BOOK REVIEWS
EDITED BY MICHAEL P. WEBER


Bernhard Knollenberg, who died in 1973 at the age of 80-odd years, doubtless intended that this book be a worthy successor to his well-received Origin of the American Revolution, 1759-1766, published in 1960. If so, it is regrettable that the sequel was published.

The deficiencies of this work—whether appraised as scholarly or as popular history—are so glaring that one is from the outset bewildered by its prefatory assertion that this volume "was virtually complete" when its author died. Contrarily, an objective reading impels one to conjecture that Knollenberg had completed merely a preliminary sketch, or at the most a rough draft. If not, this book is a singular curiosity in the recent history of American publishing.

Upon beginning a volume of some five hundred pages that covers less than a decade of American history, one expects a richly-textured narrative, one hopes (especially in view of the present-day exigencies of publishing) to encounter new interpretations of a familiar subject. Such predictions are not borne out. The Growth of the American Revolution is a virtually unreadable collection of unassimilated facts and quotations arranged in rough chronological order. The narration of the events from 1766 to 1775 accounts for considerably less than one-half of the book. Its comparatively brief text is supplemented by 71 pages of appendices and amplified by no less than 223 pages of footnotes. (Owing to differences in type size and line spacing, the disparity between the length of notes and text is considerably greater than these figures suggest.) Whatever one may say about the necessity of such lavish annotation, the inclusion of twenty-seven appendices (often several for each chapter and in one instance three times as long as the chapter to which it applies) is the oddest feature of a volume that is not only puzzling but exasperating in its unnecessary departure from the normal standards of book preparation and publication. As most practicing historians, other writers, and editors would agree, if the information in the appendices and in textual notes (citations and the elucidation of obscure scholarly matters excepted) was worth including it should have been incorporated into the narrative; otherwise it should have been discarded, as many writers often are painfully obliged to do.

Nor is this a well (or even carefully) written book. It is not only unadorned by stylistic grace but is marred by intrusive textual cross references and uncommonly awkward transitions. An example of the former are the scores of parenthetical references such as "(quoted in Chapter 1)," "(described in Chapter 3)," "(discussed in Chapter 4)," or merely "(Chapter 5)." Random samples of infelicitous transitions would include successive paragraphs that begin "many important factors contributed," "a second important factor was," "yet another factor was," or introductory phrases like "before discussing . . . we turn to," or chapter transitional sentences such as "the Townshend Act of 1767, to which we now turn," or this conclusion to chapter eight: "the Liberty riot . . . led to . . . the treason resolution (described in Chapter 9)."

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Such instances of stylistic gaucherie, along with the curious organizational design to which I referred earlier, are not the only indications that this is merely the skeleton of a projected book. Roughly two-thirds of its final chapter on "The Day of Lexington and Concord," to give a single illustration, consists of direct quotations, connected by cursory introductory sentences.

But the defects to which a responsible reviewer for a scholarly journal is, forsaking charity, thus obliged to call attention might have been mended by extensive and expert editing. No patchwork, however skillful, could have corrected this volume’s fundamental flaw—the absence of any original thesis that alone would justify another account of this well-known, though still epochal, period of our early history.

In sum, this volume, as its copious footnotes attest, is a testament only to Knollenberg’s industrious and thorough research. Had the material he collected been winnowed, reflected upon, and above all, interpreted, it might have provided the source for a valuable addition to the rich literature on the origins of the American Revolution. One would, in the spirit of colleagueship, have preferred it that way.

Lafayette College

JACOB E. COOKE


Given the heightened interest in the history of women and the celebration of the Bicentennial, the publication of a book on women of the American Revolution is a seemingly happy event. Weathering the Storm is a collection of excerpts from the diaries or recollections of eleven women who lived through the Revolutionary War. In addition, Elizabeth Evans provides an introduction and a commentary for each of the eleven chapters.

The diaries were kept by young, unmarried women like Jemima Condict Harrison of Newark, Sarah Wister of Philadelphia, and Deborah Sampson Gannett of Massachusetts (who, disguised as a man fought as a revolutionary soldier); Quaker women such as Margaret Hill Morris of New Brunswick and Mary Gould Almy of Newport, who were quietly opposed to war; and the wives of exiled loyalists, Elizabeth Sandwich Drinker and Grace Growdon Galloway, both of Philadelphia. As the keeping of diaries requires some leisure and a high degree of literacy, it is not surprising that all but three of the women were the wives or daughters of well-to-do men, and most were articulate, enterprising, and well-informed women. The diaries of Jemima Harrison and Elizabeth Foote Washington (wife of Lund Washington, kinsman of George) are dull and reveal little of the women’s experiences or reactions to war, but others are filled with interesting information, personal feelings, and revealing accounts of lives directly affected by revolution. A number of the women, particularly Elizabeth Drinker, Mary Almy, Margaret Morris, and Grace Galloway, write graphically of loneliness, fear, and grim attempts to survive without husbands in the midst of battle, occupation, or patriotic reprisal. Another, Sally Wister, writes of the excitement of life near a battlefield and of flirtations with a stream of young officers billeted with the best families.
This collection of diaries, therefore, should appeal to any number of interested readers. But, apart from its value as a guide to the exploration of useful and hitherto neglected manuscripts, the book’s contribution to historical scholarship is slight indeed. There is no statement of editorial criteria, although obvious omissions and changes in spelling, punctuation, and chronology have been made. There are no footnotes, and editorial interpolations are few and far between. The index is ludicrous—less than four pages in length. The bibliography is slender and eccentric. Nowhere does Elizabeth Evans give the locations of the diaries, or note that some (e.g., Sally Wister’s and Grace Galloway’s) have been published. The well-known and useful article by Elizabeth Cometti on women in the American Revolution is not cited, and there is no indication that Ms. Evans is aware of the recent stimulating studies, using quantitative techniques, which endeavor to throw light on the demography of colonial America and the nature of family life.

From a scholarly standpoint, the introduction and commentaries are a hodgepodge of generalizations, miscellaneous information, and familiar anecdotes, informed by the “present-mindedness” of the author who, we are told, is a member of the National Organization of Women. In the eighteenth century, writes Ms. Evans, women were relegated to the role of housewife, the “archaic marriage laws . . . were intolerable” and “the average woman spent almost all her married life either in pregnancy or in nursing children, half of whom died before the age of ten.”

We also are told that Ms. Evans is a professional writer. But her material is poorly organized, transitions are abrupt, and the writing is often unclear. Attempts to describe genealogies are particularly confusing (see Chapter 11 on the Washingtons). A sample of the author’s style is this opening sentence of the introduction to Sally Wister’s diary. “On July 20, 1761,” writes Elizabeth Evans, “a tiny infant, dripping salty fluid, was abruptly thrust out of a warm, dark womb, only to be assailed suddenly by the starkness of light.”

The publisher’s blurb tells us that one reviewer found the book “a volume of enterprising and meticulous scholarship.” That it is not.

University of Santa Clara, California

Mary McDougall Gordon

The Way of the Fox: American Strategy in the War for America, 1775-1783.

Dave R. Palmer’s The Way of the Fox is an entertaining though not very convincing book. Essentially the text is about George Washington as a military strategist. Palmer points out that twentieth-century historians generally have viewed Washington as a defensive strategist, a commander who worked on the assumption that eschewing battlefield confrontation would in time wear the British down, destroy their morale, and undermine their determination to keep the rebellious American provinces. Palmer sees Washington otherwise. The American commander emerges from these pages not as a Fabius (referring to the Roman general who tried to defeat Hannibal in making his presence felt and by avoiding battle) but as the fox. To insert Palmer’s words, “Washington’s strategic acuity existed at a level rather higher than has been normally granted” (p. xx).
To prove his case, Palmer divides the “War for America” into four distinct phases. It was only during the second phase (July, 1776 to December, 1777) that Washington operated on the defensive; and that stance, according to Palmer, resulted because of serious manpower shortages in the Continental line relative to the massive buildup in British-sponsored troops. Yet even during Palmer’s second phase, Washington was the fox whenever possible. One need only mention Washington’s tattered forces recrossing the Delaware and surprising the British at their Trenton and Princeton outposts in late December, 1776. Palmer concludes that Washington understood the goals of the Revolution, maintaining the declared state of independence and providing enough territory for the new nation to have a firm and adequate foundation. He maneuvered the army, Palmer affirms, whenever possible through offensive operations to achieve those goals. It takes a lot of explaining, yet Palmer insists throughout that Washington really was looking for battlefield action as the elusive, wily, but confrontational fox.

Palmer has put together enough evidence and argumentation to be mildly persuasive on at least one level. There is no doubt that Washington’s strategy changed over time and that the American commander in chief did not always operate, as some have argued, from a defensive posture. What is not convincing is Palmer’s tacit equation between offensive maneuvering and good strategy, or constantly carrying the war to the enemy so as to force important decisions through battle. Palmer seems to dislike Fabian strategists, but he likes Washington. So the latter must be the fox, despite overwhelming evidence to the effect that Washington, as a good strategist, avoided battle on more than one occasion rather than be threatened by the loss of the whole Continental army. Just maintaining an army in the field and holding on was solid strategy, if for no other reason than that Great Britain could hardly afford the war in the first place, given the burdensome and rapidly rising national debt.

Indeed, Palmer’s arguments tend to be constraining rather than penetrating. The author’s definition of strategy, which is none too clear, seems only to relate for example to timely destruction on the battlefield, as the violence of war supports broader national goals. With a broader definition of strategy, Palmer could have seized the opportunity to demonstrate Washington’s momentous contribution during the war in creating an American standing army fully capable of holding its own against superior and more experienced British forces. Building an American standing army was no small accomplishment, and it was sagacious strategy. But Palmer rests his case on implementation rather than on preparation—planning for battle rather than for an army that could eventually defeat the British by eighteenth-century rules of warfare.

Despite its narrow cast, this book serves as a sprightly introduction to the War for American Independence. Readers looking for a beginning volume should consider The Way of the Fox. Those who want more broadly constructed material should turn to the recent writings of Don Higginbotham, Piers Mackesy, and John Shy among others.

*Rutgers University*  
*James Kirby Martin*

The Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution is Stackpole's parallel to their successful Civil War Collector's Encyclopedia by Francis Lord. The production of the new 283-page work is slick; it is nicely bound; the authors have considerable reputation. Mr. Woodward's drawings are done with technical virtuosity. There is a bibliography of over 125 entries, and the range of subjects is extensive. The authors state in their preface, "There is still insufficient knowledge to prepare a final study on the subject. Our work is presented as a pictorial summary of the current levels of information to help historians and collectors more correctly understand and identify items associated with the officer and enlisted man in the field."

These objectives were accomplished with irregular success.

The section on weapons was written by George C. Neumann. One cannot question the accuracy, propriety of inclusions, nor the fine quality of Mr. Neumann's picture collection. However, much is lost in presenting the material as a catalog of what could possibly have been used. For example, the Continental Congress bought, in one series of transactions, around 15,000 Model 1763 French muskets. In the book the French muskets are given about the same coverage as the Hudson River Fowler which in all probability constituted less than one-quarter of 1 percent of the Continental army's armament. If one is to understand and identify items, then one needs to know more than that an item was available and may possibly have been used. While the precise information available to Francis Lord concerning the quantities of Civil War materials procured is not available to these authors, meaningful estimates are not that difficult to make.

There are times when one wonders why certain things were photographically represented. For example, pages 44 and 45 are devoted to fourteen different pieces of literature shown in ten pictures under the subject "Books." Pictures numbered 2 and 3 are described as "A small pocket almanac with a common multicolored embossed soft cover." Picture number 5 is an indistinguishable open book labeled "American-owned Bible printed in 1707." Picture 6 is "An eighteenth century psalm book as would have been carried in the field." On page 128 there is a magnificent Chippendale gaming table labeled "Mahogany gaming table, c. 1760; the top is 30" x 30", height 29-1/2". These are typical of many inclusions that do not meet the authors' own specifications for the collector or historian, as identification from the photograph is not possible nor the specific usage determined so one can understand.

One only questions inclusions on their relevance or the fact the authors do not provide enough data to be of value. The book does not suffer from having quantities of unidentified out-of-period materials. The authors did meet their specification of being as accurate as current levels of information allow.

There are over sixty pictures of the brigade of the American Revolution staging events. Only about one-half the pictures of the brigade in their reproduction outfits contribute to the text. The others, while probably adding
to sales to brigade members, do not assist the collector or historian in understanding or identifying anything.

The section on conservation of artifacts is a minor disaster. It is suggested that the philosophy of caring for one's treasures be read, taken to heart, and the following text be totally disregarded. The electrochemical process for iron is only suitable for a limited number of objects in dismal condition and is hazardous both in terms of the caustic materials used and in that the hydrogen produced is potentially explosive. The process also changes the color of the iron leaving it black. There are better and safer techniques.

The section on paper preservation is equally bad. While the techniques are generally what are used by conservators, there is no caution implied. Water used should be distilled or at least de-ionized. Some iron-based inks are washable, but never take the plunge without testing a sample. If one wants to work on one's materials, refer to The Care of Historical Collections: a Conservation Handbook for the Non-Specialist by Per E. Guldbeck (American Association for State & Local History, 1972).

The concept of presenting a vast quantity of pictures in alphabetical format to constitute an encyclopedia is weak, especially when one compares it to the earlier work on the Civil War which has a nice balance of photos and text. To use pictures for identification requires a large picture format per item, backgrounds with scales, and special views of details. Only in a few instances are detailed views used. But there is no scale in the backgrounds, and the images are generally small. Showing scales, for instance, is very important in identifying firearms. Often long guns have a length cut off the barrel, which reduces greatly their value. A little bit of knowledge can be dangerous to the collector.

This reviewer does not recommend that the readers of Pennsylvania History acquire Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution. The book would be better titled "Alphabetically Arranged Pictorial Catalog of the Collections of Neumann, Kravic and Others." The information per item is not sufficient to allow the collector to identify collectable items accurately; the historian needs more than a catalog of material to study material culture; and the casually interested can buy better books on the Revolution for less than $17.95.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

ROBERT A. HOWARD


By any standard of measurement, Catherine Drinker Bowen ranks as one of the most distinguished figures in American belles-lettres. Popular biography was her calling, and she employed a facile pen to deftly sketch poignant portraits of such diverse personalities as Tchaikowsky and the Rubinstein, Sir Edward Coke and Francis Bacon, John Adams and Oliver Wendell Holmes. She admitted to a lifelong fascination with Benjamin Franklin, and it is obvious throughout that the Franklin book, as she called it, was her favorite project. It was also her last; shortly after dictating an Afterword, she succumbed to cancer on November 1, 1973.
As indicated by the title, we have here slices of Franklin's life rather than a comprehensive biography. The book begins in 1721 with young Ben, an obscure Boston lad of fifteen, entering into an apprenticeship with his brother James, publisher of the New England Courant; it ends fifty-three years later with Doctor Franklin, now a world symbol of America, being censured and publicly humiliated before the Privy Council for his role in the famous Hutchinson Letters Scandal. In between are the familiar episodes that collectively form the popular image of Ben Franklin—the Silence Dogood letters, the row with James and subsequent removal to Philadelphia, the experiments with electricity, the Albany Congress of 1754 and his abortive plan of union, the trip to England as agent for the Pennsylvania assembly in the contest with the Penn family over the taxation of proprietary lands, and the opposition to the Stamp Act culminating in his celebrated appearance before the House of Commons. From cover to cover Bowen serves us her customary literary bill of fare—an easy, informal style that fluctuates between being graceful and gossipy and is embellished by numerous flowing passages, felicitous phrases, and memorable descriptions of people and places.

But for the first time this reviewer completed a Bowen book disappointed. The problem is threefold. First, the author was self-indulgent to the extreme in dismissing out of hand a biography of "such a well-known—indeed legendary—American" as "superfluous" and writing "only what interested me." Quite apart from the fact that a rehash of familiar Franklin stories is in itself most superfluous, I fear that most general readers for whom the volume was written will lack sufficient background and perspective either to evaluate or appreciate fully the vignettes. Moreover, the author is not at home in Franklin's world. Specialists in eighteenth-century British and American history will note many inaccurate, exaggerated, and misleading assertions about and assessments of specific events and general developments on either side of the Atlantic. Most important, Bowen grievously misread her subject. She regarded Franklin as "the best integrated man I ever studied" and one who simply accepted what came in life when in fact he was a mass of psychological contradictions and obsessions and his life evolved according to a series of identity crises and rebellions against authority within the context of an ever present need to achieve fame and fortune. Well integrated personalities who accept their lot in life do not transcend conventional bounds and reach the heights of achievements Franklin obtained.

Benjamin Franklin proved to be a "most dangerous" subject for Bowen because the passage of nearly two hundred years has not diminished his ability to seduce women with his wit and charm. The book was clearly a labor of love, and the author who found it necessary to proclaim that Franklin was the "most consistently entertaining subject" she had ever written about was forced in the end to lament: "I cannot bear to have done with this admirable, beguiling character." Therein lies the problem. Franklin's writings, even the deceptive Autobiography, are always taken at face value. The result is an uncritical, one dimensional study that, among other things, fails to grasp the essence of Franklin's relationship with his father and brother or wife Deborah and son William, let alone the complexities of mid-
century Pennsylvania and British politics. We have, then, what amounts to an authorized series of biographical sketches that would have delighted Franklin in more ways than one.

Catherine Drinker Bowen did not, of course, make any claim to original research or have any pretense to substantive scholarship. She was, in the best sense of the term, a popularizer of history. Unfortunately, she does not attain in *The Most Dangerous Man in America* the same high level of discerning insights into the life and times of Ben Franklin that characterize her earlier biographies. Perhaps it was an impossible task given the emotional and physical effects of her illness and the elusive quality of the subject. Nonetheless, at a time when professional historians increasingly write for each other instead of discharging their traditional role of transmitting the legacies of the past to the public, we all the more feel the loss of a beloved litterateur and recognize the magnitude of her manifold contributions to the writing of history and biography. She, like Franklin, had that precious quality called "grace."

Larry R. Gerlach


No historian, John A. Neuenschwander tells us, "as yet has studied the coming of the Revolution in the Middle Colonies to determine whether sectional feeling really did exist and if so whether it significantly colored their attitude toward independence" (p. 4). His analysis of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware during 1774-1776 attempts to verify hints to that effect made earlier by John M. Head and Merrill Jensen. The hypothesis is based on a three-part progression in which an area or region first develops "an intuitive sense of common interest and goals." With internal and/or external reinforcement, "an inchoate sectional identity begins to take shape" which is generally articulated and conceptualized by the "more literate and wealthy members of society." Presumably, when "the general populace begins to think in sectional terms," the sectional "concept receives explicit statement as an abstraction" and "can be considered to have reached maturity" (p. 6). With his analysis Neuenschwander has given students of the Revolution a fresh parameter by which to judge the move to independence. It may, in the future, provide the matrix within which historians come to understand the manner in which thirteen, then three, separate identities grew into one.

The hypothesis confronts two basic issues—the existence of a sectional identity, and the relationship between sectionalism and independence. According to Neuenschwander, the Middle Colonies were at stage one of sectionalism by 1774, for "it is now apparant that the delegates to the First [Continental] Congress from the four Central Provinces did indeed possess an intuitive but largely unarticulated sense of their common social, economic, and political attributes." Fear of a precipitous move to independence drove "Middle Colonial leaders . . . rapidly to the second stage of sectional awareness" (pp. 7-8). Yet, the achievement of "a conscious sec-
tional identity . . . was quickly dispelled by the trials of war and New England's patently nonaggressive behavior" (p. 214). In judging the hypothesis, the existence of independence is a given. The weight of the argument, therefore, is based on Neuenschwander's case for the achievement of stage two sectionalism among the Middle Colonial leaders by 1776. It is here that the decision to limit analysis to 1774-1776 becomes troublesome. Although the volume details the activities of the more obvious Middle Colony delegates to both Congresses well, it struggles to establish a relationship on the intra-colony level. For example, while Neuenschwander recognizes the work of Curtis Nettles and H. James Henderson in delineating the membership of the radical, moderate, and conservative blocs in the Second Continental Congress, he chooses to base his own assignment of Middle Colony delegates to bloc memberships on the probability that "the delegates from the Middle Colonies had an excellent opportunity to explore their common interests. The countless hours they spent together working, dining, and on occasion carousing enabled them to perceive their sectionality. The presence of the New England delegates also helped the representatives from the Middle Colonies to see what they were not and what they never wanted to be" (pp. 85-88).

Neuenschwander has established the probable relationship between sectionalism and independence, but there had been hints of it before. More work will be necessary and hopefully forthcoming to remove the hypothesis from the realm of probability.

Saginaw Valley State College

JOHN VINCENT JEZIERSKI


Men like Alexander McDougall, an obscure name to modern ears, made the American Revolution. Roger J. Champagne deserves praise for having brought McDougall to life in a volume that must be commended for its rigorous research, lively writing style, and depth of analysis. Champagne's is a definitive study—a rich, thoughtful explication of not only McDougall but the events of his times. It is an important book because it facilely transcends its immediate subject matter and suggests an interesting synthesis of interpretations about the nature and meaning of the Revolution.

Alexander McDougall (1732-1786), a Scot of humble origins, is most significant as an organizer of common people in the Revolution. A milk delivery boy and tailor's apprentice, McDougall made his early reputation and fortune as a privateering captain during the Seven Years' War. Settling in as a lesser merchant in New York City, he sought social recognition from the great families; perhaps more importantly, he knew people in the streets and played a vital role by organizing them into units of effective opposition to the reinvigorated imperial programs of the 1760s. Champagne points out that this "street leader," who was not afraid to employ violence and intimidation to gain his ends, was also a literate man. Later in the deepening imperial crisis McDougall spent several weeks in jail for writing what au-
thorities called a seditious pamphlet; he became the provinces' John Wilkes, a symbol of opposition to mounting imperial tyranny.

Leading in New York City's streets and on local revolutionary committees prior to 1775, McDougall then joined the military ranks, rising in time to the rank of major general in the continental service. His career was less than glamorous. Plagued by chronic illnesses and mounting personal debts, McDougall served ably and loyally. He returned to private life in late 1783, serving briefly as the first president of the Bank of New York and as a state senator before his health gave out completely in 1786.

It is what Champagne suggests about the materials of McDougall's life that make this an important book. The author finds evidence that McDougall, despite his early wealth and rapid rise from obscurity, realized that the best families found him socially beneath them. McDougall came to believe that some of these families, namely the De Lancey minions, were too protective of their own political interests and offices to be effective in countering impending tyranny. McDougall, then, with his humble origins, his street level connections, and his political ties with the out group Livingstons, one family at least willing to deal politically with "man on the make" McDougall, put his frustrations to positive use by leading citizens against the forces of tyranny. According to Champagne, McDougall did so within the context of radical Whiggism, sensing a conspiracy to destroy American liberties and in time involving the De Lanceys with Crown officials. Thus the author weaves together several explanatory threads—socioeconomic relationships, officeholding patterns, and ideological feelings—into a well-conceived tapestry. Too often these strands remain separated in scholarly works about the Revolution.

The author also handles McDougall's military career with ease. Through McDougall Champagne demonstrates how poorly supported the Continental army was. He shows how McDougall had to worry about such mundane problems as civilian horse thieves stealing from the army, and how officers and boot soldiers alike became increasingly disillusioned with an American citizenry more committed to surviving than supporting the war. Most often McDougall commanded in the strategically vital Hudson Highlands, though he did serve for a brief time with Washington against the British army that captured Philadelphia in 1777. Dissatisfied enough with sunshine patriots at war's end, McDougall worked with other officers in trying to threaten promised bonuses out of an impotent national government. Despite increasing personal bitterness, Champagne argues that McDougall held out hope to his dying day for the cause of liberty, feeling that future generations would fill in the essentials of the equation that had been begun.

Roger J. Champagne has served the craft of history well through this volume. He has written an exacting analysis of the kind of men who were vital to making the Revolution a meaningful episode. One could quibble with points of interpretation, such as the extent of McDougall's role in those Continental army threats against civil authority in late 1782 and early 1783 that have come to be called the Newburgh Conspiracy. One could ask for more information, for instance the tactics McDougall used in creating a street following. But these are minor points when compared with the reality
of the total presentation. Scholars need to produce many more studies about the citizens who did the dirty jobs during the Revolution but who received little glory in return. Champagne has set a high standard for those historians who may be working on similar biographical subjects.

Rutgers University

JAMES KIRBY MARTIN


Professor Henderson has produced a valuable study of the highly complex and shifting political alignments in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1787. By focusing on national level politics and carrying his analysis through the entire time span he has given a unity and a coherence to a period often viewed under overlapping but separate rubrics: Independence, Confederation, the Constitution. His central concern is the delineation of congressional alignments over time, and the exploration of the motive forces which account for these alignments. He has effectively combined the use of traditional sources with cluster bloc analysis and scale analysis of roll call votes in Congress to identify and give substantive meaning to persistent and cohesive voting blocs which came into existence before the Declaration of Independence, continued throughout the Confederation Period, and prefigured the basic Congressional divisions of the 1790s. These voting blocs he labels legislative parties and argues that, while they lacked many of the attributes of modern political parties, they possessed a degree of coherence across a broad range of issues far in excess of that characteristic of traditional political factions.

Not all individuals from a given state agreed, nor did states from a given area always vote together. But Henderson's evidence suggests a clear and unmistakable tendency for Congressmen to divide themselves into three geographically based blocs: the New England or Eastern bloc, the Middle States bloc, and the Southern bloc. The inability of any one bloc or area to succeed alone contributed to the creation of coalitions, and the turnover of personnel. The progress of the war and the changing nature of the issues before Congress produced a dynamic situation in which old coalitions dissolved and new ones emerged, but the basic threefold sectional division remained throughout the period.

Prior to the Declaration of Independence the disputes over the kind and the degree of opposition to Great Britain divided Congressmen into radicals, moderates, and conservatives with the New England and Southern radicals victorious over the moderates and conservatives from the Middle colonies. Once independence was declared a number of practical questions, including military recruitment, command and supply, foreign policy and personnel, currency, prices, and profiteering eroded the New England-Southern alignment and divided the Middle states among themselves. New York tended to side with the South, and Pennsylvania moved toward one side or the other in response to shifts in control of the state assembly: the radical Constitutionallists favored New England and the conservative Republicans the South.

The shift of the war to the south and Cornwallis's rapid movement
through the Carolinas and into Virginia in 1780 and 1781 introduced a new phase. The Middle Colonies aided by selective support from the other two, took the lead in moving toward providing the military organization, the diplomatic cooperation, the fiscal expertise, and the administrative reform necessary to the successful prosecution of the war. By 1782 the end of the land war narrowed the base of support for the Middle states coalition, and by 1783 it had broken up over questions of fiscal policy, the impost, Vermont, Wyoming, foreign commerce, a navigation system, and the possession, sale, and organization of the West. By the mid-1780s these issues had brought to "full term the tendency of partisan disputes to produce three regional parties based on concrete economic interests" (p. 350). This was most clearly revealed in the votes on the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations which produced the most "rigid and pervasive cleavages" of the entire period (p. 389) and stimulated a major Southern led drive toward the creation of a more perfect union through extra-congressional channels.

At each stage in this evolving situation calculation of state and sectional interest appear to have been the principal but seldom the sole determinant of the alignments. Closely related to, but clearly distinct from, this was the operation of strongly held parochial identifications and attachments combined with distrust and fear of the unknown, the distant, the unfamiliar, and the different attachments and fears which were at times sufficient to interfere and disrupt communication and cooperation between individuals and areas with potentially common concerns. In addition, these sectional alignments were frequently freighted with heavy ideological baggage which reflected, stimulated, and sometimes modified the expected patterns. This ideological dimension was closely related to ethnic and religious differences which contributed to the alignment of New England Congregationalists and Middle state Presbyterians against Southern and Middle state Anglicans and Quakers. Thus the particular alignments visible at any given time were a function of the interaction of a number of variables arranged in a descending order of explanatory power: calculation of sectional self-interest, parochial attachments, ideological inclination, and religious orientation.

Finally, there are two reservations. One of the principal keys to the identification of the ideological forces behind the congressional alignments and realignments is the nature of the ideological division in Pennsylvania during the period. Henderson relies heavily on the now classic work of Brunhouse and thus tends to view the Constitutionalists and the Republicans in socioeconomic (lower or middle class vs. upper class) and philosophical (democratic vs. anti-democratic or populist vs. elitists) terms. Before 1776 the conservative Pennsylvania delegates slowed the movement for independence; after 1776 the radical (Constitutional) delegates worked with the New Englanders and contributed much to the radical aura of the Eastern bloc. In the 1780s the conservative Pennsylvania delegates (Republicans) served as the linchpin of the Middle-Southern coalition pushing for centralization. However, Henderson's own data as well as other recent studies seem to suggest that more serious attention should be given to ethnic and religious identification as an independent explanatory variable: the Pennsylvania Presbyterians cooperating with the New England Congregationalists against the New York, Pennsylvania, and Southern non-Calvinists.
Secondly, Henderson relies heavily on the terms radical and conservative as major analytical categories. As Cecelia Kenyon has reminded us, radical and conservative when used to describe contrasting attitudes, value systems, or ideological positions contribute to and may in fact result from conceptual confusion. They are imprecise, ambiguous, and value loaded terms which are extremely difficult to subject to empirical verification. In this particular case they also tend to conceal if not truncate Henderson's fascinating and valuable exploration of the difference in value orientation between the more traditional, Puritan oriented New England communal equalitarianism of Sam Adams on the one hand, and the more modern, secular, Southern individualistic libertarianism of Thomas Jefferson and his republic of self-interest and the pursuit of personal happiness.

In conclusion, this is an impressive study worth serious attention by students of the period as well as by those interested in the origin and evolution of politics in America. In addition, it is a valuable model for those who wish to blend both traditional source materials and newer methods of analyzing behavioral evidence.

S. U. N. Y., Brockport


At the outset of the Revolution Jews in the American colonies numbered no more than 2,500. Nonetheless, as Samuel Rezneck illustrates, this handful of early American Jews made a "subtle and notable contribution to the American Revolution." Before the Revolution Jews were isolated and alienated from the larger community almost as completely as they had been in Europe. But with the Declaration of Independence they perceived a promise of religious equality and political opportunity and joined the War for Independence with extraordinary zeal, "the first war since antiquity anywhere in which Jews participated actively in its several aspects."

Rezneck, professor emeritus of history at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, establishes that Jews were never a part of the policy-making process of the Revolution but a surprising number took part in revolutionary activities. He estimates that about a hundred Jews accepted military service. They ranked from privates to lieutenant colonels, came from all socio-economic classes, and served from Pennsylvania to Georgia. A number distinguished themselves in the defense of Savannah and Charleston and demonstrated particular courage at the Battle of Beaufort in 1779. Equally important was their economic contribution. Well-established in the urban commercial centers, many Jewish Americans worked vigorously to supply materials and funds necessary to the war effort. The most famous was Haym Salomon, assistant to Superintendent of Finance, Robert Morris. But a number of lesser known Jews such as Isaac Moses of Philadelphia, Aaron Lopez of Newport, and Simon Nathan of Richmond also lent valuable economic support to the rebel cause.

A few Jews remained loyal to the British, but most recognized that their best hope lay in the Revolution. It held out the prospect of religious freedom
and implied that Jews would achieve equalization and integration into the larger American community. In 1787 Jewish leaders successfully appealed to include a clause in the Constitution prohibiting religious restrictions on political rights. They also petitioned the state governments to repeal limitations on the rights of Jews to vote and hold public office, and most of the states responded before the end of the eighteenth century. Progress was slower in some states: Maryland repealed the religious test oath with its "Jew Bill" of 1826, Connecticut and Rhode Island removed restrictions in 1842, North Carolina in 1868, and the few Jews in New Hampshire did not receive equal rights until as late as 1876. But over-all, as Rezneck concludes, American Jews benefited greatly from the Revolution. Despite continued anti-Semitism, Jews participated actively in political affairs in the post-Revolutionary era and were integrated into society on a scale they had not known in Europe or in pre-Revolutionary America.

Rezneck's study is meticulously researched. Although he overlooks some possibly lucrative sources, he draws upon several special collections, including those of the American Jewish Historical Society, American Jewish Archives, B’nai B’rith, Washington Hebrew Congregation, and Newport Historical Society. And although his style is uninspiring, he presents his findings in clear prose. The book's major shortcoming is excessive detail and repetition without sufficient depth of interpretation. One wishes, for example, that he had explained more fully why so many Jews responded to the rebellion and that he had expanded on the comparative degree of anti-Semitism and discrimination against Jews in the periods before and after the Revolution.

Although obviously sympathetic to the struggle and achievement of the Revolutionary Jews, Rezneck is careful not to exaggerate. Indeed, one of his most important contributions is his coverage of how modern Jews have fixed upon Haym Salomon and exaggerated his role into mythical proportions in order to strengthen their ties with America’s past. He builds a convincing case that the Jewish community as a whole made a notable contribution to the Revolution without having to overstake the role of any single person. In sum, students and scholars alike will welcome this study as a useful addition to the work of Jacob Rader Marcus and others on early American Jewry.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

Robert Detweiler


The recent upsurge of interest by historians in urban history has witnessed an explosion of monographs dealing with American cities. Although most of the literature has focused almost exclusively on major cities, Edward Papenfuse's book offers a refreshing change. The author sets out to examine the merchant community of a small but important urban center during a period of vast economic and political change. The fact that Annapolis failed to become a major city did not deter Papenfuse from constructing an exciting book.

Papenfuse shows that the early growth of Annapolis resulted from its
political function rather than an economic role as a trading center. With the increased prosperity of the colonial economy, Annapolis became the home for many of Maryland's affluent planters who built splendid townhouses in the city. The construction of these fine homes provided a source of employment for craftsmen and a ready market for expensive imported English goods. As a result, ambitious men in Annapolis established themselves, after 1763, in the retail import trade. But with the coming of the war, the whole economy of Annapolis changed, and the city found itself as a major supply center for equipping and housing American and French troops. In fact, in 1781 the city housed over eighteen hundred soldiers whereas the civilian population was only about twelve hundred. In addition, the war changed Annapolis's traditional relationship with the surrounding countryside, forcing the city to become a regional marketing center. This new economic function did not change appreciably after the war ended. During the war most Annapolis merchants concentrated their efforts in the wholesale trade; importing goods for others on commission and buying tobacco to sell to France. With the end of the war Annapolis merchants found their economic opportunities had completely changed. No longer was the city a market for luxury goods. Instead merchants found themselves heavily involved in the tobacco export trade.

With the coming of peace, Papenfuse argues that Annapolis merchants achieved very limited economic success. Competition from other urban trading centers, such as Baltimore, caused Annapolis merchants to lose much of their business. In fact, by 1793, Annapolis completed the transition from a commercial center and home of the affluent to a market town and rest stop for the traveler. Papenfuse contends that during this period of economic decline, Annapolis residents showed great tenacity in their determination to stay and try to earn a living. The author shows that nearly two-thirds of the residents chose to remain in a town with rapidly declining economic opportunities.

In writing this book, Papenfuse has drawn heavily on primary sources. Chief among these were his use of court and tax records. The only weakness is in the absence of merchants' private records. The scarcity of such materials forced Papenfuse to rely on a limited number of merchants who left records. To support his conclusions, the author has included numerous tables to show the financial activity of Annapolis merchants as well as demographic data on the town's population.

The chief flaw in an otherwise excellent book is the absence of how Annapolis fit into the broader currents running through the period. Why, for example, did Annapolis merchants not take the leadership in boosting their town as did the merchants of Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia? Obviously their economic self-interest would have dictated such a course of action. This lack of leadership is a clear indication of why Annapolis failed to achieve positive demographic and economic growth. Papenfuse does not emphasize enough the failure of Annapolis merchants to take the initiative in trying to convert a political center to a commercial center. Moreover, the author's rather wooden writing style and his heavy use of block quotations also mar this important book.

Putting these criticisms aside, Papenfuse has written an excellent study of
local business history. This study is a fine addition for historians and other scholars dealing with this seminal phase of American history.

_University of Texas at Arlington_  
**RICHARD G. MILLER**

**From Colony to Country: The Revolution in American Thought 1750-1820.**  

Although it is still too early to pass judgment on the over-all quality and significance of the flood of new books that are being published during the bicentennial festivities, the focus of most of these works is clearly upon the events of the Revolution per se. The revolution that Ralph Ketcham is concerned about in this book, however, is in the realm of ideas and spans the period from 1750 to 1820. On this count alone his effort is noteworthy, but this volume of intellectual history has a number of other redeeming qualities as well.

According to Ketcham, the last half of the eighteenth century was the gestation period for the basic American ideas of loyalty and purpose as well as national character. His definition of intellectual history leads him to focus on the changes in public life as influenced by and recorded in the writings of the articulate. The ideas of such political luminaries as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton constitute the major portion of the work, and scant attention is paid to cultural and minority spokesmen. The book is divided into three sections devoted to loyalty, purpose, and character respectively. Most of the chapters in these sections cover familiar ground although his comparative treatment of Albert Gallatin and John Marshall in chapter fourteen offers some new insights.

Throughout the book the author relies heavily on primary sources while also making good use of the latest secondary literature. Although the use of direct quotations is at times excessive, in general, the work is quite readable.

If Ketcham can be faulted, it is for his unwillingness to go beyond the conventional assumptions about the meaning of the American Revolution. Despite the longer view to be found in _From Colony to Country_, the book does not effectively come to grips with the revolutionary/evolutionary dichotomy that has continually puzzled historians about the Revolution. Is it accurate, for example, to use the term revolution as Ketcham does to describe the changes in American loyalty, purpose, and character over a seventy-year period? From the standpoint of most comparative studies of world revolutions the American Revolution is often judged to be marginal because of its relatively low level of turbulence and disorder. If Ketcham had seen fit to demonstrate more effectively that the political revolution of the 1770s and 1780s established the revolutionary guidelines that in turn reshaped American loyalty, purpose, and character, then an equally valid criteria for rating revolutions would be available.

Despite this shortcoming, both teachers and students of the revolutionary epoch should find this carefully prepared survey of the intellectual nature and impact of the American Revolution a valuable addition to their library.

_Carthage College_  
**JOHN A. NEUENSCHWANDER**

In this engagingly written volume, Dr. Goll has graphically depicted in narrative form the suffering and hardships endured by Washington's Continental army at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-1778. The story revolves around the fictitious adventures of the fictitious fifteen-year-old Stephen Wilson. Stephen, a resident of the small Pennsylvania village which has become synonymous with patriotic suffering, was involved in a series of frequently dangerous, often unlikely, and sometimes unbelievable incidents when the American cause had reached its nadir. Thus, in a relatively short period this youthful rebel was wounded by a Tory neighbor, saw his home taken over by General Washington's aides-de-camp, was engaged in foraging for the hard-pressed American soldiers, was captured by a British patrol, and finally dramatically escaped from his somewhat too-tyrannically-portrayed Redcoat captors.

For the sake of a fast-moving narrative the author has perhaps jeopardized historical credibility. Although Goll claims in the forward that "the background of the story, the locations, the army personnel, and the conditions in the camp are authentic" (p. vii), his somewhat sophomoric and overly simplistic approach does a disservice to even his youthful readers who should not be expected to have to endure during these Bicentennial times a perpetuation of such historical myths as absolute American righteousness and British and Hessian malevolence. As a historical tract, this volume is lacking.

However, as a story interestingly if somewhat incredulously told, this book has some merit. The descriptions of the Valley Forge area, the lively characterizations of such revolutionary notables as Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Captain John Laurens, and Captain Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee, and vivid pictures painted of the sufferings of Washington's ill-equipped and ill-supplied army all attest to the author's familiarity with both the geographical region and early American mythology. As to his historical understanding of Valley Forge, there is scant evidence in this work.

The young readers for whom this book was written are capable of reading and understanding and indeed deserve a more mature, realistic treatment of the events and personalities of that bleak winter when American fortunes were at low ebb.

Northeastern Illinois University


Claiming that key secondary figures deserve biographical treatment because they are more accurate barometers than the most prominent men of an era, Reardon launches his study into the life of Edmund Randolph. The subject was born in 1753 into one of the most respected and influential families of colonial Virginia. John and Peyton Randolph, Edmund's father and uncle respectively, were the king's attorneys. As events developed from the 1760s into the next decade, each was drawn toward a different stance regarding their allegiance to their monarch. John retained his loyalty to Eng-
land while Peyton became a leader of those who chose rebellion.

Edmund, by 1775, was of legal age and for reasons unexplained joined the rebel cause. Fortified with letters of recommendation, he entered Washington’s camp near Boston where he became an aide. The unexpected death of his uncle Peyton forced him to return to Virginia and undertake the care of family business. While in Virginia he developed his law practice, was married, became attorney general, and then governor of the State of Virginia.

In the second half of the 1780s he participated in the Annapolis Convention and the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. Although he refused, along with fellow Virginian Paul Mason to sign the document, he did work for its ratification in the ensuing months.

Randolph moved to the national scene with his appointment by Washington to the office of Attorney General. He attempted to follow a middle course between the comparative extremes of Hamilton on one side and Jefferson on the other. Jefferson’s resignation in 1793 prompted Washington to select Randolph to fill that crucial post. The position was challenging because of domestic political factionalism and foreign intrigues of England and France. Unfortunately, his government service was at the expense of his own financial stability. The costs of living away from Virginia, entertaining notables of the day, and maintaining his growing family at a level befitting his position was more than he could handle. More unfortunate was the fact that his pecuniary difficulties were well-known.

His status as a respected public servant and presidential advisor abruptly came to an end in 1795 when he resigned from office. This act occurred as a result of what he believed were cabinet accusations that he had prostituted the office of Secretary of State by offering information to the French minister in return for financial reward.

Although the allegations were never proven, Randolph’s life as a national figure was ended. He returned to Virginia and lived the remaining eighteen years concerned with provincial interests. The final trauma in his life was the allegation that he had misused funds as Secretary of State. An arbiter ruled that he was responsible for these sums, and this greatly added to his financial burden. He died in 1813 and hardly anyone took notice.

Historians like Reardon should be applauded for undertaking the study of second-line notables such as Edmund Randolph. Whether his life will prove to be the “most reliable barometer of the political climate,” remains to be seen. One certainly cannot argue that greater knowledge of his life will add larger dimensions to one’s interpretation of the formative period of the United States.

The book includes an extensive bibliography which is impressive and informative. It is surprising that Reardon did not include S. F. Bennis’s The American Secretaries of State in which D. R. Anderson gives a rather interesting sketch of Randolph’s life. For the most part the footnotes are well done. Occasionally however, the author documents the secondary rather than the primary theme of the sentence.

The major limitation of the book is that it lacks balance. A mere twenty-nine pages deal with the first third of his life. During this period his attitudes formed, his character was molded, and his loyalties and allegiances were
shaped. One is left wondering why he chose the path of rebellion following
the example of his uncle, Peyton Randolph, rather than that of loyalty to the
king pursued by his father. The whole personal family relationship at that
stage and throughout his life is missing.

Reardon acknowledges that the personal correspondence which would
give insight into Randolph's private side were lost sometime in the
nineteenth century. Reardon implies that his personal life is secondary to his
public life, "for he was above all else a public person." It may be a philo-
sophical difference, but this reviewer believes that one's public life is a
manifestation of values cultivated in private life.

So lacking are touches that would tell of Randolph the patriot, the hus-
band, and the father that it is dubious to entitle it a biography at all. More
accurate, it seems, would be the title "Edmund Randolph: His Legal and
Political Life." So entitled it would better inform the reader what to expect.

Biography is probably the most unique form of historical writing and
therefore presents the greatest challenge. This being the case, the work by
Reardon falls short.

*Cheyney State College*  
*John M. Beeson*
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