

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Independence Hall in American Memory.* By CHARLENE MIRES. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. xviii, 350p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95.)

Trivial Pursuit should include the question, "At what famous building did Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony, and Ralph Nader all challenge the nation's definition of liberty and equality?" For the high stakes players who draw a blank, the hint is, "It's also on the obverse of their one-hundred-dollar bills!" Yet, as Charlene Mires insightfully explains, Independence Hall has paradoxically been the venue of opposing groups who pushed the nation to either expand or conserve the existing boundaries of freedom.

An assistant professor of history at Villanova University, Mires is a former journalist with noteworthy credentials. Her book, which was originally a Ph.D. dissertation at Temple University, is "concerned with three interlocking processes: the construction of a building, a nation, and memory." All three "involve processes of remembering and forgetting" (p. viii). Today, Independence Hall is maintained by the National Park Service, but frozen in its late-eighteenth-century appearances. By remembering only the events of 1774-1800, however, the NPS misses much of the story. As Mires argues, "aspects of a building's past that have been obscured by historic preservation may hold the richer story of the construction of national identity" (p. x). As a result, she probes the historical record regarding its original design, evolving landscape, changing fate, social history, and shifting cultural significance. Skillfully mining a lode running through history and memory, Mires discovers a treasure trove on the life of Independence Hall.

Over the years, Independence Hall has served many masters. Built in 1732 by a colonial assembly that worried not only about the crown's power but the increased presence of non-English immigrants, the statehouse also accommodated the Library Company of Philadelphia, as well as elegant soirées. After the commonwealth moved its capital in 1800, the building housed Charles Willson Peale's natural history museum for twenty-five years. Prior to the Civil War, not only did a federal court meet upstairs, deliberating on such issues as the Fugitive Slave Act, but the room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed became a nativist shrine, where laments were aired about the purported corruption of the immigrants. In anticipation of the Centennial in 1876, a history museum was established. Yet, by the fin de siècle, as Philadelphia's urban poverty and diverse ethnicity became more apparent, proposals were floated to fully restore the building, so as to stabilize a disorderly society. By the 1930s, preser-

vationists hoped further to "civilize" the area by creating a large historical park, which finally occurred in 1951 under federal auspices.

So, too, did the significance of Independence Hall, its neighboring historic buildings, and the Liberty Bell change over time. At first, Independence Hall was an actual locus of power where the government's authority was both challenged, as in the case of crowds who protested against the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, or upheld, as when the mayor promoted his nativist cause in 1855. Ironically, the Liberty Bell became a more popular icon than its building, but Independence Hall did slowly gain symbolic standing. As a result, not only did the city move to restrict gatherings of undesirable groups there, such as the IWW in 1912 or Progressives in 1947, but the private Independence Hall Association, composed of well-heeled or old-blood professionals, pushed to erase what it perceived as a blighted landscape, leading eventually to the demolition of commercial and residential blocks after 1951. While those neighborhoods were being cleansed ethnically and economically, much of the site's rich history was physically erased.

Through its architectural restoration and site interpretation, the NPS, like others before it, has been very selective about its presentation. During the Cold War, for example, the government treated it as a shrine, but the NPS did allow protestors to assemble near the Liberty Bell Pavilion. Despite subsequent popular interest in social history and diversity, the NPS has maintained its shrine. In fact, said Mires, "Independence Hall has been more static and unchanging [from 1976–2001] than at any comparable period of time in its history" (p. 269).

Readers could conclude that those who administer such a powerful site and symbol—whether a nativist mayor, an elite association, or a park agency—have often orchestrated its use for disputable gain. Think again of the Trivial Pursuit question. That's why *Independence Hall in American Memory* is such good reading; its rich texture shows us that the old statehouse was much more than the important events of 1776 and 1787. What Mires has accomplished should indeed be emulated by others as they examine historic sites near and far.

SUNY Plattsburgh

JAMES M. LINDGREN

*Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740–1800: Kingdom of Christ, Empire of Reason.* By NINA REID-MARONEY. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001. xv, 199p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$62.50.)

More than a quarter century ago, Henry F. May described "a surprising paradox" in American intellectual history: historians of the American eighteenth century were clearly partisans of the Enlightenment, yet they wrote almost nothing about it; on the other hand, there was a vigorous and growing literature about the



intellectual world of eighteenth-century American Protestantism, but historians were reluctant to use it for fear of ranging themselves on the wrong side of their profession's stony-faced secularism. May thought this was exactly the wrong way to understand the American Enlightenment, and in *The Enlightenment in America* (1976) he proposed to ignore the historiographic firewall between religion and the Enlightenment and treat Protestantism as the "matrix, rival, ally, and enemy" of the Enlightenment, almost as though these two putative foes had to endure the indignity of being joined at the head.

As May might have predicted, this advice was lost on most historians. It made a deeper impact on those brave enough to endure the stigma of being "religious historians," and who routinely displayed more interpretive breadth and critical flexibility than their secular counterparts in describing the intersection of theology and New Philosophy from the 1680s until 1800. Norman Fiering's *Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth-Century Harvard* and Jonathan Edwards's *Moral Thought and Its British Context* (both 1981), Mark Noll's *Princeton and the Republic, 1768-1822* (1989), and Lefferts Loetscher's *Facing the Enlightenment and Pietism* (1983) offered exemplary narratives and analyses of the love-hate relationship religion and Enlightenment displayed in America.

Nina Reid-Maroney clearly belongs in the latter stream, and *Philadelphia's Enlightenment* just as clearly deserves a place in the front rank of those who have tested May's thesis and found it full of rewards. What Fiering did for Harvard, and Noll and Loetscher for Princeton, Reid-Maroney has now done for Philadelphia, and with greater stylistic charm and ingenuity. If anything, Reid-Maroney has had the steeper hill to climb in taking Philadelphia as her subject, given the ease with which Philadelphia's intellectual elite has been portrayed as the honors section of the American Enlightenment. Instead, Reid-Maroney argues that the Enlightenment in Philadelphia made numerous concessions and accommodations to Protestantism, turning it into a "Christian Enlightenment," and even into "largely a Calvinist one" (p. 3). Within Philadelphia's intellectual "Circle"—John Redman, William Shippen, Caspar Wistar, Benjamin Rush, John Ewing, Francis Alison, John and William Bartram, Samuel Stanhope Smith—"religious questions impinged on scientific ones to such a degree that the participants themselves often did not think to separate them" (p. 6). And it was a dynamic which bolted in both directions. Full-throated Awakeners like the Tennents made profound bows to science; unchurched botanists like John Bartram abased themselves "as one of the smallest atoms of dust praising the living God, the great I am" (p. 42).

What they hammered out, in Reid-Maroney's vivid reading of the Philadelphia Circle, was a philosophy based on probability. Neither science nor religious dogma offered absolute certainty, and therefore neither had justification to lord it over the other, and whether this was the result of the imperfections of reason or the defect of sin made no difference. Rather, grace and intuition formed

the first principles of human knowledge, with a diligent application of the intellectual "means" forming the requisite second step into experiment and investigation. The Philadelphia Circle embraced a mixture of optimism and skepticism—simultaneously Calvinistic and Enlightened. What subverted this Enlightenment in the end was not intellectual incoherence, but politics. The example of the French Revolution succeeded where the Enlightenment had not, in driving a wedge between a new and more militant brand of evangelical awakening after 1810, and a professionalized pursuit of science. This discussion is probably the weakest part of Reid-Maroney's overall description of the Philadelphia Circle, and it makes *Philadelphia's Enlightenment* vulnerable to the seemingly commonsensical charge that the Circle's synthesis of science and grace was so patently unstable that it only was a matter of time before it fell apart under the press of elementary scientific logic. That charge, however, will miss how much of both theology and science are exercises in what Henry May called "assertion and symbolization," and one does not have to be a postmodernist to appreciate that.

Reid-Maroney's Philadelphia will knit the brows of historians who have come to think of Philadelphia in the eighteenth century as Benjamin Franklin's city. Although we have been warned repeatedly—by Melvin Buxbaum, by Joseph Bosco, and by Kerry Walters—not to ignore that complicated and unsteady mix of religious credulity and Enlightenment sophistication in Franklin, the champions of Franklin have needed him to drape the gentle mantle of deism over all of Philadelphia. The need for a secularized Philadelphia is driven, as Bruce Kuklick has wryly pointed out, by the need to push secularization back far enough into American intellectual history to rationalize the belief that all American intellectual life has been the story of a secular Enlightenment yielding to a secular Republic, and finally delivering a secular national philosophy in the form of pragmatism. This reading is fantasy, not history. Reid-Maroney joins a distinguished list of skeptics, starting with Henry May, who have made that fantasy untenable.

*Eastern University*

ALLEN C. GUELZO

*Cadwallader Colden: A Figure of the American Enlightenment.* By ALFRED R. HOERMANN. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002. xiii, 204p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$64.95.)

In this biography of Cadwallader Colden, Alfred Hoermann carefully limns the intellectual life of a fascinating eighteenth-century New Yorker. For over fifty years Colden held positions as the colony's surveyor general, member of the governor's council, lieutenant governor, and, upon occasion, acting governor. Yet Colden himself hoped to be remembered for his contributions to botany,



medicine, and, most especially, natural philosophy. In Hoermann, Colden has a biographer who takes his work in these arenas seriously. Clearly written and meticulously documented, Hoermann has produced a work that will serve as an invaluable reference for historians interested in colonial intellectual history. Nonetheless, Hoermann's narrow conception of the Enlightenment restricts the usefulness of this work to the specialist.

The strength of the book is the detail with which Hoermann describes each of the intellectual arenas in which Colden participated. Over the course of his life, Colden published several articles on medicine, a list of plants found in the Hudson Valley, and, his magnum opus, a treatise on Newtonian natural philosophy. Hoermann deftly interweaves elements of Colden's life with an examination of most of his intellectual productions, published and unpublished. Hoermann's explication of Colden's natural philosophy is particularly admirable, the more so for the unfamiliarity of its terms to many modern readers. In this work, Colden attempted to explain how gravity worked over distance and thus the underlying nature of the universe. Colden's natural philosophy treatise elicited several extended responses, primarily about its theological implications, and again Hoermann elucidates the issues at stake here clearly. Hoermann also charts Colden's connections to a wider intellectual world, for Colden corresponded with men of similar interests, like Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, Peter Collinson in London, and Carl Linnaeus in Upsala. Further, as acting governor in the 1760s and 1770s, Colden granted charters to a medical school, a hospital, and a maritime improvement society, another element in Hoermann's demonstration of Colden's commitment to the advancement of learning.

The book, however, grew out of Hoermann's 1970 dissertation and a scan of the bibliography shows the use of virtually nothing published after that year. In the ensuing period, historians of both early modern science and the Enlightenment have considerably reconceptualized both fields in ways that would have been fruitful for Hoermann to pursue. In the eighteenth century "science" did not have the institutional or disciplinary boundaries that are familiar to us. Rather, investigations of the natural world were a more diffuse collection of practices that were simultaneously part of the Republic of Letters, refined sociability, and theological inquiry. Working in an older paradigm has led Hoermann to evaluate Colden's intellectual work primarily in terms of his influence on the development of formal science. Hoermann's case is strongest when he argues that Colden's correspondence encouraged others, but weakest on the impact of his own work. Colden's medical and botanical publications were modest and his natural philosophy an intellectual dead end. What is in fact most striking about Colden is how *little* influence he had, considering his erudition and effort. Not only was his published work of minor significance but he generated no sustained culture of learning within New York itself. Similarly, no longer do historians think about the Enlightenment as primarily the thoughts of great men, but

rather as a cultural complex in which the middling sorts as well as the erudite became oriented towards "progress," with such activities yielding both commercial and social advantages. Working within the older conception has led Hoermann to take Colden's assertions of selfless humanitarianism at face value without recognizing that this was a component of a specific version of eighteenth-century masculinity, that of a gentleman entitled to social authority through the display of his reason. In his final chapter, Hoermann describes Colden's considerably vexed participation in New York politics and here, perhaps, lies a key to Colden's work. For all his erudition, Colden was politically tone deaf and strikingly unpopular in New York itself. Lacking wealth and patronage connections, his intellectual endeavors were as much an effort to make connections in the wider world that might counteract his local difficulties as they were activities in which he took private pleasure.

In short, Colden's intellectual activities had multiple origins and multiple uses. A more sophisticated discussion of the cultural context in which Colden produced his various works would have illuminated for the reader much that is fascinating about the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Hoermann has written an excellent biography of Colden's intellectual efforts themselves; the larger biography remains to be written.

*C.W. Post Campus, Long Island University* SARA STIDSTONE GRONIM

*Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America.* By SARAH J. PURCELL. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. 278p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$35.)

Sarah J. Purcell's *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America* offers an interesting and insightful discussion of the role that the memory of America's war for independence had on the emergence of national identity. The book draws on a wide array of sources, including sermons, almanacs, paintings, plays, memoirs, biographies, and published and personal accounts of celebrations, to argue that the memory of the military struggle against Great Britain provided a foundation for national unity following independence. Both the memories themselves and the ways in which they were presented, Purcell argues, evolved dramatically from the first efforts to memorialize the battle of Bunker Hill in 1775, to the celebrations surrounding Marquis de Lafayette's tour of the United States in 1825. This evolution reflected the increasingly contentious and democratic nature of American society. Thus, a uniform vision that identified the nation with the classical heroism of military leaders was gradually replaced by a contested discussion of the meaning of heroism that focused on the contributions of humble soldiers as well as more exalted leaders.



This transformation of memory, Purcell concludes, allowed groups on the margins of society, African Americans, women, and poor and middling white men, to claim for themselves a greater role in the creation of the republic, and, consequently, a greater role in preserving it.

*Sealed with Blood* reflects a growing interest among scholars of the American Revolution with the question of identity and the role of public performances in the creation of that identity as well as a longstanding interest in the democratization and liberalization of American society. Purcell's contribution to this discussion is to focus on the role of the memory of military struggle in these processes. The importance of military service in the visions of republican citizenship proposed by the political theorists who influenced American thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries makes it surprising that more attention has not been paid to this subject. In addition to expanding the range of studies of identity and democratization, Purcell's book further complicates our understanding of the implications of both of these topics. Her conclusion that the emergence of a more democratic and individualized memory of the Revolution coincided with the rise of sectionalism and the growing polarization of politics in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, for example, highlights an important and underappreciated tension within American nationalism.

The question that haunts this book, and much of the new literature on this subject, is to what extent a more democratic popular political culture in the years following independence translated into a real democratization of political power. Purcell's admission that many of the benefits of inclusion in the memory and celebration of the war were deferred for African Americans and women highlights the limits of any claim that participation in public events translated into a tangible increase in political power. Purcell is more confident, and on stronger ground, in her descriptions of the benefits of inclusion for middling and poor white men. The book, however, never satisfactorily resolves the problem that the events that drew the memories of these men, and the men themselves, into the public eye often reflected the agendas of political elites. The best evidence for the ability of the humble people of America to use their memory of the war to present a challenge to the political elite, rather than simply assert their inclusion in the national memory, comes in her discussions of Shays's Rebellion and the effort to create the new state of Franklin. These events, however, occurred before rather than after the acceptance of more democratic memories of the war for independence in popular culture. In light of recent work by Alan Taylor and Christopher Grasso highlighting the complexities of the negotiations for political power between elites and the newly empowered citizens of the United States, and the limits imposed on the latter, a more complete discussion of the relationship between inclusion in memory and power would have made a good book better.

As with any good book, *Sealed with Blood* points readers in some directions for future research. Purcell's discussion of the role of male martyrs Joseph Warren

and Richard Montgomery in the creation of national identity raises questions about the role of female martyrs such as Jane McCrea, the subject of an intense propaganda campaign during the Revolution, in that process. The role that Purcell gives to military memory also raises questions about how other manifestations of republican citizenship, or virtue, were remembered and commemorated in the new nation. For these reasons, as well as the merits of the book in its own right, *Sealed with Blood* offers a useful addition to the growing body of literature on identity and political culture in revolutionary America.

Mississippi State University

PETER C. MESSER

*Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* By JOANNE B. FREEMAN. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. xxiv, 376p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

*Affairs of Honor* explores how early American leaders developed and practiced a new national politics. It is a guidebook to how lesser and greater men such as William Maclay, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and William Plumer deployed weapons of honor and reputation to champion causes, make alliances, gain political office, defeat competitors, attract popular support, deflect calumny, and forge a prominent place in history. Joanne B. Freeman does a marvelous job of detailing the strategies and intricacies of political combat in the 1790s.

The first generation of national political leaders relied on a diverse arsenal to defend or attack reputations. Each item in the arsenal had advantages and disadvantages. Self-presentation was crucial. A respectable leader dressed and spoke appropriately, striking a balance between aristocratic gentility and republican accessibility. A politician who engaged in moderate gossip could mortally wound his opponents but his use of exaggerated or incendiary gossip could backfire, making him appear to be ungentlemanly, crude, cowardly, and weak. Early national leaders practiced the art of paper war. They used personal letters, political pamphlets, broadsides, and both anonymous and signed newspaper articles to secure their own honor at the expense of their antagonists. Dueling, although illegal, was an accepted medium for political combat. What was important was how a man posed, responded to, and negotiated challenges. Few duels actually reached the point of bloodshed. History too was a weapon of political combat. Leaders (and later, their sons) engaged in intense efforts to defend their honor in a way that would preserve and perpetuate their reputation and accomplishments for future generations.

*Affairs of Honor* is also an analysis of the historical significance of reputational politics. The culture of honor was an aristocratic holdover from the past.



In part, it persisted because it was traditional among the elite; in part, it persisted because it served a crucial function: it was a source of stability amidst disorder. How was a national politics possible at a time when the contested language of liberty, democracy, federalism, and republicanism invited elite men with claims to leadership to indulge personal ambitions, practice demagoguery, cling to local and regional loyalties, pursue ideological agendas, and claim extralegal authority to prevent allegedly foolish if not malevolent opponents from destroying the legacy of the Revolution? Freeman answers that "the code of honor" was a proving ground for the national elite and a remedy for "the barely controlled chaos of national public life" (p. xv).

The code of honor was a body of shared assumptions, rituals, and rules about how gentleman should behave. In politics, the code functioned to limit individual striving, determine appropriate ways to pursue goals, provide standards for judging the worth of other men, set the foundation for mutual trust and distrust, and, perhaps most important, offer (mostly) peaceful means for resolving both personal and political conflicts. Simultaneously, the code of honor promoted political passion but then channeled it into familiar, safe avenues of dispute. Even in a world of uncertainty and contingency, a leader was expected to be a gentleman who acted with grace, integrity, and honor. Men who neglected the code or failed to measure up to it were largely condemned to political insignificance. That is what happened to little-known William Maclay.

Two major benefits result from Freeman's focus on honor. First, she is able to upgrade the significance of relatively untapped historical sources. Works such as Maclay's diary, Jefferson's "Anas," Adams's *Boston Patriot* essays, and Burr's *Memoirs* are important precisely because they are partisan, gossipy, and anecdotal. They record the emotional history of the early republic. Second, Freeman's ground-level analysis generates some marvelous insights into the politics of the period. Her rereading of the election of 1800 reveals the extraordinarily personal nature of politics regardless of partisan battlelines. The only escape from the personal perils of what was an endless battle of reputations would be the anonymity of party warfare—which gradually enabled national leaders to be secure in their personal lives when contesting the major political issues of their times.

I would have liked to have seen Freeman explore two issues. One issue involves the culture of honor itself. Was it a relatively static holdover from English court politics that was adapted to the American context or was the culture of honor itself challenged and reconfigured in America? We know that "virtue" was a contested concept that became more privatized during this period. Did the same hold true for "honor"? The second issue concerns the fact that all of Freeman's political combatants were male. Certainly, the culture of honor was an aristocratic holdover. Was it also a manifestation of hegemonic masculinity? If so, what was its relationship to the contending (counterhegemonic) masculinities among non-elite citizens or to emerging norms of (republican) womanhood?

Although Freeman briefly addresses both issues, *Affairs of Honor* remains focused on intra-elite conflict among the men who defined the nature of national politics in the early republic.

University of Southern California

MARK E. KANN

*Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City.* By BRUCE DORSEY. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002. xi, 229p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Bruce Dorsey's *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* is an exciting and creative examination of reform activity in the early nineteenth century. Focusing on Philadelphia, Dorsey has paired the history of gender and its construction with the antebellum reform movement, asserting a premise that, "categories of both manhood and womanhood are critical for understanding antebellum reformers" (p. 3). In addition to exploring developing concepts of the masculine and the feminine, Dorsey moves his examination forward to include the arenas of race, class, and nation building in the early national period.

Dorsey's stylistic approach is quite refreshing as his work examines the ways in which reformers combated the major "problems" of the antebellum period. Focusing individual chapters upon a "vice" or dilemma of the times, Dorsey examines the problems associated with antislavery, temperance, poverty, and nativism. Dorsey states in his prologue that the newness of his project rests not "in its use of gender as a category of analysis, but in how it portrays both men and women as gendered beings" (p. 4).

Chapter one sets the stage for nineteenth-century reform as Dorsey begins his work with an analysis of a postrevolutionary America in which manhood is linked with activism in a public sphere. It becomes clear, however, that simultaneously and for the first time, women find entrance into an expanding sphere of activism, negotiating "a shared space for benevolent activity in the urban landscape" (p. 13). It was this "gender ambiguity" that allowed for a shared space among male and female reformers, permitting them to concentrate on problems such as poverty in the antebellum city.

As Philadelphia's activists were challenged with a new set of problems connected to the market revolution, their attitudes regarding poverty quickly hardened. By the 1820s middle-class Protestant reformers began to demonstrate hostility toward the poor as a result of dissatisfaction with established programs of poor relief and a new skepticism regarding the moral culpability of the new urban poor (p. 51). According to Dorsey, male reformers offered solutions to the problems of poverty with the republican ideology of hard work, independence,



and industry. The growing feminization of poverty, however, changed the face of the poor while simultaneously transforming benevolence into a feminine activity. As reformers battled the problems of poverty, they clung to intemperance as a particular problem of the poor. Chapter three examines this new attention to "moralistic and spiritualized definitions of activism" as whiskey and other types of alcohol were made inexpensive and readily available during the early republic. Dorsey explores the widespread problems of alcohol consumption, in particular among young men within the city, connecting intemperance to the creation of young men's reform societies. Many reformers saw benevolent societies as a partial solution to the temptations facing young men in the metropolis. "Benevolence allowed such men to assert their usefulness, build character through self-discipline and compassion, and find a manly expression for their piety in a feminized religious culture" (p. 109).

Chapter four, entitled "Slavery," examines the ways in which gender shaped antebellum reformers' responses to slavery. Exploring the topics of colonization, emigration, and abolition, Dorsey inserts the experiences of African Americans as central to reform. Philadelphia possessed the nation's largest and most influential black community throughout the early decades of the antebellum era. *Reforming Men and Women* demonstrates that this free African American community experienced intense competition between colonizationist and abolitionist reformers. As this chapter looks at the worlds of female abolitionists in organizations such as the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, the Ladies' Liberia School Association, and the Female Vigilant Association, the exploration of masculinity and colonization contributes a new analysis of antebellum reform work. Dorsey argues that "colonization reform assumed a masculine character from its inception and framed its solution to the slavery problem in political terms" (p. 139). Free African Americans in the North used the antislavery circle to develop and assert their own interpretations of manhood and womanhood as they protected their precarious position in American society, producing their own comprehensive gendered discourse.

The final chapter, entitled "Immigration," focuses upon the impact of gender on an emergent nativist force linked closely to antebellum politics. As nativists defined their own activism as a reform movement, they portrayed their crusade as similar to that of temperance. "Thus for nativists, Irish immigrants represented the lack of self-control that bred intemperance and embodied the dangers of corruption emerging from an alliance of immigrant politics and liquor interests" (p. 196).

*Reforming Men and Women* brilliantly demonstrates the tremendous impact of gender on social issues such as slavery, temperance, poverty, and immigration, and just how deeply it affected the lives of men and women in the antebellum city.

*Migrants against Slavery: Virginians and the Nation.* By PHILIP J. SCHWARZ. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001. xii, 250p. Illustrations, tables, appendix, notes, index. \$38.50.)

In an original and instructive book, Philip J. Schwarz argues that migrants against slavery from Virginia forced the nation to confront the contradictions of slavery and freedom coexisting. As part of the vast movement into the new territories across the Appalachians, those Virginians who consciously left the Old Dominion because they were opposed to slavery or wanted to escape from it provided the impetus for antislavery activity in the Old Northwest and the nucleus of free black communities north of the Mason-Dixon line. Schwarz uses biographies, census data on population and probate and deed records on property, letters and other records of migrants, newspaper accounts, and speeches and pamphlets to show that the process of migrating against slavery revealed the staying power of slaveholders, the tenacity of racism, and the limits of geographic mobility as a path to progress, even as such migration freed people from the immediate clutches of bondage and opened up, for the migrants and others, the ability to imagine a better day without slavery. If Schwarz goes too far in insisting that such movement helped create "the rootless American," he hits the mark in demonstrating that such migration informed and inspired antislavery protest. People did "vote" with their feet regarding slavery.

Virginia warrants close attention for any understanding of the contingency of slavery in America. Because of Virginia's primacy in the nation, and the South, its attitudes toward and commitment to slavery mattered far outside the state's borders. The Old Dominion had more slaves than any other state, at least to 1860, and it commanded respect because of its heritage of Founding Fathers, religious toleration, educational development, and economic and social ties reaching northward, southward, and westward. Its position as a border state made it a barometer, if not an instigator, of thought and practice regarding political economy, race, and the meaning(s) and extent of "freedom." That same proximity invited intrusions into Virginia by opponents of slavery and escapes from bondage by enslaved African Americans and others uncomfortable with the peculiar institution. That Virginia had become, by the nineteenth century, a state that was sending more people out than bringing them in also meant that interests, institutions, and ideas once rooted in Virginia increasingly stretched across America or found new life in other places.

Schwarz shows that migrants against slavery came in many forms. Some migrants were as much pushed out as left Virginia fully of their own accord. Advocates of African colonization persuaded, and sometimes coerced, free African Americans and newly freed slaves to settle in Liberia, where Virginians came to exercise considerable influence in government, society, and economy. Dissenting groups such as Quakers followed a path other antislavery churches



already mapped out as they relocated to Ohio and Indiana. Schwarz describes famous fugitive slaves, such as Henry "Box" Brown, who fled Virginia and became symbols of black resistance thereafter. And he points to Edward Coles, the young Jeffersonian slaveholder who could not accept the Sage of Monticello's advice to be patient regarding slavery's supposed eventual demise, as evidence that slaveholders did have choices about what to do regarding slavery and society. Honor did not demand continued slaveholding. Coles freed "his people," settled them on their own land in Illinois, and worked to keep slavery from creeping into free territory. These stories are already known in their particulars, but not until now have they been so neatly stitched together as in Schwarz's book to limn patterns and even habits of protesting against slavery by leaving it.

To illustrate the variegated nature, and consequences, of migrating against slavery, Schwarz tracks the lives of four sets of migrants and their families from Virginia to the Old Northwest. In doing so, he discovers how circumstance, color, and conditions affected the character and compass of "freedom" for different people involved, black and white. Movement out of Virginia did not always mean movement up the economic or social ladder. Such was the case of the Newby family, which included Dangerfield Newby, later a recruit of John Brown who died at the Harpers Ferry raid. The Newbys' story in Ohio was as ill-fated as the son's death, for poverty and restrictions on interracial marriage kept the family from buying the freedom of others and securing legal protection for themselves. The story of the resettlement of the former slaves of Samuel Gist, freed by Gist's will provided they remove from Virginia, is a tale of continued entanglement, for the will bound the former Gist slaves to particular plots in Ohio and hobbled their ability to make their own way in Ohio. The Gilliams took a different route to freedom, first in Pennsylvania and then in Illinois. The African American Gilliams had owned land and slaves in Virginia before departing for safer ground following the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831. The family prospered and, over time, also shed its black identity. By the twentieth century, the Gilliams were passing as white, only to have that lineage discovered in oral histories for Schwarz's book. This is the stuff of Faulkner. For white slaveholder George Boxley, leaving Virginia was an act of self-preservation and emancipation. He fled to Ohio after his part in a slave rebellion was revealed in 1816, later moved to Indiana, and became an abolitionist. For Boxley, as for other white Virginians such as Edward Coles, leaving Virginia led to organized efforts in their new homes to stand against slavery not only where it already was entrenched but, perhaps more importantly (though Schwarz does not much develop this aspect of the impact of Virginians outside the Old Dominion), also in the Old Northwest territories and states where many other Virginians, not opposed to slavery, had settled.

Migrating from slavery in Virginia affected bondage in the Old Dominion in contradictory ways. As Schwarz suggests, the act of migration immediately called

into question Virginia's character and future prospects, for out-migration was a de facto declaration that the commonwealth no longer promised profit or freedom. To be sure, Virginians had always been a westering people, but the decamping of a younger generation because it found the political economy uninviting or slavery obnoxious indicted all that was left behind. It occasioned debate about slavery and Virginia's future, including a proposal in 1831 for gradual abolition statewide. In the end, the interest of slavery in the Old Dominion overrode sentiment for antislavery. And, indeed, the migration outward of opponents of slavery made less possible an organized effort against slavery within the state. By the 1830s antislavery voices were muted or gone away. Acts of rebellion and resistance by slaves reminded Virginians of the contradiction of slavery and freedom, and the John Brown raid, with Dangerfield Newby in its advance, foretold Brown's prophecy that the land would only be purged with blood. Schwarz speculates on what might have been had the migrants against slavery won the arguments on slavery's pernicious effects on morality, economy, and society, but such wonderings do not obscure his conclusion that, for all its hesitance about secession, Virginia cast its lot with slavery and the Confederacy. And the war came.

*Saint Joseph's University*

RANDALL M. MILLER

*Tramps, Unfit Mothers, and Neglected Children: Negotiating the Family in Late Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia.* By SHERRI BRODER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. 259p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Sherri Broder has written a model study of social welfare policies and what she describes as "the negotiation of late nineteenth-century working-class family life" in Philadelphia (p. 8). The word "negotiation" is important because Broder focuses on the divergent perspectives of a variety of groups, and she pays careful attention to matters of gender, class, ethnicity, and race. The result is a commendably nuanced book. It spurns simple interpretations while demonstrating the crucial role that cultural narratives—about families, poverty, and gender—have played in shaping understandings of social problems and responses to them. Broder's extensive research in primary and secondary materials is also laudable.

In the first of five well-organized, readable chapters, "Political Culture and the Urban Poor in the Late Nineteenth Century," Broder argues that anxieties about the working-class family motivated labor leaders, elite charity workers, and child savers alike. These groups "drew on shared images of tramps, fallen women and deserted wives, and neglected and overworked children" (pp. 11–12). Shared



concerns and images did not result, however, in a policy consensus. While labor leaders blamed the emerging corporate capitalism for harming working-class families, middle- and upper-class reformers tended to blame poverty and neglect on the lifestyles of the "dangerous classes," as child saver Charles Loring Brace labeled them.

Broder shows how the different social perspectives and experiences of labor organizers, working-class families, and charity reformers encouraged contrasting positions on critical social issues. Were, for example, tramps "married vagabonds or involuntarily idle men?" Did working women endanger or help the family? Were waifs agents of destruction or could they, as innocent victims, possibly redeem society? Were child laborers primarily the pawns of delinquent parents or exploitative employers? Ultimately, of course, questions arose about the role of state intervention in family lives.

Broder carefully analyzes how shifting and conflicting cultural narratives about such subjects as tramps, unfit mothers, and abusive spouses and parents influenced debates about child welfare. She avoids one-dimensional explanations, emphasizing that "working-class people were both producers and consumers of cultural narratives about the working poor" (p. 91). Although champions of both the dominant Victorian culture and the laboring class thus frequently extolled the respectable family, they nevertheless interpreted issues such as "wayward" children or sexuality differently.

In excellent chapters on the "Cruelty"—the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty (SPCC)—Broder explores the complex interweaving of class and ideology that shaped a controversial child-saving institution. She rejects a social control interpretation that would largely demonize the SPCC as intervening roughshod in the lives of poor families and paints a more complicated and persuasive picture. Through shrewd use of SPCC records, she demonstrates that, in notable ways, poor families used the SPCC as a valuable ally in instances of family abuse or need. Yet Broder does not lose sight of power relationships: the SPCC, which benefited from a privileged social and legal standing, was an organization with substantial influence over poor families' lives. In this context, family "intervention was a calculated risk; it opened possibilities but also occurred in the context of inequality—both within individual families and between reformers and clients" (p. 123).

Broder's rendering of some of the era's responses to illegitimacy and child care is also balanced and perceptive. Her discussion of Philadelphia's Haven for Unwed Mothers illustrates how a well-meaning institution could teeter between uplift and detention, and how the hopes of clients and reformers could often mesh yet go awry. Similarly, she shows how the boarding of infants (or "baby farming," in the words of the day) was a knotty issue, particularly as an emerging group of medical professionals used it to address, not only concerns about working-class child-rearing practices, but also fears regarding middle-class women,

declining childbirth, abortion, and females in college.

Ultimately, Broder is instructive about current debates and policies regarding welfare reform. As she concludes, "the debate over welfare reform in the 1990s"—just like that of a century earlier—"exemplifies the power of cultural representations and their meanings to frame public perceptions of complex social issues" (p. 202). Now, as then, issues of structural economic inequality typically receive inadequate attention. Moreover, Broder warns, it is imperative to listen "to poor men, women, and children as they define their needs" (p. 202). But, as her fine book suggests implicitly, efforts to define needs and forge policies quickly encounter tangled, complicated webs of social relationships and conflicting interests. And individual agency, always important, eventually collides with powerful economic realities and conflicted social narratives. For the poor, the struggle over cultural representations has historically been an unequal contest.

Washington State University

LEROY ASHBY

*Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia.* By BRUNO GIBERTI. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2002. xii, 304p. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.)

Since the surge of interest in Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition accompanying the nation's bicentennial anniversary in the mid-1970s, there have been few critical studies of this international fair and its place in the nation's cultural history. Giberti reintroduces the Centennial as a lesson in seeing and knowing by examining its system of classification for exhibits, the division and arrangement of architectural space in relationship to this system, and techniques of displaying material goods within these spaces.

The central problem that Giberti's study addresses is the conflict between the Enlightenment ideal of a comprehensive and systematic installation intended to communicate visually the structured world of commodities, and the failure of material goods to conform to this ideal in practical terms. Relying heavily on Michel Foucault's theories of epistemic change, Giberti identifies the inevitable shift from this Enlightenment structure of knowledge and vision to more modern methods of perception characterized by distracted and cursory visual consumption, what Norman Bryson has referred to as the "glance." In his six chapters, Giberti traces the intricacies of the necessary reconception of the Centennial's organizational system to conform to the needs of an increasingly evolving modern public, and the influence that the Centennial's new system had over Philadelphia's emerging culture of commodity display.

Beginning his study with a survey of the classification issues arising from several major international exhibition precedents, Giberti places the Centennial in a



broad historical context of exhibition design. Just as Centennial organizers exploited the successes and learned from the failures of past exhibitions when devising their own classification system, they also looked to these precedents for architectural solutions, realizing that the space of the exhibition buildings affects how objects are installed, encountered, and consequently, understood. In his chapter on the architecture of the exhibition, Giberti's training as an architectural historian shines through in his lively descriptions of building interiors and his particularly fascinating discussion of the intrigues of the design competitions, which is rich with details integrated into a captivating narrative. Giberti carries his compelling architectural discussion into the following chapter on the installation in the Main Building, the totalizing structure which Centennial organizers originally expected would contain the encyclopedic arrangement of material goods. Intended to offer long vistas from which visitors could, in theory, detect the structured order of commodities from a single viewpoint, the organization of the Main Building was inevitably compromised by visitor interest in a visually appealing display rather than a meaningful taxonomic arrangement. Giberti follows with a detailed examination of individual exhibits and their various strategies of display, and locates a similar shift between the traditional all-encompassing overview translated in the isolation of objects artfully arranged within a vitrine, and the innovative subjective experience of objects within a contextual environment. With his vivid descriptions of the exhibits, paired with an abundance of period photographs, Giberti offers a clear sense of what the visitor's experience of the Centennial must have been like.

Giberti departs from his focus on the Centennial as a powerfully visual experience in his discussion of the American system of awards. It is less apparent how this chapter bolsters his greater argument, aside from standing as an example of the flaws in the Centennial's system of classification that made judging problematic or even ineffective. Regardless of its arguable complement to the book, Giberti offers a brow-raising account of the scandal involving the Fine Arts judging as an example of the system's failure. Under the American system, judges issued written reports of an exhibit's outstanding features rather than the traditional graduated medals. The Fine Arts judges rejected this system entirely, maintaining that the qualities of art could not be outlined in a report as could those of commodities. This resistance to the award system left many art objects unevaluated, and necessitated a second judging phase in an attempt to restore equality to the system. Giberti resumes his discussion of the visual nature of the Centennial in his concluding chapter, in which he explains the effect its modes of display and viewing had on the development of a permanent exhibition in Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, and John Wanamaker's department store. By locating the Centennial within a network of visually oriented institutions, Giberti effectively describes the implications of the Centennial for the evolving modern consumer culture.

The 1876 Centennial Exhibition is a rich resource for cultural history that remains largely untapped. Although Giberti's analysis is limited for the most part to the structure and organization of the Centennial, his comprehensive descriptions of many other aspects of the exhibition are wonderful introductions to the subject, opening doors for future Centennial scholarship in a variety of fields.

*University of Pennsylvania*

SUSANNA W. GOLD

*Carnegie*. By PETER KRASS. (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley and Sons, 2002. xi, 612p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

This new biography joins a crowded shelf of works about Andrew Carnegie and his work, foremost among them the magisterial study by Joseph Frazier Wall (1970). To them it adds some fresh detail and new slants on different aspects of Carnegie's career, along with some sharpened judgments about the irrepressible Scot. Enhanced by a brisk, lively style that moves the narrative along, the book provides a portrait of Carnegie that is familiar yet enriched by details that reveal new depths and insight into this complex figure.

Carnegie has long tantalized biographers as an appealing yet elusive subject with a bundle of contradictions so blatant as to defy comprehension. Larger than life, always hungry for the limelight, self-righteous, opinionated, impulsive yet calculating, as generous as he was oblivious to his own inconsistencies, he strode the stage of American life as dominantly as any public figure of his age. He forged the templates for both the American iron and steel industry and philanthropy on a giant scale. After selling out to J. P. Morgan and retiring from business in 1901, Carnegie made a separate career out of giving away his fortune, as did John D. Rockefeller. Together they institutionalized philanthropy as thoroughly as they did the giant enterprises they built.

Most students of Carnegie have singled out the contradictions in his character, but few emphasize them as strongly as Krass does. Carnegie was, declares Krass, "imbued with qualities one despised and adored" (p. 92). He managed to be at once a ruthless businessman and a social philosopher dedicated to improving the human condition. He despised the privileged, monied class yet became one of them. Born into poverty induced by his father's fall from craftsman to unemployed scrounger for work, he ignored the harsh lives imposed on his own workers by low wages and wretched living conditions even as he built libraries to improve their minds and spirits. "We'd rather they hadn't cut our wages and let us spend the money for ourselves," grumbled some steelworkers. "What use has a man who works twelve hours a day for a library, anyway" (p. 251). Carnegie went so far as to bifurcate his own life, spending half the year in Pittsburgh and the other half in his Scottish castle rubbing elbows with the intellectual glitterati



of Great Britain.

Although unabashedly sympathetic to the workers, who included his own great-grandfather, Krass praises and condemns Carnegie with an even hand. "Before me," he admits, "arose a titan I both disdain and respect" (p. xi), one he sees as too often driven by the twin devils of vanity and paranoia. Above all, Krass views Carnegie as a man shaped by his vast capacity for self-delusion—a quality that brought out his many virtues and often deformed them into fatal flaws. Carnegie wrote uplifting essays on the relations between capital and labor while pursuing entirely opposite policies in dealing with his own men. Even to those close to him he could be as cruel and indifferent on one occasion as he could be generous and sympathetic on another. His earnest but quixotic pursuit of world peace revealed all these qualities in full measure.

At his death in 1919, Carnegie left behind a towering legacy. He had made the United States the world leader in the production of iron and steel, the core sector of an industrial economy. In 1900 his firm, which became the heart of Morgan's giant United States Steel, produced 30 percent of the nation's steel as well as half of its structural steel and armor plate. During his second career he gave away more than \$350 million. His enduring legacy includes the Carnegie Institute, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Carnegie Corporation (which supports libraries), and the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission, along with two major trusts in his native Scotland. It also includes the infamous Homestead strike of 1892 that blackened his reputation as no other event did. During that bloody melee, Carnegie was comfortably ensconced in his Scottish castle, leaving Henry Clay Frick to handle it. Today, as Krass notes, all the Carnegie mills except one are gone, and that one stands in a bleak town. But the fortune that the mills built lives on in countless useful forms.

*University of Rhode Island*

MAURY KLEIN

*A History of Philosophy in America, 1720–2000.* By BRUCE KUKLICK. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. xiii, 326p. Notes, index. \$30.)

American intellectual historians rarely take the history of systematic or professional philosophy as their province. Literary and political figures, as well as social scientists, draw far more interest than philosophers. It is a widely held and deeply mistaken belief that America has produced few philosophers worthy of historical attention. Teachers and students of American philosophy should be pleased, therefore, that Bruce Kuklick has produced a new textbook devoted to this significant but neglected area of study. *A History of Philosophy in America* is an invaluable introduction to the subject and, like all of Kuklick's books, it is full of fresh insights and forceful arguments that should inspire research.

After three decades of increasingly expansive work in this area, Kuklick is uniquely qualified to write this book. He is the author of a groundbreaking intellectual biography of the Harvard philosopher Josiah Royce, published in 1972. His history of Harvard philosophy between 1860 and 1930, *The Rise of American Philosophy* (1977), helped establish the period as a vigorous area of research and made clear to historians just how important idealism and Immanuel Kant were to American pragmatism. In *Churchmen and Philosophers* (1985), Kuklick removed his focus from Harvard, concentrating instead on the role of New England Congregational Calvinism in a complex tradition of speculative philosophy that extended from Jonathan Edwards to John Dewey. *A History of Philosophy in America* draws extensively on these earlier works and, like them, displays an unmatched attention to detail and to lesser-known but influential figures. Yet Kuklick's textbook is much more than a recapitulation of his earlier writings. It is his most ambitious effort in terms of scope and it demonstrates considerable rethinking of earlier research.

Kuklick remains deeply interested in the relationship of theology and religion to secular philosophy. Indeed, the primary theme of his textbook is "the long circuitous march from a religious to a secular vision of the universe" (xii). In his view, Protestant individualism translated into philosophical activity peculiarly devoid of serious engagement with political and social issues; according to Kuklick, this tendency has remained (with some important exceptions) a distinctive feature of American philosophy. Other historians will no doubt disagree with much of what Kuklick says about this and other issues, but the forceful nature of his arguments makes this an unusually compelling textbook that should invite vigorous classroom debate.

*A History of Philosophy in America* is not intended to serve as an encyclopedic reference source but instead to function as an introduction to basic themes in the historical development of American philosophy. Kuklick divides the book into three sections. The first five chapters cover a long sweep of speculative philosophy from Edwards to the Transcendentalists and the St. Louis Hegelians. Chapters six through ten provide a thorough analysis of the "Age of Pragmatism." The last four chapters outline the history of professional philosophy from 1912 to 2000. This set of divisions makes the book ideal for courses in American intellectual history that are organized around similar chronological markers.

It is the last section of Kuklick's book that should ultimately prove most valuable to intellectual historians. This is the first textbook on American philosophy to cover comprehensively the last two-thirds of the twentieth century. Intellectual historians have been slow to integrate the major philosophers of these decades into the main lines of their teaching and research, in part because so much of this era's philosophy was formidably technical and often devoid of meaning to a wider public. Kuklick explains the central developments of the



period in a thoroughly comprehensible manner and situates them within the longer history of American philosophy. Readers will learn very much from his discussions of such twentieth-century giants as Wilfrid Sellars, Nelson Goodman, and W. V. Quine.

One of Kuklick's virtues is that he pays careful attention to the networks and institutions within which philosophers worked. For instance, his chapter on the twentieth-century Harvard-Oxford connection provides an extremely useful description of the institutional framework within which some of the most significant philosophy of the century emerged. *A History of Philosophy in America* does not provide enormously detailed discussion of the larger political and social contexts of philosophical activity. But Kuklick makes certain always to give us a sense of what these contexts were. It is the task of monographs in intellectual history to follow his leads and flesh out the connections between philosophy and political, social, and cultural developments.

Harvard University

ANTHONY W. SMITH

*On the Backroad to Heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren.* By DONALD B. KRAYBILL and CARL F. BOWMAN. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. xvi, 330p. Illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

*The Amish in the American Imagination.* By DAVID WEAVER-ZERCHER. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. xv, 280p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

*On the Backroad to Heaven* presents an accurate and very informative comparative picture of four Old Order groups in North America descended from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European Anabaptists. The term "Old Order" points to their traditionalist, conservative theological and cultural stance. These groups forged their specific identities as a protest against modernization and the spirit of progress in late-nineteenth-century North America. Each group speaks a German-related dialect (except the Brethren who speak only English), practices strict church discipline, wears distinctive clothing uniform to its group, avoids higher education, owns only horse-drawn transportation (except the Brethren who drive cars), and selectively uses modern technology. Except for the Hutterites centered on the United States and Canadian prairies, the groups have their largest populations in Pennsylvania and Ohio. The Amish and Hutterites have been the subjects of considerable scholarship—the Old Order Mennonites and Brethren less so.

The authors, sociologists by training, define the Old Order worldview as cen-

tered on communally discerned moral authority (p. 15). A series of fourteen propositions by the authors (p. 19) crystallize the Old Order worldview. Some of the theological affirmations missing from this list are supplied in chapter six, which describes the common commitments of all four groups: *Ordnung* (in English, rules of behavior), *Gelassenheit* (in English, yieldedness), nonresistance, and nonconformity (p. 179).

The authors skillfully plot the four groups on a grid with axes of social separation from the wider society and social control of the individual Old Order person (p. 215). The Hutterites hold up the "tight" end, the Brethren the "loose" end, and the Amish and Mennonites fall in between. Yet the authors constantly emphasize that broad generalizations need intense scrutiny. Although resistant to change for the sake of personal freedom, these groups have renegotiated rules of behavior and social boundaries in response to various factors, especially the impact of economic forces of modernization. They are not fossilized.

One creative interpretive idea in this book focuses on "Practicing the Habits of Tradition" (pp. 243–47). Habits are unconscious dispositions to act in certain ways based on prior experiences. Old Orders especially honor the patterns of the past, and they may or may not provide a discursive answer when compelled to explain their behavior. As the authors aptly state, "Tradition's residence is at the intersection of habit and deliberate action" (p. 247).

These four groups all have their origins in the Anabaptism of Switzerland, Alsatian France, and southern Germany. The other major stream of Anabaptism, from the Netherlands, Belgium, and northern Germany, also has what could be understood as Old Order representatives in North America. A future fruitful study could include them.

*The Amish and the American Imagination* is a detailed and thoughtful study describing the cultural and religious milieu of representations of the Amish in twentieth-century North America. The author assures readers that it is not a portrait of the Amish, nor primarily an analysis of the historical interaction of Amish and non-Amish. Using evidence primarily from popular culture, the author exhibits a keen sense of historical context. Everything from Broadway musicals to tourist trinkets becomes interpretive fodder. Chapter one (1900–1915) on Pennsylvania German culture and the Pennsylvania German Society origins provides very helpful insights into the contexts and confusions of how insiders and outsiders understood Pennsylvania German culture—which did and does include persons from various denominations (Amish included) with German-speaking ancestors.

As the author recounts, people described and portrayed the Amish in a paradoxical manner, in order to "mark boundaries, express fears, support causes, and make a profit" (p. 5). Simultaneously attracted by the simple agricultural lifestyle of the Amish and either repelled by or ignorant of their strict church discipline and rejection of formal education, a host of interpreters fall under the author's



analytical gaze. Are the Amish pathetic country bumpkins or homespun saints? Are they true Christians of the saving remnant or theological sadists of fallenness? Images of imagined Amish life accumulate throughout the book, as the author lays out the projections of mass culture upon the Amish and lists them at the end (pp. 195–96).

Two events marked a significant increase in national attention given to the Amish. In 1937 a conflict occurred in East Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, over schooling. The one-room schoolhouse, up to that time attended by both Amish and non-Amish rural children, faced extinction in the wake of consolidating school districts. This represented a clear threat to the Amish ability to pass on their religious and cultural identity to their children. They refused to attend the consolidated schools. Within less than two years this event spawned twenty-three articles in the *New York Times*. In 1955 a Broadway musical called *Plain and Fancy* became a resounding success by featuring interplay between “city slickers” and earnest Amish.

Chapters four and five examine the complex Mennonite responses since 1950 to the rise of the Amish to national (if not international) consciousness. In 1962 and 1973 two novels critical of the Amish were published by Herald Press, the Mennonite publishing house in Pennsylvania. Much controversy ensued. The movie *Witness* in 1985 occasioned an equally fractious debate among Lancaster Countians, especially among some Mennonites who strongly disagreed with each other in public and private about interpreting the Amish. This reviewer sensed that chapter five contained too many author’s qualifications and finely detailed points of interpretation; one may conclude that the controversies of the 1980s are too close to 2001 to afford the needed scholarly perspective.

As a part of the ongoing Center Books in Anabaptist Studies at Johns Hopkins University Press, these fine volumes help disseminate scholarly studies to an international audience ready to learn about religious and cultural identity among Anabaptist groups.

*Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society*

DAVID REMPEL SMUCKER

## CALL FOR PAPERS

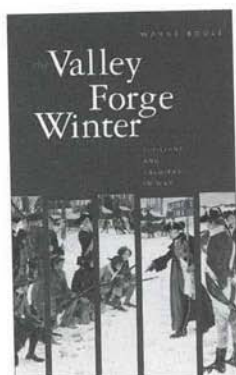
In observation of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition, **THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA** invites presentations for its Fall 2003 Symposium focusing on "Pennsylvania and the Americas."

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 Carribean, 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). Symposium 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](mailto:kwilson@hsp.org). Please respond by August 4, 2003.





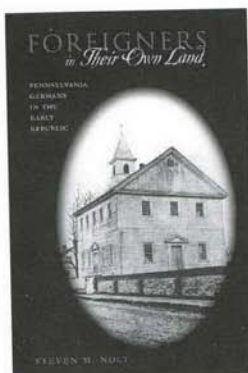
**THE VALLEY FORGE  
WINTER**  
CIVILIANS AND SOLDIERS  
IN WAR  
Wayne Bodle

"One of the best in-depth studies of an army in action that I have seen. Bodle expertly integrates all of the important aspects of war—supply, logistics, battle, interaction with civilians and with civil authorities—and is especially strong on the details of army organization and life in the camp as well as on guerrilla warfare. This is an extremely fine book, one that will appeal not only to scholars but also to anyone interested in the Revolutionary War."

—William Pencak,

Penn State University

352 pages • 1 map • \$35.00 cloth



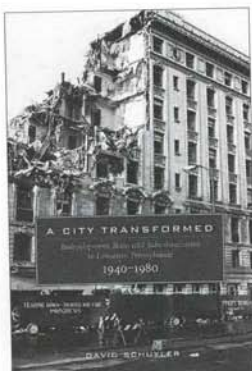
**FOREIGNERS IN THEIR  
OWN LAND**  
PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS  
IN THE EARLY AMERICAN  
REPUBLIC  
Steven M. Nolt

"Nolt provides the first truly comprehensive study of the largest non-English-speaking white ethnic group in the early United States. He is the first to trace developments among the German Lutherans and Reformed from the 1780s to the 1850s, and he has explored many little-known unpublished and published materials by largely forgotten writers."

—Mark Häberlein,

University of Freiburg, Germany

248 pages • 14 illustrations/5 maps  
\$29.95 cloth • Pennsylvania German  
History and Culture Series



**A CITY TRANSFORMED**  
REDEVELOPMENT, RACE,  
AND SUBURBANIZATION  
IN LANCASTER,  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1940-1980  
David Schuyler

"In *A City Transformed* David Schuyler offers a body of new information on the effects of urban redevelopment on a small city. The Lancaster story is important in that it mirrors the frustrated efforts of so many other cities faced with the debilitating effects of economic decline. In the end we see how such cities fumbled the ball, sacrificing so much and getting so little in return."

—Christopher Silver,

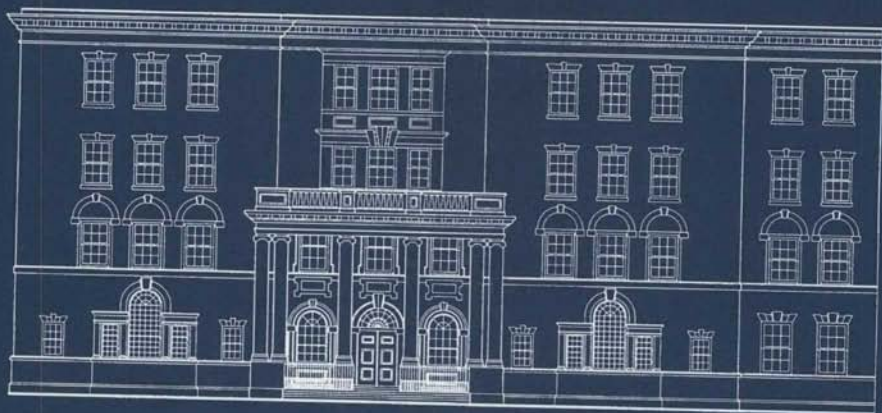
University of Illinois

288 pages • 45 illustrations • \$19.95 paper

penn state press

820 N. University Drive, USB 1, Suite C • University ark, PA 16802 • fax 1-877-PSU-BOOK • [www.psupress.org](http://www.psupress.org)

AVAILABLE IN BOOKSTORES, OR ORDERTOLL FREE 1-800-326-9180



The Historical  
Society of  
Pennsylvania

---

1300 Locust Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107-5699  
Phone: 215-732-6200 • Fax: 215-732-2680  
Website: [www.hsp.org](http://www.hsp.org)