

BOOK REVIEWS

Serving History in a Changing World: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the Twentieth Century. By Sally F. Griffith. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2001. x, 539p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$59.95.)

When asked by the editors of this journal (which, of course, is published by HSP and distributed to HSP constituents) to write a review of Sally Griffith's *Serving History in a Changing World* (a comprehensive historical study of HSP, which was commissioned and published by HSP), I had some trepidation. At first blush it seemed incestuous or, at the very least, a bit too intimate to pass as impartial, but the editors assured me that the society had given Griffith "full independence to frame the study and argument as she saw fit." Confident that the same latitude would be afforded me in crafting the review, I agreed to take on the assignment despite the fact that I could hardly be deemed a disinterested critic.

To the writing of this review I bring a perspective on HSP informed by twenty years of institutional familiarity—ten years as director of the Rosenbach Museum & Library of Philadelphia (which, despite being much smaller, has worked in successful collaboration with HSP on several important projects) and the more recent ten years I have served as head of the American Antiquarian Society, an independent research library comparable in age and size to HSP. Over the course of these two decades I have formed professional friendships with the four most recent chief executives of the society, as well as with a number of members of the staff, past and present. Thus I would describe myself as a more-than-interested bystander as the events described by Griffin in the final two chapters of *Serving History* unfolded between 1983 and 1999. By turns, my reactions to those developments had ranged from sympathetic to enthusiastic, from outraged to saddened, from thrilled or frustrated to downright baffled. Through it all, however, I would describe myself as concerned—concerned for the survival of an institution with a dual legacy of important collections and thorny problems, as I watched attempts to maneuver her to gain a windward advantage, at last. That concern animates my assessment of the book at hand.

Experienced as both a professional writer and an academic historian, Sally Griffith has set a dual challenge for herself in *Serving History*: to record an objective history of HSP and to analyze the complex economic, societal, and professional forces that have shaped the development of the institution. Her prologue to the book places the founding of HSP in 1824 within the larger story

of "voluntary associations organized in the early nineteenth century to preserve evidences of the past of the still-young American nation" (p.5). After an opening chapter summarizing the first century of the society's history, Griffith devotes chapters to each succeeding administration: Montgomery, Spofford, Boyd, Reitzel, Williams, Wainwright, Mooney, Parker, and Stitt, introducing us not only to these executives and the priorities they each had for the society, but also to key members of the volunteer council who served along with them. Her explanation of this history is rich in detail, drawing upon extensive research into archival records—board minutes, correspondence, financial records, planning documents—and in later chapters is enlivened by Griffith's access to contemporary notes and diaries kept by staff and board members and by her personal interviews of (by my count) no fewer than thirty such individuals. Her narrative celebrates the strengths of the institution—chief among them the incredible strength of the manuscript holdings—but is straightforward in addressing problems that have long lingered at HSP. Thumbing through the index one's eye falls upon entries that trace the recurrence of some issues decade after decade: "Administration, conflicts with council" (3 multi-page references indicated), "Art and artifacts, debates over future of" (6 references), "Cataloging, backlog in" (6), "Constituencies, conflicts among" (3), "Finances, difficulties in management" (3), "Fundraising, lack of board support" (7), "Library, deteriorating condition" (2), "Mission, conflicting views/confusion about/debated" (14), "Staff, inadequate size of/turnover in" (7). To put the past predicaments of HSP into perspective, Griffith draws the volume to a close with an ambitious epilogue. Drawing upon a broad range of secondary literature, here she not only compares the trajectory of HSP's history to that of other institutions, such as the New-York Historical Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society, but also places twentieth-century trends within these organizations in the context of rising professionalism among the related fields of academic history, public history, librarianship, museum administration, and archival management. Furthermore, she leads the reader to consider the consequences that arise—as has been the case at HSP and the New-York Historical, she argues—when professions compete for influence and control. An ambitious epilogue, indeed.

Griffith has done a remarkable job in culling and distilling massive amounts of information into a well-constructed narrative, especially in the chronological chapters. It is a story crowded with hundreds of characters, but she has put sufficient flesh on the major ones to make them visible to the reader. (Keeping a list of key names and dates proved essential to me as I read and would have been helpful as an appendix.) Moreover, Griffith manages to give the story line a forward momentum, even as the society's fortunes seem to stall and spiral as often as they evolve or lurch ahead. Nowhere did I find her reporting more engaging or clear than in the lively final chapter, "A Search for Clarity," in which

many of the issues that had long simmered at the society are brought to a rolling boil by president Susan Stitt (1989-1999). The chapter is peppered with the controversy that Stitt engendered among staff, within the board, and, at times, in the community, as she pushed ahead with her solutions: downsizing staff, reforming relations with groups such as the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, dismantling the so-called permanent exhibit, advocating for a city-wide "History Center," pushing for deaccessions of HSP's highest-profile museum objects, and, in short, reshaping the mission of HSP toward becoming what she liked to call "the best special collections library of regional and family history."

The narrative makes clear that Stitt was a formidable agent of change for HSP. To cite but one passage where Griffith allows the strength of Stitt's character to shine is in reporting her response in April 1993 to her performance evaluation, which seems to have contained a number of criticisms by the executive committee, some relating to the demarcation of lines of authority between president and board: "I am not aware of instances in which I set policy," Stitt wrote, "though I have recommended policy. I am aware of instances in which I have held to my responsibility to implement policy, because the procedures to implement policy suggested by individual trustees, not the full Board, were not—in my informed and experienced professional opinion—in the best interests of the Society" (p. 424). In short, Stitt was a highly principled person who rubbed many people the wrong way. From my position of merely concerned spectator as the events of her tenure unfolded (although I recognize myself as the unnamed "colleague" on p. 451), I found that in reading Griffith's account it rang very true to my recollection of them, while adding many layers of complexity about which I had never been aware. The positions of Stitt's critics are presented fairly, along with Stitt's own, leaving the reader to judge for herself among them.

For this reader, however, the most provocative—and possibly instructive—contribution that Griffith has made in this book comes in her analysis of Stitt's actions in the epilogue (which reaches its summation on pp. 512-13). In keeping with her model of cultural institutions as "a battleground upon which many different groups, professional and lay, contest for control of how basic cultural values are defined and promoted" (p. 471), the author traces the ways in which she sees the positions that Stitt adopted as logical conclusions of her professional training and development. It is a lens that few engaged in the heat of those battles might have bothered to pick up at the time, but given the opportunity for reflection on this important period of HSP history, it is one that all who share a concern for the fate and future success of organizations such as HSP would do well to look through.

Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America. By DANIEL K. RICHTER. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. x, 317p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$26.)

Daniel Richter had similar goals in writing his first book, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, and his most recent one, *Facing East from Indian Country*: to shift the readers' perspective to the East by giving the Indian point of view. Despite a generation of outstanding work on Native American history from such scholars as Neil Salisbury, James Axtell, James Merrell, and Richter himself, many readers, particularly those outside the ranks of academe, still perceive early American history according to a framework in which Indians are either absent or relegated to the doomed side of the savagery/civility divide. Hence, Richter's second goal, beautifully realized in this book, is to introduce the Indian perspective to a larger audience, to help fix it in the storyline for a new generation of readers of early American history.

The book is put together as a series of essays on Indian/English relations in different regions and times of early America. Each essay focuses on a topic important in Indian historiography: contact, material exchange, cultural exchange, local and imperial authority, and the decline of Indian power in early America. But, for each of these broad topics, Richter introduces specific, intriguing examples, reinterpreting the familiar stories of such figures as Metacom (or King Philip), Pocahontas, and Kateri Tekakwitha, thereby bringing an Indian perspective to largely European-focused accounts.

Facing East is published by Harvard University Press's trade division, reflecting the intent to reach for a larger audience than historians or students in college history classes. The fact that the book was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize demonstrates that it bridges the gap between academic and popular history very successfully. Richter's vivid writing and creative structuring of the book deserve a good share of the credit for its success. The essays are connected stylistically by creative efforts to imaginatively transport readers to the past. One method Richter uses is writing vignettes, scenes in which the reader seems to view firsthand a past event. Using both contemporary historical accounts and recent scholarship by anthropologists, archaeologists, and Native American historians, Richter elucidates details ignored or misunderstood by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European observers. Another unusual tactic Richter employs is including long excerpts (sometimes three to four pages) from primary documents, rather than the quote-comment-quote pattern typically used in historical monographs. This simple but surprisingly effective strategy allows readers to judge the primary record for themselves. This decreases the distance between scholar and reader and strengthens the trust between them, since both can see everything being discussed. Both approaches effectively narrow the distance between present and

past, helping the reader better imagine that distant world. In future editions, the impact of these stylistic choices could be strengthened by keeping typographical signals (offsetting blocks of print, using italics, etc.) consistent from chapter to chapter.

Throughout the book, Richter incorporates the work of a number of historians of early America such as Ann Marie Plane, James Drake, and Charles Cohen. As he does for primary accounts, Richter shines their work through his perspectival lens, demonstrating the implications of their scholarship in the cases he is exploring. Thus, in addition to providing an original analysis of the Indian/English accounts of early America, the book provides a good synthesis of recent historiography.

The great strength of the book is its analysis. While many historians end their discussion of the impact of European trade on Indians with the conclusion that it led to loss of traditional skills and an increase in dependence on Europeans, Richter keeps going, revealing the true complexity of the issue. He notes, for instance, that Indian use of European iron tools allowed them to refine their traditional crafts, reaching "hitherto unimagined realms of complexity" (p. 45). And Indian preference for specific trade goods and insistence on specific standards of quality greatly influenced European trade production. Richter notes that "Indian customers' demand for inexpensive, lightweight, easily portable items stretched European technological capabilities to their limits" (p. 175).

Richter's discussion of Indian conversion narratives in chapter four is also interesting and well supported. Here, however, a bit more of the European perspective actually would have been helpful. Richter argues that Indian conversion narratives compared unfavorably to English narratives in the depth of their theological knowledge, chiefly because they focused on outward behavior rather than inner spiritual state. Seeing a few examples of the English narratives that provide the implicit comparison would have strengthened the argument, as well as given readers the kind of opportunity for making their own judgments that Richter provides elsewhere in the book.

One of the most compelling sections of the book uses Iroquois speechmaking as the chief illustration of the contrast between English and Indian patterns of authority and diplomacy, a subject Richter also explored in detail in his *Ordeal of the Long House* and a number of articles. Richter's analysis of Indians' deliberate use of kinship language to define their relationships to Europeans and to other Indian peoples is thoroughly detailed and very insightful. He describes European attempts to alter kinship terms given them by the Iroquois, insisting on a superior familial title—father, rather than brother—a change Indians firmly resisted. While Natives were able to insist on observance of traditional forms and language of diplomacy well into the eighteenth century, Richter's later chapters chronicle the loss of this power. Their 1763 defeat of the French gave the English

undisputed dominance in the region, allowing them to neglect the gift-giving and ceremony that had ensured reciprocity and respect in former exchanges between the two peoples. The epilogue, which describes the life of Indian minister William Apess and juxtaposes his own mournful description of the Pilgrim landing at Plymouth with Daniel Webster's hagiographic account of the same event, is both beautifully written and very moving, powerfully driving home Richter's conclusion that the course taken by the English in the years following the French and Indian War "was not the only one that might have been. As William Apess understood far too well, that was the real American tragedy" (p. 253).

Facing East from Indian Country is a jewel of a book. Both analytically and stylistically powerful, it will undoubtedly enjoy a prominent position both in classrooms and on bedside tables for many years to come.

Brigham Young University

JENNY HALE PULSIPHER

American Colonies. By ALAN TAYLOR. (New York: Viking, 2001. xvii, 526p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

This is a book to be read and celebrated by general readers, history students, graduate students and professional historians seeking a general, accessible, and highly readable account that orders the past generation's and current research into the largest possible context. *American Colonies* adds new meaning to the adjective, "sweeping." It is an ambitious examination of a wide range of colonial histories, bringing us to what are now New Mexico, Florida, Hawaii, and many other places, as well as to New England. It is not a book about historical argument, though it advances many arguments. Because the names of historians rarely appear in the text, and because there are no notes (though there is a fine, very briefly annotated bibliography), graduate students will have to look elsewhere for primers for their general examinations. Taylor's purpose here is neither to report on currents in scholarship nor to trump others' interpretations; it is apparently rather to recast colonial history by greatly enlarging its sphere in a manner that incorporates the best of recent transnational and interdisciplinary scholarship.

Taylor has long insisted that the history of frontiers, colonies, and the West belong to each other, and here he shows us how. Reviving, indeed expanding, the broad view of the old imperial school by modifying it with the old disdain for Anglocentrism that had been shown by that school's hostile but related cousins in the borderlands school, Taylor gives us a new imperial interpretation with an anti-imperial edge. Along the way, he tosses in some implicit Frederick Jackson

Turner and progressive history, emphasizing the importance of land, region, and social position. Along the way, too, he refers explicitly and implicitly to Max Weber (pp. 21, 159, 265, 362), taking seriously the relationship between religious belief and social change. But interpretation is subordinated to the narrative. When Taylor argues, the reader hardly notices. But argue he does, and his story makes his case. If we are going to understand the related importance of Indians, Africans, frontier settlers, dynamic religious movements, transformations in gender, the rise of commerce and cultures of consumption, and many other topics historians have been grappling with for the past decades, we have to attend, too, to empire and politics.

Unlike the older imperial school, Taylor attends to social history and is sensitive to the effects of structural economic transformation on the lives of ordinary people. He attends in wonderful detail to environmental changes. He takes seriously the importance of gender and the family. He tallies carefully the human costs of imperial victories, and he minces no words about the ironic fate of empires.

In what may be a sign both of the state of quantitative studies in the American historical profession and the degree to which we have separated ourselves from sociology, economics, and political science, not a single graph or chart decorates the book. But the illustrations and maps are beautiful, and Taylor does concern himself with demography. Estimates of population and economic productivity do appear in the text (eg., pp. 154, 172-74, 256), and politics—including imperial politics—is a major topic.

American Colonies, then, shows breathtaking new horizons for the field of colonial history. Somehow, it accomplishes this remarkable revision with the tone of great and established authority. Perhaps this is because Taylor pays real homage to older traditions of narrower scope, such as that which sought the origins of American identity in the Great Awakening, or that which emphasized the importance of New England and Puritanism. In fact, of all the regions which would form the thirteen original states, New England continues to get here the most attention (forty-four pages, compared to the Chesapeake's thirty-five, the Middle Colonies' twenty-five, and Carolina's eleven.). Still, the segment that focuses on Puritan religion and society is informed by the most recent scholarship, and more than a third of the New England segment concerns Indian relations. In any case, one can hardly accuse a historian who includes a chapter on the Great Plains of a conventional view of colonial America.

Indians are a major topic of the book. Taylor pays considerable attention to Africa and emerging African Americans, but Indians take a far more prominent place in the text. Even in the segment on Carolina, Indian affairs get slightly more attention than does slavery—though Taylor also weaves the two topics together. Taylor's descriptions of slavery and the slave trade are vivid. Taylor sees

slavery as critically important to the colonial experience: "the colonial exploitation of slaves, who amounted to a fifth of the population," he says, was a decisive factor in creating prosperous conditions for white colonists. Nonetheless, he also emphasizes the role of "abundant farmland," that is, landed colonial expansion. In the end, he ties African American history to Indian history, finding that the healthiest Euro-American colonists were "those who profited most from African slavery and Indian land" (p. 307).

Reviewers desperate to prove themselves worthy of the task hunt for errors. In the roughly 200,000 words that make up the book, I found exactly four mistakes: Malagasy people are listed here as West African rather than as East African (p. xvii); the 1643 massacre ordered by Governor Willem Kieft, which actually took place at Pavonia (now Jersey City), is located here on Manhattan (p. 254); the French post at Michilimackinac, which in fact stood at the northern point of the Lower Michigan mainland, is said here to have dominated "an island," (true only of later British and American forts, p. 378); Braddock here "blundered into an ambush," but he did so no more than did his French and Indian enemies. The two opposing forces were both in motion when they collided, and the more knowledgeable French and Indians quickly seized the better ground (p. 429).

Reviewers desperate to prove themselves worthy of the task also take issue with sub-themes and minor descriptions. Taylor uses the term "animism" (p. 18) to describe Native North American religious beliefs, which I find a slightly unfortunate choice. It is just not the case that every thing was believed to possess a spirit or to partake, as animism suggests, of a general cosmic force. Sometimes a rock was just a rock. Other times, and for reasons that baffled European observers, a fairly plain rock marked a site for veneration, but not always because it had a soul. The difference existed in the stories surrounding it, stories that can relate a more complicated spiritual world than the term animism suggests, a world with great, powerful, invisible beings in alliance or conflict with the people. Elsewhere, Taylor states that "Compared with the Spanish, French, and Dutch rulers, the English monarch exercised little power over his colonists, primarily because of the persistent reliance on a proprietary system of colonization" (p. 246). Yet companies dominated early colonization in Louisiana, New France, and New Netherland, much as they did in the English colonies. And private conquistadores, holding or seeking proprietorships of a sort, did play a large role on the frontiers of sixteenth-century New Spain. One might even argue that empires discovered everywhere that imperialism requires state control, and that the shift from corporate or proprietary governance to royal governance was a general trend in colonialism, not one specific to most British North American colonies.

I lob these pebbles into Taylor's *American Colonies* knowing that they

cannot disturb much of its broad and already turbulent surface, much less its depths. Consider the global ambition of a book that treats, for example, Russian expansion into Alaska, British adventures in the South Pacific, the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the ethnogenesis of the Crow Indians, the African slave trade, and the Glorious Revolution in England. Consider the organizational brilliance that it takes to pull these topics together in a manner that leaves one convinced that the new imperial approach makes sense. Taylor's new imperial focus helps not only to convene such events, so disparate in time and space, but also to combine the recent history of colonial frontiers, of which Taylor has been such a leader, with the history of the Atlantic world, a movement of no small importance among today's colonial historians.

University of Michigan

GREGORY EVANS DOWD

The Zinzendorf-Muhlenberg Encounter: A Controversy in Search of Understanding. By WALTER H. WAGNER. (Nazareth, Pa.: Moravian Historical Society, 2002. 173p. \$22.95.)

Recently the Moravian Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America entered into a full communion agreement. Wagner, a Lutheran pastor and professor at the Moravian Seminary, examines the origins of the split between the two denominations symbolized by a meeting in 1742 between the founder of the Moravians, Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf, and Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, the pastor most influential in shaping American Lutheranism. The book's underlying theme (which is correct) is that even in the 1740s the differences were marginal and that unification requires neither denomination to repudiate its heritage. Even though primary interest in the book will be to members of these churches, historians interested in religion will find it a convenient way to understand the context for the controversies that helped shape Pennsylvanian Germans' denominational history.

Our only account of the meeting of the two men is a transcript written by Muhlenberg for purposes of publication. Muhlenberg went by himself to the meeting that to his surprise turned into a kind of judicial examination/debate and there is no record of the Moravians present taking down the words. I wonder whether Muhlenberg's account is accurate enough to merit the sophisticated analysis provided by Wagner. More helpful is his careful reconstruction of the background of the two protagonists and Muhlenberg's successful strategy.

The book makes clear that the issues debated in Philadelphia began in Europe and any chances of unity were slim; indeed, the University of Halle

authorities neglected Pennsylvania until the Moravians appeared and then sent Muhlenberg to counter the count. Wagner provides an informative account of the debates in Germany between Lutheran scholastics and pietists over interpreting Luther's heritage. Although Muhlenberg and Zinzendorf can be described today as Lutheran pietists, they differed significantly in their attitudes towards authority. Muhlenberg can be described as an organization man while the count ignored authority—whether family, church, or government. Although Zinzendorf's doctrinal soundness was certified by German university authorities, others opposed his mission and he never had gained formal written certification for his claim to be a minister. In addition, Zinzendorf added to Lutheran doctrine controversial emphases upon the wounds and blood of Christ and upon images of Jesus as "Brother-Husband-Father-Creator; the Spirit as the Mother" (p. 89). He had also been influenced by English spiritualist Jane Leade and her Philadelphia society. While professing to be an orthodox Lutheran minister, Zinzendorf was also a bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum*—a sect that under the treaty of Westphalia had no right to exist.

Neither Muhlenberg nor Zinzendorf knew much about Pennsylvania, the variety of religions there, or the Lutheran congregations. Zinzendorf thought that the divisions of Christendom were a scandal and he staged a series of ecumenical conferences in Pennsylvania to bring some a unity of the "Church of God in the Spirit" even while denominational structures remained distinct. The count was used to deferential listeners, and his manner and message alienated independent-minded colonists. Because a shortage of clergy plagued German Reformed and Lutheran churches, Zinzendorf sought to place his adherents in these churches as ministers. Muhlenberg saw these Moravians as attempting to subvert Lutherans. The result was a series of bitter disputes that required the courts to decide the legal basis for ownership of church property.

Wagner is a good guide to the theological issues involved, but his grasp of Pennsylvania history is problematic. He underestimates the impact of the Great Awakening on Pennsylvania, ignoring the bitter schism among the Presbyterians and the rise of the Baptists, and seems unaware of recent scholarship on the migration and culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. The first chapter on dynastic succession in Europe will bore those who already know this history and confuse those who don't. More significant, his focus on the two clergymen slights the influence of the Lutheran and Reformed laymen who determined as much as the leaders whether Moravian, Reformed, and Lutheran would become one denomination or three.

Swarthmore College

J. WILLIAM FROST

A Brilliant Solution: Inventing the American Constitution. By CAROL BERKIN.
(New York: Harcourt, 2002. 310p. Appendix, index. \$26.)

The controversial presidential election of 2000 and the dastardly terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, have triggered a renewed interest in the attitudes of the framers of the U.S. Constitution. "What would the framers think of such happenings?" is a question many historians have been asked. In response, Carol Berkin has written this short, easy-to-read account of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The first seven chapters examine the debate in the convention. Two short chapters on the ratification of the Constitution and the inauguration of President George Washington bring closure to the story. Brief narrative biographies of the fifty-five convention delegates and the texts of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution appear as appendices. Professor Berkin's engaging writing style in which she describes the delegates and the publisher's beautiful job of printing make for a pleasant reading experience.

Berkin's recital of this familiar story emphasizes the delegates' sense of the overwhelming importance of legislatures in republics. The framers, in Berkin's judgment, believed that the president should and would do little more than implement the will of Congress by faithfully executing laws. Because of the importance of Congress, Berkin devotes much of her analysis to its structure. She also deftly examines the difficulty in determining the method of electing the president. All other issues are ignored. For instance, only a paragraph is devoted to the creation of the judiciary in Article III, while no attention is given to articles four through seven that deal with such important provisions as amending and ratifying the Constitution, restraints on the states, the supremacy clause, etc.

Berkin views the four-month-long convention as a battle between nationalists of varying hues and advocates of state sovereignty. (She never gives a name to the anti-nationalists.) Once the Great Compromise settled the particularly perplexing problem of representation in Congress (with the House of Representatives having proportional representation by population and the Senate having equal state representation), the large-state versus small-state conflict disappeared and the nationalist-state sovereigntist dispute dominated. (James Madison disagreed with Berkin's interpretation, arguing that after the Great Compromise, sectionalism and slavery affected most decisions.)

Because of its sprightly style, this book has the potential to be an important source for students and the general public. But its potential is diminished by some serious errors of omission and commission. Examples in the first seven chapters include the statements that the British refused to evacuate their Revolutionary War Ohio Valley forts (i.e., Great Lakes forts) (p. 20), Madison was a lawyer (p. 31), the economic depression of the 1780s only affected the

western counties in Massachusetts (p. 26), David Humphreys advised Washington to attend the convention (p. 34), Madison "secretly" took notes in the convention (p. 43), George Mason favored abolishing slavery in the Constitution (Mason opposed only the foreign slave trade) (pp. 59, 161), Madison wrote the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 (p. 99), William Paterson alone wrote the New Jersey Plan (p. 102), state assemblies were made up of elites (p. 105), Washington spent the convention recess vacationing with Robert Morris (p. 130), the president fills vacancies in the U.S. Senate (pp. 152-53), all trials (presumably civil as well as criminal) except impeachments would be tried by juries (p. 154), all state constitutions had lists of rights (p. 159), and the ratio of representation was changed from 1:40,000 to 1:30,000 (p. 165), rather than "no more than 1:30,000."

The short chapter on ratification has even more errors: that there was little debate over the presidency (p. 178), Madison orchestrated the ratification debate from Virginia (p. 179), Pennsylvania Federalists so filled their newspapers that voters did not know opposition existed (p. 183), all the small states had ratified by January 9, 1788, when Connecticut ratified (p. 183), Massachusetts Federalists were successful either because of their superior debaters or because they threatened to withhold the pay of state convention delegates (p. 184), and Virginia ratified on June 2, 1788 (p. 188).

In the biographies, Berkin inexplicably fails to list service in the state ratifying conventions (except for Yates and Lansing of New York and Brearly of New Jersey). She euphemistically writes that President John Adams demanded the resignation of James McHenry as secretary of war because "McHenry's preference for Hamilton's political guidance rather than Adams's annoyed the president" (p. 241). Similarly in Edmund Randolph's sketch Berkin says that Secretary of State Randolph "attempted to remain neutral in the growing political division between Jefferson and Hamilton, and perhaps because of the strain this caused, he decided to retire from public life in 1795" (p. 246). Obviously both these explanations fall far short of what actually happened.

A second edition correcting these and many other mistakes would make this book a good introduction to the world of the framers and an excellent choice for classroom reading.

University of Wisconsin-Madison

JOHN P. KAMINSKI

River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origins of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790-1850. By KIM M. GRUENWALD. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. xvi, 214p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

This is a skillfully executed study of the early stages of settlement and commercial development in southern Ohio. It is both tightly focused on particular places and people, and successful at addressing broader thematic issues. *River of Enterprise* should be noted by all historians interested in the settlement of the trans-Appalachian west, and in the role of commerce in that process.

Kim Gruenwald's argument has two principal subjects, and three main stages. Central to her account is a detailed examination of the accounts and correspondence of the Woodbridge family, who migrated from Norwich, Connecticut, in the late 1780s, and became merchants in the early Ohio settlement of Marietta. Traders and their networks of connections are her first subject. Successive family heads used different terms to describe where they had moved to. For Dudley Woodbridge Sr. it was land "across the mountains." For his son Dudley Jr. it was "the Western Country." For his son, in turn, it was "the Buckeye State." Gruenwald uses these three conceptions to frame the stages of her discussion. She also uses them to handle her second main subject, which is the Ohio River Valley itself. From a temporary and flimsy barrier to white encroachment on Native American lands, the Ohio River became in one generation both a conduit for western migration and trade and, Gruenwald argues, a unifying bond between the regions that lay either side of its banks. But by the 1830s, she goes on to suggest, the further development and settlement of central and northern Ohio turned peoples' focus away from the river. With the emerging dispute over slavery, Ohioans came to see themselves as distinct from their neighbors south of the river. Like the Mason-Dixon line further east, the Ohio River became a boundary between North and South, a status highlighted in Harriet Beecher Stowe's dramatic fictional account of Eliza's escape from the slave-catchers in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The story of the Woodbridge family and its trading activities provides a useful, flexibly applied framework for the book's main arguments. Gruenwald traces the evolution of Marietta from a new outpost of settlement to a second-tier commercial hub, and explains the central role of commerce from the earliest phases of migration. She signals the importance of such modest towns to the settlement process, when major centers such as Cincinnati and Louisville have garnered more attention from historians. The Woodbridges' business mirrored the changing character of trading patterns, as population growth, transport links, agricultural changes, and the emergence of crafts and manufacturing successively altered the range and purpose of commercial transactions. Gruenwald recon-

structs the firm's trading connections at different periods, and correlates the particular fluctuations and conditions of this one mercantile business and center with the wider patterns of growth and development of which they formed a part. But this is not primarily a study of the business. Rather, it is a starting-point for a more wide-ranging account. One of the book's strengths lies in its frequent changes of perspective: Gruenwald follows the connections in the Woodbridge documents to illuminate the lives of farmers, of other traders, and of supplying merchants in the larger cities of the East Coast and the Ohio Valley. She also provides frequent and apposite comparisons with other merchants and other trading centers. The result is a well-rounded, accessible study that does a lot to explain how and why southern Ohio emerged so rapidly as a key region in the new American "West."

Trading connections also provide Gruenwald's link to her concluding argument about regional identities. Here, perhaps, the framework is less suited to the burden it is asked to carry. The Woodbridges fade from prominence by the mid-nineteenth century. So, to some degree, does Marietta itself. Changes that bound Ohio more closely to New England roots and northern connections were ones that, necessarily, took place rather offstage. The sections of the argument that trace this process are clear enough, but they accompany other sections that stress the simultaneous growing importance of Cincinnati, and its figurative crowning as the "Queen City of the West." Gruenwald discusses some issues, such as canal and railroad building, and controversies over slavery and the escape of fugitives, that help explain the "Buckeye State's" identification with freedom, but might have been clearer as to why these matters eventually overrode established and strongly-felt cross-sectional and, in this case, cross-river ties. Regional identities may indeed, as her subtitle suggests, have had "commercial origins." But perhaps commerce was not a strong enough bond to sustain them when other fields of affinity supervened?

University of Warwick

CHRISTOPHER CLARK

Appalachia: A History. By JOHN ALEXANDER WILLIAMS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xviii, 473p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$19.95.)

Appalachian aficionados will love this book for its author's nose for oddities, but historians will love it for its broad sweep, penetrating analysis, and eloquent diction. For thirty years now, perplexities and debates have delayed a comprehensive history of Appalachia but here that history finally is—from West Virginia's leading historian and (one must now say) Appalachia's leading historian.

Pennsylvania is fully incorporated, at least through the antebellum era. Nowhere north of Pennsylvania is covered, but Professor Williams does linger sometimes in his home state just to the south. Besides fascinating minutiae about ordinary people, the book provides thumb-nail sketches of Appalachia's best-known sons and daughters—from the "Father of West Virginia," Francis J. Pierpont, and Andrew Johnson, the infamous Reconstruction president, to Booker T. Washington, who worked as a teenager at salt furnaces along the Kanawha River near Charleston, to Frankie Silver of western North Carolina, who murdered her abusive husband in 1833 and was hung for it, to "Tom Dooley," also of western North Carolina, who was hung for allegedly murdering one of his girlfriends.

"Tom Dooley's" real name was Thomas C. Dula. Another folksong hero who Williams traces is John Henry, who helped drill railroad tunnels in southern West Virginia and could hand-drive steel bits faster into bedrock than the steam-powered drills of his day (which was about 1873).

Nor are feuds neglected. The Hatfield-McCoy feud helps Williams explain why post-Civil War Appalachians greeted their region's industrialization with ambivalence. Williams agrees with Altina Waller's book *Feud* that the major phase of the Hatfield-McCoy feud in the late 1880s resulted from Devil Anse Hatfield holding title to five thousand acres of prime timberland adjacent to the likely route of the Norfolk and Western Railway. That renewal of the feud was provoked by people with more connections than Devil Anse and they ousted him. When the N&W did choose that route, it was not Devil Anse but others who cashed in big.

Good old-fashioned political economy is the mainspring of Williams' regional analysis. He uses only eight tables of numbers and nary a graph at all. Nor does he separate his analysis from his story. Trooping across the stage come Cherokees and Shawnees, Spanish explorers and English traders, land speculators and settlers, loggers and miners, robber barons and labor organizers, politicians and VISTA volunteers, strip-miners and environmentalists. Even the back-to-the-land in-migrants of the 1970s get a few pages (especially the parents of Jedediah Purdy, the youthful author of *For Common Things* [2nd edition, 2000]).

Throughout it all Williams keeps asking "why?" and setting forth his own compelling answers. Williams agrees with the young regional scholars who link Appalachia's preindustrial family-farm self-sufficiency with the low wages that such farm families accepted when large-scale logging and mining started in the late 1800s. He says, "One reason for the rise of labor militancy in Appalachia during the first third of the twentieth century is that the preindustrial economy of the Appalachian Plateau could not by itself sustain the continued prosperity of the region after the Civil War. But it subsidized the first generation of industrial workers to the extent that they could accept the low wages initially offered

by the region's extractive industries. As a new generation grew to maturity after 1900, however, miners and other workers could no longer fall back, when they needed to, on the resources of farm and forest so they turned to labor movements out of sheer necessity for survival" (p. 287).

Williams also explains what happened when the Depression hit and then the New Deal intervened. The "New Deal programs," he says, "though they inhibited further environmental destruction by curbing the expansion of subsistence farming, also completed the 'addiction' to cash incomes that had begun [with industrialization]. Thus, in the long term, the last vestiges were destroyed of the communal features of the farm-and-forest economy: that informal part of household regimes that depended upon cooperative labor within and among families and neighbors, the bartering and borrowing that substituted for cash, and the recourse to the forest commons for grazing and the harvest of wild products. New Deal transfer payments . . . meant that when the next crisis hit the region, mountaineers would have no alternative but migration" (p. 289).

Some of Williams' best writing comes toward the end when he explores the political economy of today's New River Gorge in far southern West Virginia. Here mix, in happy anarchy, the federal government, river rafters, tourists, retirees, old-timers and local politicians trying to somehow hang onto their power despite all the change. I've read nothing better on today's Appalachia than Williams' long final chapter, informed as it is by his mastery of the region's past. His book is a labor of love that its readers will linger over.

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College

PAUL SALSTROM

The Pennsylvania Railroad at Bay: William Riley McKeen and the Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad. By RICHARD T. WALLIS. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. xiv, 189p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$44.95.)

Thanks to a large and constantly renewed group of avid rail enthusiasts, documentation of railroad history has always thrived in the form of books on individual rail lines. These have tended to be heavy on photographs and the minutiae of construction and equipment and have generally been aimed at a specialist or fan audience. More recently, however, there has been an increasing number of documented, narrative histories of rail lines, which place individual companies not only within railroad history, but, more importantly, within the business, economic, and social history of the nation. Richard T. Wallis's book falls into this category and tells a story not previously explored in depth: that of William Riley McKeen and his Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad (TH&I).

This book traces the history of the line from its beginnings under Chauncey Rose, as the Terre Haute & Richmond, in the 1840s and 1850s; through McKeen's development of what became the Terre Haute & Indianapolis, and later the Vandalia; the addition of related lines; the long process of completing rail connections to St. Louis; the company's fiscal highs and lows of both internal and external origin; and McKeen's ultimate sale of the system to the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR), where it was placed under the control of that company's Lines West component. The author gives a masterly summary of how the TH&I maintained its independence in the midst of rampant rail consolidation, while still working with the PRR and sustaining the latter's interest in adding the TH&I to its Lines West. Though the David and Goliath flavor of the title implies that McKeen was in control until he deemed the time was ripe to sell to the PRR, the narrative shows that he and his company went through many hard economic times. McKeen temporarily sold the company to an entity other than the PRR—to his lasting regret—and did, on occasion, make foolish decisions and ill-considered moves.

Wallis does a particularly good job of showing the interweaving of personal and corporate interests in nineteenth-century Terre Haute and, by extension, the country in general. His exploration of the relationship between the Pennsylvania Railroad and its Lines West component, as it relates to the history of the TH&I, is a valuable addition to the existing literature. He also captures the mind-numbing complexity of the railroad business before line consolidation began to concentrate control of that system into fewer and fewer corporate hands.

For the general reader, the book can at times be a bit like reading a Russian novel: All of the main characters—in this case railroads—seem to have at least two names, in addition to their acronyms, and they combine into new companies with their own multiple names. Wallis uses the names and all their variations interchangeably, but the reader's understanding is aided by the "Cast of Corporate Characters" he provides at the beginning (xiii-xiv).

One signal service this book provides is in describing the machinations of Henry S. Ives in the world of business, spotlighting this little known loose cannon and his attempts to buy the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. His purchase of the TH&I in 1887 was one segment of his elaborate scheme to accomplish that. Wallis's description of his wild deal-making, shaky ethics, and ultimate downfall, all of which affected the TH&I, is not matched elsewhere in rail literature.

The book is not without some minor problems. The maps on pages 9 and 17, which presumably were done specifically for this book, are amateurish—unnecessarily so in this age of computer-aided mapping. The historical maps and photographs, however, greatly enhance the book, and most are likely to be new to even the most seasoned rail fan. The book is marred by some lax editing. There are a number of typographical errors and examples of unfortunate phrasing (e.g.,

"a particular fondness for the connubial estate" on p. 8, and "rapier-like sharpness" on p. 101). In addition, the word "breech" is misused several times, and Walter Q. Gresham's middle name is misspelled in every reference.

Despite these defects, this book is an invaluable addition to rail literature. Gratitude is due to Indiana University Press for its continuing commitment to publishing railroad history, and to George Smerk for his editing of the press's Railroads Past and Present series, into which this book falls.

Indiana Historical Society

LEIGH DARBEE

Set Up Running: The Life of a Pennsylvania Railroad Engineman, 1904-1949.
By JOHN W. ORR. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. xvi, 376p. Illustrations, glossary, list for further reading. \$38.50.)

"The world of the railroader had always been a closed one. Its members shared traditions, practices, and peculiarities that set them apart from others . . . and endured a lifestyle dictated by the demands of their calling." These words, coming from historian Maury Klein, could serve as a preface to this absorbing, if narrowly focused, account of a locomotive engineer in the days of steam.

The bare facts of Oscar Perry Orr's life encapsulate rural, working-class Pennsylvania of a century ago: Born in 1883 on a farm near Bellefonte with only eight years of schooling but a frank ambition to get ahead, Orr hired out in 1904 on the Pennsylvania Railroad, then the "standard railroad of the world" with an army of 200,000 employees. He put in his miles as a fireman, passed a battery of exams, and was "set up running" an engine in the remote mountain hollows of central Pennsylvania.

For all its size and power, the steam engine was a fickle machine. It demanded much of its handlers, not just the proper manipulation of incandescent fires and high-pressure steam, but the safe dispatch of hundreds of people or thousands of tons of freight along an uneven road of rails fraught with sudden dangers. In return for the skills required and mortal hazards faced, enginemen were paid well. They were the "aristocrats" of blue-collar society, held in esteem by their community and famously beloved by young boys.

John Orr recollected many hours of conversations he had with his father as a boy and teenager growing up in the railroad town of Ralston, twenty-four miles north of Williamsport. Writing from memory, he seeks to portray "the daily lives and work" of steam railroaders through the story of his dad.

Detail is the great strength of the book. As an occasional test engineer, Orr got to try out new locomotives built at the railroad's Altoona Shops. The reader is treated to copious assessments of the strengths and foibles of each engine class.

There are vignettes about pulled couplers, long waits at sidings, bad weather, firemen who don't know how to fire, pranks played by the crews, derailments, and grade-crossing accidents. Bumping, "outlawing" (reaching the maximum number of hours of work), train-order operations, flagging and signaling are all rendered with accuracy.

The cumulative effect is an extended meditation on a lost world of rugged, single-minded men—almost monkish in their devotion to their job and "the company"—who once thread their engines along river banks and down grades to deliver carloads of coal and lumber and merchandise to larger towns (Tyrone, Renovo, Lock Haven, Wilkes-Barre, Sunbury) where the freight was reshuffled into other trains and delivered to virtually every point on the continent.

For all his curiosity about railroads, Orr is not especially interested in the world around him. Decades of experience forged a pattern to his life that, as the narrative proceeds, cramps his relations with outsiders. Women are ignored in the book, including his own wife, and other "civilians" are equally shunned. Even at the taverns, railroaders only seemed to talk to other railroaders.

Engineer Orr does not reflect on his life as he nears retirement in 1949, but instead peers ever more intently out of the narrow window of his cab. He is indifferent to the new diesel locomotive, which dooms steam power, and is equally unaware of the expansion of highways and trucks that, coupled with coal mine closings, remove people and cargo from his railroad.

The last chapter is titled "The Final Fast-Freight Crew" and unintentionally reveals the strengths and weaknesses of this era of industrial history. We gain an appreciation for the sweat and toil of the strong men who rode the iron horse, while at the same time behold a culture so inflexible and protective of its prerogatives that it ultimately fails to respond to the competition coming around the bend.

Railroad History

MARK REUTTER

A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1940-1980. By DAVID SCHUYLER. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. x, 278p. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. Cloth, \$65; paper, \$19.95.)

In *A City Transformed*, historian David Schuyler attempts to explain Lancaster's disappointment with urban renewal. Like many localities after World War II, this regional city of 60,000 fought the "cancer of blight" with surgery available under federal Title I and state urban redevelopment laws. In the late 1950s the city embarked on the reconstruction of the frowsy commercial strip

along North Queen Street, and, in the Seventh Ward, the southeast quadrant where most African Americans and Puerto Ricans resided, a slum clearance project at Adams-Musser for low-rent public housing and another at Church-Musser for middle-income units. The 1960s and 1970s saw initiatives in spot renewal, neighborhood conservation, and historic preservation, notably at Old Town Lancaster. Schuyler, an expert on architects and landscape designers Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted, who teaches American Studies at nearby Franklin and Marshall College, is top form as critic and cicerone of Lancaster's physical revival. He has sifted through newspaper files and planning archives and seems to have buttonholed anybody willing to talk on or off the record. He provides the narrative with an elegiac touch, a sense of loss not only of Lancaster's Beaux Arts facades, but of the city's spirit—and its innocence.

The remarkably ambitious redevelopment never quite fulfilled the promises made by the local redevelopment authority, planning commission, and ribbon-cutting mayors. Schuyler explains that Lancaster was ill-served by its municipal experts and "local political culture." Planners pinned their hopes on sterile, blank-walled modernism and on conventional, bulldozer clearance that was already being discredited as a zero-sum destroyer of civic life. For their part, political leaders made a Faustian bargain with outside experts, like redevelopment guru Victor Gruen, whose grandiose blueprints for the North Queen Street pedestrian mall, Lancaster Square, went well beyond the city's needs and erased the streetscape which Schuyler claims was the town's "collective memory." Lancaster possessed neither the commercial weight nor the pro-growth coalition to attract anchor stores to downtown, let alone the interstate arterial, that might have countered the centripetal force of suburban development. Running through Schuyler's narrative is the realization that to preserve Lancaster's identity from national encroachments meant hiring the national experts whose very prescriptions would eradicate that identity. Call it catch-22 or central Pennsylvania's own version of the 1960s refrain, "we had to destroy the village to save it."

Schuyler makes it clear, however, that the real impediment to renewal was the entrenched racism that stymied the relocation of refugees from Adams-Musser and Church-Musser. In 1969, the city attempted to move small numbers of African Americans and Puerto Ricans into scatter-site public units in white neighborhoods. The resulting uproar forced redevelopment officials to back off and clinched the creation of a second ghetto alongside the traditional one in the southeast. That decision foreclosed an initiative, writes Schuyler, "that might have resulted in an orderly end of segregation and the emergence, over time, of a fully integrated community." The judgment seems exaggerated given his overwhelming evidence of the growth of all-white subdivisions beyond the city line. The reality of shopping malls and tract housing across the greater region affected

everything the Lancaster-savers tried to do. It dwarfed the attempts to revive the central business district and guaranteed that the inner-city would only increase its population of impoverished blacks and Hispanics.

Schuyler is intimately acquainted with the community, and the quality of his narrative rests upon his unrelenting scrutiny as to how Lancastrians wrangled over renewal and race. He is an omniscient observer, acutely aware of the nuances of local political culture and fluent in the argot of design, redevelopment, and the whims of architectural clients. At times the dense detail overwhelms the narrative, especially in the absence of a clear map of the city's social geography. Schuyler also uses his last section, devoted to redevelopment's "Legacy," to cram in details of yet another renewal project. The book could have used a few more appraisals of Lancaster at the end of the century to tell us what Lancaster Square is like today and—beyond the statistics on unemployment—what the quality of life is in the Adams-Musser project. But these comments should not gainsay respect for an admirable account about a city that struggled against colossal metropolitan trends. Amidst a raft of books on urban redevelopment, few are as shrewd and impassioned as this sad, familiar tale of a townscape lost.

Montclair State University

JOEL SCHWARTZ

The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media. By CAROLYN KITCH. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. xii, 252p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45; paper, \$18.95.)

Carolyn Kitch's study of women's images on magazine covers from the 1890s to 1930 is an interesting introduction to an intriguing subject. The book raises many questions, indeed more than can be answered in a brief book (192 pages of text); yet it offers readers many insights into the values, dreams, and ideals of American women as portrayed by graphic artists for *McCall's*, the *Ladies Home Journal*, *Collier's* and other leading magazines of the period. It is important to note that the images presented on magazine covers are a collaborative effort, agreed upon by editors, marketing and advertising specialists, the business office, and the artists who draw the images. This makes the explanatory process more challenging. Compromise decisions reflect consensus opinions and not the singular vision of one artist or one point of view. Further, the always vexing but important question of whether popular representations of women are reflective of real women, idealizations, fictionalizations, or esthetic renderings cannot be easily answered.

Kitch falls into the "fictional/ideal" school of thought. According to her

analysis, the magazine artists created an image that took on enduring value and rose to the level of stereotype. By so doing, the women buyers of the magazine, who strove to emulate the physical portrait seen on magazine covers, became living examples of predictable, widely imitated portraits of women. Though little is done to document or follow through with this provocative thesis (indeed proving such a sweeping generalization is very difficult), it is a commonly held view among analysts of women's magazine art. The women are too thin, too vain, too concerned with their physical appearance, an ideology and behavior foisted upon them by *Ladies Home Journal* editors. Indeed, Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) made such a charge in the first days of the modern feminist movement. Issuing such a charge and assuming its self-evident truth is no longer so clear.

While enduring images of women, such as "The New Woman," "The American Girl," "The Flapper," and "The Patriot," have existed throughout the twentieth century, there have been historical moments when one image predominated; "The Patriot" for example was particularly relevant during wartimes, while "The Flapper" is closely tied to the 1920s. The context for each image is extremely important and though Kitch ties some of her discussions to particular time periods, the continuity of images also must be acknowledged. The idea that the depression of the 1930s required a new woman as did the early twentieth century, albeit for different reasons, requires a more extended analysis than this brief survey can provide. "The New Woman" in the early years of the twentieth century captured a social reality: more young women in school, more young women in the workforce, and more young women yearning to be independent. "The New Woman" of the thirties was a desired ideal during difficult economic times when society needed hard-working, spunky woman. The movies of the period showed many examples of Joan Crawford, Katharine Hepburn, and Barbara Stanwyck leading independent lives.

This study also tries to survey changing images of manhood, another hefty topic that cannot be undertaken, let alone dealt with satisfactorily, in a brief treatment. Some generalizations about the American family, using television sources late in the study, detract from the central focus. Women's magazines, and their covers, are surely a valuable source of information about changing portraits (or continuing portraits) of ideal/real American women. Separating out the ideal from the real, the commercial from the esthetic, is a daunting task. Creating clear equations between visual representations and the behavior of American women is also extremely difficult. More importantly, by sprinkling the study with examples from other popular cultural media, the impression is given that all forms of popular imagery are equal, arrived at in the same way and create the same effects. Not only is that a huge, unproven generalization, it is patently false on its face. Therefore, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover* is a thought-provoking introduction

to a worthy subject; it is the first step in investigating the subject rather than a comprehensive or last step in the process.

Northeastern Illinois University

JUNE SOCHEN

Scrolling Forward: Making Sense of Documents in the Digital Age. By DAVID M. LEVY (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001. xxvi, 212p. Notes. \$24.95.)

David M. Levy, a professor in the University of Washington's Information School, serves as an excellent guide in this wide-ranging exploration of documents and their roles in everyday life. Levy began his career as a computer scientist, but a lifelong passion for the traditional crafts of calligraphy and book-binding drew him away from high-tech pursuits. His explorations paid off when he returned to Xerox's Palo Alto Research Center (PARC) in 1984 where researchers struggled with computer-based typography and the underpinnings of contemporary digital document technology (word processing, desktop publishing, and laser printing). Levy's position at the intersection of the traditional and the modern provided him with a unique perspective that serves as the foundation for *Scrolling Forward*.

Levy begins his survey of documents in the digital age with a deli receipt—surely one of the most abundant and mundane examples of printed material. With the simple document that recorded the “historical event” of lunch at Steve's Deli, Levy launches into the history of human expression in tangible forms—from clay tablets recording grain transfers in the ancient world to the cheap mass-produced paper of the deli receipt.

Levy also explores the social and cultural systems required to give meaning to the documents we create. Thousands of years of history stand behind the deli receipt to make it both a recognizable form and an authoritative record of a financial transaction. Levy examines how new digital formats have both challenged and adopted these traditions. Levy's arguments nicely incorporate current historical thinking on technology. No document technology emerged as a pure invention, a bolt from the blue. The technologies have been developed as responses to socially determined needs, with both intended and unintended consequences; they are also being continually renegotiated.

For those still uncomfortable in the digital world Levy helpfully points out how young digital documents are, and draws connections to the early history of other formats with which we have grown comfortable. The codex format (what we would recognize as a book of folded and bound pages) took several hundred years to supersede the earlier rolled scrolls. Originally intended to be read aloud, early codices lacked tables of contents, page numbers and other conveniences that

aid modern readers. Far from heralding the end of letter writing, e-mail fits into the context of modern correspondence—the development of greeting cards, postcards, and corporate memoranda.

One frustration with digital document technology has been the haphazard organization of the files we create, which makes them inaccessible. Levy tracks how book cataloguing systems evolved a century ago from the same frustration. Faced with the proliferation of documents and books in the nineteenth century, Melvil Dewey invented both the vertical file cabinet that replaced earlier flat filing systems and the familiar Dewey decimal system for the organization of libraries. The anxieties we face over the disorder of digital documents are not unlike those that inspired Dewey to revolutionize the management of documents in offices and libraries. Levy reassures us that far from being victims of digital technology, we are participants in the continuing search for balance between traditional and electronic formats.

Scrolling Forward is most successful when it sticks to its main themes of digital technology and the history of documents. Less successful are the later chapters where Levy detours into existential philosophy and the “sacred qualities” of documents that satisfy spiritual desires (even when in the form of secular texts) and the human quest for immortality. The detours are nonetheless interesting and overall the ideas presented suggest a much deeper well for scholars to draw on. For those interested in broadening their perspective on the challenges we face, *Scrolling Forward* serves as a highly readable and thought-provoking introduction to documents in the digital age.

Colorado Digitization Project

RICHARD J. URBAN

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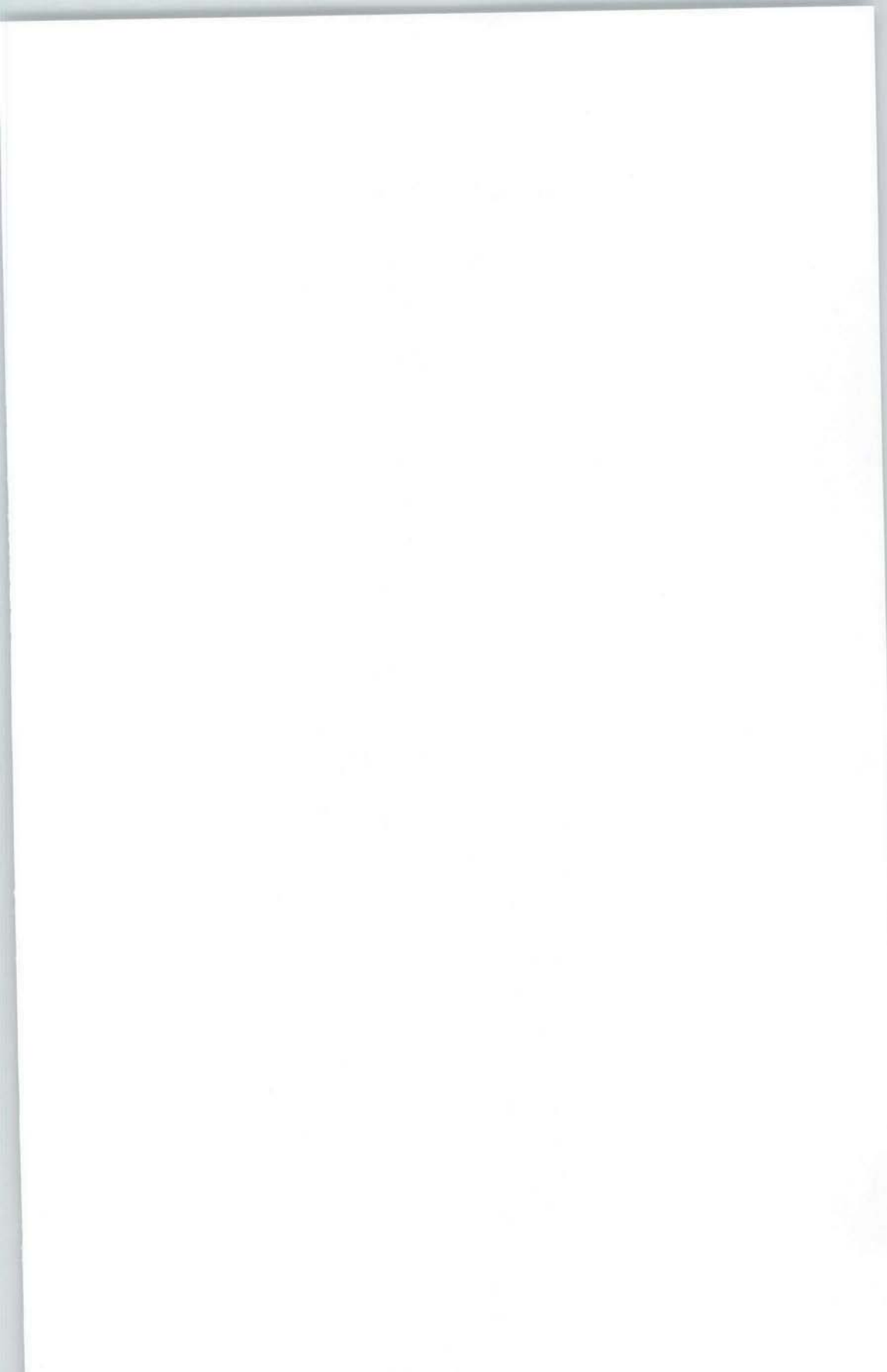
In observation of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition, **THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA** invites presentations for its Spring and Fall 2003 Symposia focusing on "Pennsylvania and the Americas."

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The Fall 2003 Symposium on "Pan-American Philadelphia" will be held in November. The goal of this symposium is to explore historical connections between Philadelphia and the Latin world. Possible topics include: Philadelphia involvement in the Atlantic world, ties to the Caribbean, trade and commerce with Latin countries, political movements and influences, diplomatic connections, Latino immigration and immigrant communities in Philadelphia or Pennsylvania.

Presentation topics may explore any historical period and should retain the society's geographic focus on Pennsylvania or the Mid-Atlantic region (comparative work including this geographic focus will also be considered). Symposia participants will be encouraged to submit versions of their papers to *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for possible publication.

To submit, please send a 1-2 page abstract with CV or resume to Kathryn Wilson, Director of Education and Interpretation, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107. Electronic submissions welcome at kwilson@hsp.org. Please respond by January 15, 2003, for the Spring Symposium and by August 4, 2003, for the Fall Symposium.





groundbreaking history



Governor Gifford Pinchot at a groundbreaking ceremony for a new road in York, one of many that came to be called "Pinchot roads." Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg

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