
Back in 1961 Paul A. W. Wallace attempted the impossible. As explained in the Foreword to the first edition, Wallace's objective was "a simply written history which covers the whole story of the Indians of Pennsylvania and takes into account the findings of modern scholars." That he succeeded is astounding. What is more astounding is that after twenty years a revised edition has done the impossible even better.

The beauty of Wallace's effort stems from the fact that he did exactly what he set out to do. He wrote a neat little book that could be read with satisfaction by almost any audience. Incorporated into the narrative was the latest in scholarly knowledge and theory. All of this was wrapped in prose that was brilliant in its simplicity and an editorial stance that was so even-handed that it could serve as a model for like studies. All in all, it was a hard act to follow.

Still William A. Hunter has managed to do it. In most cases his task involved changing a few words here and there or adding a supplementary footnote to bring the information into conformity with new discoveries. Though this leads to some inconsistencies, it was generally handled unobtrusively. In several places, however, extensive passages needed revision. This, too, was done well and in a style indistinguishable from Wallace's. What is more, Hunter rewrote some of Wallace's prose in order to add clarity. An excellent example is the rewritten section on kinship (pp. 57-58) which conveys the sense intended by Wallace, but explains classificatory relationships much more clearly than Wallace did.

The only real drawback to this new edition stems not from what has been revised, but from what has not. In the first place, many references to antiquated concepts of cultural hierarchy are retained. More importantly, in the last twenty years we have learned a great deal about the spiritual and intellectual side of Indian life. Yet the sections on this aspect remain largely untouched. As Wallace pointed out, to a Delaware Indian, "spirit was the prime reality" (p. 67). "His assurance of contact with the spirit world, reinforced as it was by the sights and sounds of the natural world around him, helped give him a certain poise, a feeling that he 'belonged.' " (p. 78). Similarly, by understanding the spiritual dimension of various activities, we can get a much better grasp of how these "belonged" in the culture, providing meaning for what otherwise seems merely quaint. For example, on page thirty-two John Witthoft is quoted as saying that in Delaware culture a woman was worth "twice as much as a man," a fact which may strike us as merely peculiar or interesting. However, had this discussion been expanded to include the concept of "Woman Power" the reader would have been able to share in the awesome significance of this fact. Similarly, some discussion of hunting magic, gambling magic, and the spiritual significance of intertribal and interracial trade would have expanded the reader's awareness of what lay at the heart of Pennsylvania's original cultures.

However it is unfair to judge a book on the basis of what it might have been
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and, judged on its own merits, this is an excellent book. The delicacy of the editing has preserved the sort of timeless grace that this book shares with the cultures it discusses. At the same time, the inclusion of new material enhances its value as a teaching vehicle. The combination of these factors make this edition compulsory reading for every student of Pennsylvania's past.

Rutgers-The State University

C. L. MILLER

*Early Events in the Susquehanna Valley.* By John H. Carter. (Sunbury, Pennsylvania: Northumberland County Historical Society, 1981. Pp. 351. $20.00 cloth, $10.00 paper.)

*Early Events in the Susquehanna Valley*—an appropriately inclusive title—consists of the collected papers, twenty-two in all, presented to the Northumberland County Historical Society by John H. Carter, a charter member and president of that Society. The papers were previously included in the Society's annual *Proceedings and Addresses* and the present collection is published as a tribute to the author and not as a unified history. The papers were read over a period of fifty years, from 1927 to 1976, and their subject matter extends over a century, beginning about 1724. They are not arranged in the volume either in the order of original presentation or in that of the events covered, but the date of each paper (except three) is noted. Since the papers are reprinted unchanged, there are a few traces of "dating" in a different sense. Tammany, Scollitchy, and Sassoonan, in the opening paper, are now known to have been chiefs of only part, or parts, of the Delaware Indians; and the inconspicuous notation, "Brule 1615," on page 302 refers to Etienne Brule, whose story of his travels is now viewed with considerable scepticism. The "Bibliography and References" list, page 351, is, however, the most obviously "dated" part of the volume. In view of the miscellaneous subject matter, the absence of an index is not important, and the nature of the contents of the papers is clearly indicated by the listed titles. Some two dozen illustrations and maps are not listed but accompany the appropriate papers.

The viewpoint of the papers is local but takes in a broad field; the geographical position of Northumberland County is well suited to demonstrate how far-reaching the impacts on and of "local history" may be. Like the Forks of Delaware and those of the Ohio, the Forks of Susquehanna were a natural center of historical activity. The river and its branches were natural thoroughfares for travel; Shamokin, present Sunbury, was a scene of Indian treaties, trade, and missionary efforts; Fort Augusta was the major defense constructed by the Provincial government of Pennsylvania; Fort Freeland, farther up the river, was taken and destroyed by the British during the Revolution. Papers devoted to these subjects place the county in the broader field of history; others, on such subjects as Himmel Church and Peter Pence, are of specific local interest. The county is fortunate in its rich field for historical research and in having a John H. Carter to cultivate that field.

One of the minor papers (1958), an attempt to identify the scene of Thomas McKee's escape from hostile Indians in 1742, is interesting both as an example of seeking local association for a subject of wider interest and for an engaging glimpse of the author's personality. Mr. Carter would like to place the episode at a Susquehanna River island near the southern corner of Northumberland
County (others would place it near present Lock Haven, on the West Branch); he states his case, concedes that the evidence is not conclusive, and invites evidence that might disprove his theory. Here is the true local historian, fond of his own locality, aware of the broader field, and appreciative of both!

Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania

WILLIAM A. HUNTER


This volume opens with a graceful tribute to the memory of Leonard Labaree, the original editor of these papers, written by William Willcox, the current editor. The tribute contains a sentence that should someday be used by the editor who follows Willcox—"His sure touch in picking out the essential and avoiding the temptation of the extraneous has set for us a demanding standard." Sticking to the essential becomes an increasingly complex matter beginning with this volume, which covers the period when Franklin returns from London in May 1775 to October 1776 when he departs for France. In the first volume of the papers Labaree laid down a rubric that up to now the editors have adhered to—to print all major documents written to or by any group to which Franklin belonged. The rule no longer makes sense. It would require, for instance, inclusion of the voluminous correspondence of Pennsylvania's Committee of Safety, which Franklin presided over, even though the material has already been published. Obviously, this would be "an unjustifiable waste of time, effort, and space," and so the editors have sensibly offered only "a sample, wide-ranging if arbitrary, of the committee's work" (p. 74n). The same principal is also applied to the numerous committees Franklin served on in Congress. All this calls for a continuous "sure touch in picking out the essential," which, luckily for historians, Willcox and his associates appear to have.

It is hard to fault this volume. A carp might be in order for the patronizing attitude toward Tom Paine, as he is called here, except that the presumption is rectified in the index, where the heading reads "Paine, Thomas." (The index, compiled by Willcox himself, is superb. An entry like "Sea, temperature of. See Temperatures," suggests its thoroughness.) The editorial notes are models of grace, succinctness, and balanced judgments. In one (pp. 512–515) the editors review the "muddied . . . evidence" of Franklin's role in shaping the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and conclude that "although he did not father the constitution, as he let it be thought, he had some reason to consider himself its godfather." They are constantly chary of honoring him with unsubstantiated achievements. Of his claim for the idea of installing chevaux-de-frise to block the Delaware River during the Revolution they say: "later evidence—his own—suggests that BF had the original idea, or at least came to believe so" (p. 73n). Where the evidence is too muddy even to allow speculation, they say simply "we dare not guess" (p. 306n). Nor do they waste time redoing what has been done; after some brief remarks about Franklin's amendments to a report by Jefferson, they refer the reader to Julian Boyd for "a more meticulous text than ours" (p. 132n).

For those who know these years of Franklin's life the letters in this volume present nothing that calls for a reinterpretation of his reputation or character.
Unlike the unbuttoned letters of John Adams, these—which, incidentally, comprise less than a fourth of some four hundred items listed in the table of contents—from a man “so locked up as Dr. Franklin,” to use Edmund Burke’s apt words, reveal no more than what he wanted revealed at the moment. Yet compared to what he told contemporaries of his views on the war, they reveal much. He sat for two months in Congress in “expressive silence,” so reticent that some thought he had come home to spy for Britain. The letters however, show a man outraged at the British incursions at Lexington and Concord and the implication in them to friends in England was clear—unless the mother country moderated her stand independence would ultimately result. In July 1775 with his famous but unsent letter to William Strahan (“You are now my Enemy, and I am, Yours, B. Franklin.”) he came out publicly for the Revolution. (Actually, he called it a civil war—see pp. 34, 59, 79, 86—which raises the question when he and others began to call it the American Revolution.) Not only did he support the war, but in effect he called for a declaration of independence a year before Congress was ready for it.

What comes through clearly in this volume is how much this old man of seventy gave of himself to the war once he had opted for it. Anything Pennsylvania or Congress asked of him he did. He presided over Pennsylvania’s Committee of Safety and its constitutional convention. He attended Congress diligently and served on every committee it appointed him to. He set up a postal system when asked to. For Congress in 1775 he traveled to Boston to confer with Washington; in the spring of 1776, with the snow still on the ground, he went to Canada with the hope of drawing that colony to the American cause; in October of the same year he agreed to endure one more crossing of the ocean, this time to France. About the time he was to sail for France his friend James Bowdoin wrote, “I am glad to find that notwithstanding your Country have had so many good slices of you for these forty years past: there’s enough remaining of you to afford them good Picking Still” (p. 571). The editors of Franklin’s papers are surely appalled at the amount of “good Picking” that lies before them, but those fascinated by the tireless old man await the feast eagerly.

—the City University of New York, Lehman College—DAVID FREEMAN HAWKE


This volume contains stimulating essays about the multifaceted career of Benjamin Franklin. It is the second edition of a work which was first published by the Franklin Institute in 1943 and primarily consists of major lectures delivered at the Institute. The sixteen topically arranged essays in the volume profile the life of Franklin from numerous perspectives and well demonstrate pertinent themes relating to his career. This work portrays Franklin as a printer, as an educator, as a scientist, as a deist, and as a philosophical revolutionist. Three themes seem to give unity to the disparate ideas advanced in this book: the personal qualities and behavior of Franklin, his contributions to the thought of the Enlightenment, and his leadership roles in the shaping of American institutions and society.

There are excellent chapters concerning the behavior and personal qualities of Franklin. Robert E. Spiller and I. Bernard Cohen agree that pragmatism was
at the core of Franklin's behavior. To Spiller, Franklin's pragmatic "social thinking" explains his interest in science and useful inventions, his practical views towards education, his efforts to create civic and cultural institutions in Philadelphia, and his writing of proverbs that served as the basis of moral conduct. Cohen stresses that pragmatic and empirical qualities appear to be prevalent in the scientific experiments and writings of Franklin. He also shows that Franklin was humorous, gregarious, and compassionate. In light of his analysis of Franklin's *Autobiography*, Max Farrand believes that while ambitious and successful, Franklin should not be regarded as a materialist. Farrand's contention is that Franklin attempted to live according to virtues that he associated with moral perfection.

Four essays are devoted to topics concerning Franklin as an enlightener. The essays of Robert A. Millikan and I. Bernard Cohen investigate Franklin's role as a scientist. Millikan gives a detailed and technical account of Franklin's electrical experiments, but does not adequately explain how Franklin contributed to eighteenth century science. In his impressive analysis, Cohen shows that Franklin was a Newtonian in his approach to the study of electricity and other sciences and attempted to enhance the status of colonial science through the creation of the American Philosophical Society. In his substantive essay, Alfred Owen Aldridge explains Franklin's deistic thinking in light of moral and scientific concepts. Franklin perceived the Supreme Creator as being the Source of moral laws and the orderly mechanical operations of Nature. As a deist, Franklin subscribed to thirteen virtues which served as the basis of moral behavior; he also endorsed the Enlightenment concepts of humanitarianism and religious toleration. Bernhard Knollenberg's chapter concerning Franklin's career as a philosophical revolutionist is disappointing, since it inadequately explains his constitutional and republican doctrines and their relationship to the thought of the American Revolution and the Enlightenment.

There are three convincing chapters about Franklin's role in shaping American institutions and society. Thomas Wendel well examines the utilitarian educational ideas of Franklin and describes his programs for the Academy, and later College, of Philadelphia. The illuminating account of Thomas Coulson shows how Franklin contributed to the development of the colonial postal system, and the seminal essay of Lawrence C. Wroth investigates the many facets of Franklin's career as a printer.

In sum, this work is a major contribution to Franklinian scholarship. The book's significant theses concerning Franklin's behavior, his leadership skills, and his thinking as an enlightener are well developed and explained. Essays concerning several other facets of Franklin's career might have been included in this work and certainly would have given it even more cogency and context. The book regretfully does not contain chapters either about the involvement of Franklin in Pennsylvania politics or about his civic and cultural contributions to Philadelphia. Other topics that might have been investigated include: Franklin and the diplomacy of the American Revolution, Franklin and his family, Franklin and eighteenth-century club life, and Franklin's thoughts about an American civil religion. Despite these suggestions, it can be said that this interesting book, which contains helpful editorial comments, will provide scholars and general readers with a meaningful introduction to the career of Dr. Franklin.

*Butler County Community College*  
R. William Weisberger
BOOK REVIEWS


Jonathan Dull, an assistant editor of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin and author of The French Navy and American Independence: A Study in Arms and Diplomacy, 1774–1787 (1975), has written a most welcome study of Benjamin Franklin as a “practicing” diplomat during the Revolutionary War. Although providing new insights into numerous episodes ranging from the operation of the American mission in Passy to Franklin’s pivotal role in peace negotiations with the British and personalities as diverse as William Carmichael, Silas Deane, and the fictitious spy “Benson,” the book is not about Franco-American diplomacy per se. Instead, Dull’s dual objective is “to look at how [Franklin] approached his job as a diplomat and to evaluate his performance” (p. vii).

Dull’s assessment of Franklin the diplomat is threefold. First, he argues that Franklin in France, in contrast with his aggressive modus operandi while colonial agent in England, coyly played “the courted virgin” (p. 11), gaining through “calculated passivity” the confidence of the French government. Second, he explains Franklin’s behavior as a diplomat in terms of dominant personality traits such as his “hatred of controversy” (p. 66) and “tendency to believe the best of others” (p. 70). Third, he posits that Franklin, both as minister plenipotentiary and as peace negotiator, was pivotal, even indispensable, to the success of American diplomacy.

This tightly written monograph is bound to be controversial. Some will complain that the close focus on Franklin has distorted his role in Revolutionary diplomacy or, conversely, that the largely one-dimensional view of the diplomat obscures the man. Others will question whether Franklin was so naive about mankind, so loyal to associates, or so circumspect in behavior as Dull contends. And most readers will object to the uncritical tone of the work: Dull often strains to put the Doctor’s deeds in a favorable light and dismiss the criticisms of contemporaries and historians alike.

Symptomatic of the partisanship that pervades the study is Dull’s handling of Cecil B. Currey’s Code Number 72: Benjamin Franklin, Patriot or Spy? (1972). Granted, Currey’s controversial thesis that Franklin operated as a double agent is built on circumstantial evidence and supposition, but to ignore the book is inexcusable, the more so because Dull devotes a paragraph to dismissing “the accusation that Franklin was not fully loyal to the American cause” as “little more than rumor-mongering” and systematically comments, sometimes rather pointedly, on the interpretations of other scholars.

This highly interpretive essay was not intended to be a definitive monograph, but one wishes Dull had been more fulsome in his treatment. Save for his analysis of peace negotiations with the British, Dull is consistently stronger asserting than demonstrating Franklin’s style, influence, and behavior. Nonetheless, Dull’s is the most carefully etched portrait of Franklin the diplomat to date and as such is an important contribution to our understanding of the man as well as the diplomacy of the Revolution.

University of Utah

Larry R. Gerlach
The Complete Anti-Federalist. Seven volumes. Edited, with Commentary and Notes, by Herbert J. Storing, with the assistance of Murray Dry. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, 1982. Pp. 1755. $175.00 the set. Volume 1, What the Anti-Federalists Were For, is available separately at $4.95 paper.)

The publication of The Complete Anti-Federalist by the University of Chicago Press is a tribute to the late Herbert J. Storing, made possible by his devoted friends. According to the “Prefactory Notes,” the aim of this collection is to make available for the first time all of the substantial anti-Federal writings in their complete original form and in accurate text, together with appropriate annotation” (p. xix). This seven-volume work, consisting of an introductory volume explaining what the Anti-Federalists advocated, five volumes of pamphlets, speeches, newspaper essays, letters, and manuscript notes covering the men who opposed the ratification of the Constitution, and an index, was many years in the making.

In Volume 1, titled What the Anti-Federalists Were For, Storing analyzes the main lines, the principles and the grounds of the Anti-Federal position. He argues that there was no one Anti-Federalist position, and that there was more agreement among the Anti-Federalists than generally realized. If the Anti-Federalists were primarily opposed to the Constitution, Storing also shows that they played “an indispensable, if subordinate, part in the founding process” and for that reason are “to be counted among the Founding Fathers” (p. 3). They contributed to the dialogue of the American federal system primarily by asking that the Constitution of 1787 and 1788 be ratified with the understanding that a bill of rights would quickly be added. Storing emphasizes further that the Anti-Federalists based their opposition to the Constitution on a “positive political theory or set of principles.” Yet, a dynamic tension is seen existing at the very heart of those deeper-level principles, with the Anti-Federalists being “committed to both union and the states; to both the great American republic and the small self-governing community; to both commerce and civic virtue; and to both private gain and public good” (p. 6). Unable to reconcile these contradictions, the Anti-Federalists could only reject the proposed Constitution that provided for a new form of government, partly national and partly federal.

Storing’s work corrects in part the longheld misconceptions of the Anti-Federalists as narrow-minded local politicians, unable to appreciate the inadequacies of the Articles of Confederation or see beyond the boundaries of their own states or districts. He accepts Cecilia Kenyon’s characterization of the Anti-Federalists as “men of little faith” and he, further, describes them as the “conservatives.” The latter proposition counters the view of historians Charles Beard and Merrill Jensen (viz., that the Federalists masterminded a counterrevolution to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, 1776, and to federalism, vintage 1781). Besides defending the status quo, cherishing the states as the primary units of government, and denying the possibility of a complex republic, the critical weakness of the Anti-Federalists’ case, as Storing shows, is that they “could neither fully reject nor fully accept the leading principles of the Constitution” (p. 6). Therefore, the Anti-Federalists lost the debate over the Constitution—not because they were less skillful politicians—but because they had the weaker argument.

The historical and editorial work on these volumes is uneven. On the positive
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side, we have available again the Anti-Federalist essays as a unit. A spot check against the original text reveals transcriptions that are generally good. The editor includes innumerable cross-references to other writings or main themes. On the negative side, the documentary is thin in editorial apparatus, author attributions, and annotation. Contrary to present practice, headnotes are largely summaries of the documents. Individuals and events mentioned in documents are not identified. Furthermore, the editor did not show scrupulous care in citing sources. One example must suffice to illustrate the problem. In dealing with the authorship of the “Centinel Letters” and “The Address and Reasons of Dissent of the Minority of the Convention of Pennsylvania To Their Constituents,” Storing cites letters in the Files of Ratification of Constitution project, National Archives, when Samuel Bryan’s letters to Thomas Jefferson are to be found in Record Group 59, General Records of the Department of State, Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, 1801–1809, National Archives. A more serious problem is the incomplete coverage of the documentary. There is but one document each for Connecticut, Georgia, and Rhode Island and none for North Carolina. In a word, Storing appears to have taken a narrow view of the historical editor’s role and his scholarship is largely founded on contemporary newspapers and on the pre-1970 secondary literature. Finally, for all his sympathetic understanding of the Anti-Federalists, Storing is often critical and pro-Federalist. Preoccupation with political theory often leads him to ignore practice and to strait-jacket terms like democracy and conservatism.

Having several years ago reviewed both The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution and The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, which are more complete and reliable editions for the events of 1787 through 1791, I must wonder why these volumes by Storing were published. Except to have the Anti-Federalist essays appear as a unit, there seems to be a lot of unnecessary duplication of effort and expense. (A companion documentary on the “Writings of the Federalists, 1781–1788,” by Gary L. McDowell, a student of Herbert J. Storing, is in progress.) At $175 per set, the price is high; but, even if it were right, this documentary is not as thorough, comprehensive, and scholarly as claimed. Fortunately, the University of Chicago Press has published the useful introductory volume of Anti-Federalist thought as an inexpensive paperback. Historians are indebted to Storing for writing this volume.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission ROLAND M. BAUMANN


Why yet another biography of Alexander Hamilton whose career has already been chronicled by a host of scholars including Broadus Mitchell, John C. Miller, and, more recently, Forrest McDonald and Robert Hendrickson? Jacob E. Cooke, the John Henry MacCracken Professor of History at Lafayette College and the general editor of the first fifteen volumes of The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, raises that question forthrightly in the preface of this work. “Because,” he responds, “I believe that I have something new to say” (p. v).
Cooke has discovered no new evidence. This volume rests largely on the published papers of Hamilton and his contemporaries and selected secondary literature. What is new, however, is the author's reinterpretation of several episodes in Hamilton's spectacular and often tumultuous career. More importantly, Cooke constructs a psychological profile of his subject and maintains that Hamilton's conduct throughout his long career, with its seeming paradoxes and episodes of erratic behavior, in fact reflects consistently the character of the man.

Cooke clearly admires Hamilton, but his admiration is tempered by his sound scholarship and good judgment. As a result, his narrative is, for the most part, evenhanded and judicious. For example, he dismisses as implausible the tale of young Hamilton, by the sheer force of his oratory, saving Columbia University President Myles Cooper from a radical mob. He demotes Hamilton from principal aide-de-camp of Washington to one of thirty-two, although a valuable one. He gauges Hamilton's role at the Annapolis Convention as no more important "than that of other prominent members or even comparatively obscure delegates" (p. 44). Of Hamilton's famous rivalry with Jefferson, Cooke, while analyzing it at length, refuses to take sides, deplores the tendency "to exaggerate the historical import" of the feud, and calls attention to "the large area of their agreement on an important number of public issues" (p. 115).

Such balanced judgments are generally characteristic of the volume. Yet, given his own recounting of events, it is difficult to accept Cooke's conclusion that Jay's Treaty "was the work not of the Secretary of the Treasury but of the American envoy John Jay" (p. 143). Indeed, Cooke himself observes subsequently that "the treaty might as appropriately have been labeled Hamilton's as Jay's (p. 166). Also, the author's analysis of Hamilton's celebrated clash with President John Adams is uncharacteristically one-sided and his depiction of Adams is uniformly negative.

However, the most original and fascinating aspect of this volume is Cooke's analysis of the Hamilton personality. Born illegitimate, abandoned by his father at eleven and orphaned two years later by the death of his mother, a woman of highly questionable virtue, Hamilton rarely spoke later of his origins and childhood but apparently never got over them. Cooke suggests that they bear directly upon his unbridled ambition for fame (not fortune), and his intensity in pursuit of it, his aloof and suspicious nature, his insecurity and consequent need for public acknowledgement of his talents and achievements as a reaffirmation of self-worth, his excessive sensitivity to attacks on his public reputation, and his exaggerated sense of honor. These qualities in turn contributed to those accomplishments for which history justly celebrates Hamilton. Equally, however, they contributed to episodes of allegedly aberrant behavior, as in his 1782 quarrel with Washington, in his bitter clashes with Jefferson, Adams and other, and in the humiliating Reynolds affair. Finally, they help explain why Hamilton, in 1804, with his political enemies everywhere triumphant, his own career at an end and his personal life marred by tragedy, trod a path he could easily have avoided and committed suicide at the hand of Aaron Burr. Such behavior, says Cooke, was "not atypical but typical" (p. v).

While students of Pennsylvania history will find little in this volume relating to their specialty, it is an important and provocative contribution to the literature
of the Federalist Era. Cooke, no doctrinaire, presents his views tentatively and gracefully, and they should elicit substantial discussion.

Saint Francis College

JOHN F. COLEMAN


When a scholar has a tantalizing “find” in his discipline he is consumed by it for the rest of his life. In fact, it usually takes a lifetime to find all the pieces that will complete the story. This has happened to Karl J. R. Arndt, professor of German.

Coming across some Rapp material forty years ago in Germantown, Louisiana, Arndt knew he had an unusual story to unfold. The search took him to Arkansas, Florida, Germany, Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Utah. All this painstaking work produced definitive books about George Rapp and his Separatists or Harmonists, their accepted name after signing their Articles of Association in Harmony, Pennsylvania, on February 15, 1805.

Critics not willing to understand that the brotherhood lifestyle of the Separatists was their living of scripture, and that the golden rose and their hymns were expressions of their spiritual convictions kept nagging that Arndt had really said nothing about Harmonist religious practices. Now in George Rapp's Separatists, 1700-1803: Prelude to America Arndt has compiled and edited German documents which give not only an insight to the religious beginning, evolution, and forming of Rapp's Separatist Church, but also the background of Württemberger religious unrest from 1700 to 1782.

The Harmonists was one of the most successful and unique separatists groups to come out of troubled eighteenth-century Württemberg—troubled because of unscrupulous rulers, troubled because their geographic location made them vulnerable to all military activity, troubled because the splinters of the Reformation were piercing the established Lutheran Church. It appears that every dissenting group (and later within those groups) had a different interpretation of 2 Corinthians 6:17, “Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord.” As a result William Penn's “Holy Experiment” beckoned all manner of German Christian separatists in spite of warnings at home that confidence men were at work and that the American utopia really was a wilderness. Actually the term wilderness had an appeal for George Rapp and his followers who thought themselves the sun-woman of the wilderness as found in Revelation 12:6, “And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and three score days.”

To complete the metaphor, the Harmonists, like the sun-woman, were plagued by “the dragon” and made three moves to what today is Harmony, Pennsylvania; New Harmony, Indiana; and Old Economy in Ambridge, Pennsylvania—three monuments to what Arndt calls “the still unrecognized highest development of Swabian Pietism” (p. xxiii).

This chronologically first volume of Arndt’s planned documentary history of
the Harmonists consists of selections from Arndt's personal archives and selections from original church (Landeskirchlichen - WLKA) and civil and legal documents (Württembergischen Hauptstaatsarchiv - WHSA). Annual church reports list memberships and present minutes of investigations and testimonies covering Separatist reasons for leaving the Lutheran Church. One finds the Separatists' criticisms of church politics, objections to trained ministers, disillusionment with baptism, confirmation, and communion.

Through the civil and legal documents one sees the friction that was caused by the Separatists' declaration of faith because church, education, and ordinary living were inexorably related. Without the church one could not have an education; without an education one could not hold a civil-service job; without confirmation one could not be married, ad infinitum. Considering this, the Württemberger government was amazingly tolerant with Separatist disruptive behavior.

Arndt's selections of George Rapp's correspondence give a clear picture of Rapp's Christian views. Reading Rapp's account of his struggle to renounce his hedonistic life and to finally emerge a born-again Christian leads to an understanding of his fervor. His pastoral letters show his pre-Nicean Christianity and his conviction that the love of the brethren and the love of God are one.

As stated above the Harmonist inner spirit was expressed in their self-composed poems and hymns. Arndt includes hymns lamenting over the fall of Adam and Separatist persecution, as well as those rejoicing of the emigration to Pennsylvania.

The civil and legal documents reporting the Separatist affairs indicate that the government wanted stability and order among its citizens even though it tolerated much dissension for twenty years.

All of this Arndt has presented in bilingual format. His excellent English introduction should allay any fears of not understanding the study. Furthermore, every German document has a headnote summary or explanation. Some of the most illuminating documents and letters are translated in their entirety. Obviously this is a scholarly work meant for researchers of history, communal living, and religious thought. Certainly everyone associated with the Harmonist study should read this book. Anyone able to read German will have a bonus.

Grove City College

HILDA ADAM KRING


This is essentially an exposition of the difficulties encountered by two women: Mother Benedicta Riepp, the foundress of the Eichstätt Benedictine sisters in America and Mother Willabalda Scherbauer who later brought them to Minnesota. Sister Incarnata Girgen, herself a Benedictine for sixty-five years, originally planned simply to translate the letters of Mother Benedicta from German into English in order to make them more accessible for other Benedictines who claim her as foundress. But the work took on much larger proportions as Sister Incarnata uncovered evidence of the beginnings of misunderstandings between Mother Benedicta and Father (later Abbott) Boniface Wimmer, the man who established the first Benedictine monastery of
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monks near Latrobe, Pennsylvania, and the first Benedictine convent of Sisters in Saint Marys, Pennsylvania. In order to uncover the hidden part of this segment of Benedictine history and to sort out the pieces, Sister Incarnata researched the Bavarian archives: Ludwig-Missionsverein, the Staatsarchiv, the Geheimes Hausarchiv; the archives of the Abbey of St. Boniface and of St. Walburg in Eichstätt, and drew upon pertinent materials in the archives of the University of Notre Dame in Indiana.

*Behind the Beginnings* is the fruit of her dedicated labor. It is a study which presents some 113 letters and documents by or about Mothers Benedicta and Willabalda and Abbot Wimmer. It is intended to help American Benedictine Sisters appreciate not only the mental and physical sufferings endured by their founders, Mother Benedicta and Mother Willabalda, "but above all, the faith and tenacity of spirit which impelled them to persevere" (p. 201).

The work spans the years 1840–1914 but roughly two-thirds of the study is devoted to the years 1852–1862. The presentation is straight-forward with explanatory passages provided where needed. The author maintains her distance throughout and lets the letters, over half of which are to or from Wimmer, speak for themselves. A helpful appendix supplies brief biographies and historical notes.

Briefly, the story is as follows. The Sisters began to arrive in Pennsylvania in 1852 with Mother Benedicta, age twenty-seven, as superior. She wanted to retain ties with the Motherhouse in Eichstatt but Abbot Wimmer wanted the convents in America to be separated. He considered himself the final authority of all American Benedictines; she did not share his view.

Matters came to a head in 1857 when Mother Benedicta sent Sisters to St. Cloud, Minnesota, with Mother Willabalda, age twenty-eight, as the appointed superior. In Abbott Wimmer's opinion, the move was both precipitous and without his knowledge. For her part in the affair, Wimmer threatened Mother Willabalda with expulsion from the order. Although he recanted, the episode caused Mother Willabalda great pain.

In the meantime, Mother Benedicta, already showing signs of the tuberculosis which would claim her life in five short years, had gone to Rome to ascertain the extent of her authority and that of Abbot Wimmer. Rome gave him an opportunity to present his case. The matter was not resolved quickly as it ultimately touched on issues involving the whole of religious life. In 1859 the decision was made that the Sisters were to be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese in which they worked and lived. Mother Benedicta Riepp was ordered to return to St. Walburg Convent in Eichstätt. Fortunately, by the time the Rescript was received, she was living in St. Cloud, Minnesota, and was allowed to remain there.

What I found very interesting was Abbot Wimmer's interpretation of the response he had received from Rome. In a letter to King Ludwig, a benefactor, he write, "My petition to have the... convents erected by me... subject... to our (Wimmer's) jurisdiction was not entirely granted... on the one hand, these convents were placed under the jurisdiction of the bishops; on the other hand, the bishops were empowered to return them to my jurisdiction..." (pp. 157–158, underlining mine for emphasis).

Something akin to just that did happen which affected the life of Mother Willabalda drastically. In 1867 Rupert Seidenbusch became Abbot of St. John's
and Bishop Grace of St. Paul delegated jurisdiction of the Minnesota Benedictine Sisters to him. In him, Mother Willabald found another Boniface Wimmer. Seidenbusch deposed her as Superior in 1868 and she was forced to leave that convent. She went to other Benedictine convents hoping to find one to which she could transfer—she could not. At one point, she considered returning to Europe and even seeking a dispensation from her solemn vows. Eventually, through her perseverance, she was readmitted to the convent she had been forced to leave but lesser souls would have long given up. Appropriately, Mothers Benedicta and Willabald today enjoy, in this reviewer's opinion, a well-earned rest, interred side by side.

Sister Incarnata's research has led her to concur with the assessment of Willabald Mathäser, O. S. B., that the cause of the difficulties between Abbot Wimmer and Mother Benedicta was the former's ungrounded assumption that he was the superior of the Sisters. She also quotes Mathäser approvingly when he states that, "The right to govern the Benedictine Sisters was really not conceded to Wimmer by Rome" (p. 159 citing Bonifaz Wimmer, O. S. B., und König Ludwig I von Bayern; Munich: 1938, pp. 134-35).

Granted, this is a book by, about, and for Benedictines, yet it can be read with interest by a much wider audience. Anyone familiar with or sympathetic to the struggles of pioneer women in a man's world will not be too surprised by some of the problems exposed here. Students of Pennsylvania history can gain some insight into the brutal physical hardships endured at Saint Marys by the Sisters and the poor community whom they served. The important role played by the Ludwig-Missionsverein and by King Ludwig I in supporting Catholic missionary work among German-speaking Americans is also amply documented.

Finally, the simple human interest element runs throughout the book. One episode I found particularly delightful was the spate of letters from Abbot Wimmer to King Ludwig in which the Abbot tried to justify his use of money Ludwig had sent for the Sisters in St. Cloud. Instead, Wimmer had bought land in order to establish the male Priory of St. Ludwig. Wimmer repeatedly assured the King that he wanted the new abbey to be worthy of the royal patron. I was fascinated to read the tidbit tucked away in a footnote that the priory changed its name from St. Ludwig's to St. John's shortly after the King's death.

Cabrini College

Margaret M. Reher


This book deserves a wider audience than it probably will receive. Actually, it is two little books in one: a carefully edited rendition of the manuscripts of Rebecca Jackson which have been in various Shaker archives and a fifty-page introduction by the editor that appraises her autobiographical writings in terms of their place in religious visionary literature.

Rebecca Cox Jackson (1795-1871) is rarely mentioned in the standard accounts of nineteenth-century religious history. She was free black woman who became an itinerant preacher and who had powerful visions which she recorded in extensive detail. She founded a Shaker community in Philadelphia and spent
some years in New York State in a Shaker community at Watervliet. What makes her work all the more remarkable is the fact that until the age of thirty-five, she was unable to read or write.

One of the most touching incidents recorded in her writings is her account of learning to read. Her public career afterward included a secret conversion, travelling in eastern Pennsylvania as a Methodist preacher, acceptance of perfectionist doctrine and, ultimately, entrance into the community of Shakers. During the course of the emotionally charged years of the 1830s, she broke with African Methodism and with her husband who was unsympathetic with her religious activism.

Jackson's writings may be difficult for twentieth-century readers to relate to since they are filled with vivid descriptions which defy the natural world. Although she writes in a direct, plain style, her interpretations will be more understandable to those well versed in Shaker theology. She is comfortable with images that transcend her body and that involve talking with angels. Her dreams may seem mysterious and irrational to modern day readers but they all conveyed deep religious messages to her and served to intensify her religious convictions. A careful reading of her autobiographical account is required to gain the full import of her piety and mysticism.

Jackson's writings reveal how deeply steeped she was in the black Methodist religious environment. As Humez points out, “Listening to the testimony in the praying bands and class meetings, she would have derived much of her sense of the fitness, the probability, the appropriateness, the meaning of certain kinds of visionary and spiritual events, the language in which divine power expressed itself” (p. 47).

Jean McMahon Humez has done a superb job of editing a difficult manuscript. She has also supplied, in her introductory chapter, a judicious appraisal of this little-known religious visionary's role in antebellum religious history. She displays a sound knowledge of black history in Philadelphia and of the Shakers. Although she has immersed herself in the life and career of Rebecca Jackson, she never loses her historical objectivity. In her sympathetic analysis of Jackson's dreams and vision, Humez avoids the excesses of psychohistory.

The book contains several appendices including an interesting account of Female Preaching and the A. M. E. Church, 1820-1852; the Names Associated with the Philadelphia Shaker Family; a Note on Bibliography and a Glossary of Proper Names. Although there are textual notes, there is no index.

This book retrieves for modern readers an account of an unusual free black woman who exercised religious leadership in Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century.

Ohio Humanities Council

STEELMASTERS AND LABOR REFORM, 1886–1923. BY GERALD G. EGGERT. (PITTSBURGH: UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS, 1981. PP. XVII, 212. $17.95.)

The title for this particular book appears to be somewhat misleading. The "steelmasters" to whom the author refers is actually one individual, William Brown Dickson, whose efforts and ideas of management were devoted to bringing about labor reform in the steel industry in the early twentieth century.
Gerald Eggert is a professor of history at Pennsylvania State University. He has made extensive use of the personal papers of Dickson which are housed in the library at his university.

W. B. Dickson started out as a common laborer in the mills at Homestead and worked his way up the corporate ladder to become assistant to Charles M. Schwab, President of U. S. Steel. Dickson was eventually promoted to second vice-president and finally first vice-president of U. S. Steel. However, it was not too long before his efforts at reform antagonized nearly all the top officials of the company, in particular Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board. This soon led to Dickson’s resignation on 1911. Four years later, in 1915, he became vice-president and treasurer of the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, a newly formed combine created during World War I. Upon conclusion of the war, Midvale’s high wartime profits turned to losses, and several top officials either fell ill or were considering retirement. Early in 1922, Midvale broke up and once again Dickson found himself unemployed. Although he sought other “meaningful” work, he was unsuccessful, and remained in retirement until his death in 1942.

The efforts of Dickson to bring about labor reform focused on two main areas. The first was an effort to eliminate the seven-day work week and the twelve-hour shift. Time and time again, Dickson at various meetings of the Board of Directors of U. S. Steel and in public forum tried to convince his superiors of the ill effects of the seven-day week. Finally, U. S. Steel yielded on this matter in 1907 with the issuance of a resolution abolishing the seven-day work week. However, Dickson found that many of the plants maintained the practice, and so he continued to press for the enforcement of the resolution. The reader questions the author’s belief that it was primarily due to Dickson’s efforts that the elimination of the seven-day work week was achieved. The Bethlehem steel workers struck in February 1910 because of the excessive, long hours and this strike brought to the people of the nation the plight of the steel workers. Although the author mentions this strike, this reviewer feels that the adverse publicity heaped on U. S. Steel had a much greater impact on Judge Gary’s enforcing this resolution for a shorter work week than the efforts of Dickson. Dickson also urged the establishment of an eight-hour shift, but the industry also dragged its feet on this reform until government pressure forced them to adopt it in 1923.

The second labor-reform “from-the-top” that Dickson promoted involved giving workmen a voice in determining the conditions under which they would work. His efforts were best exemplified by his establishment of an employee representation plan while he was with Midvale Steel. Although Dickson was a sincere advocate of the principle, he appears to have blundered in his handling of employee representation. It took the intervention of the War Labor Board in a dispute at Midvale’s Nicetown plant to prod him into revealing a plan, which he later claimed to have had under consideration for many months. The plan was attempted to be put into effect but it produced no significant results. Dickson urged U. S. Steel and the rest of the industry to adopt similar plans but to no avail. It was not until the New Deal and the passage of the Wagner Act that the steel companies saw the advantages of company unionism and that was only to forestall the United Steelworkers of America from organizing their workers.

In conclusion, this short work will be of interest to those who wish to observe
the rise and fall of an enlightened man on the management side who valiantly attempted to bring about much needed labor reform. The failure of W. B. Dickson's efforts to convince the magnates of the steel industry may aid those who wish to understand why there was so much difficulty in the unionization of that industry in the 1930s. To balance this view presented by Dr. Eggert, one should turn to *Labor in Crisis: The Steel Strike of 1919* (1965) by David Brody for a fine picture of labor's side.

*Federal Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia*  
ROBERT J. PLOWMAN


This collaborative work, the product of two radical academics and a communist cadre of the 1930s and 1940s, offers a picture of neglected elements of the operation of the Communist Party. Although Steve Nelson participated in international activities and served on the National Board, he left his major mark by his contribution to the struggles of workers, ethnics, and the unemployed in their communities. This book is part of the new direction in the study of the Communist Party which uses oral history and a local focus rather than emphasizing the activities of Moscow and national activities and leaders.

It interweaves the stories of the Communist Party providing Steve Nelson an education, a social life, and Americanization and Nelson reciprocating by offering time and energy, effective organizing, and loyalty. Party mentors and schools introduced him to Marxist classics and the world of literature and helped to transform him from a Croatian immigrant into an Americanized radical fighting for social justice. As a Communist functionary he devoted long hours to organizing workers into unions and the unemployed into councils, left areas where he felt comfortable and had achieved success for new assignments, and accepted missions as a courier to Germany and China which took him into unknown and dangerous areas and separated him from his wife.

His activities in the anthracite region in the 1930s show his strengths as a grassroots activist most graphically. The Unemployed Council in Luzerne County grew to fifteen-to-twenty thousand within three years after his arrival, and he helped to organize major marches of the unemployed to Harrisburg in 1933 and 1934. Nelson contributed to an atmosphere which led to the establishment of a Bootleg Miners Union, school children in Wilkes-Barre and surrounding towns supporting their fathers when they conducted wildcat strikes and the foreign-born workers of Minersville developing class consciousness and radicalism with the aid of their fraternal organizations. Although aware of the ugliness and poverty of that area, his personal relations and organizing success made him feel at home in the anthracite region.

Nelson also had special feelings about California where he served in the 1940s in Los Angeles and San Francisco. In Los Angeles he undertook the difficult task of organizing farm workers who faced opposition from the growers and the government and in San Francisco he collaborated with longshoremen, blacks, and women in promoting progressive causes. According to Nelson and other observers, such as Angela Davis and Al Richmond, the California party had a richness and vitality unusual among state communist parties. These special
qualities resulted from a radical tradition, greater autonomy, and the important role played by workers.

The anthracite and California experiences during the Depression and World War II came in the heyday of the Communist Party. By the time Nelson arrived in Pittsburgh in 1948 the cold war placed radicals, trade unions, and fraternal organizations on the defensive, but he continued to organize and agitate in the face of growing opposition. Repression forced radicals into retreat in ethnic groups with George Wuchenich, head of the American Slav Congress in Pittsburgh, forced to leave the city. On the labor front the International Union of Electrical Workers used the issues of anti-communism, patriotism, and adherence to the church to defeat the Union of Electrical Workers for control of Local 601 of the East Pittsburgh Westinghouse plant. The black community offered an exception to this bleak picture as it displayed solidarity with black activists who had played a role in the desegregation of the Highland Park pool and other community struggles. In the 1950s the fortunes of Nelson and the Communist Party continued to decline as the Party lost membership and leadership and Nelson spent considerable time on trial and in prison on charges of violating state sedition acts and the federal Smith Act. In 1956 the courts overturned his convictions, but the Communist Party faced the devastating effects of Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes and news of the Soviet invasion of Hungary. When the Communist Party of the United States failed to chart an independent course in 1957 Nelson left it and became a democratic Marxist who devoted much of his political time and energy over the next two decades to the activities of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Steve Nelson, American Radical provides a revealing picture of the growth of a man and an activist who displays increasing sensitivity to the rights of women and blacks and a willingness to criticize personal and Communist Party positions such as support for the Russian-German Pact in 1939 and the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II. The book is most valuable as a depiction of practical organizing embedded in factory and neighborhood networks and of least value in dealing with the international sphere as illustrated by Nelson's long, but relatively lifeless, chapter on his participation in the Spanish Civil War. It is an important addition to radical history and to twentieth-century Pennsylvania history and could set the stage for a companion volume on the Pittsburgh area to the recent information book on Philadelphia Communism and its ethnic and class networks by Paul Lyons.

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