

BOOK REVIEWS

Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History. By JAMES A. MORONE. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. xii, 575p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$35.)

In *Hellfire Nation*, James A. Morone offers a sweeping overview of American moral conflicts from Puritan New England to current debates over drug and crime policies. His aim is to use the vast historical literature detailing the power of religion and moral absolutism in the American past to isolate themes of moral conflict and compassion that represent an "alternative" framework for understanding American politics. Historians will find few surprises in Morone's insistence on the centrality of moral conflict in shaping American politics, but his intended audience of rationally minded political scientists (Morone teaches politics at Brown) and general readers may gain insights from the book's able synthesis of historical scholarship. Still, Morone's social scientific preference for applying a general model of change to complex moral movements will lessen the book's impact among historians.

Morone anchors his argument in Puritan New England (thereby reversing a generation's worth of scholarship downplaying the primacy of the New England Way in a diverse colonial society). The Puritan sense of religious mission became the model for an American sense of exceptionalism, moral rigor, and community responsibility. Conversely, the Puritan persecution of religious dissenters, slaughter of Indians, and witch-hunting frenzy established a pattern of intolerance against perceived "others," particularly in matters of race, gender, and sexuality. Finally, the Puritan jeremiad became the characteristic form by which moralistic crusades, both repressive and reforming, were articulated and energized. "We remain Puritans all," Morone argues (p. 116).

Morone charts the persistence of these patterns in abolitionism and defenses of slavery, nineteenth-century women's rights, purity and abortion debates, and the white-slave scare of the early twentieth century. By then, the Puritan legacy divided into two traditions: Victorianism, a prim outlook that condemned individuals for their sins; and Social Gospel reform, which sought to restore community by improving the environmental factors that created social problems. The censorship crusade of Anthony Comstock and, more seriously, Prohibition are examples of Victorianism. The Social Gospel started with the Progressives, but achieved fullness in Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights movement. The Social Gospel dominated American politics from 1932 until 1973, but recent policy discussions of crime, social welfare, and the

family have revived Victorian blame and persecution.

The sprawling scope of *Hellfire Nation* produces uneven analysis. Morone puts an extensive specialist literature and his own reading of primary sources to good use in analyzing Anne Hutchinson, the purity movement, and Prohibition, but sections on the New Deal, civil rights, and the 1960s seem oddly thin. More critically, his search for a usable formula for analyzing social change causes Morone to sacrifice complexity for a simple explanatory model: "it's the same thing every time," he asserts (p. 408). Prohibitionists, for example, "campaigned against individual sinners" (p. 343), even though the Anti-Saloon League specifically targeted the liquor industry rather than individual drinkers. Such blurring of complexity, along with a hyperbolic narrative style prompted by a laudable desire to write accessible prose, masks some of Morone's most penetrating insights, such as the way in which bureaucratic forces shape conservative and liberal strategies.

Loyola College in Maryland

THOMAS R. PEGRAM

Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata. By JEFF BACH. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003. xix, 282p. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index, \$35.)

It is important to state upfront what this book is not. It is not a scholarly (or popular) history of the Ephrata Society, founded in Lancaster County on the banks of the Cocalico Creek in 1732 by Georg Conrad Beissel (1691–1768). Neither is it a study of the numerous achievements of the community (printing, Fraktur script, choral music, or successful agricultural enterprises) for which Ephrata became famous. The site today, partially restored and operated by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, is a popular tourist destination. Visitors marvel at the unique buildings and grounds—including houses, a multi-story dormitory, and chapel. At its height in the 1760s, the celibate, cloistered community numbered perhaps 80 residents. Nearby were perhaps another 150 "householders"—married individuals who were sympathetic to Beissel's teachings and participated in the life of the community.

Jeff Bach's focus in this book, however, is elsewhere. He carefully explores the religious thought and language that shaped this Christian, German-speaking, celibate, and mystical community. Unlike some books in which the introduction may be skipped, in this work it is essential reading for the material that follows. The author's central theme is stated early: "Beissel and others at Ephrata used familiar elements from Radical German Pietism to create a language and ritual practices to convey a mystical experience of God" (p. 4). After identifying several religious writers important to the Ephrata story and defining key theological

terms, Bach spends two chapters outlining the religious thought of Beissel and several contemporaries. The five remaining chapters discuss rituals practiced at Ephrata, gender roles, mystical language, Fraktur script, and magic.

For readers willing to work through the intricate mystical worldview of Jacob Boehme (1576–1624), a key source for the community's beliefs, the effort is well worth it. Bach's primary achievement is that he has explained and clarified an unfamiliar world of mystical ideas, rituals, and esoteric beliefs that were part of Radical Pietism—a religious worldview very different from the Puritan theology that eventually shaped America's religious mainstream.

A second notable achievement of Bach's book is his correction of misinformation about Ephrata introduced by the historian Julius Sachse (1842–1919). Sachse's *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania; a Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers* (1899) has been used uncritically by numerous later writers. Bach's index references a least a dozen instances where Sachse's interpretation was more "legendary" than factual.

There is little in Bach's study to criticize. This book is based on his massive doctoral dissertation (Duke University, 1997) and exhibits some of the difficulty of converting a dissertation into a book. Significant cutting, editing, and rewriting were necessary. However, the omission of a discussion of Ephrata's hymnody and music results in an incomplete picture of the cloister's religious life.

For the serious student of colonial Pennsylvania, the Brethren movement, communal societies, or Pietism in early America, Bach's work is essential reading. The excellent bibliographical essay alone (pp. 197–217) makes it indispensable for academic libraries.

Elizabethtown College

DAVID B. ELLER

The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America. By FRANK LAMBERT. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003. xii, 328p. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

The title of this book is a bit of a misnomer. The book purports to be an objective, balanced treatment of religion in early America. In fact, it is a clever (if unpersuasive) reassertion of the liberal secular interpretation of Christianity in the Founding, as earlier espoused by Professors Noll, Marsden, and Hatch in 1983, and by Kramnick and Moore in *The Godless Constitution* (1996). This book claims to add originality to that interpretation by presenting early American history in two distinct "stages": (1) The Planting Fathers (who were religious, but intolerant) and (2) The Founding Fathers (who were not Christian, but were tolerant). This conceit allows Lambert, a history professor at Purdue, to "prove" that the Founding Fathers and the U.S. Constitution (and therefore all

subsequent American politics) were not in any way Christian—a neat subterfuge, but unconvincing, even on Lambert's own terms, and rendered embarrassingly irrelevant by other recent scholarship. Apparently he has missed the several articles in James Hutson's *Religion and the Founding of the American Republic* (1998), which show clear Christian influence on several of the Founders' thought, or *The Political Philosophy of James Madison* (2001), which shows that the structure of the Constitution *itself* is premised on a Christian worldview.

The author's adherence to this liberal historical paradigm is clearly revealed in several places, despite the ostensible transcendence of Separationist-Accommodationist perspectives claimed on pages 6–7. He goes on to assert that “This book attempts to capture some of the contingent nature of the Founders' deliberations regarding the place of religion by paying close attention to historical context” (p. 7). Apparently that close attention did not detect that the “Blessings of Liberty,” as well as the First Amendment rights to association, assembly, and free expression have explicitly Christian connotations in “the historical context.” That and the Constitutional Founders' deference to state religious strictures reveal an amazing legal, political, and religious blind spot in this analysis. Recent studies by Daniel Dreisbach (*Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State* [2002]) and Philip A. Hamburger (*Separation of Church and State* [2002]) show the surprising superficiality of Lambert's thesis.

The author parrots earlier liberal antireligious scholarship by casually lumping “Founders” Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Paine (!), Madison, Hamilton, and Jay in the “Deist” camp, when the last three are arguably orthodox Christians. Lambert bolsters these generalizations with references to letters or documents that “prove” the Founders' heterodoxy (including a letter of “Humanist” James Madison extolling religious liberty, but conveniently leaving out of the quote Madison's positive endorsement of the Christian faith).

The book contains sections on the English heritage of church-state relations (twelve hundred years covered in twenty-four pages), which would have greatly benefited from *Theology of Law and Authority in the English Reformation* (1991) by Joan Lockwood O'Donovan, and on early settlements in Virginia, New England, and Pennsylvania, the Great Awakening, Enlightenment Deism, and Whigs (which shows little familiarity with the last thirty years of American historiography), and the election of 1800.

The author reveals his negative view of any genuine religious influence on early American politics by glibly portraying the first Virginians' worship and thanksgiving upon landing in the New World as a desperate clinging to religion after an arduous voyage; intolerant Puritans burning witches; the Great Awakening succeeding by virtue of modern marketing techniques; and contemporary Christian conservatives trying to reinstate antiquated “regulated” religion in America. Professor Lambert's championing of religious freedom against the intolerant Religious Right (whose adherents see their own expressions of faith as

guaranteed by the free expression clause) would ring truer if he mentioned the restrictions on religious expression by liberal Supreme Court rulings. But, alas, Lambert's liberal tone ignores such subtleties despite this book's claim to balance and objectivity.

Apart from the ideological slant of this work, its scholarly apparatus is surprisingly weak, especially for a publisher of this prestige. The sources are selective and often dated, the publishers of footnoted books are left out, and no bibliography appears. This lack of customary scholarly apparatus may be due to the effort by many university presses to reach a popular or secondary school market, but this can be accomplished without sacrificing scholarly standards. Lambert does express special appreciation to Princeton University Press editor Thomas LeBien for "directly shaping this book," including "the early conception of the project" (p. xi).

Perhaps the saddest aspect of this book is its trivializing of the deep religious heritage in America. To reduce, as the author does (p. 160), the vast, eloquent New Light theology of Jonathan Edwards to a seemingly bigoted quote denouncing Deists, reveals, for a writer on American religious history, a serious lack of understanding and appreciation of the power and spirit of early American faith, a faith that continues to animate the American republic.

University of Virginia

GARRETT WARD SHELDON

The House and Senate in the 1790s: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development. Edited by KENNETH R. BOWLING and DONALD R. KENNON. (Athens: Ohio University Press for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 2002. x, 348p. Notes, contributors' notes, index. \$44.95.)

The modern U.S. Congress bears the same constitutional form but shares few specific characteristics with its previous selves over the past 215 years. Indeed, the most striking differences become evident the further back in time one views Congress. This compound of continuity and ever-possible contrast invites and sustains questions about the long-term viability of constitutional democracies and their political institutions, as well as numerous comparative questions concerning the institutional development of national legislatures and the behavior of their elected members, the interests they hear and heed, and the constituencies they represent. Given the dearth of historical scholarship on the early U.S. Congress, this edited volume is well situated to focus on a related and equally promising set of questions concerning the constitutional origins, initial organizational structures, and early operations and decisions of Congress in the 1790s.

The interested reader will find that each of the essays illuminates something about the early U.S. Congress that previously had been obscured, partially for-

gotten, or, at the very least for some, dimly lit. John Kaminski's essay opens the volume with a necessary and not surprisingly solid overview of the origins of Congress as reflected in the deliberations of the 1787 Constitutional Convention and postconvention debates between the Federalists and Antifederalists. An unexpected discovery on this well-traveled ground would be a difficult task, but Kaminski insightfully recognizes how the delegates' interests in the terms of the new constitution's rule of apportionment fundamentally affected their views and subsequent decisions on the structure and intended purposes of the Congress they ultimately created.

The next three essays—by William diGiacomantonio, Jeffrey Pasley, and Richard John and his coauthor Christopher Young—plus Terri Halperin's essay placed later in the volume provide thoughtful insights concerning the relationships that emerged and were negotiated between the first Congresses and various external interests with a stake in the power and decisions of the new national government. The former three essays illuminate the initial forms and practices of legislative petitioning and lobbying—thereby opening a long overdue bridge between works on American colonial assemblies by Alison Olson, Michael Kammen, Raymond Bailey, and Rebecca Starr among others, and the more fragmented body of work on later nineteenth-century American legislatures by Douglas Bowers, L. Ray Gunn, Elizabeth Sanders, Mark Summer, Margaret Susan Thompson, and Allan Tully. In particular, diGiacomantonio surveys over six hundred petitions to the first Congresses (1789–1791), analyzing them by the topics they addressed: e.g., Revolutionary War, veterans' and public land claims; trade and public credit issues; and antislavery, religious freedom, and general welfare-related policy requests. Pasley provides a more detailed and subtle account of congressional lobbying within the context of prevailing social norms and practices, chronicling both the success of well-mannered outside interests like Mannasseh Cutler and Baron von Steuben, and the actions of well-connected members of Congress with special interests like William Henry Harrison and John Cleves Symmes. John and Young more narrowly but effectively recount the origins, stories, and policy effects of early congressional petitions for route designations, employment, and subsidization requests related to the nascent federal postal system. Halperin's essay, by contrast, focuses on how the early development of the U.S. Senate was shaped by the ambiguities of the U.S. Constitution, and the often conflicting intentions and actions of U.S. Senators, the more active U.S. House, the American public and press barred from Senate deliberations until 1795, and the state legislatures that elected and attempted to direct the legislative behavior of their representatives in the U.S. Senate.

Three other essays in this volume—Marion Winship on early Kentucky politics and the ambitious John Breckinridge; Christine Desan on the concept of remedy and the story of *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793); and David Siemers on the presence and reconfiguration of Federalist/Antifederalist divisions within the

initial Congresses—provide additional illumination of the American constitution in the 1790s. Although interesting topics, the editors' decisions to include these essays seem to require more explanation than is offered in their cursory introductory essay. The lack of a stronger editorial presence in several essays also is puzzling, as is the unusual placement of the volume's final essays by U.S. Senate historian Russell Baker and U.S. House historian Raymond Smock: historical overviews of the U.S. Senate and U.S. House in the 1790s that extend the historical and institutional emphasis provided by the opening essay by Kaminski. In sum, the volume offers many interesting parts but as an edited aggregation it fails in several respects to return what its title unequivocally promises.

University of Virginia

CHARLES A. KROMKOWSKI

The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery. Edited by GARY E. MOULTON. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. lxii, 413p. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$29.95.)

The bicentennial of the journey by Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the Corps of Discovery began in early 2003. This abridgment of the thirteen-volume scholarly edition of the expedition's journals is the place to start for those looking to read the firsthand writings of the explorers. Gary Moulton, its editor, has been preparing the journals for over twenty years and weaves a seamless, easy-to-read narrative from the daily entries of the expedition's leaders and subordinate members John Ordway, Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass, and Joseph Whitehouse. Moulton promises special attention to the expedition's contacts and interactions with natives and to its natural historical observations without diminishing the excitement and adventure surrounding the journey. Throughout, helpful notes, blessedly placed alongside the text rather than at the end, assist readers unfamiliar with Plains Indians groups, scientific nomenclature, and idiosyncratic early nineteenth-century spelling. In sum, Moulton's one-volume abridgment is likely to be the new standard text replacing other single-volume editions by Bernard De Voto, Frank Bergon, and Landon Jones, among others.

But because this volume is the stepchild to the most comprehensively researched edition of the journals, its accomplishments are more modest than its grandiose subtitle suggests. Traditional understandings of Lewis and Clark are confirmed, not altered, with this edition in spite of the fine editing, the explanatory notations, and the inclusion of voices other than the expedition's principals. Moulton alludes to the wealth of new scholarship that offers context for, criticizes, and interprets Lewis and Clark but he takes little advantage of its findings. Whereas the scholarly journal project was "Lewis and Clark's book," nonexcerpted transcriptions of their words, "this [abridgment] is my view of Lewis and

Clark," Moulton declared in an interview with Bruce Cole, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, posted on the University of Nebraska Press's Web site (<http://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/lcmoultoninterview.html>).

At issue in this volume and in Lewis and Clark scholarship generally is a question of how to frame the expedition. Should we consider Lewis and Clark narrowly, as men assigned a dangerous task, an expedition that was "not simply completed," but one "magnificently accomplished" (p. 380)? Or, should we think of Lewis and Clark more broadly, as the advance guard of an American empire that quickly overspread the continent altering dramatically the lives of Native Americans and the environment? Moulton's view—fashioned from the explorers' writings he selected—is more in keeping with those who celebrate the successes of a collection of ordinary men who thrived under extraordinary circumstances, a "band of brothers" (p. 380)—Moulton borrows Stephen Ambrose's phrase—who risked their lives for something greater than themselves. Moulton's abridged edition elevates Lewis and Clark's status as American heroes, minimizes their impact on Native Americans and their culture, claims lasting importance for their natural historical observations, sidesteps a thorough discussion of Clark's slave York, and stresses the overall benignity of the expedition.

But the Corps of Discovery is more complicated, its successes less certain, its impact longer lasting than Moulton presents in this volume; and, acts of physical endurance notwithstanding, a more circumspect attitude toward its accomplishments would have helped readers to understand the expedition and its context. But Moulton knits so tight a weave that it is nearly impossible to consider Lewis and Clark as ambivalent, contradictory figures; readers are rarely given a chance to consult sources that cast Lewis and Clark in a different light. Moulton contends that Lewis and Clark "established peaceful contact with most of the Indian tribes that they met. Meetings with Indians were generally cordial and mutually beneficial" (p. 383). But the expedition's first sustained encounter with the Oto and Missouri Indians in August 1804, a few weeks after the corps left St. Louis, raises questions about such conclusions. In a speech to these Indians not included in this volume Lewis claimed sovereignty over already inhabited land and informed the natives that they were "bound to obey the commands of their great Chief the President who is now your only great father . . . lest by one false step you should bring upon your nation the displeasure of the great father, the great chief of the Seventeen great nations of America, who could consume you as the fire consumes the grass of the plains" (Lewis and Clark to the Oto Indians, 4 August 1804, in Donald Jackson, ed., *The Letters of Lewis and Clark with Related Documents, 1784–1854* [1978], 206). Lewis reinforced this threat with martial emphasis by firing the expedition's "air gun," an action "which astonished those natives [sic]," Clark wrote (p. 28). It is true that only two Indians died at the hands of the expedition—a point made repeatedly by Lewis and Clark aficionados and defenders—but Lewis and Clark were the first of many from an advancing

commercial empire which brought epidemic disease and was more than willing to manipulate native trade patterns and networks for its own advantage.

Perhaps anticipating a growing chorus of critical voices, Moulton is at pains to establish Lewis and Clark's expedition as a major scientific endeavor; an objective and disinterested journey that is beyond politics, an odyssey that contributed to the betterment of humanity. Here Moulton is in concert with Paul Cutright's *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (1969) that attempted to rehabilitate Lewis particularly as the "discoverer" of numerous plants and animals. But such an interpretation is based on suspect assertions: First, Moulton contends that Lewis possessed a "systematic approach to understanding the natural world" (p. 382), evidence of which is Lewis's ability to recall that the western blue grouse has exactly the same number of tail feathers as the ruffed grouse. Far from systematic, Lewis's natural historical observations are in truth lists of animals seen and briefly described. Second, he claims "that there were few trained naturalists in America at the time and Lewis was their equal" (p. 382). Not true. Lewis received a crash course in scientific observation from Philadelphia's scientific savants, the young nation boasted natural history societies in its major cities, and it published four scientific journals. Lewis and Clark are reminiscent of technicians who work in laboratories, skilled observers but not interpreters, collectors not concluders.

The Lewis and Clark who emerge from these pages are bold, heroic figures—explorers, scientists, diplomats, wilderness writers. Such a vision is satisfying but not entirely accurate. All told, Moulton's edition may be the first place to start if you are interested in Lewis and Clark. But, it should not be the last word.

American University

ANDREW J. LEWIS

The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz: Portrait Painter of the Early Republic. Edited by THOMAS R. RYAN. (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster County Historical Society, 2003. xiii, 178p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$39.95; paper, \$19.95.)

In introducing *The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz*, Thomas Ryan characterizes the artist's work as proof that "second tier did not mean second rate" (p. vii) and places Eichholtz among the artists who painted the vast majority of sitters in early national America. What sets Eichholtz (1776–1842) apart is that we know much about his work and life: his detailed account book and hundreds of surviving portraits are augmented by the long interest in the history of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the part of its citizens. In a catalog that accompanied an important group of exhibitions at the Lancaster County Historical Society, the Heritage Center Museum of Lancaster County, and the Phillips Museum of Art

at Franklin and Marshall College, Ryan and his coauthors explore the life of the artist, his family, and his patrons, as well as his ties to the world beyond Lancaster.

Ryan's analysis of Eichholtz allows us to see the artist's many transitions during his life, and the multiple "worlds" in which he lived and worked. Few artists spent their entire careers painting fine art, instead balancing this work with more artisanal pursuits such as sign painting. Eichholtz began his career as a coppersmith and did not fully relinquish this trade until he had received substantial portrait commissions. He painted relatively inexpensive small profiles of Lancastrians in the early 1800s before moving on to full-size portraits in the 1810s. Eichholtz spent much of the 1820s in Philadelphia, returning to Lancaster the following decade. Eichholtz's worlds included the mid-Atlantic artistic community, for he had direct contact with many artists, including Thomas Sully and Gilbert Stuart, and art institutions such as the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

David Jaffee argues that Eichholtz was an artist-entrepreneur and then convincingly lays out the evidence to justify this claim. He, like Ryan, sees portraits as agents of social mobility for Eichholtz and his sitters. This important theme might have been expanded to include more analysis of the relationships among patrons of his different media: were coppersmithing and his career-long sign painting mechanisms for expanding his base of portrait patrons as well as a source of steady income? Eichholtz's interactions with other artisans are thoroughly discussed, but one wonders whether other activities, such as his service as a warden of Lancaster's Trinity Lutheran Church, might also have buttressed his artistic career.

Peter Seibert's analysis of Eichholtz's oeuvre focuses on documented works. He allows the reader to compare Eichholtz's work to that of other artists who painted in remarkably similar styles. The conclusions are carefully tied to the ample illustrations, many in color. The questionable reference to an artist painting stock bodies in winter (p. 67) does not substantially mar the essay, which will be of great benefit to those who study the artist's work. The second half of the volume is an unusually effective catalog by Ryan, with introductory statements that are amplified by illustrations and paragraph-long entries. This section reinforces the information in the essays, allows a wide range of material to be illustrated and discussed, and provides an accessible format for the casual reader.

The Worlds of Jacob Eichholtz adds significantly to our understanding of portraiture in nineteenth-century America and provides a model for investigating and contextualizing, historically and art historically, a single artist's achievements. Jaffee and Ryan, in particular, explain how Eichholtz crafted his career and how his success was related to the role his portraits had in a particular community. A more in-depth discussion of Eichholtz's roles in Philadelphia's and Baltimore's artistic communities was beyond the focus of this volume, and one hopes that other scholars will take up that topic in the future. The format and

contents of the catalogue meet the needs of scholars, collectors, and readers with more general interests.

Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library

ANNE VERPLANCK

1816: America Rising. By C. EDWARD SKEEN. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003. xvi, 299p. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.)

1816 is recalled as the "year without a summer." Snow covered New England on June 5 and a July frost destroyed crops as far south as Richmond. Yet as Edward Skeen shows, this phenomenal weather was not as unusual as it appeared (that year's drought caused more damage to crops) and was not the year's most significant event. 1816 found the young American nation on the "cusp of political, economic, and social change" (p. 236).

Skeen deftly considers a broad range of changes looming for the American republic, which either took root or flowered in this year of turbulent weather. The American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery met in January; the American Bible Society formed in May; in New York a Free School Society organized; a Female Tract Society formed to distribute uplifting books primarily to teachers; slaves in Camden, South Carolina, plotted a rebellion on July 4 (six conspirators were hanged, others banished); the first steamboat traveled up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers from New Orleans to Pittsburgh; banks and factories took the place of farms and dockyards as centers of economic enterprise; New York's legislature took action to begin building the Erie Canal.

Skeen ably leads the reader through the American political scene in 1816, making his book indispensable for teachers of American history hoping to lead their own students through this period of transition. The men elected to Congress in 1814 were, according to Henry Adams, "the ablest and most vigorous men of their generation" and tackled these economic and social changes directly (p. 38). Congress met in temporary quarters (the British had destroyed the Capitol and the White House in 1814) but managed to accomplish much. Congress created a national bank, enacted a tariff to protect new American manufacturing interests, and for the first time in peacetime authorized expanding the American navy. The Congress also proposed an ambitious plan to build a national infrastructure, to "bind the Republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals," in the words of sponsor John C. Calhoun, who urged his colleagues, "Let us conquer space" (p. 115). It seemed ironic to Federalists that the Republicans, who had risen to power in 1801 by opposing banks, a tariff, and a navy now embraced these central features of the Federalist agenda. "Our two great parties have crossed over the valley and taken possession of each other's mountain," for-

mer president John Adams observed (p. 212).

Two-thirds of the ablest and most vigorous men of their generation were turned out of Congress in 1816 for granting themselves a modest salary. Though the Federalists barely contested the presidential election, Republican William H. Crawford of Georgia, despite taking himself out of the running, nearly won the nomination away from James Monroe, who enjoyed "the zealous support of nobody, and he was exempt from the hostility of Everybody" (p. 230). A political "Era of Good Feelings" seems as anomalous as a "year without a summer." Skeen reminds us that social and economic changes in the American republic are bound up in a political process.

Suffolk University

ROBERT J. ALLISON

Gettysburg. By STEPHEN W. SEARS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003. xiv, 623p. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.)

The Stand of the U.S. Army at Gettysburg. By JEFFREY C. HALL. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003. xxviii, 415p. Maps, charts, appendices, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$49.95.)

Confronted with two new books on the battle of Gettysburg, one is obliged to ask whether any more studies of this epic battle are necessary. A mountain of articles and monographs attest to the enduring place that Gettysburg holds in our national memory. No other battle of the Civil War generates such publishing and reading obsession. While each of these works incorporates recent insights into the battle, neither alters the face of Gettysburg scholarship (a likely impossible task). Despite this, both books will prove useful to students of Gettysburg, though in different ways.

In *Gettysburg*, Stephen W. Sears has reaffirmed his mastery of the campaign study, with a logical sequel to his highly praised books on Antietam, the Peninsula, and Chancellorsville. His graceful writing gives satisfaction to both novice and professional history readers alike. The sizeable campaign study rewards the reader with an engaging style, evocative descriptions, and penetrating character analysis of key participants.

Though written with a popular audience in mind, *Gettysburg* tackles primary controversies of scholarly debate, including criticisms of Lee's aggressive nature and his narrow focus on campaigns in the East. Detractors have charged Lee with a "parochial" emphasis on the Virginia theater of war, to the detriment of Confederate operations elsewhere. Sears defends Lee, arguing that Lee's plan for a northern advance considered the important implications for events at Vicksburg by weighing the potential fall of that city against a possibly overshadow-

owing victory on Northern soil. He portrays Lee's bold plan as a risky yet forceful solution to the imperatives of Confederate grand strategy.

In answering why the Confederates lost the battle, Sears offers a judicious balancing of Union and Confederate responsibilities. Critics such as Alan Nolan pillory Lee for an aggressive strategy driven by overconfidence and contempt for the foe. *Gettysburg* incorporates the case for Lee's leadership errors, including the failures to manage and communicate clearly with his officer corps and to adjust plans according to changing conditions on the field. In contrast, however, Sears gives the Union army and its commander due credit, arguing simply that Lee was "outgeneraled" at Gettysburg by his federal counterpart, George G. Meade. Perhaps the most engaging portion of *Gettysburg* is the comparison of leadership, initiative, and intelligence and their impact on the unfolding battle. In Sears's work, Gettysburg is a triumph of Union intelligence, and this element reveals the beneficial influence of Edwin C. Fishel's *The Secret War for the Union: The Untold Story of Military Intelligence in the Civil War* (1996). In the Gettysburg campaign, intelligence gathering reflected a stark contrast between Union wealth and Confederate dearth. Many of Lee's decisions can only be understood in light of the erroneous or nonexistent Confederate intelligence.

Any book length study of this battle invariably draws comparison to Edwin B. Coddington's *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (1968), the long-standing bible of Gettysburg scholarship. Coddington did much to revitalize the image of General Meade, and his campaign study is unrivaled for its tactical detail. Sears's writing is more elegant and skillful, however, and shows greater depth in describing the civilian experience during the campaign. *Gettysburg* also contains revealing passages about the pressures emanating from Abraham Lincoln and military officials in Washington. In the end, Sears's book should please a wide-ranging audience from beginner to expert.

Though written by a biologist, Jeffrey C. Hall's *The Stand of the U.S. Army at Gettysburg* is nothing less than a labor of love, characterized by a thoroughness of organization and detail that would have made Linnaeus proud. Hall intended his large format book as an overview of the battle suited to the Gettysburg novice, stripped of the "minutiae" prevalent in many battle books. It is part narrative and part historiography, with the author drawing upon more recent scholarship to address chestnuts of Gettysburg lore. Hall admits that his work is largely a synthesis of secondary sources, reflecting only "modest forays" into primary ones. His main thrust emphasizes the active role of the Union army and its leadership in defeating Lee's Confederates. In this view, Hall acknowledges Coddington's influence and expresses a frustration with Lost Cause explanations for Gettysburg that take a one-sided look at Confederate actions.

The best features of this weighty book are the abundant maps plotting every facet of the campaign, from grand movements to small-unit tactics. The author supplements these with an array of useful schematic diagrams, enhancing readers'

understanding of unit organization and deployment. These inclusions commend the work to those studying Gettysburg who may also appreciate the extensive bibliographic essay underlining the major scholarly resources that informed the author.

Sadly, the text of *The Stand of the U.S. Army at Gettysburg* falls short of the superior quality of its maps, and certain portions show more careful editing than others. Part of the dilemma is created by Hall's ambitious goals to create a simplified narrative of events and to wade authoritatively into key historical debates. These two impulses play out unevenly in the book, with the consequence that neither goal is entirely achieved. Regardless, Hall's earnest study is an excellent reference work for further research.

No study of Gettysburg could conclude without addressing the greater impact of the battle upon the war. The contentious debate is broadly divided between those who depict Gettysburg as a major turning point of the Civil War, and others who see less definitive links between Gettysburg and Appomattox. Sears, the more seasoned author, limits his claims to portraying Gettysburg as a turning point of the war in the East and a "defining defeat" for Lee (p. xiv). In his epilogue he reflects thoughtfully that the return of the opposing armies to Virginia seemed to uphold the status quo. He suggests that for many in the nation, "the meaning of that great battle had become clouded"—a meaning, he argues, that Lincoln attempted to define in his immortal Gettysburg Address (p. 513). Drawing upon his own extensive studies of Gettysburg, Hall makes bolder assertions that the Union army was reborn from this battle. Of Lee's loss, he writes, "it may have doomed his army and the Confederacy, even though it took twenty-one more months to complete the job" (p. 266). If nothing else, the disagreements of historians prove that we will always have more books on Gettysburg.

Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT M. SANDOW

Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America. By HELEN TANGIRES. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. xx, 265p. Illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$45.)

In a well-illustrated and well-written account, Helen Tangires tells the long-neglected story of public markets in nineteenth-century urban America. Her book examines in great detail this once crucial civic institution as it evolved through the century in reaction to cultural, economic, and technological changes. Although many urban historians of the period have touched on these markets, Tangires's focus on them allows her to tell a compelling tale of civic culture as America shifted from a moral economy to a capitalist one. She does this first by sketching the roles of public markets in the cities—both large and small—in the early republic, then turning to a case study approach focusing largely on

Philadelphia and New York to look at change at midcentury, and returning to a wider focus to look at the markets in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One of the great strengths of this work is that Tangires has drawn on the more extensive literature on public markets in Europe to help her explain and contextualize the American experience. This is particularly evident at the outset, when she establishes the moral economy of the early republic, and at the end, when she touches on Progressive Era reforms. Another strength is the way in which Tangires combines a wide variety of sources to tell her story, which involves intertwining architectural, business, cultural, political, regulatory, and urban history. In the first part of the book, this combination of sources allows her to recreate the sights, smells, and sounds of the antebellum markets particularly effectively. The work also succeeds admirably in extending urban history beyond the big cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to smaller communities like Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and Logansport, Indiana. Finally, the many illustrations help readers understand the public markets as key portions of the urban built environment in ways text alone simply cannot.

This is a nicely conceived and well-executed look at an important but far-too-long-overlooked subject in American urban history, and in light of its strengths, my criticisms seem more like minor quibbles. Because the work covers approximately fourteen decades of complex urban history in just over two hundred pages, I often wanted to have a bit more context than the text was able to provide. In addition, the work is at its greatest depth in the Middle Atlantic region, and the further one traveled from there, the fewer examples one found. The cities of the West mostly make cameo appearances, while those of the South, Midwest, and New England largely play supporting roles.

Overall, however, this is an excellent work that helps us better understand this once key economic and cultural institution. As Tangires's narrative makes clear, public markets were crucial to the development and growth of the nineteenth-century city. Its strong focus on Philadelphia makes this book of particular value to historians interested in the Quaker City.

Wilkes University

JOHN H. HEPP IV

Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism. By ROBERT S. COX. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003. viii. 286p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.50.)

In Robert Cox's fascinating and very well-written study of American spiritualism, the reader can interpret "A Sympathetic History" in two ways. First, Cox argues that the notion of sympathy, from its origins with the writings of the

Scottish moral philosophers—notably Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*—had permeated the culture of Victorian-era America to the extent that sympathy became the spiritual glue that united the family, the community, the nation, even the world. As spiritualism emerged and expanded into a national phenomenon, it was the sympathetic experience of encounters with the dead, familiar or famous, which provided it with its emotive and even religious power. Having begun the book with a remarkable letter written by a spiritualist in 1881 recalling his thirty years in the movement, Cox writes of the author that he had “discovered an experience that surpassed evangelical Christianity and eclipsed agnosticism and dulled the crucible and scalpel of science with its persistence of emotion” (p. 2). Second, Cox's book is “sympathetic” in the more conventional sense of accepting spiritualism and its practitioners essentially on their own terms, without seeking ulterior motives or hidden meanings in the messages they claimed to receive from the deceased.

His first chapters also discuss two phenomena, somnambulism and trance preaching, which, together with the related phenomenon of mesmerism or animal magnetism, excited great interest in eighteenth-century Europe and America. They resembled spiritualism, Cox contends, in their demonstration of “the dominance of spirit and mind over body” (p. 37).

Cox's history of spiritualism makes no attempt to be inclusive or comprehensive. Instead, he concentrates on selected aspects of the movement, his choices determined in part by the remarkable archival collections of spiritualist writings that he found at the University of Michigan, the Boston Public Library, the American Philosophical Society, and the University of New Orleans. The last of these is central to a principal thesis of Cox's book. He traces the doomed history of a group of Creole spiritualists whose mediums brought a message of brotherhood and cosmic equality that by the 1870s was increasingly unpersuasive to a society in which race, not the ideal of transcendent universal sympathy that had so often been the promise of spiritualists before the Civil War, had become the dark reality.

The concluding chapter, a model of clarity and careful argument, intends both to offer an understanding of the power that spiritualism held for its practitioners and followers and to analyze the reasons for its rapid decline. Spiritualism, Cox writes, as the most dramatic of all demonstrations of sympathy, “offered a flexible instrument for healing a wide range of social abrasions, for transcending the separation of life, and for catalyzing the adjustment to the red-shift dislocations of modernity” (p. 234). In the transformed world of post-Civil War America, in which mediums themselves reported that the races occupied separate heavens, that instrument was no longer of much use.

Dickinson College, Emeritus

CLARKE GARRETT

Coalcracker Culture: Work and Values in Pennsylvania Anthracite, 1835–1935.
By HAROLD W. AURAND. (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press;
London: Associated University Presses, 2003. 158p. Illustrations, notes,
selected bibliography, index. \$36.50.)

A “coalcracker” hails from the anthracite coal region of northeastern Pennsylvania where a distinctive culture evolved that was all the more notable because this is the only significant anthracite district in the United States. In this book, Professor Harold W. Aurand, a recognized authority on the anthracite industry and society, traces the historical development of “coalcracker culture.”

Part 1 of *Coalcracker Culture* establishes the setting and traces the evolution of the region from its rise in the 1830s to the mid-twentieth century. Throughout its history the anthracite industry, and those who depended upon it, suffered from an all-too-familiar pattern of overinvestment, cutthroat competition, bankruptcy, and consolidation. Several coal/carrier companies virtually dominated life in the region by either owning or controlling the towns, houses, stores, police, politics, and economic opportunities. They also disfigured the region’s landscape with drab unpainted houses, acid mine water, culm banks, and the ever present dust and noise from the coal breakers. Tens of thousands of Slavic and Italian immigrant workers were recruited and mixed into the older population to create a bewilderingly diverse cultural mosaic of fraternal orders, churches, and ethnic organizations, and at least twenty-six different spoken languages. But these cultural differences were gradually overcome by one powerful shaping experience: they all shared the same kind of work environment.

Part 2 focuses on the nature and conditions of work. Society generally held the workers in low esteem, and the companies sometimes treated them with contempt. The atrociously high rate of death and injury among miners between 1835 and 1935 “forged a set of persistent values that all ethnic groups shared” (p. 94). In part 3 Aurand examines the values that were the foundation of coalcracker culture. Realizing how little value society placed on their lives, and the companies’ lack of concern for their economic security, coal miners learned to distrust those outside of the fraternity and to depend on themselves. They shared this orientation collectively, and banded together against those who would undermine their security. Reciprocity called for the community to support its individual members, but required that those individuals also stand up for the community when times were tough, such as during strikes. Finally, the low social status that society ascribed to miners, and the power of the company to make them feel servile, resulted in what Aurand identifies as an inferiority complex. Unionization and collective bargaining, and a sense of pride in their work helped offset these feelings of inadequacy, but also gave vent to an exaggerated masculinity and an emphasis on physical toughness. Nevertheless, all of these values,

both positive and negative, were "essential to survival in the coalcrackers' harsh world of danger and economic exploitation" (p. 127).

Few scholars are so well qualified as Aurand to write on the topic of mining culture. A long and productive career of studying anthracite history has thoroughly grounded him in the subject. He readily identifies the essentials of that culture in a spare but rich narrative that is as easy to read as it is informative. The structural functionalist approach that provides the theoretical scaffolding of *Coalcracker Culture* is admirably suited for demonstrating Aurand's thesis that social structures in the anthracite region transformed older immigrant cultures into a new and distinctive mining culture. In doing so, this book makes a significant contribution to American social, labor, and immigration history.

West Virginia University

RONALD L. LEWIS

Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880–1945. By JULIE DES JARDINS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. xi, 382p. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45; paper, \$19.95.)

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the participation of women in the field of history, as well as the field of women's history, is no longer remarkable. Yet few of us, even practitioners of one or both, can clearly state on whose shoulders we stand. Several works have documented aspects of that history, but this rich text will serve as a corrective for us all, as it weaves together in one narrative and in fascinating detail the many women who, from the late nineteenth century on, recorded, made accessible, made popular, and, in truth, made possible the work that has effectively changed the ways in which we see history. From the preservationist groups in the late nineteenth century who, although white, middle-class, and conservative, paved the way for more diverse histories, to the librarians, archivists, and academic historians of the twentieth century who secured a place for women's history and women historians, the book introduces us to scores of women who shaped the profession and its ways of looking.

The earliest female practitioners explored here were active in the late nineteenth century. Denied access to historical records and historical institutions, they pioneered social and cultural perspectives and new methodologies as they found evidence where they could: in the records of everyday life, in diaries, through oral histories. Marginalized themselves, they often explored the lives of social groups similarly marginalized. Regardless of the civic work they performed, however, or the popularity of their writings, most women's work was categorized as "religious moralizing, uncritical patriotism, and voyeurism" (p. 26).

Women struggled to enter the academic world, but the field of history quickly became professionalized, hence discriminatory, in the early twentieth century. Although universities opened their doors to women, men developed academic fraternities that excluded women, and few male historians proved able or willing to see women in the academy any differently than they viewed women in their own social and familial worlds. One early twentieth-century historian, Margaret Judson, was asked to serve tea to her examiners during her preliminary examinations at Harvard. Again at Harvard, women students were denied access to the stacks in Widener Library after six in the evening because of fears they would be assaulted in those dark and narrow corridors. The development of professional organizations like the American Historical Association furthered the process of marginalization. The AHA embraced scientific history, which effectively narrowed the scope of the field to economic and political history, and instituted a nonanonymous evaluation process for articles submitted to the *Journal of American History*.

In their marginalized positions, however, women persevered. African American women wrote empowered and original work, analyzing the complexities of race and gender. White women, who had limited but greater access to the academy, produced some of the earliest interdisciplinary work. Many women historians, in and out of the institutions, produced history that became instruments of social change. Some deliberately left the academy for jobs in which the combination of scholarship and advocacy garnered more respect; they could be found in the Works Progress Administration, for example, or the Historical Records Survey. Others, working as librarians and archivists, played key roles in cataloguing materials that allowed others to produce bottom-up rather than top-down histories.

Des Jardins's narrative, which traces "the politics of memory," continues the rich tradition of scholarship and advocacy that she so beautifully chronicles.

Bowdoin College

JENNIFER SCANLON

Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region. Edited by JOEL A. TARR. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. viii, 281p. Illustrations, notes, notes on contributors, index. \$32.)

The industrial landscape that once defined Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a place of steel mills, dark water, and even darker skies, has given way of late to a new greener and cleaner landscape. It is thus an excellent time to take stock of the environmental history of the city that—perhaps more than any other in American history—has come to define the industrial revolution.

Joel Tarr, the editor of this series of essays, has long argued for the importance

of the environment in urban history. He is responsible for some of the most important work to emerge in urban environmental history, and this series of essays seeks to build on those earlier accomplishments. The book spans all the way from the city's early geological history, through its industrial history, right through to its recent reincarnation as a place—despite its dark and dusty past—on the green tourist's itinerary. From waste water treatment to mine drainage to air pollution, this book examines many of the topics that have come to define urban environmental history. The organization is such that readers can get a feel for how the important economic changes in the region wound up profoundly affecting the region's air, water, and land. And the story is not simply one long descent into dirtiness. Deindustrialization, whatever its burdensome social impact, seems to have had a positive effect on virtually all aspects of the Pittsburgh environment.

Tarr points out in the afterword that it has been the working poor and people of color who have paid the highest price for the region's earlier environmental misdeeds. Back in the late nineteenth century, for example, it was the city's working-class wards that had the highest rates of typhoid fever. Forced to drink filthy water, the poor were literally being dumped on. Yet it is difficult for readers to empathize with the suffering that the working class felt because, like much of Tarr's other work, he offers a faceless account of these environmental trials and tribulations. Readers get a sense of the macrohistory of the city's environmental ills, but little understanding of how this history affected the lives of ordinary people—the very lives that social historians have spent decades now uncovering and bringing to life. Closer attention to the social history of pollution would help to enrich the stories that Tarr and his colleagues are telling in this book.

The essay by Angela Gugliotta draws attention to some of the flaws in the approach that Tarr and others have taken in their approach to urban environmental history. She argues that they have spent too much time asking how problems such as smoke and water pollution were solved. This emphasis on figuring out how engineers and political leaders have gone about dealing with environmental ills smacks of a form of presentism. She argues, persuasively, that historians need to understand how people at the time understood pollution and not read the present back into the past. Adopting her suggestion and paying more attention to how ordinary people viewed the problems in their surroundings will help to elevate the prospects of urban environmental history even further.

Case Western Reserve University

TED STEINBERG

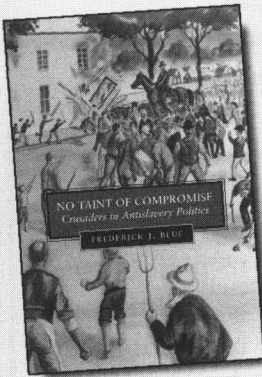
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Symposium
Pennsylvanians Behaving Badly:
Violence, Disorder, and Transgression
November 5, 2005

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