

BOOK REVIEWS

Buildings of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania. By GEORGE E. THOMAS, with PATRICIA LIKOS RICCI, RICHARD J. WEBSTER, LAWRENCE M. NEWMAN, ROBERT JANOSOV, and BRUCE THOMAS. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 696 pp. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$75.)

Buildings of Pennsylvania: Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. By LU DONNELLY, H. DAVID BRUMBLE IV, and FRANKLIN TOKER. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010. 656 pp. Illustrations, drawings, maps. \$75.)

The Buildings of the United States series, inspired by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's landmark Buildings of England series, is an ambitious undertaking of the Society of Architectural Historians. The two volumes dedicated to Pennsylvania, of the more than sixty projected for the series, are representative of what William H. Pierson envisioned for the entirety—a comprehensive history of the major representative buildings and types in the American experience. The principal authors of these volumes bring together talented colleagues to examine the surviving architectural legacy of Pennsylvania and how this record contributes to our understanding both of the commonwealth's collective history and of what Pennsylvania contributed to the nation.

As is true of other books in the BUS series, there is a familiar structure to each volume: a lengthy introduction followed by specific analysis of regions, counties, and important buildings within each county. *Philadelphia and Eastern Pennsylvania* covers Philadelphia, the inner counties (Bucks, Montgomery, and Delaware), and four regions defined by geography and cultural traditions: the Piedmont (Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Dauphin, York, Cumberland, Adams, and Franklin Counties); Blue Mountain and the Northern Tier (Northumberland, Union, Snyder, Perry, Juniata, and Mifflin Counties); the anthracite region (Schuylkill, Carbon, Luzerne, Lackawanna, Columbia, and Montour Counties); and the Northern Tier and Poconos (Monroe, Pike, Wayne, Susquehanna, Wyoming, Bradford, Sullivan, Tioga, and Lycoming Counties). The book's discussion generally flows from east to west and south to north, with cities, townships, and villages within each county listed alphabetically.

Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania, which covers thirty-one counties, takes Pittsburgh and Allegheny County as its focal point, then looks outward to the surrounding counties that form the Allegheny Plateau (Beaver, Washington, Greene, Fayette, Westmoreland, Indiana, Armstrong, and Butler). The authors

also explore three other south-central regions: the valley and ridge system (Cambria, Somerset, Bedford, Fulton, Huntingdon, and Blair Counties); Great Forest, a plateau area in north-central western Pennsylvania (Warren, Forest, Clarion, Jefferson, Clearfield, Clinton, Cameron, Potter, Elk, and McKean Counties); and the stepped river plain adjacent to Lake Erie (Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Lawrence, and Venango Counties).

Each volume begins with a useful introduction. Thomas's guide to the eastern Pennsylvania volume is notable for its sharp analysis of how quickly William Penn's visions for his commonwealth were thwarted, as well as how Quaker hegemony retreated to the sidelines in the 1750s. Major themes Thomas presents include the unique (for colonial America) demographic diversity of eastern Pennsylvania, which was reflected in its architecture; how transportation innovation spread taste as well as building materials; and how industrialization changed building practices and design from a local or regional expression grounded in ethnicity and culture to a more cosmopolitan emphasis. He regrets that this innovative spirit gave way to a nostalgic colonialism in the aftermath of the centennial. Thomas's introduction has an elegiac dimension, as it celebrates the tradition of innovation, long since lost and harks back to the enterprising spirit that once placed Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania at the forefront of American national, industrial, and cultural aspirations. It also enables him to lament the loss of Victor Gruen's dreadful design for Lancaster Square in Lancaster, which replaced two blocks of historic buildings with a modernist structure totally inappropriate to the cityscape and failed to attract the retail tenants its developer promised. No citizen of Lancaster I have met shed a tear when the remnants of Lancaster Square were razed.

Donnelly's introduction to *Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania* follows much the same script—patterns of settlement, transportation, industrialization, deindustrialization, and suburbanization—though she pays more attention to the Native peoples of the region and how a different dynamic occurred among the diverse peoples of western Pennsylvania, resulting in what Donnelly terms a “stylistic crossroads” as second- and third-generation settlers transformed cultural traditions to create a synthesis of building practices different from, if not more innovative than, what was occurring simultaneously in the eastern half of the commonwealth (9).

The two *Buildings of Pennsylvania* volumes are books to read through, take on the road, and treasure. Each not only presents information about significant buildings designed by famous architects but also adds to our understanding of how much vernacular architecture and engineering have contributed to the built legacy of the commonwealth.

Thomas's eastern Pennsylvania volume contains a number of mistakes, including dating the beginning the James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking series to 1826, three years after *The Pioneers* was first published, and stating that

the new college gymnasium was located behind, rather than to the north of, the College Building at Franklin & Marshall College. I could add more, but the assertion that the Centennial Exposition in Fairmount Park was the “greatest popular event of the century” (21) is a colossal blunder; 27.5 million people attended the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, three times the number who ventured to Philadelphia seventeen years earlier—and, of course, the White City had a profound impact on American architecture and planning for a generation to come. Donnelly attests to the significance of the Columbian Exposition in *Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania*, both in the numerous Beaux Arts-style buildings erected in the aftermath of the fair and in the development of the Oakland section of Pittsburgh (66–67). Donnelly, though, errs in describing Daniel H. Burnham as “chief architect of the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893” (53), a remarkable claim considering that Burnham did not design a single building for the fair. Frederick Law Olmsted and his young partner Henry Sargent Codman did the site planning, and Burnham coordinated design and construction as director of works.

These two volumes devoted to buildings of Pennsylvania are important and welcome. I regret one decision made by the Society of Architectural Historians at the outset of the project—to concentrate on extant buildings. In a way, this makes sense; I’ve often looked for buildings to photograph that had long since been razed. But given the amount of demolition that has taken place over the last century, focusing only on surviving buildings necessarily omits a significant part of our architectural history. Nevertheless, what the authors have accomplished in these books is commendable; they should take justifiable pride in what they have accomplished in documenting the history of architects and builders whose legacy is ours to cherish.

Franklin & Marshall College

DAVID SCHUYLER

Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680–1830. Edited by WARREN J. HOFSTRA. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012. 296 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$45.)

This volume consists of eleven pieces about one of the most numerically and culturally significant immigrant populations in colonial and early independence America. Written by academic stars in Scots-Irish studies, the essays that editor Warren Hofstra has selected yield a new, luminous constellation. The text removes us from a “broad brushstroke” understanding of the Ulster people of Lowland Scottish ancestry who settled in North America in numbers estimated at 150 thousand for the period 1680–1830. A more subtle and nuanced appreciation of the group’s composite, adaptable character is the book’s gift and achieve-

ment. The contributors concern themselves with the diversity of experiences undergone and narratives produced by America's Scots-Irish—for example, Michael Montgomery's analysis of trading and intersocial arrangements that developed as entrepreneurial Ulstermen like George Galphin encountered Native American peoples in the "rough hinterland" of South Carolina (148).

Eschewing simplifying myths—"an imaginary past to serve present purposes" (xv)—*Ulster to America* uses a host of contemporary sources to establish revelatory facts about the Scots-Irish and the multiple physical and cultural landscapes they settled in and helped reshape during America's long eighteenth century. The text's intellectual openness is manifest in such matters as its acceptance of the terms Scots-Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Ulster-Scots, regularly the stuff of academic turf wars. The concluding contribution, by Robert Calhoon, posits that political moderation may be the seminal Scots-Irish legacy in America.

Whether the topic be the dynamic between the "great" and "little" traditions within Scots-Irish Presbyterianism or that between individualism and community in emerging settlements, one finds nothing loose about the scholarship, and the chronological and geographical arrangement of the topics helps render the book accessible to and worthwhile for the novice. At the same time, those already versed in Scots-Irish history across the "broad arc of [an] interior frontier extending from central Pennsylvania to the Georgia upcountry" (xii) are sure to find their knowledge enhanced by the well-written, meticulously researched essays. Particularly useful are efforts to expose the ethnic heterogeneity of places regularly deemed Scots-Irish. One also gleans much about the strategic importance of the Scots-Irish within commercial, religious, and other imperial and Atlantic world networks.

David Miller's early essay detailing the backgrounds of Scots-Irish immigrants provides a solid foundation for the succeeding, place-specific accounts, beginning with Marianne Wokeck's data-rich investigation of New Castle, Delaware, as a site for "unloading emigrants" and "loading [Ulster-bound] agricultural goods . . . especially flaxseed" (38). Wokeck considers the half-century through the 1770s, while, towards the end of the book, Patrick Griffin examines "revolutionary Kentucky" (212) vis-à-vis tensions between the Scots-Irish and Shawnees, Cherokees, and other aboriginal peoples. Two essays by Richard MacMaster and a third by Peter Gilmore and Kerby Miller detail the creation of Scots-Irish community and identity in Pennsylvanian locales, not least Carlisle and Washington. The editor's essay about Scots-Irish economic emergence in Virginia's Opequon Settlement complements Katherine Brown and Kenneth Keller's piece interrogating the "Scotch-Irish elite" that formed in the "Irish Tract," further southwest in Virginia.

The Scots-Irish that this collection compellingly reveals were products of geographically and ethnically complex frontiers—in Ulster during the seventeenth century and in eastern North America during and beyond the eighteenth.

Ulster to America's faithfulness to local and family history in the context of such big immigrant phenomena as memory and social order, theology and education, and sustenance and commerce makes it a transcendent frontier text—a signal and welcome corrective to essentializing practices in Scots-Irish historiography.

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HOWARD KEELEY

Industrious in Their Stations: Young People at Work in Urban America, 1720–1810. By SHARON BRASLAW SUNDUE. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009. 278 pp. Notes, index. \$45.)

Industrious in Their Stations is a work of old-fashioned social history in the very best sense. Sharon Braslaw Sundue has put in the time-consuming archival work required to reconstruct the lives of young people in three important port cities: Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Using the limited data at her disposal, she does a wonderful job of outlining both the larger structures of a market in youthful labor and of depicting the daily working lives of young people. The book also functions as a useful introduction to the history of education in British North America, tracing a gradual shift toward greater emphasis on formal schooling, at least for the emergent middling sort.

Much of the early part of the book is devoted to analyzing the labor market for young workers. Sundue notes the moral imperatives to work voiced by colonial commentators, but she also demonstrates that demand for youthful labor was not a constant. Tied to the vagaries of agricultural and mercantile exchange, the demand for young workers rose when the adult labor pool shrank, and vice versa. Sundue also does a fine job of exploring the racial and gender segregation of the youthful labor market, noting, for instance, how the rising slave population in Charleston acted to limit opportunities for parish apprentices.

The long story of youthful labor has always been tied to the history of education, and Sundue is careful to connect these narratives. After 1740, she argues, colonial elites became more concerned about disorder among the lower sort, and a wave of school building ensued. More than ideology drove these efforts; volatility in the labor market meant that middling families now had to look more to education to find opportunities for sons. By the Revolutionary era, schooling for middle-class boys expanded, and by the 1780s, formal education was available to boys in all three cities.

By then, important divergences had appeared between the labor markets of Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. In Charleston, growing reliance on slavery further reduced the demand for young workers. In Boston, youth continued to supplement the labor pool in the surrounding countryside, while in

Philadelphia, a dual market emerged—one in which educated, middling boys worked in the commercial economy, while poorer boys and girls continued to feed the demand for labor in artisan households. Education in the Revolutionary era contributed to a growing separation of the middle classes from the poor and of free whites from black slaves, and this section of the book abounds with ironies. In Charleston, slavery led to more educational opportunities for white boys, while in Philadelphia, emancipation increasingly associated bound youthful labor with “inferior racial status” (184).

The history of “child labor” has often been confined to the industrial world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Industrious in Their Stations* help us break out of that mold, offering a vital contribution not only to the story of young workers but to the social history of British North America in general. As Sundue notes in passing, half of the colonial population consisted of boys and girls under sixteen. The story of British North America is theirs.

Northern Illinois University

JAMES D. SCHMIDT

Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the Founding of America. By LEONARD J. SADOSKY. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009. 296 pp. Notes, bibliography, index, \$40.)

In *Revolutionary Negotiations*, Leonard Sadosky aims to produce “an extended interpretive essay” on the subject of “the *political culture of diplomacy*” in early America (5). By this, he means statecraft not only within and among European states as they vied for control of North America but also between colonies, empires, and various Native political entities. To structure all of these moving parts, Sadosky relies on theories of state systems, most notably the Westphalian system. But he also cuts through static theory by employing the concept of negotiations as a way to blend top-down and bottom-up views of political change while incorporating a variety of actors.

Sadosky does not offer a straightforward narrative, but examines a series of moments from 1730 to 1830 that, he argues, “illuminate key structural changes that allowed the United States of America to emerge as independent sovereignties (and ultimately, a singular sovereignty)” (5). Accordingly, he surveys the failed efforts of mid-eighteenth-century “imperial reformers” like Benjamin Franklin to rationalize relations between the mother country, provinces, and Native peoples; the gradual assumption of sovereign powers by the Continental Congress in 1775–76 and the Declaration of Independence; the wartime efforts of the United States to gain European acknowledgement of that independence; the postwar need for a federal constitution to create a central authority to buttress the efforts of US diplomats vis-à-vis both European and Native powers; the

ways that diplomacy evolved in the 1790s as Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans debated the proper balances of power within the federal government; and, finally, how as the United States was accepted into the European-centered system of diplomacy among sovereign states, Native peoples lost any ability to participate in that system.

A prologue on Sir Alexander Cuming's self-appointed mission to the Cherokees in 1730 and an epilogue on William Wirt, the lawyer hired by the Cherokee nation in 1830 to plead its case before the US Supreme Court, book-end these chapters and serve to underscore the striking changes wrought in the intervening century. Sadosky presents the growth of US potency and the diminishment of Native strength as a kind of zero-sum game, so that his story of "how the United States of America came to be" is also the story of "how many of the powerful and independent American Indian nations of eastern North America came to be much less than they once had been" (8). Cherokees were courted as valued allies in the fluid, shifting world of 1730; in 1830, they were forcibly removed from a more rigidly defined state despite having done nearly everything right within that prevailing system to save themselves and their property.

To be sure, this theme of Native diminishment and the sense that the futures of the United States and Native groups were locked in a zero-sum game tends to flatten the diverse experiences of specific Indian peoples, and the idea that Native American history is one long declension narrative is frequently complicated by more nuanced looks at particular peoples and places. Yet Sadosky compellingly demonstrates how the success of the United States was built on the dispossession and marginalization of Native peoples, and he should be applauded for creating a diplomatic history that encompasses and integrates colonists-turned-citizens' dealings with both European and Native powers.

*Omohundro Institute for Early
American Culture and History*

LAURA KEENAN SPERO

Indians and British Outposts in Eighteenth-Century America. By DANIEL INGRAM. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. 272 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$69.95.)

The Seven Years' War militarized the frontier of colonial North America. French, British, and provincial armies built forts and roads to secure their possession of disputed territory, but more often than not, these projects unsettled the frontier by upsetting delicate diplomatic equilibriums with Native peoples and making it easier for colonists to invade their lands. Forts, meant to establish unchallenged possession for imperial powers, invariably became sites of local

contestation and negotiation. In his new book, Daniel Ingram examines the legacy of such forts built and occupied between 1755 and 1796. Taking aim against the romantic narratives popularized by James Fenimore Cooper and Francis Parkman in the nineteenth century, Ingram rejects the idea that these forts represented the tentative footsteps of European civilization into a savage wilderness. Instead, he argues that frontier forts became sites of “cultural confluence” (24) where Indians and Europeans “often found cultural common ground in spite of their larger purposes and prejudices” (4).

Ingram focuses his analysis on five forts: Fort Loudoun in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee, Fort Allen in northeastern Pennsylvania, Fort Michilimackinac at the tip of the Michigan peninsula, Fort Niagara at the outlet of the Niagara River into Lake Ontario, and Fort Chartres on the Mississippi River in the Illinois Country. Although he never explicitly explains why he has chosen these forts from among many others, his logic becomes clear in passing; each illustrates the agency of local Indians in shaping the fort’s mission and survival. Ingram’s central theme boils down to this: no matter what the original intention or purpose for a fort, it was the interaction of the communities of soldiers and Indians it brought together that determined its fate.

Ingram’s five forts also provide the reader with an interesting spectrum of experiences. Niagara, Michilimackinac, and Chartres were all parts of New France’s fur trading network before the British took them over, Fort Loudoun was built by the British at the Cherokees’ request, and Fort Allen was hastily constructed by the Pennsylvania government in 1755. At Forts Niagara, Michilimackinac, and Chartres, the British stepped into French shoes awkwardly, upsetting local economies and alliances that had developed long before their arrival. Ingram describes, for example, how British efforts to provision Fort Michilimackinac from afar upset the nearby Odawa Indians, who were used to selling their surplus maize to the fort’s garrison. Fort Loudoun began with great promise because the Cherokees had invited its construction, expecting that it would supply them with a more plentiful and better regulated fur trade. The military engineer charged with its construction even told his commanding officer to “shoot him through the Head” (45) if he was going to insist on listening to the Indians’ wishes over his own.

Fort Allen in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, is the runt in Ingram’s litter. Built and garrisoned by inexperienced provincials rather than seasoned red-coats, it was never likely to defend anyone from anything, but it did become a favorite haunt of the Delaware Indians traveling between the upper Susquehanna Valley and Easton for diplomatic conferences during the Seven Years’ War. Although it originated in Pennsylvania’s anti-Indian panic of 1755, it rapidly became “the kind of outpost that visiting Indians like best: able to provide provisions and presents without threat of permanent settler farms or overwhelming troop strength” (72).

Although each chapter tells a different story about a different place, Ingram's book succeeds very well in its overall objective of reorienting our perspective on frontier outposts. The uneasy symbiosis of military and native communities at these sites, the ways in which they cooperated in trade and survival, and the reasons why they fought and grew apart are expertly reconstructed in these pages.

Gettysburg College

TIMOTHY J. SHANNON

Culture and Liberty in the Age of the American Revolution. By MICHAL JAN ROZBICKI. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 288 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$35.)

Michal Jan Rozbicki has written an ambitious and intellectually rigorous book that challenges the historiographical and popular assumptions surrounding the concept of liberty before, during, and after the American Revolution. Readers seeking a conventional narrative history of the Revolution or a philosophical examination of liberal political thought are encouraged to look elsewhere. Instead, Rozbicki wants the reader to understand what liberty meant to Americans on the eve of their revolution. Embracing the tools of cultural analysis, including semiotics and poststructuralism, to uncover the cultural, social, and political constructs that created this ideal, Rozbicki concludes that eighteenth-century American liberty belonged to—and was jealously guarded by—the elite and the privileged. The more broadly based understanding of liberty came about reluctantly and symbolically as American elites elicited popular support to both legitimize their break from Britain and retain their social and political status. Having sold the promise of liberty as an essential element of the American Revolution, the ruling elite would struggle to contain its influence in the factional politics of the 1790s.

Rozbicki's book, part of the Jeffersonian America series from University of Virginia Press, unabashedly concerns itself with ideas, both historical and historiographical. First, it offers a detailed history and contextualization of the meanings and promises of eighteenth-century liberty as this idea evolved from its British origins through its application during the American Revolution. Aside from tracing the history of eighteenth-century liberty, Rozbicki's book does not offer a comprehensive historical account of Revolutionary society or politics. Secondly, Rozbicki boldly makes his mark on Revolutionary historiography, successfully challenging the ideological interpretations of Gordon Wood and Bernard Bailyn, who, he believes, mistakenly offer a modernist and essentialist understanding of Revolutionary liberty based in freedom and rights for all.

This book also embraces the methodological approaches found in the recent and growing literature exploring early American political culture, both at the

presidential and popular levels. Rozbicki, not one to shy away from a challenge, even attempts to reconcile the divide between the elites and the masses that has persisted in this literature. Instead, Rozbicki emerges as more of a neo-Beardian as he focuses on the ideas of the gentry and then exposes their self-interested use of “liberty” to maintain their privilege and status. With the exception of a few prominent “regular Joes” like Daniel Shays, “the people” in Rozbicki’s work remain an amorphous group compared with the better-documented elites.

Despite the rigor of Rozbicki’s ideas and the intensity of his historiographical discussion, *Culture and Liberty* presents these points clearly, in contrast to the dense prose and theoretical obfuscations that can frequently mar works on political philosophy. Although Rozbicki’s findings appear in book form, his discussion reads more like an extended, lively, and erudite conversation with a dream audience of scholars steeped in the vast literature Rozbicki engages. A general reader drawn to the phrase “American Revolution” in the book’s title would likely get lost amid the numerous historiographical and philosophical debates Rozbicki cites. My one criticism of this otherwise impressive book concerns its use of endnotes rather than footnotes. The work is clearly intended for an academic reader who would benefit from seeing the numerous historiographical and scholarly sources Rozbicki references and challenges. Such inconveniences aside, Rozbicki’s fresh insights on Revolutionary liberty are worthy of serious scholarly attention, a conversation that *Culture and Liberty in the Age of the American Revolution* begins.

University of Wisconsin–Parkside

SANDRA MOATS

Benjamin Franklin and the American Revolution. By JONATHAN R. DULL.
(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. 184 pp. Notes, index. \$14.95, paper.)

In this slim book, Jonathan R. Dull sets out to expose new dimensions to Benjamin Franklin and his role in the American Revolution. According to Dull, there is a “traditional picture of Franklin” as kindhearted and conciliatory that represents more a “person of legend” than a historical man (vii). This fabled image of Franklin, Dull believes, has concealed some less than endearing qualities. Franklin, Dull argues, was a revolutionary with a “tougher side” that encompassed his self-confidence, his “fanatical zeal,” his “hatred for George III,” and even his “vanity, pride, and ambition” (viii). This passionate, self-righteous revolutionary, Dull contends, is “not as lovable as the kindly and avuncular person of legend” (viii).

With all that historians have written about Franklin, it is questionable if this unhistorical man is still as prominent as Dull suggests. As recently as 2004, Gordon Wood and David Waldstreicher published books that presented an image of Franklin that was a far cry from the genial uncle figure of myth.

Nevertheless, while Dull may not be tearing down any legends, he still adds important elements to the historic Franklin. Franklin has been consistently portrayed in the literature as the ultimate political trimmer who was unwilling to get his hands dirty, an individual who felt more comfortable on the political sidelines and found being ruled by passion unacceptable. In Dull's book, by contrast, Franklin thrusts himself amid contentious political debates; he is passionate, often on the verge of anger; and he is unwilling to compromise his political principles, especially his belief in American self-government.

Dull shows this revolutionary Franklin at work in several different periods and places. Each chapter, starting with Franklin's rebellious youth in Boston and ending with his return to Philadelphia from France in 1785, smartly unravels the characteristics that Dull considers central to Franklin's "tougher side" and provides an explanation of how they shaped his role in the American Revolution. Dull quite rightly describes how Franklin's unwillingness to compromise his political ideals on his second mission to England between 1764 and 1775 gained him the enmity of "the wealthy and powerful of England" and resulted in the creation of a "zealous and angry Franklin" (17). Dull traces this passion throughout the book, showing how it fueled Franklin's dedication to the American cause. Franklin's devotion is most emphatically showcased by his service on numerous committees in the Continental Congress; he acted as president of Pennsylvania's Constitutional Convention, served as a member of Pennsylvania's Committee of Safety, and, most importantly, undertook a diplomatic mission to France from 1776 to 1785. Dull also shows the harsher side of Franklin's dedication to the Revolutionary cause by exploring his "rage at the British government and at the Loyalists," which included his own son (90).

Though there is not much that is new in this book regarding Franklin's role in the Revolution (which is not surprising given the sheer number of books and articles about him), Dull does manage to add to our understanding of what drove Franklin throughout the conflict. Nevertheless, one wishes that Dull could have given Franklin a bit more vivacity. Throughout the work, Dull uses the nouns "rage," "hatred," and "anger" to convey Franklin's passion, but Franklin still remains lifeless in this book, and Dull seems more concerned at times with the context and world surrounding Franklin than with the man himself. Rarely does Dull actually quote Franklin to demonstrate his zeal, and there is very little description of his rage or anger—only the assertion that it existed. This critique, however, in no way takes away from the strongest part of Dull's book: his ability to elegantly and concisely convey Franklin's role in the Revolution that is accessible to both the historian and the avid history reader. For this, Dull should be commended. This book would be an excellent primer for anyone interested in Franklin and the part he played in the American Revolution.

Binghamton University

CHRISTOPHER PEARL

Spies in the Continental Capital: Espionage across Pennsylvania during the American Revolution. By JOHN A. NAGY. (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2011. 256 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.)

Revolutionary Philadelphia was, according to John Nagy, a den of intrigue crisscrossed by secret couriers, professional spies, double agents, and opportunistic amateur sleuths. The nature of espionage, however, limited the production of incriminating evidence, a fact that deprives historians of valuable primary accounts of intelligence activities during the war. What information exists comes in the form of memoirs, secondhand correspondence, family stories, and legends, all of which serve to obscure the truth rather than elucidate it.

The sketchiness of available sources used in Nagy's earlier book *Invisible Ink: Spycraft of the American Revolution* (2009) apparently inspired the author's current work, which is written "to identify as many Pennsylvania spies as possible and to determine what evidence is true and what may be fiction" (xiii). Nagy has no qualms about forgoing a clear thesis to focus instead on an exploration of the facts behind each tale of espionage related to Philadelphia. Unfortunately, the achievement of Nagy's goal is hampered by his lack of direction. To prove the veracity of spy stories and without an argument to guide him, Nagy immerses the reader in details, often blanketing thrilling narratives in minutiae. The result is less a tale of espionage than a chronological encyclopedia of spies.

Spies in the Continental Capital falls into three sections tied together by time rather than by topic. Nagy's first pair of chapters discuss French and British spies operating in America in the 1760s and early 1770s. The French agents sought opportunities to reclaim their country's North American empire, while the British operatives tried to understand the causes of rising colonial resentment against the royal government. Chapters 3 through 8 examine both British and American intrigues in Philadelphia before, during, and after the British occupation of the city during the winter of 1777–78. Nagy examines the intelligence networks established by each side and the steps taken to secure information. The book's final five chapters take a broader view, following spies associated with Philadelphia out into the world. Nagy examines Benedict Arnold, emissaries in the Pennsylvania countryside, and undercover agents on the frontier. He also discusses foreign sleuths and their attempts to glean information from American diplomats overseas. Nagy ends the book with a summary of his success at separating fact from fiction.

Though this book is a major resource as a synthesis of sources, it is limited by its generic organization. Nagy's trajectory is a simple movement along the Revolutionary timeline. He jumps from one spy and topic to the next with few transitions. The resulting choppy nature makes the story difficult to follow. It is often unclear how one element of the book ties into others. Nagy unabashedly focuses on piecing together fragments of information rather than using them to

build a broader understanding of the role of espionage in the Revolution, a goal he largely accomplished in *Invisible Ink*. He admirably fills the void left by the spies themselves and reconstructs their activities from a range of sources. However, in making this historiographical contribution, Nagy misses out on an opportunity to enrich our understanding of the topic.

Northampton Community College

ROBERT F. SMITH

The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America. By KATE HAULMAN.
(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 290 pp. Illustrations,
notes, index. \$39.95.)

The boycotts protesting imperial taxation in the 1760 and 1770s relied on good recordkeeping. Local committees of observation and inspection stalked city docks, taking down names of wayward merchants who tried to distribute fashionable fabrics and collecting the signatures of those who complied with nonimportation agreements. With their logbooks, these committees enforced a political reading of imported material culture that linked fashion with unacceptable political dependence. Less than a decade later, this simple equation had collapsed, as one such logbook illustrates. On its back cover, a new owner (or perhaps one of those same community enforcers) inked a list of imported hair powder, silk stockings, and other fashionable finery purchased for a season of social visits. In her book *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America*, Kate Haulman sets out to explain what happened to cause such a reversal.

Haulman argues that the Revolutionaries' claim that imported goods threatened the political order grew out of a half century of power struggles in which fashion seemed to menace the social order of the colonies. From the beginning of the century, fashion served as a critical way to mark distinctions of rank and sex and, at the same time, to confuse and undermine them. For elite men and women, dressing the part was important in finding a mate and securing a social position, but critics of women's hoops and men's periwigs complained that such styles made women too commanding and men too decadent. As she explores these confrontations over power, Haulman reminds us that fashion was both a series of popular styles of dress and a larger cultural concept associated with luxury, taste, changeability, and sexual desirability. Both senses of the term were deployed as cultural weapons. Drawing upon transatlantic print culture, merchants' business records, and personal letters, she presents a subtle and detailed narrative of the changing ways that Anglo-Americans thought and argued about what to wear and what it meant. Other historians have depicted episodes in fashion wars; Haulman connects them to a fuller picture, rooted in

the lives of urban Americans, of the political uses of material life across the eighteenth century.

While the content of fashion critiques changed over time, their ubiquity—and, simultaneously, the likelihood that they would be ignored—persisted. In the years following the Seven Years' War, prominent Anglo-American colonists championed a homespun movement and "country" style they believed would cultivate modesty and sacrifice, but few people of means were willing to give up their fine fabrics and big hair for long. Patriot rhetoric during the Revolution likewise highlighted fashion but struggled for adherents. In the book's strongest chapters, Haulman's reading of consumer politics builds upon, but differs from, T. H. Breen's influential *Marketplace of Revolution*. Whereas Breen highlighted the liberating potential of choice in consumer purchases, Haulman's focus on fashion stresses instead the ways these choices were constrained. Breen's Americans bought the same calico and felt a sense of unity; Haulman's Americans used purchases the way they always had—to maintain or manipulate distinctions of class and gender.

Taking her story into the years of rising partisan politics in the new United States, Haulman concludes that, ultimately, fashion proved too slippery to serve as a reliable political tool. Its meanings were too multivalent. Style itself was stubbornly linked with Europe and femininity, two categories firmly excluded from political ideals in the early republic. Yet, as Haulman's densely argued book shows, fashion's rich possibilities for variation in style and its function as costume continued to make it rhetorically irresistible for Americans debating social and political power.

University of California, Davis

ELLEN HARTIGAN-O'CONNOR

Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America. By WENDY BELLION. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 388 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.)

Wendy Bellion casts the canonical paintings and vernacular illusory displays of the early republic into relief in the Philadelphia galleries, taverns, and theaters where viewers confronted them. In so doing, she considers how early Americans scrutinized these exhibitions when "the senses were politicized as agents of knowledge and actions" (5). Creators and audiences agreed that *trompe l'oeil* paintings, "Invisible Lady" displays, cosmoramas, and phantasmagorias were tools of instruction. Because these images enabled discernment of the very deceptions they purveyed, they encouraged viewers to hone the visual perception that would help them rout deception in early republican society and government. In positioning his renowned *Staircase Group* in the State House, Bellion argues,

Charles Willson Peale affirmed the right of citizens to look into governmental spaces and interrogate what they saw. Thomas Birch evaded mathematically perfect perspective in his engravings to convey an emplaced way of seeing the city's marketplaces, themselves a challenge to the geometrically precise street grid. Samuel Lewis juxtaposed an original tableau with its trompe l'oeil copy to facilitate visual comparison of originals and imitations—a skill handy in sussing out authentic bank notes from forged ones. Even when deceptions evaded full explanation or aroused anxieties, viewers took comfort in developing skills that promised to undeceive them. Only in the 1820s, Bellion argues, did Americans roundly accept visual invitations to revel in the ability of illusory images to deceive by drawing viewers into a visual interior.

Bellion loses steam when she extends her visual analysis to broader arguments about politics and citizenship. Her discussion of the relationship between art and party politics covers familiar ground; it is no surprise that early Americans articulated political arguments with metaphors of vision and entwined discussions of art with debates over federalism. But when Bellion turns to the epistemology of sensing, she constructs a fresh framework for reconsidering the ways that early Americans claimed membership in a national citizenry defined more powerfully by republican culture than by law. Visibility was a right; discernment was a responsibility. But for whom were these arguments meaningful? Bellion readily acknowledges the paucity of direct evidence of attendance of illusionary exhibitions, but she sells herself short when she falls back on the conclusion that “not all Americans had equal access to visibility” (280). Certainly, white men with disposable income occupied a privileged position in exhibition spaces and the historical record. But Bellion hints at a more complicated story: the prosperous free black population of Philadelphia could have subscribed to Peale's museum but did not; diaries and images regularly place women in sight of deceptions; both groups projected their voices from the presses of Philadelphia. These facts offer opportunities to address the nature of contested citizenship more comprehensively. When and where did politically marginalized groups demonstrate critical visual perception to position themselves as active citizens? When did they shun the public spaces and rhetoric of perception as a means by which enfranchised individuals reinforced their power? Bellion's book deserves praise for pushing scholars to consider original questions like these and for proving that they cannot answer them without taking into account the rich visual culture that she masterfully brings to light.

University of Virginia

WHITNEY A. MARTINKO

Stephen Girard's Trade With China, 1787–1824: The Norms versus the Profits of Trade. By JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN. (Portland, ME: MerwinAsia, 2011. 142 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$65, cloth; \$35, paper.)

Economic historians rarely describe the great nineteenth-century capitalists as victims. Yet Jonathan Goldstein argues that the prominent Philadelphia merchant Stephen Girard was both a “product” and a “victim” of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century world commerce. An overemphasis on the success and agency of Americans in world trade often clouds the complexities of risk and failure that defined most commercial exchange during this period. This pitfall is not repeated in Goldstein’s study. In tracing Girard’s entry into the China trade in the Canton delta from 1795 through 1824, Goldstein details the political, economic, and cultural factors in China that influenced the trade. Although Girard made a substantial fortune, primarily through shipment of illegal opium, Goldstein is careful throughout his analysis to consider both Western and Eastern perspectives of commerce. Indeed, his largest contribution is highlighting how the Chinese, not the Americans, dictated the conditions of trade.

While the potential profits of the China trade were enormous, so, too, were the potential costs. Chinese commercial procedures were largely one-sided; there were few, if any, protections for Westerners once they entered the Canton port. Commercial diplomacy was practically nonexistent. These conditions resulted in extremely harsh responses to accidents or disputes. When in 1784 two Chinese men were accidentally killed by a salute from the *Lady Hughes*, a British ship, for example, the British gunner received no trial and was hanged. Merchants were clearly aware that the lives of their men were at risk, but the expected profits outweighed the price. According to Goldstein, a dispute similar to the *Lady Hughes* affair effectively ended Girard’s trade in 1821.

Goldstein dedicates his entire final chapter to the “Terranova incident” of 1821, wherein a Chinese woman drowned while selling fish to a sailor aboard an American ship. Although the Americans insisted the drowning was an accident, the Chinese officials threatened a full embargo if the Americans did not hand over the crewman. The sailor was surrendered and executed less than two days later. Goldstein attributes Girard’s exit from the China trade to this failure of diplomacy; the price of trade, it seemed, had become too high. While this episode certainly contributed to Girard’s exit from the China trade, Goldstein’s analysis here strays from the central theme of profit as a motivator, allowing discussions of Western modernity and democratic capitalism into his discussion. Indeed, Goldstein admits that Girard sent two more non-opium ventures to China after the incident, but the profits did not outweigh the costs.

Another noteworthy accomplishment of Goldstein’s analysis lies in his focused study on Girard. Although the Girard papers are accessible to researchers, the enormous volume of his correspondence is difficult to penetrate.

While Goldstein includes few personal details of Girard's life, he successfully navigates the archive and demonstrates how central Girard was to Philadelphia's trade with China. Overall, Goldstein's contribution is a positive one. His concise description and analysis of Stephen Girard's role in the China trade provides a helpful starting point for any scholar interested in learning more about Girard and early nineteenth-century trade.

Temple University

BRENNA O'ROURKE HOLLAND

William Birch: Picturing the American Scene. By EMILY T. COOPERMAN and LEA CARSON SHERK. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 376 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$75.)

With *William Birch: Picturing the American Scene*, Cooperman and Sherk offer the reader two publications for the price of one: Cooperman's explication of the life and career of the artist who created the first set of engraved American views ever published in the United States and Sherk's admirably edited version of Birch's autobiography and personal papers. Thus, the first biography *and* autobiography of this important American artist are included together in one lavishly illustrated volume. While students of Philadelphia art and art history are no doubt familiar with the work of Birches *père et fils*, the history of the elder Birch's extensive patronage networks in Great Britain, detailed in Cooperman's first two chapters, will be new to many readers. Likewise, Cooperman's exploration of Birch's second and less successful publication, *The Country Seats of the United States*, is a welcome contribution to the field of Anglo-American landscape studies.

While the biographical explanation of Birch is exceptionally strong, the art historical deconstruction of the images he produced is less so. Fortuitously, also published in 2011 is Wendy Bellion's *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America*, and Bellion's chapter "Sight and the City"—a study of "embodied vision" in the drawings and engravings executed by William Birch and his son Thomas for *The City of Philadelphia*—is a critical complement to Cooperman's foundational work. It is wonderful to have two such extensive studies of Birch appear in publication at the same time, and it would behoove those libraries that specialize in the histories of American art, the early American republic, print, and Philadelphia to purchase both books. Hopefully so doing will encourage students of early America to pursue more studies of Birch's work, such as the lesser-known *Country Seats of the United States*—particularly as it relates to British country house traditions and their translation into a supposedly more democratic America.

The publication of Birch's letters of introduction, lists of subscribers, and autobiography add a new dimension to studies of patron networks both in

eighteenth-century London and in early nineteenth-century Philadelphia. These are included as beautifully laid out appendices at the conclusion of Birch's *Life and Anecdotes of William Russell Birch, Enamel Painter*. These appendices also provide insights into how paintings were hung in the early republic (see, for example, appendix E, which lists paintings Birch exhibited at Green Lodge) and the prices achieved by artists in the same period (appendix G, containing Birch's book of profits). This book makes these primary documents of the visual culture of early Philadelphia, formerly only available in the archives of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia or in the private Marian S. Carson collection, generally accessible. The full color plates illustrating not only Birch's engraved publications but his fragile and rarely seen miniatures make the work a scholarly contribution as well as a thing of beauty.

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

ANNA O. MARLEY

Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World. By SAM W. HAYNES. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010. 400 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

In *Unfinished Revolution*, Sam W. Haynes explores the United States' complex relationship with Great Britain between the War of 1812 and the Civil War. Americans—"painfully self-conscious" regarding their nation's lack of sophistication (39)—envied their former mother country's power and culture and craved its approval. At the same time, Americans saw British intrigue behind every challenge to their young nation, from British manufacturers' competition with domestic industry to British agents' attempts to prevent US territorial expansion. Haynes maintains that only after war with Mexico did they believe their nation had grown sufficiently and earned Great Britain's respect, causing their paranoia and feelings of inferiority to subside.

American concerns with Great Britain in the early republic are not surprising, but Haynes makes a convincing case that understanding Americans' wish to both "repudiate and emulate the ancien regime" is crucial to understanding the major events of the era (2). The United States' provincial nature and lack of cultural achievements gave rise to a "national inferiority complex" (66). Americans found devastating British criticism such as Frances Trollope's scathing, best-selling *Domestic Manners of the Americans* and the Reverend Sydney Smith's question, "who reads an American book?" (30). Some American theatergoers gained satisfaction by heckling British actors who had slighted their host country. It was "a risk-free form of retribution" (87).

Americans winced at British criticism, and they were concerned with Great Britain's potential to involve itself in US financial and political affairs. There

were, of course, different degrees of involvement, not all of which was unwelcome. Many American transportation projects, for example, depended on British investment. On the other hand, many antislavery northerners demurred from allying with British visitors who spoke out against slavery. Over time, assuming the existence of a hidden British role behind every contentious issue became a habit. Politicians exploited this tendency in order to connect with voters and shape public opinion. Such charges gained added heft from the fact that, while references to Britain's involvement were exaggerated, they were often not entirely baseless.

Haynes maintains that US territorial expansion was driven in part by fears of British "encirclement." John Tyler's interest in annexing Texas, for example, was heightened by concerns that the weak republic was at risk of becoming a British satellite, and James K. Polk's interest in waging war with Mexico was intensified by reports that Great Britain had excessive control of the Mexican government and designs on California.

Americans' anxiety subsided after the war with Mexico, both because their territorial expansion was so immense and because Britons—including the Duke of Wellington—acknowledged their achievement. In the 1850s, politicians, finding that "transatlantic scapegoating" lacked its earlier resonance, became less inclined to resort to it (291). Subsequent American victories, including the nation's impressive showing at the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition, further increased American confidence.

In *Unfinished Revolution*, Haynes convincingly demonstrates the importance of understanding Americans' complex relationship with Great Britain in order to understand the early republic and its issues. The work can serve as a model for studies of American foreign relations. It is engagingly written and effectively combines the foreign and the domestic, the cultural and the political.

Towson University

ELIZABETH KELLY GRAY

Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania. By BEVERLY C. TOMEK. (New York: New York University Press, 2011. 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$39; paper, \$24.)

Colonization and Its Discontents is an interesting and useful contribution to the ever-growing historiography of nineteenth-century American antislavery movements. Through case studies and a reexamination of secondary literature, Tomek weaves a nuanced and complicated narrative surrounding antislavery reform in Pennsylvania. Perhaps what makes Tomek's work so successful is that her book strays from the often-told story of the struggle for emancipation in

Pennsylvania. While *Colonization and Its Discontents* looks carefully at the dismantlement of slavery within the commonwealth, Tomek introduces readers to a colonization movement that was far from static. In her introduction, Tomek states that her goal was not just to describe the complexities of antislavery but also to demonstrate how colonization in Pennsylvania was anything but peripheral; according to Tomek, colonization “remained a key part of the antislavery landscape throughout the nineteenth century” (1).

Accurately depicting the early decades of the nineteenth century as hostile to black freedom, Tomek describes an antebellum Pennsylvania that was riddled with white resistance to immediate abolition. By examining the changing attitudes of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS), the Pennsylvania Colonization Society (PCS), and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society (PASS), Tomek reveals the dark side of the gradual movement to end slavery. Focusing on colonization—an effort that was often seen as proslavery and that centered on relocating free blacks from the United States to Africa—Tomek demonstrates that this movement was an important component of antislavery efforts in Pennsylvania. Perhaps the first scholar to directly connect the PAS, PCS, and PASS, Tomek describes the early decades of antislavery as an era in which the desire to control an exploding free black community forced these groups to enact a conservative and cautious path toward emancipation.

The majority of the chapters in this book are built upon the lives and work of several well-known male Pennsylvanians. Anthony Benezet, Mathew Carey, Elliott Cresson, James Forten, Benjamin Coates, and Martin Delany serve as the main protagonists in this book, and their individual stories serve as helpful interpretive tools. At times, the structure of the book precludes an integrated conversation about Pennsylvania abolition. Perhaps this was by design, as the antislavery movement that Tomek portrays was racially segregated. African American activists spoke to different concerns and needs than did their white counterparts, and generational differences between men like James Forten and Martin Delany complicated the story of black freedom. The absence of women—both black and white—in Tomek’s work represents a weakness in an otherwise helpful addition to the historiography of the American antislavery movement.

University of Delaware

ERICA ARMSTRONG DUNBAR

Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America. By JAMES MARTEN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. 352 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

By its own admission, *Sing Not War* “is not a comprehensive account of Civil War veterans” (3). Instead, James Marten offers a rich examination of the com-

plex attitudes, perceptions, and expectations that developed between the general public and Union and Confederate veterans during the waning decades of the nineteenth century. Venturing beyond the familiar Memorial Day platitudes and heroic characterizations, Marten reveals that a contradictory and at times even antagonistic relationship evolved as old soldiers struggled to readjust to civilian life. *Sing Not War* thus uniquely complicates previous interpretations of veteran distinctiveness and uncovers a darker side of public memory. Veterans, Marten concludes, often united and sought fellow companionship not only because of the unique, shared bonds of military service but also in response to emerging Gilded Age conceptions of independence, professional success, and even manliness.

Highlighting areas of greatest contention between ex-soldiers and civilians, Marten focuses predominantly on marginalized veterans: the disabled, the institutionalized, and the traumatized. Through six chapters, he explores how their reliance upon charitable organizations, state and national soldiers' homes, and increasing pension supplements challenged public beliefs of veteran identity and national gratitude. Southerners, Marten argues, responded the most sympathetically. Rationalizing wartime defeat, nonveterans simply reconciled the old Confederates' plight as being outside their control and by the 1890s had woven them into the annals of Lost Cause mythology. In contrast, northerners experiencing postwar economic booms and modernization struggled with veteran dependents, who, as Marten writes, "were often seen as agents of their own decline, almost purposefully swimming against the stream of progress, economic growth, and opportunity" (20). Battered by public criticism, veterans and their supportive organizations fell back upon the "bloody shirt" in insisting that the nation honor its wartime debts and donned the visage of "the old soldier" to explain their importance at the dawning of a new era.

Sing Not War mines newspaper accounts, governmental records, novels, poetry, and the diaries, letters, and memoirs of scores of familiar and obscure soldiers alike to skillfully blend veteran homecomings and tales of readjustment into the greater context of the postwar nation. Examining the role of veterans in Gilded Age commercialism, temperance, and public order, Marten demonstrates the utility of studying the ramifications of Civil War service beyond Appomattox. Commendably, Marten also acknowledges his work's limitations—most notably, the complete absence of African American veterans—and, in so doing, points the way for future areas of study.

Despite his self-consciousness, Marten occasionally slips into unsubstantiated presumption that harms more than bolsters his work. His allusions and comparisons to Vietnam War veterans—without considering differences of time, space, or the conflict's inevitable outcome—emerge most notably as problematic and anachronistic. Similarly, Marten maintains that studying the nation's "least successful veterans" contributes to the understanding of the broader veteran community. Yet he largely fails to establish such a connection, leaving readers to ques-

tion the full applicability of lessons learned beyond those provided by the broken and marginalized old soldiers. Criticisms aside, *Sing Not War* presents a fascinating look at one of the most understudied topics of the Civil War, demonstrating the complexity and human toll of the nation's bloodiest conflict.

Pennsylvania State University

J. ADAM ROGERS

The Judge: A Life of Thomas Mellon, Founder of a Fortune. By JAMES MELLON. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. 592 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$38.)

Individuals wishing to know more about the dour, controlling, and single-minded Judge Thomas Mellon depicted in David Cannadine's comprehensive *Mellon: An American Life* need look no further—James Mellon, big game hunter and author of several notable books, has produced an engaging and readable account of his great-great-great-grandfather's life and times. Based largely on Thomas Mellon's autobiography, but enriched with the addition of materials from the Mellon family's private collection, *The Judge* offers a largely sympathetic account of Thomas Mellon's rise from somewhat modest means to a position of substantial and shrewdly acquired wealth.

Thomas Mellon is not, strictly speaking, an "interesting" figure; he had no great love affairs, committed no notorious crimes, and held no high offices. Rather, he was a canny behind-the-scenes player who from a very early age grasped the significance of long-term planning. James Mellon writes with no small amount of admiration about Thomas Mellon's extraordinary academic performance at the Western University of Pennsylvania (now University of Pittsburgh) and youthful love notes, but "the Judge" quickly put aside what he came to view as frivolous endeavors. Adept enough with classical languages to be offered a professorship at the university following his graduation, Mellon stayed there only long enough to position himself for a profitable career in law.

Indeed, it was some variation on the profit motive—filtered through his readings of Benjamin Franklin on work ethic and Herbert Spencer on the "survival of the fittest"—that seemed to compel all of Mellon's future decisions. He married Sarah Negley, heiress to the Negley fortune he had coveted since his childhood (a woman described unflatteringly by James Mellon as someone "God had fashioned . . . from the homeliest clay"), because the time had come for him to take a wife, and "she would do" (74). He also staked out pragmatic positions on matters such as his son James's desire to serve in the Civil War ("There are thousands of poor fellows fit for soldiering, but fit for nothing else, whose duty is to go"), compulsory education for children ("They [must not be] allowed to grow up in ignorance and vice . . . whence they are graduated to the penitentiary or gallows"),

capital punishment (“It may seem a hard task to condemn fellow creatures . . . ‘to be hanged by the neck until dead’; but it is not so hard if they clearly deserve it”), and trial by jury (“It is high time some important changes were made in the selection of jurors, and some discrimination . . . in the cases to which they are applicable”) (151, 173, 180, 184).

After Mellon’s tenure on the Allegheny County Court of Common Pleas concluded, he opened T. Mellon & Sons’ Bank. He operated the organization with his sons Andrew and Richard, whom he had been training as businessmen since they were old enough to comprehend his instructions. After weathering the Panic of 1873, investing wisely in local railroad construction and coal mining ventures, and providing some start-up capital to future coal magnate Henry Frick, Mellon retired in 1882, leaving his sons to run the bank. That they succeeded beyond his wildest dreams is unsurprising; that he never “share[d] his reading and contemplation” with them or any of his other heirs is one of the central mysteries of the book, given that he led a deep and fulfilling intellectual life. But the Mellon story came full circle nevertheless; many of his later descendants, including James Mellon himself, “delighted in deep exploratory reading” and derived considerable pleasure from supporting various educational causes (508). Even the predoctoral fellowship that afforded me the leisure to read and review this book bears the ubiquitous Mellon surname, which in itself provides proof that the fierce discipline Thomas Mellon had instilled in him first in County Tyrone and later at “Poverty Point” has inured not just to the benefit of his sons but also to the benefit of those thousands who have partaken of the family’s largesse.

One final note: this book is among the most handsomely illustrated volumes yet released by a university press. For that reason alone, Pennsylvania history aficionados may wish to add it to their collections.

University of Pittsburgh

OLIVER BATEMAN

So Bravely and So Well: The Life of William T. Trego. By JOSEPH P. ECKHARDT. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 208 pp. Illustrations, select bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Like a number of nineteenth-century American artists who were inclined toward history painting, William T. Trego (1858–1909) has occupied a marginal place in art-historical scholarship. Building on the earlier research of Helen Hartman Gemmill, historian Joseph P. Eckhardt has produced the first monographic study of the underrecognized Trego. This book accompanied the retrospective exhibition of Trego’s art held at the James A. Michener Art Museum and is supplemented by that organization’s ongoing Trego catalogue raisonné website. Eckhardt’s book offers an engaging narrative of the life and career of this intriguing

and talented artist. As the author tells it, Trego's story is one of pathos and heroism.

From childhood on, the Bucks County-born William Trego suffered the crippling effects of polio. Although his hands were almost completely paralyzed, he trained as an artist under his father, who had studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. His stepmother, who was an artist and art teacher, also contributed to his artistic formation. Overcoming major physical challenges, Trego became known for the accuracy of his drawings (especially of horses in motion) and his dynamic military history compositions. While studying at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1882, Trego painted the large *Battery of Light Artillery en Route*, which received the school's first Charles Toppan Prize for most accurate drawing.

Trego's drawing skills and commitment to historical subject matter were reinforced and refined by studying in Paris at the Académie Julian under William-Adolphe Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury. Since working in Paris was virtually every American artist's goal in the late nineteenth century, it is not surprising to find Trego there. But what is remarkable is that in spite of his disabilities, he spent over two years in France on his own.

After returning to the United States, Trego continued to compose historical military scenes while adding genre painting, portraiture, and illustration to his repertoire. Although he enjoyed some success, his career never gained traction. After a failed attempt in 1909 to generate interest in his work by creating a grand-manner rendering of the chariot race from the novel *Ben Hur*, the fifty-year-old artist took his own life.

Eckhardt provides a detailed and clearly written account of the life of this determined, ambitious, and frustrated artist. More discussion might have been provided, however, of how Trego's work fits within the context of late nineteenth-century art. For example, intriguing parallels exist between Trego's paintings and illustrations and those by Frederic Remington. Eckhardt convincingly points out the connection between Trego's Civil War images and those of earlier artist-illustrators, but what of the series of Battle of Gettysburg paintings by Peter F. Rothermel, who was long associated with the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts? The author identifies the French artists Jean-Baptiste Édouard Detaille and Alphonse de Neuville as two of Trego's heroes (Trego, in fact, became dubbed the "American Detaille"); more on these artists and their reception in the United States might have been enlightening.

The book is handsomely produced, with good color reproductions. The abundance of illustrations testifies to the quantity and quality of Trego's work. Overall, *So Bravely and So Well* makes a welcome and significant contribution to a fuller understanding not only of this neglected artist but also of the history of American art.

Texas Christian University

MARK THISTLETHWAITE

Howard Pyle: Imagining an American School of Art. By JILL P. MAY and ROBERT E. MAY. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2011. 288 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.)

Once upon a time, the latest book illustrated by Howard Pyle (1853–1910) was on every American child's wish list. In the meantime, youngsters could enjoy his vivid portrayals of history and legend in the pages of *St. Nicholas*, *Everybody's*, *Collier's*, *Century*, *Scribner's*, and *Harper's* magazines. Though not a household name today, Pyle was the preeminent illustrator of the Gilded Age, and his visual interpretations of the American Revolution, Robin Hood and his Merry Men, the Knights of the Round Table, and a motley crew of pirates were indelibly printed on the imaginations of several generations. Now a new book published in conjunction with the centenary of Howard Pyle's death has rediscovered this forgotten icon of the popular culture. The subject is custom-made for authors Jill P. May, professor of literacy and language, and Robert E. May, professor of history (both at Purdue University), who bring to this work their expertise in fields beyond the history of art. This is not a coffee-table book but the first extensively documented biography of Howard Pyle. The authors combed through numerous archives and museum collections and wove their findings into a fluent narrative that documents Pyle's personal life and his career as an illustrator, author, and teacher. The frequent use of quotations from letters re-creates the intimate conversations between Pyle and his wide circle of colleagues and students, revealing the artist's exuberant personality and manic energy.

In the golden age of American illustration, Pyle was the mentor with the Midas touch. As the first teacher of illustration at Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry in Philadelphia and his own school in the Brandywine River valley outside of Wilmington, he launched the careers of dozens of successful illustrators, among whom N. C. Wyeth, Frank Schoonover, Maxfield Parrish, Jessie Willcox Smith, Elizabeth Shippen Green, and Violet Oakley are perhaps the most well known. But according to May and May, Pyle had grander ambitions for his school; he believed that his training would produce a distinctly "American" style of art that would rival the great European traditions. The authors trace the nationalistic fervor that motivated Pyle from the Civil War through the emergence of the United States as an imperial power at the beginning of the twentieth century. Pyle developed relationships with Woodrow Wilson and Teddy Roosevelt, participated in the latter's presidential election campaign, and shifted from storyteller to social reformer to support the Progressive movement. One of the more fascinating additions to Pyle's biography is the importance of Swedenborgianism to his spiritual life, a subject he explored with the writer William Dean Howells.

Although he did not realize his dream of founding a national style, the authors point out that "over time, Pyle's artistic values seeped into film, comic

books, children's illustrations, and other contemporary visual arts" (200). The "romantic realism" of Pyle's compositions, with their historically accurate costumes and settings, were used as models for the art direction of Hollywood movies from *Robin Hood* (1938) to *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2006). Pyle continues to inspire award-winning children's book illustrators, who see themselves as the heirs of his tradition.

May and May have made an important contribution to the scholarship on American art in the late nineteenth century. This highly readable book is likely to be the definitive biography on Howard Pyle for some time to come.

Elizabethtown College

PATRICIA LIKOS RICCI

Teenie Harris, Photographer: Image, Memory, History. By CHERYL FINLEY, LAURENCE GLASCO, and JOE W. TROTTER. (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Art, 2011. 208 pp. Illustrations, notes, select bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55; paper, \$24.95.)

Charles "Teenie" Harris (1908–98) is one of the most significant photographers of twentieth-century culture and life in Pittsburgh. The charismatic and handsome Harris was a well-known figure both in Pittsburgh's Hill District, where he resided for most of his life, and in the city at large. Self-trained, Harris spent over a half century documenting primarily black residents and community happenings in his neighborhood. He worked as a photojournalist for the *Pittsburgh Courier* (a nationally circulating black newspaper), ran a studio, and served as photographer-for-hire for local events. By the time of his death, he had accumulated roughly eighty thousand negatives, primarily of black life in the Hill District. According to historian Laurence Glasco, Harris's archive may be the largest collection of a single black community in the world.

In this beautiful catalogue of the Carnegie Museum of Art's retrospective exhibition *Teenie Harris, Photographer: An American Story* (October 29, 2011–April 7, 2012), art historian Cheryl Finley and historians Joe W. Trotter and Laurence Glasco combine select photographs from the exhibit with essays offering important context about the photographer and the city he loved. Image and word combine to offer a rich tapestry of Harris, Pittsburgh's twentieth-century cultural and social history, and the evolution of its black population. Glasco's essay offers a cultural history of the Hill District through the life of the photographer. Trotter provides insightful analysis of the economic, social, and political history of black Pittsburghers. Finley provides close readings of images from Harris's archive, placing these works within a larger history of American, black American, and African diasporic documentary photography. Together, the essays provide important biographical details about Harris. More importantly,

they demonstrate a photographer in love with his subject—black Pittsburghers—and beloved by his community. As photographic historian Deborah Willis states in the introduction, Harris's life work is "a love story, a graphic romance about a community visually documented through an artist and his camera, an intimate and diaristic view of a city and a photographer" (xi).

From Harris's vast archive, the authors chose subtle and poignant images of the "the practice of dailiness"—a phrase borrowed from Carnegie Museum Curator of Photography Linda Benedict-Jones—of Hill District life over much of the twentieth century. Through images ranging from the late 1930s to the 1970s, we witness the area's transformation from a once-vibrant, although racially segregated, black cultural and business center to a neighborhood depopulated and diminished as a result of deindustrialization, urban renewal, and the persistence of racial discrimination. But more tenacious than the forces of exclusion, through Harris's eyes, is the creativity, joy, and spirit of individuals and families living, working, and playing in various conditions.

The University of Pittsburgh Press, the distributor of this book, took great care in publishing Harris's black-and-white photographs, which capture the rich texture, nuance, and detail of seemingly ordinary activities. Interspersed among images of shop owners, children at play, and residents on the street are photographs of jazz luminaries, including Sarah Vaughan, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, and Billy Eckstine; John F. Kennedy addressing a large crowd; and black sports icons Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson, and Willie Mays. Particularly striking is the way Harris's eye was able to enfold these notable figures into the daily routines of life in the city.

Harris's archive has had a fascinating life following the photographer's death. After years of legal battles with a business partner of Harris, the majority of his negatives were returned to Harris's family, who sold the collection to the Carnegie Museum of Art in 2001. The institution has since worked actively with Harris's family, the Hill District community, and many others to preserve, label, and digitize this massive archive, the majority of which is now publicly available through the museum's website. Since his death, Harris's work has been exhibited frequently, and he has received international attention, which he never sought during his life. The museum continues to research the people, places, and events of his photographs and to promote the richness and vibrancy of life captured in this collection.

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