
This effort continues the excellent bibliographic series produced by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The Commission plans to issue a supplement such as this for each three-year interval. This guide, the second of its kind, covers the years 1971–1973 and is arranged, as usual, in a combination of chronological and topical categories.


Vincent Franklin’s The Education of Black Philadelphia, 1900–1950 appears as the first monograph to offer a postscript to The Philadelphia Negro, a monumental study produced by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1899. Since black Philadelphians had long been engaged in formulating policies which affected black Americans nationwide, Franklin’s subject takes on even greater significance. Franklin presents a wide panorama of black Philadelphia life in relation to the Afro-American community’s social and political history and educational development. Black Philadelphians, Franklin correctly asserts, suffered the indignities of white racial prejudice. Sable race leaders in the Quaker City endeavored, against overwhelming odds, to find methods for expanding professional opportunities for black educators, disseminating pertinent information to the black community, and educating black children.

Unfortunately, problems in the organizational structure of The Education of Black Philadelphia detract somewhat from the general quality of Franklin’s work. The primary and most consistent problems appear through a lack of focus. The initial chapter, “The Black Community and Race Relations Before 1920,” for example, provides an interesting background on the early life of black Philadelphia but fails to establish a proper connection with black education. A closer relationship between the first and second chapter, “The Schooling of the Philadelphia Negro,” would establish a proper direction for the reader to follow. Further evidence of this persistent difficulty appears in chapter titles where the major theme evolves only after several pages have been written. One such glaring error appears in a chapter entitled “Politics, the Public Schools, and the Black Community in the 1920s.” Here, the topic sentence of the initial paragraph refers
to "... the Great Migration, World War I, and industrial opportunities which contributed to changing social conditions among black Philadelphians." A discussion of "Politics [and] the Public Schools" is nearly relegated to being an insignificant afterthought.

Other oversights and errors slightly mar this study. While Franklin shows that illiteracy among black Philadelphians in 1910 was uncommonly high in comparison with other cities (p. 15), no explanation for this bizarre development is offered. Given the emphasis on black cultural and educational development in Philadelphia during the 19th century, black illiteracy in the Quaker City seems incomprehensible. In *The Philadelphia Quakers in the Industrial Age*, Philip Benjamin provides some direction toward answering this question; he describes both the positive and debilitating role the Society of Friends played in educating black Philadelphians. The Benjamin study regrettably was never consulted. Franklin also erroneously places the disastrous housing collapse of December 1936 in North rather than South Philadelphia (p. 113). The site of this housing tragedy proved exceedingly important because a *Philadelphia Tribune* newsboy lost his life. The disaster took place near the *Tribune* office in South Philadelphia, causing the editorial staff of this black newspaper to engage in investigative reporting which aroused the black community more than any single issue since the murder of Octavius V. Catto, a black teacher, in 1871. Finally, Franklin fails to deal adequately with class differences within the black community, differences which—in contrast to his assertion to the contrary (p. 197)—had a continuous and profound impact upon the quality of education black teachers administered to black students. The effectiveness of black teachers who instructed black pupils and the role black teachers played in the black community requires an investigation which Franklin ignores.

Nevertheless, there are several redeeming qualities which make *The Education of Black Philadelphia* worth reading. Despite aforementioned, organizational problems, Franklin writes well and holds the readers' attention. In addition, the book contains important factual information describing the evolution of black education, the transition from segregated to integrated faculties, and the impact of racial discrimination in the education of black youths. Franklin, moreover, proves himself particularly adept at using his background in education to show how white educators used tests and other devices to obfuscate the black students' ability to learn. His analysis of the political causes leading to termination of the dual lists which separated prospective black and white teachers and relegated the former to all black schools proves most enlightening. Indeed, Franklin shows that many elements of black political, social, and economic life in Philadelphia were governed largely by educational issues involving black leaders and white administrators of the Philadelphia public schools. *The Education of Black Philadelphia* provides an important step toward understanding the trials and tribulations facing those who desired to enhance the education received by blacks attending public schools in urban America.

*Dartmouth College*  
H. Viscount Nelson, Jr.
Rakove has undertaken an ambitious task. He seeks not only to explain why Congress became the paramount authority in the independence struggle, but also to depict the evolution of American conceptions from 1772 to 1787 of the proper relationship between the states and the central government. The author is more successful and original in fulfilling his second objective.

Limitations of space hamper any account that seeks to encompass in 399 pages of text the growth of the colonial resistance movement, the decision to seek independence, Congress's failure to solve the fiscal and administrative dilemmas of the 1780s, and the revolution in political thought that finally lead to the Constitution of 1787. Unlike many of his predecessors, Rakove tends to downgrade the role of parties and factions in the Continental Congress. Instead he stresses the delegates' common experiences and assumptions, and the external pressures that forced Congress to adopt measures having the widest possible basis of support both within and without its walls. No faction dared to impose on others a program which might split intercolonial unity. Rakove maintains the weakness of the Continental Congress between 1777 and 1787 was not caused by the dominance of a states rights party or philosophy, but rather resulted from confusion over the exact nature of the central government and what its powers should be.

While Rakove's arguments and documentation are often persuasive, they still cannot deny the findings of H. James Henderson that distinct coalitions of delegates emerged at various times in Congress's history. While often members of these factions agreed with each other only two-thirds of the time, their existence can be objectively determined from roll-call analysis. Unfortunately roll calls on specific issues were not recorded in the congressional journals before August 1777, consequently there is no way to conclusively prove or disprove Rakove's thesis that the congressional decisions which paved the way for independence were adopted by large majorities, and were not the result of the ascendancy of a "radical" congressional faction. After 1777 though, Rakove's interpretation and Henderson's interpretation seem to differ more in emphasis than in substance. Both agree that Congress was nearly paralyzed during 1779 by the bitter party struggles that resulted from the Deane-Lee imbroglio and the fishery rights controversy. Rakove also agrees that postwar intercontinental conflict, climaxed by the heated debates over John Jay's proposed Spanish treaty of 1786, prevented Congress from achieving even a minimal resolution of pressing national problems. In the end, both Rakove and the historians he criticizes can agree that further investigations are needed of the congressional factions that emerged with ever-increasing frequency during Congress's later years.

Rakove, however, makes his most important contribution in another area of needed research. He explains how American conceptions of the central government's role profoundly altered by 1788. Americans entered the Revolutionary period with no clear idea of how to organize Congress...
or what powers it should assume. In a highly original and detailed description of the evolution of the Articles of Confederation and its various prototypes, Rakove proves that even by 1777–1779 Americans had failed to reach any satisfactory conclusions about Congress’s functions. Though most political thinkers conceded to Congress the minimum powers necessary to constitute a sovereign authority in the eyes of European diplomats, profound disagreements existed over whether Congress was a legislative assembly, a diplomatic body, or a supreme executive council. Even the leaders of the nationalist faction of the 1780s lacked a concrete program for delegating powers to such a tenuously organized and amorphous body. Like most constitutional commentators, Rakove agrees that James Madison’s Virginia Plan, finished only a few weeks before the opening of the Constitutional Convention, was the first detailed proposal for endowing the federal government with ample authority, separation of powers, and a structural basis for popular support. Madison’s singularly innovative proposal helped to complete the ideological evolution, so ably documented by Rakove, that encouraged a majority to approve the new Constitution.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

TED PARSONS


Violent death is a major concern of contemporary society. Policy makers at all levels of government and members of the community at large have expressed considerable anxiety over the high incidence of such death and its ubiquity in the urban environment. Despite this obvious and universal apprehension over the issue, our historical knowledge of violent death and its evolution remains limited at best, even among social scientists who are directly involved with the problem and its resolution. Roger Lane’s Violent Death in the City attempts to fill this gap by systematically examining suicide, accidental death, and murder in Philadelphia from 1839 to 1901. Lane is particularly interested in the relationship between violent death and the industrializing society of Philadelphia as well as identifying the groups most involved in these forms of death. His findings challenge many of our assumptions about violent death in the last century.

Lane seriously questions the traditional notion that industrialization sparked a dramatic rise in the incidence of murder in the urban center. In fact, the murder rate declined sharply after the 1860s and continued downward through 1901. The author attributes this drop to the demands for greater social control from the stable residents of the community. The mechanisms for tighter control manifested themselves in the workplace and the public school. The educational system that emerged after the 1850s incorporated authority figures, industrial time, and the routine of the ten-hour work day, all of which were designed to prepare the student for the industrial system. The new form of industrial work stressed close supervision of the employee’s work and personal habits, regimentation, and year-round employment. The school and the work place produced
a more disciplined and more regulated laboring force less prone to emotion and impulse than its preindustrial counterpart. At the same time increasing sophistication of criminal detection made possible more arrests and convictions. Public pressure added harsher penalties. Combined, these developments created a safer city and lowered the incidence of murder. Lane reinforces this argument by pointing out that murder rates rose among blacks, women, and low status transients who were outside the new industrial system.

Industrialization also affected the nature of accidental death in the city. The railroad became one of the main causes of accidental deaths while those resulting from boiler explosions, electricity, gasoline lamps, and the like rose throughout the century. In contrast accidental death in the home declined, especially among children, despite the presence of dangerous technology such as gasoline stoves. Lane suggests that changed attitudes, particularly toward caring for the young, account for this turn about.

Unlike murder, suicide rose during the last half of the nineteenth century. Among the native born, self-destruction was largely confined to those in the upper-class occupations and in wealthier wards. For the foreign born, suicide rates were even higher during the entire period, although rates varied considerably from group to group. Lane accounts for this variation by differences in cultural values.

Lane's argument that industrialization ultimately promoted a safer urban environment is indeed novel. Yet, it suffers from overgeneralization. Murder is just one form of violence. Crimes of aggression, of which murder is the most extreme form, also include assault, attempted murder, and wounding. To sustain his thesis Lane would have to demonstrate that these other types of violence were declining during the last half of the nineteenth century. Lane, because of the focus of the study, also excludes crimes of acquisition such as robbery; but these, according to one survey, constitute 50 percent of all violent acts in the city. Moreover, Lane never adequately describes the specific changes in the workplace for any industry or the extent to which various groups participated in these new forms of work and therefore social control.

More serious problems plague his analysis of suicide. Its rise among the native-born upper class is never adequately explained. Lane also does not describe the content of cultural values among the foreign born which he argues account for the variation in the rates of self-destruction. Last, he attributes the high incidence of suicide among the foreign born to anomie and then claims it was probably most common in the upper levels of these immigrant groups. This reasoning seems inconsistent since the leaders in these subcultures were the most stable and most involved in the institutions and least likely to suffer alienation. Countless studies of foreign-born communities stress this very point.

As a pioneering work on a virtually unexplored topic, Lane's book is well worth reading. His methodological discussion of sources such as coroners' reports is superior and will serve as a starting point for subsequent investigations of violent death.

Edward J. Davies
**BOOK REVIEWS**


This booklet makes available to a wider audience a work that was first circulated more informally in 1961. It examines the Pennsylvania Canal in two Pennsylvania counties during the “golden days” of 1829-1854 before water travel was supplanted by the railroad. During that era, Stephenson argues, the canal brought considerable economic benefits to the local economy, especially in port towns like Blairsville and Saltsburg. In addition to the text there are photographs, drawings, maps, and tables detailing financial and shipping data.


In January 1935 Professor William A. Russ, Jr., of Susquehanna University published in this journal an article entitled “What Is the Matter with Pennsylvania?” “Any good loyal son of the Keystone State,” he wrote, “must be humiliated by the paucity of Pennsylvania contributions to the national government. . . .” This great commonwealth had given to the nation one mediocre president, one little-known vice president, no senators of distinction, only three Speakers of the House, a handful of prominent Representatives, and no outstanding members of the Supreme Court. Dr. Russ did not suggest an answer to his question. Now, almost half a century later, with the record little better, Professor E. Digby Baltzell, who teaches sociology and history at the University of Pennsylvania, has provided an answer.

His thesis is that “the egalitarian and anti-authoritarian principles of Quakerism” created a vacuum of leadership not only in Philadelphia but in the entire state, while “the hierarchical and authoritarian principles of Puritanism” produced in the city of Boston and the commonwealth of Massachusetts a continuing stream of outstanding leaders. Selecting for analysis a group of individuals included in the Dictionary of American Biography who belonged to fifty leading families in each of the two cities, he found that the Boston families had 188 of their number included in this classic reference work, while Philadelphia had only 146 in the DAB. He also noted that the sketches of the Bostonians were considerably longer. Furthermore, the Boston families had eighty-three members included in Who’s Who in America for 1940, while the Philadelphia families had only thirty representatives in this standard reference work. The Bostonians were better educated and more given to cultural achievements as well as to public service. Pennsylvania produced no families as distinguished as the Adamses of Massachusetts, and Philadelphia’s most prominent resident, Franklin, was born in Boston.
Professor Baltzell finds the roots of this disparity in the Protestant Reformation. "It was surely devotion to calling," he writes, "the right use of riches, and systematic philanthropy—especially in the case of Harvard College and education in general—that informed the founders of Massachusetts Bay and their Brahmin descendants." The "radically individualistic and subjective doctrine of the Inner Light" and the "radical egalitarianism of the Quakers," on the other hand, discouraged the emergence of an elite group of leaders. Puritanism produced in Boston "an intolerant responsibility," while Quakerism produced in Philadelphia "a tolerant irresponsibility."

From these general comparisons, Professor Baltzell moves on to discuss the early history of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, emphasizing the heterogeneity of the latter colony and the fact that it was "settled largely by individuals rather than communities." Brief attention is focused on the development of the two colonies in the eighteenth century, with special emphasis on Philadelphia's "golden age." Subsequent chapters detail at some length the development of family fortunes in the two cities in the nineteenth century, their educational history, their contributions to literature, art, and architecture, to the learned professions, and to politics. Scores of individuals are the subjects of thumbnail sketches. A separate chapter is given to the history of Catholics in the two cultures. "Whereas Philadelphia Catholics have been largely content to cultivate their own garden," Dr. Baltzell remarks, "Catholic Bostonians have been busy cultivating voters of all faiths in their city, their state, and their nation." Witness the Kennedys.

The final chapter emphasizes the contributions of the Gurneyite Quakers to the general welfare—"a deviant case" which "suggests a rule." In his conclusion, Dr. Baltzell suggests that, "although America as a whole has been Puritan and Calvinist throughout most of its history," it has recently moved far closer to "the antinomian individualism" of the Quakers.

Fifty pages of charts and tables contrasting "the Boston and Philadelphia first family leadership" are appended to 456 pages of text. Footnotes are supplied only for direct quotations, but there is an extensive bibliography arranged topically. It consists almost entirely of secondary works. There are a considerable number of typographical and factual errors; General George B. McClellan, for example, is referred to as "Lincoln's secretary of war." While the book is stimulating and informative, it is difficult to read. Many sentences and paragraphs are so packed with names and dates and written in such long complex form that it is difficult to comprehend them. Practically everyone of any consequence in the history of the two cities is mentioned, but no individual receives extended treatment. The important contributions of Philadelphia Quakers to the history of American social reform movements are slighted. Lucretia Mott, for example, gets only a footnote. However, she was born in Massachusetts!

The book, as the title implies, tries to relate the effect of the American Revolution on the Society of Friends and vice versa. In doing so, the beginning chapter attempts to establish the position of the Quaker in the prewar years both geographically and philosophically.

Quakers first arrived in the mid-seventeenth century and spread throughout colonial America. After 1682 their focal point was Pennsylvania where William Penn hoped to establish a “Holy Experiment.” The Friends were unique people—plain in dress and speech and supporters of pacifism, the latter characteristic proving to be the major source of controversy between them and the belligerents in 1776. Despite the fact that the migration of the American Quakers had severed geographic ties, they maintained close communication with Friends in Britain by way of letters and periodic visits.

As time passed and more colonists arrived in Pennsylvania, the Friends’ power was challenged. The newcomers, largely non-Quakers, were people who desired protection from the government and were willing to support that assurance. As early as the French and Indian War, it became apparent that Friends could not maintain their testimony of peace and continue in the pragmatic realm of politics. They began to withdraw from that arena.

With the British victory over the French came a change in colonial policy. From 1763 until 1776 the British were looking for ways to finance, first, an expensive war and then, the operation of an enlarged empire. Prior to that, the British had made feeble attempts to raise revenue in the colonies, but now they were in earnest. From the Stamp Act through the Townshend Duties each attempt was met with protest and boycotting of British goods. Quakers joined in the protests and supported nonimportation. As the protests became more severe, the Quakers pulled back. It became apparent that their pacifism was threatened by the excesses of the protestors. The challenge to the mother country had progressed from a philosophical disagreement to a physical confrontation.

The Quakers were in the dilemma that had faced them since their origin nearly 150 years before—a group suspected by both sides. In attempts to explain their pacifism they had published, at times, questionably worded testimonies that increased suspicion of them.

The Philadelphia Quakers were most guilty. Led by the conservative Pembertons and other “weighty” Friends they aggravated a delicate situation. British Friends, such as Dr. John Fothergill, had worked diligently to rescind parliamentary measures which oppressed the colonies. They were surprised that testimony supporting the king would emanate from the injured party.

The American Quakers suffered for their alleged support to Britain. Even if they had not been accused of loyalism, they would have suffered for their pacifist stance—history had proven that. Imprisonment, fines, confiscations, and banishment were imposed for failure to bear arms, pay war taxes, and generally support the cause. The American Quakers instituted Meetings for
Suffering or committees to examine the punishments. The committees tried to relieve the burden when a Friend had suffered as a result of adherence to Quaker principles.

The Society of Friends used the American Revolution to revive the principles which time and circumstances had eroded. The renaissance involved a rededication to plainness and a rejection of worldliness, a closer scrutiny of the education of their children, and disownment of those who could not pledge strict adherence to Quaker testimony.

The Society emerged from the Revolution fewer in number and removed from politics but truer to the principles they claimed. British Friends were no longer influential as ties between the former colonies and Britain were severed. At the time of the British evacuation many Quakers chose to return to England or to relocate in Canada. The inward turning of Friends after the Revolution was a turn away from worldliness and a turn toward a reaffirmation of humanitarianism for which today they are well known.

Arthur J. Mekeel has written a well-documented account of the relationship of the Society of Friends to the American Revolution. One wonders why the Harvard dissertation of 1940 has taken nearly forty years to publish.

The book is copiously footnoted with a variety of sources, American as well as British. Unfortunately two-thirds of the subject matter deals with the situation in Philadelphia and the reaction of the Philadelphia Quakers. Lesser emphasis is given to Quakers in the other colonies.

The author has chosen to go from a chronological approach in the beginning of the book to a regional approach in the second portion to a topical approach at the end which, although informative, tends to sacrifice the cohesiveness of the book. The prose is clear, but somewhat stiff. Few writers of Quaker history can match the freer style of someone like the late Frederick B. Tolles.

Omitted are such events as the Boston Massacre and also, more significantly, the personal views of the Revolution by such Quakers as Robert Proud, a vehement opponent of the rebel cause. These voids seem to indicate the sacrifice of some social themes. The biggest question left unanswered is how and when the Friends became American citizens. They were prohibited by the Society to acquire land from confiscated estates because the lands constituted spoils of war. It would therefore seem to hold that they would have been forbidden to reside in the new nation which itself was acquired by war. Historians of the period might ponder that question.

In all, a reader must applaud the efforts of Mekeel. The book is filled with pertinent information and only another accompanying volume could possibly satisfy all of the queries that one might ask about the relation of the Society of Friends and the American Revolution.

Cheyney State College

John M. Beeson

Pennsylvania and its soldiers of the Revolution play pivotal roles in Charles Royster's exploration of the American national character as it was reflected in the thoughts and experiences of the men of the Continental Army. The Valley Forge winter of 1777-1778 and the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line on 1 January 1781 are especially important to Royster's argument. Royster's account of Valley Forge finds a new dimension of significance in the work of General von Steuben to professionalize the Continental Army there. The account of the mutiny explores the qualities that distinguished the professionalism of the Continental Army from European military professionalism, qualities critical to Royster's perceptions of the American character.

Royster "assumes that there was an American character prevalent during the War for Independence and that we can profitably analyze it." He uses "the word 'character' because I try to understand not only the formally articulated ideas usually described by the word 'mind' but also some of the most important emotions, attitudes, and conduct of Americans in wartime" (p. v i). Royster believes that the Americans of the Revolutionary generation themselves perceived the war and particularly the role of the Continental Army in it as representing a trial of their national character. Liberty could survive only if Americans proved themselves worthy in their defense of it. To be worthy of Liberty, the Americans must not only win their War of Independence but win it in ways that remained consistent with their national ideals. They must wage war according to civilized rules of humane conduct. Their soldiers must be not mere butchers but must attain the best of the qualities of European military professionals. Yet while reaching for that skill tempered by humaneness which characterized military professionalism at its best, the American soldiers must somehow become professionals without also taking on the excessively servile qualities that made professional military discipline in Europe a docile tool of any tyrant and professional armies historically the foes of Liberty. Somehow, the American army must combine the previously irreconcilable, military professionalism and dedication to Liberty melded together.

For a discouragingly long time, it appeared that the American army might never attain the qualities of professionalism at all. Royster portrays the Revolutionary War as sustained initially, in 1775, by a rage militaire, a surging of warlike zeal. At the beginning, many hoped that the rage militaire might obviate the need for professional soldiers, because Americans' anti-standing-army ideology decreed that "in the contest between commitment to the army and suspicion of it, suspicion had all the interior lines of communication" (p. 38). Yet despite the ideological commitment to a citizen-soldiery, even from the beginning "the use of militia during the war came more from necessity than from libertarian or egalitarian theory. People
in every state preferred and urgently requested the presence of the Continental Army when they felt threatened" (p. 37). Unfortunately for the cause, the rage militaire soon dissipated as intense emotions always do, and the Continental Army was hard put to substitute for it a sustained military competence.

Valley Forge becomes a centerpiece of Royster's history because "the most significant creation of the Valley Forge winter was a self-conscious professionalism" (p. 196). The army and the country abandoned the hope that somehow a recapturing of the old rage of 1775 could compensate for the absence of professional military skills. As the principal inculcator of the skills, Baron von Steuben mounts again in Royster's account his traditional high pedestal as the successful drillmaster of the army. Because Royster's, however, is a sophisticated analysis of the rise of American military professionalism, the impact of Steuben's influence is not simplistically portrayed as altogether favorable to the Revolutionary cause and its ideals. Hand in hand with professional skills there rose indeed some of the arrogance of the professional soldier toward his civilian brethren and civil authorities that the anti-standing-army ideologues feared. But at least in part, the American professional army succeeded after all in reconciling the previously irreconcilable, military professionalism and dedication to Liberty. Royster quotes Steuben's own testimonies that American soldiers, however well disciplined, remained also more questioning and skeptical than their European counterparts. It is in regard to the special nature of American military professionalism that the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line at Morristown becomes a pivot of Royster's analysis.

For to Royster, the mutiny offers the proof, however paradoxical, that while developing enough military professionalism to stand against the British, the Continental Army indeed developed a new variety of professionalism in which dedication to Liberty outweighed commitments either to pecuniary gain or to the military life for its own sake. "The most notable element of the mutiny was the ease with which it was overcome. . . . The mutineers were at a disadvantage because they believed in the cause and wanted to remain soldiers. . . . The soldiers wound up having to choose between complete rejection of the army and continued service with their complaints ill met. They stayed" (p. 301). This commitment of the mutineers finally to the cause rather than to redress of their immediate grievances reinforces one of Royster's further arguments concerning the dedication of the Continental Army to Liberty, an argument made specific in an appendix but in the background throughout the book. Royster rejects the interpretation of such recent historians as Mark E. Lender and Robert A. Gross depicting the Continental soldier as much like the eighteenth-century European soldier, the dregs of society who had little to lose by going off to war and "who drifted from poverty to army to poverty, prisoners of their economic status" (p. 376). Royster emphasizes that if money had been the soldiers' primary consideration, they could have done better by joining the British. "Continental soldiers sustained extremes of adversity. . . . To account for their perseverance by their calculations of material advantage strains credulity" (p. 377).
Royster's argument for the centrality of libertarian ideals in forming the character of both army and nation in the Revolution is richly detailed and cogent. The student either of the Revolution at large or of Pennsylvania in the Revolution cannot afford to overlook this book.

*Temple University*  
**RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY**


In 1788 Thomas Lloyd printed a small volume on the Constitutional Convention in which "all the arguments of the opposition were suppressed." During the nineteenth century other volumes appeared, but they were "discreditable to the industry" of their authors. Finally, in 1888 McMaster and Stone published a work which contained "probably all that can ever be known" (p. vi). Nevertheless, Merrill Jensen has compiled so much more in his *Documentary History* that one is tempted to repeat the boast of McMaster and Stone. There is even a microform supplement for each state for material that is repetitious or peripheral.

Steven R. Boyd's book began as a doctoral dissertation in Professor Jensen's seminar, and he was given "access to the files of the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution and the Documentary History of the First Federal Elections projects while [he] was employed by the latter" (p. xii). Boyd concentrates, as the title indicates, on the opposition—the Antifederalists—and he limits himself so rigorously to their side of the story in each state that he omits the elements of high drama that accompanied the miracle of the ratification.

Boyd's work is balanced and judicious, but dull. It is too encyclopedic for the general reader. The interest that carries one through the Constitutional Convention dies out when the scene shifts to the ratifying process in each of the thirteen states—though there is no other single source for a similar compression of the facts. Every opposition leader is mentioned, and his name is indexed, so that the book is a convenient reference work for a researcher, if not a pleasant pastime for the curious reader. It has the virtues, as well as the faults, of a superior Ph.D. dissertation.

The year 1787 saw a revival of the coercive spirit of 1776. Able leaders were determined to save their revolution, and almost equally able leaders were anxious to prevent a coup d'etat that might destroy everything that they had achieved with so much suffering. The antis wanted a new constitutional convention or, if that could not be brought about, they wanted "previous amendments"—about two hundred of them in all! The contest was surprisingly even, and Boyd's chief achievement is to demonstrate a "hitherto unsuspected degree of organization among the Antifederalists"
The ten amendments that were actually passed, constituting the Bill of Rights, however, are not discussed, and that part of the story is not fully developed, though it might be considered the logical conclusion of the activities of the opposition.

It is a remarkable fact that the federal constitution has lasted to the present day, whereas the original thirteen state constitutions have all been rewritten, in most cases several times. It is equally remarkable that the Antifederalists accepted the Constitution, and in effect became a Loyal Opposition, which supported the Constitution as "cheerfully and heartily" (p. 83) as if they had advocated it in the first place. There were many options (including the use of force) which were available to the antis that they did not take. Their most important demand—for a second convention—was dropped in favor of an agreement to supply amendments and to concentrate on the first federal elections. It is to be hoped that the present generation of Americans will have as much sense!

Jensen's *Documentary History* is a magnificent achievement. Pennsylvania was the first state to call a convention, and the first major state to adopt the Constitution. There were any number of newspapers in Philadelphia, where the convention was held, and accordingly there were several versions of everything that transpired—all of which are given, with the sources identified. Force of a minor sort was used by the Federalists to hold down a couple of members of the Assembly so that there would be a quorum to call the convention. Samuel Bryan's *Centinal* papers and other influential Antifederalist statements were circulated here. The editorial procedures that were adopted are clearly set forth, and they constitute a model of their kind. There is a chronology, 1786–1790, and a calendar for the years 1787–1790. The work concludes with the text of the Constitution.

*Lafayette College*  

*John M. Coleman*

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An important anniversary of a large county historical society always brings with it the question of how to commemorate the occasion. In this instance, the Lehigh County Historical Society has published in a single volume both the history of the society's seventy-five years and a collection of illustrations relating to the history of Lehigh County. The result is a handsome addition to the society's *Proceedings* series on local history.

The first quarter of the book is a history of the society written by Mahlon H. Hellerich. Hellerich details the society's founding in 1904 by Charles Rhoads Roberts, a member of city council with an interest in local history and genealogy. Like other such institutions, the society's membership reflected a strong elitism, but that, apparently, did not stand as an obstacle to steady growth up to 1920. The principal directions
taken by the society were clearly mapped out by World War I. These included publications (the Proceedings, beginning in 1906), a speakers' program, tours, and an early commitment to preservation (saving and restoring Trout Hall on the old Muhlenberg College campus in 1908). After hard times in the twenties and thirties, the society during and after World War II moved forward with new vigor, expanding its membership, taking on a professional staff, acquiring and restoring additional historic properties, augmenting its library and archives holdings, and working more closely on history education with local schools and colleges.

Hellerich has carefully integrated the society’s history with that of Allentown and the nation, but some potentially significant questions have gone unanswered. For example, more should have been done to provide a context for the society’s preservation efforts. What was the philosophy or rationale behind building preservation early in the century, and did the society adhere to it? Did the society’s endeavors clash with the urban renewal movement of the 1960s? Additionally, the author might have been more specific about the challenges and opportunities facing his society and others in the 1980s, especially in view of funding limitations and the new horizons being opened in oral and ethnic studies. Nevertheless, Hellerich’s study is thoroughly researched, well written, and should serve as a model for other societies planning similar projects.

The remainder of the book consists of illustrations. These include photographs of dinosaur tracks 190 million years old, Indian artifacts, prominent Lehigh Countians, and historic properties. One is a starkly beautiful shot of the Saylor Park Cement Industry Museum, whose kilns give almost the appearance of Egyptian monoliths. Many of the pictures are in color, all have highly informative captions, and most come from the society’s own rich collections. One only wishes for a modern map of Lehigh County to help the outsider locate the various sites.

Given the decision—no doubt the result of many meetings and numerous compromises—to publish this volume, the Lehigh County Historical Society is to be commended for a thoroughly professional job. Yet the historian cannot help but wonder if a documented and interpretive history of Allentown might have been of greater value in the long run.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

William F. Trimble


"The role of waterpower since the eighteenth century," Louis Hunter writes, "whether viewed in strictly technological terms or within the broader economic context, has fared poorly at the hands of the historian" (p. 158). In this work, the first of a projected three-volume series on the
history of stationary industrial power in America to 1930, Hunter sets out to restore water power to its rightful position as a fundamental component of the nation’s industrial growth.

From colonial times through the early nineteenth century, mechanical power to most Americans meant water power. Flourmills, gristmills, sawmills, tanneries, foundries—any operation requiring the application of considerable force—existed by the thousands from Maine to Georgia and west along the frontier. Hunter contends that these water mills “rank with the plow, ax, and oxen as basic equipment of a pioneering people” (p. 3) and frequently preceded the establishment of schools, churches, and stores in a new community. Hydrological and topographical conditions, together with a chronic labor shortage and an abundance of natural resources awaiting exploitation, heavily favored the use of water power in America, which until 1820 or so relied almost entirely upon the rather simple technology already perfected in England and on the Continent. Water mills were community-oriented operations devoted chiefly to meeting the needs of the local markets of a subsistence economy.

Integrating his own findings with George R. Taylor’s interpretations of the “transportation revolution,” Hunter shows how these small mills gradually gave way to larger water-powered facilities, the first true factories, that utilized complex transmission machinery and whose owners were market oriented and profit motivated. American engineers began making noteworthy contributions to the technology of water power. While Pennsylvania had its share of water mills in the preindustrial era, water-powered factories were confined mainly to New England, the Hudson River valley, and northern New Jersey. Pennsylvania lacked the steeply sloped streams, regularity of streamflow, and other prerequisites for industrial water power and henceforth played only a minor role in its evolution. As late as 1880, for example, the Susquehanna River had not a single water power installation.

Yet water power remained the dominant source of power for American manufacturing until the 1860s. Between 1869 and 1909, water power’s absolute horsepower capacity actually increased, although its relative share of the nation’s total manufacturing capacity declined to steam power. Steam was not necessarily a cheaper source of power, but it was free from the plagues of seasonality, meteorological vagaries, fixed output, and similar limitations unique to water power, limitations that proved intolerable under the new conditions present in the market economy. Steam power ultimately conquered direct-drive water power; but the introduction of hydroelectricity, wherein falling water turned turbines which were in turn coupled to electric generators, saved water power from total extinction and in fact gave it renewed importance in the industrial economy. Hunter touches only briefly on the subject of hydroelectricity, reserving it for more detailed attention in a future volume.

The two remaining volumes will deal with steam and the revolution in power transmission and distribution, fields more closely linked to the economic development of Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, persons interested in this aspect of Pennsylvania’s history will find Hunter’s comprehensive
BOOK REVIEWS

The treatment of the preindustrial phase of water power useful and interesting, since in Pennsylvania as in other states water mills enjoyed a central (and often overlooked) place in economic life. The author is equally comfortable with the economics, technology, and geography of water power and gives numerous references that should be valuable for those readers wishing to probe the topic more deeply. The illustrations are also plentiful. In many cases, unfortunately, they do little to enhance the clarity of the technical passages. Louis Hunter has produced a monumental work in economic and technological history. His next volume is eagerly anticipated.

The Pennsylvania State University

MICHAEL BEZILLA


The year 1892 witnessed some of the most bitter strikes in American labor history. In those twelve long months there was the general strike in New Orleans, the coal miners’ strike in East Tennessee, the switchmen’s strike in Buffalo, the copper miners’ strike in Coeur d’Alene, Idaho, and the steel workers’ strike in Homestead. The last stoppage of work was one of the bloodiest clashes between a union and management known to date.

The opponents in this latter struggle were, on the one side, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of North America. It had a membership of twenty-five thousand and was the most powerful union in the country at the time. On the other side was the chief industrial barony of the new age, the Carnegie Steel Company, a forerunner of the United States Steel Corporation, which operated and owned twelve steel and coke works in the Pittsburgh area and employed over thirteen thousand workers.

In the summer of 1892, H. C. Frick, the manager of the Carnegie works at Homestead, ordered a reduction of wages, and the entire labor force went on strike. On hand to witness the struggle was Arthur Burgoyne, a reporter for the Pittsburgh Leader. This work, originally published in 1893, is his story of the strike. Burgoyne relates the events from the perspective of Homestead, through the eyes of the union men. He shows how Frick reacted to the strike by recruiting a force of some three hundred Pinkerton guards and how they were sent in by night on river barges. On July 6, as the guards attempted to land, a battle broke out which resulted in the death of nine workers and three Pinkerton men. After thirteen hours, the Pinkertons surrendered, and the strike continued. But only disaster could ensue from the bloody union victory. The National Guard was summoned. When they arrived, the mill was eventually reopened, and the strike collapsed.

In Burgoyne’s account, he records the assumption held by the union members—that they were skilled craftsmen and therefore indispensable. They believed that they could bargain with the company as equals. What the author points out, however, was the fact that Frick and Carnegie
played by different ground rules. Burgoyne was quite perceptive for the time in which he lived. He was able to dramatize the fact that skilled craftsmen were no longer essential to the industry which meant that Frick was not required to bargain in good faith.

Burgoyne reports how the Homestead strike also resulted in one of those freakish confrontations of fanatic protagonists which somehow illuminate an age. On July 23, Alexander Berkman, an anarchist, entered Frick's office, shooting and seriously wounding him. Both men represented the extremes of their time. The author shows that this act, although not connected with the union per se, did, however, do great harm to its public image.

This book, which has been too long out-of-print, is rich with portraits of industrial and political leaders. It is especially vivid in its use of the workers' testimony given at the time of their trials; it provides an outstanding summarization of their cause to which Burgoyne was sympathetic. There is a brief, well-written, interpretive afterword by David Demarest, Jr., associate professor of English at Carnegie-Mellon University. Should the reader desire a more complete and reflective account of the strike, Leon Wolff's *Lockout, the Story of the Homestead Strike of 1892* is still the best work available. The University of Pittsburgh Press is to be congratulated for reprinting this eyewitness account. It will add immensely to the intensified study of this troubled period of Pennsylvania history.

*Federal Archives & Records Center, Philadelphia*

ROBERT J. PLOWMAN


M. Carey Thomas, second president of Bryn Mawr College, has left a rich legacy of journals, correspondence, and other manuscripts documenting her personal life and professional career as one of the pioneers of higher education for women. Historians of women and education are indeed fortunate that Bryn Mawr College and editor Lucy Fisher West are preparing a comprehensive microfilm edition of her papers, scheduled for completion in 1980. Until that occurs researchers will have to be content with Edith Finch's standard biography, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (1947), and this selection from her early journals and letters, edited by Marjorie Housepian Dobkin.

Dobkin, associate dean of studies at Barnard College, has chosen materials relating to Thomas's childhood, school days, and college and graduate education at Cornell University and the universities of Leipzig and Zurich, where Thomas received a Ph.D. degree *summa cum laude* in November 1882 at the age of twenty-five. It is rich material indeed, striking not only for the insights it gives to the obstacle race faced by women intent on pursuing higher education in the late nineteenth century, but also for the amazing precocity of M. Carey Thomas's feminist convictions. At the early age of
fourteen she was filling her journal with comments like these: "How unjust—how narrow-minded—how utterly uncomprehensible to deny that women ought to be educated and worse than all to deny that they have equal powers of mind. If I ever live and grow up my one aim and concentrated purpose shall be and is to show that a woman can learn can reason can compete with men in the grand fields of literature and science and conjecture that opens before the 19 century; that a woman can be a woman and a true one, with out having all her time engrossed by dress and society..." Carey Thomas never lost the fervor and zest for intellectual activity that she developed in her youth in Baltimore, even if her scholarly attainments never extended to the mundane level of spelling and usage.

Given the excitement that the Thomas materials can generate in the reader, it is doubly unfortunate that Dobkin's edition has so many flaws. Being a writer by profession, she is acutely aware of the importance of the story line for creating continuity and interest on the part of the reader. What this has led to, however, is a compromise of sound historical editing principles, resulting in a reduction of the selections to about two-thirds their original length. I particularly object to her omission of "entries or passages which seemed to me to become tedious." Tedious though they may be they are still part of the historical record and reflect Carey Thomas just as much as the portions of her writings that sparkle.

Of equal concern to the researcher should be the possibility of deletions of entire documents. Although Dobkin notes that Thomas was often irregular in making journal entries, it would have been helpful if a chronological list had been prepared of all extant source material, so the reader could at least be aware of which deletions were due to editorial decisions and which were due to an absence of records.

Dobkin provides narrative introductions to the various sections of the book, which are intended to assist the reader in interpreting the material which follows. It would have been more helpful if she had provided more, and more thoroughly researched, annotations for individuals, events, and literary allusions. There is also no index to the volume.


In 1970 Charles Coleman Sellers won the Bancroft Prize in History for his definitive biography of Charles Willson Peale, painter of over a thousand portraits and miniatures of well-known people in his Revolutionary generation. In 1973, Sellers, a direct descendant of Peale, yielded to the urgings of a friend to begin writing a history of Peale's Museum, an institution which was to loom large in the American consciousness from 1784 to 1854—and, through its principles, into our own time.

The present work is much more than just a spin-off from the earlier biography; Sellers found that he had to add to his knowledge of Peale as
artist further knowledge of Peale as Enlightenment scientist, a duty re-
quiring a prodigious amount of research. The fruits of these labors are avail-
able to us in an attractive format containing a foreword and nine chapters of
excellent writing. Including the frontispiece, there are 121 black-and-white
illustrations (not “over 125,” as the dust jacket proclaims) and 13 color-
plates. The source notes are arranged by chapters; they are marred, however,
by a puzzling reversal of the standard practice of using regular type for
authors’ names and the titles of articles while italicizing the titles of periodi-
cals and books. There is a useful index.

Like Sellers’ earlier biography, this book is definitive in its field. Aside
from Robert Plate’s Charles Willson Peale: Son of Liberty, Father of Art and
Science (1967), there are only a few other published works—a catalog of
Museum items; some newspaper and periodical articles—headlining Peale’s
efforts in natural science. One of these, Harold S. Colton’s “Peale’s
Museum,” Popular Science Monthly, vol. 75 (1909), was the first to note Peale’s
contributions to science and museology.

Peale’s Museum, at its several locations in Philadelphia, and its branches
in New York and Baltimore, promoted a new idea in museum management.
This was the idea that a museum should not only engender patriotism
through portraits of a nation’s great figures, but should also bring the
wonders of natural science and anthropology to the common people through
dramatic and scientifically correct exhibits reinforced by lectures, publica-
tions, research scholarship, and expeditions in the field. Indeed, the scientific
aspects of the Museum soon outweighed the artistic; research increasingly
enriched human knowledge, and new techniques, such as in taxidermy;
made exhibits ever more lifelike.

So long as Peale and his descendents (he died in 1827) exercised effective
guidance over the Museum, his principles and exhibits continued to excite
intellectual curiosity and a sense of the natural scheme of things. For a
modest fee one could watch an electrical machine in operation and read the
explanatory placards before a collection of beautiful minerals. One could
study case after case of stuffed birds, mammals, preserved reptiles, and
marine specimens in simulated natural habitats. One lingered in awe and
wonder in front of that reconstructed skeleton of a mastodon, whose bones
had been dug out of a New York marl pit under Peale’s direction. Or one
might be even more intrigued to see the complexities of a minute insect
through a microscope.

But this kind of high educational service did not carry far into the future.
After a vain effort to turn his Museum into a federally supported institution,
and after his advancing age and death hindered proper supervision, the
Museum lost much of its character and began to degenerate into a sensa-
tionalistic “dime museum” a la Barnum. (Let it be said, however, that
William McGuigan, a taxidermist in Peale’s Philadelphia Museum, in
1842 asserted Peale’s regard for truth when he exhibited his “Japanese
Mermaid,” created from assorted fish and animal parts in answer to
Barnum’s “Feejee Mermaid.” He called it a wonderful example of “human
ingenuity.”)
And then came the dispersal. Sheriff's sales in 1848 and 1849 gave Barnum and Moses Kimball many of the items formerly displayed in the Museum; the mastodon finally wound up in a museum in Darmstadt, Germany; and 104 portraits eventually found a home in a separate gallery of their own in Independence National Historical Park. Peale's Museum had lost its unified body; as Sellers puts it, "In retrospect it is like a book, once enjoyed by thousands, but of which only a few tattered leaves remain. . . ."

Although the Smithsonian Institution embodied Peale's ideas when it was finally launched in 1846, it seems that from the time of the Museum's dispersal until the rise of endowed museums after the Civil War Peale's methodology was lost to the country at large. And then these endowed museums, notably the American Museum of Natural History in New York, often found themselves repeating similar experiences and rediscovering the same techniques.

This is a fine and rewarding book. Apart from a few typographical errors, and perhaps too many extended quotations (indented on the left margin only), this writer found it a delight to read. It is a landmark in American intellectual history.

Indiana, Pennsylvania

Albert J. Wahl

Business and Government in the Oil Industry: A Case Study of Sun Oil, 1876-1945.

Sun Company, as it is now called, is ranked twelfth among U.S. oil producers, a rank which has varied little the past several decades. Sun Company is also, and has always been, a Pennsylvania-based company, having its roots in the fields around Titusville and subsequently moving its headquarters to Philadelphia. Its major refinery is still located at Marcus Hook. Therefore a history of this oil company should spark the interest of Pennsylvania historians.

The book has no surprises. Geibelhaus presents just what the title promises: a history of Sun Oil. (Actually Sun Oil was formed in 1886, but the immediate origins of the company are traced.) The case study approach taken by Geibelhaus is designed to illuminate the main thrust of the book: the relationship of the oil industry, during its maturation, to the federal government, which viewed the oil industry as a representative of monopoly capital and therefore a candidate for regulation. Additionally two other themes are highlighted: the evolution of Sun Oil within the changing structure and strategy of the U.S. oil industry, and the role of the Pew family, which developed and controlled the company during the study period (in fact, the family maintained control until the early 1970s). The contents are presented in periodic fashion: 1876-1900 (one chapter), 1900-1920 (one chapter), 1920-1930 (two chapters), the depression (three chapters), and World War II (one chapter).
Geibelhaus paints an interesting picture for the reader. Sun Oil is seen as a family-run business. The Pew family shapes the company’s development, which features a paternalistic treatment of the company’s workforce, a high proportion of retained earnings (which is possible when the bulk of the company’s stock is family held), a reluctance to go foreign, and a tenacious advocacy of laissez-faire capitalism, policies which appear to be out of step with the general behavior of the industry by 1945. Sun Oil is also presented as a leading independent, struggling with the “Standard Oil complex” which continued to lead the industry despite the breakup of the Rockefeller monopoly. Above all, Sun Oil demonstrates the “marriage of convenience,” the strange love-hate relationship the oil industry enjoyed with the federal government. On one hand the oil industry was a whipping boy for the “trustbusters.” On the other hand the government sought to inject some stability into oil prices and supplies, an objective many oil companies advocated as long as their profit ratios were not adversely affected. Sun Oil is seen as a reluctant bridegroom, sometimes favoring and sometimes opposing government interference. But in the closing chapter we see the Pew family emerging as a leading anti-regulation force, anxiously awaiting the dismantling of the World War II mechanisms and controls.

Geibelhaus is a capable artist. The chapters that deal specifically with government policies are themselves worthy of articles, and no chapter suffers from structural weakness. The author accomplishes his task with lucid prose, excellent documentation (with a heavy reliance on company documents), and good organization. Aspiring business historians would do well in studying the book as a model of a good business history. Economic historians will not find any hard analysis, but such analysis was not on the author’s agenda. The Pennsylvania historian may be disappointed. One can not acquire the “Pennsylvania” flavor of Sun Oil in this volume; the location of the company is unimportant to this study. But this book could become a part of a trilogy on Sun Oil; the other volumes, yet to be written, would include a study of the Pew family and its contribution to Pennsylvania society and the impact of Sun Oil on the community of Marcus Hook.

The Pennsylvania State University, Berks Campus

SPIRO G. PATTON


Gwyn A. Williams is professor of history at the University College of South Wales at Cardiff. Hopeful of eventually producing a significant history of modern Wales, he sees the closing years of the eighteenth century as “a hinge of fate for the people of Wales,” and believes that “the first modern Welsh ‘nation’ was born with the American and French revolutions,” as was also the “first Welsh democracy” (p. 1).

This book centers around the settlement of a Welsh community at Beula, east of Pittsburgh in southwestern Pennsylvania. The attempt to establish a permanent town here began in the fall of 1796. Beula lasted, at least as
an onward-going enterprise, scarcely more than a decade. To the extent that Professor Williams details the nature and conditions of the settlement, his book provides interesting and unusual material on the early history of southwestern Pennsylvania. Actually, this book has even wider significance. There is much emphasis upon political and intellectual changes in Wales, and to some extent in most of western Europe, in the 1790s. It also illuminates the lives of two unusual men, Morgan John Rhees and John Evans, and it provides interesting data on the westward movement in the first years of the American republic. The early pages provide observations on the development of liberal ideas in the British Isles, and so students of the American Revolution will profit from the reading of this slim volume.

The research for this book, both in Wales and in our own country, has been thorough and diligent. While there is no bibliography, the extensive notes, placed somewhat awkwardly at the end of each chapter, provide adequate documentation and a guide for any who would seek to return to the author’s sources. The writing is quite often rather laborious, with long and involved sentences. Thus the book would seem to have little appeal to the lay reader. It is, however, a unique and a valuable study of the Welsh ferment and its carryover to the New World at the end of the eighteenth century.

State University of New York, College at Cortland  
Ralph Adams Brown


The first venture of the Penn State Press into contemporary politics is an interesting compilation of political “firsts” as well as a fine collection of personal vignettes of nearly forty twentieth-century Pennsylvania political personalities from Matt Quay and Boies Penrose right down to Dick Thornburgh in the characteristic style of Paul B. Beers, associate editor of the Harrisburg Patriot News. A Keystone Book “of particular interest for Pennsylvania and the Middle Atlantic states,” this attractively presented volume presents the high and the low of the Commonwealth’s political practitioners of this century in a journalistic mode which is served with “tongue-in-cheek” for the good guys and relish for the bad. The result is a compendium of the achievements and failures, the fame and the foibles of a selection of politicians who once again demonstrate that in Pennsylvania, “politics ain’t beanbag!”

Beers manifests the enterprising journalist’s use of responsible sources, including unpublished manuscripts, in his quest for pithy and revealing analyses of figures whom he characterizes in pragmatic terms as steady and safe. There is much here for the student of contemporary Pennsylvania politics. In fact, seven of the eleven chapters and nearly two-thirds of the book cover events and personalities of the last thirty years.

Commencing with the rogues (Quay, Penrose, and the Vares) Beers runs the gamut of heroes and villains with comments ranging from two pages each for Governors James and Martin to thirty-eight pages of “Golden Bill Scranton,” thirty-seven of the Shafer “Debacle,” and forty-six pages
of "Citizen Shapp." But it is the reformers like Pinchot, Duff, and Leader and the professionals such as John J. McClure, M. Harvey Taylor, George Bloom, and David L. Lawrence who merit the author's sometimes grudging admiration. Clark and Dilworth became legends in their own time, while other wealthy Pennsylvanians such as the Pews, Mellons, Annenbergs, Scrantons, Scott, Schweiker, and Heinz are seen in a less complimentary fashion. Those who didn't quite measure up (Earle, Fine, Shafer, the real Bob Casey, and Shapp) receive a more sympathetic treatment than some who did.

Typographical errors and an unalphabetical confusion in the index are minor, but factual errors are more significant. For example, the Pennsylvania normal schools became state teachers colleges before they had the status of state colleges as indicated on page 92. And, if George Whitfield Scranton was a gubernatorial candidate in 1860, neither Alexander K. McClure, whose Notes provide a substantial source for the period, nor Erwin Stanley Bradley, whose history of The Triumph of Militant Republicanism from 1860 to 1872 is the best scholarly effort, nor the DAB carry any mention of it. Scranton died on March 24 in 1861 before ever taking his second-term seat in the Thirty-seventh Congress, and David Taggart of Northumberland County and John Covode of Westmoreland were the leading contenders in the struggle between Andrew G. Curtin and Simon Cameron in 1860 for control of the developing Republican party. Also, William B. Lentz did defeat M. Harvey Taylor in the Republican primary for the state senate seat but not in 1947 as indicated on page 169. Maurice Goddard was director of the School of Forestry not dean of the department as noted on page 218. And the Republican Convention of 1968 was held in Miami not Kansas City (p. 189).

Gubernatorial budgets command more attention than the general reader will be able to sustain, but the list of Pennsylvania's political "firsts," particularly among blacks, is quite impressive and useful although sometimes trivial. More on the Vares, "Pennsylvania's first modern politicians," and other organizational leaders, the blacks, and the women would have shown more of the tolerable accommodation. Cornelia Pinchot, Emma Guffey Miller, and Genevieve Blatt could have been joined with profit by Jeanette Reibman, Grace Sloan, and even Marion Margery Scranton.

Greater balance in periods and personalities would have heightened the value of this volume which should be on the shelf of every reader concerned with Pennsylvania politics. Some of Beers' swipes at the almost-great and not-so-great were unnecessary, but his work should spawn further interest in the much-needed analyses of the governors as well as some of the lesser lights who have both honored and debauched the roles of politicians in a state whose politics "once certain and stable, is now individualistic and unpredictable."

*The Pennsylvania State University (Capitol)*

George D. Wolf
BOOK REVIEWS


The issuance of these two volumes concludes the presentation of the diaries of George Washington begun in 1976. The diary series initiates the re-publication of the Washington papers. In terms of space, the dominant feature of both volumes is the record of the planter of Mount Vernon: the weather, temperature, field activities, improvements, sales and acquisitions, visitors, trips to neighboring villages, and participation in elections and local improvements like the navigation of the Potomac River. The public portions of the diaries feature the beginning of the negotiations with the Southern Indians, the Philadelphia Convention, the New York City presidency, and the tour of New England in volume 5; and, in volume 6, the Southern tour, the Whiskey Rebellion, and the raising of the never-used army of 1797.

There are gaps in the entries, usually the result of misplaced or lost diaries. It is most unfortunate for Pennsylvanians that among the missing diaries are those covering his stay in Philadelphia as president. What remains as most relevant to students of Pennsylvania history are, from volume 5, the notations relating to Washington's stay in Philadelphia as part of the Constitutional Convention. As one reads these passages describing the people with whom he stayed, dined, partied, and took excursions, one is again impressed with the importance of social activities to success in eighteenth-century politics. From volume 6, the chief attraction for Pennsylvanians is the material relating to the Whiskey Insurrection: Washington's travels through Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania as the military force assembled at Carlisle and then moved toward Pittsburgh.

Perhaps the most impressive aspects of the volumes—boding well for the future of the Washington papers—is the scholarly apparatus. A prodigious amount of work went into identifying each individual mentioned in the diaries and every inn, hostelry, or private residence visited along the way. The text-notes, often amounting to essays, as on the Whiskey Rebellion, exude the impression of a job well done. There is little with which to quibble as regards the editorial decisions on spelling, grammar, and punctuation. It will raise the ire of some, however, that a policy was set—in the interest of readability—to avoid repetitive same day entries by paragraphing material.

Given the excellence noted above, it is more than annoying that the editors and publishers decided to treat the six volumes in this series as a single work. As a consequence individuals are fully identified on their first appearance in the diaries, but never again. Thus, even though each volume contains an index, one cannot efficiently use the series without volume 6 which contains the general index. While this was a lamentable decision, it is perhaps justifiable in terms of space, and, thus, of cost.

Less explicable, in a work lavish in its use of portraits as illustrative material, is the absence of other forms of visual aid. A map of Washington's farms and genealogical tables of George's and Martha's families, who were always visiting or turning up, would have been a welcome addition. A more liberal use of maps would have improved understanding throughout. The
only available map with which to trace the New England tour of volume 5 is found in volume 6. This map, while adequate for that tour and the one in the South, is insufficient for the Whiskey Insurrection. Unnecessary confusion to Pennsylvania readers occurred when, immediately following a series of towns in Pennsylvania, a place named Williamsport was not identified as being in Maryland. Still, the poor maps are better than none.

The series then is for researchers, both historical and genealogical. But researchers had best have volume 6 and an historical atlas by their side. Overall, however, the dominant impression of the volumes is positive, and the text-notes so whet one's appetite for the forthcoming Papers of George Washington that one wishes to join with Julia Childs and shout, "Bon Appetit!"

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Ernest B. Fricke


Even if we should question the Chinese proverb that "one picture is worth more than ten thousand words," these three works are a valuable contribution to Pennsylvania history. All of them imply and the first two express the belief that early photographs and other pictures are both important and helpful in such study.

Miller states this conviction best in the introduction to his A Pennsylvania Album: "Postcard[s] are valuable as visual records of an earlier age. Like any photograph, the postcard shows a way of life, an existence which has either disappeared or been radically changed. The postcard is more than a photographic document. Since it was intended for a popular audience, it offers a valuable comment on the social, ethical, and aesthetic values of that age."

As an excursus into an important branch of Pennsylvania's oft-neglected technical history, Nineteenth-Century Photography in Philadelphia is a most important work, in addition to its peripheral value in containing a vast amount of information never appearing anywhere in words. Its general introduction and those at the beginning of its five photo subject divisions (People, Places, Objects, Events, Views) are useful and accurate, as are its list of photographers, bibliography, and index. Unfortunately it uses without any explanation numerous words unfamiliar to the general reader or anyone
else but an expert in the field: for instance, albumen print, salt print, gelatine print, talbotype and gum bichromate print, of which only two are included in the largest dictionaries.

Miller's 270 well-selected postcard reproductions are subdivided as to Views, Transportation, Advertising and Business, Agriculture and Industry, Education, Religion, Amusements, Signs of the Time, and Celebrations, with useful introductions. Unfortunately the book has neither index nor bibliography; some of the underlines contain almost nothing but what is on the card, and there are a few errors of fact. (For instance, p. 28: "The automobile was a twentieth-century invention," which it was not by almost a full decade.)

*Pennsylvania Prints* is a beautiful and useful book with reproductions of eighty-one prints from a collection of nearly three hundred, and a listing of the remaining ones. It also has a plethora of introductions, which regrettably fail to spell out the part played by the compiler (nowhere mentioned but on the title page) and assume a knowledge of the Tavern Restaurant unlikely to be possessed by anyone not familiar with the State College area.

The reproductions are presented in chronological order (except for the Johnstown flood scene, probably placed at the end for dramatic effect) and the additional prints are listed alphabetically by geographical area, but the book has neither index nor table of contents. Nor is there—except for one instance—any indication of the reason for the selection of the seven reproductions to be in color, some of them of relatively unimportant subjects. Many of the black and white reproductions are well below the quality of those in the other two books. Nevertheless the book is well worthwhile, and a valuable addition to its field.

*Westmoreland County Historical Preservation Survey*  
*George Swetnam*

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The name of "Judson" is probably not familiar to contemporary Americans. But in the early nineteenth century, it had almost universal recognition. As one of the nation's first foreign missionaries (to Burma), Adoniram Judson, his three wives (Ann Hasseltine, Sarah Hall Boardman, and Emily Chubbuck), plus their children, helped make the name a household word. For almost one hundred years, "Judson" symbolized devotion, sacrifice, and an evangelical commitment to bringing in the Kingdom of God.

This study examines the lives of the most important members of the Judson family and uses them "as demonstration and symbol of the workings of evangelical religious culture." The result is an interpretative narrative of the founder, his wives, and three children who became: a reconciler of Darwinism (George Dana Boardman), an active Spiritualist (Abby Ann Judson), and a leader of the Social Gospel movement in New York City (Edward Judson).
Adoniram Judson served thirty-eight years in Burma under the most arduous circumstances. He lost his initial financial support when he left the Congregationalists for the Baptists. He labored four years before achieving the first convert. He spent almost two years in wretched Burmese prisons. He watched two wives and several children succumb to disease. In spite of this, Judson played a major role in founding Baptist missionary enterprises on the subcontinent, translated the Bible into Burmese, and compiled an English-Burmese dictionary which is still highly regarded. Once termed a "Christian Paladin," Adoniram Judson became a legend for the Americans back home.

Equally important as Adoniram, however, were his three wives, and Brumberg skillfully weaves their stories around his. The life of Ann proved the most dramatic. When Adoniram was jailed upon the outbreak of the English-Burmese War (1824-26), Ann engaged in activities that even today read like an adventure story. A cultured New England woman, for almost two years she maintained an otherworldly dignity while she simultaneously cajoled, begged, and bribed her husband's captors. In addition, she cared for her infant daughter, fed and nursed the prisoners, and managed somehow to keep the mission alive. Exhausted by the ordeal, she and her child died soon after Adoniram's release.

Popularized by the evangelical press, Ann's story was taken to heart by thousands of American readers. Many of these readers, moreover, were young women. At a time when the "Cult of Domesticity" was growing, the life of Ann Judson served as a symbol of active social commitment. This helped open up a new range of "acceptable" activities for antebellum evangelical women.

Adoniram Judson's stepson, George Dana Boardman, pastored Philadelphia's First Baptist Church from 1864 to 1894. A prolific writer and lecturer, Boardman played an active role in both the pacifist and Social Gospel movements. In addition, he often wrote on scientific questions. As a theistic evolutionist, he helped many Baptists reconcile Darwinism and Christianity—all of which illustrated the flexibility of his evangelical heritage.

Originally a 1978 dissertation at the University of Virginia, this work still bears signs of its former state. Repetitions, long flat spots in the narrative, and the use of partially digested terms such as "role model," "peer group," and "religious feminism" mar this study. Coy chapter titles such as "Does the Bibliomania Rage at Tavoy?" and "Telic Adjustments and Terrestrial Magnetism" aren't much help to the reader. Finally, an editor should have deleted the Afterword.

The strength of this well-researched study, however, is the celebration of the Judson family and its role in American culture. Its activism, commitment, and sacrifice had universal appeal. Brumber may be correct when she suggests that the Judson story became a metaphor "for the whole of evangelical culture in the nineteenth century."

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FERENC M. SZASZ
This is indeed a timely and important monograph. In this day of energy crisis and, with it, the realization for the need of modern urban rapid transit systems, Professor Cheape has studied the problems faced by three American cities in their attempts to deal with the transportation difficulties during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Significant changes took place in urban transportation during that period reflecting developments in technology, business consolidation, and public policy. Cheape shows that between 1880 and 1912 the transit industry changed from horse-cars to electric trolleys and then the subway. Cheape discusses three cities: New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Each city is presented as a test case where he illustrates the similarities and differences in their adoption of rapid transit systems.

The type of transit system revealed much about the character of American cities. In Philadelphia, Cheape discovers, as Warner had before him, that private enterprise was the method that Philadelphians relied on to solve their transportation problems. In this regard Philadelphia differed from New York City and Boston where municipal government undertook the task of constructing and running a rapid transit system. By 1880 the need for introducing new technology came because of growth in urban population and the geographic expansion. The pace and timing among the cities differed according to local variables, such as size and the rate of growth, local politics, leadership, and local traditions regarding public control.

To Cheape business consolidation represents another variable in determining how cities adjusted to the need for more transportation. In this regard Philadelphia was the first of the three cities to have one firm obtain a virtual monopoly in the transit business. William Kemble, Peter Widener, and William Elkins created a new strategy in Philadelphia to control the transit business. They sought through combination and then, later, mechanization to acquire a monopoly. This group first put cable cars where the cost of installation presented high fixed costs. Later they installed the more practical electric trolley car. This all meant that this group of businessmen developed efficient business practices. Moreover, their concern for adequate return on invested capital prompted further consolidation and merger. With the advent of the cable car and later the trolley car, competition in Philadelphia disappeared. This pattern repeated itself in all the cities that Cheape studied.

In Philadelphia by 1897 the electrification of the transit system and the consolidation of the competing companies into the P.T.C. had encouraged further urban growth and expansion. Because of the trolleys and bridges across the Schuykill River, West Philadelphia grew rapidly, as well as the suburban population in North and in Northwest Philadelphia.

In spite of the growth of street railways, in all three cities by 1895, transit companies could no longer satisfy the rising demands for more rapid transit. New York City and Boston solved this need by municipal corporations.
building subway lines. In Philadelphia private enterprise eventually under-
took this expensive project. In each city, Cheape contends, public interest
defeated efforts by the transit companies for elevated steam lines. Property
owners feared lower values for their property, plus the problems of noise
and dirt.

Professor Cheape correctly sees the importance of public policy in the
development of rapid transit. In Philadelphia the owners of the P.T.C. had
strong ties to the corrupt political machine in Philadelphia and the state
capital. This influence prevented the public interest being represented and
any alternative companies or municipal ownership of rapid transit. Finally,
by 1907 even in Philadelphia it was clear that private enterprise could not
handle the demands placed on it by urban growth. Transit owners agreed to
a pact with the city for the construction of a subway line in Philadelphia.

This is a well-written and tightly constructed monograph which makes
an important contribution to our understanding of urban transportation.
Cheape has concentrated on an important aspect of the urbanization proc-
есс, one that should serve as a model for further study. In short, Cheape
has demonstrated the dependent nature of urban growth and the quality of
life with rapid transit development.

University of Texas at Arlington  Richard G. Miller


"Pittsburgh has an author!" proclaimed the public relations man for
Bobbs-Merrill in 1908. "A real live author." The bona fide author was Mary
Roberts Rinehart, a graduate of the local nursing school and the wife of a
general practitioner at 954 Beech Avenue. When she died, a half-century
later, Rinehart was one of the best-known and most admired women in
America. She had written fifty books, seven plays, and stories and essays
even she could no longer count. More important, both to her public and to
herself, she was a "celebrity." Like Eleanor Roosevelt, whom she resembles
in a number of ways, Mary Roberts Rinehart gave the appearance of effort-
lessly balancing the claims of housewifery with the challenges of a public
career. Popularity brought enormous authority which she used to celebrate
a vision of an older, simpler America vanishing before her eyes. She was, her
biographer suggests, "America's first female Horatio Alger."

How she would have loved this book published by the university press of
her home town! Like so many people who do not go to college, she never
quite lost her awe of higher education. She was enormously gratified when a
few middle-brow professors praised her work, and she made sure that her
own three sons went to Harvard. This handsome volume, richly illustrated
with the glumorous studio photographs that adorned her book jackets,
would have satisfied her vanity. Although her great houses in Washington
and Bar Harbor were a long way from Pittsburgh, one suspects that she
never ceased to measure them against 954 Beech Avenue.
In old age Rinehart found less and less to praise, but she would have approved of her biographer. Professor Cohn has turned up a great deal of information, much of it of considerable human interest. The courage and vision and stamina of people like Mary Roberts Rinehart opened the way for woman's liberation. Although the speed of that revolution occasionally makes her seem today rather old-fashioned and narrow, Professor Cohn is scrupulously fair and always sympathetic. If Professor Cohn became either bored or exasperated in the course of reading so much commercial fiction, she never betrays it to the reader. Her book is sensible, balanced, and informative.

The success of a mystery novel, Mary Roberts Rinehart believed, depended on a "buried" story which paralleled the "surface story" the reader found in the book. In this biography, Professor Cohn has given us largely the "surface story." Yet there is considerable evidence for a "buried story" in the life of Rinehart. Throughout her life she struggled with depression and thoughts of suicide (her father, an alcoholic, killed himself when she was nineteen years old). Her magazine fiction obsessively explores themes mirroring her own domestic dilemmas only to stop short and settle for the formula of a happy ending. She lavished money on her sons, but this same generosity helped to keep her at the center of their lives until her death in 1958. Her autobiographical writings carefully mask episodes which contradict the celebrity image. In electing to play down what was snobbish, ruthless, and self-absorbed in her subject's nature, Professor Cohn has sacrificed some depth of characterization.

Thomas Hardy's sister, returning from a memorial service marked by fulsome tributes to her famous brother, laughingly exclaimed, "If they only knew!" One puts down this biography of Mary Roberts Rinehart with much the same feeling.

University of Delaware

CHARLES BOHNER


This is a descriptive listing of locations in the United States and Canada where one can study German-American material culture. The emphasis is on "nonbibliographic sources"—objects, photographs, architecture, farm museums, historic sites, monuments, archaeological sites, folk art, and the like. The information is divided into three categories: (a) 152 museums, archives, historical societies, libraries, and restored sites—37 of which are in Pennsylvania; (b) 103 items from the 1976 National Register of Historic Places—24 of which are in Pennsylvania; and (c) 16 European collections for background study. The volume will be extremely useful, not only for research but also for choosing class field trips and even for planning your own summer travel.