
This stout volume provides hours of enjoyment. Franklin’s wide-ranging interests, his humor and genius, and intrinsic appeal enliven many of the approximately three hundred items gathered from twenty-five institutions and three individuals. Among the goodies in this volume are two satiric pieces, “Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One” and “An Edict by the King of Prussia,” as well as the Hutchinson letters. Franklin liked the “Rules” better than the “Edict,” “for the quantity and variety of the matter contained, and a kind of spirited ending of each paragraph” (437). The editors point out, however, that skillful satire is not the best way to persuade opponents. Indeed, the ultimate irony came when the English government legislated the “Rules” into law following the Boston Tea Party. Upon reading the “Edict,” one Englishman exclaimed “Here’s the King of Prussia claiming a right to this kingdom! . . . Damn his impudence, I dare say, we shall hear by the next post that he is upon his march with one hundred thousand men to back this” (438). A deft editorial note explains why the hoax fooled many. Anger generated by “An Edict” also helps explain the fury unleashed against Franklin in the January 1774 Privy Council hearings concerning his release of the famous Hutchinson letters. Those letters, written by Hutchinson between 1767 and 1769, described the Massachusetts scene in very dark terms and called for British intervention. Franklin sent them to the Massachusetts General Court; that body published them and used them as a basis for the call to remove the governor and his brother-in-law. This is the first reprinting of these important documents in a century. The reader can see the context of Hutchinson’s famous urging, “There must be an abridgement of what are called English liberties” (550).

The intensifying imperial crisis imbues many political entries with excitement. The controversy in Boston between Governor Hutchinson and the General Court increasingly placed the irreconcilable constitutional differences between England and the colonies in bold relief. Franklin urged moderation and expressed hope for reconciliation; yet as time passed the possibilities for amelioration clearly diminished. On numerous occasions he urged a return to conditions prior to 1763 and clung to the belief “’Tis Never Too Late to Mend” (402). The frustrations of the situation often pressed him; several times he expressed his intention to retire as colonial agent and return to America. To Joseph Galloway he remarked upon the benefits of “A war with France and Spain . . . [then] Every Step
would be taken to conciliate our Friendship, Our Grievances would be redress'd and our Claims allow'd” (149). In time Franklin clarified some of his views. By October he firmly believed “that the Parliament has no right to make any law whatever, binding the colonies. That the king, and not the king, lords, and commons collectively is their sovereign; and that the king with their respective parliaments, is their only legislator” (437). This contrasts sharply with his tentative and groping views of the late 1760s. Though the editors point out that Franklin preferred to act as a pragmatic politician rather than an idealogue, clearly he drew boundaries on his flexibility. He increasingly antagonized Whitehall. His July letter to the Massachusetts House of Representatives endorsing colonial unity in a congress, casting off restraint, and urging no monetary support of the Crown in any general war until American rights were recognized led to his prosecution for treason in 1774. His Christmas announcement that he leaked the Hutchinson letters caused castigation before the Privy Council within a month. The volume ends with several lively accounts of the Boston Tea Party.

Franklin’s international stature rose while his effectiveness as a colonial agent eroded. Jacques Barbeu-Dubourg’s publication of *Oeuvres de M. Franklin* played a significant role here, for it introduced the French-reading intelligentsia of Europe to the breadth and depth of this extraordinary man. Franklin’s scientific interests in 1773 reflected what appeared in that compilation. He corresponded about science with Continental men such as Jean-Baptiste LeRoy, Jan Ingenhouz, and Giambatista Beccaria and with a host of Englishmen and colonials. Subjects ranged from electricity, torpedo fish, fixed air, and stoves to the common cold. The most famous entry dealt with the effects of the interaction of oil and water. His curiosity, first awakened by a shipboard experience in 1757, led to several experiments with Sir John Pringle, William Brownrigg, and John Smeaton. Franklin reflected on the evidence and then advanced a theory to explain the spread of oil, its effect on waves, and the phenomenon of surface tension.

About a dozen Pennsylvanians corresponded with Franklin in 1773. Most were members of the American Philosophical Society. Benjamin Rush wrote about medicine and his pamphlet on slavery, Humphrey Marshall discussed sun spots and seeds, and John Bartram, botany. As president of the society Franklin appreciated European interest in its members’ activities. Besides science, politics, western lands, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the silk filature also receive attention.

The editorial work enhances the papers in many ways. Valuable annotations often run about half a page, and useful introductions precede numerous items. A wealth of important information emerges along with corrections of factual errors in the documents. Occasionally the editors rescue items from oblivion; for example, Franklin’s “Prudential Algebra,” which helped him decide to remain in England, would be meaningless without an introduction. Beccaria’s Italian was “a language of its own,” and a literal translation is “gibberish;” hence the editors’ work makes it intelligible (356). Willcox and his assistants continue their superior work, and this volume should attract many readers.
As Howard Miller admits in his introduction, most historians of higher education are not very daring in the exercise of their craft; they usually restrict themselves to the internal story of a single institution. Miller, a professor at the University of Texas at Austin, charts a more adventurous course. Indeed, he is doubly bold. In this book, he deals collectively with several schools, the colonial and early national antecedents of Princeton, Dickinson, Washington and Jefferson, Hampden-Sydney, Washington and Lee, and Transylvania. But more than that, he places that collective story into a rich, expansive setting. The book sweeps far beyond the scope suggested by its title and mixes the history of education with religious and political history. Miller's theme is that the educational patterns at these several Presbyterian colleges were shaped by and, in turn, shaped larger theological and political movements.

In the first of three major sections, Miller deals primarily with the Great Awakening debates and divisions within the Presbyterian family. Here and throughout the book, he argues that the Presbyterians sought to create, both in the church and the society, an organic social union. The Great Awakening, however, with its resultant schism, raised new, disturbing questions about the nature of authority and about majority-minority rights. Both the Old Side and the New Side Presbyterians realized that the Awakening loosened the bonds of society and made it temporarily malleable, but did not guarantee its improvement. Their educational objectives, therefore, were designed to promote the unselfish, organic nature of the renewed post-Awakening society.

The second section (1775–95) treats the religious, political, and educational developments of the Revolutionary era. The Presbyterians saw the American Revolution as the opening of a new millennial era characterized by a less selfish, more united society. A combination of republican ideals and newly imported Scottish common sense philosophy led to a more utilitarian, less classical, curriculum. Although the Presbyterians initially embraced republicanism, they later drew back when confronted with its more extreme positions on the separation of church and state and non-denominationally-controlled public education.

The third section of the book discusses the period of the Second Great Awakening down to, but not including, the Schism of 1837. As the Presbyterians became disillusioned with unrestrained republicanism, they turned more and more toward the denomination as a provider of the social unity which they continually sought. Ironically, in seeking that unity within the denomination, they were justifying a type of denominational competition in the larger society which was truly revolutionary when set alongside the colonial ideal of the social organism. The new emphasis on the denomination included an attempt to remake the denomination's colleges into "bastions of orthodoxy." This meant a tightening of discipline and a return to a more traditional curriculum—less science and more classics. Miller asserts that this "Great Retrogression" led to a decline both in quality and in enrollments which continued until after the Civil War.
The ambitious scope of Miller's study is certainly commendable. But perhaps he tries to do too much. Without expanding the volume beyond a reasonable length, he cannot possibly tie up all the threads and present sufficient evidence to be more than suggestive. For example, early in the book, he asserts that the Great Awakening evangelical style affected collegiate oratory classes, but he is never very specific as to what this actually meant inside the classroom. One solution to the problem would have been to condense drastically the religious and political background, which now comprises about two-thirds of the volume. Much of this is reasonably familiar, and, although presented with skill and grace, it takes up more than its share of space. As a result, the descriptions of the educational activities themselves are thin and unsatisfying.

The strength of the book is its willingness to raise large, crucial questions and to suggest, if not always demonstrate, answers. In sum, it is better to have erred on the side of daring than on the side of timidity. The book is clearly written, well researched, and certainly thought-provoking. If it does not balance the main subject with the broader context as well as it might, it is still a quite good book and one to be recommended to students of Pennsylvania's cultural history.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR


Historians have paid little attention to the history of America's hospitals. Even the past decade of controversy surrounding contemporary hospitals has not produced a spate of monographs reflecting this interest; social historians have devoted a far greater amount of concern to mental illness and the asylum. Thus we are doubly grateful for the publication of this lucid and professional study of the formative years of America's first hospital.

The Pennsylvania Hospital has preserved an extraordinarily complete archive (recently described, preserved, and, to an extent, microfilmed) and Williams has made good use of the varied records it contains, especially the minutes of the Board of Managers. Unlike some of the hospital's earlier chroniclers, Williams is concerned with the social values which shaped and motivated the institution's founders and managers; he is concerned as well with British precedents. The Managers felt throughout the period described that the hospital's social mission was the succoring of the poor but worthy, those individuals whose proper fate was not the almshouse. In a deferential society, this meant that the social values and social connections of the Managers and similarly situated Philadelphians were as significant in admissions decisions as the diagnoses of staff physicians. Deference and gratitude were seen as as much a part of the hospital's purpose as splints and lancets.

Unlike British hospitals of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, however, the Pennsylvania Hospital did accept pay patients—in
fact, depended upon them for a substantial portion of its income. Most such private patients were insane. Well-to-do Philadelphia families would not have willingly sent a physically ill “connection” to a hospital. Mental illness presented quite a different social aspect. Indeed, roughly half of the hospital’s beds were occupied by “maniacs” throughout the period of Williams’s study. (It was not until the early 1840s that the Board of Managers established a separate hospital for the insane—what is now known as the Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital.)

Williams emphasizes as well the important role of the medical profession in founding the hospital and the continuing effect of medical needs and priorities in shaping the institution. It was always assumed that the teaching of clinical medicine would be one of the Hospital’s primary functions. The Hospital was always, consistently, province of the city’s elite practitioners. As Williams shows, a large proportion of the institution’s attending physicians had been trained in Europe; all, of course, had graduated from medical school. In a medical world without government grants, endowed chairs, specialty boards, and the like, hospital attending physicianships were an extremely important badge of professional status. This study, in short, tells us a great deal about both the history of medicine and the history of social welfare in the United States (as well, of course, as something more specific about the city of Philadelphia and the nature of Quaker benevolence).

It is marred by several weaknesses. One is the disproportionate emphasis on the eighteenth century. Occasionally, moreover, the author strays from his normally well-balanced and non-judgmental tone, at one point referring to previous history of the Pennsylvania Hospital as “eulogistic cant,” in several others betraying a certain animosity toward the Hospital’s physicians and their motivations. But these are essentially editorial problems in a work which is essentially sound and well balanced. I regretted that it ended with the 1840s and look forward to another “installment” bringing the story closer to the present.

University of Pennsylvania

Charles E. Rosenberg


The imagery of Valley Forge in American history symbolizes the courage, dedication, and suffering of thousands of patriots during the winter of 1777–78. The illustrations of Washington praying in the snow and of soldiers standing barefooted in the freezing cold underscore the position of Valley Forge in our history. Yet, too often this superficial impression of Valley Forge overshadows many of the important changes that Washington and others accomplished during that winter.

John Trussell, a retired army colonel, has written this detailed study of the army at Valley Forge. In it he pays attention not only to the suffering but also to the changes in the army. He explains the daily routine of the soldiers and discusses the activities which were
BOOK REVIEWS

designed to keep them busy. Through the pages of this study, the reader obtains a good concept of the living conditions, food, activities, diseases, and conflicts between the men. What emerges in Trussell's study is a picture of what actually occurred at Valley Forge. He depicts leaders and the men from stages of near despair to actual optimism. By concerning his study with the diverse aspects of the Valley Forge situation, he contributes significantly to our knowledge of the event.

In constructing his study in this fashion, Trussell gives new meaning to the idea that Valley Forge was in fact the turning point of the revolution. The men who marched into Valley Forge in December 1777 were a disorganized and dispirited mob. The men who marched out in June 1778 were a trained army which had overcome the travails of the weather, supplies, and defeat at the hands of the British in 1777.

To Trussell, the impact of this six-month period was all important to the development of the army. This was the first time that Washington had the opportunity to construct military organization. Of course, Trussell does pay considerable attention to the role of Baron Von Steuben and rightly so. The Prussian drillmaster had an important effect on the American army for a brief moment. He drilled a mob into an army. Washington had sufficient time to develop uniform regulations to govern his emerging army. In the end, according to Trussell, Valley Forge was a major turning point on the road to accepted independence.

Trussell's presentation of his research is straightforward and clear. His thesis on the significance of Valley Forge is well demonstrated, particularly from a military point of view. Obviously, the social, economic, and political maturity, which was likewise needed, did not occur in the same time frame. In addition to his presentation, the appendices contain much valuable information about the army as it emerged.

Overall, the presentation is competent and scholarly. The thesis of the study is clear and well presented. All persons who have an interest in the military maturation process of the American Revolutionary army should profit from this book.

The University of Georgia

JAMES LAVERNE ANDERSON


Jacksonian scholars have long awaited an in-depth treatment of George Mifflin Dallas, whose public career spanned the half century between the War of 1812 and the Civil War. As a leader of Pennsylvania's Jacksonian Democrats, Dallas held such diverse public offices as deputy attorney general, mayor, federal district attorney, United States Senator, state attorney general, Minister to Russia, Vice President, and Minister to Great Britain.

In tracing Dallas's rise to positions of ever increasing scope, importance, and visibility, John Belohlavek recounts the decades-long struggle for state ascendancy by Dallas's political organization, the Family, with James Buchanan's Amalgamationists. The author also examines Dallas's
experiences, accomplishments, and problems as Minister to Russia, 1837-1839, and as Minister to Great Britain, 1856-1861. The latter chapter is perhaps the best portion of the book.

But a sense of Dallas the man, the behind-the-scenes party leader and manipulator, or an analysis of his motivations, beliefs, and goals, is not present. The publisher bears part of the blame for imposing length limitations, but much of the problem arises from Belohlavek's interpretation of his subject and his use of sources. He failed to use any newspaper controlled or influenced by the Family. In numerous unsigned editorials written for the *Franklin Gazette*, the *American Sentinel*, and the *Pennsylvanian*, Dallas revealed his own philosophy and the policies he sought to establish or to prevent. Belohlavek also failed to use Dallas's manuscript diaries for the period 1836-1839 and 1854-1861. Instead he relied on the published version, edited by Dallas's daughter Susan, which omits nearly half of the manuscript text and in the style of the times eliminates most personal comments and observations which reflect negatively on others or on Dallas. The author's list of sources includes the papers of Henry D. Gilpin which contain numerous letters between Dallas and his closest political ally. Unfortunately, few references to these valuable manuscripts appear in the text or the footnotes. Also conspicuous by their absence, even in the list of sources, are the papers of Samuel D. Ingham, John K. Kane, John Pemberton, and other Philadelphia Democrats. This may account for Belohlavek's limited use of footnotes. At several points two to four pages of text are substantiated by only one footnote. Frequently the footnotes seem irrelevant.

This sense of imperfect scholarship again emerges in numerous factual errors and contradictions scattered throughout the book. Did Dallas end his service as Minister to Great Britain in December 1860 (p. 9) or on 16 May 1861 (p. 181)? The latter date is correct. Normally an ambassador marked time until his successor arrived, but during that crucial interregnum Dallas played a key role in preventing the British Government from recognizing the Confederate States of America and in adopting a policy of neutrality. Belohlavek’s 4½-page account of this period contains no citations from Dallas's diary, his personal papers, or his official dispatches. In all, this reviewer found twenty-nine such errors or contradictions.

Far more serious than these errors and contradictions is the question of the overall interpretation of Dallas and the resulting value of the book. While Belohlavek correctly presents Dallas as a silk-stocking patrician, he incorrectly asserts that silk-stocking Democrats had "nothing in common" with most supporters of Old Hickory. Recent studies of urban Jacksonian leaders clearly demonstrate that over 40 percent were silk-stocking patricians. The author also asserts that Dallas was ideologically a Whig and that in an earlier time would have been a Federalist. Contemporary scholarship refutes this. Alexander James Dallas, adviser to Thomas McKean, Thomas Jefferson, Albert Gallatin, and James Madison, and father of George, would also find it repugnant.

Belohlavek gives scanty attention to Dallas's role in the Bank War. He contends that Dallas supported the Bank until 1832, was "silent on
the issue” between 1832 and 1836, and attacked the Bank that summer. This is not correct. Andrew Jackson knew of Dallas’s opposition to the Bank as early as the summer of 1829. Dallas predicted Jackson’s veto of the recharter bill in a December 1829 editorial on the President’s first annual message. He opposed reappointing Nicholas Biddle as a government director as early as 1830, a step not taken until 1833. Finally, he campaigned against the Bank after the veto and throughout its remaining existence and played key roles at numerous anti-Bank rallies.

Throughout the book the triumphs of Dallas and the Family are treated less as their triumphs and more as the unfortunate failures or slips of Buchanan and the Amalgamationists. This arises, in part, from too heavy a reliance on secondary accounts of the period, especially those by Philip S. Klein. The author, for example, accepts Klein’s contention that Buchanan was more successful than Dallas in designating patronage appointments in Pennsylvania in 1845 when the former was Secretary of State and the latter was Vice President. Neither Klein nor Belohlavek analyzed patronage for the entire Polk presidency. In the long term Dallas was more successful as Polk rewarded him for his services to the administration. The interpretation presented adheres to Belohlavek’s negative view of Dallas’s effectiveness, importance, contributions, and persistence. This is a view which this reviewer does not share.

Finally, as in many biographies, Dallas the man does not fully emerge. The Dallas papers contain ample vignettes of Dallas flying kites with his children, haggling over room-and-board rates in Washington, sending the Senate sergeant-at-arms to Philadelphia to protect his family after he cast the deciding vote for the Tariff of 1846, coordinating political activities in his native city, and lamenting the secession crisis to permit a fuller portrait of Dallas.

Factual errors, omissions, contradictions, the failure to use primary sources, and, in spite of a heavy reliance on published works, a failure to incorporate recent scholarship, mar this otherwise well-written biography. Unfortunately, as the first work on any aspect of the Jacksonian period in Pennsylvania to appear in nearly two decades, it will be given greater attention than it deserves.


One of the results of the recent rise of women’s history and the new social history has been an increased interest in the everyday lives of average Americans. And while Sarah Tyson Rorer, Philadelphia’s answer to Fanny Farmer, was by no means average, her role in shaping American eating habits and cooking practices links her to the dinner tables of a cross section of the nation, and, by association, to the broader fields of home economics education, nutrition, health, and social customs.
Mrs. Rorer, as she was popularly known, came to her calling quite by accident, enrolling in cooking lessons sponsored by the Philadelphia New Century Club as a means to fight the housewife blahs in November 1879. Her success at this initial venture soon led to the growth of the Philadelphia Cooking School, the authorship of cookbooks as varied as *New Ways for Oysters* and *How to Use a Chafing Dish*, demonstrations at exhibitions and fairs, and columns in the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping*.

Because Sarah Tyson Rorer apparently left no collection of personal papers, Emma Seifrit Weigley has had to rely to a large degree on newspaper accounts, Mrs. Rorer’s magazine columns and cookbooks, and a few oral history interviews, such as one with Mrs. Rorer’s son James (who at 88 provided recollections of his mother’s personal life), as the basis for her study. The nature of these materials has precluded this being a complete biography, for there are simply too many aspects of Mrs. Rorer’s life, such as her relationship with her husband, that cannot be documented by the existing sources. Weigley, however, has done an admirable job in reconstructing the public career of the woman who has been called the first American dietician. Not only is her painstaking (and at times, one suspects, painful, wading through all those issues of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and other local papers) research well-documented, but the book is one of the most readable monographs to cross this reviewer’s desk in quite a while.

Perhaps because of the subject—food—and Mrs. Rorer’s own rhetorical eccentricities, one is tempted to treat the lady and her theories lightly. After all, she produced such eminently quotable quotes as “Christianity and dyspepsia are never found in the same individual,” and, “No product of the hog is fit to eat. Do I eat ham? Certainly not. I have no time to eat anything which takes five hours to digest.” But a closer scrutiny of Mrs. Rorer’s ideas, such as her advocacy of green salads, her awareness of possible food impurities and adulterations, her sensible suggestions about conservation of fuel in the kitchen, and her admonitions against sweets, indicate that most of her nutritional and domestic philosophy would pass contemporary judgment.

Although Weigley’s purpose was to document Mrs. Rorer’s career, the overall impact of the book could have been strengthened if she had broadened her approach to include a discussion of certain questions that must certainly arise in the course of reading this work. For example, if Mrs. Rorer was a nutritional innovator, what were average Americans eating that made her ideas such a novelty? If so many young American wives had problems in the kitchen, was it because they had not been adequately prepared to assume the domestic role in married life, or was cooking on a coal stove, using rather limited ingredients and utensils, a real art that required specialized instruction beyond what mothers could give their daughters? Some speculation on Weigley’s part on the impact that Rorer-inspired nutritional changes in the American diet might have had on health, and possibly even personality, would also have been interesting. While Weigley devotes a short chapter to Mrs. Rorer’s role in the home economics movement, a more analytical perspective on her real influence on institutions...
and leaders in that field would have been welcome. This reader would also have liked to have seen some comparison of Mrs. Rorer and her contemporaries, such as Fanny Farmer. Why, for example, have Fanny Farmer's cookbooks survived while Mrs. Rorer's have not?

Weigley's monograph forms a solid base from which social historians and historians of women can work to enlarge our knowledge of domestic life, the changing roles of women in the home and the workplace, and the impact of nutrition and food in their many aspects on the American people. More studies of this type are needed before we can truly assess the nature of so-called American civilization as the average American knows it.

*National Historical Publications and Records Commission*  
NANCY SAHLI


The American Association of State and Local History has indeed been fortunate in getting Thomas C. Cochran to write its bicentennial history of Pennsylvania. As stated in the preface, the association permitted each author in its bicentennial series to select a theme he considered to be of major significance in that state's history. Instead of following the traditional path of examining Pennsylvania's political development, a theme most ably treated in *A History of Pennsylvania* by Philip Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, Thomas Cochran has concentrated upon Pennsylvania's economic importance. In doing so, Cochran has not only made a contribution to the written history of the state but also to economic history in general.

Thomas Cochran maintains that Pennsylvania has always been a leader in the economic development of the nation. His chapters focus on this point. Drawing upon his extensive knowledge of American economic history and familiarity with Pennsylvania's contribution to its economic growth, Professor Cochran places the Keystone State in a broad national context. In this short book he has brought out the most important facts and synthesized an abundance of material to prove his thesis.

This book is marred by few errors. For example, to make Monroe County a part of the Standard Metropolitan Area of Scranton and Wilkes-Barre stretches the definition of that term a little too much. Even more seriously, Cochran fails to examine Pennsylvania's leading industry today—tourism. One can excuse this sin of omission since little scholarly literature appears on the subject, and Cochran has drawn upon much recent scholarly literature.

Serious students of Pennsylvania history will want to read Professor Cochran's well-written book. This monograph should be purchased by every public, high school, and college library in the state as well as those libraries in the United States interested in collecting literature on the Keystone State. College professors and high school teachers will find this book good supplemental reading in Pennsylvania history courses. Pennsylvanians owe a debt of gratitude to Thomas Cochran for writing an excellent book for the bicentennial celebration.

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H. Benjamin Powell

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