

pages 115–16, the text refers to twelve landlords, but the accompanying table has no landlord category and indicates instead that there were nine manorial lords. Terrar is similarly careless in the use of secondary sources. To give one example, he portrays the effects of Ingle's Rebellion as relatively benign with the comment that "Lois Green Carr shows that the province was not laid waste" (p. 168). But in the source cited ("Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 [1984], 55), Carr points out that the inhabitants called the period of the rebellion "the plundering time," that nearly all Protestants left the colony, and that even Catholics lost household goods and livestock to plundering, although the entire colony was not laid waste.

The problems with Terrar's approach and his research are profound. His basic thesis that Maryland Catholic laboring people held beliefs that served their needs is probably true; most people do, after all. Those hoping to understand seventeenth-century Maryland Catholics will do better to look at Michael J. Graham's "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983).

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BEATRIZ BETANCOURT HARDY

A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf. By KEVIN J. HAYES. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996. Pp. xvi, 216. \$35.00.)

Kevin J. Hayes offers a stimulating bibliographical monograph on the variety of books available to American women in the colonial period. According to Hayes, literary historians have studied women writers but not readers; historians of the book have studied male readers but not female; and women's historians have studied the reading habits of Revolutionary women but not colonial. Hayes seeks to fill these gaps by focusing closely on the reading habits of colonial women. At the foundation of his account is a growing consensus among historians that reading literacy rates were approaching equally high levels for women and men by the eve of the American Revolution, although women's writing literacy rates lagged behind those of men. To identify the kinds of books read by colonial women, Hayes mines an array of primary sources such as wills and probate inventories, library catalogues and borrowing records, bookshop ledgers, and women's diaries and letters. Above all, he relies on copies of books inscribed with the names of colonial women. These diverse sources enable him to identify books that were purchased and borrowed by, given to, and shared among colonial women.

Hayes organizes his evidence in five thematic chapters that outline the range of books available to colonial women. Chapter 2 provides an overview of religious books, ranging from catechisms read by girls to devotional manuals read by adult women. Chapter 3 covers secular conduct books that

guided women in proper social behavior. Both religious and conduct books struggled to compete with the popularity of sentimental novels at the end of the colonial period. Chapter 4 describes practical books that helped women cultivate domestic skills such as cooking, health care, and midwifery. Chapter 5 presents the sentimental novels and travel narratives that entertained women in the mid-eighteenth century and paved the way for the emergence of women novelists at century's end. Finally, chapter 6 outlines books that appealed to women with a taste for science, even though women were generally discouraged from acquiring what men deemed an excess of knowledge. Overall, these thematic chapters trace an expansion in the variety of books available to American women over the course of the colonial period. Given the slow growth of the Anglo-American book market, the evidence is far richer for the eighteenth century than for the seventeenth.

Hayes's overriding emphasis on bibliographical expansion comes at a cost. His research strategy elucidates the range of books available to colonial women in general, but the reading experiences of individual women remain obscure. Indeed, we encounter many books in Hayes's monograph and relatively few women. He devotes considerably more discussion to sketching the prescriptive contents of sundry books than to examining the experiences of individual readers. A fascinating exception is an account in chapter 5 of the ambivalent reactions of Eliza Lucas and Esther Edwards Burr to Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1741). While Hayes admirably immersed himself in the bibliographical sources, further delving into the personal writings of colonial women might have yielded greater insight into their specific intellectual and emotional experiences of reading.

Hayes not only overlooks individual women, but he also treats women as a universal category without due attention to differences of class and race. The study is more applicable to elite white women than to the full diversity of women in colonial America. This elite bias is unfortunate given how widespread reading literacy was among women by the mid-eighteenth century. With respect to gender issues, Hayes scatters intriguing remarks throughout the study. He hints, for instance, that women and men in companionate marriages shared certain books and that women especially treasured other books for their portrayal of heroines. Without explicit comparisons between women and men, it is difficult to gauge the degree of either gender overlap or gender difference. Here Hayes is hindered because historians have not analyzed men's reading habits with gender specificity. We can hope that the new historiography on masculinity will continue to grow and that future research will cast men's experiences in carefully gendered rather than inappropriately universal terms.

To ask for more individual women as well as gender nuances and comparisons is to appreciate the importance of Hayes's contribution. The professed aim of his monograph is to open new avenues of research, and in this aim it notably succeeds. Further work must be done on topics such as the cultural representation of women readers, women's reading of magazines and newspapers, and religious and geographical variations in women's read-

ing habits. Connections must also be made to broader contexts such as the consumer revolution that enhanced the cultural value of reading as well as the shifting gender ideologies that created opportunities and placed constraints on the lives of colonial women. It is unfortunate that Hayes sketches the books' contents without amply anchoring his discussion in the vast body of existing research on women's history in the colonial period. Indeed, the lack of a concluding chapter betrays the absence of a thesis that might have held the diverse bibliographical evidence more firmly together. In the end, given the freshness of this line of research and the elusiveness of studying reading habits in the past, *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf* represents a necessary starting point rather than a conclusive account of the reading habits of colonial American women.

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KONSTANTIN DIERKS

Frontier Indiana. By ANDREW R. L. CAYTON. A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996. Pp. xvi, 340. \$35.00.)

Andrew R. L. Cayton's readable and rewarding history of Indiana from 1700 to 1850 provides an excellent synthesis of recent literature on the Old Northwest and a superb introduction to the latest scholarship on American frontiers. Its author has made important contributions to these developments in Old Northwest and frontier history, principally through his work on political culture and cultural politics in early Ohio. But in the ten years since Cayton published *The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780-1825* (Kent, Ohio, 1986), much has changed in the study of the American Wests, and this new book nicely exhibits the shifted orientation of frontier historians.

Indeed, while Indiana is Ohio's western neighbor, the differences between Cayton's two frontiers speak more to changes in historiography than in geography. Particularly striking are the divergent time frames of Cayton's two books. In his study of frontier Ohio, Cayton confined his attentions to the forty-five years from 1780 to 1825. "The most impressive thing" about Ohio, wrote Cayton, "was how quickly the frontier period passed" (*Frontier Republic*, x). Not so, it would seem, in Indiana, where Cayton's frontier era commences in 1700 and spans 150 years.

The extended periodization reflects Cayton's adoption of a less anglocentric perspective on the frontier. His Ohio book focused on American settlement and post-Revolutionary politics. Indians merited only a few mentions in his exploration of the transmission of republicanism to the transappalachian frontier. *Frontier Indiana* takes a more expansive view. It opens long before any westering Euroamericans arrived on the scene. Consequently, it features a much larger cast of characters: the Miamis, Piankashaws, and Weas, whose towns dotted the Wabash and Maumee River