unitarian minister of strong abolitionist leanings, who spent most of his professional life serving Unitarian congregations in Philadelphia. In birth order, son William Henry became a portrait painter, Horace Howard became a noted Shakespearean scholar, and daughter Annis married noted physician Caspar Wister. Frank, the youngest child, was “surly and truculent” (p. 13), unready to pursue the Harvard education envisioned by his father. Instead, he entered the office of John Fraser, a local architect, as a junior draftsman. Soon thereafter Furness met Richard Morris Hunt who had studied at the *École des Beaux Arts* in Paris, making him the best-educated architect in America at the time. Frank was captivated by Hunt, but only after three years with Fraser was he finally able to obtain *entrée* to Hunt’s New York atelier in 1858. He learned the classical orders and how to apply this basic knowledge to the design of almost anything, all accompanied by daily, often withering critiques by Hunt. When Hunt fell ill in 1860, Furness was sent to Newport for the summer to study with painter William Morris Hunt, the architect’s brother. Furness returned to the architect’s office in the fall to take temporary charge of it. He planned to work for Hunt for a few more years and then to matriculate at the *École*, but by 1861 the Civil War intervened to change everything.

Lewis devotes an extraordinary amount of space to Furness’s war experiences which he regards as singularly important in the formation of Furness’s character and his development as an architect. It is true that Furness thrived and matured, both from the camaraderie of camp life and the challenges of leadership and combat. He joined Rush’s Lancers as a junior officer, a cavalry unit that George McClellan actually insisted carry nine-foot wooden lances for charging Confederate lines (they were later issued carbines). When visited by his brothers Horace and William, they found him “jolly-hearted and contented and glorying in his present life” (p. 39). He saw a good deal of action and, in January 1864, owing to heavy losses and his proven ability as a leader, was promoted to captain. At Cold Harbor in June 1864 he saved the life of a Confederate soldier who was bleeding to death by going into no-man’s land and providing the man with a tourniquet. At Trevilian Station he and another officer carried ammunition to a stranded outpost at great personal risk, for which he was later awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Like so many other former Union officers, the contacts made during the war proved invaluable in peacetime.

Returning to Hunt's office in 1865, everyone was impressed with his warrior's visage and especially his bright red beard. In 1866 he returned to Philadelphia where he and a young George Hewitt joined architect John Fraser, creating the firm of Fraser, Furness, and Hewitt. The firm entered and lost several major architectural competitions, but there were successes like the innovative neo-Grec Thomas McKean house at 20th and Walnut and the Moorish Temple Rodeph Shalom at Broad and Mt. Vernon Streets. But the real opportunity came in 1871 when the firm was invited to compete for the new Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts building. The two young partners left Fraser and established their own firm. Late in the year they added Allen Evans. They also won the competition for the Academy, which would prove eventually to be Furness's most famous building. With a sympathetic building committee, the project became "a laboratory for experimenting with new technology" (p. 101), thanks in part to the presence on the committee of Fairman Rogers, a civil engineer, mathematician, and professor. (Rogers commissioned Eakins to paint the famous *The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand*.) The eclectic facade with multicolored stonework and bold central pavilion with both Gothic and Moorish touches was eye-catching. But it was the interior that revealed how far this building was from the traditional high-Victorian pile. Steel trusses, iron girders, machine-like stair balusters, delicate floral designs sandblasted into sandstone, even richly painted glass tiles backed by gold foil. In what was to become a signature of Furness's future work, new technologies of the machine age coexisted with traditional forms.

In 1875 Furness withdrew from the partnership with Hewitt. He went on to create some of his most eccentric buildings, including the aggressively fierce Provident Life and Trust building at 431 Chestnut Street with its brooding maw-like overhanging arch (p. 126). This building looks as if it was designed by an angry architect, and indeed Furness's anger was noted by almost everyone, including the young Louis Sullivan, who served a brief apprenticeship with him, and who noted that Furness "drew and swore at the same time" (p. 112). His anger was not confined to his work but spilled into his private life along with periodic fits of melancholia. His brother Horace repeatedly mentions such instances, often despairing for his brother's health and, by implication, his sanity. There are hints of alcoholism and infidelity, but solid facts are hard to come by. Lewis's subtitle, "Architecture and the Violent Mind," clearly suggests a pathology at work, although he is reluctant to characterize it. Notwithstanding the space devoted to the Civil War, it does not appear that the war itself can be blamed for the violence so inherent in the architect's character or his habitual swearing. It is worth mentioning that he learned creative swearing from Richard Morris Hunt, long before he donned a uniform.

Furness was the first American architect to adopt the artistic persona that we associate with Frank Lloyd Wright. He cultivated—and passed on to his pupil Louis Sullivan—the image of “the architect as a form-making maverick, duty-bound not to his client but to his own conception of architecture, supremely egotistic, invoking his own authority rather than history’s” (p. 112). It was Furness’s strong personality and artistic persona that so impressed Sullivan. And, lest we forget, Sullivan passed on this image to his pupil, Frank Lloyd Wright.

Whatever his inner demons and eccentricities, Furness had a strong practical streak that gained him clients who respected the quality of his work and his integrity as a businessman. It helped that he and his partners had a strong client base, often owing to social connections. His railroad work was especially important. He was hired by the infamous Franklin Gowen to work for the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, creating stations that had a distinctive look. Later he worked for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, for whom he created wonderful stations in Wilmington and Philadelphia. And of course he went on to greater glory with the Pennsylvania Railroad (partly the result of his friendship with A. J. Cassatt) for whom he created another station in Wilmington and what he considered his masterpiece, the Broad Street Station in Philadelphia. Most of his smaller stations are successful in their utilitarian plans and the bold use of exposed metal beams. Broad Street Station, next to City Hall, was a red brick and terra-cotta monster of a building with a program of allegorical sculpture by Karl Bitter. But it was a building that was out of date when it was built, in part at least because it was so totally at odds with the new refined neoclassicism that had come into fashion with the “White City” at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1892–93.

Furness’s second greatest building is his library at the University of Pennsylvania (1888), which author Lewis describes as “the most ingenious plan of his career” (p. 178). Described by some as “a collision between a cathedral and a railroad station” (p. 183), the building indeed embodies elements of both. Furness was heavily dependent on the opinions of professional librarians in order to provide maximum functionality. It is a classic (and one might say unusual) example of an architect who used design and materials creatively to answer the client’s needs. Unlike the better known libraries of H. H. Richardson, which are renowned for their architecture but severely limited in their adaptability to growth, Furness’s library has easily expandable stacks and provides for separation of functions. That it still functions as the fine arts library at Penn testifies to its ongoing success.

The competition for the Pennsylvania State Capitol in Harrisburg proved disastrous for Furness. As a result of his attempts to influence the building committee, he was roundly condemned by the American Institute of Architects for bringing “disgrace upon the profession of architecture” (p. 228). In the early 1900s he suffered another rebuff in the competition for the Girard Bank. Although his firm was acceptable in the eyes of the client, Furness himself was not. As his part-

ner Allen Evans reported, the bank's board "found his [Furness's] method of work, both in design and detail . . . distasteful" (p. 238). The bank finally decided to work with Evans as long as Furness was excluded and only if McKim, Mead and White were brought into the picture. Ironically, Furness drew the basic plan and elevation of the building (unbeknownst to the bank) and the design of the bank we see today on Broad Street (now part of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel) owes much to Furness, even though it looks more like the work of Stanford White who provided the finishing touches.

In his final years Furness retreated into his war memories, which, as often happens to veterans, came to seem more real than the present. He took great pleasure in designing the architectural setting for the 1899 meeting of the Grand Army of the Republic in Philadelphia. For the veterans' march to City Hall, he lined Broad Street with sixty-two free-standing columns connected by bunting. It was at this time that he belatedly applied for a Congressional Medal of Honor, which was duly awarded for his daring at Trevilian Station. He could reap the rewards of his wartime heroism even as his architectural colleagues snubbed him.

This is a remarkably good book, well written, brilliantly researched, and stands as a model biography of an architect long overdue for thorough treatment. There are a few minor mistakes and typos. Richmond and Washington are more than forty miles apart (p. 32), and what exactly is the meaning of *premiated* (p. 64)? On page 31 "Camps Meigs" should read Camp Meigs. But these are minor defects in an otherwise splendid and useful work. It will become an indispensable tool for architectural historians, but it should also attract readers interested in the history of Philadelphia and its built environment.

Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.

IAN M. G. QUIMBY

A New and Untried Course: Woman's Medical College and Medical College of Pennsylvania, 1850-1998. By STEVEN J. PEITZMAN. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000. xiii, 322p. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$60; paper, \$22.)

In a world where medical school admissions are virtually gender balanced, it is gratifying to get to know the foremothers and fathers that helped bring this about. In Steven J. Peitzman's book, we find these fascinating heroes and heroines who, 150 years ago, not only believed that women could be physicians, but that they should be, and they did something about it. More significantly, Woman's Medical College (WMC) remained in the forefront of women's medical education by withstanding chronic economic and social pressures to close, thereby continuing its distinctive presence on the medical school scene.

Its distinctiveness, according to Peitzman, is something that the WMC community—students, alumnae/i, lay administrators, and faculty—recognized and used effectively to ensure WMC's survival. With open access to the extensive Medical College of Pennsylvania Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine, Peitzman (a professor of medicine and former archives director at MCP Hahnemann School of Medicine, as WMC is now called) uncovers the story of how this community itself understood how to use history to create a useful past, perhaps creating legends and no doubt romanticizing events that then became the institutional memory. This surely helped WMC survive as a "regular" medical school that continued to train women long after other such schools closed, indeed even after many small medical schools closed or merged in the twentieth century. Particularly noteworthy is an extremely strong-minded and forceful alumnae association, effective in a number of ways, including raising funds, sometimes opposing large numbers of male faculty and administrators (WMC always had a coeducational staff), and creating opportunities for its graduates.

Gender, of course, is a key component to WMC's uniqueness and while sexism clearly provided the *raison d'être* for its existence, Peitzman shows how gender is more than simply separate education. This lesson, how WMC struggled to be both small and supportive, and also be modern and scientific, the latter increasingly viewed as critical in the twentieth century, is perhaps the most important in the book. In dealing with this dilemma, Peitzman points out how the dominant model of medical education, with its full-time professors with research agendas rather than part-time academics who carried a regular practice, favored male physicians who did not face domestic duties as their female counterparts often did. He also suggests that the large university-affiliated medical schools stressed a less "typically female" environment, namely a more intimate, more mentor-oriented, and more patient-oriented model. In fact, this aspect of medical education should be explored more fully.

To be sure, Peitzman does not ignore the importance of separate educational opportunities but even when WMC became a coed institution in 1980 (an event that was, surprisingly, not nearly as contentious as changing the name to the Medical College of Pennsylvania), it remained committed to its original values. For instance, the college introduced a strong preventive medicine department, emergency room training (mother-friendly hours), medicine and the humanities education, as well as a "refresher" program for physicians who had taken time off and were ready to re-enter the profession.

There are a lot of names in this book, but that is unavoidable with this kind of topic. To his credit, Peitzman provides tantalizing tidbits that deserve their own stories. I found myself frustrated when brief mention was made of some event about which I wanted to hear more, though intellectually I knew it was beyond the scope of the book. The remarkable careers of these graduates, the conflicts with

Woman's Hospital in the late nineteenth century, and the inability to maintain a viable preventive medicine department until the 1950s are just a few.

This book, accessible to both scholars and a general audience, raises important questions about medical care today, especially given society's concerns about preventive care and the financial woes of hospitals. It will be especially appealing, I believe, to Philadelphia-philes because, while Peitzman appropriately shows us how medicine has always been a product of wider social, political, and economic factors, geography also matters in this story, for WMC/MCP is a quintessential Philadelphia institution. Enduring questions about gender also make this history important, not only in education but in the workplace, in the family, and in social policy debates that cannot reconcile "separate" and "equal."

University of Maine at Farmington

ALLISON L. HEPLER

From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies. By CARMEN TERESA WHALEN. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001, xiii, illustrations, notes, maps, figures, tables, index. Cloth, \$74.50; paper, \$24.95.)

This is a book that can be read from many perspectives: immigration history, social history, urban history, gender studies, and Puerto Rican studies. Written by Carmen Teresa Whalen, a professor of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Caribbean Studies at Rutgers University, it is unusual in selecting Philadelphia instead of New York for a study of Puerto Rican migration. Whalen's book was preceded by social studies of Philadelphia's Puerto Rican community in 1954 and 1964 published by the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, and Carmen Olivero Garcia's 1968 book *Study of the Initial Involvement in the Social Services by the Puerto Rican Migrants in Philadelphia*. Whalen transcends this literature by redefining "labor migrant" and attacking the "culture of poverty" theory articulated in the works of anthropologist Oscar Lewis. Whalen makes use of church and other archival records, government studies, and oral histories as sources and has a definition of labor that includes "reproductive and subsistence work, paid employment within and beyond the household, informal economic activities and community work both paid and unpaid" (p. 4). This allows her to explore gender divisions of labor within the Philadelphia Latino community and the resulting analysis of Latina laborers is one of the strengths of this book.

Whalen's oral history interviews contest the "culture of poverty" thesis that Puerto Rican migration resulted from personal problems, overpopulation in Puerto Rico, and "a desire for welfare dependency" (p. 7). Instead the author argues that Puerto Ricans were labor migrants responding to changes in a global economy. They came here *buscando mayor ambiente* (in search of a better life). Philadelphia's

economy supported the migration by providing jobs for Latinos on Pennsylvania farms and for Latinas in the garment industry. Through maps, graphs, statistics, oral histories, and narration, we see how Latinos adjusted to the changing postindustrial economy of the Quaker City. The book makes a convincing argument that Puerto Ricans migrated not only because of government-sponsored contract labor programs such as the Pennsylvania Farm Placement program that placed works on farms in Adams, Erie, and Lebanon counties, but also *por su cuenta* (on their own). Through social and self-help networks, they financed migration, found jobs and housing, and supported each other in the face of racism and a tight job market.

Switching from labor migrants to "the underclass," Whalen's narrative is less persuasive. She denigrates "culture of poverty" and "underclass" advocates for focusing on the need to change the individual and group behavior of poor people rather than appreciating how the destiny of the poor is shaped by global market forces. One could argue that an understanding of both social behavior and global economics is necessary to solving the problems of the urban poor and that this is not simply a matter of semantics. Still, Whalen offers a compelling case for insisting that historians change their way of writing about labor and immigration.

From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia is a timely book. The 2000 census recorded 371,407 Latinos living in Pennsylvania. While they reside in each of the state's sixty-seven counties, most live in those of Philadelphia, Berks, Lehigh, Lancaster, and Northampton. Another book, Anna Adams's *Hidden from History: The Latino Community of Allentown, Pennsylvania*, was recently published by the Lehigh County Historical Society. Still, Latinos are largely absent from writings about Pennsylvania history. Clearly, they are an emerging ethnic group that Pennsylvania historians need to pay more attention to.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

ERIC LEDELL SMITH

American Artifacts: Essays in Material Culture. Edited by JULES DAVID PROWN and KENNETH HALTMAN. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000. xiii, 255p. Illustrations, notes, notes on contributors. Paper, \$32.95.)

Jules D. Prown has been a distinguished art historian, specializing in paintings, for more than forty years and is currently Paul Mellon Professor Emeritus of the History of Art at Yale University. In the late 1970s, he became interested in the analysis of American "artifacts" as well as of American "art." After the death of the legendary Yale curator and professor Charles F. Montgomery at the beginning of the spring semester in 1978, Prown inherited Montgomery's course on material

culture; enjoying the experience, he continued to teach the class regularly for many years. In the process, he developed what has become known (at least in some circles) as "Prownian analysis," an approach that involves selecting an object and then subjecting it to detailed description, deduction, speculation, research, and interpretive analysis (p. 8). Now, Prown and Kenneth Haltman, a former student of his who currently teaches at Michigan State University, have assembled this textbook that defines and presents a dozen examples of Prownian analysis written by former and current students. *American Artifacts* will serve well as a reader for a course in material culture studies, along with basic works by Henry Glassie, Kenneth L. Ames, and others.

Virtually a *festschrift*, this volume begins with introductory essays by the editors, both theoretical and practical, which will be of interest primarily to their fellow professors who teach material culture at colleges and universities. Haltman goes into great detail, for example, on how Prownian analysis can be applied in the classroom in a practical way. Then, in the first essay in the volume, Prown provides an eloquent introduction to the study of material culture, analyzing such objects as eighteenth-century pewter and silver teapots and rococo and neoclassical card tables as evidence of major cultural beliefs. In essence, he argues, the full range of human "experience is transformed into belief that finds material expression in artifacts" (p. 26). The analysis of these objects—which contain meanings not ordinarily expressed in writing—can provide a unique way of understanding the minds of the people of the past.

These preambles are followed by the case studies, several published before, which apply the theory and methods to a wide range of specific objects. These make for fascinating reading about a diverse body of things including Amish quilts, Lucite lighters, corsets, lava lamps, the Foley food mill, a 1923 candlestick telephone, a two-cylinder parlor stove, and other artifacts that might not seem, at first, to be fruitful subjects for especially meaningful examination.

Perhaps what is most interesting about Prownian analysis is its application to the everyday devices of our own relatively recent past, rather than to the artifacts of ancient civilizations or exotic cultures, which more commonly are subjected to this type of exegesis. For example, the Lucite lighter of about 1985, at first glance, doesn't appear to be a particularly significant artifact or work of art. It resembles (more or less) an art deco tube of lipstick, with its vertical cubic shaft of clear plastic enclosing a bullet-shaped cylinder of "glistening red metal" (p. 29), the upper section of which protrudes and is hinged in order to expose, when opened, the ignition mechanism. Yet the phallic shape and suggestive color (and other attributes) prompt Robyn Asleson, the author, to make a number of wide-ranging associations, some involving tobacco and smoking, of course, but also sex: seduction, Hollywood *femme fatales* (especially Marilyn Monroe), torpedo breasts, fellatio, onanism, and so forth. Letting her imagination roam forth, Asleson offers us

somewhat predictable but nevertheless engaging insights into a prosaic object.

The art historian E. H. Gombrich noted in his book *Ideals and Idols* (1979) that "works of art so perfectly reflect their age, we should also add that like mirrors they will reflect different facts about the age according to the way we turn them, or the standpoint we adopt. . . ." He also acknowledges, however, "the tiresome tendency of mirrors to throw back our own image" (p. 134). This is indeed the danger in Prownian analysis: in some cases we may learn as much or even more about the author as about the object. In its initial stages, Prownian analysis calls for the preparation of a detailed, exhaustive, written description, followed by an emotional response to the object. In this subjective phase of "student-centered learning" (in pedagogical jargon), the object becomes a kind of Rorschach test for the student, and his or her analysis sometimes seems to focus primarily on the student's preoccupations and interests (with such things as power, sex, being clever, etc.) rather than on the significance of the object itself. Ideally, in Prownian analysis, the student moves beyond this type of free-association to a more rigorous and factually centered phase of research, utilizing traditional documentary and pictorial sources, followed by interpretive analysis. When all the steps are carried through—and Prownian analysis embraces nearly every kind of interpretive strategy—the approach is both informative as well as entertaining. It allows us to understand objects as three-dimensional reflections of attitudes and values that are rarely expressed in documents, and thus opens new windows onto the past.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

GERALD W. R. WARD

The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism. By ROBERT WILLIAM FOGEL. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. 383p. Charts, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography. \$25.)

The title of this book requires some explanation. According to Robert William Fogel, America has experienced four Great Awakenings. The first was associated with men like George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards and began in about 1730. The second began around 1800 and was associated with abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison. Fogel also posits the existence of a Third Great Awakening (which began around 1890 and was associated with the Social Gospel movement led by clerics such as Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch) and a fourth—an awakening that began in around 1960. This Fourth Great Awakening is, in Fogel's mind, associated with rise of the New Religious Right. The socio-political goals to which it points have been adumbrated, he says, by organizations such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition.

According to Fogel, each of the four awakenings has been fueled, in large part,

by Americans' passionate attachment to egalitarianism. And he believes that participants in the Fourth Great Awakening have begun to grasp an essential truth: advocates of egalitarianism need to begin to focus as much attention on Americans' access to the spiritual resources on which living a good life depends as they have traditionally devoted to examining the way that America's material resources are distributed. Americans who are committed to egalitarianism ought not, Fogel argues, yield to the temptation of seeing the Fourth Great Awakening as a backlash. Rather, they ought to begin calculating the new possibilities that it opens up. Fogel does not believe that Americans who love egalitarianism ought to critique or resist the Fourth Great Awakening. Indeed, he wants them to embrace it.

This is certainly a provocative argument and Fogel makes it with cheer and gusto. In so doing, he draws a number of intriguing connections between religious, political, economic, and social history. *The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism* is, all in all, a good read.

But it is also, I suspect, a book that will leave many readers scratching their heads in confusion. For one thing, Fogel's presentation of the general contours of American religious history is not especially lucid, convincing, or capacious. Since Fogel believes that atheists, Catholics, Jews, and Muslims did not play important roles in the creation and shaping of the American egalitarianism, his book contains very little analysis of those sorts of Americans. Some of the comments it does make about them—for example, "Reform Jews hold services on Sunday" (p. 233)—are red herrings.

And the book's discussion of the Fourth Great Awakening is surprisingly thin. It does not seem to be based on a real engagement with the best secondary works—the texts produced by scholars such as Nancy Ammerman, Echo Fields, Susan Harding, Martin Riesebrodt, and Grant Wacker—that treat the phenomena that Fogel groups together under the Fourth Great Awakening rubric. Nor does it include any material that suggests that Fogel has conducted careful interviews with people associated with the Fourth Great Awakening or that he has a deep familiarity with the sermons, books, and articles such men and women have produced.

Even the book's treatment of the relationship between the Fourth Great Awakening and the egalitarian tradition is too superficial to be at all convincing. A great many of the participants in the Fogel's Fourth Great Awakening hold to a set of ideas about the proper treatment of lesbians and gays, about what roles women ought and ought not to play in contemporary America, and about the proper relations between ministers of the gospel and people who are not ordained that strike me as anything but egalitarian. But these sorts of ideas are not analyzed in any systematic way in this book. Still less are they shown to be somehow linked to the advancement of an egalitarian agenda.

Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right. By LISA MCGIRR. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001. xiii, 395p. Map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$31.95.)

This helpful study of grassroots conservatism focuses on Orange County, California, in the 1960s. It traces conservatism's evolution from a relatively marginal movement widely portrayed as extremist to a strong electoral player with broad and growing support. McGirr examines the forces behind Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, and shows how conservatives rebounded after Goldwater's landslide defeat with dynamic new initiatives that foreshadowed the New Right of the 1970s.

Post-World War II conservatism blended three main tendencies. Libertarianism championed property rights, individualism, and sharp limits on government's economic role. Often in tension with this approach was social conservatism, which looked to the state to enforce a religious moral order for all of society. Anticommunism held the combination together. In its right-wing form, anticommunism rejected liberal "collectivism," the welfare state, and any challenge to entrenched social hierarchies. While many scholars have studied the interplay of these ideas, McGirr shows how they inspired ordinary men and women at the conservative grassroots.

McGirr explores many factors that helped make Orange County one of several affluent Sunbelt communities vital to the Right's growth. Cold War military spending drove a local economic boom. Jobs brought a mass influx of newcomers, including many steeped in nationalism and conservative values. White, middle-class homogeneity fostered political sameness. The suburban built environment emphasized individual property rights at the expense of shared public space, while sending many people to rightist political groups and churches in search of community. Regional entrepreneurs championed a western frontier consciousness infused with anger at federal bureaucrats and eastern politicians.

The book follows the conservative movement from anticommunist study groups in the early 1960s to campaigns against gay rights, abortion, and high taxes in the early 1970s. In particular, McGirr explores the shift that followed Goldwater's 1964 defeat. Goldwater lost support for opposing Social Security and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and for his campaign's public association with the John Birch Society, which attacked political opponents as tools of a communist plot. He alarmed many Republican moderates by declaring in his nomination acceptance speech that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

Only two years later, Ronald Reagan won the California governorship by a wide margin. Urging Republican Party unity and avoiding apocalyptic rhetoric, Reagan also reached out to white, conservative Democrats with populist attacks on supposed liberal elites and coded racial appeals focused on crime, welfare, rising taxes,

and open housing laws. This strategy, which was aided by a growing backlash against black militancy and the radical student movement, helped pave the way for Richard Nixon's 1968 presidential victory and the New Right politics of the 1970s.

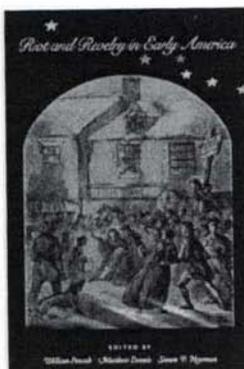
Like many recent scholars, McGirr criticizes efforts to explain right-wing activism as a function of irrationality, psychological dysfunction, or a "paranoid style." Whatever their flaws and contradictions, she argues, many right-wing ideas speak to genuine human problems and dilemmas, and activists who embrace them cannot be dismissed as backward, uneducated people out of step with the modern world. As her book shows, the driving force behind the Right's ascendance has come from well-educated, middle-class suburbanites, in conjunction with Sunbelt-based business interests.

The conservative movement, McGirr argues, won support by criticizing some aspects of modernity while embracing others. For example, right-wing evangelical Protestantism offered a sense of community, structure, and morality that spoke to the isolation and lack of meaning in many suburbanites' lives, and to their fears of growing social upheaval. But evangelical churches also validated consumerism and embraced modern entrepreneurial techniques. Even the Right's celebration of the "traditional" nuclear family, McGirr notes, broke with earlier concepts of the family as a large extended network.

Many critics of the Right blur the line between conservatives and far rightists such as neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. Thankfully, McGirr avoids this. Unfortunately, she also misses a chance to address the interactions between conservatism and the Far Right. Was it simply coincidence, for example, that southern California gave us not only Ronald Reagan but also Tom Metzger, one of the most important neo-Nazi leaders of the 1980s?

McGirr also exaggerates anticommunism's decline as a unifying force for conservatives. In the early 1970s, as she notes, rightist mobilizations shifted focus from Cold War red-baiting to issues such as taxes, homosexuality, and abortion. But shared advocacy of an aggressive anti-Soviet foreign policy continued to bridge divisions between libertarians and social conservatives. When the glue of anticommunism really loosened, with the Cold War's end in the late 1980s, the New Right coalition fell apart.

These are small complaints. Overall, this book offers a solid local study and strengthens our understanding of modern conservatism's vitality and staying power.



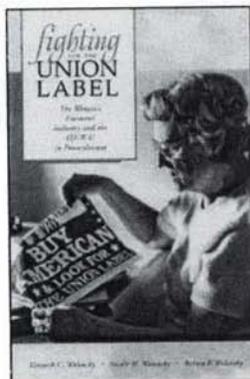
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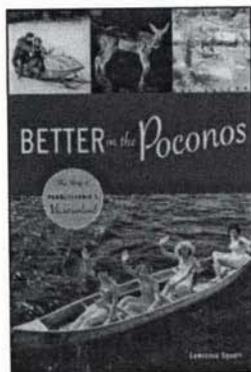
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