

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR
INDIANA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The Press and the American Revolution. Edited by Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench. (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1980. Pp. 383. \$24.95.)

The American Antiquarian Society, whose founder Isaiah Thomas was both a printer and the first historian of American printing, quite appropriately has celebrated the Bicentennial by publishing a superb collection of essays covering many different aspects of the role of the press in Revolutionary America. Though the importance of the press to the Revolution is not a new theme, the wide-ranging subjects included here emphasize and expand our understanding of the influence of printers in the struggle for independence.

Stephen Botein begins this collection by focusing on the printers themselves. His "Printers and the American Revolution" argues that the craft changed significantly because of the Revolutionary turmoil. In contrast to early eighteenth-century printers, those in the Revolutionary period began to express their opinions concerning political controversies. Seriously threatened by the Stamp Act, printers saw themselves as intimately involved in the struggle. Spurred on by the legend of Franklin, printers emerged from the Revolution with greatly enhanced prestige, occupational identity, and political importance. Though at first many printers tried to evade controversy, the polarization of politics, coupled with threats of violence, forced them to choose sides (usually patriot) and to play a significant part in the transformation of American thought.

In "Freedom of the Press in Revolutionary America," Richard Buel, Jr., examines the apparent contradiction between the Revolutionary legacy of freedom of the press and the stifling of dissent before, during, and after the war. The extralegal activity of mobs in the 1760s and 1770s, followed by the Sedition Act of the 1790s, seemingly contradicts the ideal of press freedom, expressed both in state constitutions and in the First Amendment. These contradictions, Buel argues, must be viewed in the context of eighteenth-century attitudes of freedom of the press. This tradition includes the struggle, first in Britain, later in America, against a strong executive. A "free press" was a weapon of the people in this struggle. A press which supported the power of the executive was, by definition, controlled, not free. The Revolutionary generation used this traditional view to justify suppression of unpopular views, but then, Buel argues, began to move away from this position and toward absolute freedom of the press. The American reaction to the French Revolution temporarily halted this trend, but the Sedition Act brought home to Republicans the danger of press restriction. With Jefferson's election to the presidency, the Revolutionary ideal asserted itself

once again. Despite many opportunities, the Jeffersonian Republicans never attempted to weaken the First Amendment. In the long run, Buel believes, the Revolution did indeed establish the tradition of true freedom of the press in the United States.

The next three essays in this collection deal with particular segments of the Revolutionary press. Robert M. Weir, in surveying the generally neglected "Role of the Newspaper Press in the Southern Colonies," finds that newspapers in this region were more inclined to publish the works of Bolingbroke, in contrast to the northern preference for Trenchard and Gordon. Also, the southern press exhibited a particularly strong hatred of Scotsmen, and by extension, Scottish merchants. This hostility towards Scots, Weir believes, probably helped upper-class southern leaders overcome their reluctance to reject British cultural ties. Weir also argues that the greater speed with which news traveled from Philadelphia and New York than from London also influenced southerners to support the Revolution.

Willi Paul Adams, in his essay on "The Colonial German-Language Press," takes issue with many previous assumptions. German newspapers, he argues, were overwhelmingly secular, not religious, in tone. Rather than reflecting German ideas and institutions, these papers published translations of many of the political ideologies that appeared in English-language papers. These nonreligious texts showed little, if any, German influence, and, as a result, prepared German speaking Americans to understand the political ideals of the Revolution and to play an active role in the building of the new nation.

The third topical essay, by Janice Potter and Robert M. Calhoun, looks at "The Character and Coherence of the Loyalist Press." The Loyalists never developed a unified set of ideas to oppose the Whigs, but their newspaper essays, the authors argue, do provide an insight into the minds of those who opposed the Revolution.

Perhaps the most provocative essay in the collection is Paul Langford's "British Correspondence in the Colonial Press." Langford studies British correspondence in American newspapers describing British attitudes toward the growing conflict. He compares these reported views with what we know about British opinion and finds great discrepancies. British correspondents overwhelmingly, and without justification, reported widespread sympathy for the American cause in the mother country. American readers were led to believe that only a small group of evil ministers were responsible for unpopular Parliamentary measures. This view, quite oblivious to the actual hostility which existed in Britain, resulted not from attempts by colonial printers to censure the news, but from writers in England who consciously wanted to play down the divisions between the masses in England and America. These writers included merchants, who did not want to alienate their American customers, and American radicals in England, who wanted to justify their own opposition to the government. The resulting misinformation about conditions in England, Langford argues, was itself an important factor leading to Revolution.

Finally, G. Thomas Tansell's "Some Statistics on American Printing" analyzes changing trends and patterns during the Revolutionary period. This valuable survey includes statistics on the number of publications each year, the output in each colony and city, changing percentages of publications on specific topics (religion, politics, history, etc.) and the output of individual printers. Tansell, who derives most of his figures from Evans's *Bibliography* and Roger P. Bristol's *Supplement*, also discusses the problems and pitfalls confronting anyone using these standard reference works.

Most of these essays will appeal to a much wider audience than students of printing in Revolutionary America. The American Antiquarian Society should be commended both for collecting these essays and for publishing them in an attractive format.

San Francisco, California

ROBERT F. OAKS

The Devil Wagon in God's Country: The Automobile and Social Change in Rural America, 1893-1929. By Michael L. Berger. (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1979. Pp. 269. \$17.50.)

During the early decades of the twentieth century, rural America passively observed the development of the automotive industry. This behavior developed because most farmers viewed the automobile as a toy for the rich, mechanical dependability of the early motor cars was seriously questioned, country "roads" were unsuitable, and the cost was prohibitive. However, the introduction of Henry Ford's Model T and other inexpensive makes democratized the automobile by lowering its price, and by 1929 the motor car was so widely accepted that it was no longer viewed as a luxury but as a necessity.

Rural America's reaction to the automobile was a combination of curiosity and condemnation. Thus, the purpose of *The Devil Wagon in God's Country* was to investigate the relationship between the automobile and the social changes which occurred in the rural areas of the United States between 1893 and 1929. Michael Berger specifically examined the contemporary observations of the automobile's impact upon the farm family, the rural community, leisure pursuits, religion, education, and health care.

At first, resistance to the adoption of the automobile was intense. However, many farm implement dealers began to serve as sales representatives for automobile companies, and they began to prod the farmer toward acceptance. In fact, the Keystone Motor Company of Philadelphia advertised that their car was "built for country roads." Both Sears and Montgomery Ward, the giant mail-order houses who depended upon the isolated rural resident, began to sell automotive supplies through the mail. Eventually the automobile, and later the truck, was accepted by the farmer because he believed it gave him increased economic advantages in the marketing of his farm products.

However, the advent of the automobile to rural areas would alter social patterns, most notably the structure of the farm family. With the elimination of isolation and loneliness, the unity of the rural setting would be

threatened by involvement with urban people and institutions. Time no longer was a major barrier, and one's life style no longer was dictated by proximity. Additionally, the growth of the small rural community was restricted as geographical factors ceased to determine where one shopped or worked. Rural Americans were not restricted to reading or hearing about the exciting world of the New Era. Amusements and leisure activities now were easily accessible.

The impact of the automobile upon rural religious life was complex as it became necessary to redefine "proper" Sunday behavior. It was not possible to observe the normal religious activities and still have time for recreational pursuits. Also, the automobile made possible visits to urban churches where the quality of services and sermons was generally higher. Above all, however, country churches were concerned about the automobile's contribution to immorality. Despite rural America's claim to be above the sin and debauchery of urban areas, country living was not all that good and wholesome, as evidenced by one group's opinion that "the total number of wenches tossed on back seats was at first probably no greater than that theretofore tossed in haylofts."

The automobile also modified educational and health institutions. With motorized transportation school districts could be consolidated and curriculum improved. Traveling librarians were able to introduce library services into remote places. Also, the quality of medical care improved as physicians delivered speedier treatment and patients gained access to superior medical facilities in urban areas.

Relying heavily upon the writings of farmers, residents of small towns, and contemporary observers of social change in rural areas, *The Devil Wagon in God's Country* is a superb story, a combination of sound scholarship and balanced perspective. The author captures not only the personal reactions of typical rural Americans, but also the spirit and flavor of the early motorizing era.

Langston University

W. EDWIN DERRICK

The Separate Problem: Case Studies of Black Education in the North, 1900-1930.

By Judy Jolley Mohraz. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979. Pp. xvi, 165. \$14.95)

For years many have believed that the public school has been a force of democracy in American society. The public school in its capacity to equalize social conditions and in its pursuit to enhance human potential has been credited in assisting generations in overcoming the barriers of poverty, class, and race. Recently, however, this notion has been called into question. Judy Jolley Mohraz joins a growing number of scholars whose studies of education in America run counter to this earlier view. Her book is an investigation into the educational and racial practices of the public school systems in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Indianapolis and the black community's reaction in each city to the separate and unequal education for its children. Based largely on newspaper accounts, educational surveys, and public documents, Mohraz has written a brief but interesting analysis

of the problem of race and education in these cities. Data is difficult to find on these matters, and her study is a welcome addition to the literature on this topic.

Two major forces dominated the racial and educational concerns of the early decades of this century. The first was the impact of the migratory movement of blacks from the rural South to the northern industrial centers and the strain it placed on the social fabric of the cities. The second was the emergence of educational reforms of the same period which were attempts toward the establishment of a "scientific" basis for educational policy. Techniques such as intelligence testing, differential curricula, and ability grouping are claimed by Mohraz to have reenforced the status quo in racial discrimination in the educational systems of these three cities.

Indianapolis was heralded in 1900 as having one of the nation's finest school systems. Yet, its educational policies toward blacks were most influenced by a hostility more characteristic of cities in the South. By the turn of the century it had established *de jure* segregation as a result of an 1877 state law specifically allowing for education of Negroes. An accommodationist black community at first quietly tolerated the separate system. It did so largely in an effort to maintain a fragile peace with whites and in an attempt to secure more jobs for black teachers and administrators. The growing number of blacks coming to Indianapolis after World War I intensified the school system's maintenance of separate schools to the point that by 1930 even the high schools were segregated. Black efforts in countering these practices were centered in opposition to segregated housing patterns. Their protest against this had little effect either in housing or in the course of segregation in Indianapolis schools.

Chicago and Philadelphia, Mohraz claims, are more typical of northern practices in discriminatory education in that both maintained *de facto* segregationist policies. Moreover, the two cities had black populations which were politically more powerful and better organized than in Indianapolis. Of the two communities, Chicago's blacks had significant political power, yet their protests proved ineffective. By 1926 there was open discussion, among whites, of formalizing separate educational facilities. This was successfully challenged by the black community, but the less formal mechanisms and more subtle practices such as the gerrymandering of school districts and student transfer practices augmented segregated housing patterns in maintaining separate schools in Chicago. In those areas where there were "mixed" schools, blacks were segregated into separate classes.

If Chicago had the potential black political power to oppose discrimination, Philadelphia had the longest standing and most well-established black community with roots deep into the city's past. Moreover, it possessed by 1910 a smaller degree of residential segregation than many other cities of the north with its members having access to most public facilities before years of the great migration. Yet the black community was physically separated, living in three sections of the city. The community was also philosophically divided, thus limiting its effectiveness in combating the increasing racial policies of Philadelphia's schools. Philosophical division led to leadership ambivalence on the matter of segregated schools. This

ambivalence in part was reflected before the days of increased black population growth in the tacit acceptance of segregation. This was especially the case if it would mean more job opportunities for middle-class blacks in the educational system and serve the interests of black politicians and some black preachers. Others, seeking quality education for the black child, rallied against the practices of separation. However, the increased migration of southern blacks to Philadelphia served only to further divide the black community. Its hostility to these newcomers was second only to the negative reaction of Philadelphia whites. Thus, according to Mohraz, conditions within the Philadelphia black community worked against the kind of cohesion and militancy which have forced a change in that city.

The three cities under study experienced both the forces of educational reform and increases in black population in the early decades of this century. Each responded differently in the adjustment of their school systems to them. Yet, Mohraz argues, despite the differing responses on the part of the black community, the results were tragically the same—discriminatory and segregated education for black children.

Dickinson College

CHARLES A. JARVIS

Local Government Records: An Introduction to Their Management, Preservation, and Use. By H. G. Jones. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980. Pp. xii, \$6.95 paper.)

This book has been written with two concerns in mind and is directed to two potential reader audiences. First, the author seeks to improve the performance level of persons charged with the safekeeping of local government records. Second, he provides guidance for historians, particularly those from the academy, who, for the first time, wish to utilize local public records in their research. This book, then, is commended to persons contemplating, or beginning, careers as archivists with local governments and to historians who are planning a research project in urban or family history. The author makes it clear that the first concern is the more important. Public records are created and are preserved for the use of the general public. That these records may be helpful to historians is an important, but still secondary, reason for their preservation.

The author is well qualified for this assignment. As state archivist of North Carolina, he developed the first local records programs in the United States financed by a state government. He has served as president of the Society of American Archivists and as president of the Historical Society of North Carolina. This book reflects his experiences as an archivist and as a historian.

He emphasizes these propositions. Local public records are indispensable to the proper functioning of government and to preserving the legal rights of citizens. In too many cases the creation of public records by local governments has outstripped their capacity to preserve and manage those materials. This is due usually to inadequate budgets and personnel. Under these circumstances it has become necessary for state governments to intervene

with advice, direction and funds, and for the federal government to assist with funds. State programs of this type have been developed, but the work must still be done by local government officials. Historians, as users of public records, and with a direct relationship to local records offices, have a decided interest in supporting and possibly participating in these programs.

As is usual with publications of the American Association for State and Local History, this book is filled with practical suggestions on both subjects—local records management and uses which historians might make of these materials. In both areas the comments are most helpful. The book is well written, adequately illustrated and comparatively inexpensive. It should be added to all college libraries for the use of faculty working in local government archives and for students serving internships with local historical societies or local historical museums.

Allentown, Pennsylvania

MAHLON H. HELLERICH

Quakers in the Colonial Northeast. By Arthur J. Worrall. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1980. Pp. x, 238. \$12.50.)

On the whole, students of the Society of Friends in colonial America have been well served by historians. Now, to a roster which includes Jones, Sharpless, Vann, James, Bauman, and Frost, the name of Arthur J. Worrall is added. His work under consideration here describes the course of events affecting Quakers during the period 1656 to 1790, and it is limited in geographical setting to the colonies north of, but including, New York. Basically, he narrates the historical developments with some analysis, but he does bow to current historiographical trends by employing some quantification techniques. For example, he displays in graphic form such facts as fluctuations in dealings, acknowledgements, and disownments. All this effort, however, may have been superfluous, for the points he wishes to emphasize are more than adequately covered in the text.

Worrall's thesis is the progress of Quakers from radical dissenters to respectable and accepted members of their communities. Another inquiry involves the marked numerical decline in meeting membership toward the end of the period; this he attributes to internal reform rather than to external influences such as the war. He writes well with an interesting style. He first relates the events leading to, and the ultimate decline of, the persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts. In following sections he topically and chronologically describes the organization, activities, and religious beliefs of the meetings' members. In so doing he generally begins with developments in New York and then proceeds northward along Long Island Sound. This organization admits some repetition, but that is more disturbing than damaging. Much page turning, however, is involved if one wants to follow the changes in just one colony, for example Rhode Island. Base upon original and deep research into primary sources, this book is a fine modern albeit parochial study of an important minority group in the colonial northeast. The reader must judge if Worrall succeeds, as he claims, in completely replacing Rufus Jones's classic survey of Quaker activities there.

One caveat must be mentioned. While it is good to have such a regional study, it may have been even more valuable if Worrall had compared the activities there with those of the other major center of Quaker influences, Pennsylvania. While rightly emphasizing the guidance provided by English Friends and mentioning that some New York meetings adopted rules similar to those used in Philadelphia, he virtually ignores Quaker activities to the south. His views on the differences and/or similarities in the treatment of Quakers in the two areas, especially during the troubled times of the Revolution, surely would have been appropriate, interesting, and rewarding. That comment aside, Worrall's work richly deserves a place on the bookshelf of anyone interest in the history of colonial Americans in general or in the accomplishments of Quakers in particular.

Kane, Pennsylvania

JAMES D. ANDERSON

The First American Constitutions: Republican Ideology and the Making of the State Constitutions in the Revolutionary Era. By Willi Paul Adams. Translated from the German by Rita and Robert Kimbler. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980. Pp. xviii, 351. \$23.50.)

Entitled in its original German version, *Republikanische Verfassung und bürgerliche Freiheit: Die Verfassungen und politischen Ideen der amerikanischen Revolution* (1973), this volume received, in 1976, the American Historical Association's Bicentennial prize for the best scholarly book on the era of the American Revolution written in a language other than English and completed since July 1, 1969. In the international contest a jury of distinguished historians judged thirty-one titles. To be sure, American historians of the Revolution and Constitution are indebted to the AHA for having underwritten the cost of the translation and publication of this important study in English.

Skillfully using a rich variety of primary and secondary sources and interweaving the disciplines of political science and history, Dr. Adams incisively synthesizes the first constitutional debates over the meaning and application of the key elements of republican ideology and Anglo-American constitutional forms. In the context of the eighteenth-century world he appreciates the concerns of theory and the constraints of practice, he shows what was innovative and what was indebted to European legal and political thought, and he accepts Max Weber's aphorism: interests (material and ideological) and not ideas dominate man's action, but the dynamics of those interests frequently channel the course of actions into directions that were outlined earlier by philosophical concepts created by ideas. "Constituent power," or people's government, Adams argues, was an American invention. It was rooted in the American Revolution and the First and Second Continental Congresses, which provided patriotic infrastructures, a pyramid of authority, as well as a system of dual authority. Not only does Adams impose an important schematic order on the six years of public controversy and

political experimentation, 1774-1780, but also he reestablishes the importance that the debate over the earliest state constitutions had on the political and social thought of the framers of 1787. "Above all," writes Richard B. Morris in the foreword, "his book attests to the soundness of the Constitutional ideas of the Founding Fathers, and serves to explain why the free republic they had created would prove durable" (p. ix).

To illuminate the working out of republicanism and, simultaneously, dramatize the division of American politics into two traditions—one relatively conservative and elitist and the other reformist and plebiscitarian—Adams divides his book into six parts. In the introductory chapter the author sketches the state of constitutional and ideological conflict in 1774. Chapters one through three describe the organizational questions posed by the disintegration of the colonial regime, particularly the making of the thirteen state constitutions between 1776 and 1780. Chapters four and five challenge the belief that republican government and democratic government meant two quite different things in the language of the founding generation. They were, concludes Adams, synonymous terms for the new political order. Chapter five explains the contemporary distinction between a well-intentioned but emotional profession of "principles" and the proven exigencies of "forms" of government. In chapters six through twelve, the debate concerning basic concepts of the American variant of republican government are imaginatively analyzed, progressing from popular sovereignty to liberty, equality, property, the common good, representation, and the separation and balance of powers, to the development of a federal form of government that served as the basis of American success in nation building.

The First American Constitutions is a lucidly written and well organized account of the development of the constitutional structure of the nation and the several states prior to the Federal Convention of 1787. This title should be added to the growing list of titles identified as the Bailyn school of history, and it should no doubt be read along with Gordon Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic* (1969). Although some of the factual ground Adams traverses for Pennsylvania has been traveled by Theodore Thayer, J. Paul Selsam, David Hawke, Richard Ryerson, and Robert Brunhouse, this study is one that historians of the revolutionary era will be wise not to ignore because of its interpretative framework, continental perspective, and rejection of the counter-revolution hypothesis. Adams's summary analysis of why Pennsylvania embraced a unicameral legislation (pp. 179-180, 262-66), which suggests that Pennsylvanians rejected the classical whig doctrine of representation (legislative branches for people and property), is superb. Finally, the volume contains useful appendixes, covering the subjects of property qualifications and rotation in office in the first state constitutions, and election laws.

The Life and Works of Morgan Edwards. By Thomas R. McKibbens and Kenneth L. Smith. (New York: Arno Press, 1980. Pp. ix, 228. \$20.00.)
Associationalism Among Baptists in America, 1707-1814. By Walter B. Shurden. (New York: Arno Press, 1980. Pp. xvi, 269. \$22.00.)

As a denomination, Baptists have shown relatively little interest in ecumenism or church unity. That disinterest derives largely from their ecclesiastical nominalism. Other than their commitment to "believers' baptism," the touchstone of Baptist identity has been the belief that the Church exists in no universal abstraction, but only in its local and particular expressions. Interestingly enough, however, these two recent contributions to American Baptist historiography trace the early history of denominational moves toward church unity and demonstrate that the urge toward unity was the motivating factor behind the early writing of American Baptist history.

Walter Shurden has traced the origins of "associationalism" among American Baptists in a dissertation done at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary. An association was the earliest organization of Baptists established beyond the local church level among American Baptists. Until 1780 a very small religious body in the colonies, Baptists were also divided by internal doctrinal disputes. In the next decade, however, they began to experience dramatic growth, and earlier divisions were subsumed by common effort and agreement. Under the influence of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, the organization of local congregations into regional consultative bodies grew apace until 1814, when American Baptists established the triennial convention as a national organization.

Ironically, the man to whom the Baptists owed much of the basis for their movement toward unity in 1780 spent most of the first decade of their growth in exile and excommunication. In their biography of Morgan Edwards, Thomas McKibbens and Kenneth Smith tell the story of an extraordinary colonial Baptist clergyman. Born in 1722 to Anglican parents in heavily nonconformist Welsh border country, Edwards became a Baptist at sixteen. After brief periods of study at denominational academies, where he absorbed Calvinist theology and Baptist ecclesiology, Edwards served churches in Lincolnshire, in Ireland, and in Sussex before being called to Philadelphia's Baptist congregation in 1761.

Under Edwards's learned leadership, the Philadelphia congregation thrived, and through the Philadelphia Baptist Association his influence spread among the colonies. He played a leading role in the establishment of Rhode Island College, which became Brown University, encouraged the establishment of Baptist associations throughout the colonies, and in order to promote a Baptist unity began to collect the sources for writing Baptist history. Perhaps because of his Tory loyalties, Edwards gave up his Philadelphia pulpit in 1771 and became a traveling evangelist for the Philadelphia Baptist Association. Under house arrest in Newark, Delaware, from 1775 to 1780, Edwards began to drink excessively and was excluded from Baptist associations until his restoration to favor in 1788. Thereafter, until his death in 1795, he played an irenic role in the development of American Baptist affairs.

Shurden demonstrates that by the 1780's other early Baptist leaders had taken up the Biblical, theological, and practical arguments for cooperative denominational endeavors. In doing so, they prepared the way for the major nineteenth-century Baptist efforts in evangelism, education, and missions.

These two books are useful contributions to American Baptist historiography. Unfortunately, the writing in both volumes is very pedestrian, and the history is very unimaginative. They will attract only the most devoted students of denominational history.

Delaware Humanities Forum

RALPH E. LUKER

Women of the Republic: Intellect & Ideology in Revolutionary America. By Linda K. Kerber. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980. Pp. xiv, 304. \$19.50.)

This is a splendid addition to the growing volume of studies in women's history. Well written, excellently and generously illustrated, it is documented by material from over two hundred collections. Two of the most learned chapters describe "The Anti-Republican Implications of Coverture"—coverture being the lowly status of married women under the protection and authority of their husbands—and "Domestic Liberty, Freedom to Divorce." Dr. Kerber gives in "A Note on Sources" three invaluable paragraphs about records of the neglected subject of the impact of the law on women (pp. 291–292). Other chapters, hardly less interesting, deal with commentary on women during the Age of the Enlightenment (Rousseau apparently being less progressive than Condorcet), with "Sacrifice and Survival," with "The Meaning of Patriotism," and with the often troubled "Revolutionary Loyalties of Married Women" (divided allegiance, if technically impossible between husband and wife, bringing trouble to loyalist and patriot alike.)

Greatly increased wartime involvement, resisting consumption of forbidden imports, producing homespun, foraging for the troops, and often taking over management of family affairs, wrought scant improvement in status in the early Republic. Educational needs and some acquaintance with political values, earlier largely ignored, were now recognized. The Republican Mother as then evolved, is not an unfamiliar concept today: it remains the most readily accepted role—that of the mother dedicated to nurturing public-spirited male citizens. This required alert and knowledgeable women, but in fact confined their chief political duty to the home. Dr. Kerber concludes that "the ambivalent relationship between motherhood and citizenship would be one of the most lasting and most paradoxical legacies of the Revolutionary generation" (p. 288).

This treatise concerns the whole area of the Republic. For those particularly interested in Pennsylvania it will also afford much not readily available elsewhere. The records left by Mary Frazier of Chester County collecting warm coverings for soldiers; by Elizabeth Drinker whose diary reveals not only Quaker problems but her own unusual learning; by those strenuous

advocates of women's rights, Gertrude Meredith and "Sophia"; and by Dr. Benjamin Rush who, though supporting rather vocational studies, was still among early promoters of female academics.

On reading (c. 8), the account is fascinating explaining, among much else, the attraction not only of novels even serious readers like Drinker shamefacedly read, but of *La Nouvelle Heloise* and *Emile* by Rousseau and dwelling on the indispensibility of female passion. Blue-stockings existed on both sides of the Atlantic, but everywhere were too often regarded as both unnatural and immoral. A few Republicans supported a measure of female rights and helped publish Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* in Philadelphia in 1732, but Federalists opposed the idea. Incidentally the Englishwoman, rather than influencing Americans, more probably expressed growing sentiment—as Drinker noted she "speaks my mind." (p. 224) In spite of such politically conscious females nothing really evolved until mid-nineteenth century. Meanwhile the useful compromise provided by the concept of Republican Motherhood was the commonly esteemed role.

Women of the Republic will be compulsory reading not only for all interested in the development of recognized equality between men and women, but also for students of social and intellectual history in the period covered.

Rosemont, Pennsylvania

CAROLINE ROBBINS

Electric Traction on the Pennsylvania Railroad, 1895-1968. By Michael Bezilla. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980. Pp. 233. \$16.75.)

The Pennsylvania Railroad had the largest investment in electric traction both in terms of dollars and of route miles of any American railway. The Pennsy's first experience with electrification came with its construction of Pennsylvania Station in New York City, a project finished in 1910. The Pennsylvania electrified because steam could not be used in the tunnels under the Hudson River and Manhattan Island. Through the book the author emphasizes that the Pennsy usually did not innovate but applied new technology in a conservative manner. The firm was not the first major American railroad to adopt electric power for part of its main line. For example, the Baltimore & Ohio in 1895 employed electric traction for a few miles on its main line which used a tunnel underneath Baltimore. Even in metropolitan New York the Pennsy did not pioneer but followed both the New York Central and the New Haven Railroad.

The Pennsylvania's initial experiment was for a limited purpose. It did not contemplate electrification of long-distance traffic but merely a short portion of line from a point in New Jersey near Newark (Manhattan Transfer) into Penn Station and then on to yards across the East River in Brooklyn. In 1901 there were still many basic questions about electrification that had yet to be answered such as whether or not to use alternating or direct current. Other questions included the configuration of electric locomotives and the voltage. The Pennsylvania turned to a consulting engineer, George Gibbs,

who had worked both with Thomas Edison and Pittsburgh's Westinghouse Corporation. Under Gibb's supervision the Pennsy conducted a wide variety of experiments before it decided on a system much like that adopted by the New York Central which used 650 volt DC current. While suitable for local short-distance railway operations, this technology could not be used effectively for long distance trains.

The Pennsylvania's second electrification program solved a specific problem at Philadelphia, namely the necessity to increase the capacity of the suburban network without additional terminal or track construction. The Pennsylvania began electrification in Philadelphia with the line from Broad Street Station to Paoli in 1913. This installation was completed in 1915. For this project, the Pennsylvania broke with its New York precedent by selecting 11,000 volt alternating current.

Next, the Pennsylvania looked toward electrification to help solve its motive power problem on the line over the Alleghenies between Altoona and Conemaugh. However, before this could be done, the railroad elected to use its limited resources to electrify the densely trafficked main line between Philadelphia and New York. This meant extending wires northward from Philadelphia to Manhattan Transfer. To achieve maximum efficiency, it also involved the conversion of the 650 volt DC Hudson Tunnel line to the new 11,000 volt AC system. Finally, in the late 1920s, the Pennsylvania's management undertook a massive long distance electrification program to connect Philadelphia with Washington, D.C., and Paoli with Harrisburg. This began on the eve of the Wall Street 1929 Crash and was carried on with the support of the federal government during the Depression.

After the Second World War, the Pennsylvania's large-scale electrification program met and survived a challenge from the diesel locomotive which was replacing steam on the rest of the railroad system.

Michael Bezilla's superb volume traces the entire Pennsy electrification story from 1895 until 1968 when the railroad merged with the New York Central to form the Penn Central. His aim was to write a book which appeals to both the professional historian and railroad buffs. He succeeds admirably. One of the work's major strengths is its superbly clear analysis of the technical problems associated with electrification. He painstakingly describes the evolution of electric locomotives. He clearly demonstrates the advantages and disadvantages for railroads in the use of alternating and direct current. He explains why electric motive power was more efficient than steam in solving specific railroad problems. He is also at ease in analyzing the economics of electrification.

The book is at its best in its description of the Pennsylvania's electric program between 1895 and the completion of the major long distance electrification in the 1930s. Bezilla's analysis is much less detailed for the post-World War II period, although there is a fine discussion of the attempt to develop new types of electric locomotives during this era.

Bezilla bases his study almost entirely on printed sources. He makes very little use of the extensive manuscript sources which are available in Conrail's Merion Avenue Record Center in West Philadelphia. Aware of these sources, Bezilla notes that this material is difficult to use in its present state of

organization, a conclusion with which I agree. Fortunately, the printed sources are voluminous and it is doubtful that Bezilla's basic story or conclusions will be altered by discoveries found in the manuscript records.

In summary, Michael Bezilla has written a book that should be on the shelves of everyone who likes railroad history. In addition, general historians interested in economic and technological history will find Bezilla's book rewarding.

University of Sydney, Australia

STEPHEN SALSURY

Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management. By Daniel Nelson. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980. Pp. xii, 259. \$19.50.)

From its American birth in the mills and shops of early nineteenth-century Pennsylvania to its rapid effusion throughout the northeastern United States, the "factory system" was accompanied by serious problems. Cost inefficiency, lack of production coordination, and more importantly labor dissatisfaction plagued businessmen and attracted the attention of a new and socially insecure group of technical experts, the mechanical engineers. These engineers desired to improve the efficiency of the nation's factories. In addition to improving the "old factory system" they hoped to secure a defined social and economic status for their new profession. Included in this group of industrial innovators who gain prominence around the late 1870s were Henry R. Towne, Frederick W. Halsey, and most importantly Frederick W. Taylor.

Frederick Taylor particularly is worthy of a detailed study because he was not only representative of the ambitious engineer reforms, but he was most successful in systematizing an approach to all aspects of factory operations. Taylor more completely than his contemporaries forced the machine model into the American factory. Daniel Nelson in *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management* defines and deepens current understanding of the two apparently irreconcilable segments of Taylor's life.

Each of these themes is confined to a distinct time period. The primary concern of Taylor's work before 1910 was of a more technical order and was his most innovative. During this period Taylor was interested in exchanging the "old factory system" for a more organized and coordinated one. The mechanism for accomplishing this revolution was the replacement of the inefficient, independent, and unscientific foreman with an expert or a legion of expert managers. Thus in this phase of his life, Taylor was attempting to dissolve the owner-foreman relationship and substitute in its place the owner-manager nexus. This work earned Taylor the friendship and confidence of some of the most important industrialists of the day.

However, it was the period following the productive years of Taylor's career which is frequently given excessive emphasis in discussion of scientific management. Following 1910, the peak of progressive agitation, Taylor saw a means of popularizing his previously technical and specialized work. In order to make his work more appealing to the public Taylor changed

the emphasis in his writings and speeches, while maintaining a philosophically consistent position. He emphasized less in his writings the owner-manager relationship and increased the time he devoted to the manager-worker linkage. Previously this relationship had occupied only a small place in his overall system. But after 1910 it was the dominant relationship in scientific management.

This attempt to graft the labor tenets of scientific management to the labor reform movement was a totally logical alliance in Taylor's view, as he was united with the reformers and union leaders in opposition to large corporations and the "old factory system." However, in dealing with workers Taylor was frequently ruthless and believed that by stricter management and wage increases the worker's needs would be satisfied and labor trouble would dissolve. To labor reformers such innovations when scrutinized closely seemed no more well intentioned than the proposals of corporate industrialists. Thus, much to Taylor's regret and confusion, his system was attacked by many reform leaders as well as the United States Congress. Taylor's death came only after an exhaustive fight to influence the Hoxie committee of the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations that scientific management was consistent with progressive reform.

Nelson's book is an excellent work which brings fresh thought to a figure and concept too frequently mentioned and too seldom analyzed. Such new life was brought to the topic as a partial result of Nelson's extensive use of primary sources. This work is evidentially sound and exceeds any other work on the topic produced in the past several decades.

The Johns Hopkins University

M. EDWARD HOLLAND

The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909-1950. By Robert L. Zangrando. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980. Pp. ix, 1980. \$19.50.)

In this book Robert Zangrando studies lynching, the most fundamental assault on human rights, and one effort to eliminate it from American life. It is not a detailed study of the causes and control of lynching, nor is it a general history of the NAACP, but it is a detailed account of one important objective in the Association's struggle against racism—its crusade to secure a federal law against lynching.

Pennsylvania's experience with lynching was tragically similar to that of most northern states. Just three years after the NAACP began its campaign against lynching as a reaction to racial violence in Illinois, there was mob action in Coatesville, Pennsylvania. As Zangrando describes it: "On the night of August 13, [1911], a wounded black man, Zachariah Walker, suspected of having murdered an industrial guard, was seized at the local hospital and dragged still chained to his bed, about a half a mile from town. There a mob of some 4,000 lynched him by three times thrusting him into, and withdrawing him from, a roaring bonfire" (p. 26). In spite of an investigation by the NAACP, local juries refused to indict members of the mob, and the district attorney abandoned efforts to prosecute them. Twelve years

later, however, public opinion had turned against lynching, and Pennsylvania was able to enact a state law against it. In 1938 the local black community was able to prevent the lynching of a black prisoner in Coatesville, who had been accused of attacking a white woman. Some 3,000 blacks surrounded the prison and protected the prisoner from mob violence.

The changes in Pennsylvania mirrored a change in national attitudes which, Zangrando believes, was generated by the NAACP's antilynching campaign. He presents a very detailed account of the Association's lobbying efforts in Washington, and its growing skill in influencing the legislative process. He also provides glimpses into the internal intrigues and politics of the organization, including the stormy career of W.E.B. DuBois and his ouster by Walter White. In spite of its long and persistent efforts the NAACP failed, by 1950, to secure the passage of a federal antilynching statute, blocked by a coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans.

Zangrando admits that lynching was eliminated from the American scene, not by legislative fiat, but by social changes which shifted racist behavior from mob violence to other methods of social control. He credits the NAACP with laying the foundation of the civil rights activism of the 1960s by sensitizing the nation to the personal rights of black people, even though that later activism bypassed the legal-judicial approach of the NAACP in favor of nonviolent, participatory, direct action. This later activism was able to secure the institutional changes which the NAACP was unable to accomplish in its antilynching crusade.

The NAACP drew its strength from the liberal progressivism of the early twentieth century, and reflected the aspirations of middle-class, black Americans. Critics like Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. DuBois contended that more radical solutions were needed to eliminate the structural bases of racism in American society. Did the NAACP antilynching crusade really open the way for the struggles of the 1960s, or were they the result of shifts in social and economic patterns? The NAACP did much, given its limited goals and resources, to stem the tide of racial prejudice, but we still need a more searching analysis of its failure to mobilize the masses against racism. This book is an excellent introduction to the work of the NAACP which, for all its shortcomings, has been the most persistent and effective defender of the rights of black Americans.

Lincoln University

ANDREW E. MURRAY

Historic Buildings of Centre County, Pennsylvania. By the Historic Registration Project of Centre County Library, Gregory Ramsey, Coordinator. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980. Pp. x, 222. \$15.00.)

The explosion of interest in historic preservation in Pennsylvania parallels a nationwide trend which is less than a dozen years old. The historic registration program in Centre County, which began as a bicentennial project, had its roots only a decade or so ago in the listing of Curtin Village as the county's first property on the National Register.

Historic Buildings of Centre County, Pennsylvania represents the joint effort by a group of clearly dedicated preservationists to promote an awareness of the county's architectural distinction and an appreciation of its rich history. The attractively printed book is divided into four principal sections that reflect the state's fifth largest county's geographical subdivisions, viz., Penns Valley, Centre Region, Nittany Valley, and Bald Eagle/Allegheny Plateau. Each section begins with a map highlighting the particular subdivision, and a selection of notable structures replete with really good photographs and textual descriptions follows.

In perusing the survey, one gets the distinct impression that, with the obvious exception of Pennsylvania State University in College Township, time has passed Centre County by. This point becomes painfully clear time and again when the reader considers the demise of the iron and brickmaking industries, to name but two, and assesses the effects on towns like Bellefonte and Milesburg or Monument and Orviston.

Historic Buildings, however, is principally about architecturally and/or historically significant buildings in the county which survived at the time of the survey, though several were threatened. As the reader progresses from one section of the county to another, he is impressed at once by both the number and quality of surviving structures which, although they express the popular styles of successive eras, evidence a vernacular adaptation by their builders. For example, the Jacob Gates house near Gatesburg (Centre Region) is a two-story, four-bay stone house which successfully combines Germanic and Georgian architectural styles common to the county in the first half of the nineteenth century. South Ward School on Bellefonte's southern border provides a good example of the work of J. Robert Cole, an area architect who incorporated Victorian Italianate and Queen Anne styles in the exterior of a former school which has been adapted into an apartment building. Bellefonte, the county seat located in Nittany Valley, boasts of several of Cole's most distinguished buildings including the Crider Exchange (1889) and Temple Court (1894).

The architectural story of Centre County as presented by Gregory Ramsey and his associates is uneven and spotty—a problem not unusual to works with multiple authors. The last section of the book which concerns the Bald Eagle/Allegheny Plateau area, for example, apports a mere two pages to Curtin Village with its rebuilt iron furnace and the restored Curtin mansion. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission envisions the reconstruction of the entire village as it existed in its heyday. On the

other hand, seven pages are given over to Rowland Theatre in Philipsburg, a 1917 structure whose exterior is "relatively unassuming" and whose interior is largely distinguished by later Art Deco embellishments. More balance is seen in the brief sections devoted to Penn Hall, Rebersburg, and Millheim (Penns Valley), replete with street plans and both commercial and residential photographs.

Although lacking a concluding section which might have identified those Centre County structures on the State and National Registers, there is a series of no less than five appendixes and two glossaries that should be noted. Appendix B is entitled "Criteria for Evaluation of Potential Entries for the National Register" and Appendix E lists those county buildings recorded by the HABS (Historic American Buildings Survey). Both glossaries, one of common architectural terms (some with illustrations) and the other of historic preservation terminology, are very useful and quite handy. The text in general is good, and the photography throughout, excellent.

University of Scranton

JOHN QUENTIN FELLER

Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History. By Robert S. Fogarty. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980. Pp. xxvi, 271. \$29.95.)

Robert S. Fogarty, who teaches history at Antioch College, has prepared a new reference tool on American utopias. The first part of the volume is biographical; it provides rudimentary sketches of 152 key individuals, most of whom cannot be found in more familiar places such as the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The second part of the book, prepared in collaboration with Otohiko Okugawa, a sociologist from the University of Pittsburgh at Bradford, catalogues 270 utopian communities dating from 1787 to 1919. Each entry gives dates, location, and a few sentences of description. Longer treatments are accorded 58 communities, including the most important of the 270 as well as a few twentieth-century ones. The third section of the book is a bibliographic essay and selected bibliography. Although there are occasional places where the results of forced brevity flirt with inexactness, the dictionary is nevertheless extremely useful. Those whose primary interest is the history of Pennsylvania will find enough relevant entries, from Conrad Beissel to Father Divine, to warrant a trip to the library, if not a personal purchase.