

sions, Washington returned home where his report was promptly published by the governor and widely distributed.

In the spring of 1754 Washington and the Virginia Regiment were sent to protect militia troops erecting a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. Even before reaching Cumberland, Washington learned that a French army had evicted the Virginians and was building Fort Duquesne. Although his original mission was unattainable, Washington sought to bolster the morale of pro-British Indians in the area by attacking a small French detachment and killing the commanding officer, the *Sieur de Jumonville*. Unintentionally, the young Virginian had ignited a great world war that would last many years.

Expecting a French counterattack, Washington built Fort Necessity in the Great Meadows. The fort's poor location and inadequate defenses betrayed the young Virginian's lack of experience. A large French and Indian force, aided by terrible weather conditions, soon forced the British forces to capitulate. Washington compounded his mistakes by signing a surrender document written in French that said he had murdered *Jumonville*, who was described as a diplomat.

Axelrod, who has written on topics as diverse as business ethics, leadership, and Queen Elizabeth I has penned a readable volume. However, he does not include a bibliography, and his notes reflect little use of secondary works. Although he appends a brief final chapter on Braddock's campaign of 1755, he does not fully explore the importance of that campaign to Washington's participation in the Revolution. There is no analysis of Washington's role in the Forbes expedition of 1758 that did finally secure the Forks of the Ohio for the British. As a result, Axelrod is not able to assess completely the broader impact of the French and Indian War on Washington's evolution as a political and military leader.

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Souls for Sale: Two German Redemptioners Come to Revolutionary America: The Life Stories of John Frederick Whitehead and Johann Carl Büttner. Edited by SUSAN E. KLEPP, FARLEY GRUBB, and ANNE PFAELZER DE ORTIZ. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006. xvi, 272 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$75; paper, \$25.)

Souls for Sale is a companion book to *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant* (ed. Klepp and Billy G. Smith, 2nd ed., 2005), the latter the tale of fortunes and misfortunes of a young Englishman indentured as a servant in the Delaware Valley in the eighteenth century, the former the stories of two German speakers whose lives happen to

intersect when each took passage as a redemptioner on the ship *Sally*, which arrived in Philadelphia in 1773. John Frederick Whitehead paid his fare debts by contracting as a servant in Pennsylvania, where he met his wife, had children, and worked as a weaver until his death in 1815. Johann Carl Büttner, too, redeemed the debts he incurred for the voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia as an indentured servant. He served in New Jersey and, after many adventures during the American Revolution, returned to Europe and settled in Senftenberg in the Lausitz in Saxony. Whitehead's and Büttner's stories broaden by two examples the small circle of autobiographies of ordinary men at a time when writing about oneself was mostly limited to men, and only a few women, of elite status.

Whitehead and Büttner came from different geographical and social backgrounds and were very different kinds of men, even though both of them came to Philadelphia as teenage redemptioners, originally recruited, but ultimately not chosen, as servants of the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company (VOC) and served as indentured servants during the American Revolution. Well after their respective experiences in the very early American republic each man recorded his recollection—Whitehead in middle age and Büttner after a full life as a surgeon. The one (Whitehead's) was produced privately in English, the other (Büttner's) in German as a print publication in 1824 that saw a second, expanded edition in 1828. *Souls for Sale* presents Whitehead's life story for the first time in print and pairs it with a reprint of the abbreviated 1915 English translation, *Narrative of Johann Carl Büttner in the American Revolution*.

The title, *Souls for Sale*, focuses attention on the coercive aspect of contract labor that lured many a young, single, adventurous, or down-on-his-luck German-speaking man to service in foreign countries, even though Whitehead and Büttner signed up with the VOC agents willingly, even eagerly, and even though the redemptioners' respective times as indentured servants do not feature most prominently in their life stories. The title does not so much reflect the richness of Whitehead's and Büttner's reminiscences but more the interests of the editors, as is evident from the general introduction about German immigration to early America, which relies heavily on the largely quantitative work of Farley Grubb and includes a short discussion of the literary genre of (auto)biographies and relatively little about the political, economic, and cultural situation of the Delaware Valley in the revolutionary period (pp. 1–24). Some of the general background of the region finds its place in the more specific introductions to the two narratives, providing necessary context for modern, primarily English-speaking readers. The editors also provide some samples of primary-source materials that illustrate the biographers' lives through records they produced or that were similar in nature to the ones that would have existed in regard to their voyage to Philadelphia and their contracted service in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It is unfortunate, however, that the editors chose an example of a contract for the transatlantic crossing from 1803 (pp. 12–13) rather than one of those that have

survived from the period closer to the 1760s and 1770s, when the *Sally* sailed; and that the reproduced indenture (pp. 15–16) is that of a dependent young woman rather than an extant one for a single young man. The three different introductions, notes, and bibliography indicate the primary audience for this book: mostly college and university students.

For advanced students and serious researchers this book is valuable because of Whitehead's story (Büttner's *Narrative* is relatively rare as a book but available in microform). As documentary editions of two (auto)biographies of ordinary men in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, *Souls for Sale* disappoints. Attention to the scholarship of historical, or documentary, editing is minimal. The editors provide little detail about their editorial decisions, policies, and procedures. For example, the textual analysis of Whitehead's narrative does not reveal how the writing in the manuscript that is definitively in his own hand compares to other extant records in his hand such as his will. If, as the editors surmise, most of Whitehead's biography was dictated to better-off neighbors while he worked on his looms, why is there no report of attempts to match the scribe's hand (was there only one or several?) to other records penned by men who lived close by and with whom the weaver was friendly in order to find out who was willing to take down the thoughts and reminiscences of a former servant and why? The mystery of how the newly arrived immigrant Johann Fridrich Kukuck became the author John Frederick Whitehead remains unresolved, in part because the editors were not very careful in their own transcriptions of the author's name (the facsimile of his signature is clearly Johann Fridrich Kukuck, which appears in the caption as Johan[sic] Fridrich Kukuck; also, even though Kukuck signed his name at age 16 in Latin script, he used only simple "i"s in Fridrich which may put the editors' judgment of his well developed literacy and penmanship into question). There are other typos or spelling inconsistencies in the text, notes, and map that seem to suggest unfamiliarity with the German language or haste in the editing process.

Though there is a very short editorial note preceding Whitehead's biography, there are no notes about editorial methods for Büttner's *Narrative*. As a straightforward reprint of the English translation of the German original such omission might well be acceptable. The translator, however, excerpted from the original text and the translation was made almost a century ago, when knowledge about revolutionary America was very different from our understanding today. Since all translations are interpretations, an assessment of how accurately the 1915 translation reflects the original must have been a concern of the twenty-first-century editors. What errors occurred in the translation? Why didn't the translator choose the first edition? Questions like these raise concerns about the correct reading of the text—in the original and the translation—with serious implications for the interpretation that rests on the *Narrative*.

It is exciting and gratifying to have new materials made readily available to

increase our understanding of the lives of ordinary people in the Delaware Valley in the late eighteenth century. More careful attention to the questions concerning the primary texts would have increased the usefulness of Whitehead's and Buettner's biographies for students and scholars alike.

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The British-Atlantic Trading Community, 1760–1810: Men, Women, and the Distribution of Goods. By SHERYLLYNE HAGGERTY. (Leiden, Neth.: Brill, 2006. xiv, 287 pp. Maps, figures, tables, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$120.)

Sheryllyne Haggerty's *The British-Atlantic Trading Community, 1760–1810* uses Liverpool and Philadelphia as models for understanding the scope and complexity of the business community before and after American independence. Haggerty deliberately eschews familiar "colonial" and "early national" periodization not only because "historical 'eras' as set out by historians have little meaning" (p. 7) for the people in her analysis but also because the American Revolution was but one of many conflicts in the long eighteenth century that, she concludes, left no unique imprint on how business was done. Instead, commercial change was incremental and steady; some entrepreneurs risked much, but Haggerty finds more evidence of continuity between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trading patterns than rapid transformations.

Haggerty offers a two-part analysis. In the first three chapters she explains why she chose Philadelphia and Liverpool, offers her definition of trading, and discusses the roles traders played in the two ports. Her next three chapters explore movements of goods, systems of credit, and risk-management strategies to show how these discrete locales fit within larger regional structures. A final chapter presents microstudies of individual traders, giving faces to some of the phenomena Haggerty outlines in previous chapters.

Haggerty's most significant contribution is her expansion of the definition of "trader" to include smaller brokers, retailers, and peddlers who did, after all, significantly outnumber their larger, wealthier merchant counterparts. But her analyses of the size and composition of Liverpool's and Philadelphia's commercial districts comes from business directories—sources she acknowledges include less than a fifth of the total working population. Tax lists, at least for Philadelphia, list head-of-household occupation for a broader segment of the community so might have provided a larger sample and balanced some of the striking differences in Haggerty's data. While the world of commerce on both sides of the Atlantic may have shared understandings about the roles different kinds of traders played, her data on relative frequency of specific occupations is