
Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia is an elegant micro-organism importantly anchored within the broad spectrum of American cultural history. A book of admittedly limited scope, the volume, however, accomplishes its aim magnificently.

Meticulously, with the care and attention to minute detail which usually characterize the archaeologist's attempt to reconstruct the story of life in a Pompeii or a Tikal, Mr. Wainwright has rescued from the historical penumbras the image of one of America's most sophisticated Georgian mansions—the home of General John Cadwalader which stood on Second Street near Spruce. Built by Samuel Rhoads in 1760, the great house was subsequently purchased by Cadwalader who, between 1769 and 1771, had it remodeled into one of Philadelphia's most sumptuous dwellings. The building suffered a typically American fate when it was torn down by Stephen Girard early in the nineteenth century to provide land for redevelopment.

Through the study of bills and inventories, and by making comparisons with existing structures and interiors, the author presents a vivid understanding of the appearance of the house which, including furnishings, cost some £9,000. Among the great colonial craftsmen of Philadelphia who worked on the mansion and its contents were Philip Syng, Thomas Affleck, and William Savery. A number of the bills which artisans submitted for their services are reproduced, thereby enhancing the book's value as a useful reference for determining contemporary prices.

In telling the story of the house and its furnishings, Mr. Wainwright quite naturally also writes about members of the Cadwalader family, but their story is subordinated to that of their home. This is in marked contrast to monographs like Clifford Dowdey's The Great Plantation and Mr. Wainwright's own Irvine Story, which focus their attention on a family and only mention the major architectural features of its home.

Colonial Grandeur is one of a small number of biographies of individual early American homes which have recently appeared. The practice of chronicling a building's architectural and cultural development, a relatively new phenomenon within the realm of American studies, has often been followed for European edifices. It is natural that these structures, more elaborate and larger than their American counterparts, have received this attention first. Students of American architectural history, however, are...
slowly catching up with the European trend. For example, Dr. Margaret Tinkcom, who compiled the index for *Colonial Grandeur*, has written an eloquent article tracing the design and construction of Cliveden, a fine house of Georgian design (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January, 1964).

The text of *Colonial Grandeur* is divided into four chapters: "John Cadwalader's House," "Its History," "Its Furnishings," and "Possessions and Possessors." Along with an excellent appendix, they ably document the saga of the house, its furnishings, and their fate.

*Colonial Grandeur*, handsomely bound in marbleized covers, is a beautifully printed volume. In addition to facsimiles of bills, its many illustrations include a number of portraits of the Cadwaladers (up to 1925) and photographs of details of 1519 Locust Street, the Fowle House, and the Stamper-Blackwell parlors. One would wish, however, that these reproductions had been captioned so that one would not have to turn back to the "Table of Illustrations" for identification.

Mr. Wainwright's newest book is a must for anyone interested in American social or architectural history of the Colonial period.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*    IRWIN RICHMAN


Ours is an age of great editing, especially for the period of the American Revolution. To the list of Boyd, Butterfield, and Hutchinson we must now add Bailyn. Usually an age of great editing prepares for an age of great historical writing, but, in his two-hundred-page introduction to this first of four volumes, Bailyn accomplishes both.

Some years ago Edmund Morgan suggested in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (January, 1957) that revisions in our views of the Revolution should begin with what the participants said they were doing. By taking as his theory of history, "what did affect the essentials of social organization—what in time would help permanently to transform them—were changes in the realm of belief and attitude," Bailyn produces the most comprehensive treatment of the Revolution since Morgan's own *The Birth of the Republic* (Chicago, 1956). His work is not so comprehensive in time, for Bailyn adopts John Adams's notion that the Revolution was essentially complete in the minds of men before the war began, but it is more thorough in its probing of changes in belief and attitude. In this, Bailyn's history reminds me of the three best histories by members of the Revolutionary generation, Mercy Otis Warren's, David Ramsay's, and John Marshall's.

Bailyn's method of analyzing the pamphlets is "to examine the common elements of these writings, to present the basic issues and problems as they were seen by the writers, and to trace certain fundamental shifts in understanding that they reveal." He discovers that the "most conspicuous [con-
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*element* was the heritage of classical antiquity," but that this heritage, like citations of Enlightenment thinkers, was common to both Whigs and Tories. The English common law and Puritanism gave the Revolutionary generation ways of thinking about events but did not determine their conclusions. "What brought these disparate strands of thought together . . . was the influence of . . . the radical social and political thought of the English Civil War and of the Commonwealth period, [as] it had developed in the early eighteenth century through a succession of writers associated with religious dissent and opposition politics. . . ." The eighteenth-century commonwealthmen John Trenchard, Thomas Gordon, Benjamin Hoadly, and their followers, "Writers [who] so employed the ideas they had inherited from the seventeenth century as to refuse to accept the Glorious Revolution and the lax political pragmatism that followed as the final solution to the political problems of the time" "as much as any single group of writers . . . shaped the mind of the American Revolutionary generation." Here then is the basis of the anachronistic political thought that made Parliament unable to understand the colonists and more than anything else determined the Revolution's occurrence.

"Power and Liberty" were the central terms in the Revolutionary generation's theory of politics. Men naturally desire power, they thought, and it can only be had by depriving others of their liberty, they reasoned. Their problem was to discover ways of balancing the natural desire for power against the inherent right to liberty. This turned their thought to constitutional questions and investigations of the balance between social orders in English government. Influenced by the eighteenth-century commonwealthmen, they saw erosion of English liberty. "By 1763 . . . the belief was widespread in America that circumstances in England were far from conducive to the maintenance of political freedom, that it was likely, indeed, that a new crisis of liberty was approaching."

In "The Logic of Rebellion" Bailyn skillfully traces the development of the colonists' thought and feeling from suspicion of a plot against liberty, in the early 1760's, to the enthusiasm with which they concluded that armed resistance was necessary in the middle 1770's. The steps are familiar, but, in tracing them through the pamphlets, Bailyn makes the issues come alive as concerns that can still move the emotions. In his discussion the colonists' notion that the King's ministers conspired against English liberty becomes reasonable. Amazed that conspiracy could succeed in England, the colonists concluded that corruption—"political corruption built on the general dis-soluteness of the populace, so familiar in the history of tyranny and so shocking to observers of mid-eighteenth-century England"—alone could account for these events. This conclusion "gave a radical new meaning to their claims: it transformed them from constitutional arguments to expressions of a world regenerative creed." If liberty no longer found a home in England, to America alone fell the responsibility for the defense of the liberties of mankind.

This enthusiasm produced a "transformation" of American political and social beliefs. The English notion of "virtual" representation in Parliament
did not apply to American circumstances, and the colonists revived "conceptions of government by the consent of the governed that had flourished briefly a century earlier during the Commonwealth period, and had then faded during the Restoration and been lost sight of in the struggle in which the supremacy of Parliament had been permanently established." They replaced English theory with the belief that "the people were present through their representatives. . . . No longer merely an ultimate check on government, they were in some sense the government. Government had no separate existence apart from them; it was by the people as well as for the people; it gained its authority from their continuous consent."

Change in the theory of representation forced change in theories of constitutionalism and the rights of men. Distinguishing between the actual conditions of English government and the principles they believed ought to control government, the colonists concluded that "the entire legitimacy of positive law and legal rights must be understood to rest on the degree to which they conformed to the abstract universals of natural rights." These, existing before government, had to be expressed in a written constitution. This conclusion, in Bailyn's analysis, represented conscious expression of the situation resulting from colonial charters. Just as explicit statement concerning constitutions and rights rationalized the colonial experience, so the federalism that resulted from questioning Parliamentary sovereignty expressed what had seemed, to them, their place in the empire.

In "The Contagion of Liberty," Bailyn traces the effect of the colonists' "spirit of pragmatic idealism" on slavery, the establishment of religion, the popular basis of government, and the relation among social classes. In all these areas he shows that the Tories rightly saw the Revolution as "not so much the replacement of one set of rulers by another as the triumph of ideas and attitudes incompatible with the stability of any standing order . . . incompatible with society itself, as it had been traditionally known." But the Whigs, instructed by the pamphlet battles, were "caught up in a vision of the future in which the peculiarities of American life became the marks of a chosen people, [and] found in the defiance of traditional order the firmest of all grounds for their hope for a freer life."

Bailyn's introduction to this collection is historical writing at its best. Not only is it one of the best interpretations of the Revolutionary generation's thought, it communicates an excitement about the ideas of the patriots that I had thought only a reading of the pamphlets themselves could do. If the entire series cannot be reprinted in a cheap edition, certainly the introduction ought to be made available for students.

Hoverford College

WILLIAM RAYMOND SMITH


David Rittenhouse was a man upon whom his contemporaries showered honors and esteem. Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia preserves his name today, as does the rising value of his works in the clocks and instruments
he made. After his death, as Professor Hindle notices at the very beginning of his biography, Dr. Benjamin Rush poured out praise in a eulogy applauded by George Washington himself. A child of the farm, he had, Rush pointed out, risen to the heights of intellectual excellence. He was, Professor Hindle insists, clock-maker, mechanic, instrument maker, mathematician, astronomer, and patriot. The dust jacket describes him (in Rush's words) as "one of the luminaries of the eighteenth century."

There is in all this a certain note of special pleading. After all, if the average college graduate today were asked who David Rittenhouse was, I daresay there would be no immediate identification. Professor Hindle's biography is an attempt to remedy this and he may, therefore, be excused somewhat for his overenthusiasm. But the dimensions of his exaggeration need to be accurately described if historical perspective is to be preserved. To what extent was Rittenhouse the genius that Hindle (and Rush) eulogize?

There can be no doubt of his ability as a clock-maker. A Rittenhouse clock is today a precious possession, combining elegance with accuracy. Yet, it is of some interest to note that Rittenhouse made pendulum clocks and that clocks, as scientific instruments, had already abandoned the pendulum principle when Rittenhouse was young. Significantly, the entry in the Index under chronometers says, "see clocks."

As a mechanic, Rittenhouse's claim to fame was the famous Princeton orrery. Again, we can all agree that this was a superb piece of mechanical ingenuity. Yet, what did it really prove? Only that certain (by no means all!) astronomical motions could be represented by a mechanical model. That such a model could be built in the colonies excited wonder, but inevitably reminds us of Dr. Johnson's remark on female preachers. Professor Hindle's slight case of historical myopia is first apparent in his discussion of orreries. He writes: "They [mechanical planetaria] were a form of clockwork but more intricate than clocks and more meaningful [my italics] than the elaborate European automata that excited admiration by the variety of motions and operations they performed." One needs only be reminded of Descartes's theory of the life of the lower animals and L'Homme machine to realize the injustice of this remark.

As an instrument maker, Rittenhouse was without peer in eighteenth-century America. Here Hindle gives a just estimate.

Rittenhouse is described throughout this volume as a mathematician. It is of some importance here to define terms. I consider a man a mathematician who contributes significantly to the progress of mathematics. Leonhard Euler and Louis Lagrange, to cite only two of Rittenhouse's contemporaries, were mathematicians. Hindle provides no evidence that Rittenhouse was of their company. That he could do some rather laborious and routine calculations is without doubt, but this certainly does not make him a mathematician.

As an astronomer, Rittenhouse was probably the best the American colonies produced. This is not saying much for, again, when measured against what Europe had to offer, Rittenhouse was no giant. Rittenhouse participated in the transit of Venus observations of 1769, and his data be-
came part of the world record of that famous attempt to determine the absolute dimensions of the solar system. The transit of Venus observations are related in great detail. I submit that someone unfamiliar with the subject will find Professor Hindle's account a jumble of words. One or two diagrams would make all clear, but the astronomically innocent must make do with technical jargon.

My final criticism of Rittenhouse the scientist, as presented by Professor Hindle, refers to his theory of magnetism. Professor Hindle is quite right when he says that no one paid serious attention to Rittenhouse's ideas in the eighteenth century. The reason was that they did not deserve serious attention, precisely because they did not come to grips with the central problem of magnetic induction. Professor Hindle cites Newton on gravity but leaves out Newton's query in the *Opticks* on magnetic effluvia, thus trying to link Newton and Rittenhouse together as empirical philosophers. And, to suggest that "the sparseness of his [Rittenhouse's] picture is the very thing that has suggested comparison with the clean, mechanical theory of molecular magnetism advanced by Wilhelm Weber in the mid-nineteenth century," merely reveals that Professor Hindle has not read Weber's papers thoroughly.

Professor Hindle's three chapters on Rittenhouse the patriot and servant of the Republic are totally convincing.

The volume is a handsome one, free from printer's errors and provided with a full index.

*Cornell University*  
L. PEARCE WILLIAMS


Of any history book one should perhaps ask first of all, "Was it worth doing?" In the present instance, the answer to the question is a qualified "Yes." The qualification is necessary because there is no dearth of one-volume excerpts from the writings of the founding fathers. In addition to the definitive editions of the works of Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, and Hamilton now under way, there have been Saul Padover's compilation of the works of James Madison, Leonard W. Labaree and Whitfield J. Bell's excerpts from the letters of Benjamin Franklin, Richard B. Morris's one-volume collection of Hamilton's writings, and Miss Koch's own selections from the writings of John and John Quincy Adams as well as her collection of Jefferson letters. If it can be said, however, that imperishable ideas, like good wine, cannot be bottled often enough, then every connoisseur of the political thought of the American Revolutionary generation can be grateful for this book.

After some soul searching about the exclusion of George Washington, Miss Koch chose familiar company for her intellectual tour of the American Enlightenment. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton, she argues, not only personify the most
creative political thought of the age but made contributions of incalculable
importance to American independence and effective self-government. No one
can quarrel with the choice, for these men (along with Washington) were
unequivocally the titans of their time. Whether or not less well-known
representatives of the American Enlightenment might have been more inter-
testing guides, if only because less familiar ones, is perhaps a moot point.
The selections chosen from the writings of Franklin, Adams, Jefferson,
and Madison are those with which most students of the period are familiar
and are drawn from published sources, presumably because the material al-
dready in print offered a sufficient mine of literary treasures. The selections
chosen from the writings of Hamilton, on the other hand, are perhaps less
judicious.
In an introductory essay on Hamilton, Miss Koch deftly characterizes the
contradictions in his personality, yet elects to reprint most of those familiar
documents which reveal the less pleasant side of this complex man. Instead
of any one of many letters from the quasi-war period which would show
Hamilton's justified concern for national preparedness or his administrative
skill in organizing the army, she selects his frequently quoted letter to
Jonathan Dayton in which he suggests a strengthening of the sedition law
and the possibility of having to coerce a refractory state by force of arms.
Or, to give another example, Hamilton's famous speech of June 18, 1787,
before the Constitutional Convention is published, properly enough, but it is
not balanced, as it fairly should be, by selections from speeches which he
made at the New York ratifying convention a year later.
As an introduction to the writings of these five representatives of the
American Enlightenment the author provides a brief appreciative essay on
each. These sketches are notable less for biographical information than for an
analysis of political ideas. The great merit of this approach is that it escapes
the pitfall of partisanship into which historians happily hurl themselves
when writing about the powerful protagonists of the Federalist era. Miss
Koch's emphasis thus is not on political squabbles but on the contributions
which Republicans and Federalists alike made to political thought.
Miss Koch's introduction to this volume is particularly illuminating.
Thorougly at home in the history of political philosophy, a close student
of late eighteenth-century American history, and a stylist of distinction, she
succeeds in weaving eighteenth-century political thought, to use her phrase,
into a "densely-textured tapestry." The most original contribution of this
book is the perceptive argument that the ideas of Franklin, Adams, Madison,
Jefferson, and Hamilton are given unity by their common acceptance of the
basic concepts of the Enlightenment—reason, experience, and progress. If
they are all to be considered intellectual children of the Enlightenment, then
it would appear that some familiar and cherished historical categories should
be abandoned. If Miss Koch is correct, these men, so often pictured as
locked in a fierce political and ideological battle, shared essentially the same
political philosophy. Is it not time, then, to declare a truce in the century-
and-a-half-long war between the Jeffersonians and Hamiltonians? Miss Koch
does not draw the conclusion toward which her own logic inescapably leads.
To have done so would have been to question a good deal of contemporary scholarship, both of hard-core Jeffersonians and committed Hamiltonians.

Perhaps the political debate of the Federalist era was all sound and fury signifying the fundamental agreement, and Louis Hartz was correct in stating that whatever the "theoretical confusion" of American political thought, "throughout it all the liberal temper of American theory is vividly apparent. Locke dominates the political thought of a nation. He is a massive national cliché." If this distinguished insight is correct, Miss Koch, intentionally or not, has rendered a great service to American historiography.

Lafayette College

JACOB E. COOKE


The editors of the Baroness von Riedesel's Journal have made available to students of the American Revolution a more complete and better annotated edition than the one which was brought out by William L. Stone nearly a century ago. They have included letters and parts of letters which were omitted in Stone's edition of the Journal, and they have done a superb job of identifying persons and places mentioned in it and in the accompanying correspondence.

The Journal is a useful source on the part played by German troops in the Saratoga campaign and in military operations in Canada. It is also a source for the study of the plight of the troops who were captured at Saratoga and who lived at Boston and later at Charlottesville, Virginia, while waiting to be exchanged for American prisoners of war. There are, however, other and more detailed journals of the operations of the British and German troops who participated in the campaigns in Canada and upstate New York. The Journal is most valuable, therefore, for the insights which it gives into the personalities and characters of the British and German generals who played leading roles in the War for American Independence.

The reader will be touched by Madame Riedesel's story of General Simon Fraser's death. Fraser, who had been wounded at the battle of Freeman's Farm, insisted upon apologizing to Mrs. Riedesel for all the trouble he was causing her as he lay dying in her house after the battle!

Readers who have become aware of the quarrelsome nature of Sir Henry Clinton will be interested to learn that he was able to be pleasant, courteous, and kindly when in the presence of Mrs. Riedesel and her daughters. Generals Guy Carleton and William Phillips were kindly and courteous to Madame Riedesel and the little Misses Riedesel, but it is interesting to note that the German lady and General John Burgoyne had a misunderstanding which left them on the iciest of speaking terms with each other. The reason for the Burgoyne-Riedesel quarrel is very much to the credit of Mrs. Riedesel if her story is a truthful one; she had embarrassed the general by
bringing to his attention the fact that nobody had remembered to make any
food available to a number of the British officers who lay wounded after
the fighting at Saratoga.

The most interesting personality of all those which the reader will en-
counter in Madame Riedesel's Journal is the writer herself. One marvels
at the courage and the faith of a lady who had braved the crossing of the
Atlantic and the hardships of a military campaign to accompany her husband
as he led his troops toward the test of battle at Saratoga. The lady came
under artillery fire, cared for wounded and dying officers, nursed her hus-
band and daughters when they were sick, and demonstrated more courage
and endurance than did many of the supposedly hardened military men with
whom she had shared the perils of the campaign.

Madame Riedesel's Journal and correspondence will furnish the reader
with an interesting traveler's account of Canada and the United States at
the time of the American Revolution. Her observations upon social customs,
eating habits, and prices of food and lodgings are not as detailed as those
made by her contemporary, the Marquis de Chastellux. Nevertheless, she
has given us some interesting information about social customs, housing
conditions, agriculture, economics, and travel in and around such cities and
communities as Quebec, Boston, Cambridge, Charlottesville, New York, and
Halifax. She did not visit Baltimore or Philadelphia during her travels, but
she had opportunity to visit several communities in Maryland and Penns-
ylania. It is interesting to learn that she was favorably impressed by the
industrious people of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The inhabitants of Bethlehem
produced what she described as lovely embroidery, pretty needlework, good
leather, and excellent woodwork and ironwork fashioned by their carpenters,
cabinetmakers, and blacksmiths. Moreover, the church services at Bethlehem
were graced by what Madame Riedesel described as lovely singing.

The editors of Baroness Riedesel's Journal are to be congratulated for
bringing out a carefully annotated edition of a fascinating account of travel,
war, and adventure in North America in the years 1776 to 1783.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by Julian P. Boyd, with Lucius
Wilmerding, Jr., Consulting Editor. Volume XVII. (Princeton: Prince-
ton University Press, 1965. Pp. 677. $15.00.)

It is perhaps unkind to observe that it is three years since Jefferson and
his two daughters came home for Christmas in Albemarle County, and
three years since Julian P. Boyd's prodigious Papers of Thomas Jefferson
encouraged Jefferson in the State Department to address the nation's tangled
foreign affairs. But for this reviewer the past three years have been that
much more empty without a fresh volume of Jefferson scholarship from
Princeton. We cannot forbear expressing the fervent hope that The Papers
of Thomas Jefferson do not become a triennial event; it is six years since
the publication of the fifteenth volume of the series. True, the steady in-
crease in price will find some purchasers relieved at having more time in
which to marshal their resources, but even at fifteen dollars Princeton continues to offer a spectacular bargain in both bookmaking and historical scholarship.

Inevitably Dr. Boyd has encountered criticism, both for his editorial process and the slowness of his advance. Indeed, these are interrelated. This reviewer has previously commented at length on Dr. Boyd's proclivity to editorial commentaries which often exceed in length the documents they discuss (*Pennsylvania History*, XXVI (1959), 275-277). No other editor has so indulged himself—or so tested his readers. It is obvious that these continued editorial excursions must contribute to the slowness of publication. The real issue is whether such scholarly essays are, in context, worth while. And this reviewer continues to believe they are. We would rather not contemplate triennial publication; but this seems a modest enough penalty in view of the rewards.

And yet it may be that this penalty could be modified substantially. No user of the Boyd *Jefferson* can fail to note that the editor is the only surviving member of the scholarly team who brought forth the first volume some fifteen years ago. The various associate and assistant editors have fled to other pastures, other projects. To some extent this was both inevitable and even desirable—where would the Adams family be without Lyman H. Butterfield? In a special sense Julian Boyd has done much more than blaze an editorial trail; he has assisted in the training of a rather rare editorial breed. But perhaps the time has arrived for a reappraisal of Princeton's editorial office. Perhaps it may now be possible, from the viewpoint of availability of suitable scholars and needed financing, to plan future volumes with several overlapping teams of editors under Julian Boyd's direction. Dr. Boyd notes the significance of recent Congressional support for the National Historical Publications Commission along with the $2,000,000 Ford Foundation grant to the National Archives Trust Fund Board. Surely such resources can be enlisted wisely to sustain and advance our most distinguished editorial adventure. Of course the logistics of an editorial enterprise are hardly the responsibility of a reviewer, but perhaps his esteem and admiration for that enterprise can partly excuse his excursions.

But what of this, the seventeenth volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*? Like its predecessors it bears the hallmarks of Julian Boyd's remarkable scholarship—which means its flaws are few, its virtues impressive. The chronological coverage is brief—July 6 to November 3, 1790. We spend four full months with Jefferson as Secretary of State, a period of diplomatic significance, a period dominated by crises for the new nation. Jefferson's personal correspondence is relatively limited; we open with a letter from Peter Carr reporting his progress with the reading program set by Jefferson—Carr had waded through Coke's *First Institutes* (three times, he claimed), was now immersed in *The Second Institutes*, along with Dalrymple's *Feudal Property* and Matthew Hale's *History of Common Law*. We conclude with a letter from Jefferson to Francis Walker discussing (in part) the administration of Peter Carr's estate. Along the way we learn of Jefferson's interest in superannuated race horses ("Tarquin"), his efforts
to rent a suitable house in Philadelphia (it must have “no seats at the street door to collect lounging servants”), and his careful score card on daughter Mary’s letter writing (“You now owe me four, and I must insist on you writing me one every week till you shall have paid the debt”).

But the main thrust of this volume is the problem of statecraft for an unsteady new national government. Jefferson sets the tone in his remark to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., “We shall have a difficult task to steer between these two nations [Great Britain and Spain]. Peace is our business.” Jefferson’s task, as Dr. Boyd properly observes, was enormously complicated. “He possessed no such system of intelligence as that available to the British ministry, had no funds available for the procurement of information or influence, and was unsustained by any trans-Atlantic bonds of interest, consanguinity, and loyalty reaching into the executive and legislative branches of the British government.” Dr. Boyd’s exploration of “The War Crisis of 1790,” “Opinions on the Constitutionality of the Residence Bill,” “Fixing the Seat of Government on the Potomac,” and “Plans and Estimates for the Diplomatic Establishment,” are all models of thoughtful, thorough historical scholarship. They may well exceed the usual concept of editorial duty, but we are all beneficiaries of Boyd’s happy extravagance.

Such editorial essays are unlikely to gratify admirers of Alexander Hamilton. Dr. Boyd’s examination of the activities of Major George Beckwith (separately published as Number 7: Alexander Hamilton’s Secret Attempts to Control American Foreign Policy) constitutes a thorough but fascinating expose of British CIA-like diplomacy and Hamiltonian indiscretion, of which Jefferson became only imperfectly aware. But there is no doubt of Jefferson’s grasp of the significance of such British activities. He wrote to Gouverneur Morris in London: “Besides what they are saying to you, they are talking to us through Quebec; but so informally that they may disavow it when they please. . . .”

No short book review can do justice to the quantity and quality of the documentary material mustered in this volume. Students of domestic and foreign policy in the 1790’s will need to closet themselves with this vital installment of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. It is only just to remark that such students will emerge wiser, appreciative of the many skills of both Thomas Jefferson and his expert editor.

Indiana University

H. Trevor Colbourn


There are few persons in the 1960’s who know about the life and legend of Jemima Wilkinson. Her claim to fame rests on her activities as a self-appointed itinerant preacher and founder of a religious utopian society in upstate New York. Beginning in 1776, she spent over forty years preaching in New England, Pennsylvania, and New York, suffering criticism and
leading a little band of pathetic followers. Herbert Wisbey's book is an effort to rehabilitate what little reputation she has.

This singularly strange, self-confident woman, whose early years were spent as a devout Quaker, suffered an illness from which she recovered with the claim that she had died and that her body now contained a spirit, the Publick Universal Friend. She had a vision which led her to preach and seek converts. She was a striking figure who preached extemporaneously with a simple direct style in a pleasant, eloquent, musical voice. Her meetings attracted small bands of worshipers. In her travels she visited the sick, often treating their illnesses, and provided the faithful with advice on a variety of matters.

Apparently, Jemima Wilkinson was many things to many people. As Wisbey puts it, "The religious teachings of the Universal Friend were an interesting blend of practical, familiar biblical axioms and obscure mysticism involving interpretation of dreams, prophecies, and faith healing." Her theology was simple, her philosophical approach unprofound. She called on her hearers to repent their sins, obey the Golden Rule, and anticipate a future judgment. She looked upon herself as a guide or interpreter of God’s will. She kept about her organization much of the characteristics of the Society of Friends, from which she had been disowned two months before her serious illness and vision. She preached in a vacuum, never referring to the momentous events occurring around her. She was aloof from temporal matters, never took a salary, and let her followers pay for the costs of her travels and clothing. In her later life she was often preoccupied with visions and dreams. She failed to develop any original or systematic religious system. Since she encouraged celibacy among her followers, her religious society withered away after her death in 1819 at the age of 67.

Wisbey's book is a conscientious effort to relate the events in the life of Jemima Wilkinson. He follows her in her wanderings through New England. He describes her triumphs and troubles in Philadelphia in the 1780's. He recounts her struggles to establish a wilderness sanctuary on Seneca Lake and her trials and tribulations in founding "Jerusalem" in the Phelps-Gorham purchase. Wisbey goes into great detail in his account of the complicated legal problems relating to land ownership which the new community encountered.

Wisbey has succeeded in giving us a fairly complete characterization of Miss Wilkinson. He is careful and judicious in appraising the reasons why the Jerusalem community was a failure. However, at times he overstates the case for his subject. For instance, he asserts: "Not the least significant of Jemima Wilkinson's roles is the part she played in encouraging the settlement of western New York and in helping to secure the disputed region to the United States." He concludes with the statement, "Few women of the colonial period of American history have matched the accomplishments of Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend."

The book contains two appendices, one a "Death Book" which lists the deaths of various members of the society, the other "The Universal Friend's Advice," a brief set of instructions Jemima Wilkinson wrote for her faithful
Wisbey also devotes an interesting chapter to a consideration of the legends and derogatory stories about her which have been circulated over the years.

Wisbey devotes scant attention to a consideration of the Quakers and their role in colonial society. He is not concerned with the sociological or psychological implications of his subject’s strange career. Within the limitations of the materials available to him, he has written a carefully considered, sympathetic biography.

Lafayette College

Charles C. Cole, Jr.


Dr. Lewis, associate professor of history at the State University of New York at Buffalo, wrote the major part of this volume as his Ph.D. thesis at Cornell. It is detailed, comprehensive, scholarly, and objective. He ferreted out relevant information from legislative reports, letters, and diaries of officials and citizens close to the problems of New York’s prisons in the years under study. Secondary sources such as county histories, biographies, and articles by recognized authorities in learned journals were judiciously researched for validation and further information. In his preface he makes it clear that he is not assuming that “my findings would be specifically applicable to questions involving the management of penitentiaries today; and I will be satisfied if they merely help add perspective to matters that are, or should be, of great public concern.” He points out that reformers and administrators were aware of the problems they were creating while trying to bring order into chaotic and distorted lives. “The answers that they arrived at may not appeal to us, but the fundamental realities with which they tried to cope still obtain.” Dr. Lewis is also obviously familiar with the problems of contemporary penitentiaries, although we have made tremendous semantic strides since 1830 and now call them “correctional” institutions.

Chapter I, “The Heritage,” reviews the activities and ideas of the earlier reformers in Pennsylvania and New York and the background from which they drew their knowledge in Europe. He refers to Blackstone, Eden, Bentham, Godwin, Hanway, Howard, and others, and indirectly attributes the basic structure of the Pennsylvania system to Jonas Hanway.

Chapter II, “The First Experiment,” is devoted to Newgate Prison in Greenwich Village, legislation for which was secured by Thomas Eddy, a Quaker merchant who played a prominent role in the early years of New York penology. Eddy suffered the same frustrations as contemporary prison administrators—lack of funds, personnel, overcrowding, and political harassment. The Newgate experiment collapsed and New York reformers began their search “for an effective penitentiary system,” which eventuated in “gum new institutions which rose on the banks of the Owasco Inlet in Cayuga County and the Hudson River at Sing Sing.”
Chapter III, "The Setting for a New Order," tells of the establishment of Auburn Prison, which bore a close resemblance to Philadelphia's Walnut Street Jail and the discredited Newgate. The administrative management and the irregular methods of legislative appropriations "resulted in frequent embarrassment. As early as 1821, the agent was paying bills in scrip which could be redeemed only when money came from Albany." Emphasis was progressively increased for harsher, more cruel, and coercive disciplinary control of prisoners. Insanity, starvation, suicides, and widespread disease were the inevitable results of cold, no ventilation, spoiled meat, no water, deplorable sanitation, and severe and capricious floggings of prisoners. Silence had to be observed at all times, and prisoners had to stand by the cell door hours on end until dark when not employed by private contractors.

Chapter IV, "The Auburn System and Its Champions," outlines the views of such advocates as George Tibbits, Stephen Allen, and Samuel M. Hopkins, as well as Elam Lynds, the notorious first warden of Sing Sing whose very name is associated with savage cruelty; Gershom Powers, agent at Auburn, and Louis Dwight, the Boston divine who founded and was the Boston Prison Discipline Society until his death in 1854. Dr. Lewis refers to Louis Dwight as "by all odds the most effective propagandist for the Auburn system." Dwight believed that a thoroughly subdued prisoner "could be reformed through spiritual and educational influences." But, note, he must be subdued! As apt a characterization of Dwight and his philosophy as may be found in penological literature is the author's, "he wanted to convert individual American homes into miniature penal establishments."

Chapter V, "Portrait of an Institution," is a vivid and beautifully written description of the inmate life, activities, routine, housing, clothing, food, recreation, religious services, trials, tribulations, suffering, and despair, which alone is worth more than volumes on the theoretical purpose of the Auburn system.

Chapter VI, "The House of Fear," finds Elam Lynds commanding 100 convicts on board canal boat and freight steamer down the Hudson to "Silver Mine Farm," where from the quarries was to rise Sing Sing Prison. Another account tells that Lynds encased the convicts in hogsheads for the journey. Here the Auburn system was installed with Lyndian vengeance. The government of the prison was called Cat-o-cracy and Cudgel-o-cracy. Lynds was in trouble constantly because of his brutal discipline and alleged financial irregularities relative to state funds. Through the influence of Sing Sing's famous chaplain, John Luckey, some improvement was effected.

Chapter VII, "The Ordeal of the Unredeemables," tells of the problem of women offenders who had no separate institution until later. So few women were imprisoned that those who were were regarded as the dregs and off-scourings of humanity and treated accordingly.

Chapter VIII, "Prisons, Profits, and Protests," discusses the idea that prisons should pay their way and that "output and profit were the primary goals, regardless of possible penological objections." Sing Sing's principal industry was stone cutting. Grace Church on Broadway, Albany City Hall, the United States Subtreasury Building, New York University, and "many
book reviews and book notes

fine residences came from Sing Sing's quarries.” In order to overcome
protests by labor against prison-made goods competing in the open market,
it was proposed to fabricate only those articles made in foreign countries
and turn part of the prisons into mulberry bush plantations and silk mills,
which happened at both Auburn and Sing Sing, but without great success.

Chapter IX, “A New Outlook,” describes the entry of phrenology and
environmental influences into the reasons for crime. Free will was not alone
the reason people were depraved. Reformation was possible, and it became
the primary goal of the new leaders, rather than exclusive reliance on
isolation and degradation as deterrents. J. W. Edmonds, while believing in
the lash, decided its use should be regulated. Edmonds laid the foundation
for the Prison Association of New York, today the Correctional Association
of New York, of which Enoch Cobb Wines was to become the first general
secretary. The influence of the Prison Association was felt in Albany, and
many of the changes since Edmonds's day are traceable to its recommendations
made to the assembly.

Chapter X, “Radicalism and Reaction,” continues the discussion on pene-
ological change. “Sympathy and pity,” says Dr. Lewis, “were replacing the
aversion and animosity with which criminals had only recently been re-
garded.” Society was held partly responsible for crime, and so were defective
endowments as revealed by the phrenologists, who discovered “propensities”
and “sentiments” very much as later psychologists were to reveal “instincts”
and “emotions” as basic to an understanding of human conduct. In 1847
flogging was abolished by law, and the insane were to be removed to the
state asylum at Utica. Punishment was to be stinted rations in solitary
confinement.

Chapter XI, “Ebb Tide,” shows the public was growing weary of penal
reform. The failure of the prisons to pay their way led to an attempt to
establish an iron-making prison in the village of Dannemora, high in the
Adirondacks, where there were believed to be tremendous iron deposits. It
proved unsuccessful, but Clinton Prison is still there on the side of a hill
and generally regarded as “Siberia” by convicts.

Chapter XII, “Change and Continuity,” is a brief ten-page essay which
tells of further modification and change of the coercive system with the
coming of Z. R. Brockway as superintendent of Elmira Reformatory when
it was opened in 1877. Such figures as Brockway, Katharine Bement Davis,
Thomas Mott Osborne, and Edward R. Cass, for more than forty years
general secretary of the Prison Association of New York, were to con-
tribute to the correctional advances of New York. Very little of Newgate,
early Auburn, or Sing Sing's philosophy of coercion, revenge, and deg-
radation remain.

In my judgment, this book is one of the outstanding contributions to the
literature of correction in New York specifically, and to penology generally,
that has appeared since Brockway's Fifty Years of Prison Service.

There is an excellent chapter on sources and a fine index.

University of Pennsylvania

J. P. SHALLOO

The new awareness of the United States as an urban nation and the ever-widening interest in urban problems—evident in such diverse places as the Congress and the university classroom—is producing a steady flow of books relating to city life. Although much of this literature is technical, written for the specialist in a particular field, there are also a considerable number of volumes devoted to the history of one or another phase of urban affairs. One of the most valuable of these is The Making of Urban America.

Beginning with a discussion of European city plans in use when the continental colonies were founded, Professor Reps evaluates the plan and development of each of the important coastal cities and towns of the English, French and Spanish colonies. Then, moving across the continent to the Pacific, he offers the same sort of informed comment on the building of the cities of the Old Northwest, the Mississippi Valley, the Far West, on the towns built by the railroads, on company towns, and on those conjured up by the speculators. The ubiquitous gridiron pattern that "stamped an identical brand of uniformity and mediocrity on American cities from coast to coast," the garden cities of the late nineteenth century, the influence on city life of men like Olmsted and Burnham, and of events like the Columbian Exposition of 1893 are discussed in turn as Mr. Reps expands his story of our urban development.

Philadelphia probably offers the best example of colonial town planning. Influenced by discussions resulting from London's experience during the Plague in 1665 and the Great Fire in 1666, Penn directed that his capital city be laid out with due regard for space, communications, healthfulness of site, and aesthetics. The formal organization of these desiderata into the rectilinear scheme with its five public squares, straight streets, and two river fronts was well suited to the intellectual climate of the seventeenth century. Penn's settlers, however, were more concerned with making a living and with improving their position in the world than they were with the philosophy of town planning. Gradually his design was altered as the Philadelphians, ignoring the Schuylkill to cling to the Delaware river front, began to divide and sub-divide the original spacious city blocks with small cross streets and alleys. Before many years had passed, space, light, and air were almost as rare in the built-up part of Philadelphia as they were in London. Nor was Philadelphia the only town laid out with the public interest in mind that suffered because of the greed of the citizens and the insensitivity of the town fathers. In fact, noting the repeated evidence of individual owners' determination to use their land in their own and not in the community's best interest, this reader was often tempted to exclaim with Morris Birkbeck: "Gain! Gain! Gain! is the beginning, the middle and the end... of the founders of American towns."

Greed, the desire to make a quick buck and the devil take the hindmost, is perhaps most evident in the speculators' attempts to promote new cities and in the buyers' mania for investing in them. In one of the most interesting
Mr. Reps adroitly contrasts the promotional literature put out to lure the naive purchaser into sinking his money into wilderness land with the accounts of on-the-spot observers whose drawings and letters show the shabby realities for what they were.

Probably these speculators did less permanent damage to the countryside than the railroad companies. The Illinois Central Association, for example, contributed materially to the dullness and uniformity of the Middle West by their use of a standard plat for all of the thirty-three towns that company developed. These towns were not only of identical design but were also blessed with the same names for their streets, with the same street widths, with the same size of city block. Even the railroad tracks were in the same position, with the freight and passenger stations always between Chestnut and Oak streets. The transcontinental railroads were responsible for another phenomenon—the moveable town. These towns, consisting for the most part of a post office, rows of tents, and some flimsy wooden structures, sprang up to accommodate the railroad builders, and continued to enjoy a noisy existence only until work on that particular section of the line was completed. Then everyone cleared out, leaving the old town to die. In view of the travelers' descriptions of these places, it is probably fortunate that most of them failed to survive. The notable exception to the railroad companies' careless exploitation of the townsites of the western plains is Colorado Springs, planned by General Palmer to be an "oasis of culture." Colorado Springs shows, as Professor Reps points out, that planning and profit need not be incompatible and that a railroad town need not be unpleasant. Incidentally, it was in the company towns, although not necessarily in the railroad company towns, that America's professional planners had their first opportunities to experiment with site planning.

Without doubt, Mr. Reps has a fascinating story to tell, a story in which the actions of practical dreamers like William Penn and General Palmer, of hard-boiled city commissioners like those New Yorkers who without regard to the topography of Manhattan imposed a rectilinear pattern on the island because it was "the most cheap to build and the most convenient to live in," are joined to the ideas and tastes of men like Downing, Olmsted, and others to make the cities we know today.

The text of The Making of Urban America is supported by a record of an astounding amount of source material consulted—it is easy to believe that eleven years of research went into the making of this volume. Moreover, the illustrations (there are more than three hundred) have been chosen with imagination and care so that they skillfully illuminate the significant points of Mr. Reps's argument. Finally, a long report on his cartographic research methods, and an excellent bibliography help make this a book which seems likely to become indispensable to historians and planners. It would, of course, be possible to quibble over some of Mr. Reps's comments and to call attention to the typographical errors which appear here and there, but to do so would surely be ungracious in view of the excellence of the whole.


To a seasoned campaigner in the century-long struggle to win the general acceptance of social science methods in the study of history, Professor Fogel's book seems so eminently matter-of-fact and sensible in its main thesis that it is hard to see why it has caused so much excitement. The writing, to be sure, is both good and provocative, a rare combination in econometrics, and perhaps Fogel has gained attention by re-stating acceptable hypotheses in more forceful ways.

"The most important implication of this study," he states, "is that no single innovation was vital for economic growth during the nineteenth century." To this, all readers of S. C. Gilfillan's works on the sociology of invention will surely say amen! Even to assume the essential role of railroads, therefore, is to set up a straw man, but it must be admitted that some of our leading historians have by implication, at least, provided a good deal of stuffing for such a figure. The Gilfillan and Fogel position, generally subscribed to by social scientists as a matter of theory, is that compensating alternatives could have substituted for any given type of innovation, and that the type which becomes dominant because of its initial adaptability may kill off or seriously retard alternate devices that would be more advantageous in the long run. So the railroad caused the decline of water transportation and retarded motor vehicle development which could have led to an economically better pattern of location.

Historians should be interested in Fogel's ingenious use of quantitative methods, always remembering that his major thesis depends more on long-range historical observation than on figures for the costs of alternate types of transportation or the demand induced by railroad purchasing. By deflating the role of the railroad Fogel deflates economic factors as a whole in relation to social learning, social structure, culture, and geography, and he properly insists on long-run views of economic development. The "industrial revolution" was revolutionary only from the standpoint of centuries.

The book concludes with an excellent discussion of quantification and theory in relation to history, one that should be required reading in graduate seminars, whether or not the teacher agrees with Fogel's position.


In the nineteenth century, when the process of industrialization appeared in the United States, the iron and steel industry played a central role in the emergence of our new economy. Focusing on the years from 1830 to 1900, Dr. Temin skilfully blends a consideration of the unusual demands for iron and steel products, especially rails, within this period with the significant
innovations introduced to improve production techniques. For his method, he has chosen that of economic analysis in which data relating to the movement of prices and quantities of goods sold are utilized to explain changes in technical requirements and the organization of production as well as in the character of demand.

Prior to the 1840's, the iron industry, using techniques derived mainly from earlier European practice and charcoal, the traditional fuel, took its first tentative steps toward expansion. In this period, the branch of the industry making pig iron from iron ore was expanding relative to the portion making wrought iron and steel from pig iron. The author asserts that this development was due, among other things, to a more rapid rise in the demand for cast iron than in that for wrought iron. Although American manufacturers, concentrated primarily in Pennsylvania, endeavored to fill the increasing demand for rails, they were unable to compete with more efficient British producers, to whom about three-quarters of this market belonged in the 1850's. In the face of this situation, local producers found outlets for cast-iron articles, such as household goods, tools for agriculture, machinery for non-agricultural uses, and certain transportation equipment. The demand for cast-iron products was enhanced by the use of mineral fuels in blast furnaces, and by the introduction of the cupola furnace for economically re-melting pig iron. This trend was altered, however, after the early 1850's when the cheapening supply of wrought iron, accompanied by a mounting demand for rails, brought about a move toward wrought-iron production.

One of Dr. Temin's most interesting chapters studies the question of fuel, with its emphasis on coke. Knowledge of this efficient source of heat energy was available, for the English had adopted it late in the eighteenth century. Yet an important segment of the American industry—the Western—tended to ignore this new technology and rely on charcoal. Regrettably the existing literature—Swank, Clark, Taussig, and Hunter, for example—does not provide a satisfactory explanation for this circumstance. By performing a cost-and-profits calculation, using information from the American Iron and Steel Association and newspapers, the author demonstrates a profit rate for blast furnaces using anthracite or coke that was double that of furnaces using charcoal. From additional comparisons, Temin concludes that the contrast between the regions was primarily due to a difference in their known resources, that is, the impurity of available bituminous coals west of the Alleghenies as opposed to the relative purity of anthracite in the East, rather than a difference in the knowledge of production techniques or the character of demand.

All this changed during and subsequent to the 1850's. The coming of the railroad to Pittsburgh in 1852 made Eastern iron more accessible to Western markets, compelling Western producers to change their techniques. Then the exploitation of the Connellsville coal fields for coke as a blast-furnace fuel made possible a finer quality of pig iron. The price differential between anthracite and coke pig iron was tipped in favor of the latter, and the new price structure encouraged the use of coke, especially following the Civil War. Hence, the extension of the railroads into the West created a
demand for rails, and this demand was partially filled from the growing production of coke pig iron. Dr. Temin rightly analyzes this relationship by pointing out that each—the growth of Western rail production and coke pig-iron production—aided the other, but neither was the initial cause of the other; both were the result of the continuing expansion of the American economy, to which, in time, each made a contribution to a further expansion.

Another question to which the author directs his attention is new methods for making steel after 1865. After certain legal, technical, and financial problems had been resolved, the Bessemer process was put into use, especially in light of the continuing demand for rails. Perhaps more than any other, Alexander L. Holley adapted this process to American use. His “floor plan” for a Bessemer plant provided maximum utility and output, and his “bottom,” patented in 1872, made possible important savings of time and greater yield by removing bottoms without having to cool the converter. After 1885 the open-hearth process was increasingly used, for it employed high heat to eliminate labor and achieved a uniform-quality steel. When Thomas and Gilchrist introduced (1879) a practical way for using a “basic” lining in place of the “acid” process in making steel, the cost structure was tipped in favor of the open-hearth. The shift was made more complete when the increasing availability of scrap lowered costs and the need for other products replaced the demand for rails.

Finally, Dr. Temin makes several incisive observations relative to the raw materials used by the industry, iron ore and coal in particular. Local iron ores were gradually replaced by Lake Superior ores, especially when railroads and canals were constructed and improvements were made in the capacity of ore boats and in mechanization of loading and unloading. Fuel took on added importance to the industry when the relatively sulphur-free, good coking Connellsville coal was found to produce a porous yet sturdy coke. The transition from anthracite to coke was necessarily accompanied by the replacement of old furnaces by new ones, and of old firms by new ones. Further, the Eastern region declined as a pig iron producing region and the industry’s center shifted across the Alleghenies.

Well organized, convincingly argued, and expertly documented, this work is a sound piece of scholarship, a credit both to its author and his doctoral mentor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It successfully relates the historical growth of an industry to economic circumstances and conditions. The footnotes and selected bibliography are complete, and the three appendices and seven tables provide useful analyses of production, costs, distribution, and profits. For students of Pennsylvania history, Andrew Carnegie, George and John Fritz, Daniel J. Morrell, and Samuel J. Reeves, among others, and the Cambria Iron Works, Bethlehem Iron Company, Phoenix Iron Company, and Isabella and Lucy Blast Furnaces receive ample attention. In some ways this work could well have been titled Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century Pennsylvania.

West Chester State College

ROBERT E. CARLSON
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