BOOK REVIEWS


The publication of William Penn's papers is a project with its own history, which I date from the summer of 1959 when Mary Maples and I (who, at the time, was a graduate student of Richard Dunn) began sorting the materials collected by Albert Cook Myers in the early years of the twentieth century. Fred Tolles and Caroline Robbins dropped by the Chester County Historical Society occasionally to monitor our findings, and Roy Nichols was interested from a distance. Eventually these materials found their way to 1300 Locust Street in Philadelphia where, in 1975, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania issued a fourteen-reel microfilm edition of the papers of William Penn under the direction of Hannah Benner Roach. (Although this edition is without editorial apparatus, there was published in 1975 a short guide.)

Three years later Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, of Bryn Mawr and the University of Pennsylvania respectively, undertook the select letterpress edition of *The Papers of William Penn.* They intend to publish four volumes, with Edwin B. Bronner and David Fraser of Haverford contributing a companion fifth volume in the form of an annotated bibliography of Penn's imprints.

The volume under review here, covering the first thirty-five years of Penn's life, contains over 150 documents, about half of which have been previously published. Given the editors' reputations as historians and the fact that Mary Dunn's earlier work has focused on Penn's political and religious thought while Richard Dunn has been primarily concerned with economic affairs, we can be sure that the selection is balanced, the reproduction is faithful, and the annotation is thorough. In addition the editors have supplied a brief but interesting history of the papers since the seventeenth century.

The volume is divided into a dozen chronological sections, each of which contains documents which deal with a principal phase of Penn's early career. Every section is introduced by an essay summarizing the issues which were important to Penn at that time. The graphics are well chosen. Finally, the University of Pennsylvania Press must be complimented on its material contribution to the superior quality of this book.

Turning to the content of the *Papers,* we as historians are unfortunate in having so little documentation for Penn's early life. "The Early Years, 1644-1665," contains some youthful verse and a couple of letters from young William to his father. But in the following four sections, covering 1666 through 1670 when Penn spent much of his time in Ireland, we see emerging an estate manager, a future husband, and most clearly a religious figure. I found most provocative a letter from John Gay which describes Lady Margaret Penn's commentary on her son's conversion to the Society of Friends and its effect on their relationship.
The public consequence of Penn's Quakerism is described in the sixth section, "In Newgate," the London prison where he was sent in August 1670 and, again, in February 1671. This period included the famous Penn-Mead trial, which notably advanced the power of the jury vis-à-vis the judge. Penn's letters to his father at this time present his position simply but eloquently. Yet it is in an exchange with Sir John Robinson, "L' of the Tower," that we see most clearly the conflict between the prevailing ethos of Stuart society and the viewpoint of the Quakers:

J.R. I vow Mr Penn I am sorry for you, you are an Ingenious Gentleman, all the World must allow you, & do allow you that, & you have a plentiful Estate, why should you render your self unhappy by associating with such a simple People.

W.P. I confess, I have made it my choyce to relinquish the Company of those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse w'h those that are more honestly simple.

J.R. I wish you were wiser.

W.P. And I wish thee better.

The several years after his release from prison in late 1671 are encompassed in a section labeled "Settling Down," and indeed it is true that in the spring of 1672 William Penn was wed to Gulielma Springett; the editors appropriately include here the Quaker leader's statement on "Right Marriage." Yet in these years Penn was also engaged in missionary efforts, both on the Continent and in England; he continued to defend the Friends from political persecution; and, probably most difficult of all because of its challenge to the purity and unity of the group which he valued so much, he had also to deal with the matter of dissension within the Society.

He was emerging as the leader, so that the years from 1674 to 1677—though his activities changed hardly at all—are rightly called "Working with George Fox." The founder of Quakerism was in prison, and Penn's work was both to free him and to cooperate with him in forging a strategy to fend off the government, competing sects, and dissenters within. Penn was in his early thirties and energetic. His and Guli's first child to survive infancy was born in 1675. He appears at his debating, organizing best.

And he began his involvement in America. In 1675 he was drawn into a dispute between Quakers over the proprietorship of West New Jersey. The documents in this section are less interesting than their predecessors, but not less important, since we are aware that Penn moved from arbiter to being a proprietor himself. But not immediately, for in 1677 he undertook another missionary tour of Holland and Germany, attempting to reach pietistic Protestants who would be sympathetic to the Quakers. Many of his contacts were with persons of means who would later invest in Pennsylvania. And the places where he traveled on the Continent became recruiting grounds for settlement in Pennsylvania.

When he returned to England he engaged in politics more than ever before, forsaking his Stuart connections for the Whigs who promised religious toleration. Not only did he choose the losing side in the national arena, but he was unable to head off factionalism in the Society of Friends. "Wee are not satisfied that George Fox hath of late been guided by the spirit of truth," wrote the Schismatics, "neither are wee satisfied that those who have of late looked upon
him as a man Worthy of double honour and own'd him in such matters, have had therein a spirituall deservinge. . . ." And Penn began to suffer the financial troubles that would hound him the rest of his life. In the Appendix to the Papers there are almost a hundred pages of his business records, supplemented by helpful notes and explanations. Anyone who heard Richard Dunn's paper on William Penn as a businessman at "The World of William Penn" conference in Philadelphia in March 1981 will know that there now exists substantial evidence that Penn's economic problems were largely of his own making and not due to the chicanery of his steward, Philip Ford, as has been generally believed.

We close the first volume of the Papers in anticipation of second, grateful to the editors for providing us primary materials on a story we have far too long been able to know only from a distance. Their skill in rendering this narrative can only be commended.

San Francisco State University

JOSEPH E. ILICK


Volume five of The Papers of Robert Morris reveals the determination of the superintendent of finance to promote his ideas for financial and political reform and the difficulties which complicated this task in the spring and summer of 1782. Indeed, the first day's correspondence discloses Robert Morris writing to Nathaniel Appleton, a Boston loan officer, of the need for a permanent revenue from an impost, the importance of the public creditor's loyalty to the confederation, and Morris's concern for the reputation of the nation throughout the world.

Although Morris called for Continental cooperation to meet these objectives, he frequently wrote of the unwillingness of the states to contribute to the sound financing of the continental government and their parochial outlook regarding the well being of the entire nation. In June 1782, the superintendent's disappointment with the failure of all the states to approve an amendment to the Articles of Confederation moved him to argue for acceptance of this impost as a condition for future payment of monies due on loan office certificates issued prior to March 1, 1778. Morris hoped that pressure from the Pennsylvania loan office certificate holders would transcend local interests and help to secure passage of a permanent revenue. After privately meeting with several creditors on June 28, a series of newspaper articles, petitions to the Continental Congress, and public meetings followed which echoed Morris's view that the impost be approved and the public creditors be honored.

While awaiting resolution of this issue, unfavorable commercial conditions beset the coastal cities. In an address on the state of American trade dated May 10, merchants from Philadelphia pointed out the effectiveness of Rear Admiral Robert Digby's determined efforts to blockade the American coast. Morris informed French Admiral de Grasse that nineteen out of twenty ships were seized either trying to enter or leave coastal ports and over eighty vessels bound for or departing Philadelphia were captured within a five-month period.
Merchants lamented these dire circumstances, as well as their inability to contribute monies requested by the states to finance government operations.

The flourishing of a clandestine trade with the enemy served to further aggravate financial and economic conditions. By 1782 trade with New York City had reached massive proportions. Large quantities of goods were transported across British lines to awaiting American merchants who then exchanged gold and silver for desired British manufacturers. Although Morris believed that vigorous tax laws levied by the states would lead to the withdrawal of specie from circulation and prevent it from falling into the hands of the British, he had little confidence that such taxes would be enacted. Morris added that restrictive trade legislation proposed in Congress would be equally ineffective and that the situation required more comprehensive measures.

These and other matters disclose the complex issues that remained, for the most part, unresolved during Morris’s tenure as superintendent of finance. The reader is assisted in comprehending this story of the repeated frustrations by Morris to meet his responsibilities through the extremely useful and often lengthy footnote commentaries by editors Ferguson and Catanzariti. Indeed, this volume is essential for students of the Revolutionary era as a tool in examining the magnitude of problems facing the new nation and for assessing the implications of Morris’s reform proposals.

Westmoreland County Community College

LEMUEL MOLOVINSKY


In this work, Professor Cochran attempts to explain American industrialization before 1855 using the geo-cultural approach he has previously applied to American business in later periods. The approach holds that cultural characteristics peculiar to different groups of people predispose them to respond differently to opportunities presented by geography and natural resources. The northeastern United States, Cochran argues, “had a majority or modal culture, based on its traditions and environment, that recognized innovations in craftsmanship and business policy as essential ‘techniques of solving problems.’ In addition, the necessities of the developing colonies and states enforced a continued emphasis on utilitarian ways of ‘organizing and interpreting ... experience,’ one generation after another.” In Cochran’s opinion, it was the cultural commitment to pragmatism, experimentation, and innovation that led to industrialization in America. He also insists that in the long run the force of cultural factors in bringing about change is independent of market conditions at any given time. The book seeks to identify specific American cultural characteristics that created a climate for industrialization and to contrast British and American responses to similar but not identical circumstances.

The basic cultural difference Cochran finds between America and all other nations was “a greater interest by the urban upper class ... in improving material devices.” This led to a legal system favorable to entrepreneurship, easy licensing of artisans by municipalities, and ultimately to new institutions for pooling and mobilizing capital. The latter included chartered commercial banks, insurance companies, incorporation for all types of business, and laws lenient to debtors.
Cochran argues that high geographic and social mobility were characteristic of American life, and that these factors encouraged the "tendency to innovation and ready acceptance of the new in American culture." On the one hand, continual migration created consumers who were satisfied with crude products. On the other hand, migration in a "horizontal society" established a climate in which men were admired for their ability to make things work rather than for their lineage. The product of such conditions was the "omnicompetent artisan," more adaptable in applying skills to new situations, but with far less specialized skill than his European counterpart. The American artisan was admired for an ability to build "crude but effective machines."

Cochran maintains that culture is based upon geography. In the northeastern United States, as in Britain, geography allowed a culture favorable to experimentation with production to develop. Fertile land, and relative ease of transportation produced a society with a high standard of living. Important for later development, there was an abundance of raw materials needed for new forms of production. Smelting material, for example, was readily available near iron ore. The cultural and geographical factors Cochran details were, he concludes, responsible for making the United States, "in fact if not in reputation, the world leader in the application of machinery to mass production" by the 1840s.

*Frontiers of Change* makes its most meaningful contribution in showing that industrialization in America was not simply a transfer of technology from England. It succeeds in this by showing how different conditions in England and America resulted in applying similar technologies to solve widely different problems. In doing this, the book calls attention toward innovations in Philadelphia and Wilmington areas and away from the New England textile industry. The most significant technological advances promoting industrial change in America occurred first in the former area, while older technologies based on waterpower and using family labor persisted much longer in the latter.

While imported English technological advances like the water frame have been considered the most important stimuli to the industrial revolution, Cochran points out that when that device was first brought to Philadelphia it failed to attract local capital because it seemed doubtful the machine could reduce prices. In fact, factory production of finished textiles was less significant in the development of American machine technology than were advances in processing raw cotton, wood, and wheat. The greatest marginal increases in production in America came from the application of steam technology to cleaning cotton, and milling wood and wheat. For example, the automated factory, perhaps the most typically American of any industrial innovation, originated when Oliver Evans set out to improve an already mechanized flour milling process. Evans's completely mechanized flour mill, patented in 1787, was a wonder of early industrialism in America. Evans was also responsible for improvements to the steam engine, and in 1802, for the first use of a high-pressure steam engine in manufacturing. This was in a gypsum fertilizer mill in Philadelphia. Other Americans rapidly adopted the steam engine to power river transportation. These American entrepreneurs not only improved on imported technology, but applied it to different purposes than their British counterparts.

Another area in which American and British technology diverged according to Cochran was in metallurgy. Both English-speaking nations had iron deposits
located near smelting material. However, the American ore required different processing than British ore and American demand was for cast iron for stoves and for farm and household implements rather than for high-quality wrought iron. Furthermore, in America, water power made it feasible to purify iron by hammering, a process that produced a product better for machine and tool parts than that resulting from the British rolling and puddling process. Ultimately, this made it easier for the United States to develop a machine tool industry to sustain the industrial revolution.

While the volume offers valuable insights into the preconditions for industrialization in the United States and the course of its evolution in the first half of the nineteenth century, the geo-cultural model overestimates the importance of cultural factors in explaining developments and underestimates the influence of market conditions. Cochran’s discussion of American mechanization of flour production will help illustrate the point. The author observes that flour milling was the principle industry in this country in value of product until after the Civil War, and that the United States led the world in mechanizing the production process. “The question of whether [the] nation would proceed to higher levels of industrialization or not,” he concludes, “was decided by its culture, specifically by the response of its artisan-entrepreneurs to the possibilities opened to them.” In their very perceptive article “Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth Century South,” however, Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman have shown that because of the physical properties of wheat, its bulk, perishability, and processing requirements, and because of its profitability in the late eighteenth century, the wheat trade stimulated urbanization. The requirements of marketing the staple, rather than the regional culture, encouraged packaging and processing, related industrial procedures, transportation, and essential provisioning and repair services. Other staple theorists have shown that a profitable export sector can attract both entrepreneurial and artisan talent to an area at first to serve the export trade. As the population involved in exports grows, it creates a domestic consumer market for goods and services which when exploited by entrepreneurs, results in sustained urban and industrial growth. Cochran’s evidence suggests that the staple thesis can be used to explain early industrialism in the United States. The need to produce, process, and transport ever larger amounts of wheat to feed a growing population provided the impetus for innovations, such as automated grist mills, steam-powered fertilizer mills, and river steamboats. By the time the foreign market for American wheat and corn stagnated, the author points out that an urban domestic market of workers producing goods for the farms and emerged. The domestic market sustained economic growth and diversification.

As well as questioning the subordination of the importance of market influences in interpreting the rise of industrialism in post Revolutionary America, I am doubtful about the author’s hypothesis that Americans initially failed as middle managers in the 1840s because they did not share the European heritage of feudalism. Nevertheless, the volume is a stimulating inquiry into the origins of the American industrial revolution, and provides a useful synthesis of a wide range of recent scholarship in the field.

America's technological past has favored the myth of the practically minded "Yankee" inventor and engineer who attracted greater admiration abroad than did either her writers or philosophers. In this concise book Eugene Ferguson qualifies such judgment as he epitomizes the early American industrial revolution in the person of Oliver Evans—inventor, steam engineer, and sharp-witted entrepreneur. It is a richly illustrated account, including source diagrams of the mechanisms deriving from Evans's inventive genius and also numerous photographs of the models meticulously re-created in the Hagley Museum. The book is also a source of insight into the early entrepreneurial history of Pennsylvania where Evans pursued much of his extremely active career.

Perhaps the major usefulness of this study—which gives due credit to Orville and Dorothy Bathe's definitive Oliver Evans: A Chronicle of Early American Engineering, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1935—is its insight via the career of Oliver Evans into the technological process itself. Evans's career typified that of the early inventor-entrepreneur motivated by an innate curiosity about mechanisms, a desire to simplify and speed performance of everyday tasks, and the desire for profit.

Evans, however, was no mere Middle States version of the reputed "Yankee Tinkerer." By the time of his death in 1819 at age sixty-four he claimed credit for at least eighty discoveries and inventions. Possessing an ingenious mind, Evans nevertheless believed strongly in the importance of research and theory related to technology. "It is not enough for us to know by experience that it is so," he admitted. "But we should not rest satisfied, until we are able to assign philosophical reasons why it is so." He combined engineering practicality with theory in his widely used The Young Mill-Wright and Miller's Guide, first published in Philadelphia in 1795 and running through fifteen editions by 1860. A briefer Abortion of the Young Steam Engineer's Guide of 1805 devoted half of its 139 pages to a discourse on the principles and technology of steam power.

School history texts, otherwise shy of the vast role played by technology in the nation's development, reprint the original diagrams depicting Oliver Evans's remarkable automatic flour mill. To a world otherwise unaware of the possibilities of automation, this mill demonstrated how water power acting through a maze of ingenious machinery eliminated arduous human labor. The self-operating mill amazed Pennsylvania Quaker millers who admired its technology but hedged on the issue of paying Evans's stiff fees for use of his patents.

Oliver Evans, as a consequence, was the first inventor-entrepreneur to test the virtues of the new United States patent law of 1790. His was the third patent issued under that law by a three-man committee headed by Thomas Jefferson. Evans's defense of his patent rights by way of vigorous prosecution in the courts of violators, and sarcastic pamphlets aimed at their defenders brought him little popular affection. Jefferson felt constrained to debate with Evans the questionable virtues of patents, believing that too often the underlying conceptions of inventions were part of the treasury of society's accumulated wisdom. Evans,
speaking for inventors generally, argued the need of protection to insure a reward sufficient to motivate new discovery and to repay the often onerous costs in time, effort, and income lost in the process of development.

Ferguson's emphasis on Evans as inventor-entrepreneur is especially valuable. His Mars Works in Philadelphia was an engineering complex which by 1812 was supplying cast iron cannon for the war against England, and machinery, boilers, and steam engines for the developing industrial economy. That spirit of enterprise created the Pittsburgh Steam Engine Company and spurred Evans's efforts to supply the western waterways with his own high-pressure engines.

Finally, one may trace in Ferguson's evaluation both the fact and fancy of the technologist as folk hero. The roots of the Horatio Alger theme are here. Luck and faithfulness played a role, but success in technological pursuits was a matter of the tenacious pursuit of a vision and its fulfilment in practical forms—hopefully followed by public recognition and economic gain. A continuing complaint was Evans's discovery that the inventor in America still remained an object of public curiosity rather than admiration.

Contentious by nature and perhaps too concerned about credit for his originality and priority in invention, Evans left to history the obligation to judge his right to technological fame. Admiring Evans's refusal to succumb to what the inventor believed to be public ingratitude. Ferguson sets forth that judgment. Remembering Evans's pioneering venture in automation, his innovatively efficient Columbian steam engine, and his notion that patents were valuable property rights meriting strict protection by the courts, the author concludes that "his life made a difference" which has affected our technological society ever since.

The Pennsylvania State University

HUGO A. MEIER


Economic historians are aware that no comprehensive scholarly accounts are available dealing with canals or railroads in any of the middle Atlantic states. The same void exists for the Pennsylvania anthracite region which had a greater concentration of canals and railroads than any other industrial region of the United States. The Regional Economic History Research Center of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation has taken an important step to rectify this situation by publishing this reference aid.

The ten-page introduction provides the reasons for fixing the geographical boundaries and the dates for the five major maps. The area includes Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York south of the Erie Canal, and northern Virginia. Drawing upon the broad generalizations from scholarly works and using the working models of economic historians, Christopher Baer and his colleagues have selected fifteen-year intervals to show the growth of canals and railroads. The key dates are 1800, 1815, 1830, 1845, and 1860. The introduction briefly discusses the geographical endowments of the area, the evolution of technology, the traffic and trade patterns, and the development of an integrated transportation system.
This volume will be useful for those wishing to study and do research on the subject. A nineteen-page bibliography includes the major works for locating material on various canal, railroad, and mining companies in manuscript collections, state and federal documents, periodicals, and general secondary works. Unfortunately the section on manuscripts does not list the major manuscript collections of the transportation companies. The extensive volume of manuscript collections involved may have precluded such a task. Also missing are two local historical periodicals which contain significant articles similar to those listed. They are *The Historical Review of Berks County* and *The Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*.

One of the most valuable parts of the bibliographical section is a listing of the annual reports of the companies and their location. Annual reports are vital for studying the business strategy of these corporations and construction of facilities to achieve their goals. Two important collections of annual reports are missing: the railroad collection at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the pamphlet collection at the State Library of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg. For those studying Pennsylvania projects the rare book section of the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, has a number of annual reports not listed by Baer.

The appendix contains maps and statistical data. In addition to the five fold out maps for the years 1800, 1815, 1830, 1845, and 1860, there are maps for the northern anthracite field, the southern and middle anthracite fields, Washington, D.C., New York City, Baltimore, and Philadelphia all in the year 1860. Students and scholars interested in the multitude of minor details found on good maps will certainly like this feature. The same thing can be said about the organizational and mileage tables for canals and railroads. The tables give the name of the company, date incorporated, terminals, construction dates, length, capacity, disposition, and other facts. Other tables show the cumulative canal and railroad mileage from 1800 to 1862. Baer and his colleagues have been meticulous in compiling this data.

The Regional Economic History Research Center has clearly achieved its goal. Anyone interested in the history of canals and railroads in the middle Atlantic states from 1800 to 1860 will find this reference aid a welcome addition to the literature.

*Bloomsburg State College*  
H. BENJAMIN POWELL


On many accounts this is a provocative book which the American Theological Library Association should be credited for including in its monograph series. It chronicles the life of the little-known black Shaker, Mother Rebecca Jackson, and the “Out-Family” she lead in Philadelphia during the mid-nineteenth century. It is a contribution to the understanding not only of this deeply religious woman who was led by dreams and visions but to the history of Shakerism, a little-known religious phenomenon of the last century. What we have here is both primary source materials—Jackson’s journal and diary—and Richard Williams’s commentary based on the records of the Watervliet and New
Lebanon Shaker communities in New York. The result is a biography which fills a hiatus in black and women's history and raises questions for further research.

Raised in the tradition of evangelical Methodism, Rebecca Cox was a visionary as a child. At age thirty-five, she was, by her own account, spiritually reborn; she became increasingly charismatic and pentecostal in her religious expression. Her popularity as a visionary and healer spread throughout Philadelphia. She was subsequently condemned and persecuted, but this only caused her to define her beliefs more clearly. In 1836 she visited the Shaker community in New York. "For the first time in my life," she wrote, "I found a people that I believe are the true people of God on earth. . . ." Eleven years later she joined the Watervliet Shakers, the community with the largest number of black participants in the North. Although she believed she had found Zion, she was not content during her four years there, and she left without the approval of Shaker leaders to begin a Shaker ministry in Philadelphia. Her religious experience had given her an independent authority which did not easily submit to community restraint. During the following six years of "disunion" with Shaker authorities, she turned inward. Her journal records no attempt at evangelical witness in Philadelphia but rather an increasing preoccupation with theological reflection and an attempt to reconcile Shaker and Bible-centered beliefs. In 1857 she returned to the Watervliet community, at which time she received permission to establish a Shaker "Out-Family" among her people. From that time until her death in 1871 Mother Rebecca Jackson was the leader of a small (approximately eleven person) primarily black and female Shaker household in the city of Philadelphia. She was the healer, visionary, prophet, and medium of this "Out-Family" which continued to be in union with and indirectly supervised by Shaker authorities. After her death the "Out-Family" continued under the leadership of her disciple, Mother Rebecca Jackson, Jr., and is known to have been in existence up until 1901.

The bulk of this monograph is the journal of Mother Rebecca, which covers the period 1830 through the mid-1860s and which reads as a fantastic record of visions and dreams which are insightful and yet totally preoccupied with personal spirituality. Jackson spent most of her life in Philadelphia, the center of reformist activity in the North, yet her writings give almost no indication of her ideas about questions of race or social injustice. Neither does the reader emerge with any sense of the public's reaction in the 1860s to the existence of her curious household. Williams does little to place Jackson and her band in a larger context. His intent is primarily to document the life of Mother Rebecca, her relations with the Shaker community and the existence of the "Out-Family," the latter of which has been subject to various muddled secondary treatments. Williams offers very thorough documentation on all three topics although one wishes that his bibliographic citations on Jackson's early years were fuller.

Although one wants a broader interpretation of Mother Rebecca Jackson's contributions, Williams's effort is commendable. He offers his work as a case study in the history of Shakerism and a counter to the prevailing stereotype that Shakerism was a totally rural and white religious phenomenon. In addition, Williams has made a compensatory contribution to the history of both blacks and women in nineteenth-century America. For both these groups it was personal religious insight which often allowed them to transcend the limitations of race or sex and make a contribution to the larger society. Mother Rebecca
Jackson is an example, par excellence, of that phenomenon. She deserves to be remembered.

St. Mary's College of Maryland

DANA GREENE


Ironically Woodward's impeccable scholarship both provides us with the definitive version of the classic Diary from Dixie and undermines its place in the canon of Civil War scriptures. Chesnut kept a journal during 1861, 1862, and 1865, but apparently not during 1863 and 1864. Only seven numbers of this journal—from 1861 and 1865—survive, though Chesnut probably had access to about twelve numbers of her journal when she revised it in the 1870s and again in the 1880s. Very little of the 1870s version remains, but the 1880s version—a "simulated diary"—survives, and it is the work previous editors have revised and with which we are familiar. Comparing the original journal with the 1880s manuscript, Woodward notes that Chesnut "took many liberties." She omitted and condensed, she elaborated and expanded, she included new episodes and new letters, she added characterizations and conversations, and she reflected upon events and issues reported in the journal. "In the process, sometimes dates get shifted around, entries telescoped, speakers switched, and words and ideas originally attributed to the writer herself are put in the mouths of others." Nevertheless, Woodward shows that "the integrity of the author's experience and perception is maintained in this transformation, but not the literal record of events expected of the diarist." (p. xxv).

Mary Chesnut's Civil War is a blend of art and history. After the war she wrote and failed to publish three novels, but, as her recent biographer Elisabeth Muhlenfeld perceives, that experience enabled Chesnut to perfect her style, her capacity to delineate character through the use of dialogue, and her imaginative use of metaphor (particularly the romance of Sally Buchanan "Buck" Preston and John Bell "Sam" Hood, symbolizing the rise and fall of the Confederacy). It is, of course, these literary qualities that have attracted critics, such as Edmund Wilson, as well as historians to Chesnut. Faithfully adhering to Mary Chesnut's texts—which she regarded as unfinished when she died—the Woodward edition does not sacrifice her literary virtues, which were heightened in the incomplete, inaccurate, unfaithful 1949 Ben Ames Williams edition with its fabricated opening and closing sections. Woodward's edition introduces passages from the 1860s journal and recovers passages that Chesnut erased. These additions, often revealing, provide a feeling of immediacy as well as benchmarks from which to measure how far Chesnut strays in her revisions. For example, the 1860s version exposes Chesnut's vanity—which makes her even more appealing—contains a passage on her father-in-law's "peculiarities" (p. 815), another condemning slavery as "a monstrous system" and observing that "Sumner said not one word of this hated institution which is not true" (p. 29), and a third dated May 9, 1865 in which her husband "cannot forbear the gratification of taunting me with his ruin, for which I am no more responsible than the man in the moon. But it is the habit of all men to fancy that in some inscrutable way their wives are the cause of all evil in their lives" (p. 809).

It is clear that Chesnut was consistent in her antislavery views and in her even
stronger feminist beliefs. If anything she toned down the 1880s version, which she intended to publish, from the private 1860s journal. And yet one is uncertain where 1860s history ends and 1880s art begins. The conversations she reports are usually plausible and not flawed by anachronisms. Under the heading of January 1, 1864, however, her recorded banter includes remarks on Grant—"He don't care a snap if they fall like the leaves fall. He fights to win, that chap"—and Lincoln—"You never hear now of his nasty fun—only of his wisdom" (p. 520)—that arouse suspicions of hindsight. These suspicions are confirmed on the following page by Woodward’s note that one of these sparkling speakers refers to “General Preston” six months before Colonel Preston received his promotion.

Despite nagging doubts one is caught up and swept along in Mary Chesnut’s work. She read widely and her cosmopolitan outlook both broadened and sharpened her perceptions; she had a knack of being in the midst of action—Charleston for the attack on Sumter, Richmond where she was an intimate of Jefferson and Varina Davis, and the Carolinas in the path of Sherman’s army; her sense of drama heightened the impact of her observations; and her capacity to laugh at herself even while playing Cassandra reveals her broad human outlook and the warm radiant nature of her soul. Thanks to Woodward we have an accurate annotated edition of Mary Chesnut’s memoir, which, while not a true diary, is nevertheless a valuable and a moving source.

Brooklyn College of the City University of New York

ARI HOOGENBOOM


American anarchism has received increased attention from historians with the recent publication of Anarchist Women by Margaret Marsh and The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States by Paul Avrich. This narrative biography by Frederic Trautmann provides the initial modern biography of Most and the first study published in English of an almost forgotten, major figure in European and American radicalism.

Professor Trautmann narrates the story of Most’s rise to prominence as a European radical. His childhood was filled with brutality inflicted by his stepmother, teacher, and employer. However, abuse and physical disfigurement couldn’t still his ambition nor diminish his energy as he turned to reading for solace and as a pathway to a wider world. Armed with a strong mind and an iron will he toured Austria and Germany accumulating evidence of the exploitation of workers and propagandizing in behalf of strikes and socialism to the cheers of thousands of workers and the growing hostility of authorities. He lectured and wrote in behalf of a shorter work day and the inauguration of an egalitarian society. These activities led to a growing reputation in the European socialist movement, membership in the German Parliament, and several prison terms. Increasingly harassed on the Continent he left for England where he hoped to find a more hospitable environment. However, his advocacy of anarchism led to his imprisonment by English authorities. By the early 1880s he realized the unsuitability of England as a base for radical agitation, and he migrated to the United States.

In America he became the nation’s leading anarchist and his career peaked in
the 1880s. Most used New York as his principal base and became immersed in a circle of immigrants, radicals, and workers. Professor Trautmann opens this crucial segment of the book by depicting the vitality of the Lower East Side filled with poverty and protest. Most also toured and debated to spread his message to a national audience. In *The Science of Revolutionary Warfare* he offered a manual for practitioners of "propaganda of the deed." *Freiheit*, which exceeded other radical publications in its readership and the power of its language, served as an effective forum for the propagation of the doctrines of communist anarchism. Inspired by the ideas of Peter Kropotkin, he built the International Working People's Association into a major movement for radicals. The Pittsburgh Proclamation of 1883, written by Most, served both as a manifesto of the organization and a landmark in the history of radicalism. It condemned the propertied for plundering the working class and enriching themselves and called for worker solidarity and rebellion to usher in a new society based on equal rights. The new society would regulate public affairs by free contracts between autonomous associations operating on a federalistic basis. These ideas inspired Albert Parsons and August Spies and set the stage for the Haymarket Affair. In its wake harassment of radicals increased and rivals, particularly Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, rose to challenge the predominance of Most. Most's activities led to his imprisonment and the end of his era of ascendancy in the American anarchist movement.

By the early 1890s he had lost most of his European following and in the United States the native born remained unreachable and his immigrant audience declined. Most became increasingly isolated as he disdained the popular eight-hour day movement, faced the competition of the Socialist Labor Party, and saw Emma Goldman leave his arms and establish herself as America's greatest radical orator. In the decade prior to his death in 1906 he continued to speak and to publish *Freiheit* but his voice and ideas seemed increasingly anachronistic.

Professor Trautmann has performed a service for scholars with this biography based on printed sources including *Freiheit* and Most's books and pamphlets. Many readers, however, will encounter problems in following the thread of the narrative of Most's life. Professor Trautmann combines a chronological and topical format which forces frequent recourse to the Chronology. The book also suffers from choppiness caused by inadequate transitions, the absence of chapter conclusions, and the omission of a synthetic final chapter. Although Professor Trautmann's study doesn't reach the high standards of Richard Drinnon's biography of Emma Goldman and Paul Avrich's study of Voltairine de Cleyre, it offers a workmanlike treatment of an important and neglected figure. Hopefully, his effort will inspire a major study of Alexander Berkman who has been overlooked by biographers.

*Indiana University of Pennsylvania*  IRWIN M. MARCUS


No modern president has more powerfully influenced the distribution of federal power than Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His New Deal social programs
made the national government a permanently consequential force in the lives of millions of Americans. Whether as sainted hero or hated enemy, Roosevelt remains today, for those who were touched by the changes he introduced, the commanding symbol, the very personification, of the American welfare state.

Yet while we know a great deal about how Roosevelt enlarged the powers of the national government, we know very little about how his administration influenced the lives of those it set out to help. Historians have only recently begun to assess the impact of the New Deal at the local and state level. This study of Pennsylvania in the Great Depression, the collaborative effort of five historians who share a common political vision, is a modest but valuable contribution to a fuller assessment of the so-called Roosevelt Revolution.

The Great Depression hit Pennsylvania with catastrophic force. Only New York and Illinois had more people out of work in 1930, and by 1932, on the eve of Roosevelt’s election, the state bore the nation’s heaviest welfare burden. In this collection of highly specialized community and institutional studies, focused on several major regions of the state, the authors examine the impact of the Depression and the New Deal on Pennsylvania’s people and politics.

The coverage is not comprehensive. Large areas of the state, such as the anthracite region and the steel towns of the Pittsburgh area, are hardly mentioned. And like so many collaborative historical projects, this one suffers from an absence of chronological continuity. Nevertheless, the authors do hew to a consistent thematic line. They analyze the New Deal as one aspect of a modernization process that was transforming America into a tightly efficient, highly centralized, bureaucratic state.

Before the Depression large segments of Pennsylvania’s population were cut off from the dominant forces of modernization. These were people of meager means living in backward farm hamlets, company-controlled coal and mill towns, and inner-city ethnic enclaves and black ghettos. One of the signal contributions of the New Deal was to bring these long-isolated groups in touch with new centers of administrative power and protection. Through its comprehensive relief programs, especially its bureaucratization of social welfare, the New Deal, the authors argue, made Washington, D.C., the Main Street of America for millions of Pennsylvanians. By guaranteeing labor’s right to organize, it also helped to end the worst forms of industrial feudalism and to make labor a considerable power in state politics.

Much of this book is given over to a close analysis of the New Deal’s attempt to establish a more equitable, bureaucratically administered relief system, and the strong resistance this effort met in places as diverse as Philadelphia and rural Snyder County. There are also several excellent chapters on the United Mine Workers of America’s campaign to improve the working conditions of the state’s bituminous miners. The book’s opening chapter provides a particularly vivid portrait of life in the mine patches of southwestern Pennsylvania. But perhaps the most important sections of the book are those describing the fortunes of the state’s Democratic party in these years.

In 1932 the Democratic party “barely existed” in Pennsylvania. The Democrats had lost ninety-five of ninety-six statewide elections between 1893 and 1931. Under Roosevelt, however, with generous amounts of federal patronage to dispense, the party experienced a stunning revival. Headed by a new group of political leaders like Joseph F. Guffey, David L. Lawrence, and
George H. Earle III, the Democrats, by 1934, were challenging the Republican party all across the state. The New Deal made Pennsylvania once more a two-party state.

This, the authors insist, was the real significance of the New Deal in Pennsylvania. Through its ambitious social initiatives it brought government assistance and a measure of political power to long-isolated working-class voters, while connecting them "physically and psychologically to the modernizing influences of extracommunity institutions." By the end of the 1930s the state was "clearly more modern and clearly more urban." But the authors' obvious bias toward modernization in its most bureaucratic, collectivist forms prevents them from developing a more balanced analysis of the exceedingly painful adjustments, and the administrative arrogance and blundering that accompanied this transformative process. For millions of Pennsylvanians, government bureaucracy, no matter how benign, was perceived as as grave a threat to community democracy and to cherished local ways as some of the ugliest forms of company paternalism the New Deal had helped them to eliminate.

Lafayette College

DONALD L. MILLER


This is the fourth book in a series of demographic studies being edited by Professor George C. Myers of Duke University; it is also the first book in the publication project to be focused exclusively on American history. A comprehensive overview and analysis of population movements which have served in defining the Afro-American experience have long been needed in American historiography, and Professors Johnson and Campbell must first be credited for their efforts to fill a void which has existed in the field since the publication of Carter G. Woodson's A Century of Negro Migration in 1918. The authors cover a very wide chronology in their timely work and, predictably, the resulting chronological presentation is a general and heavily formalized treatment of black migration patterns. The period examined extends from the sixteenth century and the forced migration of African slaves to the 1970s, a decade discussed only briefly in an epilogue.

The first third of the book is devoted to trends in black migration before 1880, and it is almost entirely dependent upon secondary source materials. Following an introductory focus on the Atlantic slave trade, attention is given to both large and small population shifts, including the domestic slave trade, migrations of fugitive slaves and free blacks, relocation stirred by the Civil War, and black mobility during the Reconstruction era. These early chapters, which end with a discussion of the exodusters' movement from the south to Kansas, serve largely as a prelude to the main body of the study which treats the later migrations with the support of primary sources. Disappointingly, the early chapters also reveal a weakness that becomes repeatedly apparent throughout the book, i.e., an absence of citation for several major contributions made recently to scholarly writing on black social and economic history. Determining the "socio-economic milieu" for the population movements and assessing the consequences of the migrations "for the people and communities involved" are two of the goals
announced for the work. However, the authors' efforts to address these and other more narrowly defined social history problems associated with early black migration fall short because of a neglect of useful studies published in the last ten years by scholars who include, *inter alios*, Professors Berlin, Blassingame, Genovese, Gutman, Hershberg, Litwack, Painter, Ransom, and Sutch.

It is with the turn-of-the-century migrations that a primary source base, comprised mostly of U.S. census data, is introduced. Valuable criticism is offered for census records, and careful discussion of each migratory pattern studied are governed by a formula which entails measuring the volume and direction of migration, presenting sociological profiles of migrants, and analyzing the causes and consequences of significant demographic changes. Decade by decade, the authors systematically trace a rural to urban, and, basically, southern to northern and western movement of the black population, referring the reader to well-integrated tables to show that migrants tended to be younger, better educated, and more often male than the black population as a whole. Migrations within and to the South are also examined. Among the best chapters of the book are those covering population movements occurring during the Great Depression and the two world wars.

Crucial to an understanding of the black American experience in the nineteenth century, and especially the twentieth, are studies which examine the adjustment and adaptation process (often forcibly made difficult) which blacks have demonstrated in the American city. *Black Migration in America*, representing in one volume a broad statistical portrait and analysis of urban migration, is a useful contribution in this area. The impacts of migration on the black family, community organization, economic profiles, and urban politics are discussed, but not given an in-depth treatment in this work, and social historians will continue to be challenged to go beyond data provided by published census documents to fully analyze the impact of black migration. Pioneering steps in this direction are now represented by data sets produced for social history projects focused on cities which received some of the largest shares of the migration. Most notable among these efforts is the large interdisciplinary social history project for Philadelphia centered at the University of Pennsylvania; however, also to be consulted as model and as a useful balance to Campbell and Johnson's broad study is the recent work by independent scholars who have used manuscript census studies and other data to refine our understanding of the black experience in several cities, including Boston, Providence, and Pittsburgh.

*Bryn Mawr College*

WENDELL P. HOLBROOK


This is a warmly sympathetic, but by no means uncritical, account of the premier Pennsylvania public man of the mid-twentieth century, Governor Scranton. The author, George D. Wolf, makes the point that even during his last major assignment as United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Scranton preferred to be called "Governor." As a committed Pennsylvanian that title, and that office, held the most meaning for the son of Worthington and Marion
Margery (Warren) Scranton, who were themselves among the state's leading citizens.

Wolf's book is well organized and well written. Beginning with a long view of the Scrantons—George and Seldin Scranton came into northeastern Pennsylvania from Connecticut in the 1840s and quickly established themselves—and with considerable attention given to the roles of his father and mother, the Scranton story is of one born to wealth and to responsibility. His home was happy and his life filled with promise. After Hotchkiss Scranton went to Yale and returned to graduate from the Yale Law School with the renowned class of 1946. Meanwhile he had won his wings as an Army Air Force flight officer and had fifty months of duty during World War II. The postwar omens were favorable for a successful career, whether in public service or private business. As his biographer makes clear, though public service was to be his choice, it was service rather than politics which decided him. For all his political success Scranton did not have a driving political ambition.

Work as governor of the Commonwealth and as United Nations ambassador, his presidential aspirations (as opposed to ambitions), efforts as a behind-the-scene public man are all carefully chronicled and evaluated. In the process the author is consistently in search of the "real Scranton." As a result this is a probing kind of study. Avoiding the pitfalls of psychobiography it nonetheless proposes to identify the inner person in seeking to explain the public life of William Warren Scranton.

While he was Master of Balliol, Benjamin Jowett is said to have once remarked to Lady Tavistock, "But tell us his faults, that is the most interesting part of the man." If Wolf does not go quite so far as to detail the faults of Governor Scranton he does separate and discuss those peculiarities of person and character which he believes account for the troughs in Scranton's public life. This comes especially into focus when Scranton and the presidency are discussed. The office of president demands a grueling pace, which in turn assumes great physical stamina. In his own judgment Scranton was never sure that, as the conscientious president he certainly would have been if elected, he had the constitution to satisfy the demands of the job. A second consideration was his pragmatic outlook on politics. Scranton was attracted to offices in which, it appeared to him, he could get things done, concrete, specific things within a stated time. The governorship of Pennsylvania was such an office. The presidency of the United States was less clearly so, a further basis of his doubts about his suitability for the Oval Office. In addition Scranton was a family man. Public life meant interruption and often disruption of a life style he found genuinely agreeable. Living on his Marworth estate near Scranton, with time to read, to play, to reflect, and to be of service and comfort to his wife and children meant much to him so that he found it extremely difficult to sacrifice these things for the high national purposes in which he also believed.

As useful as these considerations are for understanding Scranton's attitude toward becoming a viable presidential candidate in either 1964, or 1968, the truth is, as Wolf plainly writes, Scranton did not want to be president. His make-up was a curious mix of a passion for privacy and a passion to serve and despite appearances which show him as a greatly successful public servant, his need for a private life often was overmastering. If the Governor of Pennsylvania seemed to be ambiguous and vacillating in his quest for the presidency, the
reason is that he was ambiguous and vacillating. Being atop the greasy pole meant much less to him than to most of his contemporaries among the successful and unsuccessful presidential hopefuls. It was not a question of the failure of *noblesse oblige*, but of a man who knew himself better than any one else and who was guided by his own judgments. That William Warren Scranton is his own man biographer Wolf leaves no doubts. Final reasons for his success and its limitations lie within the man himself. For all of that, the Governor was one of the most respected leaders of his political generation. His reputation is well served by this able biography.

*St. Joseph's University*  

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