

BOOK REVIEWS

War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire. By GREGORY EVANS DOWD. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. xvi, 360p. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$32.)

War under Heaven provides an eventful and comprehensive account of the reasons for and implications of Pontiac's War. Critically engaging over one hundred years of historiography on the subject, Gregory Evans Dowd weaves a richly textured and complicated tapestry of the North American frontier in the period between the end of the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution. While Pontiac himself is a central figure in the work, Dowd successfully reinserts myriad other actors who consciously or unknowingly shaped the policies of the British Empire towards her newly acquired territories and the role that Native Americans sought for themselves within this changing landscape. Indeed, the point that is clearly discernible in the tangled web of actions and reactions during the 1760s is that "Pontiac's war was not an inevitable conflict pitting expansionist Anglo-American farmers against Native American defenders of the soil. The first issue was not land but authority and submission" (p. 82). While the chronology of events is meticulously laid out and analyzed, the focus is less on the military history and more on the ambiguities and difficulties that these events raised for Indians, imperial officers, colonial governments, and settlers. Pontiac's War, for Dowd, was a contest over the definition of rights that each group claimed for itself and wanted to have recognized by others. Its legacy, following this argument, is that due to the enormous self-interest of its representatives, subjects, and enemies in North America, Britain failed to provide stability, and this failure ultimately shattered the bonds of the empire.

One of the strongest features of the book is its demonstration that both the British and Native Americans were unsure how to conceive of their roles in a single-empire world and compromise their expectations towards one another. These problems give insight into one of the main explanations Dowd provides for the war's duration—that rumors served as one of the most powerful tools on the frontier (and beyond) in prolonging and pursuing Anglo-Indian conflict and instability. That rumors could be so potent and credible, even when completely improbable, indicates a great deal of anxiety and ambiguity among the conflict's various participants. The power of rumor among European-American colonists has been explored somewhat by other historians (like Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* [1999]), but here it is used effectively to explain the stand-off in

Illinois Country, the constant rumors regarding French return to North America, and the violence promulgated by all sides on the frontier. Rumor also serves as a good counterpoint for the constant negotiations that were the hallmark of the period. Just as rumors were interpreted and construed differently by all sides, negotiation too highlights the contest over policy and identity that Dowd studies. While Pontiac's War is known for its extensive violence, Dowd cogently overturns the traditional argument that Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition ended the conflict by force. Settlement was never achieved by military dominance on either side. Only through negotiation could stalemates or temporary truces be obtained. The reliance on negotiation also enabled self-interested parties, mediators, and spokesmen to seek individual rather than inclusive goals and again points to the indecisiveness of the war. Dowd's argument provides an explanation for why the end of the conflict is so difficult to determine, since negotiations were ongoing and constantly overturned due to internal politics, dissent, and rumors on both sides.

While Dowd analyzes the developing alliance between Ottawas and Delawares, this work is best understood when read as a companion to Dowd's previous book, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (1992), which looks at Indian religious revival and the development of Pan-Indianism. *War under Heaven* offers an initial exploration of collective Indian grievances and the contexts that led to the alliances of the 1760s but it can be difficult to understand what held these diverse groups together and how these notions of unity modified and developed over time. The book looks at a difficult period of history which presages both the grievances of colonists during the American Revolution (over the frontier issues raised by the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774) and the impossibility of defining an Indian position both within the British Empire and then in relation to the new American republic.

New York University

CHRISTIAN AYNE CROUCH

Benjamin Franklin. By EDMUND S. MORGAN. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. xi, 339p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95.)

Edmund Morgan begins as no one has ever begun before, with Franklin in the fresh air, at sea, a virile young man of twenty, returning to Philadelphia from his first trip to London. We join Morgan as he imagines Franklin, swimming around the ship on the open ocean, measuring water temperatures, pouring oil on water. And we realize, three pages into this extraordinary study, that no one has ever caught Franklin—his inexhaustible energy, his insatiable curiosity, his scientific temper—more exactly or more endearingly.

It is just what we would expect from a scholar who stands among the finest historians on the planet. And yet it is not.

Morgan is a flinty man who has spent the better part of his professional life studying New England Puritans. His subjects have been hard men, and hard to like. He has found humanity in them all, perhaps more humanity than they actually had. He has ventured southward, as far as Virginia, just twice. His distaste for what he found there is palpable in his greatest book, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (1975).

Now, at the ripe age of eighty-six, he has ventured into the Middle Atlantic for the first time in his distinguished career. And he has—there is no other way to put this—fallen in love. His Franklin is the sunniest portrait he has ever painted, and easily the most appealing.

Compare this biography with his first, of John Winthrop. That one was straightforward, plodding, argumentative, like its subject. This one is nimble, even mercurial, now here, now there, witty, wise, like its subject and like his autobiography. It seems a sequential narrative, but it never is, quite. Like Franklin, Morgan is more concerned to tell stories of a life than the story of a life. And like Franklin, he means above all to catch a character, because he is convinced that that character has something important to tell America.

But where Franklin was invincibly elusive, swathing himself in layers of irony and a secretiveness that was as close as men came to privacy in an age before privacy, Morgan tries to be as direct as he can. His effort is as becoming in a biographer as Franklin's furtiveness is irresistible in an autobiographer.

Morgan traces Franklin's early life, economic rise, and scientific accomplishment with deft insight, but his emphasis is on Franklin's later life, where his unsurpassed knowledge of the era of the American Revolution enables him to place Franklin's activities—political, literary, diplomatic, military, and amorous—in appropriately encompassing contexts. Bon mots abound. Tour de force succeeds tour de force. Morgan's tale of Franklin's tribulations in France and the American fools, madmen, incompetents, and con artists he had to deal with there—a succession of men who, without exception, made Silas Deane look good—is as vivid an account as we will ever have of what Franklin was up against and what he achieved.

And the whole is even more than the sum of its marvelous parts. It is a wrenching, moving evocation of the dissolution of an empire that Franklin "valued like life itself" (p. 200). More than that, it is a compassionate interpretation of Franklin's own impotence—despite his considerable influence—to avert that dissolution and indeed of his inadvertent complicity in it. By his brilliant assertions of American rights in which he himself did not believe, Franklin contributed as much as any man to the fatal clash of rights claims. By his unremitting efforts to open British eyes that seemed to him blind to the obvious, Franklin came to be for the British the embodiment and indeed the manipula-

tive source of the American disaffection he had labored unrelentingly to "explain and remove" (p. 201).

But none of this plangent narrative and ironic analysis is at the heart of Morgan's investigation. *Benjamin Franklin* is never so much a recital of what the man did as it is a meditation on how he thought and how he saw and met the world.

Again and again, Morgan makes clear that, for Franklin, public life and public service were more important than private life, the way to wealth, or even science itself. Morgan's story is a complicated one because the public that Franklin sought to serve changed from 1730 to 1790 and "he" necessarily changed with those changes and even contributed to them. At the same time, Morgan's story is a simple one because Franklin's priority on public usefulness persisted.

Morgan's Franklin was always more generous than selfish, more benevolent than ambitious or avaricious. He did not doubt that most men were actuated by self-interest. He did discover, at an early age, and he did try to convince his countrymen all the rest of his life, that such individualism did not lead to contentment.

Morgan's Franklin was always more democratic than elitist, in his personal carriage as much as in his political theorizing. He did not defer to his social superiors, and he did not demand deference from any. Like Hume and a very few others of his era, he figured out, early on, that government depended on public opinion. When seventy-one members of the House of Lords protested the repeal of the Stamp Act as capitulation to "the clamor of multitudes," Franklin replied, "The clamor of multitudes. It is good to attend to it. It is wise to foresee and avoid it. It is wise, when neither foreseen nor avoided, to correct the measures that give occasion to it" (pp. 160-61).

Morgan's Franklin was not always wise, but he was more wise more often than most of us. And his wisdom was no more in the ways of the world than in his insistence on attending to others. His benevolence and his democratic convictions coincided with his belief in the ability of the people to govern themselves and his willingness to subordinate his views to theirs. He meant to be useful, and he meant by usefulness doing what the people wanted and thought good, not what he wanted and thought good.

If that seems the antithesis of the ambitious individualism that most of us have seen in Franklin, so be it. Morgan too is more wise more often than most of us.

University of Pennsylvania

MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN

The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War. By WAYNE BODLE. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. xii, 335p. Notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

When most Americans think of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, their minds fill with visions of cold, hunger, and general misery. According to the oft-told story, General George Washington led his ragged Continental army to a remote spot to erect winter quarters in December 1777. Thanks to the indifference of the Continental Congress and the greed of local farmers who preferred British gold to American script, Washington's troops endured until early June 1778 without sufficient food, shelter, and fuel, setting an example of patriotism that put their civilian countrymen to shame. Miraculously, the Continental army emerged from these harrowing trials stronger than ever. Toward the end of the encampment, Friedrich Steuben, a bogus Prussian nobleman, succeeded in teaching American rustics how to master European-style tactics, transforming Valley Forge into the birthplace of the army that would finally defeat the Redcoats on the battlefield.

In *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War*, Wayne Bodle replaces that comfortable formula with an exhaustively researched and compellingly argued account that strips the Valley Forge saga of its simplistic mythology. What Bodle provides is a much more sophisticated assessment of the complex political, military, and social factors involved in the American struggle for independence and the abortive British efforts to reestablish royal authority.

Bodle insists that the Continental army did not become a viable fighting force at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-1778, but a year earlier at Morristown, New Jersey, when Washington first organized an army composed of long-term regulars rather than short-term citizen soldiers. The army formed at Morristown could not stop the British from capturing Philadelphia in the fall of 1777. The Continentals suffered defeats at Brandywine, Paoli, and Germantown, but they exhibited greater resiliency and higher morale than the force Washington had commanded in 1776. Logistical problems had more to do with Washington's decision to suspend operations and place his troops in winter quarters than the tactical reverses he sustained. The army he led to Valley Forge was not a beaten army, nor was it an isolated one.

Some of Washington's generals recommended that their brigades winter in comfortable cantonments in Pennsylvania's interior towns. Pennsylvania officials, however, urged that the main army maintain a position as close to Philadelphia as possible to contain the spread of British influence. The Continental Congress also expected Continental forces to maintain an offensive posture. Washington bowed to this political pressure by choosing to position the largest contingent of his main army at an advanced field encampment at Valley Forge, which put him in a position to hamper British efforts to obtain provisions and loyalist recruits from the countryside. In keeping with Washington's aggressive posture, other

Continental detachments were spread on a wide arc around Philadelphia extending from Wilmington, Delaware, into New Jersey. Continentals did not huddle in their huts through the winter, but regularly took to the field to harass British foraging expeditions, gather provisions for themselves, and punish those Americans caught trading with the enemy. Although Washington did not succeed completely at keeping the British confined to Philadelphia, he prevented them from enjoying a quiet and comfortable winter.

Although Washington heeded the wishes of his political superiors, he did not confine himself to a passive role in civil-military relations. He deliberately exaggerated the plight of the main army at Valley Forge, warning on December 23, 1777, that it would "starve, dissolve, or disperse" to extract additional aid from the Continental Congress. He also pressured the Pennsylvania militia into contributing troops to his harassment operations along British lines, although he had to extend the jurisdiction of his Continental units into those areas where the militia faltered.

Friedrich Steuben did make a contribution to the main army's proficiency in linear warfare. He intensified training and provided Continentals with a standardized drill book. Ironically, the only chance the main army had to vindicate Steuben's methods was at the battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, on June 28, 1778, which was inconclusive. The main army would spend most of the rest of the war besieging British forces in New York, waging the same kind of harassment campaign that Washington had pioneered outside Philadelphia during his Valley Forge winter.

Valley Forge Winter is such a rich book that it is impossible to do it justice in the limited space allocated for this review. Intrinsic to Bodle's achievement is his realization that the Revolutionary War was a learning experience for soldiers and civilians alike. Armies do not operate in a vacuum. They are affected by the civilian populations they either serve or try to subdue. Likewise, civilians are dramatically affected when war bursts into their lives.

Temple University

GREGORY J. W. URWIN

Riot and Revelry in Early America. Edited by WILLIAM PENCAK, MATTHEW DENIS, and SIMON NEWMAN. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002. vii, 316p. Notes, notes on contributors, index. Cloth, \$65; paper, \$22.50.)

This volume is a collection of ten essays concerning crowd activity. The first half, entitled "Riot and Rough Music," discusses the political implications of crowds during the colonial, revolutionary, and early national eras. The second half, "Revelry," consists of essays examining different civic festivals following American

independence. There are two useful introductions, one by historian William Pencak and the other by folklorist Roger D. Abrahams. The volume creates a distinction between mob activities, which were expressions of communal division, and civic festivals, which ideally brought the community together to celebrate shared values. This dichotomy, however, is explicitly challenged in every essay, as the authors explore how incidents of riotous or festive culture expressed unity or diversity.

The two halves are also divided in their approach to history. Most of the essays in the first half focus on the political goals of rioters themselves. The second half emphasizes culture more heavily, seeking to understand not so much the crowd's explicit goals, but instead the social and cultural identities being created (and altered) during civic festivals. They rely less on the members of the crowds as subjects than as objects within larger systems of meaning. This division reflects a serious issue facing social historians today: how does one write about ordinary people who did not leave written texts?

There is another tension that divides the two halves. The first half of this volume exposes the dark side of mob rule. In the past, historians have examined crowds to recover a lost populist agenda. They found an implicit critique of capitalism in early modern bread riots, and examined how mobs enabled ordinary people to defend their liberties during the American Revolution. Mobs were the means by which ordinary people exerted influence over elites. Mobs, however, did not limit their activities to economic and political critique, and one of this volume's major contributions is demonstrating how mob activity might best be seen as fundamentally conservative. Crowds too often directed their displeasure towards sexual and gender deviants. In his introduction, Pencak wonders if crowds could lead to a "tyranny of the majority." Brendan McConville's essay on "rough music" calls crowd action a "means of policing the boundaries of political, social, and sexual normalcy in early modern society." Susan E. Klepp's analysis of Philadelphia's 1778 Independence Day celebrations notes that crowds were "designed to enforce a particular vision of a moral community." While Thomas J. Humphrey distinguishes between the traditional conservatism of colonial mobs and the politically radical role they played in the Revolution, in reading all the essays together one cannot help but conclude that mob activity was too often parochial and oppressive.

Even within this conservatism, there emerge possibilities of radical change. As Roger Abrahams's and William Pencak's essays both argue, mobs and festivals are moments of "play," when ordinary people take on imagined roles and turn the world upside down. Pencak suggests that the whole revolutionary era might be understood as "play." Listing nine criteria that define play, Pencak notes that each of them—such as wearing disguises, using humor, and staging mock trials and assemblies—enabled elite and ordinary Bostonians to advocate for a radical cause without being personally responsible for it. In moments of play, people step outside their customary and legally sanctioned roles in order to express commit-

ment to a higher law. Play enables radical critique. Despite legitimate criticism of Jürgen Habermas's concept of the "bourgeois public sphere," which idealizes disembodied rational discourse, the moments of play Pencak describes are equally disembodied and thus filled with equally revolutionary possibilities.

The second half of the volume unpacks the implications of play by examining civic festivals. Particularly important is the relationship between different genders, ethnic traditions, and class, such as in Roger Abrahams's discussion of the meeting between the "white Indians" of Tammany and the Seneca chief Cornplanter, or William D. Piersen's exploration of how free and enslaved black Americans mixed African and Euro-American festive styles in their own celebrations.

The essayists are interested in how civic festivals simultaneously express (or seek to create) consensus around shared norms and values while also providing moments for critique and change. In Susan Branson and Simon P. Newman's essay on women in partisan festivals during the 1790s, the authors argue that the presence of women provided an aura of republican virtue to events that were fundamentally partisan. They continue, however, that women used these festivals for their own purposes, creating openings for subsequent female activism in the nineteenth century. Len Travers's essay on Palmetto Day brings out the ambiguity of civic festivals most clearly. At their best, civic festivals promote unity. Palmetto Day celebrated Charleston's successful defense against British attack in June 1776. Palmetto Day originally expressed both local and national pride. Starting in the 1820s, it took on a new meaning. It increasingly signified localism and states' rights rather than nationalism. Charlestonians argued that their victory in 1776, made only days before America's formal declaration of independence, was proof that South Carolinians were fighting for themselves first, and not the nation.

In any civic festival, the particularities of region, class, gender, and race intermingle, and, as the authors argue, there is always a tension between efforts to keep all the pieces together within a larger cultural whole and the tendency for them to spin out of control, thus redefining that whole. Cultural festivals are dynamic moments of collective action, or play, over which no person or group of people ever fully exerts control.

Although in his introduction Pencak invokes Samuel Adams to ask how mob activity went from being celebrated during the Revolution to being condemned afterwards, the essays do not seek to answer this interesting question—perhaps because none of the essayists are concerned with how the creation of postrevolutionary popular regimes might have affected the parameters of the public sphere and the role of crowd action within it. That being said, this volume is a valuable contribution to our understanding of early American collective action, and provides insightful suggestions about how conformity and subversion can happen simultaneously in public spaces.

Taverns and Drinking in Early America. By SHARON V. SALINGER. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. xi, 309p. Notes, index. \$42.)

Sharon Salinger's *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* is an ambitious survey of drinking culture throughout the colonies from the early seventeenth century through the Revolution. Beginning with a survey of drinking culture in England and Holland, the book proceeds to a discussion of tavern life in the colonies, drinking legislation and enforcement, licensing, the density and location of taverns, then, finally, social problems and conflicts relating to the tavern. Drawing from a large and diverse body of sources, Salinger gives us the best description yet available of the nature of tavern life and the efforts of colonial governments to manage it.

Salinger argues that colonial governments found themselves torn between their efforts to protect themselves from the evils of taverns and their desire to benefit from the fees paid and necessary services offered by taverns. Even as they regulated and closed down certain taverns, they encouraged and even mandated the creation of others. The book focuses on colonial efforts to keep certain types of "undesirable" patrons, such as Native Americans, African Americans, sailors, servants, drunkards, and women out of the tavern. As colonial governments attempted to regulate where taverns were located, who ran them, and what sorts of patrons they served, tavernkeepers and their customers frequently circumvented authorities and created and maintained their own idiosyncratic local spaces.

To my mind, the most significant chapters were those on licensing and tavern density. In them, Salinger draws upon legislative records and license petitions to describe how, to whom, and with what rationale tavern licenses were distributed. While a license could enable someone who would otherwise be dependent upon charity to support him or herself, legislators and administrators were often wary of giving licenses to those (particularly women) who would not have the stature to ensure order in their taverns. Another criterion in awarding a license was ostensibly the need for a tavern in a particular location, but Salinger's maps of licensing over time in Charleston, Boston, and Philadelphia show that in practice legislators allowed for a very high density of taverns in certain areas, such as near the waterfront. This well-sourced consideration of the business of tavern-keeping is a real contribution to the literature.

The challenge of this sort of project is to produce an account of how colonial Americans experienced the tavern based on a set of sources that is incomplete, idiosyncratic, and consists almost entirely of government documents. Salinger meets this challenge by a creative and intensive approach to source collection, digging through police and court records, legislative reports, and newspapers, but also making use of research data given her by other scholars and doing close readings of letters, diaries, and other sources that are staples to historians of colonial

drink culture.

In her effort to read culture through government documents, and to get a complete picture from quite spotty records, Salinger is sometimes tempted to push her sources too far and ventures into speculation. If a law was tweaked, reinstated, or strengthened over the years, does that indicate that it was basically working or that it "failed to have its desired effect" (p. 103)? If one colony focused more on a given behavior than did another, does that mean that the leaders of that colony were more concerned about that behavior than the leaders of the other, or that the taverngoers in one colony were more prone to that behavior than those of the other? Or is there simply random variation? The same question can be asked of prosecution rates. On one occasion, Salinger relies on 158 alcohol-related indictments to assert that, "unlike in the nonsectarian colonies" the people of Plymouth were not "prone to sexual conflict while inebriated" (p. 110).

Salinger is a wonderful storyteller, and her research has uncovered a number of fascinating tales of tipsy colonials. Her desire to include these stories, however, sometimes interferes with the flow of the arguments and the structure of the book, as when she discusses a sodomy case that she relates only peripherally to colonial perceptions of drunkenness (p. 95). While her chapters are primarily arranged topically, they often fail significantly to conform to their putative subject. "Inside the Tavern" includes lengthy discussions of drinking at home and at outside sporting events, and the same tendency is apparent throughout. At times, I found myself flipping back a few pages to remind myself what arguments the stories I was enjoying were supporting.

The quality and rigor of Salinger's research, however, outweigh these concerns. Students of the early American tavern or, for that matter, broader early American popular culture, should familiarize themselves with this important new work. At the same time, the topic itself and Salinger's compelling style and passion for her subject make the book an enjoyable read.

Duquesne University

ELAINE FRANTZ PARSONS

Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown, Written by Himself. Edited by RICHARD NEWMAN. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. xxxiii, 73p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography. \$21.95.)

"The slave has always the harrowing idea before him—however kindly he may be treated for the time being—that the auctioneer may soon set him up for public sale and knock him down as the property of the person who, whether man or demon, would pay his master the greatest number of dollars for his body" (p. 20).

Few antebellum slave narratives captured as poignantly this primary reality of American slavery—the constant vulnerability of the slave to commodification and liquidity and thus to disruption of personal status and community—than did Henry Box Brown in his 1851 autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown*. Throughout his powerful narrative, Henry Brown revealed how he and his birth and marital families were repeatedly subject to duplicitous owners and white people who unexpectedly and swiftly reversed explicit arrangements to maintain him and his loved ones as inseparable. In March 1849, soon after his wife and children were sold away from him, Henry Brown literally took on the form of portable “dry goods” (p. 58) by having himself encased in a box in Richmond and sent by express mail to abolitionists in Philadelphia where his unpacking redeemed him into personhood and freedom. Henceforth denominated Henry Box Brown, he became a celebrated orator on the American and soon British antislavery circuits where he recounted his life in slavery and daunting packaging for freedom.

Richard Newman and Oxford University Press have aptly restored this monumental narrative to the ready availability it merits with their impressive new volume of the 1851 English edition of Brown's autobiography. While the first edition of his *Narrative* was published in America in 1849, even that more common edition currently has very limited accessibility and, according to Newman, it lacks the more authentic voice of Brown revealed in the 1851 volume which, outside of rare original printings in libraries, has almost no presence in America. While Brown, who remained illiterate throughout his life, relied on white amanuenses for both volumes, Newman argues in his introduction that the American one was far more intrusive in the text than was the British. Newman's introduction includes very useful background on key individuals in Richmond who facilitated Brown's ingenious and dangerous escape, on his original amanuensis, the Garrisonian abolitionist Charles Stearns, and on Brown's involvement in the American antislavery lecture circuit and his use of both his box and a pictorial panorama to represent vividly the world of slavery and his flight from it. It also outlines the known details of his life in England where he went in fall 1850 after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, narrowly escaping recapture in Providence, Rhode Island.

Newman's introduction, however, could have profited from some brief statement on editorial method. Numerous errors of typography, punctuation, and grammar occur in the reprinted text of Brown's *Narrative*—I counted fourteen. Comparison of the OUP text with the original 1851 text revealed that of them, only five were introduced in the typesetting of this most recent edition, one of which unfortunately included the insertion of “share-holder's” (p. 67) for “slaveholders.” While close care must be taken to avoid introducing any new errors into the reprinting of a critical historical text, the editor should devise a method for alerting the reader to the presence in the original text of these errors encoun-

tered in the reprint and thus prevent any confusing uncertainty for the reader.

Moreover, the introduction could have been much more probing. Newman asserts, for example, that "Stearns was such a zealous abolitionist . . . that Brown's story is spoiled by Stearns' turgid style, scolding prose, and even the addition of a polemic essay of his own. It is hardly Box Brown's book" (p. xii). He also observes that the American edition was twenty-three pages longer because Stearns made his voice so prominent in the work. All of this evidence clarifies, Newman argues, the degree to which ex-slaves faced restrictions and control from even "their best anti-slavery white friends" in America. In fact, it does nothing of the sort. While certainly fugitives could be and were manipulated and condescended to by white abolitionists, the discrepancies between these two texts do not evince such conduct. My summary review of the 1849 and 1851 texts suggests that the two editions generally share a common narrative much more than they diverge and that their rhetoric and diction is largely the same. On several occasions, the English edition condenses sections in the American or it omits some altogether. On others, it adds new information such as specifics about Brown's escape in 1849 or about a black church in Richmond. But on the whole, the story line is the same with any number of lengthy passages in the two texts being all but identical. In fact, the two editions of the *Narrative* itself are about the same length, the first being twenty-three pages longer only because of a lengthy essay inserted at the end and clearly attributed to Stearns, not because of a more florid, self-serving style by him which fills pages with Stearns's voice while suppressing that of Brown. The forceful burden of each text is essentially the same: the "harrowing idea" of the slave's commodification, the frightening ease with which white people transform black people into things and chattel. Since no evidence is apparent from these two texts that one amanuensis dominated Brown's voice more than the other, Newman could have more profitably dedicated his inquiry to assuming that Brown contributed significantly to structuring both texts. His comparison of the texts should have been more systematic, based on carefully interpreting the meaning of textual adaptations, insertions, and omissions for Brown's crafting of his identity and freedom rather than on the less illuminating and far more speculative endeavor of determining Stearns's attitude towards Brown. Such a comparison and investigation would only have helped confirm Newman's important assertion that "slave autobiographies, even when composed by others, made it possible for African Americans to become the sources of their own history and the authenticators of their own existence" (p. xx).

Hamilton College

PETER P. HINKS

"Miscegenation": Making Race in America. By ELISE LEMIRE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. 204p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

In 1864, New York Democratic journalists David Croly and George Wakeman coined the term "miscegenation" as the title of a political pamphlet designed to make it appear that Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party advocated sex and marriage between Americans of different races, a prospect which Croly and Wakeman presumed white readers would find so revolting that they would toss Lincoln out of the White House come November. Though somewhat inaptly subtitled given its exclusive focus on areas of the United States where slavery did not exist, the great strength of Elise Lemire's work is its demonstration that the reflexive abhorrence Croly and Wakeman counted on was merely the culmination of an extended cultural process of racializing white sexual desire such that the very idea of sex with persons of African descent became not merely repulsive but believed to be profoundly unnatural. Over time, this disgust became so thoroughly embedded in the psyches of most antebellum white northerners that its mobilization for political effect during the Civil War was been utterly predictable.

Lemire begins her story in the early republic with an analysis of Federalist doggerel that used the rumors of Thomas Jefferson's sexual involvement with his slave Sally Hemings as a means of attacking the larger project of liberal democracy, of which Jefferson was both an advocate and a symbol. In the Federalist imagination, that the avatar of freedom and natural rights preferred to have sexual relations with persons of African descent, despite having previously described such persons as physically hideous and sexually undesirable in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, signified more than just Jefferson's hypocrisy. It also revealed a sexual perversion that was the logical consequence of his egalitarian politics. Using against him an aesthetic racial hierarchy that Jefferson himself had helped construct, Federalists simultaneously linked and called into question the ideology and the taste of those who purported to support human equality.

Though the Federalists failed in their efforts to prevent the emergence of liberal democracy in the United States, the democracy that did emerge entailed fealty to a whiteness premised on intraracial sexual desire. Yet Lemire also demonstrates that the language by which white northerners understood the nature and meaning of such desire changed over time. By the 1810s, the metallurgical term "amalgamation" had entered the American vocabulary to describe sex and marriage across the color line as an unnatural blending of white and black "blood." Such an understanding of racial categories in terms of blood both gave those categories the imprimatur of science and reflected a sense that white people who participated in such sexual activity acted contrary not just to good taste but to what ought to be a biological instinct to preserve their own racial purity.

In the 1830s, opponents of the burgeoning antislavery movement put the supposedly instinctual nature of intraracial sexual desire to effective political use, masking their hostility toward and fear of prospective black freedom with the charge that the liberationist politics of white abolitionists actually disguised their desire to marry African Americans. As Lemire shows, antebellum northern cartoonists, lithographers, and popular authors regularly crafted extremely graphic depictions and descriptions of grotesque and foul-smelling black people kissing, marrying, and dancing with comparatively physically attractive abolitionist (or, just as often, "amalgamationist") white people. Even as these images eroticized sex across the color line—a matter Lemire recognizes but to which she might have dedicated more analytical space—they reinforced the notion that race ought to be understood as a matter of possessing and instinctively preferring certain sexual characteristics. Moreover, they ridiculed and denounced the abolitionist cause by associating it with sexual perversion, and not infrequently helped move white northerners to engage in antiabolitionist mob violence in the form of urban riots.

With the emerging popularity of the theory of polygenesis in the 1840s and 1850s—by which scientists hypothesized that persons of different races were members of wholly separate species—the path from seeing sex across the color line as a matter of dubious taste to seeing it as a monstrous form of depravity akin to bestiality was complete. The shrewdness of Croly and Wakeman's 1864 pamphlet lay not in its linkage of black freedom with the horrors of racial intermarriage but in its creation of a neologism that resonated so brilliantly with the cultural trends of the preceding generations that it almost immediately and unthinkingly became part of the American vernacular, so much so that its continued contemporary usage nearly entirely disguises its insidious origins and intent.

University of Alabama

JOSHUA D. ROTHMAN

The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North. By MARK E. NEELY JR. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. xl, 257p. Notes, index. \$24.95.)

The old myths of political history die hard. A little more than two years ago, the myth of the nineteenth century as a golden age of participatory democracy (albeit for white men almost exclusively) was leveled by *Rude Republic* (2000), a book by Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin that revealed how the supposedly democratic party system of the 1800s was controlled by only a few elites and reviled by most Americans. One of the lesser myths, though an equally tenacious one, is that the North's two-party system during the Civil War gave a natural advantage, perhaps even a decisive one, to the Union over the

Confederacy, which had no sustained party system. The myth took shape in the 1960s, first articulated by David M. Potter and then sharpened by Eric McKittrick. Mark E. Neely Jr. has had enough of it. In *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North*, Neely, the McCabe-Greer Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University, seeks "to liberate the study of Civil War politics in the North from the deadening cliché of overconfidence in the two-party system in nineteenth-century America" (p. 4).

Neely has succeeded not only in demolishing the Potter/McKittrick myth but in writing the best study we have to date of Civil War politics in the North. Against Potter and McKittrick, Neely offers a litany of evils created by the Union two-party system: an opposition rhetoric that incited some Northerners to contemplate a coup against Lincoln while making others (including soldiers) consider a pogrom of Democrats; a press so entangled in the party machinery that it could not modernize; a Northern military disabled because of party men's disparagement of military strategy; and a slate of popular opinion balanced not by a rational center but by paranoid extremes. To make his case, Neely draws evidence not only from well-known sources, such as the writings of political leaders and the pages of leading party newspapers, but also from little-studied political venues, such as Hiram Barney's New York custom house, where spoilsmen ruined any chance of effective governance, and the small editorial offices of the *Harrisburg Patriot and Union*, where once-tame Democratic pens became increasingly poisoned with fanaticism. The evidence is damning and the conclusion obvious: "The party system itself made no marked contribution to Union victory, and at a few dangerous moments its accustomed operation threatened political suicide" (p. 201).

As Neely notes, the literature on the Civil War has long been in need of a comprehensive study of Northern politics, yet, as he concedes, his book does not perform this function, for it is a sustained argument rather than a detailed survey. Nonetheless, the book offers a number of innovative, provocative insights that move us closer to an understanding and appreciation of Union politics. To give but one example, Neely is perhaps the first historian to note that the Union army's move into winter quarters every year, and especially in 1862-1863, created a powder keg of dangerous political opposition.

If the two-party system did not assure victory for the Union, what did? Neely points to at least three other factors as more important: a Constitution, "both written and unwritten" (p. 194), that went largely unchallenged by Northerners and thus allowed, among other things, the perpetuation of Lincoln's rule for four years as a commander-in-chief; the dominance of the Republican Party, especially because of the antiparty spirit spawned by the war; and, most important, Confederate resolve, which hardened Northerners' fighting spirit and enabled Radical Republicans to control their party.

As one expects from a deliberately provocative book, more issues are raised

than put to rest. For example, in his condemnation of the party system for its adverse effect on *political culture*, Neely ignores whether the party system had a similar impact on *political policy*. Although Republicans controlled Congress and most of the state legislatures during the war, surely the Democrats were partly responsible for the distinct form taken by certain legislation. The two-party system slowed down the process of state-building in the North, as Neely asserts (here he builds on the work of Richard F. Bense), but to what extent did the state that was created owe its shape to the same system? Also, while Neely builds a solid case against the benefits of the two-party system of the North, he says nothing about the effect of the absence of such a system in the South. Perhaps he will take up this subject in a future work.

Finally, in what is the only genuinely troubling omission in the book, Neely does not tell us what the Union might have looked like if it had *not* had a two-party system. For all that Civil War Americans, like the Founders before them, were troubled by political parties, they knew, also like the Founders, that the alternatives might be worse. Neely briefly mentions the English-style, nonpartisan parliamentary system as an improvement over the two-party system—he regrets that the Democrats' proposal of such a system was rejected so summarily—but he sidesteps the fact that most Americans assumed that the natural alternative to a two-party system was not a parliamentary system but, instead, either ineffectual multifactionalism or despotic one-party rule. Of these alternatives, the latter was more feared and more expected to result from the collapse of the two-party system. As one Republican paper in Illinois put it, "every party, without opposition, will in time become corrupt and dangerous to the liberties of the people" (*Centralia Sentinel*, 18 Jan. 1866). If Neely had his way and the Civil War North had never had a two-party system, might the despotism feared by generations of Americans have been more likely to take root? Such a sobering thought should cast no more than a small shadow on *The Union Divided*, which is one of the most important books on the Civil War written in the last decade.

Brown University

MICHAEL VORENBERG

European Capital, British Iron, and an American Dream: The Story of the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad. By WILLIAM REYNOLDS. Edited by PETER K. GIFFORD and ROBERT D. ILISEVICH. (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2002. xviii, 258p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$44.95.)

Several railroads converged in the northwest corner of Pennsylvania near Lake Erie before branching out again across the state of Ohio. Between the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroad a small group of men created the

Atlantic and Great Western Railroad, which by 1864 extended to Dayton, Ohio, with lateral connections in coal fields and oil fields. William Reynolds, president of the A&GW, compiled a series of business notations and letters written between 1851 and 1864, and these are the substance of *European Capital, British Iron, and an American Dream*, published by the University of Akron Press. The book is one of the series on Ohio History and Culture.

For eight years, between 1851 and 1859, Reynolds struggled against all kinds of odds to raise funds and sign contracts for construction of the line. He had to keep the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroad interests from taking over his line, raise money in Ireland, England, and Spain, deal with irresponsible men who had interests in other lines at the same time, and then suffer the death of one of his construction contractors before construction had begun. The Europeans did not send the investment money when he needed it, and imported iron for rails went astray. Confidence sagged in his scheme when the government had to step in on an improper customs declaration. Then, despite mishap after mishap, Irish laborers laid most of the track during the Civil War years, and clamored for pay while Reynolds waited for checks he had been promised. After so many years of struggle, the discovery of fossil oil at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859 gave Reynolds a reason to go on. He optimistically counted barrels and daily production and pushed to construct the Oil City Railroad that connected his line to the oil wells. Then he began to critique the financial arrangements that he had dealt with. He advocated better accounting techniques, fewer purchases of hotels and fancy homes, and a more systematic approach to expenditure. His advocacy turned into criticism of Thomas W. Kennard, one of his associates, who was guilty of all the financial pitfalls and also given to vanity and to making lavish promises he could not fulfill. While he was lashing away at Kennard in his notes, however, Reynolds found out that his darling, the Oil City Railroad, had been sold. Reynolds then resigned in disgust and grief. As an early victim of Gilded Age business practices, Reynolds stepped aside before Gould and his Erie Railroad took over the A&GW.

As a series of dated notations somewhat like a diary, the book takes a bit of patience to read because the reader has to reconstruct the context of Reynolds's notations. The explanatory notes and biographical information are minimal, and the maps, which date from the time period, do not give a clear idea of the progress of construction. Of great value, however, is the inside day-to-day view of extremely risky and loose business arrangements that fell through over and over again. The concept of an annual budget for the railroad is noticeable by its absence. One accounting alone uncovered a doubling of the price of building a mile of railroad, in the spitting image of the Credit Mobilier scandal some ten years later. The degree of haggling over control of a ten-mile connecting line between New York and Pennsylvania wore Reynolds out. What does emerge as important to both the cautious and the profligate is the wish to build railroads

that served the coal mines, and then the oil fields, and any other location where natural resources needed transport to market. Passengers were not mentioned as a consideration in constructing railroads or as a major source of revenue. While locomotives and towns along the route were named for the directors, even Reynolds does much of his business traveling by horse-drawn coach and steamboat.

In the future, several subjects in the book could be studied more thoroughly. How does the drilling of oil affect construction of other local railroads? Why did some railroads, such as the New York Central, get considerable financial backing in the United States, while The A&GW had to go abroad to find investors? And finally, why did the incautious approach to accounting and spending win out over strict finance during and after the Civil War? For readers who find these questions worth pursuing, this book will be a very good starting point.

Quinnipiac University

SARAH H. GORDON

Strangers at Home: Amish and Mennonite Women in History. Edited by KIMBERLY D. SCHMIDT, DIANE UMBLE ZIMMERMAN, and STEVEN D. RESCHLY. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. xii, 398p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, notes on contributors, index. \$39.95.)

Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America. By DAVID WALBERT. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. x, 258p. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$64.95.)

Two recent publications focus on the back stage world of the Amish and Mennonites. Much of the material on the plain people describes the life of men, and many of the more popular books reinforce the tourist image of these people as isolated rural remnants of a bygone era. Both of these books attempt to get beneath the veneer of Amish and Mennonite life and to present a more multi-dimensional analysis of some aspects of their communities.

Strangers at Home is a collection of essays that were originally presented at a conference on women from Anabaptist traditions at Millersville University in 1995. The editors divide their material into three categories. A cluster of articles describes the impact of the gender of the scholar on his or her work and the scholar's relationship to both his or her subjects and professional peers. Many studies of Anabaptist groups have been done by Mennonite men and many of these scholars write from a position in a Mennonite college. The authors in this cluster are particularly interested in the insider/outsider dynamic of religious identity and gender. The second group of essays focuses on the important role

that women have always played in Amish and Mennonite life, whether as the wife of an anthropologist among the Hopi, as a member of a guild in the sixteenth century, or as agents of change in their communities as they entered the world of paid labor. A third section addresses the fluidity of the concept of gender as scholars describe both changes in the relationship of women with their communities and in their own self-understanding.

While there is no question that this is an important book and that it adds a great deal to our understanding of women in the Anabaptist tradition, like many works of this genre the essays are of uneven quality. Some first rate articles provide fresh evidence and new insights while others make rather thin generalizations. Among the former are Roydon Loewen's description of the life of Kansas Mennonite farmwomen in the mid-twentieth century. He describes how the change in their self-identity is inextricably linked to the decline of the farm economy and transformation of Mennonite ethnic identity that was occurring at this moment in history.

Another problem with the book is that it covers a broad spectrum of groups, from Old Orders to the most progressive Mennonites. At times the complexity and nuances of difference among these groups is glossed over. This is particularly true in the last chapter where liberal Mennonites appear to be the Beachy Amish and Conservatives. In reality, the majority of Mennonite women are no longer attired in plain dress and only a minority in the progressive groups are homemakers.

Garden Spot traces the history of an ambivalent American attitude about rural life. For much of the twentieth century rural communities have been idealized as the repositories of the good life, places that tie us to a past, where people live in harmonious communities free from the stress and crime of the city dweller. But at the same time there has been a perception of rural people as unsophisticated and at times even an embarrassment in the modern era. Walbert characterizes these polar positions as the tension between preservation and progress. Americans want to have it both ways, preserve the idealized past but remove the stumbling blocks that keep us from moving forward.

Walbert carefully describes the way the Amish of Lancaster County have been caught between these polarities. For example, in the 1930s Lancaster officials wanted all children to have the advantage of a high school education and they wanted to close small rural schools and move children into large consolidated buildings. The Amish wanted to preserve their way of life and were leery of higher education. Hence the battle ensued between the Amish and public officials over the closure of the East Lampeter School.

There are other issues where the dividing line is not as clear-cut. At times the Amish are on both ends of the continuum. As moderns they shop at Wal-Mart, participate actively in the tourist trade, and develop very sophisticated micro-enterprises. At the same time they are concerned about the imposition of tourists

on the back roads of their communities, and the loss of farmland to business and housing developments.

Furthermore non-Amish vacillate between describing the Amish as backward and childlike and admiring them and even depending on them for a livelihood. In a very interesting section of the book, Walbert analyzes the way Amish people have been depicted in advertisements. The images often present the Amish as having the innocence of children. According to Walbert that is no accident. If the Amish are portrayed as simple, down-to-earth people, then it makes sense to present them as childlike.

At the same time much of the "progress" and "development" in Lancaster County is directly linked to the growth in tourism. Even outlet malls advertise the rural milieu to entice their customers to Lancaster County. The Amish are thus the driving force behind the tremendous economic growth in this region. Without the rural Amish, progress may not have come nearly as rapidly to the garden spot.

Apparently preservation and progress can coexist and do not always have to be in tension. Walbert concludes the book by suggesting ways rural and urban communities can intersect.

One small detail that caught my eye as soon as I picked up this book was the front cover. It contains a photo of an Amish buggy in front of Wal-Mart, an obvious attempt to visually portray the tension between preservation and progress. My question is why, if the book is about Lancaster County, did Walbert choose a buggy from another part of the country? This is not the gunboat gray buggy that the Old Order Amish drive in the garden spot. If the reader looks carefully he will see that there is a hook for a kerosene lantern on the side of the buggy. That is characteristic of more conservative groups to the west of Lancaster.

Despite some minor flaws I heartily recommend both of these books. There is grist for both the scholar and interested layperson. They are a wonderful addition to the literature on Amish and Mennonites.

Goshen College

THOMAS J. MEYERS

Pennsylvanian Voices of the Great War: Letters, Stories, and Oral Histories of World War I. Edited by J. STUART RICHARDS. (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2002. 243p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$35.)

Throughout World War I local newspapers regularly published letters from soldiers about their experiences overseas, letters that the soldiers had either written directly to the newspapers or to their families. Censorship regulations prevented soldiers from divulging their exact location or movements in battle, but

soldiers were still able to provide those at home with an accurate portrait of the terrifying and grisly aspects of combat along the western front. When the armistice was announced on November 11, 1918, soldiers were freer to write more detailed accounts of their experiences, and did. *Pennsylvanian Voices of the Great War* is a compilation of these published letters, aimed more at the general reader than specialist. For the general reader interested in the personal dimensions of fighting in France, the letters are compelling reading. The editor, J. Stuart Richards, offers astute guidance throughout, with careful annotations that explain key terms, people, events, or customs mentioned by the soldiers in their correspondence. The book is organized chronologically, rather than thematically, which lends a certain sense of repetition as soldiers continually recount their experiences with shelling, gas attacks, French civilians, and trench warfare. Overall, however, Richards has selected letters that both inform and move the reader.

Some of the hardest letters to read are those from friends or officers of a fallen soldier to his family, informing them of their loved one's death. Others are the last letters that soldiers themselves wrote home before being killed. "I don't think that Old Kaiser Bill has any shells with my name or number on it. I hope that he doesn't for I sure do want to get back," Private Raymond J. Ruppert wrote (p. 157). Hours after writing these words, Ruppert sustained serious wounds in battle and he died ten days later.

Overall, most soldiers remained resolute in their duty and retained faith in the war's professed democratic goals, despite the horrific conditions that they readily described to those back home. At least one letter, however, revealed the brutalizing effect of the war on American troops. Without a shred of remorse or ambiguity, this ambulance driver boasted of hauling a wounded German off his ambulance and murdering him in the woods after the enemy soldier pulled a knife on him. Others tried to make light of their wounds or the mental strain they were under, no doubt to reassure their families that they would return home little changed. "When I get back home you will have to beat pans and get the loan of a cannon, so I can get to sleep," wrote one son to his father (p. 153). The tone of forced gaiety wore thin for others after a few months at the front. "I was sitting next to a friend who seems perfectly capable in every way," wrote Sergeant A. Judson Hanna. "He had started to light a cigarette when the band struck up. The man jumped violently, dropped the match and looked around dazedly. It were all laughable were it not for the memory of those times" (p. 164).

Pennsylvanian Voices of the Great War serves unevenly as a history of Pennsylvanian men during the war. Several correspondents speak openly about their Pennsylvania connections and occasionally the annotations relate the letters to specific Pennsylvania communities. The introduction, however, offers only a general overview of facts and figures of the overall American participation in the

war, rather than speaking specifically about Pennsylvania's experiences with conscription and recruitment, war loans, economic mobilization, combat losses, and the postwar recession. In many ways, these soldiers could be from anywhere as they reflect on their experiences as members of a national army fighting in the mass slaughter along the western front. During the war, men from all walks of life from across the nation experienced the same turmoil and traumas, subverting the very notion of a group of men from one state having a dramatically different wartime experience than those of another. As one soldier noted, "Of all the boys over here I have not met any one that I knew" (p. 70).

Importantly, *Pennsylvanian Voices of the Great War* reminds us that Americans contributed more than financial and materiel support to the final Allied victory. In their own words, the men who fought and died make clear that American soldiers were spared few of the war's horrors.

University of Redlands

JENNIFER D. KEENE

Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America. By HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. x, 246p. Notes, index. \$30.)

In *Collision Course*, the late Hugh Graham, an authority on civil rights policies and legislation, turns his attention to the convergence of immigration policy and affirmative action since 1970. Graham begins by reviewing his own work and that of others to explain how the civil rights movement led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He pays particular attention to the economic aspects of these laws. Then the author relates the story of mass immigration after 1965 when the bulk of immigrants arriving are from Central and South America, Asia, and Africa. These stories are not new, but Graham does give us a concise summary of the liberal politics of the 1960s that explain why immigration policy changed.

He cites various participants in the 1960s civil rights debate who assured Congress and the public that these laws were enacted to end the historical discrimination against black Americans and were largely limited to the southern states. The civil rights laws, according to Senator Hubert Humphrey and other liberals, were intended to end racial discrimination against African Americans and were not intended to impose quotas. Certainly the new laws, backed by federal authority, ended legal segregation in the United States and opened the doors of opportunity for black southerners in public accommodations and education.

Yet another crucial development occurred: the development of affirmative action in the economic policies of the federal government after 1970. One of the first programs, Nixon's Philadelphia Plan, established virtual quotas in construction

in Philadelphia. Other programs quickly followed as federal agencies formulated economic policies to aid minorities. The Economic Employment Opportunity Commission and other agencies, backed by court decisions, began to impose guidelines giving certain groups affirmative action status, which meant that some ethnic groups would receive special considerations. While Graham focuses on a number of agencies to make his case, the Small Business Administration (SBA) stands out.

Soon certain Asians and Latinos, many of whom were foreign born, were classified with African Americans as minorities eligible for governmental programs, which was not the intent of 1960s immigration and civil rights legislation. Thus Asian Indians, a group with relatively high levels of education and income, were able to obtain special SBA loans and began to replace African Americans as receivers of government loans.

How was it possible for affirmative action programs to include certain groups and not others? Politics and not debate, Graham argues convincingly, led to the inclusion of particular Asians and Latinos, for ethnic groups and organizations exerted pressure on governmental agencies to declare them eligible for affirmative action. These "people of color" joined African Americans in status as victims of historical discrimination, even if they had only recently entered the United States as immigrants. He notes that even Indonesians, a middle-class group consisting mainly of immigrants, received special treatment from the SBA. If a history of discrimination in the United States forms the basis for affirmative action, Graham asks, why are immigrant Indonesians who recently arrived in the United States eligible but not Roman Catholics or Jews, who have experienced prejudice in their past? For Graham, "the agencies provided no rationale to justify their racial and ethnic categories. Dealing with inherited notions of race that were being abandoned in science and social science, government officials drew up questionnaires that reflected assumptions they took for granted. No explanations were provided" (p. 141). Graham is disturbed that federal policy is made by pressure groups and agencies without debate in the public arena or in Congress, which to him represents an undemocratic decision-making process, noting "it was not an open process of public policy making" (p. 140). Such practices are by no means limited to affirmative action programs.

This reviewer found Graham's arguments generally convincing, but his discussion of the pros and cons of immigration is not compelling. Graham's case for the convergence of immigration and affirmative action would have been stronger if he had examined other affirmative action issues. A discussion of affirmative action in higher education, which has become the flashpoint of recent debate and has resulted in court decisions dating to the Bakke case in the late 1970s, could have made his argument stronger.

In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension. By JAY P. DOLAN. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. viii, 312p. Notes, index. \$28.)

No scholar in recent years has contributed more to our understanding of the American Catholic experience than Jay P. Dolan, emeritus professor of history at the University of Notre Dame. Here he brings his wide-ranging erudition to bear on the historical relationship between Catholicism and American civil culture which he, borrowing a concept from W. E. B. Du Bois, portrays as "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings," one rooted in "the tradition of Thomas Aquinas and Ignatius of Loyola," the other in the "tradition of Jefferson and Lincoln" (pp. 3-4). His primary intent is to "explore how American culture has shaped Catholicism" (p. 4), but, especially in his later chapters, he also considers the ways in which "public Catholicism" has influenced the shape and direction of American culture.

In the early years of the republic, Dolan notes, there was no single form of American Catholicism. Within the Catholic elite there prevailed a "personal, interior style of religion" (p. 19), inspired by the European Enlightenment, that was broadly consonant with American elite culture. At the same time, on the western frontier, French missionaries introduced a popular, "emotion-laden," evangelical style of Catholicism that "emphasized the weakness of human nature, the prevalence of sin, and the need for the church and its clergy to help people to overcome this worldly environment" (p. 37). Neither of these was distinctively American but both resonated strongly with major themes in the national culture, especially the democratic imperatives following from the Revolution.

In the nineteenth century attempts to recast the church in a republican mode that incorporated clerical collegiality, lay involvement in parish government, and cooperative relations with the Protestant majority were met forcefully by the Roman curia. Led by a coterie of ultramontane bishops, the American church was thoroughly "Romanized." Democratic imperatives were crushed, a new "devotional" style of worship introduced, and barriers to interdenominational cooperation erected. Through the middle decades of the century the church became increasingly sectarian, imbued with a "siege mentality" (p. 34), and locked in interminable contact with an aggressively hostile Protestant majority. The result was the creation of immigrant enclaves wherein Catholics "chose to stand apart from American society" (p. 70) and "religion became their badge of identity" (p. 58).

After 1880 this Romanized Catholicism, dominated by Irish clergy, was increasingly challenged by immigrant groups who sought to replicate in America the styles of worship and parish government they had known in their lands of origin. At the same time "liberal" American clergy sought to make Catholicism

more compatible with and tolerant of mainstream American culture and the modern age. Once again, however, imperatives for change were repudiated by Rome, which in 1899 formally condemned "Americanism" and refused to countenance any adaptations to national or historical circumstances. As a result the American church became more than ever centered in Rome and resistant to modern innovations.

Through the first half of the twentieth century the ahistorical, universalist, ultramontane, sectarian vision of Catholicism remained ascendant in the United States, but was increasingly disconnected from major changes and reform imperatives in American culture. The changing role of women, the birth control movement, the rise of labor, suburbanization, and widespread social mobility, all undermined traditional Catholicism and created demands for change. Catholic intellectuals increasingly urged a "public" Catholic response to social problems that would necessitate involvement with, rather than withdrawal from, the larger American culture. The resistance of Catholic authorities to these demands sparked liberal resentment that gave rise to a new strain of American anti-Catholicism.

These tensions found partial resolution when Vatican II inaugurated a period of rapid and profound change that involved increasing toleration and ecumenism, liturgical innovations, a new collegiality between clergy and laity, and intense engagement in the broader culture. A Catholic social gospel emerged that led to church officials taking strong stands on a wide range of social, economic, and political issues. Catholicism had left the enclaves and become a "public religion." At the same time the church became far more pluralistic and tolerant of distinctive immigrant cultures, while also embracing many of the ideals of the American "rights revolution." The major remaining points of tension center on the issues of abortion and most recently gay rights. In the late twentieth century, the church in America has thus regained many of its original characteristics, becoming more democratic, more internally pluralistic, and more ecumenical. Recent attempts to reimpose order and Roman control have only resulted in a widening division between the "bureaucratic church" and the "people's church" (p. 255). The American experience shows that the Catholic Church cannot stand apart from the currents of history but must come to terms with a changing world and, as it does, Professor Dolan hopes that we will finally see the emergence of "a genuine American Catholicism, fully American and authentically Catholic" (p. 256).

Pennsylvania State University, Schuylkill Campus

DALE B. LIGHT

Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary. Edited by SCOTT E. CASPER, JOANNE D. CHAISON, and JEFFREY D. GROVES. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002. ix, 461p. Illustrations, notes, notes on contributors, bibliographies, CD-ROM with additional illustrations. Cloth, \$70; paper, \$24.95.)

Historians of the book might consider the question of whether the appearance of textbooks marks the coming-of-age of an academic field. As Robert A. Gross notes in his introductory chapter, *Perspectives on American Book History (PABH)* is designed to "fill the void that developed as American book history moved out of the archive and scholarly journal and into the classroom" (p. 1). Recognizing that book studies is developing as a field of study at the graduate and undergraduate level, and that learning how to use primary sources is an integral part of learning how to "do" book history, the authors of this new publication in the University of Massachusetts Press series *Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book* have compiled an extensive collection of text and images and provided commentary to guide students and teachers in their discussion and analysis.

The editors are eminently qualified to make this compilation. Scott E. Casper, associate professor of history at the University of Nevada, Reno, is author of the award-winning *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (1999), and co-editor of volume 3 in the Cambridge University Press multivolume *A History of the Book in America*. Joanne D. Chaison is research librarian at the American Antiquarian Society (AAS), whose Program in the History of the Book in American Culture has done so much to stimulate research based on the extensive AAS collections. Jeffrey D. Groves, professor of English at Harvey Mudd College, is also a co-editor of volume 3 of *A History of the Book in America*. The other thirteen authors, too, are book studies scholars, all of whom have made significant contributions to the research literature. One is a library director, while the rest are members of history, English, and American studies departments in colleges and universities.

The publication has two parts, a book and a CD-ROM. The book begins with Gross's introduction, and ends with a commentary by the editors on the current state of publishing, authorship and reading, and an annotated bibliography that introduces students to a selection of resources. Sandwiched in between are fourteen chapters that take students on a chronological "walk" through some key topics in this interdisciplinary field. No doubt sensitive to charges by some commentators that in its early development book studies tended to privilege the Northeast and mid-Atlantic states, the editors have tried to ensure coverage of previously neglected geographic regions. Alice Fahs's chapter on publishing during the Civil War, for instance, makes use of

diaries, newspaper articles, and other sources from both the North and the South, while Jen Huntley-Smith's chapter is titled "Print Culture in the American West." Contributors have also paid attention to issues of race, class, and gender: Ann Fabian's chapter on "Laboring Classes, New Readers, and Print Cultures," for example, provides students with insight into the reading experiences of working-class, immigrant, African American, and rural readers in the late nineteenth century. The time period covered ranges from the seventeenth century to the present day.

Not surprisingly, one of the themes that the editors touch upon in their penultimate chapter is "the end of the book" (p. 438). *PABH's* format itself illustrates the fluid relationship between older and newer technologies in contemporary publishing and reading. Coupling a textbook with a CD-ROM is now commonplace and providing digital access to a much more extensive archive of images and text than is feasible on paper underlines some important advantages of electronic formats. Since "not all libraries support book history research equally well," the editors have developed an Image Archive that will provide access to "a rich collection of digital images" (p. vii). Yet while it can be safely assumed that no student will need to be taught how to navigate the book's table of contents, index, and so on, the same is not true of the CD-ROM. Clicking on the digital volume marked *PABH--1* brings up a bewildering array of files with no indication of where to start. Those familiar with Web page construction will know to scroll down to the index page, and in fact all the html documents have links to the main page, so clicking on any of them will eventually provide a way "home." But does it need to be so tricky? A few instructions in paper and electronic format would have increased the "user-friendliness" of the total package.

Once readers have successfully found their way to the main page of the Image Archive, however, navigation becomes a simple matter of following the links to Chapter Contents, Topic Contents, or Bibliography. Each "chapter" contains about ten to twenty links to an image and paragraph of explanatory text that can also be accessed via the Topic Contents link. A one-way link provides full bibliographical details for each artifact—the reader can link to the Bibliography from the Image Archive, but unfortunately not the reverse. So although browsing the Bibliography may point to an interesting artifact, there is no easy way to locate it—no electronic search feature, and no equivalent of page numbers either. Digital formats may be capable of easier information retrieval, but this potential is not always exploited—we have some way to go before we reach a level of digital competency that equals our facility with the codex.

That said, overall, *PABH* provides teachers and students with a wonderful introduction to book history. At an affordable price, it brings both a rich variety of primary sources and well-written scholarly commentary to classrooms every-

where. General readers, too, will enjoy exploring its ideas and images, and will find much to challenge their assumptions about one of the most taken-for-granted features of contemporary life—books and reading.

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