

denominational lines. Extended families might well include Lutheran, Reformed, Catholic, and Mennonite kinfolk, making the practice of pluralism personal. Far less common was marriage or church membership across ethnic lines. Language was the least permeable boundary. English-speaking Lancastrians demonstrated a similar ease with one another. Anglican minister Thomas Barton reported in 1764 that “The Presbyterians and such of the Germans as understand English attend also occasionally when they happen to have no service of their own” (139). Anglican vestryman Edward Shippen rented a pew in both the Anglican and Presbyterian churches, attending each on alternate Sundays.

During the four decades after the Revolutionary War the religious makeup of Lancaster changed only slightly. The small Quaker and Jewish communities disappeared and a small Methodist congregation was organized. Order and continuity characterized Lancaster churches in the new republic, with interdenominational cooperation in charitable and educational efforts. The practice of pluralism made Lancaster “a laboratory of diversity” in which confessional boundaries were negotiated and adjusted (244).

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The Other Loyalists: Ordinary People, Royalism, and the Revolution in the Middle Colonies, 1763–1787. Edited by JOSEPH S. TIEDEMANN, EUGENE R. FINGERHUT, and ROBERT W. VENABLES (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009. x, 210 pp. Figures, index. \$70.)

This slender volume aims to fill significant gaps in our understanding of the American Revolution by focusing on loyalism among “ordinary people” in the middle colonies. Its seven essays are organized into three sections entitled “Places,” “Groups,” and “People.” In part 1, the most effective section of the book, two essays stress how the particular circumstances of place shaped loyalism in the Delmarva Peninsula and in eastern New Jersey, and their mutual consideration of loyalist violence engagingly connects them with one another. Wayne Bodle imaginatively reconstructs the small but explosive resistance of China Clow to patriot authority near the Maryland border of Kent County, Delaware, in April 1778, and how it remained a source of local controversy into the 1790s. “The Ghost of Clow” proved hard to put to rest even though it produced just a handful of direct primary sources with which Bodle could work. David J. Fowler’s detailed assessment of loyalist insurgents who moved effectively from the outposts of garrisoned New York City into varied parts of eastern New Jersey builds on impressive research and convincingly explains the “crescendo of retributive violence” (65) in the area that is well exemplified by Loyalists’ execution of cap-

tured Patriot Joshua Huddy.

The three essays in part 2 examine disparate groups. A. Glenn Crothers's innovative assessment of Quakers in Fairfax and Hopewell Monthly Meetings shows that, despite being in northern Virginia, they belonged to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; he thus usefully conceptualizes the mid-Atlantic in an expansive way. Michael E. Groth's essay on black revolutionary experience in Dutchess and Ulster County, New York, is a well-crafted synthetic piece based largely on secondary sources. It considers general questions of African American allegiance more than black loyalism itself. Robert W. Venables's overview of Haudenosaunee allies (not subjects) of the British is an important addition and uses the lens of "frontier war" to examine key events from the Battle of Oriskany to the British abandonment of their native allies in the 1783 peace treaty. Venables offers a clear account of Iroquois persistence in spite of major internal disagreements, and his approach complements the discussion of insurgencies in part 1 as well as the examination of frontier land speculation in the following essay.

Two short biographical essays in part 3 tell engaging individual tales but fail to bring the volume to a satisfying close. Doug MacGregor effectively uses John Connolly's published narrative to recount his extraordinary efforts to command property and political influence in the Ohio Country and Kentucky, which led him from Fort Pitt to Williamsburg as well as to New York City, London, and Canada. His pursuit of wealth presents a very self-interested Loyalist. Eugene R. Fingerhut recounts Herman Zedtwitz's tragic decline from Continental officer in 1775 to imprisonment for treason and mental instability highlighted by detailed petitions complaining of torture in prison with an electric shock machine. Neither of these individuals convincingly reveals much about ordinary people's loyalism in the mid-Atlantic. Since the latter essay closes by seeing Zedtwitz as paying "a high price for treason" (191), one is reminded that balanced and sympathetic assessments of loyalism remain elusive.

The collection would have benefited from a stronger interpretive framework, as the editors' brief introduction and conclusion do not sufficiently connect the essays nor explain what we learn from the loyalist, mid-Atlantic, and nonelite approach pursued here. Readers of this journal will be disappointed that there is no sustained discussion of the mid-Atlantic as a region or of how loyalism was distinctive there. The point that "Middle Colonies Loyalists, for the most part, were disorganized" and that "dependence [on government officials] was their great weakness" falls short of being an engaging argument, as does the observation that the reasons for loyalism are "varied and complex" (10). While the editors properly note that "self-interest and idealism often informed one another" for both Patriots and Loyalists, the main conclusion here is that those "who sided with Britain saw the Revolution as a means to an end" (195). *The Other Loyalists* addresses subjects that deserve more attention, and scholars interested

in its main themes will want to read these essays. Readers, however, will probably wish that they had a clearer collective message.

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The State as a Work of Art: The Cultural Origins of the Constitution. By ERIC SLAUTER. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 392 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$40.)

Ambitious titles both describe and proclaim. Such is certainly the case here. While the title of this book immediately recalls Jacob Burkhardt's study of art, culture, and politics of the Renaissance, Slauter draws his title from Rousseau, who had in turn observed the union of the political and the cultural in the very word "constitution." The subtitle is no less ambitious. It recalls a century of scholarship stretching back to Charles Beard, whose economic interpretation of the Constitution inspired Bernard Bailyn's landmark study of its "ideological origins" and Forrest McDonald's queries into its "intellectual origins." While notable scholars (Robert A. Ferguson, Jay Fliegelman, and Carol Smith-Rosenberg, e.g.) have conducted studies of the cultural context of constitution making, this book suggests a comprehensive methodological approach that may well set the tone for the field. That, certainly, is Eric Slauter's intent.

The book takes as its central problem that of achieving consensus for a national constitution. Given that eighteenth-century political theory concerned itself with discovering how a "people" might be matched with their "natural" government, the obvious diversity of climate, economic relationships, and culture in the thirteen states posed a problem. To overcome it, the founders engaged in "fantasies of unanimity" that either diminished differences or pointed to other cultural means of reconciling the irreconcilable. Chapter 1 examines the construction of the Constitution, paying close attention to the architectural metaphors deployed in its support. Chapter 2 explores the relationship between constitutionalism and philosophical aesthetics. The question of whether taste was a matter of universal principles or individual opinion was of great significance, especially when Noah Webster and other federalists explained the Constitution's worth in terms of its comprehensive beauty rather than as merely a sum of its individual clauses. Chapter 3 looks at a different metaphor—that of a "miniature" or a "transcription" to describe representation. Here Slauter argues that by probing contemporary understandings of these metaphors, while at the same time critically examining our contemporary privileging of Madison's notes of the convention, we get a more complex view of representation that reveals not agreements among the founders, but rather disagreements and differences. These chapters comprise the book's first part, which explains the state as a "work of art."