

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. By Emery Battis. (Chapel Hill: Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. Pp. 379. \$7.50.)

Certain events seem to shape our views about recurrent human problems. Historians continually re-investigate the stories that novelists turn into romances and politicians turn into propaganda. One such story is the tragedy of Mistress Anne Hutchinson. In it, men have seen a model of the struggle between authority and the individual conscience; it has been told to cheer on individual conscience while reprobating authority, without serious attempt to understand either story or problem within its historical context. Emery Battis, of Douglass College, Rutgers University, attempts to understand the problem and story of Anne Hutchinson by viewing it within the context of the "behavioral sciences."

Dr. Battis argues that Anne Hutchinson's obscure impulse toward "the acquisition of power and influence over the lives and spiritual destinies of her fellows" resulted from an inner conflict that made her "the hapless victim of an obsessive personal insecurity." The daughter of a Church of England minister perpetually at odds with church authority, she failed to find in a weak husband "her father's firm, directing hand, [and] without adequate replacement, [this] could well have drawn Anne into a progressively disturbing condition of emotional disorientation." In a theological age the search for "affective support and guidance" led her to a study of dissenting theology and the person and sermons of John Cotton. She pushed a literal interpretation of Cotton's distinction between the Covenant of Grace and the Covenant of Works to its logical conclusion and found in her assurance of Grace the support lacking in her husband. After Archbishop Laud forced Cotton from his pulpit at St. Botolph's in Boston, Lincolnshire, and he had departed for Massachusetts Bay in 1633, Anne prevailed upon William Hutchinson to leave his prospering business at Alford, Lincolnshire, and the Hutchinsons arrived at Boston in 1634.

Subject to climacteric stresses during the last part of her residence in Boston, the personality and theological views of Anne Hutchinson provided the crystallizer around which the dissident business community hardened its opposition to organic views of society made official by clergy and gentry. An organic social philosophy restricted the economic potentialities of the developing port of Boston and placed merchants and craftsmen who could not live by this ethic in a most uncomfortable position. "If they were to

maintain their spiritual status without abandoning their social and economic values," Dr. Battis writes, "it was necessary to reinterpret the doctrine of assurance in such a way as to circumvent the orthodox insistence on a narrowly construed organic philosophy. Mrs. Hutchinson filled their need by reasserting the primacy of the Covenant of Grace. . . ." An aborted bourgeois revolution, the Antinomian Controversy, was the theological expression of social, economic and political discontent; this is Dr. Battis's thesis.

Fitting into the Freudian and Marxian preconceptions that the expressed grounds of controversy rarely reveal the true causes of discontent, Dr. Battis's thesis becomes tenuous under scrutiny. The book attempts to combine a biography of Anne Hutchinson with a history of the Antinomian Controversy and the result is "images yoked by violence."

Anne Hutchinson's life is presented in a novelistic fashion with doubtful application of twentieth-century psychological theories. This presentation is irritating because there is little hard evidence for the evaluations presented. A random example of the author's novelizing is the following attempt to characterize Anne Hutchinson's feelings during the fall of 1637: "The snow, coming too early, threatened a long, hard winter and the sense of foreboding that had troubled her these many days seemed heightened by the storm. Wherever her restless mind turned, there was only apprehension of the future or painful memories of the recent past. She tried to pull herself back to the comforting realities of pans and dishes, the small, familiar problems of food and family." This attempt to make the story dramatic leads to the distorting device of "transposition from indirect to direct quotation . . . where it seemed reasonably legitimate" (p. 130, note 13), when dealing with the records of the Antinomian trials. The use of psychological theories results in attributing twentieth-century personality disorders to seventeenth-century behavior. This practice is dubious not only because it lacks any hard evidence, but also because the reader finds only psychological popularizers and texts cited as evidence, while the works of Freud are not listed in the bibliography. As a biography, this book shows little gain over the three popular treatments of Anne Hutchinson's life published in 1930.

As a history of the Antinomian Controversy, the book makes the laudable attempt to place it within a social, political, and economic context. The statistical analysis of Mrs. Hutchinson's adherents is convincing, and it appears that this work will not need to be repeated. The conclusions drawn from this analysis are not so convincing. To the assertion that upper class businessmen were drawn to Mrs. Hutchinson's doctrines because they allowed greater economic freedom, one could reply that they believed in her conclusions because they were educated in theological controversy and could see that her doctrines logically followed from Puritan theology.

Explaining his statistical analysis, Dr. Battis falls into an irritating style resulting from his reliance upon the "behavioral sciences." One wonders if statements such as "the Puritans were predominantly of a rational-dogmatic type, governed by strong inhibitory controls, and inclined to subordinate their feelings and imaginations to rational considerations," would have

meaning if translated into plain English. The combination of such gobbledegook and novelistic writing weakens the force of the book.

Any treatment of the Antinomian Controversy must rely upon the tools of intellectual history. The historian who attempts to unravel this controversy must have a better understanding of the works of John Calvin than of Erich Fromm. Doubts about Dr. Battis's understanding of Reformation theology are raised when he cites twentieth-century commentators on Calvin instead of Calvin's own works as evidence for his discussion of the problems inherent in Puritan theology.

Although this book admirably attempts to widen the scope of historical investigations, it does not succeed because the newer techniques appear to lead Dr. Battis to view the Antinomian Controversy within dubious current theories of the "behavioral sciences," rather than within the context of its own time and place. Students of the Antinomian Controversy must still rely upon Charles Francis Adams's *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*.

The Pennsylvania State University

WILLIAM RAYMOND SMITH

Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800. B. C. C. Goen.
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962. Pp. 370. \$7.50.)

"This work began as a Yale dissertation and has passed through two subsequent revisions—one for the Brewer contest of the American Society of Church History [whose Prize it was awarded] and one for publication by the Yale Press." So Mr. Goen tells us, in the usual fashion, in his Preface. Because of the book's importance and its manifest contribution of solid fact to an area, an era, and an on-going, recurring impulse in American history whose fragments have been pawed over by more amateur historians than you can shake a witch's broom at (Mr. Goen's thorough bibliography provides testimony), this reviewer, at least, wishes there had been one more revision.

Mr. Goen set out to investigate "separatist phenomena" and chose to make, not "a thorough depth study of a small number of separatist churches presupposed to be typical," but to present "a panoramic view of revivalistic separatism." Having made this choice, certainly a defendable one, he necessarily invited the difficult problem of how to organize, into a meaningful pattern, the massive array of details about "the location, circumstances, and characteristics of every discoverable separatist congregation." It is with the solution to this problem that I am unhappy.

One clear fact does emerge from this conscientious amassing of data about "every discoverable separatist congregation"; namely, "that separatism was much more widespread than has been suspected previously." An excellent chart in the book's appendix—listing all the Separate and Separate Baptist churches Mr. Goen located, with dates, names of pastors, succinct comments—and two maps (which, besides their general impact, I find less useful) provide the convincing details. But what this fact means—that is, what it signifies for the total cultural complex of the period—is muffled in the text itself. I do not mean that Mr. Goen has not ventured to interpret

his findings—he has tossed out some highly suggestive summaries. But he has subordinated these to demonstrate and reiterate the “widespread” extent of separatism, which is a fact that provides a point of departure rather than a resting place in itself. Aiming to din this fact home, Mr. Goen has organized his material in what seems to me an unnecessarily repetitive fashion so that much of it reads like a catalogue, in large part an elaboration upon the list he provides in his appendix.

His opening chapter, “The Congregational Churches of New England and the Great Awakening,” is an admirable explication of the built-in dilemmas of Puritanism, of how these were aggravated by such measures as the Cambridge Platform of 1648, the Halfway Covenant of 1662, and Connecticut’s Saybrook Platform of 1708, and how the Great Awakening of 1740-1742 was the explosion that resulted. There is a lively account here of the zealous and fanatical James Davenport, grandson of New Haven’s founder, showing how revivalism mounted in waves of “emotional extravagance that eventually dissolved it [the Great Awakening] in countless controversies among the churches.” Davenport keeps popping up with surprising frequency elsewhere in the book, and one wonders why the thread he provides wasn’t followed more closely, for Mr. Goen finds it of such great significance that he italicizes, *“there were no open separations until Davenport began to flail away at individual ministers by name and exhort their hearers to withdraw from their ministry.”* In successive chapters, however, we are presented with the story of the emergence of Separatism: first, “The Issues,” then “The Churches” (with selected cases from Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and on the frontier); then as seen in “Separate Leaders and Doctrines,” and finally in the “Characteristics of the Separates.” Since the “issues” are what provoked the churches and were articulated by the leaders who in turn were characterized largely by their stands on the issues, this makes for considerable re-telling in each chapter. The last two chapters go on to the story of how the Separates were converted to Baptist sentiments and then were assimilated into the Baptist denomination—again occasioning repetition of the issues.

The recitation of these chapter headings should make it evident also that Mr. Goen’s book is more about Separatism than it is about Revivalism, though we are made aware of the intimate association of these throughout the book; but this emphasis is also what makes more for a chronicling of separations rather than for an analysis of the deeper sources and widespread implications of this latter eighteenth-century expression of individualism. And, curiously, while the book aims at a “panoramic view,” it is mostly a panorama only of the dots that mark the emergence of Separatist churches, with the terrain in between largely an expanse of whiteness. Although the period surveyed coincides with a political movement towards a rather ambitious separation, a movement with issues, leaders, and characteristics presenting remarkable analogies to those traversed by Mr. Goen, we are hardly aware of this except through occasional references to the Revolution, and once to the Sons of Liberty.

I am, of course, cavilling with what Mr. Goen has not done and did not

set out to do. But by thus marking out the book's limitations I hope I can make clearer where I think its great value lies: in providing a solid point of departure for investigation of the questions which he raises in the course of demonstrating the widespread and enduring nature of Separatism. When Mr. Goen early in his book ventures to say we should reckon George Whitefield "as America's first really national figure," we might raise our eyebrows, but the detailed tracing of the outward moving lines of this man's force must make us pause and admit the seeming connection. But then, the larger question must be raised: whether, and to what extent, and how separatism may have made for a rising sense of nationalism. Mr. Goen provides an excellent point from which to commence this inquiry in his closing chapter's discussion of the Separate Baptists' assimilation into the older, "regular" Baptists. What lies subsumed in this question, and unresolved, for instance, is how an Isaac Backus, foremost leader among the Separate Baptists, could see so unerringly that "the practice of infant baptism was the foundation of a national religious establishment," and apparently resisted all tendencies that would lead to a "territorial church," but yet contributed to nationalist sentiment.

Elsewhere Mr. Goen argues convincingly that the Separate Baptists "led the fight for rights of conscience in New England," furnishing "the largest part of the agitation which won eventual freedom of religion. . . ." This, in light of what is sometimes attributed to some of the earlier Puritans, and of the label of bigotry often pinned on some segments of the revivalist tradition, is just the kind of historical paradox that needs probing "in depth."

In his epilogue Mr. Goen notes that his book is largely "a prologue to the amazing spread of the Separates in the South," and that he hopes to write "the southern sequel to the story of the Separate Baptists." Perhaps, then, in the sequel he will come to terms with the paradox of a separatist movement become a breeding ground for nationalism. One might still suggest, however, that with this present work behind him there is less need to "presuppose" a small number of separatist churches to be typical. Mr. Goen has himself provided the broad base from which to launch a study in depth, and his meticulous assembling of detail in this book points to him as the man to do it.

Lafayette College

J. R. VITELLI

The French and Indian Wars. By Edward P. Hamilton. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962. Pp. 318. \$5.95.)

In a single volume Mr. Hamilton has essayed to cover the intercolonial wars from King William's War to the "Old French and Indian War." Basically a military history, half of the book is devoted to the latter struggle, and sections cover such practical yet overlooked information as how to make a bateau, operate a flintlock, elevate a cannon, and conduct a formal siege.

Mr. Hamilton, an engineer by profession, an artilleryman by service, and an historian by interest, is now Director of the Fort Ticonderoga restoration, a position which admirably prepares him for the task at hand. No

location in America is more storied as a military site, and Mr. Hamilton has done it full justice. His descriptions of engagements are crisp and clear, and, indeed, if one wants an introduction to the entire conduct of eighteenth century colonial warfare, here is the book. All aspects are covered: strategy, logistics, manpower, medicine, armaments, foodstuffs. The book is a veritable *vade mecum* of colonial warfare.

In the three early wars it was *la petite guerre*, and only in the 1750's were operations conducted formally with trained European troops. Mr. Hamilton has shown the ferocity of the border raids, and his portrait of the American Indian is completely unflattering; the Indian is detailed as murderous, craven, treacherous, wantonly cruel, and cannibalistic. Indian allies delighted in stewing their opponents, both white and red, to the constant embarrassment of their French and English officers. One Frenchman wrote in 1757: ". . . Indians, naked, black, red, howling, bellowing, dancing, singing the war song, getting drunk, yelling for 'broth,' that is to say blood, drawn from 500 leagues away by the smell of fresh human blood and the chance to teach their young men how one carves up a human being destined for the pot."

Pennsylvania, secure behind the shield of the Iroquois, did not experience colonial warfare until the 1750's, and two chapters are devoted to the story of the Braddock and Forbes expeditions. Both are treated adequately, and Mr. Hamilton continues the current campaign to refurbish General Braddock's reputation.

Not pausing to treat any character in depth, Mr. Hamilton's narrative has a plethora of dramatic figures quick-stepping through it, from Count Frontenac and Benjamin Church to Louis Bougainville and James Cook. As a volume in The Mainstream of America series the book fulfills its requirement of "American history designed to be enjoyed as narrative," but this popular approach is neither reason nor apology for dispensing with all the apparatus of scholarship. There are no footnotes, no bibliography, no suggested readings, and a thoroughly incomplete index; however, the author states that a "completely annotated copy" of his work is deposited in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society where "doubters" may check it.

Judged by what the author attempted, this is a successful book. Although it is a good introduction to the French and Indian Wars, the trees obscure the woods, and for the sweep of continent and empire one must still turn to Parkman and Gipson.

Hagley Museum

Roy M. BOATMAN

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Volume XIII. Edited by Milton W. Hamilton. (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1962. Pp. 1026. \$10.00.)

This, the thirteenth volume of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, is issued by way of addenda to the first twelve. As such it is inevitably something of a "grab-bag," lacking in cohesiveness. Wisely the editor has added to it on pages 735-1026 a "Chronological List of Documents" found

in all thirteen volumes, so that the reader can see at a glance the position of these new items in historical sequence.

The browser who picks up the volume will find much of independent interest. There are, for instance, journals kept by Warren Johnson, Samuel Fuller, Daniel Claus, George Croghan, and Sir William himself (the Niagara Campaign of 1759, the Detroit journey of 1761). The will of Sir Peter Warren is here, together with the inventory of Johnson Hall, and a list of 157 Indians who accompanied Sir William to Montreal in 1760—the list giving Christian name, Indian name, tribe, and clan. William Johnson himself, playboy-diplomat extraordinary, appears in his familiar role of irresistible host, dancing (Detroit, 1761) "the whole night until 7 o'clock in the morning, when all parted very pleased and happy . . . there never was so brilliant an assembly here before."

Pennsylvanians will be interested in the brief glimpses given of John Abeel, father of Cornplanter, and of Kaiaghshota (Kiasutha). There is a letter from William Tryon of North Carolina describing his meeting in 1766 with the "Sachem of the Tuscaroras" and the steps taken by that "not only Humanized but really Civilized" chief to facilitate the long journey through Pennsylvania of "as many of the Tuscaroras as were willing to quit this Province, and march to Join the Six Nations."

Of particular interest to this reviewer are two items illustrating Iroquois council procedure. One describes the calling in of the warriors (i.e., the general male public) not so much to get their advice as "to engage them in ye. Execution of the Council's Resolves." The other is the speech of old Nickus Brant made in 1758 "in the name of their chief women," adjuring Sir William to desist from a certain course of action: "We flatter ourselves you will look upon this our speech, and take the same notice of it as all our men do, when they are addressed by the women, and desired to desist from any rash enterprise, they immediately give way. . ." *Ladies Home Journal* please copy.

This completes the publication (all but the index volume) of the Johnson Papers, the first volume of which saw the light in 1921. The present editor, Milton W. Hamilton, who is responsible for the last three volumes of this great series, is to be congratulated on the patience, acumen, and enthusiasm that have enabled him to maintain such a high standard to the end. This set of books is a treasure house of Indian and colonial information.

*Pennsylvania Historical
and Museum Commission*

PAUL A. W. WALLACE

The Susquehanna Company Papers. Four Volumes. Revised Edition. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. (Ithaca: Published for the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society by the Cornell University Press, 1962. \$7.50 per volume.)

Most outlandish of all land companies in American history was the Susquehanna Company of Connecticut. Nearly a hundred years after Con-

necticut's boundaries were defined and tacitly accepted, shrewd Yankees of the Bible Commonwealth woke to the fact that there were promising lands in the Wyoming Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania which might be secured for Connecticut under the vague terms of its charter, notwithstanding that they constituted a part of the territory of the Penn family. To speculate in these lands a company was organized of many fairly prominent people of Connecticut, the approbation of the governor of Connecticut was secured, and a treaty or sale contract was hastily negotiated with the Six Nations for the purchase of several million acres for 2,000 pounds in lawful money. The apparent success of the company in gaining an Indian title to this new frontier, and the remarkable acquisitiveness which Julian Boyd finds so characteristic of the Connecticut Yankees of the late eighteenth century, induced the first 400 investors to pay five dollars a share; thereafter the 1,100 additional holders of stock had to pay seven, nine, fifteen and possibly as high as 50 dollars a share, for a part in this questionable enterprise.

Neither the Penn family, which was naturally opposed to intrusion into its domain, nor Sir William Johnson and the British colonial officials, who feared the disruptive effects of settlement in a region left for the Delaware Indians, halted the energetic activities of the company's leaders who were convinced that they had a valuable speculation. Settlement was begun in the early 1760's but Indian hostilities quickly ended all such activities for the time, and the leaders turned to England to secure sanction and support for their claims. In 1769 settlement by the Yankees began again. From then on the Wyoming settlers had to defend themselves against the Indians, Tories, and officials of the state of Pennsylvania who were trying to establish their control over territory they contended rightly belonged to it.

A generation ago, Julian Boyd, while on the staff of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Wilkes-Barre, gathered together after a most intensive search in numerous libraries and manuscript depositories the papers of this outlandish land company and even more papers bearing upon its activities, and laid plans for the publication of twelve volumes of these papers. The plan was magnificent. The scope of the papers showing the way the company's activities became deeply involved in imperial politics, the intensity of inter-colonial rivalry and the persistence with which the Yankees maintained their positions and settled the rich Wyoming Valley, all justified such a large publication venture.

No such large-scale plan for the publication of important source material relating to land speculation and settlement had ever before been undertaken, although Joseph Schafer had dreamed of an equally magnificent undertaking in the Homestead Survey of Wisconsin, which had to be sharply contracted after the publication of an expensive volume of plats. Archer Hulbert, Paul D. Evans, Helen Cowan, and Neil McNall have done much to show the importance of land companies in planning and promoting settlement and agricultural development, and Miss Cowan's work deserves to rank with the best of Clarence Alvord in analyzing the part

the schemes of land speculators played in imperial relations. But for anyone to propose and actually to find support for the publication of twelve expensive volumes of documents on a land company, even in the plush days of 1928 and 1929, required great imagination and courage and, most people must have thought, foolhardiness.

With the aid and encouragement of the Reynolds and Dorrance families, scions of the Yankee intruders in the eighteenth century, and of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Julian Boyd pushed the plan to near completion. Four volumes were printed when catastrophe struck. The depression of the 1930's permitted sales of no more than thirty or forty sets and dried up the funds for further volumes, and the great Susquehanna flood of 1936 washed away all the remaining sets. Now long unavailable save to users in those privileged libraries which subscribed before the flood, the Cornell University Press has taken over the project, reprinted the first four volumes, has promised that two more will soon appear, and it is hoped that the remaining six will be not far behind.

And what a treat is here available to students of frontier history, of imperial politics, of intercolonial rivalry, of the courage of settlers who believed they were right, and of officials trying to work out a peaceful solution of an extremely knotty problem that seemed only soluble with military force. The selections are meaningful in the light they shed on the history of the time and in particular of the events in which the company's activities became involved. Each volume has an introductory essay which goes far to explain much of the background of the documents and reveals how widely Julian Boyd cast his net in his researches. While his account may be somewhat modified by the subsequent researches of Gipson, Wallace, Thayer, and others, these detailed, informative and meticulously prepared essays add materially to the usefulness of the documents.

Historians will fervently hope that support may be found for the additional editorial work on the projected volumes six to twelve to assure the completion of this bold and uniquely valuable enterprise.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

Moses Brown: Reluctant Reformer. By Mack Thompson. (Chapel Hill: Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. Pp. 316. \$7.50.)

The life of Moses Brown, the Quaker philanthropist whose activities ran into many areas, very nearly covered a whole century. The most active member of the famous Brown family, to whom the city of Providence and the state of Rhode Island owe so much, he is perhaps best remembered for providing the financial backing for Samuel Slater's development of the modern textile industry at Pawtucket. Professor Thompson, however, examines a number of equally important aspects of Brown's long career.

Born in 1738, Brown was quickly absorbed into the mercantile world in

which the rest of his family was to become so successful. But he tired of the acquisitive spirit which seemed to dominate the family, and when he lost his first wife in 1773, he turned for consolation to the Society of Friends. Here then, says Professor Thompson, lies the fundamental conflict in Brown's life: his mercantile background vied with his new-found Quaker beliefs. The "otherworldliness" of Quakerism was constantly battling his activist personality. Hence he was a "reluctant reformer."

Brown first began his public activity before his conversion, when in 1769 he led a successful battle to have the institution which would eventually be known as Brown University transferred to the city of Providence rather than to Newport, which at that time was a larger and more prosperous city. The presence of Rhode Island College at Providence undoubtedly was one of the factors which enabled that city eventually to overtake its rival.

Although sympathetic to the colonists in the Revolutionary War, Brown was prevented by his new religion from taking an active role, for which he and many other Quakers were viewed with suspicion by both sides. His brother John however, unencumbered by Quakerism, led the attack on the *Gaspee* in 1772, and it took the efforts of Moses to secure his brother's release from prison in Boston. Following the war, Brown developed an interest in antislavery matters and became, according to Professor Thompson, the leading antislavery advocate in New England during this period. His efforts resulted in the abolition of slavery in Rhode Island over the opposition of the local slave-traders (including his brother John), and unlike so many others, Brown maintained an interest in the welfare of the freed Negro and espoused complete radical equalitarianism.

While his mercantile proclivities made him sympathetic toward the movement for a stronger Constitution in the 1780's, he was driven into temporary opposition to the final document by its recognition of slavery. With its adoption by twelve states, however, Brown gave in and recommended approval by Rhode Island. He was sympathetic to the measures advanced by Alexander Hamilton and helped set up the first bank in Providence, although he withdrew from its affairs once it had firmly established itself, a pattern often repeated in a number of his activities. This same period saw his subsidizing the textile mill set up with the help of Slater, and the irony of Brown's playing the major role in the development of the very industry which was to fasten the hated institution of slavery upon the South is not overlooked by Professor Thompson.

It is not the author's thesis that Brown is an unsung hero who has not received his just deserts at the hands of American historians. In fact, it is clearly shown that the precepts of Brown's religion prevented him from playing a greater public role than he did. Had Brown chosen otherwise, it is probable that the high degree of confidence in which he was held by the Rhode Island public would have propelled him far. But it was the aforementioned "counting house vs. meeting house" conflict which kept him back. Brown himself had cause to regret this Quaker reticence when he battled the reluctance of many of the Friends to involve them-

selves in projects to advance formal education. Professor Thompson is to be complimented in not claiming for his hero any more than is due, which accounts for the comparative brevity of the book.

Original insights into Quaker mentality and its ambiguous relation to the secular world of the late eighteenth century are among the more important contributions which this biography makes. In view of the success of Quakers in the business world generally (and in Pennsylvania in particular) it can only be wondered if all Friends went through the difficulties that Brown did in rationalizing his worldly success. Also, Brown's opposition to the Constitution on antislavery grounds raises the question as to the extent of similar feeling in 1788. While much is known of the politics of the period 1770-1800, more could be learned about the spiritual and humanitarian aspects of the era. This book is a step in that direction.

University College, Dublin

LYNN H. PARSONS

The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775-1815. By Curtis P. Nettels.
[Volume II of *The Economic History of the United States.*] (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1962. Pp. 424. \$7.50.)

The dislocations wrought in the American colonies by the severance of imperial ties with Great Britain necessitated fundamental readjustments and the adoption of innovations in the political and economic spheres of American life. Although governmental changes were perhaps more spectacular in their immediate effects than those in the economic realm, they were, in the long run, little less significant in their consequences for national growth.

The relationship and interdependence of evolving political and economic institutions are often very close. This was particularly discernible in our history during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and Dr. Nettels partially recognizes this when he justifies his book's emphasis on political matters by explaining that changes in governmental structure and methods can affect economic factors. When one considers that the reverse of this is equally true—witness the demands made in the 1780's for a stronger central government because business conditions had altered—one could expect him to stress the interaction of business and politics even more than he does.

In 1776 the prohibition of direct trade between Britain and her American colonies made it necessary for Congress to seek trade with all friendly or neutral countries. As a new entity among the family of nations the United States sought commercial treaties, but she avoided all commitments which might jeopardize her independent position. From that time until 1815 the states would not only see the creation of a national political union, they would also see the emergence of a national economy. The changes, experiments, and accommodations which produced this consolidation were often subtle and rarely dramatic, but in their cumulative effect they attained a solid reality.

Eschewing the formulation of an all-encompassing theme, avoiding the

grand argument in history, Dr. Nettels traces this emergence by examining and summarizing the important developments in American economic life. In carefully written essays covering the fifteen years from 1775 to 1790 he discusses the strenuous and often frustrating efforts to supply money and materials to win the war, the postwar depression and commercial difficulties, the paper money controversies, and the establishment of banks. Although the Revolution had stimulated manufactures, their volume and variety were not sufficient in scope and magnitude to produce revolutionary effects. The war had seen the shaping of a national economy, but it had been hastily built.

The depression of the 1780's, severe and discouraging as it certainly was, had fortunately taught an important lesson: it emphasized the need for a tariff system that would supplant the divisive state efforts and put the country in a more advantageous and competitive position with other nations. Their awareness of this induced the commercial elements to seek political remedies which found expression in the movement to strengthen the central government. As champions of economic nationalism they wanted a government that was strong enough to pay its debts, enlarge foreign markets, create a stable currency, encourage domestic manufactures and protect property from domestic turbulence. Agreeing with James Madison that the existing commercial evils were largely responsible for the political ones, convinced that a practical and workable solution to their problems was the *sine qua non* of responsible nationalism, the proponents of centralized power created a constitution which they thought would establish the necessary foundation. The success of their achievement was a tribute to their comprehension of prevailing circumstances, a testimonial to the soundness of their plans for the future.

The future would belong to the nationalists, but before the promise of the Constitution could be realized sound policies would have to be devised and administered. That was the work of several able Federalists, but of all the men who contributed to the Federalist effort, says Dr. Nettels, Washington was the most important. Some historians have been so impressed by Alexander Hamilton's famous reports that they have given his name to the whole Federalist program. It is true that he "worked out the details, fitted the parts together, provided a theoretical basis, and furnished cogent arguments." But "he did not originate the aims, policies, and underlying ideas. . . . In most of its essential features it duplicated the financial system which Robert Morris had fashioned in 1781-1783 and which Washington had endorsed." Washington was unmistakably in command.

During the period under review there were no radical changes in the way the American people made a living. Although the steamboat, the cotton gin, and numerous technical innovations marked the threshold of important developments, the great occupation, agriculture, had changed its methods only slightly since the colonial period. The business of manufacturing, rather than experiencing pervasive change, was aware of certain stirrings, portents of the future. The men who were interested in the possibilities of the factory system were stimulated to activity during the

years 1786-1792, but they were handicapped by a lack of skilled labor, experience, and good machinery.

A further deterrent was the outbreak of war in Europe in 1792. It created such a great demand for foodstuffs and raw materials that Americans were encouraged to increase their efforts in the older industries—farming, lumbering, fishing, and shipbuilding. Technological advances did not occur in all industries, but they were particularly noteworthy in textiles and the milling of flour. For example, the flour mill that was patented by Oliver Evans in 1791 “probably originated automation in manufacturing.”

This book was obviously intended to be a comprehensive survey in which the latest and best scholarly findings would be incorporated. In this it has succeeded. Practically nothing of importance has been omitted. In addition to the subjects above mentioned there are excellent discussions on finance, population growth and distribution, landholding systems and policies, frontier expansion, the southern economy and slavery, business organization and transportation. Extremely solid and factual, devoid of imaginative flights of interpretation, clear if undramatic in style and conception, it does admirably what it was intended to do.

Temple University

HARRY M. TINKCOM

Joseph Priestley, Selections from His Writings. Edited by Ira V. Brown.
(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962.
Pp. 343. \$5.50.)

No one has collected all the writings or fully assessed the importance of Joseph Priestley. Perhaps his breadth of interests is beyond the scope of specialized, segmented scholars of the 1960's, but if Priestleiana is neither collected nor assessed it will be in spite of Ira V. Brown's effort to inculcate interest and facilitate research in the subject.

Professor Brown uses the “soft sell” to arouse interest in Joseph Priestley. Documents are carefully selected; introductions are short and informative; spelling is modernized; and footnotes are prudent explanations of terms or names. For those whose interest is quickened, Brown deftly facilitates preliminary research by citing further references and by listing a few biographies.

Joseph Priestley was a multifaceted man whose interests lay in the realm of ideas. Brown's selections from Priestley's writings admirably sample the variety and depth of his thoughts. The selections are divided into five parts: memoirs, educational philosophy, political theory, science, and religion.

Priestley's autobiography is the logical starting place for a study of the man and his ideas, for in it he not only chronicled the events in his life but analyzed the development of his personal philosophy and religious faith.

As a tutor at Warrington, the chief dissenting academy in England, Priestley was the first person to teach science in the secondary schools

and the first person to teach modern history. His course in civil history stressed theory of laws, government, manufacturing, and commerce, and was much like a contemporary social studies course. Priestley also lectured on oratory and the history of grammar.

His writings on political theory are an excellent example of eighteenth century confidence in social progress and human perfectibility. Priestley's political liberalism contributed to English and American thought; in fact, Jeremy Bentham's statement that the aim of government should be "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" was lifted from Priestley.

His seat in isolating oxygen is well known, but his less heralded experiments and observations on different kinds of air led to the isolation of eight other gases. His writings clearly demonstrate the faith of the Enlightenment in progress through science. It was Priestley, incidentally, who described Benjamin Franklin's use of a kite in experimenting with lightning and electricity.

Joseph Priestley believed religion and science were perfectly consistent. Some of his best writing and scholarship sought to prove this by weeding out such doctrines as the trinity, virgin birth, original sin, predestination, vicarious atonement, and plenary inspiration of the Scriptures which had grown up years after the death of Jesus and by thus revealing the simple life of Jesus entirely consistent with science. His careful study of sources and languages was not unlike the higher criticism used in the study of the Bible in the next centuries.

The selection of Priestley's writings is quite useful for an insight into the man and his worth. Perhaps it will also serve as a stimulus to the further collection and assessment of the man's works.

Hagley Museum

GEORGE H. GIBSON

Minute Men of Pennsylvania. By Milton V. Burgess. (Morrison's Cove Herald, Martinsburg, Pa., 1962. Pp. 89. \$3.75.)

Major General D. N. Couch, commander of the Department of the Susquehanna during the June, 1863 campaign, says in his final report, "Five thousand men of the counties bordering the Juniata filled the passes leading to their homes, and threw up military works. They were an army of bushwhackers, commanded by ex-officers."

These home defenders were patriotic minutemen, just as were the "embattled farmers" at Lexington in 1775, so it seems a little unfair to refer to them as bushwhackers. They fought no battles and very few skirmishes, but they dug a lot of trenches, some of which are visible today atop the mountain passes in Fulton County. If their bivouac sites were marked by feathers of "liberated" domestic fowl, their own designation of their activities as the "Chicken Campaign" referred to their search for daily rations rather than their degree of courage. The government furnished them no pay, rations, arms, or equipment.

Nevertheless the story of the Gettysburg campaign is not complete without at least a small account of what happened in this mountainous

area west of Chambersburg when Imboden, Steuart, Ferguson, and unnamed guerrillas preyed on communities such as Mercersburg and McConnellsburg, and where a Federal soldier was scarcely ever seen.

Milton Burgess's little book, despite its obvious flaws and lack of editing, is source material, being based on the papers of Colonel Jacob Higgins, one of the commanders of these irregular regiments. Another was Lt. Col. Jacob Szink, whose name is spelled four or five different ways in the book. Both these men were mustered-out veterans, and no doubt were brave and experienced in combat. But they enjoyed scant success in resisting Harry Gilmor and his Confederate cavalry which galloped down out of the mountain pass into McConnellsburg one summer evening in late June. The only other description of this "battle" is in Hoke's *The Great Invasion*, and the good Hoke does not seem to have had more than hearsay evidence. Perhaps Mr. Burgess's modest book will stimulate someone to do better on that and other near-forgotten episodes.

Despite its rather steep price, *Minute Men of Pennsylvania* performs a service in supplying some missing pieces in this jigsaw picture of what happened in '63 on the other side of the mountain.

Gettysburg

W. S. NYE

The Progressive Years, The Spirit and Achievement of American Reform.

Edited by Otis A. Pease. (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1962.
Pp. 496. \$8.50.)

The Progressive Years is one of six volumes in "The American Epoch Series," which is designed to "provide a compact library of the original sources which supply historians themselves with their basic material." This handsome volume edited and with an introduction by Otis A. Pease focuses on the surge of reform which swept across the country during the early years of the twentieth century. As documents illustrative of Progressive ideas and activities, the editor has brought together fifteen selections arranged in five parts: "The Fight Against Poverty and Privilege"; "Labor in a Middle-Class Society"; "The National Progressive Vision"; "The Outward Reach of Power"; and "American Society: Possibilities."

Professor Pease has chosen to present extensive texts by twelve writers (three of the selections are by Finley Peter Dunne) rather than shorter excerpts by a larger number of actors and commentators on the Progressive scene. By doing so, he has sacrificed a broader coverage of the intellectual and social spectrum for the advantage of presenting in depth the thought of a few reformers. While there is much to be said for this editorial strategy, such a volume cannot qualify as an adequate documentary history of Progressive America. Scanning its pages one is struck by the absence of so many voices which were effectively raised in the chorus of reform. Thus while we hear from Jane Addams, Jacob Riis and Upton Sinclair are among the missing. Walter Lippmann and William James are represented, but where are Louis Brandeis, Herbert Croly, and Walter Weyl? Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson return to the hustings,

but the leaders of the agrarian wing of Progressivism, Bryan, LaFollette, and Beveridge, are conspicuously absent.

Each student of this reform era would naturally have his own candidates for inclusion in such an anthology, but a work which omits the figures cited above, among others, cannot truly reflect the complex character of the Progressive movement. What we have here then is a very partial view of the Progressive years. In this reviewer's opinion some of the selections included could have been more rigorously pruned, thus allowing berths for more members of the crew of the good ship Reform.

One might also question the rationale of a documents collection which draws many of its selections from obvious and easily accessible sources. Such works as Jane Addams's *Twenty Years at Hull House*, Lippmann's *Drift and Mastery*, Roosevelt's *Autobiography*, and Dunne's essays are available in recent editions; hence the utility of including large chunks of these is not quite clear. For this reviewer, the most useful selections are the texts of the reports of the Industrial Relations Commission and Country Life Commission, which rescue these significant Progressive documents from the obscurity which is usually the fate of governmental publications. Excerpts from the reports of those major investigatory bodies of this period, the U. S. Industrial Commission and the Immigration Commission, would have further increased the value of this volume.

Since the selections appear to have been made more at random than dictated by an interpretive scheme, the contours of the Progressive movement emerge only faintly from the work. Part II, "Labor in a Middle-Class Society," for example, consists of the Report of the Industrial Relations Commission, Debs's pamphlet *Unionism and Socialism*, and Mr. Dooley's comments on "Labor Troubles and Immigration." Surely these writings do not adequately convey the mixed and ambiguous attitudes of Progressives toward organized labor, or of labor toward the middle-class reformers. Similarly, Part III, "The National Progressive Vision," which includes the Report of the Country Life Commission, TR's "Confession of Faith," a selection of Wilson's speeches, and Mr. Dooley on "National Housekeeping," suggests only vaguely the ideological roots of reform. Or can Part IV, "The Outward Reach of Power," which permits Theodore Roosevelt to expiate in defense of his foreign policy with only a mild dissent by Mr. Dooley, be said to explore the relationship between Progressivism and imperialism in a meaningful way? (In his note, Professor Pease does correct Roosevelt's account in certain particulars; yet he describes it as "fundamentally reliable.")

Professor Pease's introduction to the volume is lively and informed by the most recent scholarship on the Progressive period, except for the curious omission of any reference to the Hofstadter thesis of a "status revolution." Emphasizing the urban origins of reform, Pease attributes this extraordinary era of self-criticism and agitation to the moral reaction of the middle class to the industrial city coupled with the liberating effect of the pragmatic temper. Stressing its humanitarian and constructive phases, he passes lightly over the ambiguities and contradictions which bedeviled

the Progressive mind. Such dilemmas as the nativism and racism of many Progressives, vis-à-vis the Progressive ideal of social democracy, or the Progressive adulation of experts and social engineering, vis-à-vis the ideal of political democracy, or the Progressive nostalgia for economic individualism, vis-à-vis the economic reality of a corporate order, are not sharply defined.

Exception must be taken to several statements which Professor Pease makes in his introduction. His assertion that the "positive state" was first launched in 1906 is certainly open to question; one might argue that the positive state emerged full-blown during the Civil War years with the initiation of such policies as the protective tariff, national banking system, subsidies to economic enterprise, etc. His use of the term "liberal" as synonymous with reformer causes some confusion, since the Progressives were often at odds with each other on basic issues. Thus to say that the "liberals" regarded our Philippine policy with "violent distaste" is to obscure the fact that many Progressives were also enthusiastic imperialists. One factual lapse should be noted; the first federal income tax was not imposed by the Underwood Tariff Act but by a law of August 5, 1861.

In conclusion, while there is little in this volume which will be new to the student of this period, *The Progressive Years* may serve as a useful introduction for the layman to one of the most exciting and significant eras of our nation's history.

Rutgers University

RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

● Gifford Pinchot, Bull Moose Progressive

Martin L. Fausold

"This study of Pinchot makes two useful contributions. First, it brings into focus the thought and activity of an outstanding American and Pennsylvanian during a time when he has been largely ignored between the Ballinger episode and his election as Governor of Pennsylvania in 1922. . . . In the second place, by detailing Pinchot's involvement in the Pennsylvania progressive organization, the author makes an important contribution to Pennsylvania political history." *Pennsylvania History*. Illustrated. \$4.50

● Low Bridge: Folklore and the Erie Canal

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