

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Friends and Strangers: The Making of Creole Culture in Colonial Pennsylvania.*

By JOHN SMOLENSKI. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. 392 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.)

“Quaker Pennsylvania” was made, not born, argues John Smolenski. From the time of its settlement in the 1680s until the 1720s, the colony’s Quaker pioneers, a contentious charter generation, struggled mightily to establish who among them would rule and which Quaker principles would guide the colony. Smolenski characterizes this tense process of cultural adaptation and change as “creolization”; it is the central theme of his book.

Smolenski opens with an examination of the Quakers’ origins in the turbulent era of the English Civil War. As dissenters whose emphasis on individual salvation challenged rather than confirmed the standing order, the Quakers were neither part of Britain’s political or social mainstream nor fully united. Rather, they grappled with how to balance the individual within the group in order to build a community and achieve some measure of consensus and were held together by often tenuous threads.

Quakers thus faced serious challenges as members of the fledgling movement began to govern Pennsylvania. Smolenski follows their efforts to “creolize” themselves and their colony by tracing how their struggles to adapt often resulted in bitter factional battles over colonial law, speech, print culture, and diplomacy. William Penn was central to this process. His unique legal and political visions were lightning rods for controversy. Creolization was thus no easy process. It produced such political dysfunction that even William Penn was ready to give up his colony. So what quelled Quaker factionalism? According to Smolenski, leading Friends made conscious efforts to put disputes behind them and define themselves as a stable ruling elite. Using the colony’s expanding print culture, Quakers formulated a mythic past and cast themselves as its makers and arbiters. In this way, they remade Pennsylvania into a uniquely Quaker place.

Smolenski’s book adds important dimensions to the growing body of literature challenging long-standing portrayals of colonial Pennsylvania as a utopian peaceable kingdom. His detailed depiction of the colony’s early Quaker leadership class as a divided lot, though indebted to such works of the 1960s as those by Frederick Tolles and Gary B. Nash, reminds readers in fresh ways that from its start Pennsylvania was a colony where harmony was often elusive, goals failed, and dreams were thwarted. Yet his use of creolization as the interpretive lens through which to view cultural adaptation is the work’s chief strength and weakness. As a new way of elucidating the dynamic process of transplanting European

cultural ideals to America, creolization works. Still, for readers familiar with Ira Berlin's "Atlantic creoles"—the Africans and their descendents, some of them mixed race, who operated in the multiple cultural worlds of Africa, Europe, and America during the era of the Atlantic slave trade—Smolenski's interpretive use of creole may be less than satisfying. To what extent can the experiences of a privileged group of white Quakers who moved from the British Isles to America and held political hegemony in Pennsylvania really be seen as creolization?

Muhlenberg College

JUDITH RIDNER

*A Town In-Between: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Early Mid-Atlantic Interior.* By JUDITH RIDNER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. 320 pp. Maps and illustrations, notes, index. \$49.95.)

The literature on Pennsylvania during the colonial and early national periods has become increasingly abundant in recent years, but it has concentrated on southeastern Pennsylvania, particularly Philadelphia. Because it focuses on a town in the backcountry, Judith Ridner's *A Town In-Between: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Early Mid-Atlantic Interior* is a welcome addition to the historiography of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. According to Ridner, Carlisle's geographic location along the frontier—both east/west within Pennsylvania and north/south in the mid-Atlantic—led to it becoming a place where residents faced the typical challenges of life in the backcountry along with the opportunities available to settlers who ventured into the hinterland.

Carlisle was a place that experienced a considerable degree of turmoil and change in the eighteenth century. Early European settlers formed profitable trading relationships with the Shawnee and Delaware of the region before the town's establishment in the 1750s. In fact, Thomas Penn founded the town to advance the proprietors' economic interests at a time when the landscape was changing, both literally and figuratively. During Carlisle's early years, the relationship between the European settlers (mostly Scots-Irish with a few Germans) and the Native Americans shifted dramatically when war came to the Quaker province, as Cumberland County residents flooded to the town to escape the attacks on their property.

The Revolutionary War brought new challenges to the community, as many residents enthusiastically supported independence. Carlisle provided troops (most notably Thompson's Rifle Battalion), and the town served as a prisoner of war camp for British troops and Loyalists. Armaments manufactured at Carlisle contributed immensely to the successful prosecution of the war, and the town served as an important supply depot. However, economic factors discouraged service in the militia, leading to concerns about whether the townspeople fully

supported the patriot cause.

Carlisle did not experience the same kind of economic distress as other communities following the war, as local cloth and grain production made the town a central site of exchange in the region. All was not quiet in the community, however; ethnic and religious tensions divided the town, as did political unrest over the Constitution (which led to riots between Federalists and Antifederalists). The area's response to the whiskey tax further symbolized the hostility toward the establishment that had been manifested against the proprietary government in the 1750s.

Ridner's study of Carlisle is quite masterful in its use of primary and secondary sources to tell the story of the first fifty years of Carlisle's history. She has effectively mined manuscript collections, county, provincial, and state records, and college archives to tell the story of a town undergoing a transformation during the second half of the eighteenth century from a backwoods settlement to a community at the crossroads of the early American frontier. Contemporary illustrations and photographs of period structures enhance the text, a highly readable study of one of the most significant interior towns in early America.

*Mansfield University*

KAREN GUENTHER

*The Ordeal of Thomas Barton: Anglican Missionary in the Pennsylvania Backcountry, 1755–1780.* By JAMES P. MYERS JR. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010. 278 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$52.50.)

James P. Myers Jr. has written an engrossing account integrating biography and exegesis in *The Ordeal of Thomas Barton*. That said, Myers flirts with hagiography as he argues for a reform of Barton's image from that of a possibly unprincipled young man, naive plagiarist, and propagandist to that of a well-respected minister and ultimately victim—a martyr, as Myers puts it, to the Revolution. Another key component of Myers's argument is Barton's significance as an agent of church and empire on the frontier. Barton was essentially “a proprietary placeman” (37), and the crises of the 1750s to 1770s put such middlemen in extremely uncomfortable, even ethically untenable, positions. As such an establishment agent, Barton appears at times to have been simply a tool. Myers concludes, for instance, that Barton, despite his sympathetic portrayals of Native Americans and stated desire for missionary work among them, may have written a pro-Paxton Boys screed because pushed to do so by proprietary and Church of England interests. Barton compromised his principals at that time, but according to Myers he redeemed himself in his own eyes—and those of his chronicler—by refusing to compromise his principles during the Revolution (115).

The chapter on whether or not Barton wrote the 1764 tract *The Conduct of the Paxton-Men* particularly illuminates the strengths and weaknesses of Myers's analysis. As Myers takes the reader through the process by which he determined authorship, he provides an engaging exposition and spirited defense of the literary critic as historical detective. But when he moves from the evidence of authorship to explanations of why Barton may have written what he did, Myers overdoes the psychological analysis, though his points about possible political coercion and material concerns are valid. Myers confirms the latter concerns in the next chapter when he shows Barton's desire for Sir William Johnson's patronage by deconstructing their mutual correspondence.

Barton served and directed spiritual and secular plans in the westernmost counties for over twenty years after 1755, executing the policies of the church, Crown, and Penn proprietorship. He was also a chronicler of the frontier as he tried to stabilize it. However, Barton—a person who had labored for conformity in church and state—was deemed a dangerous nonconformist by the revolutionaries. Although like many Church of England missionaries, he tried to disengage from the escalating crisis, he faced only increasing isolation and hostility and in the end exile and death in New York. Myers honors Barton and the other rural Pennsylvania clergy who “did not capitulate before appeals to expediency” as did their Philadelphia brethren such as William Smith (137). In doing so he rescues these Loyalists from obscurity.

Myers also offers eight appendices, running sixty-six pages, which include transcriptions of Barton's journal when he accompanied the Forbes Expedition in 1758, reports to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and two petitions to Pennsylvania's revolutionary government. The inclusion of these documents and Myers's highly readable text make *The Ordeal of Thomas Barton* a valuable work both for the insight that it provides on a middling official caught in challenging events and for the documents valuable to students and scholars.

Duquesne University

HOLLY A. MAYER

*David Franks: Colonial Merchant.* By MARK ABBOTT STERN. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. 263 pp. Appendices, notes, bibliography. \$60.)

David Franks (1720–1793) was one of Philadelphia's earliest Jewish residents and among the region's premier merchants. From the time of the French and Indian War until his death, much of his business activity coincided with political events. Despite Franks's central role in commerce in Pennsylvania, his membership in Philadelphia's elite circles, and his family's prominence in trans-Atlantic trade, no full-length treatment of his life had previously been published. The rea-

son for this omission is likely the absence of any large archival collection dedicated to Franks, making it difficult to compile a coherent record. Mark Abbott Stern, a retired engineer, has located scattered sources and reconstructed the details of Franks's life.

Born into a successful New York merchant family with ties to England, Franks moved to Philadelphia as a young man. He engaged in international and Indian trade, ship building and ownership, manufacturing, and land speculation. The French and Indian War provided Franks with lucrative opportunities, including supplying British troops with food and necessities. He continued to contract to the British army into the revolutionary period, when the Continental Congress also appointed him to supply their troops in Pennsylvania. The opportunities that these conflicts afforded him did not always result in gains for Franks. He sustained enormous losses from damaged goods and contracts that went unpaid. Much of his wealth was tied up in companies that claimed vast swaths of western land, and efforts to gain government support for these companies' land rights remained unresolved during Franks's lifetime. Worse still, authorities intercepted a 1778 letter to Franks's wife's cousin, a captain in a Loyalist brigade, with an enclosure addressed to Franks's brother in London seeking supplies. Franks was accused of treason and, after a series of trials, banished from Pennsylvania.

Stern claims that Franks felt a deep connection to his home and was a victim of Pennsylvania radicals. But the evidence suggests that Franks was ambivalent about where his allegiance lay. His friends and family included Tories (a fact that his accusers did not ignore), and he received a Loyalist's pension. Stern emphasizes that "the question of who was a loyalist and who a patriot" was complicated (2), but he misses an opportunity to analyze the nuances of Franks's and his contemporaries' interests and alliances or the often blurred boundary between loyalism and patriotism during the Revolution.

Franks's religious identity is another important theme. Stern concludes that Franks remained true to his faith, but his evidence reveals the clash Franks and other family members experienced between their desire to engage with the broader Christian society and the demands of Jewish observance. Franks married a Christian woman, they raised their children as Christians, and he frequently accompanied his wife to Christ Church. He also maintained his membership at Congregation Shearit Israel, New York's first synagogue, where his parents were prominent members. These ambiguities and many other details beg for a more nuanced discussion of what it meant to be Jewish in the fluid environment of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Nevertheless, Stern's superbly researched book provides valuable information about Franks's integral role in commerce in Pennsylvania.

*University of Delaware*

TONI PITOCK

*John Barry: An American Hero in the Age of Sail.* By TIM MCGRATH. (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2010. xvi, 662 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

Tim McGrath makes a strong argument that John Barry is a true, but forgotten, hero of this nation. Barry's list of accomplishments is impressively long: a contender for the title "Father of the American Navy"; the commander who fought both the first and last successful engagements of the Continental navy; the skipper who logged the greatest distance in a twenty-four-hour period during the eighteenth century; George Washington's favorite sailor, who served with the Continental army at the battle of Princeton; the individual who extralegally brought about Pennsylvania's ratification of the Constitution; a merchant captain who helped establish American trade with China; and commander of one of two U.S. Navy squadrons who "won" the 1798 Quasi-War with France.

Despite this impressive resume, Barry is barely remembered today and John Paul Jones is the American naval officer most associated with valor and accomplishment during the Revolutionary War. McGrath explains Barry's obscurity by the fact that he was humble, laconic, and, in marked contrast to Jones, unwilling to promote himself or his achievements.

To remedy the paucity of materials by and—at least for his early years—about Barry, McGrath writes a life-and-times biography. While Barry is very much at the center of the book and McGrath has done exhaustive research in Barry's papers, he goes beyond the subject of his biography to explore topics only indirectly related. For example, in his coverage of the opening of the Revolution, McGrath discusses Lord Dunmore and his activities in Virginia, the first Continental navy expedition to the Bahamas, and British naval activities in the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. Barry was an actor in none of these. McGrath's treatment is akin to a sprawling Hollywood epic in which the main character disappears from the scene while the director gives you a feast of sights and sounds depicting the times. The result provides the reader with a vivid portrait of revolutionary-era Philadelphia, a guide to eighteenth-century sailing, and a primer on the naval history of the American Revolution.

McGrath is a compelling and lucid writer. He brings Barry to life, makes battles understandable, and provides the clearest description of Barry's 1778 capture of the British transport ships *Mermaid* and *Kitty* that this reviewer has seen.

The problem with his approach is that McGrath often relies on older, more popular sources for background and presents issues and trends in a simplistic, black-and-white fashion. His explanations of Irish-English relations or American-English pre-Revolution interaction, for example, lack nuance and ignore important modern scholarship. McGrath is also guilty of minor errors, for example, misspelling the names of Nathanael Greene, Hoysted Hacker, and John Peck Rathbun and asserting that Florida was a Spanish territory in 1778.

This is an entertaining and informative biography that will acquaint readers with John Barry and the world in which he lived, worked, and fought. While specialists may have problems with parts of his work, McGrath should be commended for compellingly reintroducing a hero of the early United States who has undeservedly fallen into obscurity.

*Naval History and Heritage Command*

DENNIS M. CONRAD

*William Bartram, The Search for Nature's Design: Selected Art, Letters, and Unpublished Writings.* Edited by THOMAS HALLOCK and NANCY E. HOFFMAN. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010. 520 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendices, works cited, index. \$49.95.)

This is a beautiful book, lovingly produced for readers who adore William Bartram (1739–1823) as an artist, Romantic, naturalist, and gardener and painstakingly assembled by scholars who approach him from a variety of perspectives. It provides clear capsule introductions to primary texts otherwise unavailable to most readers. Calling it “the first full selection of Bartram’s manuscripts” (1) is a fair description of a book that both selects and abridges. It includes the range of unpublished sources—letters, manuscripts, and illustrations—whereas other collections have focused more and/or included less. It does not include the published *Travels* (1791), Bartram’s only book; the long “Report” that he wrote for his patron, Dr. John Fothergill; or his “Observations” on the Creek and Cherokee Indians. These are appropriate omissions, since all three are available in a number of editions, including Francis Harper’s annotated versions.

The contributors are well chosen for their range of expertise—on Indians, natural history, garden design, archaeology, art history, literature, and philosophy. Rarely, their introductions overstretch to make an academic point or to claim interpretive novelty. For example, biographers have not, as one contributor suggests, “generally portrayed him as a shy and reclusive figure who lived in relative isolation” (xv), and it is unclear how letters could provide evidence either for or against Bartram’s shyness. It is well known that Bartram ran something of a salon later in his life and received countless pilgrims who sought out his wisdom, asked gardening advice, or simply wanted to meet the Romantic naturalist and artist.

The collection of letters is probably the key contribution of the book, as many of Bartram’s illustrations have been published already, most notably by Joseph Ewan in an ill-fated American Philosophical Society edition, most copies of which were destroyed in a basement flood. Scholars will still have to return to the originals for textual analysis that looks back from published versions to manuscript drafts since, as the editors explain, “not every text merits full publication here, and in cases where documents require technical knowledge, the critical

introductions may serve readers more than the texts themselves" (2). The book provides such specialists leads and locations, though, in clarifying introductions to the texts. The correspondence "includes all but a handful of letters" (1), which means the volume is sufficient for almost all readers.

Electronic searches have enabled the editors to remedy the "scattered state of the archive" (2), for which admirers of Bartram will be grateful. Indeed, the editors' ambition to "balance the needs of academic and general readers" is largely successful. Often such attempts to create hybrids produce books that are neither fish nor fowl, but this one has nary a fin where a beak belongs and would make the shy Bartram blush.

*University of Rochester*

THOMAS P. SLAUGHTER

*Benjamin Franklin and the Invention of Microfinance.* By BRUCE H. YENAWINE. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010. 240 pp. Appendices, notes, works cited, index. \$99.)

Academic writing on Benjamin Franklin has recently burgeoned into what some have called "Franklin studies," with two volumes of scholarly essays (one published, another on the way) and monographs focusing on his contributions to science, philosophy, and letters, among other subjects. Because of a strange twist of fate, Bruce Yenawine's useful and interesting contribution both predates and comes at the crest of this rising wave. Just published in Pickering & Chatto's Financial History series, it is an edited but not significantly updated version of his 1995 dissertation, completed two years before his death.

Yenawine analyzed the origins and legacy of a unique codicil in Franklin's will that granted two thousand pounds each to Boston and to Philadelphia, to be loaned out in small sums to artisans to establish them in business. After a century, part of the funds was to be spent for civic improvements. After two centuries, all remaining money—which Franklin characteristically calculated to the last pound—was to be split between the governments of the two cities and of their states. The book places Franklin's bequest in the context of his readings in finance and correspondence with late-Enlightenment financial innovators, combined with his continued affinity for what he and his contemporaries called "mechanics," that is, skilled workers. As Yenawine ably details, within a few decades the funds' managing committees in both cities subverted Franklin's intent, in Boston by investing the principal in an insurance company and in Philadelphia by investing the principal to pay down municipal debt. Yenawine convincingly attributes this failure to the class bias of the funds' elitist managers rather than a lack of potential candidates in cities that grew by leaps and bounds over the course of the nineteenth century. That said, he also notes organized labor's resistance to money

that would draw members from its ranks. Yenawine chronicled how the funds in both cities went through nearly two decades of legal wrangling after hitting the century mark, with Boston eventually investing much of its fund in what became the Franklin Institute of Technology (FIT) and Philadelphia's morphing into a mortgage bank for low-income residents. Both cities wrapped up their funds in the 1990s in accordance with Franklin's codicil, with Boston's going to FIT and Philadelphia's being distributed to the Franklin Institute and to foundations administered by Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. In Yenawine's estimation, the funds at least partly achieved Franklin's first goal in promoting savings and frugality, but the administrators failed Franklin in their reluctance to seek out deserving borrowers.

Given the scholarly fascination with debt when Yenawine was writing, he focused on each bequests' function as a "sinking fund," a pot of money set aside to increase through investment. Since Yenawine's death, the facet of Franklin's life or, more accurately his financial afterlife, that the book addresses has also become an area of heightened global activity as well as scholarly and public interest. "Microfinance" is the granting of small loans at low interest rates to individual entrepreneurs who otherwise would have little or no access to credit; the returned principal and interest is then loaned out to others. As editor Michele Costello points out, Yenawine's book offers both inspiration for future benefactors and a cautionary tale for trust administrators. As such, it serves as edifying reading to Franklin scholars and to those interested in financial history.

*Bowling Green State University*

ANDREW M. SCHOCKET

*So Great a Proffit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism.* By JAMES R. FICHTER. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010. 384 pp. Illustrations, archival sources, notes, index. \$35.)

*So Great a Proffit* is an ambitious book that brings together a tremendous amount of meticulously researched economic data to demonstrate the global scope of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century trade in the East Indies and its impact on American and British business methods. Essentially, James Fichter argues that as competition for the East India trade heightened at the turn of the nineteenth century, both America and Great Britain had to readjust their commercial policies and business models to remain competitive. Although less experienced and initially ill-financed, American merchants remained flexible to changing business conditions on the ground thanks to the presence of individual supercargo agents.

Between 1783 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars, America maintained a competitive edge in a world marketplace, forcing Great Britain to turn away from

traditional monopolies, such as the East India Company, to allow freer trade. Conversely, Americans learned new ways to accumulate and invest capital, enabling them to create a new business class that, at least briefly, surpassed imperial-sponsored merchants in Europe. In essence, America and Great Britain learned from each other; "British merchants gained free trade, becoming more like their American counterparts, and American merchants gained capital and became more like their opposite numbers in Britain" (4). New means of financing trade, rather than the development of new industries, helped British and Anglo-American merchants shift the center of global commerce from Asia to the North Atlantic by the mid-nineteenth century, taking advantage of what Kenneth Pomeranz has called the "great divergence."

While other historians, such as James Gibson, Jacques Downs, and Jonathan Goldstein, have traced the rise of American global commercial might during this period through the China trade, Fichter broadens our understanding of the "East Indies" to include American shipping through a number of global port towns and their participation in the India trade. Indeed, some of the strongest chapters deal with the subcontinent, outlining the precarious nature of British tolerance for American merchants in South Asia, even as Great Britain continued to pressure American commercial enterprise elsewhere in the world. Examining the purchase and sale of pepper, tea, India cloth, and chinaware at the turn of the nineteenth century, the author demonstrates America's growing competitiveness with Great Britain and other European nations in both domestic commercial sales and re-export of goods. Taking advantage of their claims to neutrality in the early nineteenth century, Americans gained access to a number of lucrative European ports and their consumers. In this sense, Fichter contributes to a growing body of literature that ties the Atlantic World to broader oceanic networks of trade. However, the author would do well to engage more directly with the vast historiography on Atlantic and global trade and culture, which has opened up new ways of reading the evolution of postrevolutionary American economies, merchant culture, and capitalism.

*Old Dominion University*

JANE T. MERRITT

*Dangerous to Know: Women, Crime, and Notoriety in the Early Republic.* By SUSAN BRANSON. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 200 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

In *Dangerous to Know*, Susan Branson presents the fascinating story of Ann Carson and the author who documented her extraordinary tale, Mary Clark. Born of middle-class parents, Carson experienced the challenges associated with maintaining that identity in the tumultuous economy of the early republic. When

her father fell ill and could no longer work, the family was subject to eviction. Carson struck out on her own, opening a china shop while clinging to her middling status. She married John Carson, a sea captain, drunk, and abusive spouse. One can only imagine Carson's sigh of relief when John went missing for two years and was presumed dead. Carson, vulnerable as a single, working mother, decided to move on with her life and married Richard Smith. But John Carson wasn't actually dead.

John Carson returned from his absence and was shot and killed by Smith. Smith and Carson stood trial, Smith for murder and Carson for acting as an accessory. Carson was acquitted but Smith was scheduled to hang for his crime. In desperation, Carson hatched a plan to kidnap the governor of Pennsylvania to negotiate Smith's release. The plot failed and Smith was executed.

Carson was accustomed to scrambling to keep afloat in a society that witnessed violent economic upheavals. Alone and with a family to support, Carson pursued author and playwright Mary Clark, who agreed to ghostwrite her story. Clark was a single mother who also clung to her class status even as she saw it slipping from her grasp. Their unlikely relationship resulted in *The History of the Celebrated Mrs. Ann Carson* (1822). The narrative was a huge sensation with a wide reading audience, which included the president, vice president, and governor of Pennsylvania, as well as an early republic public that feasted on sensational crime literature.

By joining Clark's and Carson's stories, Branson allows the reader to fully appreciate the complexity of class in the postrevolutionary period. In Carson and Clark's *History*, Carson explains throughout her narrative that she only resorted to a life of crime to maintain her status in society. Certain they would find a sympathetic audience, Clark and Carson indeed became popular figures of the period, even if they are unfamiliar to us today.

Similar to Patricia Cline Cohen's *Murder of Helen Jewett*, Branson's retelling of Carson's tale is complicated. In Carson and Clark's narrative, characters come and go, the plot twists, and the complexities of nineteenth-century jurisprudence play out. The danger in working with such material is that readers become too bogged down in the details and lose track of larger themes. While Branson works hard to keep the themes of gender and class visible and weaves them into the details of her story, at times her narrative is slowed down by minutia.

Branson's real strength is showing the dynamics of class and gender through an incredibly captivating story. If one can move past the detailed retelling of Carson's complicated life, the themes of class, gender, and identity raise provocative questions regarding the fluidity of boundaries in postrevolutionary society. No doubt undergraduates will be intrigued by the tale while also appreciating a different take on class and gender relationships in the early republic.

*Northerners at War: Reflections on the Civil War Home Front.* By J. MATTHEW GALLMAN. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2010. xx, 266 pp. Illustration, notes, index. \$39.95.)

J. Matthew Gallman's new collection of essays, *Northerners at War*, is as much a work of academic autobiography as it is of historical scholarship. Gallman has brought together a collection of eleven previously published essays that, over the years, have not only contributed to our understanding of the Northern home front during the Civil War, but also map out the academic journey and various intellectual pursuits of one of the leading scholars of Pennsylvania's Civil War experience.

While the subtitle suggests that the book contains "reflections on the Civil War home front," the volume also contains reflections on the author's career. It opens with an account of how a graduate school seminar held in the living room of historian Morton Keller helped push Gallman away from the study of colonial America and into the Civil War era. Gallman prefaces each chapter with a short description of how that particular essay came into being.

Three essays (the earliest was published in 1988) reflect Gallman's doctoral research on the social history of Philadelphia during the Civil War (Cambridge University Press published his dissertation as *Mastering Wartime* in 1990). Four examine the wartime and postwar experiences of Philadelphia abolitionist Anna Elizabeth Dickinson (Oxford University Press published *America's Joan of Arc*, his biography of Dickinson, in 2006). Several chapters focus on broader questions of economic history; one is a review of seven monographs on the urban history of the Civil War; another focuses on the Battle of Gettysburg's effects on the local citizenry (this essay was written during Gallman's tenure at Gettysburg College).

The most recent essay, published in 2009, focuses on the 1864 Battle of Olustee, Florida—a research topic picked up by Gallman since taking a position at the University of Florida. In this essay, Gallman examines the factors that motivated African Americans to enlist in three different black regiments—the famous Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, the First North Carolina, and the Eighth U.S. Colored Troops. Ironically—perhaps fortuitously—Gallman's study of this battle in Florida brought him back to the question of wartime mobilization in Philadelphia. Gallman pays particular attention to the Eighth U.S. Colored Troops, which was raised in eastern Pennsylvania and trained at Camp William Penn, just outside Philadelphia in Cheltenham, Pennsylvania. These soldiers responded to a "combination of patriotic editorials, enthusiastic broadsides, and passionate rhetoric" (246) that called on black men to enlist and fight as "men" for freedom and the rights of citizenship. Lacking prior combat experience the unfortunate men of the Eighth did not fight well at Olustee, but their harsh baptism of fire led them to distinguish themselves in later battles.

Gallman might have updated several out-of-date aspects of his essays for this

new publication. For example, his footnotes in several chapters refer to his “forthcoming” biography or “unpublished” work on Dickinson (166, 187, 209, 229), and the tables in chapter 6 bear the chapter number of their previous publication (Table 10.1, 10.2, etc.). But these are minor details. While many readers of this journal will have a few of these essays on their bookshelves already (this reviewer had four), few are likely to own copies of all of them. Scholars of Pennsylvania history and of the Civil War era will thus find this collection a useful addition to their libraries.

*Christopher Newport University*

JONATHAN W. WHITE

*Thomas Eakins and the Uses of History.* By AKELA REASON. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. 232 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$55.)

Thomas Eakins created images of the past throughout his career. Akela Reason contends that Eakins valued these historical works as much or more than the paintings commonly regarded as his masterpieces (works such as *The Champion Single Sculls* [1871] and *The Gross Clinic* [1875]), and that through his historical works Eakins sought to showcase his professional beliefs, to link his work to the great art of the past, and to establish his artistic legacy.

The book is a series of five case studies arranged in chronological order. The first chapter, on *William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River* (1876–77), argues that the portrayal of the sculptor and his model affirms the professional and moral integrity of Eakins’s vocation. The second chapter, which deals with a series of colonial revival paintings and sculptures that Eakins produced between 1876 and 1883, claims that these works were not simply inspired by the widespread nostalgia surrounding the Centennial Exhibition, but served as a way for Eakins to work through his ambivalence about professional education for women in light of contemporary notions of neurasthenia, the mental and physical breakdowns of several women close to him, and the large number of women among his students at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The third chapter considers Eakins’s classicizing sculptures, paintings, and photographic studies of the mid-1880s, especially the 1885 painting *Swimming*. Here Reason makes an extended comparison between Eakins’s artistic practices and the theories of the French art teacher Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran, who held that through memory-training exercises and outdoor study of nude models in motion contemporary artists could replicate classical Greek artistic methods. The fourth chapter makes a case that *Crucifixion* (1880) was an attempt by Eakins to insert his work into a tradition of great art, but also an expression of his religious convictions. Reason discusses this painting earlier in her book than its date of execution would warrant on the grounds

that its most important exhibition history occurred later. She argues that following his dismissal from the Pennsylvania Academy in 1886 Eakins drew parallels between the life of Jesus and his own unorthodox teachings, betrayal by his students, and professional persecution. The final chapter examines Eakins's less-well-known sculptural collaborations in the early 1890s on the *Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch* in Brooklyn and the *Trenton Battle Monument*. Reason asserts that rather than trying to meet the aesthetic and professional expectations of his patrons and partners, Eakins prioritized placing himself within a tradition of great artists, exemplified for him by Phidias and Ghiberti, and thus sabotaged his prospects for more public sculpture commissions.

Among the significant contributions of Reason's book are sustained attention to the underappreciated importance of sculpture in Eakins's artistic endeavor and a better understanding of his overall aspirations for his work. The phrase "uses of history" in the title thus refers not just to the various ways in which Eakins interpreted historical subject matter as a means of stating his artistic principles, but also to his ongoing commitment to measuring his work against the great art of the past, from the Parthenon friezes to Renaissance relief sculpture to Baroque altarpieces to early American masters, even if this meant disregarding contemporary standards and thereby failing to achieve the degree of critical and professional success that he could have.

Though she cites Elizabeth Johns's classic 1983 study of Eakins as a model, Reason's book is based in biography more than in social history. Contemporary debates about, for instance, nervous illness or religious doctrine periodically play an important role in her account, but the basic questions she asks have to do with Eakins's motivations and intentions, and she construes her findings largely in personal rather than social terms. She concentrates more on an artist than on his art or the larger culture. As we continue to ponder the aesthetic and historical significance of what Eakins did it is worth paying attention, like Reason, to what he was trying to do.

*Franklin & Marshall College*

MICHAEL CLAPPER

*Raymond Pace Alexander: A New Negro Lawyer Fights for Civil Rights in Philadelphia.* By DAVID A. CANTON. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010. 272 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.)

Canton's engaging narrative tells the story of Raymond Pace Alexander (1897–1974), a prominent Philadelphia African American attorney who has been overlooked and perhaps forgotten compared to his fellow "New Negro" lawyers such as Charles Hamilton Houston, William Hastie, and Thurgood Marshall. It is a valuable contribution to the fields of legal history, civil rights his-

tory, the history of African American lawyers, and community studies of African Americans in the twentieth century.

A graduate of Wharton and Harvard Law School, Alexander went into private practice because, like other African American lawyers—no matter how stellar their education—no corporate firm would hire him. The book describes his successful law practice, including a number of high profile criminal and civil rights cases, as he cooperated with the NAACP legal staff headed by Marshall. Alexander became well-known in Philadelphia but national acclaim eluded him.

Canton focuses on Alexander's responses to the changing social environment throughout his career. He was a radical lawyer in the 1920s and 1930s, litigating cases and participating in mass protests to gain rights for black Americans. During the Depression he joined with leftist organizations in demonstrations. After World War II he shifted tactics, as the left became demonized by the anticommunist crusade. He de-emphasized protest and relied on litigation and politics.

He was a Republican until Harry Truman appointed his wife, Sadie Tanner Alexander, to the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The committee's report, *To Secure These Rights*, laid the groundwork for desegregation of the armed forces and other civil rights reforms. As the first African American woman in the United States to attain a doctoral degree (a PhD from Wharton in economics) and the first black woman graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, Alexander's wife overshadowed him nationally. He failed in his attempts to gain a federal judgeship in the circuit which included Pennsylvania, but later obtained an appointment as Philadelphia Common Pleas judge in 1958. He made a strong reputation by creating programs for first time offenders and community legal services.

Alexander and attorney Cecil Moore, who was president of the Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP from 1963 to 1967, agreed on the need to force equal opportunity for blacks but disagreed about Moore's use of demonstrations. Although Moore's leadership forced construction contractors to hire black workers and gained traction on other issues, Alexander believed demonstrations would just create white backlash. Alexander decried Black Power rhetoric, but believed in black political empowerment and studied black history. He argued for economic justice through the use of affirmative action and a "Marshall Plan" advocated by the Urban League. When Alexander first started practicing in 1923, he and other New Negro lawyers were critical of the old guard for being too timid. By the 1960s, when he supported direct action in the South but not in the North, he was denounced by younger protestors as an "Uncle Tom."

Canton's book impressively illuminates the career of a major participant in the struggle for equal opportunity in Philadelphia whose civil rights achievements have been mostly ignored.

*University of Pennsylvania*

MARY FRANCES BERRY

*Crucible of Freedom: Workers' Democracy in the Industrial Heartland, 1914–1960.* By ERIC LEIF DAVIN. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010. ix, 454 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$90.)

*Crucible of Freedom* is unlike any scholarly history book I have ever read. Throughout the work, Eric Davin interjects himself into the narrative. He frequently recounts anecdotes from individuals who describe what their grandparents told them about labor organizing in the 1930s and 1940s. Davin's approach reminded me of William H. Whyte's *Street Corner Society*. Much like Whyte, Davin is the participant-observer interpreting an oppositional culture that was—and remains—remote from Main Street America. There are also echoes of David Brooks's sociological rendering of contemporary professionals in *Bobos in Paradise*.

If viewed as a Hunkie steelworker counterpart to Whyte's ethnic Italians or Brooks's "bourgeois bohemians," *Crucible of Freedom* has merit. There once were vibrant, working-class mill towns in America's industrial heartland. Most inhabitants traced their origins to southern and eastern Europe. They filled the taverns on Saturday nights and nursed hangovers on Roman Catholic pews on Sunday mornings. This is the world that Davin seeks to reconstruct, a world so remote now that Hollywood decades ago stopped making films like *The Deer Hunter* and *All the Right Moves*.

As a work of history, however, *Crucible of Freedom* falls short. Historians should not insert themselves into the narrative. Moreover, historians should not call upon second- and third-hand anecdotes. Oral history is a tool best used carefully. Each point raised in an oral interview should be documented by other, separate sources to avoid unverifiable stories filtered through two or three generations.

Beyond the issue of second-hand anecdotes and personal interjection, is the matter of writing. Tighter editing would have helped the author. Too many passages are in a dissertation-style format. There are numerous bullet points and sequential paragraph leads, as well as chapters that could have been boiled down into a more succinct format. Bullet points disrupt the narrative flow while too much background obscures the focus of the work.

Most fundamentally, Davin does not come to terms with how unionization helped undermine the preeminent position of manufacturing in post–World War II America. Factories relocated overseas and automation replaced unskilled, well-paid American workers. The reasons for these changes ranged from too much compensation relative to value produced and the shoddy quality of union-made goods, to onerous union work rules and the difficulty in firing incompetent, union-protected workers. Ultimately, the "crucible of freedom" became the incubus of the Rustbelt.

Angelo State University

KENNETH J. HEINEMAN

*Guard Wars: The 28th Infantry Division in World War II.* By MICHAEL E. WEAVER. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. 384 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.)

Military historians occasionally invoke the age-old adage that “generals prepare to fight the last war.” In the case of the U.S. Army between the world wars, however, generals did not adequately prepare to fight *any* war—especially not one that would extend to the farthest reaches of the globe, tax American manpower and industrial production capabilities to their limits, and usher in the age of nuclear warfare. Michael E. Weaver, a military historian at the U.S. Air Force Air Command and Staff College at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, uses the Pennsylvania National Guard (Twenty-Eighth Infantry Division) as a lens through which to examine U.S. Army mobilization, training, and combat before and during World War II. His primary focus is on the unit’s activities from 1939 until it came ashore in Normandy near Bricqueville on July 27, 1944.

*Guard Wars* is a work of both “old” and “new military history.” Weaver focuses on troop movements and explains the course of various engagements in discussing the unit’s advance across France and into Belgium and Germany, but he also evaluates the impact of social and cultural factors on the division. He finds that the majority of enlistees were young members of the urban working class motivated by patriotism and a desire to serve their state’s unit. Most were native born, and there were few whites from the lowest economic strata, almost no upper-class whites, very few farmers and men from rural areas, and no African Americans in the division’s ranks. Federalization of the National Guard in 1940 and 1941 reduced the “local flavor” of these units. By mid-1943, the guard, renamed the Twenty-Eighth Infantry Division, had lost much of its Pennsylvania identity as it became fully assimilated into the regular army.

Weaver discusses the division’s 1939 to 1943 training maneuvers in great depth. Division commanders (who included Major General Edward Martin, later governor of Pennsylvania) had their work cut out for them. The War Department lacked sufficient supplies for training its divisions, men used steel pipes and rubber bands to launch flour sacks (as there was a shortage of mortars), cigar boxes and blocks of wood substituted for mines, metal tubes and logs represented cannon, and sawhorses were used as machine guns. Light observation aircraft mimicked dive bombers, while training directors painted “Tank” on the sides of trucks during simulated combat exercises. These exercises revealed that the army as a whole—and National Guard units in particular—was not ready for combat. Weaver observes that “The National Guard’s failure to achieve competency in small-unit tactics and even individual skills was a severe indictment of the assumptions as to what a couple of hours of training a week could accomplish” (68).

Weaver’s work follows in the footsteps of such military historians as Michael

Doubler, Peter Mansoor, and Robert Rush, as he argues that “the American Army was an institution with a steep learning curve during combat and that it fought skillfully” (7). Divisions learned from their early mistakes, American soldiers and commanders were flexible, and the army became a rather effective fighting force as it gained combat experience. Like Mansoor and Doubler, Weaver shows that the United States did not win solely because of a massive application of firepower; rather, Americans were skilled fighters, particularly during the Battle of the Bulge.

Weaver has written an excellent account of the Pennsylvania National Guard’s role in the European campaign. He has also demonstrated that there is still much important work to be done on the U.S. Army’s participation in the “good war.”

*Temple University*

ERIC KLINEK

*America’s Longest Run: A History of the Walnut Street Theatre.* By ANDREW DAVIS. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. 424 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$44.95.)

In this lavishly produced, beautifully illustrated, extensive study of Philadelphia’s famous Walnut Street Theatre, Andrew Davis offers scholars of American theater history, architecture, and drama a detailed account of more than two hundred years of survival and transformation in the nation’s oldest standing playhouse. The sixteen chapters trace the Walnut’s complex history. Among other things, the space has been a circus (before it was the Walnut Street Theatre), the acme of middle-class respectability in the mid-nineteenth century, a Yiddish theater in the 1930s, and the host to such stars as Edwin Forrest, Fanny Kemble, Edwin Booth, Lillie Langtry, Katherine Hepburn, Marlon Brando, and Sidney Poitier. *America’s Longest Run* brings the history of the Walnut Street Theatre from the eighteenth century up to the present day, closing with the theater’s bicentennial on February 2, 2009.

It is beyond the scope of such a sweeping study to provide detailed historical context for each transformation, so Davis anchors his work in an exploration of the personalities that shaped the playhouse’s history, from star performers to artistic directors. The result is a narrative history that infuses personality and interest into what might otherwise be a simple chronicle of events. For example, the first third of the book (chapters 1 through 5) focuses on the theater’s rise to legitimacy, following various managers whose dreams of financial triumph ended in disaster as the nation was overtaken by a series of economic and political crises. Chapters 6 through 8 examine the theater’s changing audiences. By the 1840s, managers turned their attention to capturing an audience with “the disposable

income necessary to support the playhouse" (99)—the rising middle class. Chapters 9 through 13 document another century of growth, during which the shifting structure of theatrical touring circuits and managerial monopolies repositioned the playhouse as a more national venue (even while it retained a strong local character). In chapters 14 through 16, Davis turns his attention to the Walnut's struggle for survival in the latter part of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Intriguingly, central to the theater's vision of its future was its understanding of its past. The restoration of the Walnut Street Theatre, launched in 1970, initially promised to reconfigure the space as a site for community engagement. Within a decade, however, that mission was imperiled. As Davis recounts, consultants analyzing the theater's challenges determined that it suffered from "the lack of a defined purpose and programming" as well as a lack of leadership in key artistic positions (305). In 1982, the arrival of a new artistic director dedicated to building a strong subscriber base kept the theater afloat. While debates over art versus commerce would remain, the increased financial stability allowed the theater to extend its educational mission into the community (310–11).

Throughout the study Davis considers the changes made to the theater's architecture. While this aspect of the study may be of greatest use to scholars of playhouse and American architecture, it is important to understand how the theater kept pace (or at times failed to keep pace) with the trends of the day. It is also impressive to contemplate just how many changes the structure has weathered over the centuries. As Davis notes, "Older theatres . . . have a way of looking dowdy a few years after they were built . . . [as] ideas about what is stylish and chic change" (4). Davis adds that, despite rich décor, theaters have been "treated more like factories," seen as "utilitarian" spaces for the manufacture of entertainment (4).

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the Walnut Street Theatre's history is its mission. Davis claims at the outset that the Walnut Street has always been a "populist" theater (2), and he closes with the sentiment and the hope that the playhouse will continue to express the *vox populi* (363). Yet, as his history makes clear, the Walnut Street has followed trends as often as it has led them. Perhaps as Davis suggests, it is this very adaptability that accounts for the theater's longevity.

*University of Maryland*

HEATHER S. NATHANS

*Global Philadelphia: Immigrant Communities Old and New.* Edited by AYUMI TAKENAKA and MARY JOHNSON OSIRIM. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010. 320 pp. Tables, maps, figures, illustrations, index. \$29.95.)

Philadelphia has rarely figured centrally in histories of U.S. immigration; nevertheless the city has been a destination for immigrants for three centuries, and immigrants have played a central role in the region's development. *Global Philadelphia* explores how Philadelphia has affected immigrants' lives, and how they have in turn shaped Philadelphia. This collection of case studies, gleaned from two Bryn Mawr College conferences in 2005 and 2006, taps into several trends in recent immigration studies: a focus on the transnational, relationships within and between ethnic groups, and a comparative connection between contemporary and historical contexts.

One highlight of the volume is the new and nuanced look at populations long associated with Philadelphia: Germans, Irish, Jews, Italians, Latinos, and Chinese. Joan Saverino's essay on Italians looks beyond the South Philadelphia enclave to Chestnut Hill to examine Italians' hybrid contributions to the built environment and illuminate differences between northern and southern regional identities. Victor Vazquez-Hernandez expands ideas of Latino Philadelphia beyond Puerto Ricans, stretching the time line to the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, revealing the presence of a strategic pan-Latino identity long before such politics were current and underscoring the important place Philadelphia had in larger political and economic Atlantic networks. Likewise, Lena Sze heightens awareness of the nonessential nature of the ethnic enclave by emphasizing the strategic nature of community institutions and the contemporary diversity of the Chinatown community. Other authors continue the stories of Germans (Birte Fleger) and Irish (Noel Farley and Philip Kilbride) beyond the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, showing how ethnic institutions changed over time.

Perhaps the most important contribution of *Global Philadelphia* is to map more recent—and still largely unstudied—immigrant flows to greater Philadelphia from Mexico, the Caribbean, Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. The presence and experiences of these global diasporas reconfigure the dynamics of race in a historically black/white city. Philadelphia is often a second or third destination for new immigrants, who tend to disperse through the greater region (with a concomitant decline of urban enclaves). One such dispersed community is Cambodian, the fourth largest in the United States according to Ellen Skilton-Sylvester and Keo Chea-Young. This "Other Asian" presence is often effaced in the larger city landscape, inhibiting incorporation. African immigrants portrayed in Mary Johnson Osirim's piece, on the other hand, play a visible role in the local economy as entrepreneurs, revitalizing declining neighborhoods and organizing for political influence.

Less explored are some of the interethnic relations and neighborhood successions specific to Philadelphia: Mexicans and Southeast Asians in historically Italian South Philadelphia; the relationship among Koreans, Haitians, and Latinos in Olney; or Africans and African Americans in West Philadelphia—all of which are mentioned only in passing. The volume's specific group-by-group frame perhaps limits such analysis.

Although necessarily impressionistic, *Global Philadelphia* opens new avenues to view Philadelphia as an enduring city of immigrants and, it is hoped, paves the way for further and more in-depth explorations of the immigrant experience in greater Philadelphia.

*Georgia State University*

KATHRYN E. WILSON