

BOOK REVIEWS

Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765. By MATTHEW C. WARD. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003. x, 329p. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, appendix, index. \$34.95.)

Breaking the Backcountry is a comparative study of the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers during the concentrated misery of the Seven Years' War. Ward's deeply researched study decisively contributes to the current transformation of historical understanding of that conflict. No longer just a prelude to the American Revolution, the Seven Years' War has emerged as a powerful watershed moment in colonial North America.

Seamlessly combining military, social, diplomatic, and Indian history, Ward persuasively demonstrates how the war "fundamentally transformed both colonies" (p. 2). The conflict enlarged the powers and responsibilities of colonial governments and simultaneously transformed the relationship between the colonies and Britain. Locally, the brutal frontier wars of 1755-1758 and 1763-1765 heightened Euro-Americans' animosities toward Indians and marked a "turning point" in the consolidation of frontier communities (p. 4). After their triumph over General Braddock's army in 1755, the Ohio Indians and their French allies unleashed a broad assault that kept Virginia and Pennsylvania at bay for three years. Ward estimates that the war produced "the slaughter of nearly fifteen hundred settlers [and] the capture of over one thousand more" (p. 2). The assaults not only devastated the decentralized backcountry, but exposed the "individualism and disorder" of a region that lacked a dominant elite and was marked by religious and ethnic tensions (p. 6). Political fragmentation followed: disputes among Quakers, British officials, assemblymen, governors, and local settlers over defensive policies, recruitment, supply, taxation, and Indian diplomacy rendered the colonists' defensive efforts ineffective. Even isolated offensives, such as the 1756 Kittanning raid, failed to protect the frontiers. John Forbes's diplomatic and military offensives in 1758 enabled the British to reverse the situation. Britain's victory over the French, however, created more problems than it solved. In a reprise of the 1755-1758 war, unconquered Indian nations again demonstrated their military power in Pontiac's War. The natives had fought to restore a just and accommodating peace, but Euro-American officials and settlers alike increasingly could not imagine a world that would be shared with their native neighbors.

One of Ward's most engaging contributions is his argument for the Ohio Indians' acute "awareness of tactics and strategy" in their decade-long war against the English. The term "raids" does not capture the sophistication of the natives' offensives. Delaware and Shawnee war parties practiced forms of "psychological warfare" that produced hysteria and disorganization among the colonists; they captured forts and destroyed supply lines and agricultural settlements that sustained the operations of British militias and regulars (p. 58).

Ward's study not only intersects with recent scholarship on the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War but also Native American history, social history of the British army, and frontier history. It nicely dovetails with recent analyses of Scots-Irish, German, and Moravian communities in colonial Pennsylvania by Patrick Griffin, Aaron Fogleman, and Jane Merritt, respectively (although those studies suggest a greater degree of community coherence than Ward does). With the 250th anniversary commemorations of the Seven Years' War underway and a public television documentary series under preparation, Ward's work will be highly relevant to academic, public, and classroom discussions of the war's meanings and legacies.

The Citadel

DAVID L. PRESTON

The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania. By ADRIENNE D. HOOD. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. 230p. Illustrations, glossary, notes, index. \$35.)

Historians and curators of cloth, clothing, and dress have looked forward to the appearance of this volume, an outgrowth of Adrienne Hood's 1988 doctoral dissertation, with no small excitement; now that it has arrived, they will not be disappointed.

In just 157 pages, Hood, a former weaver herself as well as longtime curator of textiles at the Royal Ontario Museum and now professor of history and museum studies at the University of Toronto, provides a richly detailed look at cloth production in southeastern Pennsylvania as it unfolded from the onset of European settlement to the advent of mills. Observing the disproportionate place that New England's textile manufactories have occupied in narratives of American industrialization, she aims to restore Pennsylvania's artisan weavers to that story and in so doing rewrite the narrative itself, to show how conditions particular to the craft in Chester County determined the shape industrialization would take not just there, but throughout Britain's North American colonies.

Recent scholarship on early American cloth production has explored how weaving in New England evolved from a specialized artisanal craft practiced by men to a household activity undertaken by women. Hood shows that

Pennsylvania's cloth trades followed a very different path. Correctly asserting a "critical interaction among agriculture, craft, and labor" (p. 12), she shows how the region's booming economy drew steady English, Irish, and German migration; encompassed mixed farming practices and seasonal variation in labor; and provided residents with sufficient income to buy, rather than make, cloth. These factors and others combined to sustain European craft practices here far longer than elsewhere in Britain's North American colonies. Cloth making in Pennsylvania resisted the encroachment of untrained female practitioners and instead remained an artisanal skill that long preserved traditional gender divisions of labor.

Hood's intended audience includes weavers, historians, and museum professionals interested in early American labor, rural life, and industrialization. Indeed, the book beautifully integrates the necessarily braided histories of agriculture, migration, craft, and consumption. A particularly encompassing discussion of the cloth market, for example, identifies factors that limited specialization among rural weavers (overturning longstanding assumptions that American-made textiles lacked sophistication) and considers how the production of cloth for household textiles as well as apparel shaped and was shaped by the availability of both locally made and imported fabrics. Reiterating one of the book's central themes, Hood shows that "imported textiles did not compete with local manufacture or vice versa"; instead, "the intense labor of production in a primarily agricultural community ensured the two were complimentary" (p. 139).

Hood's text establishes that industrialization cannot be understood apart from constellations of local factors that shaped trajectories of change within and across regions, and even communities. She rightly observes that the history of industrial development to date has been unduly colored by New England's particular course, but by positioning her own study as a corrective to that narrative a chance to offer a still-broader perspective is somewhat missed. Though the scholarship on cloth production in the colonial south is admittedly scant, Hood might profitably have suggested how conditions in Pennsylvania compared to sites southward too, where, for example, many Scotch-Irish migrants also settled. That quibble aside, this valuable study is thorough yet brisk, engaging, and persuasive. It should certainly achieve its aim to reorient studies of American industrialization. *The Weaver's Craft* demonstrates beautifully that "technology alone did not determine the structure of industrialization; the more significant factor was people responding to opportunities and change" (p. 157). This fine book will remain a standard in the field for many years to come.

University of Massachusetts-Amherst

MARLA R. MILLER

The Philadelphia Campaign, 1777–1778. By STEPHEN R. TAAFFE. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003. vii, 336p. Maps, biographical afterword, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

Stephen R. Taaffe has made a valuable contribution to the recent spate of books on the Revolutionary War in the middle colonies. He contends that the Philadelphia campaign, the war's largest in terms of numbers of soldiers engaged, had a profound impact on the conflict. William Howe's 1777–1778 operations against Philadelphia marked Britain's last chance to end the American rebellion before other belligerents entered the war. Despite battlefield success, Howe failed to achieve his objectives, doomed John Burgoyne's army in northern New York, and ultimately abandoned Pennsylvania loyalists. Conversely, George Washington "solidified his control" of the Continental army, further honed his strategies and tactics, and saw his troops become more proficient in the art of war (p. 3). As a result, Taaffe argues that the campaign marked an important turning point in the conflict, despite it being long overshadowed by Saratoga.

Taaffe divides his discussion between British and American forces throughout the book and focuses heavily on both tactical and strategic considerations. A recurring theme is that of British professionalism versus American doggedness. According to the author, British and German officers and soldiers demonstrated far greater discipline and skill than their American opponents at such places as Brandywine, Paoli, and Germantown. Despite this tactical prowess, Howe remained wedded to a traditional approach of occupying key points and drawing his opponent into a decisive battle. Furthermore, the British general made several critical strategic errors that cost Britain dearly. Taaffe points to Howe's failure to start the campaign earlier and his decision to land in Chesapeake rather than Delaware Bay as evidence of this.

Washington, on the other hand, began to develop a new approach to the war after the battles of Trenton and Princeton in early 1777. Taaffe asserts that Washington adopted a strategy of attrition in which he aimed to limit British control of territory and inflict casualties by relying on militia. Meanwhile, he kept his main army concentrated, awaiting the opportunity to seize the initiative and engage the British on favorable terms. Taaffe notes that this strategy was better suited for the mountainous region of northern New Jersey than the more open southeastern Pennsylvania. Still, Washington managed to confine Howe to the immediate Philadelphia vicinity and stymied British efforts to destroy his army. Contrary to recent scholarship on the Valley Forge encampment, Taaffe accepts the standard interpretation that Baron von Steuben's training regime improved the Continental army's discipline and fighting ability. Thus the American army ended the Philadelphia campaign stronger than it started.

In addition to battlefield considerations, Taaffe does a good job of examining other issues. These include the alleged Conway Cabal and its effects on the

American officer corps, the ill-timed Carlisle Commission, and Britain's response to a probable French entry into the war. He also includes an interesting Biographical Afterword, which chronicles what happened to many of the major figures who appear in the book.

The Philadelphia Campaign is a well-researched and highly readable book that is liberally interspersed with useful maps. It will appeal to both popular and scholarly audiences.

Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

MICHAEL P. GABRIEL

The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence. By T. H. BREEN. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. xviii, 380p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$30.)

This long-awaited book, which began as a series of provocatively titled articles ("An Empire of Goods," "Baubles of Britain," and "Narrative of Commercial Life"), asks the important question: how did Americans, living in disparate regions and circumstances, come to take collective political action against Great Britain in the 1770s? Answer: the consumer revolution of the mid-eighteenth century gave colonists "the cultural resources needed to develop a bold new form of political protest. In this unprecedented context, private decisions were interpreted as political acts" (p. xv). In other words, common people were empowered by the commercial marketplace, translated this consumption into a language of rights, and took back their political lives through directed economic action.

In a brisk, chatty tone, Breen takes the reader through the workings of trade networks to show us "how the new consumer market actually operated" (p. 104) and how Americans dealt with a proliferation of once exotic goods and the subsequent stimulation of desire. Although many felt liberated by consumer choices, other colonists criticized the propensity for luxuries, especially those bearing British taxes, and used trade and consumption as the basis for political action during the 1760s and 1770s. Merchants were asked to take the lead in non-importation during the Stamp Act and Townshend Act crises, but eventually a call for nonconsumption in 1774 relied on the public's direct participation to succeed. Indeed, Breen contends that politicized consumer items (such as British dry goods and tea) gave common people the ability "to join with distant strangers—consumers of the continent—in making a genuine sacrifice for their rights within the empire" (p. 265). The consumer dimensions of the Revolution, then, which relied on nonimportation, nonconsumption, and nonexportation, may be considered "a plan as radical in its implications for the American people as any passed by any legislature during the nation's entire history" (p. 325).

Still, we might wonder whether Breen truly has his finger on the pulse of the

early American consumer. While he demonstrates an astonishingly broad knowledge of the secondary literature and published sources—using a virtual compendium of travel accounts, newspapers, advertisements, pamphlets, as well as artifacts and art to compile anecdotal evidence that suggest the spending habits of colonists and the cultural meaning of consumption—Breen does no systematic examination of archival material, such as merchant records, that might flesh out the real spending habits of “ordinary men and women” who “negotiated market expectations with storekeepers eager to make a sale” (p. 127). Granted, Breen highlights the key role of women in the retail marketplace; they made the decisions about household consumption and, using credit to their advantage, gained some economic independence. However, instead of exploring their purchasing patterns through account ledgers and daybooks the author relies on prescriptive literature that tends to condemn women as morally corrupted consumers of luxury, thus illustrating their place in the cultural debates on consumption but not in the marketplace. In general, Breen assumes a far greater political consensus among American colonists based on their common consumption of goods. Still, the burgeoning “Empire of Goods” did give colonists a set of new desires that evolved into a consumer revolution, marking a transition from traditional economic sensibilities to a more modern view of the marketplace and providing a different venue for political action.

Old Dominion University

JANE T. MERRITT

Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution. By PAUL A. GILJE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. xiv, 344p. Illustrations, notes, glossary, index. \$29.95.)

Using the American waterfront as his stage, Paul Gilje plots the interaction of multiple eighteenth-century meanings of the word “liberty.” He takes up two definitions of the word in particular, opposing the sailor’s libertinism to the political quest for national independence. He argues in a variety of ways that the shore liberty of the sort preferred by sailors threatened the hopes of American political leaders for disciplined self-government in the new republic. Making mariners recipients, not originators, of democratic ideals, Gilje asks to what degree mariners took in these ideals and reshaped their lives in response.

Gilje seeks to reclaim the individuality of mariners, to see them “not as a proletariat in the making, nor [as] a peculiar brand of patriot. They were real people who often struggled to survive” (p. 6). While accepting that sailors as a rule rejected both the social hierarchy aspired to by the eighteenth-century upper class and the bourgeois morality of the rising nineteenth-century middle class, Gilje never attributes to sailors a coherent political will or vision. He sees and

reports evidence of wide variation in mariners' attitudes and behavior toward key components of liberty—money, marriage, patriotism, and power. That variety, he consistently argues, suggests the primacy of individuality over political identification as a group or even with maritime experience itself.

In his consistent repudiation of any voluntary group identity for mariners, however, Gilje risks also missing the power of collective political and economic structures that bound mariners involuntarily. When he quotes sailor Ned Myers on money, for instance, he hears a profoundly reckless voice. "As for money," affirmed Myers, "my rule had come to be, spend it as I got it, and go to sea for more" (p. 11). In a rush to identify Myers as an exemplar of devil-may-care sailor culture, Gilje neglects to ask key questions raised by Myers's own choice of words. How had this "come to be" his attitude, what might have been his previous attitude, and what experiences changed his views? Moreover, the analysis neglects to mention that had sailors wished to put some money by, they rarely had safe places to leave it ashore or hide it on board. Nor could they ensure appropriate inheritance should they fail to return to claim it. Through no fault of their own regarding money, sailors who lacked a bank, a family, a lawyer, and a lockbox would indeed be wasting their wages by saving them.

Gilje similarly sidesteps complexity about the drinking and masculine identity of sailors. His evidence shows wide acquaintance among mariners with homosexual assault, an exaggeratedly heterosexual performance culture on shore, fierce identification with their very boyish garb, and general knowledge of the potential of the sea to "unman the man." Despite this evocative evidence, however, the argument asserts straightforwardly that "Jack Tar" was an "idealized heterosexual" (p. 34). When discussing alcohol, Gilje establishes that sailors claimed their daily rum ration as a right, identifying their status as free men with "a mere jolt of alcohol pumping through the veins" (p. 93). These mariners would indeed appear as ill-suited for political creativity as the denizens of a college fraternity had not other historians already given considerable analytic bite to this simplification by delineating structures of authority, work, and solidarity that framed the rum ration.

Gilje does a good job of amassing evidence of varied behaviors and attitudes, whether about home life or imprisonment, wandering the world or cruising waterfront dives. But the book repeatedly rests upon weak treatment of the social and political structures that surround sailors. Much of the richness of the research, therefore, gets submerged under a determination to show political ideas and analysis trickling down to working people from the minds of leaders.

Mid-Atlantic Regional Center for the Humanities SHARON ANN HOLT

Thomas Jefferson. By R. B. BERNSTEIN. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. xviii, 253p. Illustrations, notes, chronology, bibliographical essay, index. \$26.)

Over the last two centuries, few American historical figures have attracted more attention from historians than Thomas Jefferson. With each new generation of scholarship, as well as each sea change in national mood and mores, comes a need to explore anew his undeniable contributions to the American experiment while grappling with the paradoxes and puzzles of his character. Thanks to this understandable, even commendable urge, the final word on Jefferson will never be written, but the finest biographies will always endure. Dumas Malone's magisterial six-volume life of the sage of Monticello (1948–1981) will probably never be surpassed, and future generations will continue to learn from biographies by Merrill D. Peterson (1970) and Noble E. Cunningham Jr. (1987), whose biographies have until recently been the best word on Jefferson in one volume.

R. B. Bernstein's *Thomas Jefferson* can now be added to the short list of the very best Jefferson biographies. It fills three crucial holes in this literature. First, it is by far the most succinct, weighing in at just under two hundred pages of text plus scholarly apparatus. This reviewer is often asked to recommend a good short biography of Jefferson, and at last he has an answer. Second, the work engages fully with the most recent scholarship on the third president, especially the implications of the emerging scholarly consensus that Jefferson did father children with Sally Hemings. If anything, the space devoted to this issue may eventually seem disproportionate, but at this moment the finding is fresh and of compelling interest, and Bernstein's discussion is judicious. Finally, the biography is refreshingly balanced. Occasionally the narrative accepts the Federalist viewpoint uncritically, as in the assertion that in the war crisis of 1793 Jefferson favored France while Alexander Hamilton "urged the United States to remain neutral" (p. 91). It would be both more correct and fairer to say that both men favored neutrality while each spun it respectively in the direction of France and Britain. Overall, however, without producing a hatchet job, Bernstein acknowledges Jefferson's weaknesses, contradictions, and faults to an extent rare in earlier works, which have often worked far too hard to give Jefferson the benefit of every doubt. The resulting portrait is more convincing, more complex, and still leaves one astonished and exhausted by Jefferson's gifts and contributions.

One annoying lapse comes in the use of quotations. The author comments that "Jefferson and his contemporaries wrote before the standardization of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Thus, all quotations appear as they do in the source cited for each quotation" (p. xviii). The implication would seem to be that Bernstein is respecting the idiosyncrasies of Jefferson and his contemporaries by preserving their style. However, in most instances Bernstein quotes not from the original documents, nor even from the best modern documentary edi-

tions, but from the most readily available one-volume anthologies, which routinely standardize spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. This leads him into the absurdity of indicating on page 6 that Jefferson got his habit of lowercasing the beginnings of sentences from George Wythe and then giving an extended Jefferson quotation with capitalized sentence openings on the very next page, in a passage praising Wythe. In the original, Jefferson followed his usual practice of lowercasing the openings of most sentences.

A few factual errors also crop up, but such slips are rare. In general, Bernstein's *Thomas Jefferson* should and will take its deserved place as this generation's best short biography to grapple with Jefferson's intriguing and puzzling combination of noble ideals, human failings, intellectual power, and agonizing contradictions.

Thomas Jefferson Foundation

J. JEFFERSON LOONEY

Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution. By JOHN BEZÍS-SELFA. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. xi, 279p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

John Bezís-Selfa's study of managers and workers in the American iron industry before 1840 offers a refreshingly new perspective on a familiar subject. Quickly dispensing with matters of technology, capital investment, and business organization, the author clusters his research on some forty sites in two broadly compared regions—Pennsylvania/New Jersey and Virginia/Maryland—and devotes most of his analysis to demonstrating the social relationships of the mines, forges, and furnaces that dotted the countryside. The rich detail from numerous account books and troves of correspondence buttresses three general arguments. One is that the iron industries of both regions fit European historian Jan de Vries's model of an "industrious revolution" or a gradual transformation of how people organized, negotiated, and valued their work. Driven less by the emergence of new technologies and aggressive entrepreneurship at the center of traditional analyses of "industrial revolution," this study centers on the ironworkers themselves, as active agents who desired more income to both consume more of the widening world of goods and gain personal and economic independence. The story of how ironworkers negotiated work conditions and accommodated to the particular constraints of social dependence, prices, timekeeping, wages, and iron markets lay at the heart of the "industrious" transformation of "rural factories" in iron production. The same model of "industrious revolution," however, might have also been useful for examining iron makers' and ironmasters' households, as well as networks of economic culture extending from mines and forges. Possibly the sources just do not support such inquiries, though surely we wish it were so.

A second argument is necessary to explain the particular features of the

American iron industry, which was a dense microcosm of cutting-edge colonial and early national economic change. This is the matter of bondage. As elsewhere, ironworkers lived the ideal of personal independence (freedom from the economic and cultural authority of others) and the reality of dependence based on ethnicity, economic condition, and, above all, race. Indentured white workers, hired black slaves, and permanent partly slave workforces were a regular feature of early iron manufacturing, and all were vital catalysts of the industry's success. Moreover, skills and labor organization of slaves and indentured servants in iron production resembled those of industrial wage workers more than traditional work sites in town and country or our general view of southern plantations; forge and mine owners also modified conditions of bondage by providing incentives for slaves to participate in the industrious revolution. White and black workers at forges and furnaces tended to be agreeable to the capitalist dream of rising material comfort and, just possibly, managerial or self-employed status; few of them, in any event, rebelled against the work arrangements of "iron masters." Nevertheless, slavery was brought to the countryside on an unprecedented scale, and many of the features found in southern plantation slave communities were replicated at "iron factories" far into the mid-Atlantic.

Third, Bezis-Selfa structures his narrative along familiar scholarly lines that assume southern and mid-Atlantic regional divergence, with the American Revolution providing a watershed that accelerated distinctions between dependent and independent, slave and free. We are not surprised to read about the increasing paternalism in southern iron making after 1790, marked by the death of white indentured servitude and increasingly sophisticated negotiation by masters and slaves of the conditions of bondage. And we are not surprised to discover the decline of indentured servitude, deskilling among African American forge and furnace workers, and onset of white wage labor in northern iron making. But readers will wish for a more extended and self-conscious analysis of sectional divergence; there was nothing necessary or natural about the attenuating differences between North and South, and it is possible that rural iron-making sites provide important case studies for our understanding of the process.

University of Delaware

CATHY MATSON

In the Presence of Mine Enemies: War in the Heart of America, 1859–1863. By EDWARD L. AYERS. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2003. xxi, 472p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$27.95.)

On the face of it, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* is a masterful work of traditional narrative history. This highly readable book explores how two counties—Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and Augusta County, Virginia—endured the

secession crisis and the first two years of the Civil War (a second volume will follow). Nestled in the Great Valley that runs from Vermont to Tennessee, only two hundred miles separated Franklin and Augusta counties, and consequently they shared many traits. But the Mason-Dixon line traversed the valley between the two; thus Augusta's economy and political culture bore the distinct imprint of a slave society, whereas Franklin's residents—although bitterly divided over abolitionism—lived on free soil.

Set alongside the wartime histories of other home-front communities, Augusta and Franklin appear typical in many senses. Young men enlisted, towns mobilized, volunteer societies formed, black people navigated newly complex political and economic terrain, politicians bickered, newspapers followed the exploits of local regiments, and the communities suffered through the ebbs and flows of a bloody war. Unlike most home-front studies, Ayers interweaves events at home with the exploits of local troops on the battlefield, giving a sense of how both civilians and soldiers experienced the conflict. By selecting two counties so close to the seat of war, Ayers is able to fill his pages with distinctive events: John Brown and Frederick Douglass meet in Chambersburg before Brown's famous raid on Harpers Ferry; Stonewall Jackson's valley campaign gives the Union army fits; Confederate cavalry raid Chambersburg, and the following year Lee passes through on his way to Gettysburg. All of this is the stuff of excellent story telling.

In all these senses *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* is a good book and a good read, but Ayers is clearly after bigger game. This large book is the narrative product of the magisterial Valley of the Shadow Project. After more than a decade of research, scanning, coding, and careful planning, Ayers and his colleagues at the University of Virginia have assembled a huge body of primary materials in easily accessible electronic form (see <http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu>). Nearly every primary source cited in the book appears on the project's Web site, and only a skeleton crew of scholarly monographs and interpretations clutter the notes or inform the analysis. As the architect of the Valley of the Shadow Project, Ayers has emerged as an eloquent spokesperson and visionary, proclaiming the untapped promise of digital history. There appear to be at least two larger symbolic points underlying Ayers's approach to this book, reflecting his thoughts on the discipline. First, the narrative style of the book underscores the "deep contingency of history." Events unfold in sequence, but there is nothing preordained or inevitable about how the history happens. And in the same way that soldiers on the battlefield are commonly confused by the "fog of war," these civilians and soldiers cannot be expected to know much beyond their own horizons. Similarly, the reader rarely learns facts—or interpretations—that would be unknown to the historic actors. Although there are occasional italicized passages providing a text-book-like account of the big picture and periodic references to quantitative evidence from the two counties, Ayers generally spurns the authoritative voice of

the trained historian, refusing to offer insights about what events might have meant in some larger context. This leads to a second, certainly related, point. By writing so close to the sources, with only minimal attention to interpretive or historical context, Ayers seems to be suggesting that anybody with a computer and the energy to sift through this wonderful body of digitized materials could replicate his efforts.

Of course that is a foolish extension of the more basic point. Ayers is not merely a skilled historian, he is a superb writer. His art is no more democratized by giving full access to his sources than Picasso's work can be reproduced by anyone with access to a full palette. Still, there are times when one wishes that Ayers—the historian—injected himself more fully into the analysis. For instance, we learn that in early 1863 Augusta newspapers proclaimed that rising slave prices indicated continued Southern confidence (p. 355). But given the inflation rate it is entirely possible that they were observing—but not recognizing—that real prices were holding steady or even declining. Moreover, the newspapers also reported that hiring prices were up. If the market for hiring slaves was rising faster than the market for slave purchases, that could be evidence of *declining* Southern confidence in their long-term fortunes. A contemporary newspaper editor might not remark upon such a thing, but the historian could. Ayers also argues that in both Augusta and Franklin the war “was disproportionately a poor man's fight” because the raw evidence shows soldiers were less wealthy than those who stayed behind (p. 291). But he does not present the quantitative data underlying this point, and one is left to wonder if the wealth disparity disappears when age is considered as a variable. Here, again, the historian's voice could clarify without unnecessary scholarly obfuscation.

The Valley of the Shadow Project assembled a wondrous array of materials, and *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* is a superb start towards spinning that wealth of disparate voices into a coherent narrative. But one is left with the uneasy feeling that Ayers the artist has sometimes declined to use his full palette.

University of Florida

J. MATTHEW GALLMAN

The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Vol. 3, *National Protection for National Citizens, 1873–1880*. Edited by ANN D. GORDON. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003. xl, 606p. Illustrations, notes, appendices, index. \$60.)

In 1991 Scholarly Resources published the microfilm edition of the collected papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906). Edited by Patricia G. Holland and Ann D. Gordon, this microfilm publication of fourteen thousand documents from over two hundred libraries was

an important achievement. So too were the publications of the first two volumes in the *Selected Paper* series, also edited by Ann D. Gordon. Now Gordon and her editing teams have published the third volume of the *Selected Papers* with continued editorial excellence.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony formed a political partnership that centered on the struggle for woman suffrage soon after they met in 1851. The range of their political activism—from abolitionism to temperance reforms—placed them firmly in the progressive circles of their era, but their focus on women's rights—from married women's property laws to equal pay for teachers to woman suffrage—made them unique, visionary, and helps explain their importance to history. Their writings, their actions, and their achievements also help explain why these two women came to represent the woman suffrage movement in their own day and why they live on in the historical imagination today.

The first two volumes of the selected papers covered the years from the early 1840s to 1873 and show the development of their public careers, the tensions of creating a national women's rights movement, and the movement's strategies and campaigns. This volume begins with Anthony's 1873 conviction in federal court "for voting while being a woman," and the editors emphasize that this, along with the unsuccessful 1874 campaign for woman suffrage in Michigan, forced Stanton and Anthony to return to their earlier strategy to secure an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would give women the right to vote (p. xx). This new campaign, which Stanton argued would provide "national protection for national citizens," is the central theme of volume three. The papers collected here show the complexity of the battles Stanton, Anthony, and others working in the National Woman Suffrage Association waged against the growing political conservatism of the post-Reconstruction era. They document the unsuccessful state campaigns of 1874 (Michigan) and 1877 (Colorado), as well as the suffragists' constant lobbying in Washington, DC, the annual meetings, and most especially the wide travels of Anthony, Stanton, and other suffragists. They also provide an understanding of the continued diversity of the nineteenth-century women's movement, showing Stanton and Anthony's connections to women temperance workers, their continued tensions with the suffragists who formed the American Woman Suffrage Association, and their ongoing associations with elected officials and party leaders.

In November 1878, Stanton wrote to Anthony from the Eagle Hotel in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, that she had just returned from West Chester, where she heard Mrs. Livermore give a lecture. Stanton then went to Philadelphia, where she heard Phillips speak on the upcoming presidential election; Phillips was "applauded and hissed as usual," she wrote Anthony (p. 419). Finally, she described for Anthony her family obligations and financial pressures, including the expenses of "M's wedding," and she asked Anthony to understand that these demands meant she would not be able to attend the Washington con-

vention. A month later Stanton was lecturing in Ohio and a month after that delivered the opening address at the eleventh Washington convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association. The careful annotations in this volume identify Mrs. Livermore, Phillips, and M, as well as other individuals and locations, and provide important context. The editorial decision to place all the documents in chronological order allows for an understanding of how larger historical events unfolded. And the brilliant selection of personal letters and diaries, speeches, public memorials, and petitions bring these dynamic women alive. This volume, and the earlier two, are a must read not only for readers interested in Stanton and Anthony but for anyone interested in nineteenth-century America.

University of Vermont

MELANIE GUSTAFSON

Ed Delahanty in the Emerald Age of Baseball. By JERROLD CASWAY. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004. xii, 369p. Notes, appendix, bibliography, indices. \$25.)

September Swoon: Richie Allen, the '64 Phillies, and Racial Integration. By WILLIAM C. KASHATUS. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004. xvi, 258p. Illustrations, notes, appendices, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

In its most developed form, sports history not only provides insight into the world of athletics and games but also sheds a unique perspective on larger societal issues. Although the backgrounds of Ed Delahanty and Richie Allen differed considerably, the stories of these two icons offer an interesting look into the world of professional baseball and Philadelphia itself during two distinct periods: the late nineteenth to early twentieth century and the 1960s.

Jerrold Casway's *Ed Delahanty in the Emerald Age of Baseball* relates the brief life of Delahanty (1867–1903), an outstanding hitter who spent sixteen years in the major leagues, the majority with the Philadelphia Phillies, yet died under mysterious circumstances following an apparent fall from a bridge. The son of Irish immigrants, Delahanty grew up in Cleveland and spent much of his youth on the ballfield or at the local firehouse, an important gathering place for urban working-class men. At the age of nineteen, Delahanty signed his first professional contract, and within a year the youngster found himself in the major leagues with the Phillies. Casway subsequently details Delahanty's rise to stardom during the "Emerald Age" of baseball, a period in the late nineteenth century when second-generation Irish Americans dominated the sport. As Casway explains, "baseball for Irish kids was a shortcut to the American dream and to

self-indulgent glory and fortune" (p. x). In addition to delineating the substantial Irish influence in the game, the author also skillfully depicts the nature of major league baseball in this era, as players such as Delahanty contended with a game often fraught with rowdy behavior, low salaries, and less than enlightened owners. Not surprisingly, Delahanty "jumped" teams more than once in his career and was involved in several key moments in the early labor history of professional baseball, including the Players League revolt of 1890 and the National League/American League war of 1901-1903.

Casway, however, is less successful in his attempts to provide historical context to Delahanty's career. Passages about incidents such as the Boxer Rebellion (p. 184), the Galveston hurricane (p. 190), and the Boer War (p. 234) appear forced and fail to convey any real sense of the era. Moreover, despite some discussion of Delahanty's marriage and residence in Philadelphia, Casway appears more comfortable discussing the city's teams and players, offering only a limited portrait of late nineteenth-century Philadelphia.

Although convincingly emerging as a spectacular athlete ("the Babe Ruth of his day," according to one observer [p. 300]), Delahanty never quite comes alive as a person in this biography, as the sources necessary to provide a more evocative portrait are likely not available. With the effective use of family papers, court cases, and newspaper accounts, Casway is able to reveal Delahanty's difficulties with alcohol and gambling, along with his dependence on his mother and wife. Ultimately, however, it is Delahanty's life in baseball that is most extensively covered here, providing the book's strongest asset.

William C. Kashatus's *September Swoon* deals with a more contemporary era in Philadelphia baseball history, focusing on the 1964 Phillies and their famous collapse. Leading the National League by six and a half games with twelve to play, the Phillies lost ten straight games and eventually lost the pennant to the St. Louis Cardinals. Kashatus, however, goes beyond merely recounting the torturous tale of the Phillies' failure, analyzing the team's prior difficulties with integration and the subsequent problems faced by their first African American star, Richie Allen.

As Kashatus explains, the Phillies and their owner Bob Carpenter displayed reactionary racial attitudes and did not field an integrated team until 1957, ten years after Jackie Robinson's debut with the Brooklyn Dodgers. By the early 1960s, the club became more aggressive in pursuing black talent, including Allen, who joined the Phillies' organization in 1960. Rising through the team's farm system, Allen was eventually assigned to Little Rock, Arkansas, where he became the first African American player in the state's history in 1963. Allen, however, faced a torrent of racial insults in Little Rock, and the lack of support "left him bitter and distrustful of the Phillies organization" (p. 48). Although Allen joined the Phillies in 1964 and became a superstar, his relationship with the team, its fans, and local sportswriters would deteriorate amid a series of

controversies, culminating in Allen's trade to the Cardinals following the 1969 season.

The story of the 1964 Phillies is a familiar one, replete with villains (manager Gene Mauch who mishandled the club's pitching staff) and heroes (Allen), yet *September Swoon* does succeed in offering fresh insights into the doomed team. Kashatus interviewed many of the major figures involved and successfully weaves their reminiscences throughout the well-written narrative. The sections on race, however, are less developed. Except for an occasional reference to a *Philadelphia Tribune* editorial, the local black community's response to Allen and the Phillies is somewhat muted. Moreover, there are mistakes with names ("Jim" Mason instead of "Hank" [p. 227], Ed "Pollack" instead of "Pollock" [p. 82]) and factual errors in his discussions of Negro League teams (pp. 11–18).

Finally, Kashatus's sympathetic depiction of Richie Allen is not always convincing. The author seldom questions Allen's version of events and instead places substantial blame on local sportswriters and fans for Allen's difficulties and the team's failures in the late 1960s. Allen did face a hostile racial environment in Philadelphia, yet his troublesome behavior deserves greater critical scrutiny. Even after leaving the city, Allen (who has recently admitted that he "was also something of a jerk" while in Philadelphia [p. 205]) remained a puzzle to his teams, who were enthralled by his prodigious talents but annoyed by his occasional divisiveness in the clubhouse. Whether Kashatus or any author can ever truly understand the forces driving Richie Allen, an undeniably complex and enigmatic figure, remains to be seen.

University of Delaware

NEIL LANCTOT

Philadelphia's "Black Mafia": A Social and Political History. By SEAN PATRICK GRIFFIN. (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003. xi, 210p. Figures, notes, appendices, index. \$97.)

Black Mafia is a path-breaking book on the history of urban criminal groups. It examines a Philadelphia African American criminal network from its emergence in 1968–1972, through the crippling prosecutions of 1984–1985, to 2002, tracing its declining but continued influence. The Black Mafia is the name the group members gave themselves, openly proclaiming the illegal nature of the activities that united them. The book's strength is the historical perspective that comes from examining the multiple activities and the important changes in the group during its thirty-year history.

The book's rich detail reflects the variety and quality of the sources that Griffin gained access to. The sources include, but are not limited to, the intelligence files of federal agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms; the Internal Revenue Service; and the Racketeering Section of the local U.S. Attorney. Local intelligence sources include relevant files from the Organized Crime Unit of the Philadelphia Police Department, the Camden Police Department, and the Washington (DC) Metropolitan Police Department. Griffin supplements these files with stories from local newspapers and reports of the Pennsylvania Crime Commission. The multiple sources of information permit the author to compare varied sources to confirm what happened or to supplement one source with information from another in order to develop a fuller understanding of events in the history of the Black Mafia.

Perhaps the most interesting and revealing aspect of the book is the discussion of the wide range of activities and remarkably broad influence that members of the group exercised. There were, on the one hand, the expected activities of persons who defined themselves as a criminal group. At various times, members engaged in wholesaling and retailing of drugs. They cooperated with each other in extortion from legal and illegal businesses in the Philadelphia region. And, of course, they became notorious partly because of the violence—including killings of members of competing groups and of police informants—that characterized their style of operation.

But what is most noteworthy in the book is the description of the Black Mafia's ties to other, more legitimate, aspects of the city. The group developed an overlapping membership with and influence within the major black Muslim mosque led by Jeremiah Shabazz. At a time when black community organizations were receiving government grants for community development, offshoots of the Black Mafia received funding, including the Council for Youth and Urban Development (incorporated in 1970) and Community Urban Development (1972). Most important was Black B., Inc. The group at first received excellent publicity when it was organized in 1973 with the stated goals of helping youths obtain jobs and of organizing community groups to clean up their neighborhoods. Black B. also offered home protection from burglars by providing, for a fee, homeowners with a sign reading "Burglars Beware! This House Protected by BLACK INC." Beyond such activities, members of the Black Mafia had mutually supportive contacts with white and black politicians and with leaders in the civil rights movement. In short, the book portrays the Black Mafia as a group with multiple ties to legitimate and illegitimate groups in the city.

If the book has a weakness, it is that it does not provide sufficient economic analysis of the illegal activities in which the members were involved. There is mention of involvement in drug distribution, but to what extent were the members involved because of extortion from those who actually ran the trafficking? Did the members bring in heroin from New York for sale in Philadelphia? Did they engage in retailing and, if so, how were such activities supervised? But no book can do everything. *Philadelphia's Black Mafia* is a careful, well-researched

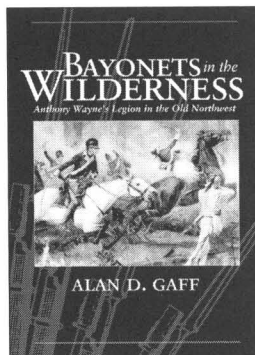
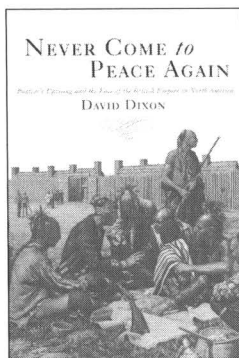
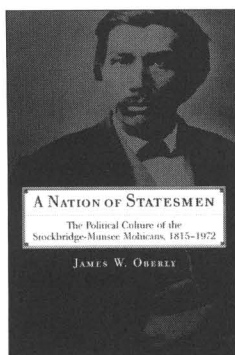
study that is an important contribution to scholarship and a revealing book to read.

Temple University

MARK H. HALLER

OKLAHOMA

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS ■ OUPRESS.COM



A NATION OF STATESMEN

THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE STOCKBRIDGE-MUNSEE MOHICANS,
1815-1972

By James W. Oberly

In this first history of the modern-day Mohicans, James W. Oberly narrates their story from the time of their relocation from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to Wisconsin through the post-World War II era.

\$34.95 CLOTH | 0-8061-3675-8 | 352 PAGES

NEVER COME TO PEACE AGAIN

PONTIAC'S UPRISING AND THE FATE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN
NORTH AMERICA

By David Dixon

Never Come to Peace Again, the first complete account of Pontiac's Uprising to appear in nearly fifty years, is a richly detailed account of the causes, conduct, and consequences of events that proved pivotal in American colonial history.

\$34.95 CLOTH | 0-8061-3656-1 | 384 PAGES

BAYONETS IN THE WILDERNESS

ANTHONY WAYNE'S LEGION IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

By Alan D. Gaff

In *Bayonets in the Wilderness*, Gaff explores this long-neglected period in American history to tell the complete story of how the U.S. Army conquered the first American Frontier.

\$39.95 CLOTH | 0-8061-3585-9 | 416 PAGES

2800 VENTURE DRIVE • NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73069-8216
TEL 800 627 7377 • FAX 800 735 0476

Old Dominion, Industrial Commonwealth

Coal, Politics, and Economy in
Antebellum America

Sean Patrick Adams

"The definitive account of how and why the coal trade developed as it did in Virginia and Pennsylvania. This is history—political, economic, and cultural history—at its finest."

—John Lauritz Larson, Purdue University
*Studies in Early American Economy and Society
from the Library Company of Philadelphia*
Cathy Matson, Series Editor

\$45.00 hardcover

The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic

Architecture, Landscape,
and Regional Identity

Gabrielle M. Lanier

Comprising several distinctive and intensely local subregions—each with its own building traditions, populations, land use patterns, and material cultures—the Delaware River valley provides rich insights into late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America.

Creating the North American Landscape
Gregory Conniff, Edward K. Muller, and
David Schuyler, Consulting Editors
George F. Thompson, Series Founder and Director

\$46.95 hardcover

The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • www.press.jhu.edu

Call for Papers: Franklin Issue of *PMHB*

In honor of the upcoming Franklin Tercentenary in 2006, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is soliciting articles for a special issue on Benjamin Franklin and his legacy, to be published in October 2006. We seek manuscripts that shed light on all aspects of Franklin's life, as well as papers that examine Franklin's influence on Philadelphia and Pennsylvania during his lifetime and beyond.

Manuscripts should be no longer than 35 double-spaced pages, including notes (which should also be double spaced). For more information on our submission guidelines, see <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=276>. Manuscripts may be sent to:

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
Historical Society of Pennsylvania
1300 Locust Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Or e-mailed to pmhb@hsp.org

Announcing H-Pennsylvania

H-Pennsylvania is an H-Net discussion network for scholars, teachers, archivists, librarians, and others interested in the history of Pennsylvania. H-Pennsylvania will foster exchanges of information and ideas by providing a forum for the discussion of current research, new works and historiography, teaching methods and strategies, and public history initiatives. Editors will also post relevant notices from the H-Net job guide, calls for papers, programs of symposia and conferences, announcements of conferences and public history events and exhibitions, information on new sources and finding aids, as well as course syllabi, reading lists, bibliographies, and other teaching materials.

To join H-Pennsylvania, please send a message from the account where you wish to receive mail, to

listserv@h-net.msu.edu, with no signatures or styled text, word wrap off for long lines, and only this text:

sub h-Pennsylvania firstname lastname, institution

Example: sub H-Pennsylvania Leslie Jones, Penn State

Alternatively, you may go to

<http://www.h-net.org/lists/subscribe.cgi> to perform the same function as noted above. Follow the instructions you receive by return mail. If you have questions or experience difficulties in attempting to subscribe, please send a message to

help@mail.h-net.msu.edu

H-Net is hosted by Michigan State University.

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

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA invites presentations for its 2005 Symposium, "Pennsylvanians Behaving Badly: Violence, Disorder, and Transgression." The symposium is part of HSP's larger thematic focus in 2005 on law and disorder. The symposium aims to explore the ways in which violence and transgression mark social, economic, and political fault lines and define or redefine individuals' and groups' relationships to one another and the state.

Presenters are encouraged to interpret the theme broadly and may explore any historical period, with a geographic focus on Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, or the mid-Atlantic region. (Comparative work including this geographic focus will also be considered.) Possible presentation topics include but are not limited to: frontier violence, nativist or other riots, gang warfare and street crime, industrial violence and labor/capital conflicts, popular rebellion, hate crimes, gender or sexual transgressions, racial constructions of disorder, civil disobedience or popular protest, or political scandals.

Symposium participants will be encouraged to submit versions of their papers to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for publication.

To submit, please send a 500–700 word abstract and brief CV/resume to Kathryn Wilson, Director of Education and Interpretation, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107. Electronic submissions welcome at kwilson@hsp.org. Proposals due by July 1, 2005.

Become a Member of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Membership Form

Level of Membership

Please check one:

Single

Dual

Student/Teacher (K-12)/Senior (+65)

___\$50

___\$75

Research

___\$60

___\$90

Patron

___\$120

___\$150

Philadelphian

___\$500

Treasures Society:

Treasurer

___\$1,000

Curator

___\$2,500

Steward

___\$5,000

Conservator

___\$10,000

Sustainer

___\$25,000+

Special rates are available for institutions, corporations, and other organizations. Please contact us for information.

All members receive a one-year subscription to *PMHB* and to *Pennsylvania Legacies*. Single memberships for Research level and below receive 15 library visits. Dual memberships for Research level and below receive 30 visits. All other levels receive unlimited visits.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography is also available as a separate annual subscription.

Individual: ___\$35 domestic
___\$45 foreign

Institutional: ___\$50 domestic
___\$60 foreign

Name _____

Payment

Address _____

___ Check (Payable to the Society)

___ Visa ___ MasterCard ___ Amex

Phone _____

Mail to: Membership
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
1300 Locust Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Credit Card # _____ Exp. date _____

Signature _____

Official registration and financial information of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania may be obtained by calling toll free, within Pennsylvania, 1-800-732-0999. Registration does not imply endorsement.