

BOOK REVIEWS

Benjamin Franklin: An American Life. By WALTER ISAACSON. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. 590p. Illustrations, appendices, notes, index. \$30.)

When the *PMHB*'s editor asked me to review a new Franklin biography, I readily agreed. Although Walter Isaacson's name rang a bell, I was not familiar with the author, but was happy for the chance to observe the state of Franklin studies. A few days later, in mid-June 2003, the volume arrived. The phenomenon surrounding it arrived shortly thereafter.

Walter Isaacson's *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life* drew a media frenzy that, for some days in July, rivaled that of Hillary Clinton's memoir or the latest Harry Potter book. Franklin made the cover of *Time* (perhaps because his biographer once edited the magazine); was the focus of numerous television, radio, and print stories; and at the ripe old age of 297, Benjamin Franklin became a long-standing fixture on several best-seller lists. Franklin studies, it seems, are very strong indeed.

Isaacson has crafted a compelling, well-researched biography of this quintessential eighteenth-century American. The author explores Franklin's life from the ancestral home in England to the Philadelphia deathbed surrounded by his grandchildren. In between, Isaacson's prose draws the reader from scene to scene in Franklin's life, holding the interest of even those of us who have read many biographies while remaining accessible and entertaining for readers new to Franklin's story. Isaacson has done an impressive job of utilizing Franklin's papers as well as secondary biographical literature; although he acknowledges the help of hired research assistants in his work, one can still feel impressed that an author who is not a full-time early Americanist has pulled together the materials that this biography contains.

Isaacson is, of course, a journalist rather than a historian, and some of his phrasing—like calling Franklin's views on public culture and philanthropy “compassionate conservatism”—will likely raise hairs on the backs of historians' necks as it acts to connect the average reader to the past. Isaacson positions his Franklin in the mind of the early twenty-first century. Particularly compelling is his wrapping of the life and the legacy together in his “Conclusions,” in which readers are allowed to see the transition of Franklin's life into the American pantheon. From the moment Franklin's coffin was carried to Christ Church Cemetery in 1790, the meaning of his life and work has been hotly contested. As Isaacson concludes the biographical narrative and shows how Franklin's life was interpreted by generations that followed, he shows, in a sense, the reason that the media and readers were so ready to celebrate the release of this biography in 2003.

The book is weakest when its focus on Franklin does not lead to showing him within the communities—intellectual, social, political—in which he thrived. At times, one feels disoriented. Franklin's life is in focus, but it seems as if there is no world outside of the room in which he happened to be at that moment. For example, Isaacson's exploration of Franklin's scientific investigations "in his lab" (p. 138) leads the reader to think of scientific inquiry as far more professionalized in eighteenth-century America than it was and thus to misunderstand one of the core aspects in Franklin's life. Similarly, in Isaacson's telling, Elizabeth Willing Powel, one of the leaders of early national Philadelphia's salon culture, becomes "an anxious lady named Mrs. Powel" (whose first name is in neither the text nor index) when Franklin makes his famous "A Republic, madam, if you can keep it" statement on the last day of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 (p. 459). These, and other similar passages throughout the volume, lead the reviewer to wish that Isaacson had read a few more secondary sources to provide a richer texture of the times that surrounded Franklin's life.

Yet these few criticisms do not discount the fact that Walter Isaacson has created a highly readable, well-documented biography of Benjamin Franklin. The work will stand alongside those by Carl Van Doren, Esmond Wright, and, most recently, Edmund Morgan as a leading biography of Franklin.

Penn State Capital College

GEORGE W. BOUDREAU

Creating the American Mind: Intellect and Politics in the Colonial Colleges. By J. DAVID HOEVELER. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002. xvi, 379p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

This impressive book aims to and succeeds in presenting a description of early American intellectual culture with a two-part approach that effectively combines discussion of significant educational trends with fascinating anecdotal tidbits of those days when nine colonial colleges were "political to the core" and when "intellect meant politics."

Part 1 focuses on how the individual institutions "expressed, advanced, and challenged the intellectual system in which they functioned" (p. ix). The reader is reminded of the public nature of the schools, which had connections to the British Crown or colony that incorporated them and to the religious denominations that sponsored them. Dogmatics and disputation defined and differentiated the institutions. A shorter part 2 relates the colleges and the culture they helped create to the American Revolution.

The author takes a chronological institutional approach beginning with Harvard (1650), turning next to Yale (1701), continuing with the Middle Atlantic schools, and ending with Dartmouth (1768). The Puritans founded

Harvard (the oldest U.S. corporation in continued existence) to educate leaders of the church but soon broadened the school's mission. David Hoeveler identifies most of the early colleges with phrases that describe their relationship to the religious thought and practice of that era. For instance, he links Yale with "Precarious Orthodoxy" (p. 53), William and Mary with "Beleaguered Anglicanism" (p. 79), the College of New Jersey with the "Dangerous Middle" (p. 101), and the College of Philadelphia with "Perils of Neutrality" (p. 155).

These adjectives dramatize the individual stances taken by the schools amid a backdrop of conflict between Puritans and Anglicans on the one hand and between Puritans and Arminians on the other. These tensions were complicated by the evangelical claims of the Great Religious Awakening ("New Lights") in opposition to the American Enlightenment ("Old Lights"), that eighteenth-century philosophical movement that pushed human reasoning and innovation into educational and religious doctrine. A New Light minister and his followers collected and set fire to bundles of wigs, cloaks, hoods, and jewelry that they deemed to be symbols of worldliness!

Creating the American Mind skillfully builds this intellectual history by emphasizing the extended biographies of the college presidents and some influential faculty members to give both a critical axis and an element of adventure to the text. The reader meets such luminaries as Harvard's Henry Dunster (Divinity) and John Winthrop IV (Mathematics and Natural Philosophy) who best defined Harvard's place in mid-eighteenth-century American education. These pedagogical personalities are often presented informally. For example, we meet the College of Pennsylvania's first president, William Smith, holding college classes in his jail cell and Yale's president, Ezra Stiles, on the campus chapel steeple with spyglass in hand watching the approaching British army.

Various themes weave through and enliven the text, and these, too, are colorfully related. One such theme is the colleges' experience of being subject to formal public oversight while also being dependent heavily on private financial support. Yale's Cotton Mather, for example, told the school's first major benefactor, Elihu Yale, that a gift to the Connecticut school would perpetuate his name better than an Egyptian pyramid! The shorter section of the book explores the collegiate connection to American political thought and particularly to the American Revolution, during which the colleges became expressions of a growing nationalism. The war turned them into patriot schools.

In summary, the University of Wisconsin's Professor J. David Hoeveler offers a book slanted to historians but equally appealing to and valuable for the general reader. I highly recommended it.

Eastern University

JOHN A. BAIRD JR.

Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia. By SIMON P. NEWMAN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. x, 211p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$47.50; paper, \$18.95.)

Simon P. Newman's *Embodied History* is a major addition to the mushrooming list of "body" studies. He shows how the "bodies of lower sort Philadelphians" of the early national period "functioned as texts" that allowed contemporaries "to read and learn much" about the poor (p. 11). He strives to demonstrate "the embodiment of poverty" and to "show in graphic and often painful detail the ways in which poverty and the conditions of life and work marked and molded the bodies of the laboring poor" (p. 146). Newman also comments upon theoretical aspects of body studies, but he wisely places those discussions in the notes.

Focusing on the late 1780s into the very early 1800s, Newman stresses that wealthy and middling Philadelphians considered the city's ever multiplying number of lower sorts as a growing threat. In response, the nonpoor utilized a variety of methods and institutions to try to control or reform the "masterless"—a term Newman uses repeatedly to signify lower-class people not under the legal control of a master.

Newman's chapters are rooted in sources that describe how the poor looked, and he considers clothing and hairstyles as well as taboos, injuries, marks of illness, and other physical attributes. While the "Introduction" clearly establishes Newman's goals and methodology, the "Afterword" is worth reading before turning to the six chapters that form the core of the book. The first chapter, "Almshouse Bodies," is built on records Joseph Marsh Jr. kept from 1787 to 1797. Utilizing a database of one thousand people admitted—often forced—into the almshouse in those years, Newman discusses "the very lowest of the lower sort" (p. 19). Giving special consideration to a database of five hundred prisoners from the 1790s, Newman uses Walnut Street Jail records to analyze "Villainous Bodies." In "Hospitalized Bodies," he plumbs Pennsylvania Hospital records to show the range of injuries and illness afflicting those whom contemporaries called "the deserving poor." For "Runaway Bodies," Newman examined all the advertisements for runaways that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* from 1784 to 1800, but he emphasizes the two hundred most complete advertisements, which are split evenly between slaves and servants. "Seafaring Bodies" is a truncated, less satisfying version of Newman's brilliant 1998 *William and Mary Quarterly* article, "Reading the Bodies of Early American Seafarers." "Dead Bodies" draws on records kept by the Reverend Nicholas Collin of Southwark, with specific examples coming from the years 1793 to 1808. This brief but powerful and often poignant chapter is especially instructive because the Reverend Collin, unlike Joseph Marsh, interacted with a wide range of the less fortunate and also displayed "a condescending yet compassionate attitude toward the poor" (p. 128).

While Newman's general arguments on attitudes toward the poor are, as he indicates, hardly new, he is right to trumpet the innovative nature of his approach. No other scholar has used the range of records depicting the bodies of the poor as fully and as systematically as he does. And even when Newman uses databases, which he does to good effect, one encounters the names and something of the human stories of numerous poor people. His analysis illuminates both the nonpoor's fear of the lower sort and the strident efforts to control and mold the poor. He reveals that, at least when Joseph Marsh did the describing, women were more likely than men to be depicted in denigrating terms. Only a few of Newman's illuminating points about the poor themselves can be covered here. The poor were physically smaller than the nonpoor and, not surprisingly, often visibly marked by injuries or debilitating illnesses. Even in a society where drinking was common, the poor often drank to excess and in a public way. Skillfully examining the interplay of attitudes and reality, he proves that William Birch's famous *Views* sanitized the look of Philadelphia by excluding the very poor. For example, vagrants—who may have shared “[s]ome form of community and culture”—frequented the market area, but one cannot tell that from Birch's drawing of the market (p. 48 and cf. p. 147). Newman also maintains that groups of the poor, not just vagrants, probably shared a culture. Above all, he seeks both to prove that the poor “struggled to retain some control over their own bodies and lives” and to celebrate the lower sorts’ “spirit and resilience, and the courage they found to confront life head on” (pp. 8, 140). Newman is determined to make us see the poor’s “passion and enthusiasm for life” and how the poor used their bodies to assert their “agency and liberty” (pp. 141, 147).

While one can question parts of Newman's analysis, *Embodied History* is brilliantly conceived and executed. This fascinating, truly significant book is required reading for anyone interested in the early Republic and is a natural for use in both graduate and undergraduate courses.

University of Cincinnati

JOHN K. ALEXANDER

William Findley from West of the Mountains: Congressman, 1791–1821. By JOHN CALDWELL. (Gig Harbor, WA: Red Apple Publishing, 2002. 458p. Notes, index. \$15.)

John Caldwell, professor emeritus at Augustana College, has written two volumes about William Findley. The first focused on Findley's political career in Pennsylvania from 1783 to 1791. The second, the volume under review here, takes up the story with Findley's election to Congress in 1791 and follows it through the next twenty-six years, in each of which Findley “filled some elective office in Pennsylvania or the nation.” Findley retired from Congress in 1817 at

the age of seventy-six and died four years later. He, along with a number of better-known founders, helped to create the American republic.

Professor Caldwell has chosen to bypass commercial publishers and university presses in favor of Red Apple Publishing in Gig Harbor, Washington, because he had "collected information about him [Findley] that may never be brought together again" (p. 5) and he wanted to insure its preservation and dissemination. These are admirable aspirations, and Caldwell largely achieves them. Indeed, he has collected much information and he has preserved it in an accessible book of acceptable publishing quality that costs only fifteen dollars. For fans of Findley, and I count myself among them, it is a bargain, and one wonders how Caldwell and the Red Apple Publishing managed such a solid publication at so low a price.

The duration and the breadth of Findley's career are amazing. He seems to have been present at (or at least in the vicinity of) almost every major public event in the new nation between 1791 and 1817. Caldwell chronicles the trajectory of Findley's public life almost year by year.

In the decade of the 1790s, Findley played his most influential role. The parties were coalescing, the capital was in his home state, and he often led. In 1794, for example, he attacked Hamilton's program in an extended pamphlet entitled *A Review of the Revenue System*. In it he depicted the bank, assumption of state war debts, the national debt, and the revenue system as parts of a scheme by the monarchial party to enrich speculators and cause "princely estates to grow up like mushrooms in a night" (p. 90). During the Whiskey Insurrection he struggled to meet the needs of his western constituents while supporting government and maintaining order in the face of increasingly disruptive behavior by some men that was "highly applauded by an ignorant set" (p. 116). Back in Congress, Findley opposed the Jay Treaty, favored the sale of western lands to small farmers rather than large speculators, and debated congressional pay, the size of the army, and the excise law. He supported Matthew Lyon in his fight with Roger Griswold and, in general, articulated views and supported policies that we have come to associate with the emerging Jeffersonian Republicans.

Findley did not seek reelection to Congress in the fall of 1798, but the next year he accepted election to the Pennsylvania Senate and then in 1802 returned to Congress, where he served until 1817. When he returned for his second stint in the House of Representatives, the Republican Party had emerged under powerful southern leadership, the capital had moved to Washington, and Findley played a less prominent part. He attended regularly, he usually chaired the important Committee on Elections, and he participated in the formal or the informal debates on such issues as Louisiana, the Yazoo lands, the impeachment of Samuel Chase, the tax on slave imports, the embargo, the war, and the ban on Sunday mail delivery. Overall he continued his earlier antielite, antiprivilege, and anti-speculator inclinations, but he supported the recharter of the Bank of the United States and, on occasion, the interests of land speculators.

Caldwell's description of Findley's political career whets the appetite for more analysis. Findley was one of America's first and most successful professional politicians. In this role, as in much else, he anticipated America's future more tellingly than did many of his more well-known founding brothers. He had migrated to America as a young adult and had risen to political prominence in Pennsylvania, the most culturally heterogeneous, ideologically democratic, and politically modern polity in the new nation. He held elective office on the state or the national level for almost forty years. His was an amazing career and we need to know more about it. How, for instance, did Findley win year after year; how did he mobilize his electoral base, build his coalition, distribute patronage, articulate an ideology, define policy positions, negotiate with colleagues, and build a public persona? How did his two marriages, his church affiliation, his business connections, his extended family, and his Irish brogue affect his career? Moreover, how would knowing all of that and more about Findley better help us to understand how the American republic worked at its very inception? These are important questions and one hopes that Professor Caldwell's work on Findley will stimulate future analysis of this important but neglected founder.

SUNY Brockport

OWEN S. IRELAND

Jefferson's Great Gamble: The Remarkable Story of Jefferson, Napoleon and the Men behind the Louisiana Purchase. By CHARLES A. CERAMI. (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2003. 309p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America. By JON KUKLA. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. 430p. Illustrations, notes, appendices, index. \$30.)

Contemporary interest in celebrating the anniversaries of major historical moments has created a multitude of opportunities for historians of the early republic. Since the 1970s, as centennial commemorations of the Civil War gave way to bicentennial celebrations of the American Revolution, communities, historical societies, museums, universities, and media have paid unusual attention to the decades following the War for Independence. Their commendable sponsorship of conferences and exhibits has provided the impetus as well as the occasion for a good deal of serious scholarship.

In an era of declining sales for monographs, a birthday party is a marketing godsend, and a free one to boot. If only a small percentage of the consumers collecting memorabilia—pottery, flags, dolls, T-shirts—buy books, publishers are going to do much better business than they would under normal circumstances.

Thus conference papers mutate into collections of essays, old monographs are reprinted, and new studies are commissioned or volunteered.

The fact that the results are mixed will surprise no one. What is interesting is the degree to which public commemorations now facilitate, indeed subsidize, scholarship. There is no evidence that historians tailor their arguments to their audiences. Quite the contrary, as the perplexed looks on the faces of people who attend conferences or buy scholarly tomes often reveal. Many are flummoxed by the gap between their expectation of history as personal stories with moral lessons and the reality of critical and sometimes obtuse scholarship that emphasizes argument rather than narrative. Still, bicentennial moments shape the larger contours of scholarship by creating a demand that might not otherwise exist. I wonder about the extent to which the revival of interest in supposedly exhaustively studied political and diplomatic occurrences such as the purchase is related to the proliferation of public moments requiring conferences and books to mark their passing. This is not necessarily a bad thing, especially if historians are willing to see commemorations as opportunities to engage a wider public, ask new questions, and apply new methodologies to the study of events whose contours we think we know.

Charles A. Cerami and Jon Kukla's narratives of the Louisiana Purchase are contrasting examples of the genre of occasional history. Written from dated secondary sources and a smattering of letters, Cerami's account of *Jefferson's Great Gamble* is as celebratory as it is lively. This is a history of great men doing great things for a great country. "For a country that, in 1803, had already made a noble start toward good government and blazing growth to have been given such an imperial gift as the Louisiana Territory must have convinced many of the seriously faithful that nature's design for the planet included a special role for America" (p. 277). The lesson Cerami draws from the purchase is a paean to the value of democratic bureaucracy: "The person on the spot knew more than a distant superior. If any single principle that was at work here has to be credited most, it is that intelligent persons who understood the big picture were able to make wise decisions beyond their normal level" (p. 276).

Jon Kukla also focuses on individuals, but with greater depth and subtlety. Using fascinating personal details to create memorable portraits of key players in the negotiations, Kukla weaves the stories of Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Robert R. Livingston, Napoleon Bonaparte, Diego de Gardiqui y Arriquivar, and Carlos III and IV into compelling multinational history. *A Wilderness So Immense* is a definitive diplomatic and political narrative of the Louisiana Purchase. Ranging all over the North Atlantic world, Kukla deftly traces events from the initial 1780s negotiations between Spain and the United States for control of the Mississippi River to the December 1803 ceremony in New Orleans at which American and French officials signed the official transfer of sovereignty. Kukla's well-written account rivals Henry Adams's narrative of the purchase,

surely one of the great literary achievements of an American historian. I have no doubt that *A Wilderness So Immense* will be one of the most enduring legacies of the commemorations of the bicentennial of the purchase.

My admiration for Kukla's considerable achievement, however, does not overcome my concern about what his book does not do. He incorporates little of the recent literature on American Indians and the conquest/settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in the early republic. Indeed, his book is top down history with a vengeance. "The destiny of America was decided by women and men who crossed the Appalachians into Kentucky and floated their produce to New Orleans on flatboats and bateaux, but their determination was shaped by statesmen with maps and imagination" (p. 5). Much as I endorse this sentiment, I wish Kukla had included the voices of ordinary frontiersmen, the residents of New Orleans, and American Indians, as well as those of American and Spanish statesmen.

Kukla's efforts to demonstrate the significance of the Louisiana Purchase are strained, in no small part because he is sailing against the tide of recent historiography. In the last few decades, scholars have tended to ignore the purchase or relegate it to a relatively minor role in the history of North America. The story most recent historians tell about the expansion of the United States is one of conquest rather than purchase. And its focus is on the enterprising citizens of a republican empire transforming the cultural and physical landscapes of a continent with little or no regard for what they displaced or destroyed in the process.

Kukla's concluding gestures toward inclusive history are at odds with the narrative that precedes them. If he is right that history changes dramatically when seen from the perspective of the Spanish-speaking citizens who constitute a rapidly growing percentage of the American population, then the Louisiana Purchase may increasingly play a less important and a less benign role in the history of North America. Indeed, American citizens may consider the 1846–1848 war by which the United States forcibly acquired two-thirds of Mexican territory both more significant and more representative of our mutual history.

Miami University

ANDREW R. L. CAYTON

Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader. Edited by ROBERT S. LEVINE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. vii, 507p. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55; paper, \$24.95.)

Martin Delany was one of the most complex leaders in African American history, yet all too often his contemporaries and subsequent scholars have focused on his nationalist pronouncements while neglecting other aspects of his varied

social, political, and intellectual career. Scholars have long relied on a famous quote attributed to Frederick Douglass, which appeared in Frank Rollin's *The Life and Public Services of Martin R. Delany* (1868), that emphasized Delany's nationalist sentiments. The quote, although hyperbolic, speaks for itself: "I thank God for making me a man, but Delany thanks God for making him a *black man*." The fact that the scholarship on Delany emerged at the height of the black nationalist and black power phases of the civil rights movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s also contributed to this one-dimensional portrait of Delany's career. Victor Ullman's *Martin R. Delany: The Beginnings of Black Nationalism* (1971), Dorothy Sterling's *The Making of An Afro-American: Martin Robison Delany, 1812-1885* (1971), and Ronald Takaki's *Violence in the Black Imagination* (1993) presented Delany as central to nationalist formations in the black community. More contemporary assessments of Delany's life such as Nell Irvin Painter's seminal article "Martin R. Delany: Elitism and Black Nationalism," in *Black Leaders of the Nineteenth Century* (1988), follow a similar line of argumentation. More recently, scholars such as Wilson Jeremiah Moses and Tunde Adeleke have begun to chip away at the one-dimensional portrait of Delany and present a more complex and nuanced portrait of this African American leader.

In what scholars should consider an extension of his path-breaking assessment of Frederick Douglass and Martin Delany, *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representative Identity* (1997), Levine's *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader* provides the first documentary compilation of his writings since the publication of Frank Rollin's biography of Delany in the late 1860s. Levine's reader spans the entirety of Delany's career, from his youth as an active member of Pittsburgh's free black community until his death in Xenia, Ohio, in 1885. Levine's work is not only useful for the valuable recovery work he has engaged in, but also for the innumerable insights that this work offers into the realities and complexities of nineteenth-century life for African Americans, especially leaders like Delany.

Scholars of Martin Delany will no doubt be familiar with some of the documents presented here, but most will find several here that are worth perusing for the insights they provide about Delany's thought. Levine's reader makes the point throughout that black thought was not limited simply to racial agitation but embraced a wide variety of social and intellectual issues. His presentation of columns from the *Mystery* is an excellent case in point. The paper's columns on marriage and proper deportment for ladies and gentlemen tell us much about Victorian modes of propriety and how these ideas were transmitted within the African American community. An interesting addition titled "Comets" speaks to the often neglected interest of African Americans in numerous aspects of nineteenth-century science.

Another interesting component of this work is Levine's reprinting of twenty-

three letters written to Frederick Douglass by Delany as a correspondent for the *North Star* during his tour of the Midwest in late 1848 and 1849. Although the subject of extensive analysis in Levine's first book on the topic, these letters take on a life of their own, providing an interesting travelogue. This domestic travelogue reconstructs the political and racial ideologies in the free states as the debate over slavery consumed the nation. The picture revealed is less flattering than many advocates of a racially egalitarian North and Midwest would be prepared to concede. One of the most poignant of these letters recounts how Delany and John Mercer Langston, prominent lawyer and first dean of Howard University Law School, following an antislavery meeting gone awry, were detained in a Sandusky, Ohio, hotel as ruffians set bonfires and engaged in other acts of hooliganism throughout the night.

Much of Delany's late antebellum activity centered on emigration, and Levine does a commendable job of presenting documents that provide holistic portraits of Delany's thoughts on this topic. He not only reprints material from his emigrationist manifesto *Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* and on his ideas about political economy and black elevation, but includes an entire section on black emigration and Africa. These sections include convention calls and minutes, letters, political tracts, and excerpts from Delany's fictional novel *Blake or the Huts of America*, published in serialized form in the *Weekly Anglo-African* (1861–1862).

In addition to presentations of Delany's antebellum activities, Levine presents often neglected material regarding Delany's post–Civil War activities. With slavery ended, Delany, like many former abolitionists, traveled south to assist in helping the previously enslaved in transitioning to freedom. Initially encouraged by the promise of full equality and fair play inherent in Reconstruction policies and presidential directives, he soon found his hopes buried in a sea of presidential vacillations, national lack of will, and local violence. Undeterred, Delany began to adapt his antebellum program to the new exigencies of the postbellum period. He trumpeted self-help, moral elevation, and social and fiscal responsibility. When none of these approaches seemed to stem the tide of conservative forces, Delany aligned himself with Independent Republicans, who, in 1874, ran on a platform of honest government. Concerned that the Republicans were corrupt, he eventually cast his lot with the Democrats under Wade Hampton in 1879, a move that confused and confounded friend and foe alike. Levine's presentation of one of Delany's last speeches before a group of black people on Edisto Island in South Carolina, where he was heckled as a traitor to the race, powerfully captures the utter hopelessness of the situation. Delany's growing unpopularity as a race leader led him to dabble in race science. Levine's reprinting of selections from his underutilized opus on race science, *Principia of Ethnology: The Origins of the Race and Colors* (1879), is important in providing additional insights into how African Americans responded to the rise of Darwinism and Social

Darwinism.

In conclusion, Levine's *Martin R. Delany* will stand as the definitive collection for some time to come. It provides a plethora of previously unavailable material about the life of this controversial leader. More than simply a nationalist or emigrationist, Delany, as Levine's work shows us, was a complex figure whose life embraced the full gamut of nineteenth-century American thought.

Ohio State University

STEPHEN G. HALL

Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861. By JOSHUA D. ROTHMAN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. xiii, 341p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$19.95.)

Notorious in the Neighborhood is one of several new books that examine the history of what we now call "interracial" sex and marriage in the United States. This study's uniqueness lies in its focus on the early national and antebellum periods in a single southern state. Using case studies drawn primarily from court documents, Rothman takes the measure of the discrepancies between the laws on the books and the behaviors of actual people at a time when white attitudes in the South about race mixing were about to shift dramatically. He finds that from 1787 through 1861, despite laws prohibiting it, "interracial sex was ubiquitous in urban, town, and plantation communities" in Virginia (p. 4).

Rather than proceeding chronologically, each of Rothman's chapters focuses on a different kind of "interracial sexual connection" (p. 6). The first chapter explores the reasons Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings entered into a "relationship" (chap. 1 *passim*) and accounts for the discrepancy between the agreement among white locals to maintain a code of silence about such relationships and journalist James Callender's attempt to use the story in the press to hurt the president politically. Rothman argues that Jefferson was only thirty-nine when his wife died and thus in need of "sexual relations again" (p. 18). For her part, Hemings agreed to the relationship because Jefferson offered her "extraordinary privileges, and made a solemn pledge that her children should be freed at the age of twenty-one years" (p. 18). Readers interested in the recent discussion about Jefferson and Hemings will want to read this chapter not only because Rothman carefully traces the path of who knew what when, but because he grants Hemings an amount of agency usually lacking in accounts of her life with Jefferson. Not surprisingly, however, this section of Rothman's book is highly speculative, with the author going so far as to imagine that a very young Hemings struck a "deal" concerning children that did not (yet) exist (p. 25).

Rothman's second chapter considers the fact that David Isaacs and Nancy

West of Charlottesville were also left alone by locals. Isaacs and West raised their large family and worked together for the better part of twenty-five years until they were tried in 1822 for cohabitating together. (Because they were not married they could not actually be prosecuted for being of different races.) Rothman shows that creditors used the fact of the couple's cohabitating as an excuse to bring them to court and that their racial differences had been largely a nonissue until then. Similarly, in chapter 3, Rothman argues that the legal authorities sought only to contain and control illicit sex in the interracial brothels of Richmond rather than eradicate it altogether. Only in the 1850s when white anxiety about abolitionism appeared alongside new attitudes about prostitution did authorities make concerted attempts to curtail illicit sex of all kinds.

In chapter 4, Rothman examines petitions to the court showing that local white men were sympathetic to the murderous rage of a black man whose wife was sexually used by a white man, as well as to the murderous actions of a slave woman whose sexual abuser was not only her owner but her father. Similarly, Rothman explains in his fifth chapter that the General Assembly was not much more prone to grant a divorce to a white person if his or her spouse's affair was with a black person as opposed to a white person.

The sixth and final chapter is in many ways the most important in the book. Here Rothman argues that the vast amount of "sex across the color line" (*passim*) in Virginia had resulted in "racially ambiguous persons" (chap. 6 *passim*). Rothman finds that lawmakers left the power to determine a person's race to local white communities. There, color and ancestry were only part of the equation. Even more important were "a person's associations, actions, and loyalties" (p. 205). Readers are advised to read this last chapter of the book first. Doing so will sharpen the sense that in all of the case studies in the book there are not people who are really "white" and "black." Instead "race" was a still developing and very slippery social category. That Beverley and Harriet Hemings, as Rothman notes, married white people "without their spouses' families ever suspecting they had been born into slavery" (p. 42) makes the point that Rothman saves until the end of the book: namely, that whiteness and blackness are not biological categories. His chapter organization undercuts this idea by implying that only biological reproduction muddled the racial waters of Virginia. More to the point, we might consider that a person's public sexual partners—whether or not he or she had children—were a key part of racial performance. This is not a connection that Rothman makes although there is ample evidence of it throughout the book.

This study is immensely valuable for the picture it provides of a time and place in which legal racial boundaries were perpetually crossed sexually. Rothman finds that social categories were far more fluid than their legal counterparts. Unfortunately, Rothman often unwittingly obscures this point when he becomes bogged down by our contemporary vocabulary of "white" and "black." In his second chapter, for example, where Rothman investigates the lives of Isaacs and

West, he is forced to acknowledge that Isaacs may not have been considered fully "white" nor West fully "black." As Rothman notes, Isaacs experienced "cultural marginality and social prejudice" (p. 61) because he was a Jewish immigrant. Nancy West was described in court documents as being of "light complexion" (p. 69), and her brother was able to legally marry a white woman. And yet almost immediately after noting West's ambiguous racial position, Rothman says of her that "She was a free black woman" (p. 75). It seems that our current vocabulary still solidifies what Rothman shows was a more fluid society in Virginia than we may have previously imagined.

Purchase College, SUNY

ELISE LEMIRE

A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic.

By BRUCE DAIN. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. x, 321p. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

If racial oppression is America's original sin, then debate about race is the nation's gospel. But just who wrote it? For a long period of time, white figures assumed preeminence. Not until recently have scholars taken seriously African Americans' role in the evolution of racial concepts and theories. Bruce Dain's new book is a key addition to this effort. Indeed, like recent work by Mia Bay and Patrick Rael, Dain makes African American views on race, slavery, and what some nineteenth-century writers referred to as "the colored condition" absolutely central. But Dain goes a step further, integrating African Americans into wider debates with white theorists, making his study a distinctive and welcome work.

In examining racial theories from the late colonial era to the Civil War, Dain makes several important contributions. First, he argues convincingly that scholars cannot understand the evolution of racial debates by segregating either key thinkers or entire groups—Thomas Jefferson, Martin Delany, the oppressed ("blacks"), the powerful ("whites"). Race was a dynamic concept, he contends, and scholars must study it by constantly jumping across racial boundaries. Dain's treatment of early national debates over race nicely illustrates his point. The leading intellectual figure of the 1790s, he contends, was New Jersey minister Samuel Stanhope Smith, a proponent of monogenism, or common human ancestry. While black writers might have appreciated Smith's attempt to define black people into the human family, they did not accept his view that black people also suffered from cultural or environmental maladaptation. "The few African Americans writing on the subject," Dain observes, "did not share . . . Smith's conception of blackness as a meaningful entity resulting from adaptation to environment" (pp. 40-41). Dain then examines black writers who visualized an African past "ruined by the slave trade" and white oppression (p. 50).

From such deeply contested debates over race in the early national era, Dain moves into the antebellum period. He provides insightful readings of all the canonical figures who meditated on race, from black activists like David Walker and Frederick Douglass to white racial scientists like Josiah Nott (who believed in separate black ancestry). This leads to Dain's second major contribution: he complicates the very genealogy of American racial perception. Far from a linear model, going through distinct phases (from a "soft" racism in the eighteenth century to a hard-core, biological racism by the nineteenth century), Dain charts jagged debates. Here he disagrees with Thomas Gossett, whose classic book *Race* (1963) outlined just such a linear model of racial debate. How could such a model stand when one considers all the writing by African Americans? Thus, just as Josiah Nott's polygenesis theories of black inferiority ascend in the 1850s, Dain introduces James McCune Smith. Here he says that Smith (America's first black physician) was one of the few men capable of critiquing Nott on medical, not merely cultural grounds. Smith bristled at Nott's silly phrenological studies claiming black heads unequal to white ones. He also challenged abolitionist moralizing about saintly suffering African Americans. In a ten-part series published in Douglass's paper in the early 1850s, he took on stereotypes perpetrated by both black and white writers about race. Smith's very modern accomplishment, then, was to break race down into "individualistic terms" (p. 245).

Dain makes a final key point: American racial debate found some of its most dynamic players in the Middle Atlantic states. Here Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia take center stage over New England and the Deep South. Although racial perception extended backward centuries, Dain argues that formal racial theorizing was a product of the eighteenth century, when botanists and scientists (both in Europe and colonial British America) attempted to classify the natural world. Where did black people fit in nature? As a cultural, scientific, and abolitionist capital, Philadelphia played an important part in early debates over both nature and race. From Ben Franklin to Franklin's American Philosophical Society to African Americans like Richard Allen and James Forten, Philadelphians helped establish some of the foundations for future debates over how to classify nature—and race.

The book's only curious quality is the abrupt ending. Having provided such a stimulating way to view early American racial debates, Dain simply stops at the Civil War without suggesting the way things played out. Did, for example, slavery's sudden destruction radically alter racial perceptions? Nevertheless, Dain's book will be a model for scholars researching America's original sin in years ahead.

Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine. By JIM WEEKS. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003. xii, 267p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95.)

In July 2003, residents of Windber, Pennsylvania, held a three-day festival to commemorate the first anniversary of the rescue of nine miners from a Quecreek mining shaft. The festival attracted visitors with carnival rides, a petting zoo, and the Miss Miracle Miner Pageant. Whereas the previous year, the miners were criticized for capitalizing on their seventy-seven-hour ordeal by selling the rights to their story to Touchstone and Disney and appearing on *Oprah Winfrey*, a year later the entire town was transformed into a theme park. Tourists in Somerset County can now buy a package that includes a tour of the farm where rescuers dug down into the shaft to extract the miners and a visit to the Flight 93 crash site just a few miles away. The cumulative effect of the September 11 tragedy and the nine-alive! rescue has left some critics chastising locals for shameless profiting from and desecrating sacred sites of national tragedy.

Those who think rampant commercialization of human tragedies and sacred sites is a modern-day invention would do well to read Jim Weeks's *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine*. In this excellent book, Weeks argues that at Gettysburg—perhaps the most sacred site in our collective national memory—the sacred and commercial have always been intertwined. Indeed, curious sightseers began streaming into the little town and grabbing up souvenirs from the battlefield as soon as the imminent dangers of the battle were over on July 3, 1863. Before the Gettysburg dead could be identified and buried, tourists eager to bring home mementos stripped their bodies of canteens, cartridge boxes, and clothing. Local residents preserved battle-scarred buildings, fences, and trees, pragmatically turning the tragedy of those three days into a town asset and capitalizing on an elite postwar demand for exotica and titillation. From the very beginning, then, the battlefield at Gettysburg was destined to become a site of consumption and national forgetting, rather than, as President Lincoln had hoped, a permanent reminder of “the brave men . . . who struggled here.”

In this exhaustively researched book, Weeks identifies four periods during which Gettysburg was shaped and reshaped to meet the collective consumer needs of those who came to the site. In the first phase, genteel visitors toured the battlefield in carriages, sought regeneration in the natural beauty of the battlefield, and attested to the healing powers of water bottled from the battlefield's mineral springs. By the 1880s, improved railroad access brought a more plebian crowd to Gettysburg. In this second phase, veterans—both black and white—flocked to Gettysburg where they sought pleasure in commercialized leisure, such as riding electric trolleys, climbing battlefield towers, and hiring prostitutes to accompany them on evening drives out to Round Top and Cemetery Ridge. During this era, veterans' groups transformed the landscape of the park as they

competitively constructed monuments in hopes that these structures would serve as repositories of memory as veterans and town residents aged and died. In the third developmental stage, cold war Americans enjoyed family vacations at Gettysburg, where Depression-era and World War II fathers believed the battlefield's "hallowed ground" could instill patriotism in their baby boom children. The consumer behaviors of cold war families inspired the construction of strip malls and cheesy amusements such as the National Civil War Wax Museum, Fantasyland, and Land of the Little Horses that offered family-friendly amusements after a long day of didactic patriotism. In an effort to compete with the kitsch and commercialism that surrounded it, the nation's sacred shrine received a new space-age visitor center in 1962 and an enormous battlefield tower in 1974, symbolizing, in grand fashion, the "victory of industrial capitalism over opponents of progress" (p. 141).

None have more thoroughly and effectively desecrated the sacred ground of Gettysburg, however, than the Civil War buffs and reenactors of the last twenty years, for whom Weeks saves his most stinging criticism. In Gettysburg's fourth developmental phase, atomized and disillusioned male baby boomers came to the park for escape, authenticity, and therapy and initiated an ambitious effort to "save" the old battlefield from commercialism. Here, Weeks argues convincingly, is the supreme irony, for these lonely, white men have turned Gettysburg into Disneyland—complete with themed landscapes, experiential exhibits, and fully outfitted period actors (reenactors) who cyber-shop for just the right faux uniform buttons during the week and indulge in paroxysms of male bonding on the weekends. Buffs and reenactors seek refuge from a complicated present in a past they have carefully constructed at Gettysburg and selfishly protect their modified battlefield from local commerce and from academics like Weeks who would remind them that theirs is only the latest desecration of land that so many young men gave their lives to consecrate.

In order to paint such an original and lively picture of Gettysburg, Weeks carefully studied 150 years of admissions data, National Park Service records, and the personal letters, postcards, and e-mail chat groups of hundreds of visitors and "friends" of Gettysburg. The results are convincing and immensely entertaining.

Villanova University

JUDITH ANN GIESBERG

Baseball in Blue and Gray: The National Pastime during the Civil War. By GEORGE B. KIRSCH. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003. xv, 145p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$19.95.)

It is a cliché among American historians of sport that the Civil War was the key event in the spread of baseball across America, an event that insured that the

New York version of the game would dominate. This in turn established baseball as the national pastime by driving cricket to the margins of the American sporting culture. A number of historians have examined various facets of this process over the years, largely in articles in professional and semiprofessional journals. George Kirsch made one of the major contributions to this subject in 1989 with the publication of *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838–72*.

In *Baseball in Blue and Gray* Kirsch, a professor of history at Manhattan College, has drawn together considerable secondary and original research and produced what will now be regarded as the definitive work on the establishment of baseball as the American national pastime. The primary focus of this slim volume is the war years and the impact that the Civil War had on baseball at this critical point in its development. He is particularly interested in the ties between sport and American nationalism that were formed in this period. Kirsch has created a context instructive for historians of sport and culture and for anyone interested in the wider view of history.

After reviewing the dubious history of the Mills Commission and the creation of the Doubleday myth, Kirsch recognizes this myth for what it is, but also points out the power the Doubleday myth has wielded over American popular culture for over a century. He concludes that this founding myth caught something essential in the relationship between baseball and America, a relationship that was forged during the Civil War.

Baseball in Blue and Gray follows the development of the sport through the middle of the nineteenth century with the spread of the New York game and its triumph over the Massachusetts game. Kirsch explains this development in a number of ways, not the least of which is by pointing to the growing overall cultural and economic dominance of New York in the United States by the middle of the nineteenth century.

This discussion is followed by chapters dealing with baseball in the military camps, in the prisoner of war camps, and on the battlefield. Then Kirsch shifts to the home front, examining the prosperity created by the war economy and its effect on leisure, particularly among the artisan class and other skilled workers. The role played by the new sporting press is given its appropriate attention here.

The explication of the rise of clubs and the players who patronized them is instructive, as is an excellent analysis of the commercialization of baseball during the war. Gambling and admission charges affected the conduct of the game, and the appearance of women at baseball games offered some respectability to the sport. Issues of race are significant and Kirsch examines the segregated character of the game, the emergence of African American baseball, and the interracial interaction within baseball.

Some felt that baseball was a reunifying factor after the war, especially as Southerners who had not been attracted to baseball before the war now came to

it enthusiastically. There was even the appearance of a Texas version of the Doubleday myth to accommodate those looking for a uniquely Southern creation story.

In the end what this little gem of a volume offers is a clear, concise, and well-written and thoroughly researched piece of history, given added significance by solid and creative analysis.

University of Central Florida

RICHARD C. CREPEAU

Selling Style: Clothing and Social Change at the Turn of the Century. By ROB SCHORMAN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. 212p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$35.)

Rob Schorman delves into the dynamic, troubled period of the 1890s to explore the marketing of men's and women's clothing. Using a wide variety of consumer and trade literature, he elucidates the appeals to social distinction, quality, individuality, patriotism, and belonging that characterized American advertising during that decade. Too few scholars of costume have studied men's wear, of any era, so this volume fills a clear need. Clear, too, is the author's style of writing. Schorman's long experience as a journalist shows in his powers of description, ear for the vivid anecdote, and merciful avoidance of most academic jargon. His illustrations have not been rendered trite by overuse in other books, and he connects them effectively to his text. In several hundred endnotes, Schorman reveals the depth and breadth of his reading in scholarly literature.

Central to *Selling Style* is the argument that men's wear of the late 1800s consisted largely of ready-made garments, whereas contemporary women's wear relied heavily on home-sewing and custom dressmaking. This difference, the author believes, is as striking as the contrast of women's curvaceous silhouette to men's blocky suits. While Schorman's second thesis is uncontroversial, his first offers a dichotomy where subtle distinctions might better represent the reality of 1890s attire. Of course women continued to sew during—and well beyond—the 1890s. Dressy dresses in particular needed individual fitting. However, dresses constituted just one part of the female wardrobe. Undergarments, from union suits to corsets and breast supporters; capes and jackets; informal “wrappers”; shirtwaists (shirt-styled blouses); and skirts were produced in profusion, sometimes from the same makers doing men's wear. Costume collections hold a wide variety of women's ready-mades from the 1890s. By 1900 the *Sears, Roebuck Catalog* offered every category of women's wear, including suits and dresses; washable cotton or linen dresses were manufactured in the thousands. Hundreds of these inhabit costume collections. Women didn't change their attitude toward ready-mades at the turn of the calendar to 1900. A taste for fresh style, ease of

trying on, and relief from part of the burden of sewing appealed to 1890s New Women going into paid work or campaigning for societal betterment. Immigrant women, as Schorman illustrates, had to discard their Old-World trappings for New-World togs. Ready-made skirts and blouses filled that need at modest expense.

No writer can cover every source, and underlying Schorman's thesis are his chosen consumer periodicals: *Ladies Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Godey's Lady's Book*. These magazines, unlike the more fashion-oriented *Harper's Bazar*, *Vogue*, and urban newspapers, staked their fortunes on selling sewing advice and campaigning for unalloyed domesticity.

Selling Style will, ideally, spark debate and encourage scholars to look carefully at a wealth of evidence about the acquisition of clothing in the late nineteenth century. Challenge to Schorman's dichotomy does not denigrate his accomplishments in exploring men's wear, demonstrating the symbiotic relationship between advertisers and clothiers, and connecting fierce nationalism to flag-waving styles and Americanized fashion for immigrants. This is a book worth careful reading both by social historians and historians of clothing.

Iowa State University

JANE FARRELL-BECK

The People of This Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left in Philadelphia. By PAUL LYONS. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. 279p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Local studies often scrutinize national phenomena and help highlight their complexity. A term like *the New Left* suggests a movement capable of being discussed in sweeping terms. But as Paul Lyons shows in this thoroughly researched book about Philadelphia during the 1960s, *the New Left* was more conflictual than unified.

Lyons shows how Philadelphia's peculiar history and geography shaped political activism in the city during the 1960s. Philadelphia's unusual politics included not only the controversial figure of Frank Rizzo but also the city's "belatedly arrived New Deal" and early "deindustrialization" (p. 17). The city's long tradition of Quakerism seemed to support the New Left's early interest in nonviolent direct action. Just as importantly, Philadelphia has numerous colleges where young people engaged in new forms of activism.

Lyons provides a rich history of different campuses, including Swarthmore, Haverford, Temple, and the University of Pennsylvania. Each campus holds its own story. Lyons also makes an important historiographical move by focusing on campuses often ignored in histories of the New Left—namely Catholic colleges. Some of his findings are surprising, especially the apathy found on certain

Quaker campuses and the irony that “it was the significantly stodgy, conservative, essentially anti-intellectual University of Pennsylvania, more notable for its professional schools, especially the Wharton School of Finance” that “emerged to shape and direct New Left movement efforts most successfully” (p. 105).

Lyons’s social history of Philadelphia will interest many. But at times his history suffers from the peculiarity of its locale. Some of the activists described here—Joe Eyer and Dan Finnerty, for instance—appear as quirky individuals with quirky stories and not much more. At other times Lyons’s history reads like a survey, moving from college to college without much analysis of wider themes.

Lyons tries to explain what the history of Philadelphia’s New Left tells us about the New Left at a national level. Here his arguments are not very surprising. In fact, his story follows the broad narratives already told by Kirkpatrick Sale and Todd Gitlin. The New Left began as a group of exceptional individuals interested in participatory democracy and a more morally charged form of politics, and for that reason the New Left started small. Then the Vietnam War changed everything, drawing larger numbers of young people into the movement, which itself shifted from “protest to resistance.” During the late 1960s, the New Left followed the broader chaos and turmoil that marked American history, splintering into obscure and often bizarre sects.

Though Lyons argues that he does not like the traditional story of a “good” New Left degenerating into a “bad” New Left (a declension narrative), his own story does not move beyond this interpretation. He is quite honest about the late-1960s move “toward rhetorical excess, abstraction, and self-righteousness” on the part of the movement (p. 223). He argues the New Left followed a course of “emergent possibility and lost opportunity” (p. 223), but it is not clear how this is different from declension. With this said, though, our knowledge of the New Left’s failure to transform American politics is now much richer due to Lyons’s book.

Ohio University

KEVIN MATTSON

Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War. By MICHAEL S. FOLEY. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. xv, 449p. Illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$19.95.)

In this sympathetic account of the Vietnam War-era draft resistance movement, historian Michael S. Foley seeks to uncover the much ignored history of an important—though often misunderstood—form of antiwar activism. “Thanks to examples of several high-profile draft ‘dodgers’-turned-politicians,” Foley argues, “the public’s distinction between draft evaders and draft resisters is imper-

ceptible; anyone who violated a draft law, it seems, was and is a draft dodger. And draft dodgers, it follows, were disloyal and un-American" (p. 6). Resisters, according to Foley's account, "were the antiwar movement's equivalent to the civil rights movement's Freedom Riders and lunch-counter sit-in participants; today, Americans regard those dissenters as heroes while they view draft resisters as selfish, cowardly, and traitorous" (p. 9).

Desiring to enhance the public's understanding of draft resistance while also providing resisters themselves with a voice in the historical record, Foley set out to locate and question members of resistance organizations in Boston, Massachusetts—a city whose history is steeped in dissent—and then write their movement's history. "By 1969," Foley contends, "the city had become so clearly identified with draft resistance that when the Rolling Stones performed at the Boston Garden, Mick Jagger strutted out onto the stage in a tight long-sleeve T-shirt emblazoned with a hand-painted omega symbol, the mark of the Resistance, on his chest" (p. 15). Though much of Foley's research was conducted in university archives, including the important Swarthmore College Peace Collection, he relied heavily on responses (185 in total) generated by a survey that he sent to men and women whose names appeared in the organizational files of the New England Resistance, the Boston Draft Resistance Group (BDRG), and other local groups with similar goals and philosophies. Additionally, the work is enlivened by oral history interviews and the personal papers of the men about whom he writes.

Foley chronicles the experiences of draft resisters in Boston from March 1966—when several pacifists were attacked after burning their draft cards at the South Boston District Courthouse—to 1969, the year in which President Nixon began making substantive changes in the Selective Service System under the counsel of his urban affairs adviser Daniel Patrick Moynihan. In these three short years, however, the ranks of the city's draft resistance movement were filled by a socially diverse spectrum of Americans. Foley tells many of their individual stories throughout the work, revealing the ways in which a man's decision to resist the draft influenced his personal life; work, education, family, and relationships were all potential victims of this intensely difficult decision made by hundreds of young men.

Included in the narrative is an informed discussion of the federal charges of conspiracy lodged against the "Boston 5"—a group of resisters and their supporters which included renowned pediatrician Benjamin Spock—in early 1968. Some of the most compelling events chronicled in *Confronting the War Machine*, however, are the practices of "sanctuary"—often ignored by historians of the antiwar movement—in which a church (or, in some cases, a university) would open its doors to an AWOL serviceman seeking protection from military prosecution. According to Foley, nationwide acts of sanctuary "signaled the shift in the focus of the antiwar movement. Increasingly, as the civilian antiwar movement began

to fragment in 1968 and 1969, and as GI dissent escalated, veterans groups such as Vietnam Veterans Against the War began to assume a more prominent role in the movement. The tactic of sanctuary ushered in that transition" (p. 277). Transition is in fact the prevalent theme of the last chapters of the book where Foley describes the way in which the Boston-area draft resistance movement underwent dramatic changes following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. No longer content to focus solely on the draft, Foley contends that after April 1968 resisters "started to expand their critiques of the war to encompass a much broader indictment of American society" (p. 265). Foley ends his work with a discussion of how the movement tried, in its waning days, to reach out to Boston's suburban population—often with little success.

Foley has produced an important addition to the historiography of the Vietnam era. This book has successfully begun the process of unearthing the facts behind the distortions that have previously (mis)informed the public's understanding of draft resistance and the anti-Vietnam War movement in general.

Wheaton College

SUZANNE KELLEY MCCORMACK

Coal: A Human History. By BARBARA FREESE. (Cambridge, MA: Persus, 2003. x, 185p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.)

To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia. By CHAD MONTRIE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. xv, 245p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.)

As the era of "King Coal" came to a close in the twentieth century, the prominence of this resource in American culture faded steadily. Despite a brief resurgence as a potential alternative to oil during the energy crisis of the 1970s, coal became less a monument to American economic power and more a symbol of the high environmental and human cost of industrial development. Smoke, soot, and ash in American cities no longer marked progress in the way it did in the nineteenth century, and coal miners lost a great deal of power and prestige within America's labor community. To the twenty-first-century eye, coal is a relic of a rapidly aging and increasingly irrelevant brick-and-mortar world. But although it generates only sporadic headlines today, new books by Barbara Freese and Chad Montrie remind us that controversy still haunts coal mining in the United States. Both works of history point toward the present and future status of this troubled industry.

Barbara Freese's *Coal: A Human History* takes the *longue durée* approach to the study of coal. She encapsulates the entire history of coal-burning nations,

from Roman Britain to modern China, into a relatively brief narrative based upon published primary and secondary sources. Along the way, she pays particular attention to the revolutionary characteristics of coal. This mineral acted as a "portable climate" (p. 10), she argues, and helped spur British industrialization in the eighteenth century, nurtured American economic prowess in the nineteenth century, and provided major environmental challenges for the twentieth century. Along the way, the reader is treated to fascinating, though a bit abbreviated, vignettes on the deadly fogs of London, the battle for control of Pennsylvania's anthracite fields, and the smoke abatement campaigns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Freese does not equivocate when it comes to assessing coal's legacy in human history. "Without coal, we would have languished longer in the poverty, tedium, and oppression of the preindustrial world," she argues, "but we might have found a more gradual and humane path out of it than the one we took" (p. 14).

Coal: A Human History is really a work of two parts. The first is the brief historical sketch of the mineral and its role in shaping economic, political, and social life. The second major theme of Freese's work is a description of the devastating effect of coal's byproducts, in particular the greenhouse gas carbon dioxide. The linkages between the historical descriptions and contemporary indictments of coal burning are clear, but also a bit unfulfilling. The idea that the coal industry is a Faustian bargain in which humans secure cheap fuel but create deadly toxins is hardly a revolutionary idea in the literature. The book ends with a call for alternative energy sources after making a tentative counterfactual argument that economic development might have been less painful had coal reserves never been utilized. Though these are not new revelations, they require serious thought and consideration. *Coal: A Human History* therefore stands as a provocative and important work of popular history and environmental policy. Professional historians will find less of interest in this book than the general public, but it makes for enjoyable and stimulating reading nonetheless.

Chad Montrie's *To Save the Land and People* tackles a smaller but no less important topic. Whereas Freese ranges across millennia, Montrie focuses upon the post-World War II campaign to stop surface, or "strip," mining in Appalachia. His reconstruction of this environmental movement is exhaustive, as it draws upon an impressive array of manuscript sources, newspapers, government documents, and oral histories and interviews. The story progresses, as many regulatory tales do, from the advent of grass-roots activism in isolated communities, through the formation of state level social movements, and finally to the passage of federal legislation. Montrie opens *To Save the Land and People* with a quick sketch of surface mining in America and moves on to describe early centers of resistance to this industry in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The focus then moves to statewide movements in the more familiar centers of Appalachian coal mining,

Kentucky and West Virginia, and concludes with the implementation of 1977's federal Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act. Although solidly grounded with evidence, Montrie, like Freese, provides a historical argument with an eye toward informing contemporary and future debates over the high costs of a coal-dependent economy.

Montrie employs a laserlike focus on the opposition to surface mining, which makes *To Save the Land and People* an excellent scholarly monograph. He captures the stops and starts of community activism with sensitivity and attention to detail, and his description of the tortuous process in which grass-roots foment worked its way into state and federal legislation is outstanding. Montrie concludes that the insurgent nature of surface-mining opposition had the unintended consequence of galvanizing political resistance on behalf of the mine operators. When activists used picketing, the destruction of surface-mining equipment, and the threat of a total ban on such mining, he argues, they gained attention but also accumulated new enemies. As a result, moderation among more "reasonable" actors resulted in a watered-down regulatory authority. A few discursive passages into the wider meaning of this environmental movement might have driven this point home a bit harder, but perhaps Montrie learned to stay on target from the subjects of his study. This is not a shortcoming, as *To Save the Land and People* makes a clear and concise contribution to our understanding of environmental activism and adds yet another chapter to the (in)famous story of coal mining in America.

University of Central Florida

SEAN PATRICK ADAMS

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