BOOK REVIEWS

The Nation's Nature: How Continental Presumptions Gave Rise to the United States of America. By JAMES D. DRAKE. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 401 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $45.)

United States history continues to be written as if it begins and ends at the shores of the North American continent. It is a landlocked narrative, one that distorts the past and obscures the future. James Drake's marvelous exploration of our "continental presumption" opens up an entirely different, wholly original perspective. The New World had been imagined by explorers initially as an island or an archipelago. The British were island and coastal people, more oriented to sea than land, for whom a continental land mass blocking access to Asia was more a frustration than a blessing. Their French rivals coveted America as a waterland, exploring it by way of rivers and lakes. Confined to the coasts and waterways, few knew anything about the continent as such.

The geographical notion of continent did not emerge until the seventeenth century and, as Drake shows, was not considered an indisputable fact of nature until the late eighteenth century. This idea was as much the product of politics as natural science, used by Thomas Paine to justify separation from the mother country when he famously argued that it was absurd for "a continent to be perpetually governed by an island." The rebellious colonists were rhetorically continental long before they were able to explore or occupy even a small part of the continent itself. As Drake demonstrates, ignorance and imagination went hand in hand, creating by 1775 a national metageography which remains largely unchallenged to this day.

Much of Drake's book is concerned with the political details of the struggle for independence and the events of the early national decades. He tells this story well, but the true genius of this book lies in its ability to expose the metageography that underpins our national myth-history. Drake is as conversant with Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community as with the work of cultural geographers such as Karen Wigen and Martin Lewis. For too long, history and geography have been separate disciplines, especially in the United States. Used to thinking of this continent as a natural phenomenon, we assume that geography is destiny when, in fact, it is a contested product of history itself.

In the twenty-first century, boundaries once fixed have again become fluid. In many ways, the United States has become less continental as population has gravitated to the coasts. The center has been hollowed out, and edges have come

to define who we are as a people. Geographers have begun to ask whether continents are any longer a viable category of analysis, while the new field of global history has challenged the idea that the story of this nation can be contained between the seas. In this moment of geographical turbulence, we are suddenly liberated from the tyranny of continental presumptions and encouraged to reimagine ourselves in a less landlocked manner. Drake's book comes as a gift at this critical time.

Rutgers University JOHN R. GILLIS

The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America. Edited by CHRIS BENEKE and CHRISTOPHER S. GRENDA. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 416 pp. Notes, index. $45.)

The religious diversity of early America has been fully documented in historical scholarship. How religious tolerance was conceived, codified, and practiced has garnered less attention. This anthology by Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda initiates a productive conversation about the contours of religious difference in early America. Tolerance and intolerance are addressed from the colonial to the early national periods through an investigation of religion "as a source of legal repression, political conflict, group attachment, cultural transcendence, and individual freedom" (2). The work of twelve scholars is included in this collection, which is divided into four sections entitled "ideologies," "practices," "boundaries," and "persistence." The essays explain how early Americans experienced degrees of religious liberty, indifference, and discrimination that varied by time, place, and group. Some articles focus on a particular religion (Judaism) or issue (religious infidelity), while others trace a specific concept over time (the use of Amalek in English and American rhetoric). These varied approaches provide trenchant analysis of the complex history of religious tolerance and intolerance in early America.

Religious liberty and prejudice were equally enmeshed in the larger imperial project of British North America. Ned Landsman's contribution demonstrates the role of empire in the debate over instituting an Anglican bishopric in the American colonies. While the "imperial union" of 1707 led to this controversy, "imperial disunion" resolved it when the colonies severed relations with England (96). Likewise, Owen Stanwood uses the context of empire to understand the multiple uses of antipopery sentiment in colonial America, as "fear of Catholics remained a constant backdrop in the American Protestant consciousness" (220).

Attempts by colonial governments to enforce religious orthodoxy faced local resistance. Joyce Goodfriend examines the New Netherlands as a "laboratory of

coexistence" where many religious groups lived in uneasy relationships (99). Petrus Stuyvesant, who believed religious toleration would lead to social chaos, used his authority to persecute Lutherans, Jews, and Quakers. Colonial directives, however, were not always followed; New Netherlanders lived and worked alongside their Jewish neighbors and, in one case, defended the right of Quakers to enjoy religious liberty. Susan Juster studies intolerance in terms of religious offenses, such as heresy, blasphemy, Sabbath breaking, swearing/profanity, and sacrilegious speech. Considered capital crimes, these misdeeds generated activity in colonial courts, but juries were reluctant to put others to death for spiritual nonconformity.

The benefits of religious tolerance were restricted to Europeans. According to Richard Pointer, religious liberty for Native Americans meant conversion to Protestantism, while Jon Sensbach shows how African Americans stood outside the "narrative of increasing religious toleration that defined Anglo-America" (197).

This incomplete sampling hints at the rich and substantive scholarship contained in this anthology. The articles assembled here have activated several strains of scholarly endeavor to address the numerous ways that religious tolerance was theorized and experienced in early America. Hopefully, other scholars will follow their intriguing leads.

Rowan University JANET MOORE LINDMAN

John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth: The Journalist's Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera. Edited by JAMES PROUD. (San Francisco: Inner Light Books, 2010. 310 pp. Index. $45 cloth; $25 paper.)

The textual history of John Woolman's writings is as long and convoluted as an Iowa corn maze, consisting of a bewildering array of manuscripts and printed editions, no two of which agree. Amelia Mott Gummere's pathfinding edition of the *Journals and Essays of John Woolman* (1922) provided a good map, but her choice of Manuscript A as copy text for the *Journal* limited the reliability of her printed texts. This deficiency was corrected in Phillips P. Moulton's definitive *Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman* (1971). Now comes James Proud's edition of Woolman's essays, epistles, and ephemera, which deserves a place on the scholar's shelf next to those landmark twentieth-century editions.

Proud's achievement is to bring together all of Woolman's writings (excluding the *Journal*), arranged by date of composition, in a single volume for a general audience. Woolman was not, Proud suggests, merely "a plain earnest man of local education and limited means" but a thoughtful patrician who "had pur-

posefully renounced his birth-right expectations . . . of wealth and social status" in order to "be free to teach, to travel on missions, to write, and, above all, to engage" the world as a reformer (vii–viii). Proud points out that Woolman was known during his lifetime for incisive writing about social, political, and ethical issues—the affairs of truth, in Proud's title—yet modern readers know him primarily from his posthumously published *Journal*, in which he often appears as a pilgrim engaged in a solitary quest for salvation. To make the case for Woolman as a literary man of "wide erudition," a "master of scripture," and a deep thinker about the human issues involved in work, trade, and political economy (vii), Proud assembles seven major essays by Woolman on human freedom, pacifism, and what we might call the "social gospel." To these he adds four epistles to various meetings of the Friends, a "First Book for Children," a literary dialogue, and other fragmentary ephemera.

Proud provides a general introduction and an introduction to each text. Texts are based on Woolman's holograph manuscripts or, when manuscripts do not exist, on the first printed edition. Proud explains fully how and why he has modernized texts with respect to capitalization, grammar, paragraphing, punctuation, and spelling (xxxvii–xxxviii).

In testing Proud's transcriptions I have noticed few errors, only two of which affect meaning: "outward of two months" for "out upward of two months" (91) and "we treat them" for "we treat concerning them" (50). He also perpetuates a mistake made first by W. Forrest Altman in 1957 and again by Moulton in 1971 when he attributes two quotes from *Considerations on Slavery, Part Second* (52) to John Lockman's edition of *Travels of the Jesuits* (1743 and 1762). They are actually from two Capuchin missionaries quoted in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages* (1744).

But these are peccadilloes, and they pale when placed against Proud's achievement. Every reader of Woolman will find something valuable in this edition; I am especially delighted that he has restored to the canon Woolman's thoughtful meditations on passages from Anthony Benezet's *Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies*, which are now back in print for the first time since 1837.

Alcorn State University (Emeritus) DAVID L. CROSBY

American Independence: From "Common Sense" to the "Declaration." By BENJAMIN PONDER. (n.p.: Estate Four Publishers, 2010. 710 pp. Bibliography, index. $24.95 paper.)

Washington Irving's alter ego Mustapha Rub-A-Dub Keli Kahn once observed that "[American] government is pure unadulterated logocracy, or government of words." Benjamin Ponder, who writes from a "rhetorical studies" per-

spective (xxx), illustrates Irving's principle in a thoroughly researched, highly readable, and illuminating book that centers on an instance when the power of words radically shifted the structure of American politics.

Ponder explains that as late as December 1775, the majority of American colonists were still committed to reconciliation with Britain, yet only seven months later, public opinion had been so drastically turned on its head that the Declaration of Independence was successfully adopted by the Continental Congress. How the tides of public sentiment changed so greatly in such a short period of time is the question of this book, and Ponder's analysis reveals the importance of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* in bringing about this transformation.

Ponder does an excellent job reproducing the late eighteenth-century backdrop. Part of his success can be attributed to his decision to divide chapters by "concepts"—each concept explaining an aspect of the collective colonial mindset (xxx). This division results in a greater understanding of the various facets of the historical period. Yet Ponder's work is about more than just history; it is really three distinct books in one. Upon completion, readers have consumed a limited-scale biography of Thomas Paine, read a history of the colonies in the lead-up to the writing of the Declaration of Independence, and received a crash course in rhetorical criticism, with its emphasis on the definition, classification, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of language. Ponder adeptly rises to the challenge of incorporating rhetorical criticism into the broader historical study without disrupting the flow of the work.

In an effort to weave rhetoric and history together in one study, Ponder provides a rhetorical analysis of *Common Sense*, putting the work in context by discussing the ways in which its language relates to the "concepts" that frame each chapter. In the chapter on "Reformation and Regicide," for example, Ponder first provides relevant historical background about religion in 1776 (Puritan influence, threat of popery, etc.) and then explains, with specific examples from *Common Sense*, how Paine incorporated religious overtones into his text—by referring, for instance, to King George as a "heathen" (85) and by channeling Ecclesiastes with a brief "time for every purpose under heaven . . ." excerpt (90–91). This discursive technique, in which Ponder explains the effect of Paine's language and his deliberate choice of terminology, makes for a highly readable work.

Also contributing to the enjoyment of reading *American Independence* is Ponder's unique, welcoming writing style, which at times seems to transcend the realm of historical analysis and begins to resemble that of a political thriller. Readers may be delighted to find themselves immersed in the sometimes scandalous intrigue of colonial American politics. *American Independence,* while lengthy, is thoroughly absorbing and represents a shining example of what comprehensive scholarship can look like. Ponder has done his research, and with rare

exception, students of this period will be hard-pressed not to find at least a passing reference to their favorite revolutionary. As an additional benefit to the reader, Ponder includes a full text of *Common Sense* in the appendix.

As the lines of communication between disciplines open, expect to see a good deal of crossover melding otherwise distinct disciplines. In this regard, Ponder is ahead of his time and provides a wonderful example of how interesting and engaging good interdisciplinary scholarship can be.

University of Memphis PATRICK LOEBS

Lessons from America: Liberal French Nobles in Exile, 1793–1798. By DOINA PASCA HARSANYI. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. 216 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $80.)

According to Doina Pasca Harsanyi, it was not easy being a liberal French noble in the age of the French Revolution. Bred to think of themselves as the vanguard of enlightened reform, these patricians took a central role in the abolition of feudalism and the creation of the constitution of 1791. Yet as the tide of revolution moved forward, these same nobles found themselves characterized by Jacobins as neo-foreign, obstructionist "aristocrats" (15). As a result, a number of them migrated to the United States (via the United Kingdom), where they ruminated on various features of their temporary home as well as on the possibility of returning to France and redeeming the political reform they helped initiate.

Most of the liberal nobles' meditations took place in social gatherings modeled on Parisian salons, and Harsanyi focuses on the cohort that gathered in Moreau de Saint-Méry's Philadelphia bookstore. Unlike thousands of contemporaneous Saint Dominguan refugees, who organized themselves along the lines of previously established trade networks, this group "was formed of individuals whose principal common bond was" the fact that they "had all been part of the Patriot faction at the Constituent Assembly and all had moved from the left to the center in the face of Jacobin intransigence" (56). This particular political orientation helped shape the exiles' response to American society. More specifically, while French liberal nobles sympathized with Americans' tolerant attitude toward religion and speech, they feared social disorder and lamented the absence of an enlightened elite not preoccupied with money. Disdain for supposedly widespread American vulgarity endeared individuals like Talleyrand and the Duc de Liancourt to Federalists, who likewise prioritized "a self-selected elite" and polite society (85). But in the end, French liberal exiles resisted drawing close to followers of George Washington because they could not abide harsh criticism of the French Revolution; "they were too connected with the Revolution to allow it to be scorned" (85).

The sense of alienation experienced by liberal nobles influenced their business ventures and travels in the United States. In terms of the former, the "noble ethos held sway . . . and they understood social utility not as productive work but as the duty to provide the masses with enlightened ideas and models of behavior, even at the expense of success in a new line of activity" (114). In terms of the latter, the "émigrés of Moreau's circle took up traveling more to help pass the time than to educate themselves on the state of the republic" (68). Considering this less than fully invested approach to their activities in the United States, it is no wonder that the exiles returned to France as soon as they were "persuaded that social and political conditions had become compatible with their way of thinking" (106).

This short review fails to capture many of the nuanced insights put forth by Harsanyi. She is particularly adept at explaining the ways in which her subjects supported equality before the law, but not egalitarianism. Indeed, Harsanyi writes, members of Moreau's coterie were liberty-loving "liberals, not democrats," and their efforts to oppose both "popular democracy and monarchical absolutism" anticipated Tocqueville (20, 111). By providing the fullest, smartest, and most judicious account of French liberal nobles in the United States, Harsanyi has written a book that will be of keen interest to scholars of the French Revolution, the early American republic, the Atlantic world, and the development of modern political ideologies.

Goucher College MATTHEW RAINBOW HALE

Tom Paine's America: The Rise and Fall of Transatlantic Radicalism in the Early Republic. By SETH COTLAR. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 264 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $35.)

How much economic inequality can a republic accommodate before turning into an oligarchy? How can the people exercise their sovereignty between elections? Should political allegiances be tied to the nation or reach beyond to all mankind? These were some of the questions raised during the 1790s by democratic printers, newspaper editors, and booksellers and their audience of poor-to-middling laborers and farmers. Inspired by the French Revolution and the English and Irish reform movements, they sought to reopen debate on basic principles of governance that many believed had been settled by the ratification of the federal Constitution. Seth Cotlar's rich, spirited, and provocative account expands the intellectual history of the 1790s in two directions: across the Atlantic and down the socioeconomic ladder.

While several recent books have examined the international dimensions of early American politics, they have focused mainly on members of the political

and upper classes physically traversing the Atlantic world. Cotlar's approach is unique in uncovering the ideas of working-class Americans who could only visit Europe through news reports and imported texts but who were nonetheless deeply committed to applying its lessons in democratization at home. Cotlar presents the rise of democracy in America as driven not merely by ordinary citizens' economic self-interest but by their shared ideas and utopian aspirations.

Given the dearth of archival sources for a popular intellectual history, Cotlar conceives of newspapers like Philadelphia's *Aurora*, the *New-York Journal*, and Boston's *Independent Chronicle* as remnants of an "interpretative community" of editors and readers who together continually redefined the parameters of political debate (17). Cotlar cannot entirely avoid the circularity of this approach (newspapers are said to create a community, the existence of which is then proven by the newspaper) because he can only speculate about the papers' reception. But with the available evidence, Cotlar makes a strong case for these publications' community-building potential.

The first chapter is devoted to the material conditions necessary for the circulation of democratic ideas and news; here Cotlar outlines the economics of print shops, the expansion of the postal service to the frontier, and the close-knit networks of printers and booksellers. The consistency with which the three dozen democratic newspapers published between 1790 and 1798 linked American politics with foreign events and the familiar tone with which they addressed their readers represent further evidence of an ideological community. Subsequent chapters reconstruct crucial debates conducted in the pages of these publications on popular cosmopolitanism as a "language of dissent" (chapters 2 and 3), economic equality as a democratic right (chapter 4), and public opinion as an instrument of participatory democracy (chapter 5).

Tom Paine's America is an unabashedly "sympathetic" (11) account of the radical democrats, their unrealized ideas, and their unequal struggle against the Federalist elite (which is sometimes painted with too broad a brush). Printers and editors appear not as entrepreneurs or political operatives but as idealists seeking to create "an engaged, radicalized, and cosmopolitan citizenry" (33). Cotlar is careful not to exaggerate the democrats' influence and is well aware that their egalitarianism and cosmopolitanism extended in most (but not all) cases to other white men only. Nonetheless, he argues persuasively that the emerging two-party system and the Jeffersonian "Revolution of 1800" (in which the Democratic Party presented itself as a middle way between Federalist aristocracy and "Jacobin" anarchy) marked a retreat from visions of a more inclusive, participatory, and egalitarian democracy.

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin PHILIPP ZIESCHE

Seneca Possessed: Indians, Witchcraft, and Power in the Early American Republic. By MATTHEW DENNIS. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. 320 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $45.)

Matthew Dennis aims to break out of what he sees as a binary narrative trap in the writing of Native American history in his compelling study of early republic–era Seneca life. Rejecting the all-too-familiar trope of declension as well as opposing tales of "uncomplicated Indian triumph" (6), Dennis weaves seemingly disparate threads of Seneca social, cultural, political, and economic history into a unique and convincing interpretation of a crucial era of transition in Seneca peoples' collective past. Based on deep research in archival sources housed primarily in Pennsylvania and New York, Dennis's monograph represents an important contribution not only to the historiography of Iroquois people but also to that of the early American republic.

The greatest strength of the book resides in Dennis's refusal to detach his analysis of the Senecas' profound cultural metamorphosis circa 1799–1826 from the larger story of American national growth and transformation. Dennis draws frequent analogies between the experience of the Senecas and that of "other poor and middling Americans" (148) at that time, making certain connections evident that contemporary, literate historical actors misunderstood, ignored, or obscured. In so doing, Dennis provides a crucial "how-to" lesson in integrating the often-segmented histories of native peoples into broader contexts more familiar to a wider audience.

Concerned with the theme of possession, Dennis guides his readers through a variety of explanations of how the Seneca people and their homelands in what is now western New York were possessed—culturally, spiritually, materially, and legally—during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Framed by assessments of the 1821 murder trial of Seneca leader Tommy Jemmy (who was charged by state authorities for executing an alleged Seneca witch), Dennis provides a nonlinear, yet richly detailed, tour of a little-studied period of Seneca history and culture. Among the highlights along this interpretive journey is a fresh analysis of the emergence of the Handsome Lake religion among the Senecas. Here Dennis ascribes relatively greater influence to the presence of Quaker missionaries among the Senecas than other historians have allowed and also suggests that the negative impact of the *Gaiwi'io*, or teachings of Handsome Lake, on Seneca women may not have been as severe as recent feminist readings have charged. Dennis argues for an ultimately sympathetic understanding of the Quaker mission among the Senecas, emphasizing the Friends' tolerance of Seneca religious practice, the critical nature of their technical advice to Seneca economic innovation, and their acceptance of Seneca choices (on frequent occasions) to ignore or dispute Quaker prescriptions.

Could the Senecas have accomplished their far-reaching cultural overhaul in lieu of the Quaker presence? Dennis thinks not, yet he stresses the agency of Seneca actors in the "purposeful transformation and revitalization" (224) of their lifeways amidst intensifying pressures from the surrounding settler population. By the end of Dennis's account, the reader is rewarded with a nuanced understanding of how the Senecas, notwithstanding frequent contemporary assertions of their status as a "backward" population (187), represented such a frustrating obstacle for their would-be oppressors precisely because of their innovative success in engaging the new economic realities of the early American republic: market exchange, natural resource management, and land leasing as a means of economic development.

Cornell University JON PARMENTER

The Union War. By GARY W. GALLAGHER. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011. 215 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $27.95.)

In *The Union War*, Gary Gallagher seeks to reclaim what the concept of Union meant to Northerners who fought in the Civil War. The author views his thesis as a needed corrective to the common misconception, advanced by historians of the "freedom school" of Civil War history, that the second important goal of the North—emancipation—somehow eclipsed the equally worthy goal of preserving the Union. Gallagher chastens these students of the Union war effort, pointing out that they have collectively failed to appreciate the context in which the citizens of the loyal states understood the significance of the word "Union" as a sacred tradition born of antebellum political philosophy.

Gallagher asserts that the hallowed meaning of "Union" has disappeared from the American vernacular. "Recapturing how the concept of Union resonated and reverberated throughout the loyal states in the Civil War," he contends, "is critical to grasping northern motivation. No single word in our contemporary political vocabulary shoulders so much historical, political, and ideological meaning; none can stir deep emotional currents so easily" (46). Northerners' attention to the sanctity of Union emerged from years of poignant reflection through which they collectively connected themselves with a primordial sense of nationalism.

Although Gallagher's book helps recover this lost vocabulary, his analysis becomes a list of reprimands against historians who have intentionally or unintentionally obscured the importance of Union. Few schools of thought escape his scathing indictment, yet several interpretations stand out as primary culprits. First and foremost, Gallagher rebukes the post-1960s generation who in their effort to recover the centrality of emancipation argued that only the liberation of slaves offered the Union a true purpose (40). Of course, Gallagher does not

ignore the importance of emancipation—in fact, he consigns a whole chapter to its discussion—but he notes that loyal white citizens, both on the home front and on the battlefield, accepted liberation (and, for that matter, black military service) only as a "practical application" to achieve victory (95).

Gallagher also blames academic and popular historians for failing to deal with military action soberly. As Lincoln recognized, and as Gallagher points out, "all else" depended on the progress of Union arms, and "all else" meant the dual goals of Union and emancipation (119). In Gallagher's words, historians have failed to appreciate the "larger political and social implications of military campaigns" (121). Popular historians trivialized battles and academic historians ignored them. Emancipation could not have occurred without the integral role played by Union soldiers, and the progress of arms resulted in the ebb and flow of the conflict's other meanings. By avoiding the crucial intersection of military and social life, Gallagher maintains, the significance of Union dropped from the pages of history.

Gallagher's analysis is forthright and convincing, but not without weaknesses. *The Union War* repeatedly asserts that loyal Northerners used the phrases "Union" and "nation" interchangeably, an avowal that some scholars of nationalism might find troublesome. The true bone of contention, though, stems from Gallagher's antimodernist approach. He argues that the Union war effort revealed more continuity than change and that "no one should infer a sea change in attitudes toward the nation" (161). Critics might carp on Gallagher's limited conception of the transformative powers of the war, for he depicts the conflict as a process of restoration, not an ideological crusade to uphold human freedom. These critics have a point; Gallagher might have considered that white Northerners understood and welcomed the transformative powers of the war even if revolutionary motivations never actuated their participation in it.

At any rate, the debate on the Union war is not yet closed, but Gallagher's excellent book is a sturdy analysis that reminds us that the concept of "Union," though foreign to readers of the twenty-first century, was nevertheless wholly real and supremely significant to loyal Northerners in the nineteenth.

Old Dominion University TIMOTHY J. ORR

Last to Leave the Field: The Life and Letters of First Sergeant Ambrose Henry Hayward, 28th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Edited by TIMOTHY J. ORR. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011). 344 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $52.)

During the sesquicentennial commemoration of the Civil War, it is only natural that a plethora of books, articles, essays, and online publications has begun

to appear, highlighting in depth one of America's most tumultuous periods of history. Timothy J. Orr's *Last to Leave the Field* is, hopefully, a portent of the valuable scholarship that will continue to be made available to the avid follower of the war that truly "won't go away" but continues to enthrall both the general public and academic community.

The reader is drawn into the mind and heart of Massachusetts-born soldier Ambrose Henry Hayward from his first enlistment in a Philadelphia militia unit in the spring of 1861 to his death in Tennessee—brought about from wounds received at the Battle of Pine Knob, Georgia, in June 1864—as a sergeant in the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Infantry. This attraction is derived not only from Hayward's own observations but from Orr's succinct writing style and meticulous attention to detail, as revealed both in his transcription of the primary source material and in his highly informative, annotated notes, which effectively contextualize Hayward's thoughts and experiences throughout his participation in the Civil War.

In order to elucidate Hayward's life and career in the Union army, Orr has taken the letters from the Ambrose Henry Hayward Collection at the Archives of Gettysburg College as well as primary source material from fellow members of Hayward's regiment (including the letters of Colonel and Governor Geary), which are available at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and elsewhere. These rich sources, coupled with Orr's fine scholarship, make this work the authoritative publication on the history of the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania. To date, no individual regimental history has ever been written of this unit—there have only been short sketches such as those that appear in Frank Taylor's *Philadelphia in the Civil War* (1913) and Samuel P. Bates's *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers* (1869). This is surprising, considering that the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania was formed by postwar governor of Pennsylvania Colonel John W. Geary and that the unit was involved in such famous battles as Chancellorsville, Antietam, and Gettysburg. *Last to Leave the Field* is thus a valuable contribution to Civil War history on a number of levels.

One criticism of the volume is that in each chapter, prior to providing readers the transcribed correspondence of Sergeant Hayward, Orr makes his primary source somewhat redundant by quoting excerpts from many of the letters. This is done, of course, to highlight a point, person, or chronological event pertinent to the letter to be discussed. Having done so, however, Orr once again quotes portions of the letters, often repeating in part what he has already stated. Some of this material could no doubt have gone into the annotated notes at the end of the volume. Another short, critical comment is that the price of the volume may cause many "lay" Civil War enthusiasts to assume the work is too "scholarly" and thus miss out on its true potential for both educational and pleasurable reading.

These criticisms aside, the reader should not be discouraged. If one truly wants to know firsthand how most Federal, or Union, soldiers personally felt

about Copperheadism in the North, slavery in the South, desertion, daily camp life, the rigors of the march, inclement weather, participation in battles or engagements, the horrors of war, and the heroism of individuals (both officers and privates), then this book deserves to be read by all current or would-be historians of the American Civil War. Most importantly, the letters and life of First Sergeant Ambrose Henry Hayward reveal heroic character traits that represent a worthy example for any generation.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania DANIEL N. ROLPH

Soldiers to Governors: Pennsylvania's Civil War Veterans Who Became State Leaders. By RICHARD C. SAYLOR. (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. xiv, 173 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $59.95.)

"War," as General William T. Sherman put it, "is Hell"; yet, as author Richard C. Saylor generously reminds us, it can also prove advantageous to one's future career. In *Soldiers to Governors*, Saylor offers a compilation of biographies of the six governors of the Keystone State who first answered their nation's call to service during the Civil War and later parlayed their military experience into political fortune. Relying predominantly upon official gubernatorial papers, personal diaries, and other correspondence held by the Pennsylvania State Archives, Saylor crafts an impressive encyclopedic description of the lives of John White Geary, John Hartranft, Henry Hoyt, James Beaver, William Stone, and Samuel Pennypacker while simultaneously seeking to understand how "their war experiences shaped their vision and beliefs" (ix).

Soldiers to Governors's greatest contribution lies in its consideration of these heads of states' postbellum travails and political struggles. Saylor's work draws needed scholarly attention to the consequences and reverberative influence of the nation's bloodiest conflict on those living above the Mason-Dixon Line. Postwar soldiers' issues such as pension reform, battlefield commemoration, and support for the state-run Soldiers' and Sailors' Home became legislative minefields though which, Saylor insists, the veteran governors successfully navigated, while motivated by the loyalty and sense of duty they retained for their fellow brothers-in-arms. Saylor also demonstrates, however, that not all wartime fealty was as progressive or benevolent. As early as John W. Geary's 1866 gubernatorial run, and throughout the remainder of the century, Republicans feverishly "waved the bloody shirt" and condemned their Democratic opponents as traitorous Copperheads simply in the name of political expediency. Nor did all of the six soldier-governors demonstrate particular affinity for African American veterans. Echoing the work of historian David Blight, Saylor maintains that after the

Geary administration, Keystone governors—most notably John Hartranft, who in his twilight years lobbied extensively for the establishment of Confederate soldiers' homes across the South—sought rapprochement and reconciliation with their former foes while remaining reticent on black Union veterans' conditions.

Whenever possible, Saylor allows his subjects' correspondences to progress the narrative. While this approach creates a comforting sense of familiarity and provides a plethora of fascinating quotes, the resulting lack of authorial interpretation works to the detriment of Saylor's stated goal of understanding the postwar experience. Saylor never quite questions whether gubernatorial support for Union veteran concerns stemmed from a sense of shared camaraderie or obligation owed the aging warriors—or from the more practical necessities of ensuring the veterans' Republican vote on Election Day. Similarly, the lack of any information on the two nonveteran governors who served during this period—Democrat Robert E. Pattison and Republican Daniel H. Hastings—robs Saylor of the credibility to attribute the soldier-governors' "visions and beliefs" to their prior wartime experiences.

Despite these limitations, Saylor has provided an engaging history of the six Civil War veterans who found success serving in the highest office of the Keystone State. Lavishly illustrated with images from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC) and the state archive, *Soldiers to Governors* serves both as a fitting tribute to the veterans-turned-Republican-governors and a testament to the invaluable holdings and preservation practices of the PHMC.

Pennsylvania State University J. ADAM ROGERS

Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720–1920. Edited by SALLY MCMURRY and NANCY VAN DOLSEN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 256 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95.)

The Vernacular Architecture Forum, the preeminent group promoting the academic study of ordinary, regional, and folk architecture, meets every year in a different region for one day of academic papers and two days of fascinating tours to down-home, ethnic, and often funky locations. From out of this experience an extensive tour guidebook is published. In 2004 the forum met in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to visit the Pennsylvania German region. For this occasion the guidebook, rather than following the customary stop-by-stop format, was arranged by theme. The book under review—the permanent outcome of that original, "occasional," spiral-bound guide—is an excellent, if typical, academic compendium written by the best scholars of the field. Vast amounts of new and

original material, from measured drawings to historical minutiae, are included in relatively lively essays. A singular strength of the volume is its explicit focus on often-marginally considered structures such as barns, outbuildings, and commercial stores. The theme of "creolization," the current academic characterization of the process of conscious and judicious mixing of cultural traits by immigrant minorities, is found in many of this volume's essays.

The initial essay by Gabrielle Lanier properly concerns the landscape as a whole; after a thorough and delicious recounting of early travelers' stereotypes of the Pennsylvania German immigrants, she assesses the reality by delving into tax records and the findings of various researchers. Scholars have long concurred that Pennsylvania German identity has revolved around farming, and so editor Sally McMurry's keynote essay is on rural domestic dwellings (i.e., farmhouses). Her major contribution lies in her insightful, sometimes brilliant, synopsis of previous scholarship on this topic.

The heart of the volume's contribution is represented by the essays on the outbuildings, urban housetypes, and commercial and industrial building types most associated with Pennsylvania Germans. Philip Pendleton addresses the full variety of domestic outbuildings, from bakehouses to springhouses, laundry houses, and privies. His greatest innovation is in his isolation of "ancillary houses" as a specific type unto themselves. He insists that careful dating of these small buildings, often outfitted with dwelling spaces, shows that they are generally not (as has long been assumed) the original settlers' cabins. Rather, most were built after the main house already existed, often as retirement cabins for elders or as combination craft workshops and tenant dwellings.

The most novel discoveries of new housetypes are discussed by Bernard Herman, Thomas Ryan, and David Schuyler in their chapter on urban homes, although this essay suffers from a deficit of illustrations. The most interesting of these discoveries is truly new to science: a small house, two rooms deep, with one wide room across the front, a small, short stair and another room across the back, and a kitchen located in a long "ell" far to the rear. Just how this abode was used remains to be discovered, but it appears to represent an urban compromise between the modern need for social buffering and the Germanic tradition of a socially open space.

The most lively essay is Diane Wenger and J. Ritchie Garrison's chapter on commercial buildings. The variety of building types included is positively exuberant. From an archive of store records, Wenger teases out a one-word reference to a "stoveroom" in a tavern and uses it to illuminate a mixing of domestic dwelling and commercial function that parallels the "creolized" premodern amalgam of functions in housebarns and ancillary houses. Wenger and Garrison's chapter is also strong in relishing obscure or unlikely social uses of their various building types. The mixing of German and English ethnic traits, parallel to those in houses, does not escape Wenger's eye either, thus demonstrating the theoreti-

cal coherence and general excellence of most of the contributions. Finally, Jerry Clouse's chapter on religious buildings, although the weakest chapter interpretively, boasts the most beautiful architecture.

Cleveland Institute of Art CHARLES BERGENGREN

Chatham Village: Pittsburgh's Garden City. By ANGELIQUE BAMBERG. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011. 214 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $29.95.)

In the 1920s, a relatively small clique of housers, planners, and architects met in Clarence Stein's New York City salon to envision a better world of well-planned, human-scale, and affordable urban residential communities. Among those members of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) who attended this gathering were Henry Wright and Frederick Bigger; they and Stein became involved in the planning and design of Chatham Village, one of Stein and Wright's three iconic "Garden Cities" built in the 1920s and early 1930s.

Bamberg and the University of Pittsburgh Press's beautifully designed, well-illustrated, and carefully crafted book traces the lineage of Chatham Village from the insemination of the Garden City ideal by British court stenographer Ebenezer Howard in the 1890s through antecedents such as John Nolen's Mariemont, Ohio, to the village today as an immaculately preserved and still highly livable Pittsburgh community.

Charles Lewis of Pittsburgh's Buhl Foundation originated Chatham Village in 1929 not as a philanthropic, limited-dividend housing development but as a model of an affordable—and potentially profitable—middle-class community. Despite Lewis's capitalistic proclivities, Bamberg places Chatham Village firmly within the context of iconic planned communities such as Letchworth (near London); Radburn, New Jersey; Greenbelt, Maryland; New Deal public housing projects of the 1930s; and World War II–era defense and war housing, all of which embodied Garden City planning principals, especially in their neighborhood unit and superblock design.

Buhl and Lewis planned Chatham Village for stable wage earners, teachers, clerical employees, and well-paid, skilled Pittsburgh workers. The community opened in 1932. The wooded, colonial-themed garden complex of 129 units (later 197) was impeccably appointed on a contoured, exquisitely landscaped, forty-five-acre site. Like its sister developments in New York, Radburn and Sunnyside, Chatham Village boasted a park-like setting with grassy interior courts and automobiles banished to the periphery. Protected from its working-class neighborhood by a wooded "Greenbelt," Chatham Village remained socially and physically isolated from the larger community.

Bamberg rejoices at the durability of Lewis's venture. With the exception of now-mature, dutifully maintained shrubs and trees, the village in the twenty-first century stands as it did in the '30s, a tribute to the community's strict management, rigorous maintenance, and regulations against architectural modification. It is also a tribute to Lewis's careful screening of prospective tenants, his rules against pets, and his encouragement of middle-class pastimes such as tennis and bridge.

More questionable is how Bamberg sees Chatham Village influencing subsequent American community planning, including developments such as Buckingham in Arlington, Virginia; Stuyvesant Town in Manhattan; Bedford Heights public housing in Pittsburgh; and even the modern New Urbanism. Not all thrived like Chatham Village. To be successful, contends Bamberg, architect planners must build for preservation—that is, they must erect well-planned projects designed, as Chatham Village was, for a prospective class of tenants, and they must place paramount importance on maintenance and amenities.

Clearly, Chatham Village's rise in 1931–32 was indicative of the emergence of a broader genre of planned neighborhood-unit communities whose economies of scale and efficient design (and, ideally, limited-dividend financing, but more likely federal dollars) would make them affordable for the masses. It was that vision of "modern housing," not Lewis's, that between 1933 and 1974 produced the effulgence of government-financed communities, many of which succumbed to poor maintenance, poor design, and poor management. Sadly, there were more Pruitt-Igoes and Robert Taylor Homes than Chatham Villages. Bamberg has written and University of Pittsburgh Press has produced a beautiful and nicely written saga of what good planning and good management can accomplish in housing if all the stars—the vision, the resources, and the ideal circumstances—are aligned.

Muskie School, University of Southern Maine JOHN F. BAUMAN

AFSCME's Philadelphia Story: Municipal Workers and Urban Power in the Twentieth Century. By FRANCIS RYAN. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011. 320 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $59.50 cloth; $27.95 paper.)

Francis Ryan has written a terrific and timely book that helps us understand how and why unionized public employees remain so controversial. This well-written, extensively researched, and—while pro-labor—well-balanced monograph provides an excellent overview of the major political, economic, and demographic trends in Philadelphia from the 1930s to the early twenty-first century.

Ryan argues that class, not ethnicity, was at the center of the economics of Philadelphia's political machine; workers possessed some ability to resist urban bosses' control over an extensive patronage network. AFSCME (the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees) provides a case study of the complex ways in which workers, while racially divided, managed partially to transcend race through their shared participation in the union. As Philadelphia (and its large public sector) became increasingly dominated by African Americans, black workers assumed greater control over the organization and, thereby, the city's politics. Ryan's study thus demonstrates the importance of public unions to the rise of urban black politics and traces the ambiguous effects of these politics on the black working class.

This is a richly detailed book that lavishes attention on the pre-union world of the public worker, the fitful rise of public unionism in the 1920s and 1930s, and the increasing power and confidence of AFSCME in the post–World War II era. The union played a key role in the postbellum development of civil service reform and in Philadelphia's shift from a Republican fiefdom to a Democratic stronghold. Ryan focuses on AFSCME's militant history as well as the growing power of black workers within it. Most significant is the manner in which Ryan deals with the politics of the organization, detailing how the union interacted with the politicians of a major city in long-term economic and demographic decline. By the late 1980s, Philadelphia was in increasingly tough financial shape; it hemorrhaged population, more than one hundred thousand industrial jobs, and its tax base. Higher taxes failed to bring about fiscal health.

These dire economic trends laid the groundwork for a showdown over AFSCME's "archaic work customs," such as the refusal of custodians at city hall "to wash walls above shoulder height since it was not specified in the civil service job description" (221). In 1992, new mayor Ed Rendell provoked a short strike, the outcome of which was that he won everything he wanted. The union had been saved, but hundreds of unskilled workers lost their jobs. Ryan seems to think this setback was due to the union's leadership turning its back on its militant history, though he also acknowledges that the group's rank and file may have had neither the stomach nor the leverage to win the fight. AFSCME waged numerous battles to counteract the privatization and corporate welfare that shaped the post-Reagan political and economic landscape. Ryan shows the political missteps of the union and the problems of corruption while maintaining a sense that AFSCME retains the ability and potential to reform an increasingly economically and racially stratified city.

Lebanon Valley College JOHN HINSHAW