

BOOK REVIEWS

Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth. Edited by RANDALL M. MILLER and WILLIAM PENCAK. (University Park and Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State University Press and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2002. xxxi, 654p. Illustrations, tables, appendix, notes on contributors, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$29.95.)

Randall M. Miller and William Pencak have brought forth a new approach to the study of Pennsylvania history and life. In this anthology of sixteen chapters by seventeen authors, the modern reader may study the history of the commonwealth and explore some of the methods of discovering the state's past. Seven chapters in Part I emphasize the history of Pennsylvania. Nine chapters in Part II explore other disciplines and their methods of comprehending Pennsylvania's past. Chapters on art, architecture, folklore, photography, and oral history provide interesting and systematic ways to discover Pennsylvania's history. Scholars in geography, archaeology, genealogy, and literature point the reader in the direction of learning Pennsylvania history from their perspectives. The reader in search of the commonwealth's history may dig into one of these methodological chapters, read its recommended sources, and arrive at a fuller understanding of "Ways to Pennsylvania's Past." Editors Randall M. Miller, Saint Joseph's University, and William Pencak, Pennsylvania State University, are also contributors to the text's chapters. Pencak wrote "The Promise of Revolution: 1750-1800," and he and Miller coauthored chapter 14, "Art."

Miller and Pencak bring together an excellent group of scholars who, relying on new historical scholarship of the colony and state, enlighten us with a fresh approach to Pennsylvania's past. The work updates Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, *A History of Pennsylvania* (1973). Miller and Pencak bring to this text their accumulated knowledge, new insights, and fresh scholarship. The book modernizes the study of Pennsylvania history and shifts the interpretive emphasis away from Klein's and Hoogenboom's political and economic version of the past. With thirty years of historical scholarship available since Klein's and Hoogenboom's work, this book provides an opportunity to present new discoveries. The editors maintain the emphasis on Pennsylvania throughout, but they show the interplay between state and national issues, local and larger themes, and reveal the direction of causation. Pennsylvania influenced national developments. National trends obviously shaped Pennsylvania's economic, social, and political development and this is appropriately presented in *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*.

The volume begins with a consideration of Native peoples, the first Pennsylvanians. This positive approach is accentuated by continued attention throughout the text to African Americans, other minorities, women, and immigrants. Daniel K. Richter has written a model chapter, "The First Pennsylvanians," to begin *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*. His approach to Native Americans is sensitive, scholarly, and realistic.

The treatment of slavery, abolitionism, and racism in Pennsylvania, however, requires some comment. Susan Klepp makes only passing reference to the Pennsylvania Gradual Abolition Act of 1780, the provisions of which cause some confusion. There were approximately six thousand black slaves in Pennsylvania at the end of the colonial era and only a few hundred free black men and women. The revolutionary period brought substantial change. Klepp writes, "An African American cultural tradition, developing underground in the colonial period, emerged after 1780 with the end of slavery" (p. 75, reviewer's emphasis). William Pencak explains the importance of the work of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society: it "became the nation's most energetic antislavery organization" (p.140). Pencak goes on to say, "In 1780 Pennsylvania became the first state to begin the gradual abolition of slavery." He writes that "the law stipulated that only those slaves who thereafter attained the age of twenty-eight would become free, and those who previously had reached that age would remain enslaved" (p. 140). In reality, children born of slave mothers before March 1, 1780 remained slaves for life; those born after March 1, 1780 became free at age twenty-eight. To show change in the numbers of slaves and free black people, Pencak says, "by 1800 all but 55 of Philadelphia's more than 6,500 blacks were free" (p. 140). It would have been more appropriate to show the decline in the number of slaves and increase in the number of free blacks statewide rather than cite only Philadelphia statistics. In 1800 there were 602,362 people in Pennsylvania of whom 1,706 were slaves. There were still slaves in Pennsylvania for many years. Clearly cheap immigrant labor, slave owners' manumissions, and the 1780 Gradual Abolition Act account for the decline in slavery. Also, many Pennsylvanians sold their slaves to owners in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, or owners moved south after 1780, taking their slave property with them.

The interpretation of the great debate about the United States Constitution in 1787 reveals the qualities of this book. Pencak discusses Antifederalists in "The Promise of Revolution, 1750-1800." He rightly identifies Pennsylvania Republicans of the revolutionary period as people who later became Federalists during the ratification debates. Pennsylvania Constitutionalists supported their 1776 state constitution and became Antifederalists, opposing ratification of the 1787 United States Constitution. Constitutionalists favored local government and states' rights. Pennsylvania Republicans James Wilson, Robert Morris, and others, helped create the United States Constitution and opposed the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. Pennsylvania Federalists and Antifederalists

symbolized two sets of social, economic, and political values that soon emerged in the United States. Pencak's discussion of antifederalism helps illustrate major differences between Miller/Pencak and Klein/Hoogenboom. One finds interpretive summaries of vast amounts of data over lengthy time periods in Miller/Pencak. Details on Pennsylvania's political and economic life fill the pages of Klein/Hoogenboom. In Pencak's discussion of antifederalism there is no mention of Pennsylvania's Anti-Federalist leaders John Smilie, George Bryan, Robert Whitehill, or William Findley. Antifederalism is developed more fully in Klein's and Hoogenboom's book, which discusses the leaders and explains the internal shift in Pennsylvania politics from the Constitution of 1776 to that of 1790. Pencak gives this important subject an overall interpretation. For details, the reader will need to consult Owen Ireland, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics: Ratifying the Constitution in Pennsylvania* (1995); Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790* (1942); or John B. Frantz and William Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* (1998). For more data on the revolutionary transition, changes in constitutions at the commonwealth and national levels, and antifederalism, readers may want to consult John M. Coleman, Robert G. Crist, and Phillip E. Stebbins, eds., *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution* (1987) and Robert G. Crist, ed., *Pennsylvania and the Bill of Rights* (1990). Engaging in this inquiry process is precisely the way the editors envisioned readers using this book.

In an interesting approach to tension and violence in Pennsylvania, the editors treat the Civil War and management's war on labor after 1865 in the same chapter. Conflict plagued Pennsylvanians from 1850 to 1900 and the two subjects are closely linked. Walter Licht justifies this thematic development in "Civil Wars: 1850-1900," on the basis that "Before 1876, sectional tensions, slavery, southern secession, civil war, emancipation, and the restoration of the Union transfixed Americans" (p. 205). After the Civil War and Reconstruction, the industrial revolution and "the concomitant tensions between capital and labor dominated attention and concerns" (p. 205). The Civil War is squeezed into the chapter that examines the industrial revolution and the capitalist-labor violence that erupted in its wake. The editors are to be applauded for their willingness to take this new approach in Pennsylvania scholarship. There are those who will insist on a separate chapter about the Civil War, given Pennsylvania's contributions of manpower, leadership, industrial might, and defense of its borders at Chambersburg and Gettysburg. The Civil War is allotted fifteen pages of interpretation whereas the industrial revolution is discussed in thirty-six pages. In the guide to further readings there are eight suggested readings about the Civil War and twenty-eight sources on labor, business, strikes, and industrialists (pp. 255-56). The debate on this matter will be lively. And that is probably what the editors want.

Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth has many merits. It "reveals the complex relationship between state history and national history" (p. ix). The work draws "on the many new methodologies and materials of the 'new history' of the day" (p. xvii). This history embraces and focuses on "the people" of Pennsylvania from the Native Americans, to the colonists and modern citizens. This is an honest rendition of Pennsylvania's history; it compels the reader to "grapple with realities of dreams deferred or denied and fortunes lost or never realized" (p. xviii). It is a realistic portrayal of the state's past. The creators of this new history of Pennsylvania, Penn State Press, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and the authors and editors, have successfully achieved their goals. This fresh, interpretive history is highly recommended for its attention paid to the people of Pennsylvania and the process of historical inquiry and methodology. The book compels reassessment of one's understanding of Pennsylvania history.

The Pennsylvania State University
Fayette Campus

ROGER C. HENDERSON

First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory. By GARY B. NASH. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. 383p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95.)

Gary B. Nash's *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* is neither a typical straightforward history of Philadelphia nor a book on historical memory firmly in the trend of recent historiography on that topic. But *First City* is an important, thought-provoking, and insightful work that any reader who is particularly interested in Philadelphia or the story of its history-making institutions will need to reckon with immediately. Nash has produced a work that may be hard to categorize, but which is also subtly sophisticated.

Nash sets out "to explore how institutional elites, often challenged by Philadelphians far beneath them in social station, tried to cultivate historical memory" (p. 11). Nash traces, in nine chapters and a substantive introduction, how Philadelphians over roughly four hundred years have used institutions of historical memory, especially museums and historical societies, to define an image of the city, to enhance their social power, and to create aspects of their own identities.

Nash makes no attempt to cover every development in Philadelphia's history. He organizes each chapter loosely around a theme that helps the reader keep track of the tremendous chronological sweep. Early chapters illuminate how the public memories of William Penn's city helped to enhance the cultural identity

of Philadelphians, how the city's growth as a commercial port affected this development, and how the American Revolution provided the definitive set of symbols of a (sometimes fictional) stable past that elite Philadelphians used to consolidate their role in society. Later chapters trace the more contested nature of public memory in Philadelphia during the early republic, the age of antebellum reform movements, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and during and after the nation's centennial.

Throughout the book, Nash adopts a mostly narrative style, and his ideas about how the city's elite historical organizations used memory intentionally and unintentionally to ensure ruling-class dominance emerge in a restrained manner that persuade the reader without ever sounding shrill or overbearing. In the most successful chapter, which focuses on the 1876 Centennial Exposition, Nash looks very carefully, for example, at how The Historical Society of Pennsylvania simultaneously professionalized and followed its long-term project of enhancing the glory of the heroic founders of Pennsylvania. Nash also shows how rival groups, including immigrants and African Americans, added their own commemorative and historical voices to the mix in order to show how "subaltern parts of Philadelphia's diverse population" could make their voices heard (p. 291). Readers of this journal will learn a great deal about how the Historical Society, and indeed *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, helped to maintain the public image of Philadelphia as the city of Penn, Franklin, and other elite "founding fathers" and not the city of Thomas Paine and James Forten.

Almost miraculously, however, Nash shies away from painting the elites in his book as villains. He is far more interested in letting the reader draw her own conclusions about how public memory has played into the dynamics of social and political power than in passing judgment on the past.

Nash's book is not completely flawless. He intersperses each chapter with illustrations of artifacts, artworks, engravings, newspaper clippings, and photographs accompanied by insightful captions, but these images seem to stand strangely apart from the text at times, and better integration with the text would only enhance his insights about the importance of material culture. Nash curiously neglects the National Park Service in most of his narrative, and, particularly when discussing the twentieth-century fate of Independence Hall, the omission seems odd and serves to weaken some of his points. Most importantly, even though Nash will effectively reach a wide audience with this book, his argument about how history making enhances social power would have been strengthened by more discussion of theories about the interaction of ideology, history, memory, and commemoration.

Despite a few wrong or missing notes, Nash's book stands as a beautiful performance. Gary Nash's *First City* is one of those books that I plan to keep on my shelf to consult frequently. Its many insights into important evidence about

the making of the past in Philadelphia need time to sink in, and I think readers will find the book tremendously useful in a way few other heavy tomes ever are. Nash's book and its tantalizing glimpses of the memory-making process in Philadelphia are hard to forget in their own right.

Grinnell College

SARAH J. PURCELL

Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America. By ANDREW R. MURPHY. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. xxii, 337p. Notes, bibliography, index. \$45.)

The title of this book is misleading. Using the English Civil War and Revolution, and the early histories of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania as the "loci of toleration during the seventeenth century," the author promises to explore the emergence and development of religious toleration as a philosophical and practical phenomenon (pp. ix, x). A reader will wait in vain for an analysis of the problems of "conscience and community" in those distinct "loci of toleration." Instead, Murphy offers "a work of historically informed political theory," in which historical research is replaced by sketchy "visits" to the Puritan society of the Massachusetts Bay in the 1630s and 1660s, then to English society from the Civil War to the Glorious Revolution, and eventually to colonial Pennsylvania from the first Quaker settlement to the "Keithian controversy."

As a result of such an approach, more than one-third of the book is devoted to a polemic against twentieth-century political scientists and a detailed analysis of the contemporary liberal theories of John Rawls and Bruce Ackerman. In this analysis historical material from "the loci of toleration" of the seventeenth century emerges, first, in small portions after page 30, and then, by page 209, completely disappears. Murphy argues that his contemporary opponents, liberal theorists, "not only overlooked and devalued nonliberal arguments for toleration," but also "misunderstood and misconstrued the actual historical development of the arguments upon which they themselves rely." His main conclusion is that "Locke and other Protestant tolerationists (e.g. Roger Williams, William Walwyn, William Penn) had far more in common with the Renaissance humanist defenders of toleration . . . even perhaps with Thomas Hobbes or Pierre Bayle, than they do with Rawls and Ackerman" (pp. xvi-xvii).

To strengthen his argument, Murphy tries to analyze (mostly secondary) literature on Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and other religious dissenters (including the Quakers) in the settlements of Massachusetts Bay and contrasts the situation in New England with the development of religious freedom during the English Civil War. But instead of a study of real communities in their rela-

tion to issues of toleration, he gives us "sketchy" descriptions of theological debates without any connections to the life of members of those communities.

Moreover, in his discussion of the English Revolution Murphy misses the important role of the Dutch in the formation of English ideas about religious freedom and toleration. In his description of Cromwell's Protectorate he mentions the role of Holland (pp. 115-16, 157) but does not elaborate this idea further. Many radical Dutch dissenters, such as the Mennonite Peter Plockhoy, not only contributed to a culture of religious toleration in England in 1658, but became pioneers of religious freedom in colonial America, where Plockhoy established a colony based on principles of toleration and social justice as early as 1662.

Only forty pages of the book are devoted to issues of religious freedom in colonial Pennsylvania. The author concentrates his attention on the Keithian controversy, which he considers a "locus of debate over toleration and liberty of conscience." And again he substitutes a survey of literature on George Keith's conflict with the Public Friends for an analysis of the community of Friends in Pennsylvania. He misses the works of Barry Levy and Alan W. Tully, which deal with problems of community and conscience in colonial Pennsylvania.

Overall, Murphy ignores important issues for the development of religious toleration as problems of the Radical Reformation. In the history of Pennsylvania and other middle colonies, the Mennonites, Quakers, and other radical sects represented this kind of Reformation. They followed the main principles which included the separation of churches from the national or territorial state; the doctrine of the "imitatio Christi"; the doctrine of the inwardly disciplined but externally free "apostolic" church with prophetic, or inspired, vocation; and the ecumenical solidarity of all Christians. The most remarkable feature of the radical religious dissenters was their open, publicly expressed ecumenical position and readiness for dialogue with other religious groups of colonial America.

Moreover, the necessary coexistence of various religious groups in individual colonial communities was conducive to religious toleration. As Bruce Daniels noted in his book *The Connecticut Town* (1979), such coexistence injected the colonial "social structure with a pluralism that destroyed the old Puritan ideal of one corporate people uniform in belief. It also changed the function of the church society from that of a unit of government embracing a specific territory to that of a church parish with governmental functions embracing members not always resident in that territory. Finally, the growth of dissenting societies contributed to the separation of church and state, since it made the church society a less reliable and less easily controlled political unit" (p. 104). Such a historical analysis of the real colonial community helps us to understand relations between community and conscience better than Andrew Murphy's book of "historically informed political theory."

Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott. Edited by BEVERLY WILSON PALMER. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. xlix, 580p. Notes, appendix, index. \$55.)

This volume represents a signal advance in the quality and quantity of scholarship on Lucretia Coffin Mott (1793–1880). Often cited for her work in antebellum reform—especially antislavery and woman’s rights—Mott, as revealed by her correspondence, emerges as a key organizer within dense networks of activists, particularly in the Philadelphia area, and an important figure in liberal religious trends, both before and after the Civil War.

The volume opens with a well-informed and tightly written biographical introduction. Thereafter follows about one-quarter of the extant correspondence penned by Mott, which Palmer has organized into four sections, roughly based on the stages of Mott’s familial life: 1813–1840, 1840–1856, 1857–1868, and 1868–1879. In each of the four sections, a brief prologue sets forth the major historical and familial parameters of the period. These short interventions are complemented by excellent annotations. Palmer’s expert editorial work extends from simple clarification to explication of both text and context. Her meticulous and elegantly written notes thus effectively transform the correspondence into a biography in letters.

Mott’s letters themselves are rendered with scrupulous faithfulness to the original manuscripts, with resulting strengths and weaknesses for the volume. Palmer’s emphasis on verisimilitude provides obvious benefits to scholars requiring precision and accuracy; at the same time, such exactness unfortunately often renders the letters less accessible to the general reader who must intuit the paragraph breaks and punctuation that Mott omitted, perhaps in her efforts to save precious time, space, and money given constrained supplies of writing paper and per-sheet postage rates. Mott’s tendency to omit periods from the conclusion of sentences or thought fragments is particularly irritating, too often making the work of reading more strenuous and less enjoyable than most general readers would tolerate.

Yet for those with patience, the reward is bountiful. Palmer has positioned her work as a much-needed scholarly intervention, respectfully building upon, yet moving beyond Dana Green’s *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons* (1980) and Margaret Hope Bacon’s *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (1980; reissued 1990). Palmer’s Mott is not the sweet-tempered Quaker grandmother too often purveyed to young readers. Instead, Lucretia Coffin Mott emerges from these letters as a spirited reformer who never loses her radical inclinations or her willingness to argue. She is a hard-nosed, principled, but hardly prissy figure. The early letters reveal a courageous, and perhaps headstrong, young woman willing to challenge orthodox Quaker leaders in order to pursue antislavery reforms. In later correspondence, despite speaking of her dis-

taste for partisan squabbles, Mott forcefully articulates distinctive positions on subjects including nonviolence, woman's rights, and African American equality. Moreover, while much of the correspondence is addressed to members of her extended family, Mott hardly appears as a domesticated figure. She embraces a gendered role as matriarch but uses her correspondence to far-flung relatives to promulgate her political views. Her family letters slide easily from the news of birth and death of kin into reports on the politically charged conversations at the tea table or the polemics of the platform. In letters clearly written for circulation among this dense kin network, Mott demonstrates the strength of her ties while writing with the bite and wit of a seasoned campaigner.

For all the volume of correspondence Palmer has included, the silences that echo from these letters are also intriguing. There are no letters to connect Mott with the Rhode Island Quakers so important in national politics for their anti-slavery efforts. Nor, despite the education of younger members of Mott's set at the Weld-Grimké antebellum establishment at Eagleswood, do these reformers appear in her network of postwar correspondents. Does Mott's extensive and complex set of correspondents still, in some critical ways, reveal her provinciality? Scholars will want to explore the possible implications of such limits, especially in the context of questions about the realignments of reformers in the wake of the Civil War.

That the volume suggests such further inquiries underscores its importance as a major scholarly achievement. The serious student of nineteenth-century reform movements, including immediatism, woman's rights, Native American rights, Quakerism, and religious liberalism, will cherish this book. Palmer has established Mott as a reformer of significant proportions whose lifetime achievements should accord her a place not only alongside Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony (as she is portrayed in the Adelaide Johnson sculpture recently returned to the United States Capitol Rotunda), but also on the reading lists of scholars exploring the trajectories of nineteenth-century American reform.

Oberlin College

CAROL LASSER

Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic.

By STEVEN M. NOLT. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. x, 238p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This book was published by the Penn State Press as the second in its Pennsylvania German History and Culture series and as the 2001 publication of the Pennsylvania German Society, which has issued volumes annually for well over a century. It is an analysis of the process through which the Pennsylvania

Germans became Americanized. Nolt explains that the Pennsylvania Germans were the first large non-English-speaking white ethnic group to have this experience, and, as such, were similar to others who came later. In immigration history, his approach has been called the "salad bowl" theory, according to which the immigrants' departures from their homelands changed them but did not cause them to adopt the dominant culture of the nations to which they went. According to Nolt, in contrast to the desire of English-speaking Americans for a homogeneous society, Pennsylvania Germans envisioned a pluralistic nation in which they could maintain their distinctive culture.

Nolt sets limits to his study. He concentrates on the vast majority of Pennsylvania Germans who were of Lutheran and Reformed background, not the small minority of "plain people," such as Mennonites and Amish, about whom he has written previously. He points out that most Pennsylvania Germans arrived during the 1700s and differed from those who arrived later, whom he excludes. He confines his discussion to the years between 1790 and 1850, a period in which ethnicity has received insufficient attention.

After an informative description of "American identity in the Early Republic" (p. 20), Nolt moves on to discuss the Pennsylvania Germans' "peasant republicanism" that he claims they derived from "southwestern German pietism" (p. 31). He defines this republicanism as one that regarded "true liberty in negative terms—that is freedom from intrusive agents of change" (p. 31). Distant authorities were not to interfere with local traditional activities. As "peasant subjects" (p. 31) they normally were obedient to respected authorities. Nolt believes that the Revolution, however, caused some Pennsylvania Germans to discard their pattern of deference to higher powers. (That may have happened earlier, as Pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenburg and Gottlieb Mittelberger noted.) Now, as American citizens, they began to resent the centralizing tendencies of the government and society as they sought to maintain their "traditional ideas of local liberty" (p. 35). The Pennsylvania Germans' reactions to Fries's Rebellion in 1798, the War of 1812, and the public school law of 1834 revealed clearly their ideas of American freedom.

Despite the importance of politics, Nolt emphasizes that for most Pennsylvania Germans, "religion and religious institutions were the chief means of mediating and propagating culture" (p. 4). It is in this realm especially that Nolt attempts to contrast the English speakers' vision of America to that of the Pennsylvania Germans. Consistent with his account of their politics, he emphasizes their resistance to control from outside their communities in order to maintain their ethnic distinctiveness. Most of his examples are valid, including Reformed opposition to the establishment by the clerically dominated synod of a theological seminary, their "Free Synod," and Lutherans' preference for an ethnic union with the Reformed rather than a proposed union of "all orthodox Protestant churches" in America (p. 119).

Meanwhile, English-speaking Protestant "evangelicals" envisioned Christianizing the nation through revivalistic religion and government-supported social reforms. Nolt contends that "Pennsylvania Germans were less keen [than others] to embrace new forms of American evangelical religion" (p. 48), which was true in the early 1820s in heavily German Berks County, as he claims. Nevertheless, as time passed, they may have been more willing than Nolt admits. If he had extended his research into later periods and to other areas, he would have found widespread support in both German churches for revivalism. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the German Reformed periodical *The Weekly Messenger* contained numerous reports of revivals and associated activities from various areas settled by Pennsylvania Germans. All of the church's administrative bodies expressed approval of revivalism. As early as 1828, the Philadelphia congregation invited the noted revivalist Charles G. Finney to become its pastor. Similar developments occurred in the Lutheran Church. Simultaneously, Methodist, United Brethren, and Evangelical Association evangelists converted to their denominations significant numbers of "church people." Nolt might better have distinguished between the Lutheran and Reformed people who lived in heavily German counties, such as Berks, Lancaster, Lehigh, and Northampton, where resistance to "new measures" was strong, and those who lived in the more pluralistic anglicized areas where "evangelical Protestantism" was prominent. Eventually, however, the Pennsylvania German "church people" rejected the "new measures" that the "evangelical" Protestants had popularized, as well as their concept of a uniform society. Some realized through reading or hearing about John W. Nevin's influential book *The Anxious Bench* (1843) (that Nolt ignores), that they wanted to maintain the different type of church life that they had developed in America.

Several of Nolt's less important assertions also need to be reconsidered. Whether the German Reformed were Calvinists is questionable (see pp. 14 and 41). The Falkner Swamp Church is the oldest but was not the "first German Reformed congregation in America" (p. 15). The statement that the Pennsylvania Germans had a "relatively low rate of mobility" (p. 14) applies only to some groups. Others moved to western Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, and Canada. The Buffalo Valley, scene of John Dietrich Aurand's preaching, is in central, not "northeastern Pennsylvania" (p. 53). Methodist evangelism among the German-speaking settlers did not begin in the 1830s, as Nolt and some Methodist historians claim, but shortly after Francis Asbury arrived in the late 1700s. These reservations do not undermine Nolt's important study but merely modify a few passages that could be misunderstood.

The book's scholarly paraphernalia are excellent. The fifty-one pages of citations are to both familiar and little-known materials, often accompanied by explanations. The bibliography also is extensive, including published and unpub-

lished primary sources and secondary works, though standard monographs by Frederic Klees and William T. Parsons are missing. Well-chosen maps, drawings, and photographs are helpful.

The Pennsylvania State University

JOHN B. FRANTZ

Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the Early United States. By JOHN LAURITZ LARSON. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. xv, 324p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55; paper, \$19.95.)

Internal Improvement is less a survey of the transportation revolution than it is an analysis of public policy and ideology in an age of rapid transformation, and it is an engaging and provocative work. Shifting his focus back and forth between the federal and state governments from the 1780s to the Civil War, John Lauritz Larson touches on familiar controversies, triumphs, and failures: the push toward a national plan of improvements embodied in Albert Gallatin's report and the setback of James Madison's veto of the Bonus bill; the success of the Erie Canal and the often disastrous canal projects that followed in the wake of New York's bold gamble; the congressional battles sparked by clashes between proponents of the "American System" and Jacksonian advocates of laissez-faire policies; and the rapid development of a railroad network in the late antebellum period. Although he pays close attention to technology and capital, Larson's real subject is the policy debates that both shaped and reflected the profound transformations of American society. Through those debates, Larson charts the failure of a republican vision of public works for the common good and the rise of a liberal culture that accepted, even celebrated, private interests as the engines of development.

Tensions within republicanism itself doomed the Founding Father's dreams of creating a comprehensive national transportation system. Eager to foster commercial growth and to bind the fledgling nation together, statesmen like Washington actively promoted road and canal construction to augment the natural blessings of America's extensive river system. But the "monied gentry" could balance their dreams of "harmony and Union, liberty and improvement" only in the realm of abstractions. When "policies touched the lives of people" and "projects physically altered the ground," consensus collapsed (p. 23). Any attempt at creating a design for national improvement triggered intense competition over routes couched, of course, in platitudes about the public good and charges that competing parties were mired in self-interest. Above all, a persistent strain of "neo-Antifederalism" steeped in republican suspicions of the corrupting force of consolidated power undermined the optimism that lay at the heart of republican visions of internal improvements. Andrew Jackson, an authoritarian in demo-

cratic clothing in Larson's eyes, cynically fostered those suspicions; by the end of his presidency, "negative fantasies of consolidation, corruption, and antidemocratic manipulation" had fatally tainted all federally sponsored internal improvement programs (p. 5).

Republican doubts about the exercise of power did not dampen popular demands for the improvements that would give an expanding population access to the commercial market. States took up the gauntlet dropped by the federal government in the 1820s and 1830s, eager to emulate the astounding success of New York's Erie Canal. But popular enthusiasm proved to be a burden as states like Pennsylvania and Indiana began their ambitious canal and railroad projects. An increasingly contentious democratic political culture emboldened regional interests in most states to demand access to transportation routes, burdening internal improvement designs with unnecessary routes and governments with ever increasing debt. The panic of 1837 and the subsequent depression brought those projects to a halt and shattered public confidence in state-directed transportation improvements, opening the door to a new wave of private investment in railroad development. Pioneering ventures like the Boston & Worcester and the Baltimore & Ohio railroads worked out techniques of organizing capital and solving engineering problems in the 1830s and "set precedents for governing a railroad in behalf of private interest narrowly conceived that would not likely have evolved under public control" (p. 229). Within two decades, private capitalists were vying for the rights to build a transcontinental railway.

In the epilogue Larson briefly looks beyond the Civil War and asks how a man like Jay Gould—financier, railroad entrepreneur, and embodiment of all the unscrupulous excesses of the age of the "robber barons"—could succeed in creating an integrated system of national transportation when George Washington and other republican statesmen had failed to impose their grand designs of internal improvements. That question strikes to the heart of Larson's convincing argument. Americans enthusiastic about the opportunities of the market revolution clamored for transportation improvements but old republican fears of consolidated power and suspicions of governmental corruption undermined any plan that might have imposed order or design on the system. Federal and state governments retreated from public works projects and the republican notion of common good, paving the way for the ascendance of private capital and corporations as America entered the railroad age. Given free rein in a political culture of laissez-faire liberalism, capitalists like Gould bound the nation together with railways, consolidating their power in ways never dreamed of by the most ardent advocates of the "American System."

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

DANIEL S. DUPRE

From Sugar Camps to Star Barns: Rural Life and Landscape in a Western Pennsylvania Community. By SALLY McMURRY. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. xvii, 182 p. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$50; paper, \$24.95.)

Sally McMurry's latest book is a fascinating blend of the social and economic history of a rural southwestern Pennsylvania community with an analysis of changing patterns in vernacular architecture and landscape. This study grew out of a narrative report for a prize-winning architectural survey of Somerset County, which McMurry has refashioned into a handsomely illustrated book. Not only does *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns* represent a highly successful collaboration between academia and a local history organization, it also continues and enhances McMurry's stature as one of the leading interpreters of American rural history.

McMurry divides the history of rural Somerset County into three periods, which form the chapters of the book: "A Forest People, 1780–1820"; "A Farming Country, 1820–1880"; and "An Industrial Order, 1880–1940." For each period, she begins by recounting significant social and economic developments, particularly as they shaped agricultural production, gender relations, and the nature of community life. This discussion is informed by her research into local sources as well as a synthesis of the best scholarship on rural and agricultural history more generally. After that, she turns to the information compiled by the architectural survey and shows how that material culture both reflects and sheds new light on those historical patterns.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Somerset County was a newly settled frontier society in the process of changing from a woodlands economy, hence the sugar camps of the title, to a regime of mixed farming characterized by grain and garden crops. Unlike the cities on the eastern seaboard or agricultural communities in the more fertile and affluent farming valleys of the region, society was not marked by great social distances between rich and poor. Instead, Somerset County residents were more middling, and mutual economic dependence and a broad and inclusive sociability bound neighbors together. Those values were manifested physically in the absence of visible markers of social status; even the wealthier residents lived in log houses rather than stone ones. Likewise, fencing in the county did not symbolize the separation of its citizens so much as their continued commitment to the use of "common" lands by the community at large as they protected field crops while allowing livestock to roam free and forage for food.

The rise of a market economy during the middle decades of the nineteenth century engendered a wide range of social and cultural transformations. In addition to changes in agricultural production, the development of small factories in the countryside added new pressures for a cash economy that undermined older

patterns of exchange. Social behavior became more calculating as well, leading to the disappearance of social drinking and other aspects of public communal life. Still, McMurry argues, rural inhabitants picked and chose the aspects of the new order that they wanted to adopt while maintaining more traditional practices such as log construction and the production and use of homespun instead of manufactured cloth. Yet, as a result of the rise of new forms of capitalism, the landscape became more varied and architecture increasingly reflected a new embrace of gentility through the creation of parlor rooms and the overlay of weatherboard and decorative elements on older log homes. As an architectural embodiment of this dynamic blend of change and continuity, McMurry analyzes the proliferation of porches, which served both the newer needs for privacy and personal space while still allowing for older practices of public sociability when they were desired.

The last period that McMurry covers, from 1880 to 1940, witnessed the emergence of coal mining as the leading economic activity in the region as well as the commercialization of dairy production and the centralization of creameries. These changes led to a more gendered division of labor as women's traditional tasks of churning the butter moved off of the farm and became industrialized. Such changes also played out on the land as the rate of deforestation accelerated and new buildings such as company towns, Grange halls, and Catholic and Orthodox churches dotted the countryside. New balloon frame houses also reflected the changed social order and "betokened an architecture of industrialization that expressed the values of standardization, class differentiation, consumerism, and orientation toward the national rather than the local" (p. 144). Even the star barns, perhaps the most visible symbol of rural life in modern Somerset County, owed their existence to the new prosperity stimulated by an industrial economy. Still, as in earlier periods, rural inhabitants engaged in these new patterns of belief and behavior selectively, in accordance with their preferences and priorities.

To scholars of American social and rural history, the broad contours of McMurry's narrative of the transformations caused by the rise of a market economy and the florescence of capitalism will seem familiar. For more general readers, though, her study serves as an accessible entrée to current scholarship. The signal contribution of this book, however, lies in its integration of that history with a close reading of local architecture, land use patterns, and material culture replete with wonderful illustrations. That potent combination makes *From Sugar Camps to Star Barns* a feast for the eye as well as the mind.

Harvey Mudd College and
The Claremont Graduate University

HAL S. BARRON

The Birth of the Grand Old Party. Edited by ROBERT F. ENGS and RANDALL M. MILLER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. x, 202p. Illustrations, notes, notes on contributors, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$46.50; paper, \$18.95.)

This collection of six essays by leading political historians of the Civil War era gives recognition to the revolution in American life wrought by the early Republican Party. It offers an opportunity to review and assess the findings of a generation of scholarship by assembling in one place articles that summarize recent conclusions about key issues pertaining to the early years of the Republican Party. The result is a useful portrait, familiar to experts in the field but enlightening to those who have only followed writings on these issues from a distance.

The collection appropriately begins with an essay by the chief authority on the ideology of the early Republicans, Eric Foner. His contribution recapitulates his well-known interpretation of the free-soil basis of early Republican belief and then focuses on the revolution in southern life brought about by the Emancipation Proclamation. This revolution, he argues, was the result of a transformation in the thinking of Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans, in which they redefined and extended the ideology they had brought to the war. Following the war, Foner concludes, Republicans, in their struggle with Andrew Johnson over the meaning of Reconstruction, developed a new definition of citizenship, one which held civil equality to be a necessary component of freedom. This growth in Republican conviction and commitment altered and expanded permanently the American commitment to liberty.

Michael Holt recounts the "New Political History's" interpretation of the origins of the Republican Party. His goal is to remind us that the party was constantly faced with threats to its existence from a series of anti-Republican parties and movements. What led to the Republican success, Holt insists, was not what the party was for, but rather what it was against. What eventually allowed Republicans to become the dominant anti-Democratic party was their focus on the dangers posed by the southern "Slave Power" to white northern liberties. The party maintained its dominance by constantly developing and changing to meet each new electoral challenge it faced. Holt places great emphasis on the tactics evolved by the Republicans to deny votes to those who sought to oppose the Democrats by organizing around John J. Crittenden and John Bell prior to the election of 1860. Republicans, Holt contends, would continue this process of relentlessly reinventing themselves to achieve political success throughout the war years.

Phillip Shaw Paludin de-emphasizes the role of President Lincoln in the development of wartime Republican policies and instead highlights the part played by congressional Republicans in masterminding the economic, political, and institutional transformation the nation experienced in the war years. The war, argues

Paludin, offered the Republicans a perfect opportunity to enact their agenda, since the Republican plan for economic development matched the economic needs of the military conflict. Over time, the success of this agenda transformed the Republican Party into the party of big business and the nation into a new industrial power with an enlarged authority resting in the hands of the government. "The Robber Barons," writes Paludin, "threatened to eclipse the Railsplitter" (p. 66).

Mark Neely's essay asks the now familiar question, how did Republican radicalism triumph during the course of the conflict and transform a war for union into a war for freedom? His answer challenges the long-held assumptions first put forward by George Fredrickson that the war led to the triumph in American society of authoritarianism over individualism. Claiming that Protestant patriotism has been misinterpreted, Neely, in what is surely the most original contribution to the volume, examines religious resolutions and petitions sent to President Lincoln and concludes that emancipation received overwhelming support. Loyalty to the nation, concludes Neely, did not indicate a devotion to conservatism or authoritarianism, nor did it reveal an abandonment of traditional American libertarian political values. There never was a contradiction between a war for union and a war for freedom.

While Foner and Neely focus on the Republicans' commitment to freedom, Jean Baker emphasizes the limitations of that commitment. She reviews the accomplishments of the Republicans' liberal revolution and details the now familiar story of the establishment of civil rights for African Americans during the years of congressional Reconstruction. However, she also reminds readers that women were excluded from the Republican revolution, despite the protests of many women who hoped to benefit from the extension of liberty and gain the vote that was being given to black males.

In the last essay of the volume, Brooks Simpson examines the Republican attempt to develop a political identity in the postwar years of congressional Reconstruction. He recounts the Republican struggle with an increasingly complex set of diverse issues, including questions of foreign policy, dilemmas revolving around the defense of southern black civil rights, controversies involving governmental reform, and problems of industrial growth. In the end, Simpson concludes, Republicans returned time and again to the "bloody shirt" as the tried and true formula for political consensus and electoral success. For Simpson, the Republican postwar revolution was limited to a familiar, repeating refrain.

Interspersed in the volume is a general summary of Republican Civil War era history by the editors. That, along with numerous contemporary sketches and cartoons, and the broad overviews presented by so many of the contributors, makes this volume an excellent candidate for use in advanced undergraduate courses on the Civil War.

Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg! By GEORGE C. RABLE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv, 671p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

The Fredericksburg Campaign: Winter War on the Rappahannock. By FRANCIS AUGUSTÍN O'REILLY. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003. xv, 630p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

The Fredericksburg campaign and battle have been perhaps the most neglected major campaign and battle of the American Civil War. In terms of numbers of troops present, this battle was the largest of the entire war. Yet until 2002 it had been the subject of only three book-length monographs. Francis Palfrey, a former Union officer, produced the first effort in 1882, titled *The Antietam and Fredericksburg*. Palfrey's work provided an adequate overview of the battle, but it was by no means an exhaustive study. Neither was the second effort, published seventy-five years later, *The Fredericksburg Campaign*, by Edward J. Stackpole. Stackpole's work was fuller than Palfrey's, but it was meant to be an easily read narrative and its scholarship was less than the campaign and battle deserved. Four years after Stackpole's study, Vorin E. Whan published *Fiasco at Fredericksburg*. Though the best of the three books, it is a slim volume and does not attempt the depth of study this important campaign deserves.

Perhaps the dearth of writing on Fredericksburg reflected a feeling that there really was not much of interest to say about this campaign. The battle of Fredericksburg, after all, was one of the most lop-sided victories by the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia over the Union Army of the Potomac of the war. Over twelve thousand Union soldiers became casualties in one day to just over fifty-three hundred Confederate soldiers. The Union commander, Ambrose Burnside, was maligned as an ignorant incompetent, who mindlessly ordered repeated suicidal attacks upon impregnable Confederate positions because he was utterly incapable of conceiving any other course of action. Fredericksburg was indeed a slaughter, and one that shook Northern morale and confidence in the war effort to its core.

But it is precisely this latter point, as well as the experience of the battle, that makes the campaign worthy of an in-depth study. Why did Union soldiers make repeated attacks against a position that seemed hopeless to carry? What went wrong with the Army of the Potomac on the banks of the Rappahannock River that led to its defeat? Should Burnside bear the entire burden of blame, or should it be distributed? What were the consequences of this defeat, North and South? How did Lincoln react to this blow to his war effort? These are interesting and important questions, yet for decades they remained largely unexplored. Happily, thanks to George Rable and Francis O'Reilly, this oversight has at last been corrected.

Rable may well set a new standard for a campaign study in his volume. Those

looking for a detailed tactical study of the campaign and battle are sure to be disappointed. He covers the battle in sufficient detail, and he writes with great skill, but his goal is clearly to provide a more complete picture of this campaign and battle beyond the military operations of the two armies. Political as well as military considerations drove both armies but particularly the Army of the Potomac. Army operations frequently had a devastating impact on civilians caught in their path. Fredericksburg's citizens were no exception. Nearly all became refugees for a time and many were utterly ruined by the battle. Battles like Fredericksburg impacted the home front hard. This aspect of the war has too often been neglected in traditional campaign and battle studies that focus only on the conditions at the front. One of Rable's most powerful chapters is titled "Carnage." It examines not only how the combat soldiers dealt with the horrid carnage of the battle, but moves beyond the battlefield to relate how the folks at home confronted the death of so many young men and struggled to find meaning in this dreadful war. Rable has produced an outstanding book, and a highly original one, which is no mean achievement in these days when Civil War books are produced in such abundance.

O'Reilly's *Fredericksburg Campaign* is a more traditional campaign and battle narrative, but this does not mean that it is somehow a lesser book than Rable's. The two actually compliment one another nicely. O'Reilly's main purpose is to tell the story of the battle and of the thousands of men caught up in this dramatic, terrible event. He succeeds admirably. For those seeking the battle detail lacking in Rable's book, O'Reilly's will fill the bill.

The Confederate army clearly fought well at Fredericksburg, achieving one of its most decisive victories of the war. But the Union effort is remarkable in light of the waffling morale of the Union army and the formidable nature of the Confederate position, particularly at Mayre's Heights, where the most hopeless attacks took place. Despite these obstacles the Union troops evidenced great courage in making the doomed effort to storm the Confederate position. Neither O'Reilly nor Rable overlook this fact, although O'Reilly points out that often Union leadership at army, corps, and division levels did match their men's courage. It is one of history's ironies that "Pickett's Charge" at Gettysburg is celebrated as an example of American courage, while the Union assaults at Fredericksburg, which were no less courageous, are not. O'Reilly's graphic description of what Burnside's soldiers did and endured will help begin to correct this omission.

Both authors also provide a more balanced assessment of Ambrose Burnside. He emerges as a soldier who tried to do his duty to the best of his ability, but who never enjoyed the full support of his subordinates or of the administration. Both writers point out that he was not a great general by any stretch, but neither was he the imbecile he is often made out to be.

As Rable points out in his concluding chapter, the military significance of

Fredericksburg "loomed enormous at the time but has since been overshadowed by engagements such as Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and the Wilderness" (p. 432). Yet Fredericksburg was one of the crucial events of the war. In some respects it was an emotional Valley Forge for the Army of the Potomac. Morale plunged to perhaps its greatest depths of the war. The battle was a stinging defeat for that army, but it triumphed in the mental battle that followed, when the majority of its officers and men did not abandon their cause despite their depression over the course and conduct of the war.

Both of these books are superbly researched and well written. Reading them is time well spent.

Gettysburg, Pa.

D. SCOTT HARTWIG

Plain Women: Gender and Ritual in the Old Order River Brethren. By MARGARET C. REYNOLDS. Edited by SIMON J. BRONNER (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. xii, 192p. Notes, bibliography, list of people interviewed, index. \$19.95.)

Ethnographic studies of the plain people have abounded in the last two decades. Most have focused on the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites. Relatively little attention has been paid to the Old Order River Brethren (OORB). This omission is somewhat understandable, given the OORB's small size—fewer than four hundred members, divided into three sub-groups: Buggy, Horst, and United. With roots in both sixteenth-century Anabaptism and the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German awakening, however, the OORB are a unique plain group, worthy of study. Reynolds attempts to fill this niche, as well as rectify what she sees as a dearth of scholarly work on plain women in general.

Chapter 1 surveys the historical, religious, and social foundations of the OORB. Based largely on secondary sources, it plows little new ground. Certainly more recent and detailed treatments of Anabaptism than H. S. Bender's 1944 essay "The Anabaptist Vision" or Roland Bainton's *The Age of the Reformation* (1956) could have been consulted. Nor does she cite the standard treatments of Pietism by Dale Brown and Ernest Stoeffler. Reynolds tumbles together what sources she does use without careful attention to historical development. The results are several inaccuracies and anachronisms. For example: OORB origins date to about 1780, not 1770; the OORB did not emerge out of the United Brethren—both were part of the Pennsylvania German awakening, and River Brethren organization (ca. 1780) predated United Brethren (1800); the Horst OORB, not the United Group, expect their women to wear shawls and bonnets.

In the three remaining chapters, Reynolds moves into the ethnographic present

to examine the significance of plain dress for OORB women, their foodways, and the breadmaking ritual of the OORB love feast. Reynolds's purpose is "to hypothesize the cultural significance of gender roles and rituals and to show that they are more central to the maintenance of plain society" (p. 13) than current scholarship has acknowledged. She bases her conclusions on interviews with twenty-eight OORB women and her findings as participant-observer at several love feasts.

In chapter 2, Reynolds describes OORB women's dress patterns and the significance of the cap as a symbol of female submission and modesty. She does this well, allowing her interviewees to speak at length about their rationales for dressing plain. However, she is mistaken in her assumption that dress is the "only readily observable sign of separation from the world in the OORB group" (pp. 61, 62). This misconception is a common one among outsiders. While dress is an important delineator for OORB, as it is for all plain groups, it is not the only one. Nonconformity is also expressed in media, recreational, occupational, friendship, and marital choices. All these choices help to define the OORB community and keep it separate from the world.

In chapter 3, case studies of three women who market their cookery occupy two-thirds of Reynolds's discussion of OORB foodways. Since only eight out of forty-five women engage in this type of activity, this work might be over-emphasized. Still, her finding that a high degree of contact between women entrepreneurs and outsiders compromises OORB "ethnic identity" and "imperils religious values" (p. 136) is insightful. Otherwise, Reynolds looks hard for evidence of Pennsylvania German foodways. It is there, but modern health considerations have often supplanted traditional food choices. What have not changed are OORB women's roles as preparers and servers of food. Reynolds is correct in saying "the wellbeing of their families dominates OORB women's behavior" (p. 106). More questionable is her suggestion that "in accepting food from the mother, OORB families also 'ingest' her mores, values, and worldview" (p. 106). While familial environment is important in forming the worldview of children, and while women have a major share in creating that environment, ultimately the acceptance of OORB values is a matter of individual choice. Children can and do sit down at their mother's table for many years before personally appropriating her values by joining the church. Some never do so, but they still eat their mother's food.

Chapter 4 focuses on the breadmaking ritual, a uniquely OORB practice, in which the communion bread is prepared as part of the cycle of love feast events. Reynolds's description choreographs the ritual in great detail, and through comments of interviewees she brings out its symbolic significance—participation in Christ's death and the unity of the church. Reynolds also sees the ritual as endowing the women "with great ritual potency" as enforcers of "traditional values in a time of increasing outside effects" (pp. 142, 164). Perhaps so, but her

case seems overstated. A more important source of empowerment is the experience meeting. As a weekly ritual, this vocalization of conversion experiences is also much more important in sustaining the OORB community than the occasional communion breadmaking. Do men and women's conversion accounts differ? How are they the same? Do they empower in different or similar ways? A presentation of representative scripts of conversion stories might have answered these questions. Instead, the only description of the testimony meeting comes from an extended quotation of an earlier scholar's study of the OORB.

In the end, despite a number of keen insights, I am left with a sense that Reynolds's paradigms have overwhelmed her subject.

Shippensburg, Pa.

EDSEL BURDGE JR.

Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania. By KENNETH C. WOLENSKY, NICOLE H. WOLENSKY, and ROBERT P. WOLENSKY. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. xi, 275p. Illustrations, tables, appendix, notes, index. Cloth, \$45; paper, \$19.95.)

For many, the garment industry is synonymous with New York City, site of the Triangle Shirt Waist factory fire and birthplace of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). This perception, however, is distorted. New York was an important apparel manufacturing center, but not the only one. In fact, the ILGWU was constantly concerned about "run away" clothing factories: operations that relocated to cheaper labor markets. The ILGWU responded with organizing drives, and eastern Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley became a principle battlefield. This story is the subject of an excellent new study, *Fighting for the Union Label: The Women's Garment Industry and the ILGWU in Pennsylvania*.

Much of this book concentrates on a husband and wife team the ILGWU sent into the valley, Bill and Min Matheson. Bill Matheson was a Canadian labor intellectual, while Min was from Chicago. Min's father, Max Lurye, was a socialist organizer for the Chicago Cigar Makers' Union. In 1944 union president David Dubinsky assigned Min and Bill Matheson to the valley to organize the run aways that had been established there.

Min was appalled by what she found. Despite eastern Pennsylvania's strong tradition of unionism, conditions in the valley's garment industry amounted to industrial slavery. Clothing manufacturers, many of which were involved in organized crime, controlled local governments. The political establishment perpetuated itself by a variety of fraudulent practices, notably by having husbands cast their wives' ballots for them.

Min combated these problems through confrontation and outreach. Min had union members bring their children to the picket lines and made sure that the media was there. She assumed that even corrupt factory owners would balk at using violent methods when children were involved, especially with the media watching. As for outreach, Min began a program of civics classes for local women, many of them immigrants. They were familiarized with their citizenship rights and encouraged to cast their own ballots. In a similar vein, Bill Matheson established a newsletter for the valley's membership, *Needlepoint*. Outreach, however, did not end there. Other initiatives included cultural enrichment and education. In this respect, Min's work reflected action taken by the union years earlier, particularly the creation of Unity House in 1919. From all appearances, Unity House was patterned after New York's Chautauqua Institute, offering union families relaxation and educational opportunities.

The results were spectacular. The union's membership grew dramatically in the Wyoming Valley and became a major political force. Min was recognized for her efforts in 1963 when Dubinsky appointed her director of the ILGWU's union label department.

Unfortunately, this edifice was destroyed by deindustrialization. Employment in the industry fell from a height of 27,700 in the valley in 1968, to 1,300 by 1999. Manufacturers left for cheaper labor markets abroad. Worse, while these jobs were lost, the American consumer saw no price reductions. Although off-shore manufacturers paid a fraction of their former labor costs, the old price structure remained in place.

All-in-all, this book is fascinating reading, and demonstrates that institutional history is still an important area of study. Social historians have enriched our understanding in many ways, but appear to deny that formal institutions can effect societal change, or that individual leaders are important. This book makes the case for the opposite view: Min Matheson made a difference. If this appears as an elitist attitude to some, so be it.

Sadly, the book ends on a sour note. After describing the ILGWU's merger with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textiles Workers Union (ACTWU) to form the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE!), the authors ask some disturbing questions. How can organized labor help working people with the panoply of power arrayed against it? Today, the United States government, the International Monetary Fund, and multinational corporations all argue for free markets, free trade, and minimal regulation. Meanwhile, the long-term impact of these policies upon society is glossed over. These are important matters, and the authors indicate that we ignore them at our peril. Well written and researched, this book is highly recommended for every reading list.

York County to the Setting of the Sun: An Illustrated History. By GEORG R. SHEETS. (Sun Valley, Calif.: American Historical Press, 2002. 288p. Illustrations, bibliography, timeline, index. \$32.95.)

Former Pennsylvania governor Richard L. Thornburg once said, "by learning about the history of York, all of us can gain a keener understanding of the people of this commonwealth and of their traditions." Since Thornburg's declaration, many historians have written about York County but none surpass the scholarship of Georg R. Sheets. His 1991 book, *Made in York*, broke new ground in our understanding of the economic history of York County, his *Facts and Folklore of York, Pennsylvania* (1993) recorded the cultural traditions of the county, and his 1981 book, *To the Setting of the Sun*, combined social, economic, and political history in a scholarly and brightly illustrated volume. Sheets's latest publication would appear to add to our knowledge of this important Pennsylvania county.

This promise is, however, somewhat unclear. The new book's title transposes the 1981 book title, *To the Setting of the Sun: The Story of York*. A comparison of the two books reveals similarities: the same font, the same illustrations, etc., suggesting that this new work is really a "second edition." Sheets admits that this is "a revised, expanded book you are holding" and an "updated version of the earlier *Setting Sun*" (p. 276). If this is true, then readers should have been told on the title page that this was a "second and expanded edition." Another peculiarity is that the acknowledgments section is at the back of the book and not at the front where it is usually found. Although the publisher reprints much of the 1981 book, there are still typographical errors. Most notably the word "bibliography" is misspelled in the table of contents. Whereas Sheets's book *Made in York* contained references, *York County to the Setting of the Sun* has none. A section devoted to reference notes would have greatly aided scholars of York history.

These technical problems aside, Sheets's book brings back into print an intriguing history of York County. The author examines York within the context of social history. "The story of York weaves together the tales of powerful Indians, passionate soldiers, anxious Congressmen, skilled craftsmen, artists, inventors, industrialists, Confederate generals, bold schoolgirls, peaceful churchgoers, self-proclaimed witches, eccentric businessmen, and thousands of other men, women and children" (p. 9). This historical approach is most compelling when primary documents of York people are quoted. For instance, the author cites John Durang's memoir in order to show that the York fair in the nineteenth century was literally a town celebration: "The county people flock in from all quarters, old and young, of both sexes. . . . The market place is furnished with every description of fineries, some with useful as well as ornamental goods by little merchants from Philadelphia and Baltimore, all kinds of diversions going on during the whole day, the taverns crowded, in every room a fiddle and dancing" (p. 42). When describing the Civil War, Sheets uses a quote to indicate how Yorkers reacted to the

Confederate invasion. Cassandra Morris Small, a youngster at the time of the invasion, wrote to her cousin: "Sunday morning . . . Mother, Mary and I dressed for church; all the rest expected to stay home. Just as the church bells rang, the cry was heard, 'They are coming!' Oh, Lissie, what did we feel like? Humiliated! Disgraced! Men who don't oten weep, wept then" (p. 91). Such quotations disclose what it was like to live in York and thus make the narrative not just regional history but people's history. This approach is one of Sheets's strengths as a historian; not content with citing names and dates, the author works hard to provide a full and detailed description of the persons or events of history.

York County to the Setting of the Sun contains valuable new material. A chapter 10 entitled "Into a New Millennium" brings York history up to the present day. The 1981 section on local businesses and institution histories is now chapter 11 and rewritten to include new companies and new photographs. The index and the bibliography are revised and updated. One of the great joys of this book are the beautiful illustrations. Sheets argues that "it is crucial to pass on our heritage and reflect on our achievements and this volume helps fulfill the task" (p. 276).

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission ERIC LEDELL SMITH

American Childhoods. By JOSEPH E. ILLICK. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. xi, 218p. Illustrations, notes, note on sources, index. Cloth, \$35.00; paper, \$13.50.)

In titling his book *American Childhoods* (rather than "American Childhood"), Joseph Illick emphasizes the diversity of childhood experiences in the United States, but by attempting a national survey he also implies that North American childhood merits comprehensive examination. In this succinct but important study, Illick grapples with a range of recent and established scholarship, and with the insitutional, regional, racial, and gendered contexts for children's experiences in American history.

The book is divided into three sections: Part I, "Early America," includes chapters on American Indian Childhood, European American Childhood, and African American Childhood; Part II, "Industrial America," includes chapters on Urban Middle-Class Childhood and Urban Working-Class Childhood; and Part III, "Modern America," includes chapters on Suburban Childhood and on Inner-City and Rural Childhoods.

In the chapter on American Indian childhood, Illick points to differences among a number of tribal groups but also describes commonalities. He cites the rarity of corporal punishment and the considerable autonomy granted to children within tribal societies as evidence of respect for children among American Indians. Indian education, Illick says, was primarily by adult example rather than through formal means, though this obviously changed when many parents were

forced to send their children to government-sponsored boarding schools, which for some reason Illick does not mention (despite his brief discussion of the changed living conditions faced by Indians in the twentieth century).

In contrast to American Indian childhoods, European American childhoods in the "early American" period were characterized by the absence of autonomy and the imposition of parental control through physical, psychological, and institutional means, especially through the Puritan church, which emphasized infant depravity and encouraged parents to "break the child's will." Parents educated children so they might have access to the scriptures, and, thereby, to salvation. Despite the importance Illick grants to Puritan beliefs and practices, he also points to the religious, class, and regional differences among European American families as these shaped the experience of childhood.

The experiences of African American parents and children in early America contrasted with those of both American Indians and European Americans, most obviously by virtue of a system of slavery and a state-supported caste system that placed African Americans, slave or free, in a condition of servitude and debasement. Illick contrasts child-rearing practices in West Africa to those in the dramatically altered context of the United States under slavery and even in the century following emancipation: as Illick notes, "until well into the twentieth century, the best African American parents could hope to do for their children was acquaint them with the demands of white domination and teach them the acquiescent behavior necessary for survival without sacrificing completely their sense of self-worth, their racial pride, and their hope" (p. 43).

Part II, "Industrial America," looks at the ways in which industrialization and modernization shaped the experience of childhood. Illick's chapter on urban middle-class childhood feels like more familiar narratives of childhood history: here, Illick chronicles the growth of mass public education and the lengthening of childhood that came with it; the rise of a new conception of childhood innocence and an attendant sentimentalization of childhood; decreasing fertility rates that accompanied declining infant mortality; the new importance of mothers (as opposed to fathers) as molders of children's personalities; and the delineation of gender differences in child-rearing advice, toys, and a growing body of children's literature. Along with schools, new institutions and organizations devoted to protecting children and preserving child health arose in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the family became less an economic and educational unit and more a privatized realm of emotional life. As children became valued as individuals and their various life stages perceived as unique, they were also increasingly regulated by legislation, schools, and new organizations like the Boy Scouts devoted to upholding a middle-class norm of childhood.

The chapter on urban working-class childhood largely continues this latter theme, looking primarily at the ways in which members of the middle class expressed their concern for children of the working class, many of them immi-

grants, through institutions and legislation like juvenile courts, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, and child labor laws. Illick argues that these gestures on the part of the middle class were largely paternalistic—even the establishment of common schools, he says, was motivated by a desire to promote discipline and patriotism—and never had the goal of giving children autonomy.

The final two chapters on “Modern America” concentrate on the postwar period and provide a telling contrast to one another. Illick notes that federal programs which made it easier for white families to buy houses in the suburbs, along with the construction of public housing in cities and racially biased housing codes, “had the effect of segregating the races while simultaneously reinforcing the image of the suburbs as a haven from the urban problems of race, crime, and poverty” (p. 104). Illick notes the general trend after the 1920s away from a rigid behaviorist model of child rearing to Dr. Spock’s more permissive, “democratic” model of parenting, and ultimately links this new emphasis on children’s autonomy within middle-class families to increasing participation of children in the consumer economy and to the youthful rebellions of the 1960s and 1970s: “Having been coached in autonomy in the family environment, youth simply took the initiative, staging sit-ins for racial integration and attempting to block troop trains and induction centers” (p. 124). These rebellions ultimately furthered efforts to control children, particularly poor, inner-city (read non-white) children.

There are obvious challenges inherent in attempting a survey of this scope, and these challenges are magnified by Illick’s effort to make the book succinct and accessible. One of the greatest difficulties that Illick faced was in organizing all the material he amassed; on the whole he is remarkably adept at it, but some of his categorizations are problematic. For instance, while it certainly made sense to extend his discussions of American Indians and African Americans into the late twentieth century, by doing so within the section on “Early America,” Illick unwittingly marginalizes these groups, and, particularly for American Indians, consigns them to the pre-“modern” era. Such problems may be inevitable in a book structured along both thematic and chronological lines, and Illick makes an admirable effort throughout to address the differences among American children. What has emerged from his efforts is an important contribution to the growing literature on the history of childhood.

University of Texas at Austin

JULIA L. MICKENBERG

Something for Nothing: Luck in America. By JACKSON LEARS. (New York: Viking, 2003. xi, 365p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$27.95.)

It is patently obvious that Americans have always been a gambling people. But in *Something for Nothing*, Jackson Lears takes a further analytical leap, looking

at how the "culture of chance" has been central to American life and thought. Though in Lears's summation the self-made man has been more influential than the confidence man in America, an America shorn of hereditary privilege and deference to one's betters was a fruitful breeding ground for the legions of Americans—from land speculators to day traders—seeking something for nothing.

Lears takes an interesting approach, admitting at the beginning that he is not writing a history of gambling but of chance, which he sees as a sort of anti-virtue, a shortcut to grace for those not willing to put in long hours at the hard work of self-betterment. Lears sees an Apollonian/Hermetic dialectic throughout much of Western culture, with the trickster Hermes, patron of the lucky rounder, pitted against the rationalist Apollo. The rampant gambling found in most periods of American history is symptomatic of a deeper struggle within the American psyche between chance and control.

Along the way, Lears hits all of the signature spots of any gambling history: Dostoyevsky's manic Roulettenberg, Jamestown settlers "bowling in the streets" while starving, itinerant blacklegs like Canada Bill Jones and George Devol, and many more. But he ties these evergreens to a larger cultural force that also shaped the sermons of Jonathan Edwards, the philosophy of William James, the writing of Ralph Ellison, and the music of John Cage. Lears also pulls in an impressive mass of cross-cultural analysis of luck and chance as a means to break down the components of the American culture of chance into its European, African, and Native American components. The wild nut diviners of Ghana, white and black American bibliomantics (those who used the Bible for divinatory purposes), and the Runyonesque craps shooter fingering a lucky rabbit's foot are equal parts of the same culture of lucky superstition.

One of the real strengths of *Something for Nothing* is that it democratizes luck—trailer park denizens at Tuesday night bingo have an equal place at the table with Marcel Proust. An America in which gambling in its many manifestations is an increasingly powerful revenue producer and job provider needs such an honest look at the culture of chance. There is undoubtedly a reason why many Americans choose casinos over tax increases most of the time, and Lears comes as close as any historian to understanding why. According to him, there is a fundamental tension throughout much of American life between the managers and those entranced by accident and chance. Though Lears focuses more on this struggle in letters and ideas, it is easy to see how the struggle for control seeped from the boardrooms and workfloors of America into popular culture and life. Gamblers like Titanic Thompson and aleatory artists like Joseph Cornell stand out as cultural heroes in a struggle against the rational production standards of Frederick Winslow Taylor and world standard time.

Most impressively, Lears is able to look into how folk culture has molded the ideas of American thinkers. Ralph Ellison, who Lears believes bridges the gap between "numbers running and philosophical debate" (p. 312), benefits from an

exceptionally well-honed analysis. *Invisible Man*, obviously a novel about a young black man's adventures into adulthood, is, according to Lears, more deeply a story of a vernacular culture of chance triumphing over ethics of mastery and control, be they individualism or collectivism. This insight is emblematic of many within *Something for Nothing*.

As with any work as all-encompassing as this one, there are inevitably areas that beg a greater focus from the author. America's paramount holy of holies of luck, Las Vegas, is parenthetically dismissed as a high-roller heaven and "efficient money machine for fugitive crime bosses" (p. 243) in less than a sentence. One wishes the Las Vegas story, of an entire city that has prospered on Americans' hunger to gamble, had been afforded a more sophisticated analysis than this.

But the incredible power of Lears's analysis, which ranges from the prosaic objects of everyday superstition to the rarefied air of positivist philosophy, is no less rich for not having taken a more literal look at some of the more obvious manifestations of the culture of chance. Lears instead has produced a brilliant work of history that ties together many divergent strands in American life into a common culture of chance.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

DAVID G. SCHWARTZ

The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past. By JOHN LEWIS GADDIS. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. xii, 192p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$23.)

When I took my comprehensive examinations in graduate school in 1975, William Leuchtenburg asked me what the best book I had read on the Cold War was. Without hesitation, I selected John Lewis Gaddis's *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (1972). Gaddis took into account the three "Cs" as I've come to call them—costs, contingencies, and constraints—in assessing why United States policymakers did not undertake any of the extreme scenarios blithely proposed by those who ignore the "Cs."

Over a quarter century later, it is a privilege to read another book by Gaddis. *The Landscape of History* articulates the theory behind his, and I suspect most, historians' practice. While Gaddis refers to classic works such as those by E. H. Carr, Isaiah Berlin, R. G. Collingwood, and Marc Bloch on what history is and historians do, his is the first modern work to go beyond them. Gaddis leaves in the dust such simplistic formulations as whether historical writing is art or science, or whether historical events are contingent or determined. If history is a science, it resembles the evolutionary sciences (evolutionary biology, astronomy) and not the laboratory sciences (chemistry, mathematics) in that it cannot pretend to isolate variables in an artificial environment. (In a nice turn historians will love, Gaddis asserts that science achieves accuracy and usefulness to the extent it

becomes historical.) Historical writing cannot attain the definitive truth of which the positivists dreamed, but neither is it an arbitrary construction as some misunderstandings of postmodernism or deconstruction maintain. Rather, it is a "representation" of a very real past based upon the particular needs and methodologies of a certain historian and era which can be evaluated in terms of both the use of methodology and common sense.

Gaddis also justifies the explicit use of counterfactual thought. We do this all the time in spite of ourselves—saying the American oil embargo provoked the attack on Pearl Harbor implicitly imagines a past without an oil embargo and thus, no attack. We should also acknowledge that we use history to defend or attack particular states, policies, and individuals, since we cannot escape doing so. By explicitly coming to terms with our counterfactuals and ideologies, we can be critical of them and ourselves instead of pretending that we do not engage in inescapable aspects of historical thinking.

Gaddis castigates those social sciences and scientists who vainly seek "the truth" by attempting to trace the influence of independent variables (there aren't any in the real world, where it counts). Such people model themselves on antiquated notions of Newtonian science that no self-respecting contemporary scientist would believe. Gaddis deconstructs several such theories with great relish, including Freudian psychology, "rational choice theory" in economics, and power maximization as the goal of nations in international relations. He compares much social science to the architectural monstrosities of "high modernism"—their structures reflect authoritarian schemes to diminish humanity and ordered the world so that people merely served a particular theory or state.

One of the greatest services the historian can provide, Gaddis argues, is to show that despisers of particulars races, classes, and genders consider as innate, character traits which are either downright false or historically contingent (women are not "naturally" domestic). He powerfully defends the idea of human freedom, and notes it becomes especially important in periods of historical transition. He argues that oppression and liberation need each other to preserve both the life of the mind and human society. His discussion of chaos theory and fractals, using easily understood metaphors from everyday life, will make these mysterious postmodern realms accessible to the general audience I hope will read his book. Certainly, this beautifully written, at times moving, at times humorous book will be must reading in every historiography course (it will be in mine).

Gaddis is generous in acknowledging his predecessors, especially the French mathematician Henri Poincaré. But I am heartened that without citing either Carl Becker (*Everyman His Own Historian* [1966]) or Charles Sanders Peirce, the father of American semiotics, Gaddis has reached many of the same conclusions in a book that combines Becker's lucidity with Peirce's profundity.

The Pennsylvania State University

WILLIAM PENCAK

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."

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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.

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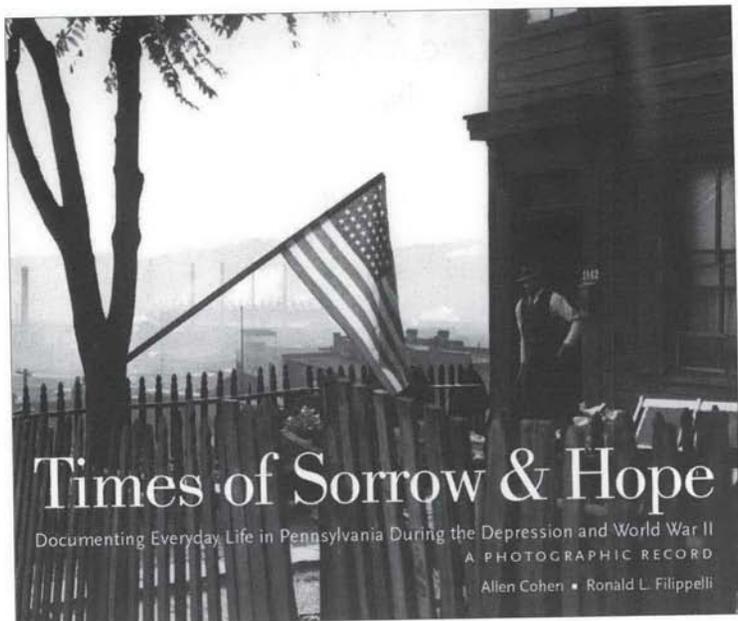
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