BOOK REVIEWS


Everyone interested in the study of history recognizes the importance of archives and manuscripts to their work. Yet few people are interested in the practical details of how such records are maintained and supported, despite the clear connection between such realities as funding, collecting authority and space, and the potential for useful research. The value of the report under consideration here is that it provides a comprehensive review of public and private archival and manuscript collections in Pennsylvania with an emphasis on administrative, legal and fiscal issues which are often unexciting but nevertheless vital. This is one of twenty-four “state assessment” reports growing out of studies funded in 1982 by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). The Commission, threatened with extinction by the Reagan Administration, funded what it feared might be a final overall review of the condition of historical records and the possibilities for cooperation. The NHPRC still lives, so the assessment reports stand as a useful legacy of one period of crisis.

Most of Leon Stout’s report on Pennsylvania deals with the official archives of state and local government. An extensive history of the State Archives is followed by a detailed review of its legal status and administrative structure, and its programs in such areas as microfilming, automation and preservation. The Archives appears to be doing a good job with limited resources, and the major problem is the universally troublesome relationship between the separate and efficiency-oriented records management operation and the historically oriented archives. As in the rest of the country, local records present more fundamental problems. Throughout Pennsylvania, resources are usually scarce, laws unclear, administrators indifferent, staff undertrained and space inadequate. Much of the report’s section on local records deals with possible assistance from and cooperation with Harrisburg.

The last quarter of the assessment report—perhaps too small a proportion—deals primarily with nonpublic records repositories, including historical societies, academic collections and institutional archives. The study included an extensive and very useful survey of these repositories, and the results are reported here. While Pennsylvania has many important repositories, there are serious problems outside Pittsburgh and Philadelphia with the documentation of the twentieth century, and a large number of small institutions hold valuable materials without having the resources to care properly for or provide access to them. The section on “Statewide Concerns” suggests a number of areas of cooperation, where pooling resources might relieve some of these problems, such as cooperative conservation and a statewide guide or automated data base of holdings. As in his sections on the State Archives and local records, Stout provides a list of detailed recommendations.
While all of those recommendations are laudable, the key question is how they can be implemented. The Pennsylvania report is less depressing than several other NHPRC state assessments, but it does inevitably convey some of the sense of neglect and pessimism which has pervaded much recent archival literature. It is especially forthright and useful on issues of public administration and funding, but that bureaucratic emphasis is not always helpful in placing archival needs in a larger context. For example, the report rarely discusses the content of public records, and how they document the history and people of Pennsylvania. Stout also generally avoids establishing definitive priorities among his many recommendations, or suggesting how the historical community might mobilize to overcome the problems of indifference which he has ably documented. Like the social and intellectual context of historical records, such decisions should come from a broad group of Pennsylvanians interested in history. Leon Stout has provided a valuable basis for discussion and action. Rather than being a final report, his study can instead be seen as the beginning of a process, political as well as bureaucratic, to improve the condition of historical records in Pennsylvania.

Temple University

FREDRIC MILLER


"The United States is in danger of losing its memory." This warning was issued by a committee of scholars and former high-ranking public officials in its report on government records. The chairman of the committee was Ernest R. May, professor of history at Harvard University; Dr. Anna Nelson was the key member of the staff. The association of such important people with a study of archives and its sponsorship by three prestigious councils suggests the importance of this report. The views expressed—and directed to federal archives programming—are strengthened by its timing; the report was completed just as the National Archives achieved independence.

The Committee's recommendations are based on the following general conclusions. First, records conditions and needs in state and local government are very similar to federal problems and solutions. All governments store huge quantities of paper records at high annual costs. Second, useless records are kept by federal agencies, while documents important for daily government operation or scholarly research are destroyed. Third, the increasing use of electronic technology is as much a threat as an aid to government recordkeeping. The fears are the computer files will be easily erased and that yesterday's files will not always be readable on today's machines. Fourth, "responsibility for decisions regarding records is fragmented and ill-defined," being spread among a variety of federal agencies. Similar fragmentation of responsibility exists in state and local governments.

Based on these conclusions, the contracted analysis by experts, and the input of forty persons in eight formal group meetings or interviews, the Committee made three main recommendations. First, "responsibility for managing records must rest within the individual government agencies" (p. 43). The duties of
senior agency officials "must explicitly encompass the management of records. All budgets from policy, administrative, and program offices (including those for non-government contractors) must include provisions for the records they [the agencies] create" (p. 44). Second, the next Archivist of the United States must offer new leadership for records management, create a reference division within NARA for government agencies, and lead state and local governments on matters relating to public records. Third, the President of the United States should by executive order establish a Records Management Policy Council, which would include representatives of the office of Management and Budget and the General Services Administration, and would be chaired by the Archivist of the United States. "The objective of this Executive Order," the committee concludes, "is to integrate responsibilities now spread between three separate stall agencies and to assign to each operating agency the responsibilities for the administration of an effective and efficient records program" (p. 46).

For the archival community this report has important strengths and deficiencies. The fact that a committee on the records of government convened, established an agenda, commissioned research by experts, invited broad-based input, and prepared a report focusing on public records issues is significant in and by itself. The Report, issued over the signatures of distinguished citizens and scholars, brings public attention to the care and retention of government records and information. A second major strength of the report is its call for more adequate provision in all agency budgets for the management, control, and processing of records. In short, it took money to create records; therefore, money should be made available to conserve, manage, and exploit that resource to its fullest. Third, the Committee's call for a larger role for the National Archives must also be applauded. A re-energized and better funded NARA has been a primary goal of the National Association of Government Archives and Records Administrators.

The report also has a number of deficiencies. First, it is too general, too simplistic, and too brief. Because the report itself is just thirty-seven pages, including a draft executive order for establishing the Records Management Policy Council, it can only marginally address the issues and needs of government records custodians. The 141 pages of attachments and appendixes, which buttress the conclusions and recommendations, are three times the size of the report itself. The most significant appendix is the overview of government records programs prepared for the Committee's first meeting by Victoria Irons Walch. Given the early salvo—"the condition of federal executive branch records is, with rare exceptions, deplorable, those of states, counties, cities, and town are even worse" (p. 9)—one might have expected much more of a statement on the records at all levels of government. Surely, not everyone will agree that "there are no record-keeping issues peculiar to state and local governments" (p. 11) Second, implicit in the report's conclusions is the view that the Committee's recommendations for federal records will trickle down to the state and local level. The important role to be played by state archival programs and the professional associations, most notably NAGARA and SAA, is slighted. So, too, there is no discussion of the "inter-governmental" nature of many records in the federal system. Third, some effort should have been made to indicate more precisely the limits of the Committee's work and to suggest areas for further study. The Committee's preoccupation with office automation and
electronic records has narrowed its universe. Fourth, the Committee has in no significant way identified a mechanism by which evaluation and review can be continued, or how resources can be developed to meet the recommendations. Finally, the report was released with no apparent concern to publicize the recommendations. Except for a brief summary of the Report which appeared in the September 1985 SAA Newsletter, there has been little fanfare. At this writing there has been no official comment by either NAGARA or NARA.

All archivists and records administrators should read the report. It is a thought piece, a discussion document, suitable for sharing with policy makers you desire to persuade. They need to be reminded that archives and records management is a component of doing business in government, or anywhere. This fact was well understood by the Committee. Although readers might have wished that the blue ribbon committee had better appreciated the full dimension of the subject, this is still one of the best advocacy documents yet produced for the archival profession. This tool is there for us to use in whatever creative ways we can.

Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission

ROLAND M. BAUMANN


These two volumes are the result of an anniversary celebration. Anniversaries have a way of reassessing the parts of the whole of the celebrants. The tricentennial commemoration of the founding of Germantown, the first formal German settlement in colonial America is no exception. Edited in two volumes by Trommler and McVeigh, America and the Germans presents the studies of forty-nine authorities like Paul Breines, Jürgen Eichhoff, John A. Hostetler, Hartmut Keil, Victor Lange, Alexander Ritter, Hans-Jürgen Schröder, Frank Trommler, Christine M. Totten, and Don Yoder.

These essays presented as a part of the four-day Tricentennial Conference held at the University of Pennsylvania present views from both sides of the Atlantic. They now serve as superb resource material for German-American studies and American history. A survey of the table of contents shows that the collection is wide-ranging, covering not only history, politics, and ethnicity, but also folk-life, literature, and critical appraisal. The studies span the time of the first happy coming and development to the strained relations fostered by two world wars to the shaping of a close alliance during the 1950s and 1960s to the present nuclear anxiety.

Collections always call for selective reading. Pennsylvanians no doubt will turn to the beginnings and to “The Pennsylvania Germans” which they will enjoy. But those readers might forget that Germans and German-speaking immigrants range all over the United States. They should go on to “The German Language in America.” Jürgen Eichhoff states that “in 1790 roughly 277,000 Americans were of German ancestry” and that “between 1820 and 1980 more than seven million German men, women, and children arrived on American shores.” A map vividly shows the Germans all over the United States.
Included in volume 2 are the immigrants since 1933, most of whom were refugees from Hitler's Germany. Even they created an ambivalence.

The writing is factual, scholarly. There it is, whether it pleases biases or not. No doubt Trommler and McVeigh hope that Dutch historian Visser't Hooft's statement of 1931—"Europe will be more influenced by its own picture of America than by America itself"—will not be paraphrased by American readers to say "The American will be more influenced by his own picture of the German-American than by the German-American himself."

These two volumes afford an unbiased, clear look at two great nations who over a period of three hundred years have been wedded for better or worse. The worse always seems to have reared its head when politics entered the scene. Even though the technical, the economic, the cultural may have been going well, politics usually forced a falling from grace and a scapegoat was looked for on both sides of the ocean. An underlying factor may be the similarity of the people. For the most part Germans have acculturated very well. Their discipline, drive, and ingenuity have always been admired by the Anglo-American. But these qualities promote competition and competition creates irritation and suddenly one no longer can be critical and friendly. However, to date, after each crisis a realization of the need for the other has taken over.

This collection is a must for all libraries. Individuals interested in early America should purchase Volume 1: Immigration, Language, Ethnicity. Those interested in the relationships during the twentieth century should buy volume 2. But in order to have the full picture, both books should be on hand.

Grove City College

HILDA ADAM KRING


This work is an above average institutional history of one of the most important, influential Presbyterian secondary schools in the United States. While the West Nottingham Academy is located in Maryland, the author notes that the early history of the institution contained a strong Pennsylvania connection. In effect, the settlement of the Nottingham area was prompted by the colonial rivalry of the Penn and Calvert families as each attempted to expand their domain. Thus as each proprietor encouraged settlement of the disputed border area, the local Presbyterian congregation and attendant academy welcomed worshippers and scholars from both sides of the disputed boundary line. Thus while a number of West Nottingham’s graduates assumed important roles in Revolutionary Maryland, other men such as William Shippen and Benjamin Rush proved equally influential in Pennsylvania affairs.

The most valuable contributions in this work are located in the early chapters as Mills provides an excellent background to the entire development of Presbyterian theological and educational disputes following the Great Awaken- ing. The author’s discussion of the Academy’s founder, Rev. Samuel Finlay, is particularly colorful as Mills chronicles Finlay’s role in a number of educational ventures from the founding of Bible societies in New England to a successful tenure as president of Princeton College. Mills also provides an interesting analysis of the relationship between Finlay and his nephew, Benjamin Rush,
who rejected much of his uncle's theology yet adapted many of his educational
theories to early Republican education.

While the first five chapters provide an effective integration of institutional
history and broader social and cultural developments, the remainder of the book
has a quite narrow focus. The later chapters are primary directed toward a
narration of the student activities, curriculum developments and institutional
politics of the academy within the context of the author's vignettes of a succession
of principals and headmasters. Thus we see one principle encourage the
acceptance of female students; the next headmaster adopts a male-only admis-
sion policy; his successor reverts to coeducation. The discussion of political
matters between the Board of Trustees and the headmasters and the attempts to
prevent financial disasters would prove of interest primarily to readers who have
a personal attachment to the institution. On the other hand, occasional tables
illustrating the higher education activities and career choices of representative
graduating classes may be of value to social and educational historians.

On balance, this work is a well-written and valuable resource for historians of
education. However, its value to more general readers may be somewhat
limited.

VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY

VICTOR D. BROOKS

Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in
America, 1683–1790. By Richard K. MacMaster. (Scottdale, Pennsyl-

This book is the first volume of an ambitious project to write a history of the
Mennonites in North America, on the basis of wide-ranging new research in
primary sources. Three additional volumes, each with a different author, will
bring the story down to the present. The entire series seeks to establish a new era
in Mennonite historiography, by going beyond the traditional institutional
history to situate Mennonites as a people in relation to wider American society.
Sponsorship of the project comes from the Institute of Mennonite Studies, the
research arm of the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries in Elkhart,
Indiana.

In his first chapter MacMaster covers the history of Mennonites in Europe
from their origins in sixteenth-century Anabaptism until the beginning of
emigration to North America in mid-seventeenth century. This summary could
have made better use of the recent scholarship on Anabaptist origins. The
remainder of the book treats colonial North America. For the time frame of this
book, Pennsylvania occupied the center of Mennonite history. MacMaster
describes the establishment of the first permanent settlement—Germantown-
Skippack near Philadelphia—and then the movement of Mennonites west with
the advancing frontier and south through Maryland into the Shenandoah Valley
of Virginia.

MacMaster deals with a number of other themes appropriate to the religious
history of a people. He develops the social and economic impulses behind
immigration from Europe, in contrast to the usual stress on religious motivation
for Mennonite immigrants, and shows that the Mennonites comprised part of
a much larger movement of Lutheran and Reformed Germans from the Palatinate
to North America. In assessing economics and relationships to the land, MacMaster makes excellent use of tax assessments to show that Mennonites in colonial Pennsylvania had considerable wealth by contemporary standards, owned a majority of the best farm land, and were among the most wealthy tax payers.

Revisionist stances appear in the book’s treatment of the religious dimensions of Mennonite life. While earlier scholarship depicted colonial Mennonites as separated or withdrawn from their society, MacMaster argues that Mennonites were rather well integrated into a German-speaking society unified by “the common idiom of European-derived Pietism” (p. 156). This integration appeared in such things as pulpit exchanges, in jointly owned and operated schools, and in participation in the political processes.

Pietism supplied Mennonites with a new idiom for the expression of Christian commitment when their earlier experience of suffering no longer defined what it meant to be yielded to Christ. The new idiom also worked some changes in the Mennonite outlook. For example, MacMaster shows how rebirth, understood by earlier Anabaptists as the mere first step in a life of discipleship, changed to become the central experience which gave meaning to the rest of life. Further, Pietism opened Mennonites to the influence of revivalism. A majority, as exemplified by Christian Burkholder, developed a fusion of the new elements while remaining within the denomination. Others left to participate in forming the more revival-oriented United Brethren or the River Brethren, or to become the dissident Reformed Mennonite Church.

Mennonites did eventually develop a separatist outlook as a result of developments which culminated with the Revolutionary War. In the turbulent years 1740–70, the pacifist stance made the peace churches—Mennonites, Quakers and Brethren—a decided minority. While the royal charter did accord them exemption from military service, the Revolutionists made bearing arms a test of citizenship and took measures to harass the peace churches into support of the armed struggle. As a result of these Revolutionary experiences, Mennonites and the other peace churches came to sense themselves outsiders in the society to which they had earlier belonged.

As a ground-breaking work, some of the book’s conclusions will undoubtedly see modification. Much work remains, for example, in assessing both the varied character of colonial American pietism itself as well as its impact on Mennonites. Further, given the general solidarity of Mennonites throughout their difficulties in the Revolution and their nearly unanimous refusal of military service, one might suggest that MacMaster has perhaps somewhat overstated the extent of Mennonite integration in the pre-Revolutionary ear.

This is a very significant book which will define the issues for the current generation of scholarship on Mennonites in colonial America. MacMaster also adds to the understanding of colonial Pennsylvania and the wider American society through his analysis of the Pennsylvania German society to which Mennonites belonged and the examination of the underside of the American Revolution. In short, Land, Piety, Peoplehood can serve as a model denominational history, illuminating not only its defined denominational agenda but its larger context as well.

Bluffton College

J. Denny Weaver

Despite the title, this book is more than an ethnic study of the founding of East Jersey, for its significance goes beyond the boundaries of colonial New Jersey history and is an important work for historians of Middle Colonies as well as for colonial historians in general. At one level, it is an ethnic study—an analysis of a non-English immigrant group’s efforts at establishing a colony. At a higher level, it is a work of comparative history within a transatlantic context that analyzes the changes occurring in the Anglo-American world from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century.

Landsman believes that the Scottish settlement pattern was more representative of American colonization in general than that of the better-known but more “exotic groups” (i.e., the Puritans). The author believes that it is the growing awareness of the Scottish settler’s ethnic heritage that unifies the story of East Jersey during the period of study and which provides a unifying theme for the book. Within this awakening of ethnic identity, religion and church affiliation play a powerful role, especially the very traditional Scottish Presbyterian Church.

As Landsman effectively shows, the Scottish background is itself very complex and is one that changes during the period under study. Scottish life was very different from English life. They did not have the typical English village, but rather “a regional community” that had, as its geographical basis, an area of about ten miles in radius. This regional community allowed residents a great deal of mobility without contributing to social disorder and provided a model for American development more in line with developments in the Middle Colonies than the typical English village that was supposedly transferred to New England.

Scotland also provided several different models of landholding and lifestyle. Northeastern Scotland had the most hierarchical and conservative social structure in the British Isles. Tenants served at the pleasure of the proprietor and leases and small landowners were rare. Yet this was the region where Presbyterianism was less radical, where there were significant numbers of Quakers, Episcopalians, and Independents, and which was what Landsman calls the most Anglicized region of Scotland. In contrast, Southwest Scotland was dominated by small landowners without large estates; there were substantial number of landholders who leased their lands permanently; and the wealthy landowners did not dominate society as they did in the Northeast. The Southwest was the center of Presbyterianism and religious radicals, and it was where the Anglican faith made the least headway and was the center for the stridently anti-Anglican and anti-English Scots.

Landsman connects the Scottish interest in colonization in American with the Patrons of Improvement, which was an effort to improve Scottish agriculture at the end of the seventeenth century. Part of this improvement was an outward looking on the part of the Scottish elite and an effort to establish colonies in the New World. East Jersey caught the fancy of Scots from the Northeast, whose primary motivation was economic—they were looking for estates and homes for their sons. These Scottish proprietors had two goals in East Jersey. The first was to create a separate Scottish undertaking—a colony within a colony which was to provide the Scottish foothold in the Mid-Atlantic trading region. Their
second goal was to limit the number of small landowners within the Scottish region of the colony. The large estate was to be the economic unit of their society. The Scottish regional community of a neighborhood of estates was to be their model for East Jersey.

Landsman, in his analysis of the Scots' coming to grips with the New World and the changing nature of the Scottish migration, shows how this model from Northeastern Scotland gradually changes to one modeled on Southwestern Scotland. He also illustrates how the makeup of the East Jersey Proprietors changes and the center of immigration moves to the Southwest.

Religion plays an important part in the author's analysis of the development of a Scottish community in East Jersey. It is through the Great Awakening that the Scottish identification in the New World becomes synonymous with the Presbyterian Church.

Historians of colonial Pennsylvania will find much that is useful in this analysis of East Jersey for what Landsman says about the Scots in our neighbor to the east can be said about them in Penn's Holy Experiment. His analysis of ethnic identification and the experience of cultural diversity runs counter to James Lemon's argument concerning the lack of differentiation between ethnic groups in colonial Pennsylvania. Quite frankly, Landsman analysis that "the social background of the colonists continued to play a vital role in community life, in such diverse aspects as the patterns of settlement, landholding, and inheritance they adopted, and in communal and familial relationships generally" (p. 134) rings truer than Lemon's hypothesis.

This is an important and rewarding book. It is one whose analysis is not easily summarized and which will bear more than one reading in order to get the many kernels of historical insight that the author has brought to his study of colonial East Jersey.

Pennsylvania State University, Media, PA. GEORGE W. FRANZ


Since Cadwallader Colden first wrote about the Iroquois in 1727 (History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York) and Benjamin Franklin argued nearly thirty years later at the Albany Congress for colonial unity on the grounds that if "Six Nations of ignorant Savages" could join together, the English colonies should be able to do at least as much, the Houdenosaunee (Iroquoian League), its function, and its diplomacy with the various Euramerican powers has fascinated scholars and dilettantes alike. This latest offering by the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, The Newberry Library, 1985, Pp. xvii, 278. $30.00).

Since Cadwallader Colden first wrote about the Iroquois in 1727 (History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York) and Benjamin Franklin argued nearly thirty years later at the Albany Congress for colonial unity on the grounds that if "Six Nations of ignorant Savages" could join together, the English colonies should be able to do at least as much, the Houdenosaunee (Iroquoian League), its function, and its diplomacy with the various Euramerican powers has fascinated scholars and dilettantes alike. This latest offering by the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy, edited by Francis Jennings, et al. follows in that general tradition, but goes beyond the narrow confines of the "essays around a theme" approach to offer a far more ambitious undertaking in a scant 278 pages.

The editors, who are the sole contributors, are Francis Jennings and William
N. Fenton, doyens of Iroquois studies; Robert J. Surtees, a Canadian historian; anthropologists Mary A. Druke and David R. Miller; and native American ethnologist Michael K. Foster. All contribute essays or interpretations to the two first sections of the work dealing with "Treaty Diplomacy" and "Treaty Events." Miller's main contribution was the partial index and treaty calendar in section 3 on reference materials.

The first section contains five essays and a glossary of figures of speech used in Iroquois political rhetoric. The lead-off essays by Fenton and Jennings focus on Iroquois social structure, political organization, rituals such as the condolence council, and the functional use of wampum, and so forth. The nature of the alliance system is discussed through the evolution of the convenant chain in terms of its use, function, and demise, from the seventeenth until the early nineteenth century. Of particular interest to students of Pennsylvania history is Jennings's focus on the Susquehanna Valley as the scene of intercolonial and intertribal strife during the first half of the eighteenth century ending with the treaty at Lancaster in 1744 which signaled the beginning of the end for Iroquian diplomatic control through the convenant chain. The last three parts of this section include shorter essays by Surtees, Druke, and Foster on the Iroquois in Canada, forms and interpretations of Iroquois treaties, and the function of wampum. These augment the two longer discussions by Jennings and Fenton. The nine-page glossary of figures of speech provides a nice finishing touch for this section, particularly useful to the neophyte or general reader.

For the balance of the work, "Treaty Events" and "Reference Materials," the editors selected the Mohawk Treaty with New France in 1645 and Fenton, Jennings, and Druke comment on the background and proceedings and conclude with published accounts from The Jesuit Relations by Fr. Vimont who was present. The last section includes a comprehensive treaty calendar, gazetteer, and a list of persons participating in the treaties mentioned in the text. These are again a nice tough, but more useful to the general reader or beginning student.

In all, the editors do a credible jobs. They have succeeded in providing a basic reference tool ("a good place to look first when information is needed" [p. xvi]). They present issues through the perspectives of their particular disciplines and still present a remarkably unified volume rather than a string of seemingly unrelated essays. These major essays in the first section are derived by checking facts "against the most reliable sources" and by enlisting the aid of traditionalist and non-traditionalist Iroquois Indians. Least satisfactory are the Surtees and Druke essays in the first section. Both suffer, not from content, but from length. Surtees' essay on the "Iroquois in Canada" and Druke's on "Iroquois Treaties . . ." would benefit from further elaboration. The maps, with the exception of the Iroquois territorial map on page 8, are small but can be easily read; the exception is both too detailed and too small for the amount of coverage it attempts. Quibbling aside, this study is a worthwhile addition to the Newberry Library publications and a worthwhile part of any library collection.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

EDGAR W. MOORE

Outposts of the War for Empire: The French and English in Western Pennsylvania: Their Armies, Their Forts, Their People, 1749–1764. By Charles Morse Stotz. (Pittsburgh: Historical Society of Western Penn-
Charles Morse Stotz, architect and historian, died on March 5, 1985, just as this volume came off the press. His first historical work, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania (1936)*, established his reputation for precise architectural history. He was a renowned technician of historic restoration and a prominent figure in the Pittsburgh Renaissance. A fitting eulogy by his fellow Pittsburgher, Robert C. Alberts, appeared in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 68 (July 1985), 265–66.

The twenty-three posts Stotz chose to describe consisted of the French forts in western Pennsylvania, France's Fort Niagara, Maryland and Virginia forts built before Braddock's defeat, two Pennsylvania forts built as a result of that defeat, several of the posts built for the Forbes expedition, Fort Pitt, the temporary Fort Mercer which preceded Fort Pitt, Fort Burd which was built to ease the southern route into Pittsburgh, and Fort Venango which was part of the British replacement of the French system that reached north to Lake Erie. The function that united them all was their use as protected storage areas for army supplies. None were originally intended to shelter the expanding civilian populations, nor were they located on the outer fringes of population areas. These forts were erected in sparsely populated wilderness. Stotz associated the British grand design of linking forts together along a military route with Forbes's reliance on a French theorist, Lancelot Comte Turpin de Crissé, who wrote in 1754, and whose translated work appeared in Prussia in 1756 and in London in 1761. A campaigning army needed protected supply posts to its immediate rear to wage war effectively. Obviously, this resembled the French strategy of 1753, when they began to invade the Ohio Valley. Many of the British and colonial forts in Stotz's work, however, were built for emergency defense against anticipated attacks or counterattacks, and do not fit into Turpin de Crissé's theory. Forts Augusta, Allen, Mercer, Frederick, and Necessity had such origins.

The achievement of this book is distilled in seventeen imaginative drawings in which Stotz represented forts and their immediate surroundings. These are aerial depictions at an angle of forty-five degrees. Stotz did not claim omniscience: "no one can be confident of making a verifiably accurate record of any eighteenth-century American fort." However, his search among manuscripts—including many in European repositories—and his knowledge of the best written historical literature, as well as his understanding of specialized building technology and archaeological findings, supports the authenticity of his reconstruction of the physical past. The pictures show each fort at the moment of its greatest strength, often surrounded by tents sheltering forces much greater than the garrison. Stockaded areas and isolated redoubts located outside the fort walls are conspicuous. The minor post at Juniata Crossing, for example, is shown to have had a very large protected perimeter. It was also characteristic of the British and Pennsylvania forts to have protecting stockaded perimeters extending down from the fort walls to a landing area on an adjacent body of water. This protected ingress and egress. All five of the French forts and seven of the seventeen British and provincial forts were developed from a basic pattern of rectangular—usually perfectly square—walls with bastions projecting from the four corners. Citing William A. Hunter's discovery of Col. William Clapham's
design for Fort Augusta (Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 542), Stotz pointed out that the length and height of the walls and the dimensions of the four sides of each bastion were all intended to be proportionate to each other, according to an established convention of military engineering. This was modified to deal with extraordinary terrain or other special situations. Only Fort Niagara was tested by competent siege forces; Fort Pitt and Fort Venango were invested by Indians during 1763 and the latter fell, probably as a result of the enemy’s using flaming arrows. When Fort Pitt and Fort Cumberland were built it was understood that they could not withstand heavy fire from field artillery.

In addition to the studies of individual forts, the author summarized the war in the Ohio Valley in eight episodes, from Celeron’s expedition of 1749 to Bouquet’s Ohio campaign of 1764. Stotz thought of the conflict between England and France as unavoidable, but attributed the subsequent war of the Pontiac period to Indian apprehension of the westward expansion of white population, and to the British withholding items how essential to Indian culture. In all his narrative Stotz emphasized material culture, including descriptions of objects and techniques for applying them. He included many interesting digressions, such as “The Life of a Soldier,” “The Indian in Time of War,” and “The Indian in Time of Peace.” The episodic sequence is followed by an essay on the development of European fortification and its adaption to North America. The concluding section of the book is the story of the reconstruction of Fort Ligonier, Stotz’s most advanced military restoration. It emphasizes the techniques, and compliments the craftsmen for their skills. Historic site enthusiasts will note with interest subtle compromises made to prevent deterioration and accommodate sightseers, such as under-paneling with plywood, and caulking between the logs with a mixture of clay, Portland cement and ochre.

Outposts of the War for Empire is a fitting testimony to the career of a man who did so much to recall to the public the world we have lost.

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This book surveys the thought and practices of religious enthusiasts who emigrated to colonial America within the context of the European background, and examines new ideas that arose in the colonies. “Enthusiasts” are defined very broadly as “a variety of unconventional but religiously devout sectarians who would not, could not, contain their zeal within the organized limits of religious convention” (p. 1). They depended on direct inspiration by the Holy Spirit for their personal, experiential religion.

Englishmen at home and abroad condemned the “heresies” adopted by enthusiasts. One valuable contribution this book makes is its analysis of attitudes toward enthusiasm and explanation of the reasons it was considered dangerous. This is complicated, for sectarians’ enemies were more prolific in publishing their views than the “heretics” were in defending them.

Lovejoy’s primary argument equates enthusiasm with subversivism. Enthusiasts were guilty of blasphemy and heresy, for they tested the Scriptures by an inward light, relegated Jesus to history and relied on the Christ within, and preached an immunity to sin. Furthermore, dissenters threatened to overthrow
the national church; their private “conventicles” destroyed the idea of public worship, and their use of untrained preachers, especially women, insulted God, the king, and the established order. Once the church had been undermined, the “orthodox” wondered, could the state survive? Antimonarchical beliefs were common, magistrates were often condemned, and the refusal to swear oaths or participate in warfare posed obvious dangers. Emphasis on the equality of all before God threatened the class structure, and indirectly the sanctity of private property. When sectarians questioned institutions such as marriage and the family, they were accused of gross immorality, free love, and promiscuity. Contempt for the law—scriptural, ecclesiastical, constitutional, and moral—suggested perfectionism and antinomianism. And finally, enthusiasts were anti-intellectuals, for education and learning, even Bible reading, might hinder the operation of the Spirit. Colonists added missions to the Indians and contacts with slaves to the list of subversive activities. It is not surprising that enthusiasts were often persecuted.

Mr. Lovejoy suggests that religious enthusiasm contributed to the American Revolution, at least insofar as it emphasized individual liberty. Linked with patriotism, liberty, the promise of the New World, and the secular millennialism stimulated by the conflict, religious enthusiasm was transformed into a “noble enthusiasm” which envisioned the United States as the hope of mankind.

The emphasis on the subversiveness of enthusiasts, while it illuminates the sources of persecution, skews the book away from the more tolerant colonies. Rhode Island was notorious for its variety of strange religious beliefs, yet very little is said about this province; Pennsylvania’s reputation among contemporaries was only slightly better.

Readers particularly interested in Pennsylvania may find this book disappointing. The chapter on the first generation of Quakers reiterates familiar material, although it concisely summarizes the specific reasons for opposition to the sect. The chapter “Quakers from William Penn to John Woolman” concentrates on the Keithian Schism; it gives little attention to the distinctiveness of a province established and for years governed by “enthusiasts,” even if they became more conservative than their predecessors. The chapter devoted to continental enthusiasts is extremely superficial; it ranges from Plockhoy’s Mennonite settlement to Rosicrucian mystics to Moravians to French Prophets, yet curiously devotes only a few lines to Conrad Beissel—an enthusiast by any definition—and ignores pietists, whom some of their enemies termed “enthusiasts.”

This book provides an overview of religious dissidents, enthusiasts, and eccentrics in the American colonies, a topic frequently overlooked. Extensive notes direct the reader to printed primary and secondary sources for further exploration of this subject.

Eastern Montana College

SALLY SCHWARTZ


This well-written book is a concise, thorough, and accurate study of the plight of Washington’s army after the battle of Germantown and prior to its encampment at Valley Forge. Too frequently, historians gloss over this phase of
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the Revolutionary War and immediately concentrate on Valley Forge. This monograph presents an excellent description of Washington's forces during the last three months of 1777.

Readers will be impressed by the vivid account of those beleaguered troops. It is a desperate period. The soldiers are in critical need of uniforms, shoes, food, and ammunition. Their morale is low. The future looks gloomy. Yet, through it all, there is transmitted the strong image of Washington. He alone has confidence in his men. The slight amount of optimism that exists comes from him. His stamina and faith create the bond that holds the army together. John W. Jackson captures these feelings very well. The reader is able to share the soldiers' emotions, experience their problems, and face their challenges. Jackson writes, "Many were destitute . . . the paucity of these items would dangerously lower the combat effectiveness . . . partially naked soldiers . . . ."

The army's encampment at Whitemarsh is the principal topic of this book. The advantages and disadvantages of the site are enumerated. The fortification is considered impregnable by both Washington and his British opponent. But Washington realizes that Whitemarsh is only a temporary refuge.

Also portrayed are the British forces under General William Howe. He desperately is seeking a military victory to enhance his fading reputation. His army is depicted as ruthless and cruel in its treatment of the local residents. The British attempt to dislodge Washington's forces fails after their unsuccessful attack on Edge Hill, which protects the left flank of Washington's army at Whitemarsh.

The book is short (sixty-one pages), containing an adequate bibliography, excellent illustrations, and useful maps. Particularly helpful is the updating of eighteenth-century place names to reflect current ones. Both the original and the present names appear on the maps. This provides easy identification of major landmarks. The only flaws are two minor typographical errors on page x and 35. The lack of footnotes is explained in the preface, but their absence does weaken the final product.

This is an excellent book that presents new insights into what is too often regarded as a minor military confrontation. Those interested in the military history of the Revolutionary War will certainly want to include Whitemarsh 1777: Impregnable Stronghold on their list of readings.

Muhlenberg College

EDWIN R. BALDRIGE


Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private, a five-volume series, is an integral but autonomous part of the projected seventeen-volume The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution. The documents in this series, which consist of newspaper items, pamphlets, and broadsides and private letters that circulated regionally or nationally, present the day-by-day regional and national debate over the Constitution. A review of volumes 1 and
Volume 3 of Commentaries covers the period from December 18, 1787, to January 31, 1788. During this forty-four-day period the news that Delaware and Pennsylvania had ratified the constitution, on December 7 and 12 respectively, was widely disseminated; New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut adopted the Constitution; the evenly divided Massachusetts Convention was in the middle of debating the merits of the new form of government; South Carolina became the eleventh state to call a ratifying convention; and, on January 31 and February 1, the New York state legislature debated and adopted a resolution calling a ratifying convention. In short, this volume covers a most crucial period of the adoption process of the Constitution of the United States. It was a time when the Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, writing under the pseudonym of “Publius” (The Federalist), waged polemical war with antifederalist writers. (Twenty-five numbers by “Publius,” and six essays by “Brutus,” still a mystery figure to historians [see note, p. 178], are included in this Commentary.)

This third volume, which contains 138 documents (numbered 352 to 490), is volume 15 of the Documentary. A very large percentage of the documents—though not as high as in volumes 1 and 2—relate to Pennsylvania. Prominently featured are eight numbers of “Centinel,” by Samuel Bryan. He is one of the most influential antifederalist serialists. Included also is “The Dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention.” This essay, which summarizes the arguments against the Constitution as set forth in the State Convention, is notable because it was the first “official” statement opposing the Constitution. It furthermore stands as the formal statement of the minority of the Convention and contains Robert Whitehill’s amendments to the public. Other items of particular interest, written by Pennsylvanians, are the four essays by “Philadelphensis” (Benjamin Workman), two essays by “A Freeman” (Tench Coxe) and Francis Hopkinson’s allegorical “The New Roof.” Newspaper items, many of which originated with Philadelphia’s printers, also appear in this volume. There are some excellent items on the Carlisle Riot. The newspaper items are important because they were reprinted regionally or nationally by means of an information network of printers who exchanged each other’s newspapers. The Federalists control of most of the newspapers is captured in these documents. The distribution of the newspaper reprintings is indicated in editorial notes and in an informative tabular compilation published as appendix 2 (pp. 575–81). Appendix 1, pages 555–574, contains widely circulated squibs and fillers that for the most part focus on the “prospects of ratification in the various states or speculations about attitudes of one or more persons on the Constitution” (p. 555). One half of the documents appearing in the appendix are Philadelphia newspaper items.

Of the fifty letters appearing in this volume, which were written by over thirty correspondents who critically analyzed the Constitution and reported on the prospects of ratification throughout America, only eleven were to or from Pennsylvanians. The principle correspondents were James Wilson, Tench Coxe, Charles Nisbet and Timothy Pickering. Except for the Nisbet letter, these letters are all well known to scholars.

This Documentary History will surely be one of the most fitting tributes to the
bicentennial of the Constitution of the United States. Few will quibble over the claim that the debate over the Constitution forms the greatest body of political writing in America. The historical community is indebted to the editors for having maintained the editorial standards established in earlier volumes and to the National Historical Publications Commission for its continued support. Finally, it is fitting that this volume is dedicated to Leonard Rapport, who was an important figure with this project in its formative years.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*  
ROLAND M. BAUMANN


*Witnesses at the Creation* is an account of the contribution made by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay to the movement for constitutional reform during the 1780s and to the writing and adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1787–1788. Since there were many other influential “witnesses,” why these three? The answer is their collaborative authorship of *The Federalist.* As Morris explains: “How the skillful interpretation of the Constitution by the trio of contributors, how their reasoned arguments for its necessary adoption, and how their reassurances to a bankrupt nation won friends for the Constitution in the great battles that lay ahead form the theme of the book.”

Morris’s book is, however, not primarily an analysis of *The Federalist* or an assessment of its effect on the ratification of the Constitution. Although he appreciatively, though briefly, discusses these essays and alludes to or quotes from them, a more substantial part of his book consists of biographical sketches of each of the three “witnesses,” which include an account of their private lives (including their early years, families, schooling, courtships, marriages, and the like), their activities and contributions to the American Revolution, and their public careers during the Confederation era. During the latter, they are unified by the shared conviction that the Articles of Confederation was a frail and tottering frame of Union under which, in Hamilton’s words, and fledgling country had “reached almost the last stage of national humiliation” and that the Articles must be replaced by a strong national government. As Morris writes: “In the choice between constitutional modification and root-and-branch change, between revision and creation there could be no doubt where our three witnesses would be aligned.”

The final part of this book (roughly two-fifths of the whole) is given over to the immediate and familiar background of Constitutional reconstruction (the Mt. Vernon Conference of 1785, the Annapolis Convention of 1786, and Shays’ Rebellion of 1786–87), the proceedings of the memorable Philadelphia convention and the states’ ratification of its work. Professor Morris’s witnesses played a consequential and in some instances decisive role in all of these developments, with one notable exception: Jay was not present at the Constitutional Convention. Although, as Morris comments, his views were known to some of its influential delegates, there is no evidence that Jay had any appreciable effect on its outcome. However, the other sections on Jay are far and away the best in the book, perhaps because he is the member of the triumvirate with whose career Morris, as his publications attest, is most closely familiar.
Over a long and acclaimed professional career Morris has written works both directed to other scholars—his masterful *Government and Labor in Early America* is an example—and books for the general reader—such as his critically hailed and widely read *Fair Trial. Witnesses at the Creation*, as Morris would surely agree, is designed not only to reach a large audience but, as its dustjacket comments, “to serve as the source book and companion volume for the [projected] television series of the same name.” Accordingly, throughout this book Morris depicts “dramatic” scenes, events, and occasionally conversations that are inferred from, rather than squarely based on, the documentary record. So long as these are historically plausible (as most of them are) there is nothing amiss with such a technique. The problem here is that Morris’s more inventive passages sometimes jar with the traditional style of writing that otherwise characterizes his work.

On balance, *Witnesses at the Creation* is an engagingly written account of the roles of three of the nation’s most important and perenially interesting “founding fathers.” It deserves the wide audience that it should command during the forthcoming bicentennial of the American Constitution.

*Lafayette College*

JACOB E. COOKE


This collection of thirty-three letters from the secretary of the Continental Congress, Charles Thomson, to his wife offers a glimpse at the problems encountered by the American government during its brief stay in Princeton. Thomson’s letters also provide some insight into the frustrations, fears, and hopes of Congress’s first chronicler as well as a peek at the political genesis of the United States Constitution.

Editors Eugene R. Sheridan and John M. Murrin preface Thomson’s letters with a lengthy, though useful, introduction. This section is divided into two parts: a biography of Thomson and a chronology of Congressional activities prior to that body’s flight from Philadelphia in mid-1783. The editors portray Thomson as an intellectual who became one of Pennsylvania’s more influential radicals. Though Sheridan and Murrin subtly suggest that their subject was the Samuel Adams of Philadelphia, Thomson’s brand of protest was more akin to that of John Dickinson. Thomson was a cautious, sincere Patriot who quietly helped oil the machinery of government during the nation’s first years. The chronology of Congressional affairs which follows the biographical sketch is a fairly straightforward account that successfully sets the stage for Thomson’s letters.

While limited to less than three dozen letters written over a span of only five months, Thomson’s correspondence provides a fuller appreciation of the difficulties that plagued Congress as it made the transition from war to peace. Throughout his stay in Princeton Thomson agonized that the young nation would not survive its infancy. Time and again he worried that three or four separate republics would evolve from the thirteen American states. Almost half of the delegates who fled Philadelphia failed to rejoin Congress at Princeton.
making it very difficult for the fledgling government to function. Many of those who did come to Princeton were unconscionably slow to act and uncooperative. Issues were often regionally inspired and debates reflected little more than self-interest. While it was agreed that Princeton was not an adequate home for Congress the question of where to locate the nation's capitol promoted intrigue and plotting among delegates. Particularly upsetting was Pennsylvania's role in weakening the ability of Congress to perform. Under the influence of John Dickinson, the state government failed to provide adequate protection for Congress and appeared unwilling to correct the situation. Thomson's sharpest barbs are directed at Dickinson whose haughty and proud attitude prevented counciliation between Congress and Pennsylvania thus condemning the national government to many of the trials and tribulations it faced in Princeton. Though he does see a few rays of hope—most notably Virginia's cession of its western claims and the embryonic formation of a nationalistic coalition—Thomson's days spent in Princeton were filled with anxiety.

As with any edited volume, themes are gleaned from repetitive references to subject matter. Unfortunately the brevity of this edition makes theme assessment particularly difficult. While it is possible to establish some of Thomson's concerns and to a lesser extent Congressional concerns, it is almost impossible to establish a sense of priority. Nevertheless, Thomson's unique position within the national government make this collection a valuable firsthand account of a relatively unexplored time in our past. The volume will serve as a worthwhile reference tool that should be appreciated by students of the period.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

PAUL E. DOUTRICH


Benjamin Henry Latrobe was undoubtedly one of the foremost architects of the early American republic. An immigrant from Britain, Latrobe began his professional career in England as an engineer working with John Smeaton on the Basingstoke Canal; within a few years Latrobe had enlarged his circle of acquaintances to include the prominent architects Samuel Pepys Cockerell, George Dance and Sir John Soane. Before he left for America, Latrobe received several important commissions including an appointment as surveyor to the London police offices and architect for Hammerwood Lodge and Ashdown House.

Two years after his arrival in America in 1796, Latrobe made his way to Philadelphia, then the federal capital and a city universally acknowledged as the Athens of America on account of its flourishing reputation as a center of polite culture. Here Latrobe designed the Bank of Pennsylvania, the first American example of Greek Revival architecture, and in 1799, he began construction of the Philadelphia Waterworks. The city had long suffered from yellow fever epidemics; after a particularly severe visitation in 1793 claimed five thousand lives (a mortality rate of twenty-two percent), the authorities decided to improve sanitation by financing a public water system. Latrobe's design of the first
American steam-powered waterworks was eminently successful; his creation distributed water throughout the city.

In 1802 Latrobe left Philadelphia for Washington where Thomas Jefferson commissioned him to complete the United States Capitol. Despite the vicissitudes of Congress which threatened to hold back appropriations and despite the difficulty of obtaining both building materials and a skilled work-force, Latrobe carried the work close to completion before he resigned in 1817 to move to New Orleans where he had obtained a charter to operate a private waterworks. At the height of financial and social success, Latrobe died in 1820 on account, ironically enough, of a yellow fever outbreak.

This volume of Latrobe's correspondence is the first of three which will together constitute Series IV of the Latrobe Papers Project initiated by the Maryland Historical Society and transferred to the American Philosophical Society in 1980. Series I consists of the journals kept by Latrobe on his Atlantic journey, during his initial sojourn in Virginia, and at intermittent periods until his death. Series II consists of two volumes of architectural and engineering drawings by Latrobe while Series III is a single volume of sketches and watercolors of a multitude of subjects from landscapes to scenes of everyday life. Additionally a microfiche edition of the entirety of Latrobe's correspondence was published in 1976.

The present volume takes us from 1784, when Latrobe, as a young man of nineteen, was employed in the British government stamp office in London, to 1804, when he was serving under Jefferson as surveyor of public buildings in America. It thus includes correspondence written in Virginia (where Latrobe lived and worked for two years), from Philadelphia and from the federal capital, Washington, D.C. Correspondents include such luminaries as Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, Thomas McKean, John Vaughan, Charles Willson Peale, Samuel Mifflin, Aaron Burr, Robert Patterson, and a host of lesser lights.

Each letter is extensively and meticulously annotated—indeed so much information is packed into every page of notes that one gets the impression of a swarm of perfectionists diligently tracking down every reference, every fact, and every detail of Latrobe's life. As if that were not sufficient, the editors have provided elegant and engaging essays on different periods of Latrobe's life, essays which reveal a deep intimacy and knowledge of the subject.

The value of such a project as this cannot be overestimated. Not only does it have an intrinsic merit in herself but, in addition, such scholarly collections are the means by which historians can begin to write history in depth. Private correspondence, which reveals the closest and most intimate thoughts of the protagonists, is the only solid basis for writing history in fine detail. Historians of the early American republic owe a debt to all the individuals and organizations connected with the Latrobe Papers Project.

New York Academy of Sciences

Simon Baatz


The Records and Recollections of James Jenkins is not only a wholly delightful memoir but it is also, in the words of Professor Frost, "the most
revealing source on the history of the Society of Friends’ for the period to which
it pertains, 1760-1820. An unlikely candidate for immortality, James Jenkins
was born in 1753 the illegitimate son of a prominent Quaker merchant of
Bristol, Zephaniah Fry. Unrecognized by his father, taken from his mother,
Jenkins was saved from servitude in the American colonies only by the timely
interference of a sympathetic aunt. The boy, nevertheless, was sent to and fro
including a period of years in Ireland, where he learned the mercantile trade in
which he was till late in life only marginally successful. On the way to adulthood
he received but few years of schooling.

In 1780, he married Elizabeth Lamb, whose promised dowry was never
delivered and who promptly fell prey to a myriad of illnesses as well as suffering
twenty-three births of which thirteen were “mishaps” and only a few of the ten
survivors made it beyond infancy. Yet for all his and his wife’s vicissitudes,
James Jenkins found time to compose his lively and revelatory diary from which
he would later draw for the Records and Recollections. One must agree with
Professor Frost, who writes, “As the principal character, Jenkins is fascinating:
pious yet skeptical, indignant but tolerant, poor then prosperous, self-asserting
though deferential. Getting acquainted with James Jenkins is one of the delights
attained through reading this chronicle of English life . . .” (p. xvi).

Much of the charm of this book grows out of a myriad of amusing anecdotes
many of which pertain to the “Aristocracy of Elders,” about whom Jenkins was
more indignant than tolerant. He has little patience with the ministerial
propensity to prophecy and is skeptical of revelation. He gives amusing accounts
of the overuse of “thees” and “thous,” and he delightedly describes the
“musical” tones of the ministers’ various styles.

Jenkins was a lifelong lover of literature; his book is a running commentary
on writers of all ages though his principle hero seems to have been Dr. Johnson,
whom he once humbly followed—at a respectful distance—about London. An
inveterate tourist, Jenkins particularly enjoyed visiting the homes and tombs of
the literary great. But whether he is traveling, attending the quarterly meeting,
or simply walking the London streets, he produces vivid and telling description
of the sights, the sounds, the smells—in short the concrete details which make
this a memorable book.

Jenkins’s few comments on the public scene lead to real regret that he never
wrote his promised recollection of public events. There is mention of the Gordon
Riots, disapproval of the French Revolution, and criticism of the American
Revolution, which compromised the American Quakers’ rejection of war.
Jenkins also evinces some amused disapproval not only of “the dismal forebod-
ings of American prophets, and prophetesses,” but also the propensity of
American Quakers to push “the exercise of Church power to the uttermost
extreme.” Americans displayed unpleasing conduct and manners; two of them,
for example, attended a particular meeting “and (although Americans)” were of
an unassuming the modest demeanour! (p. 424). Remarks such as these plus
wonderful descriptions of Quakers who are well known to students of Pennsyl-
vania history—John and Samuel Fothergill, for example—will be of particular
interest to Jenkins’s American readers.

In its later pages, the book becomes something of a necrology, but even here
the author frequently disgorges an amusing or enlightening anecdote. The entire
work is therefore valuable not only as a Quaker account, but as an astute, witty,

Philadelphians commenced to trade directly with China as soon as the treaty of independence opened the oceans to American merchantmen. In November 1783, financier Robert Morris wrote, "I am sending some ships to China in order to encourage others in the adventurous pursuits of commerce." True to his intentions, Morris obtained a one-half ownership in the Empress of China, which sailed from New York City in February, 1784, for Canton, and returned in May, 1785, earning a profit of 25 percent of her owners' investments. On board for the personal use of Morris and his wife were a number of exotic items, including hand-painted wallpaper, bamboo silk-mounted window shades, a dressing box with a glass and lacquered fans. Two years later, Morris, on his own resources, dispatched Alliance, a converted frigate, to Canton to return with a rich cargo of teas and silks. Still other Philadelphia China traders, Asia and Canton, had carried home to the city's marketplaces just a few weeks earlier the "Best Imperial, Hyson & Souchong Teas, Black and fashionable coloured lutestrings; black, white, and ditto sattins; dark brown and silver grey damasks of small figures; black paduasoys; black and coloured sewing silks; Pullicat silk romalls; black, cloth coloured and crimson twilled China silk handkerchiefs," as well as Chinese sugar, nankeens, and porcelain.

Jean Gordon Lee, who is Curator of Far Eastern Art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, has brilliantly exploited the occasion of two overlapping exhibitions staged in the summer of 1984 at the Museum (Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1784–1844 and The Canton Connection: Ships, Captains and Cargoes organized by the Philadelphia Maritime Museum) to create this beautiful catalog with its illustrations and descriptions of over three-hundred objects together with her own instructive essay and another by Philip Chadwick Foster Smith. Generously endowed, the catalog is attractively designed, printed, and bound, a delight to behold. The separate exhibitions merge logically and smoothly between its covers, first the maritime connection with Canton of ships, captains, and cargoes, second the Chinese products themselves imported and cherished by Philadelphians for generations thereafter. With Philadelphia's entry into the China trade well established, alongside enterprisers from Boston, New York, Bristol, Amsterdam, Lisbon, and Copenhagen, it became clear that almost all of the city's "old families" held interests in China of a financial nature. Records reveal certain of the names of China trade ship captains, super-cargoes, merchants, and investors, as well as those who ordered or
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purchased objects. Consequently the exhibition and its catalog constitute a
significant measure of early entrepreneurship between the United States and
China and a rare glimpse of the most exotic and precious possessions of wealthy
Philadelphians as a documentation of both the profits and the decorative bounty
of that traffic.

Instead of devoting the latter portion of her catalog to categorical chapters on
porcelain, silk, lacquer, silver, gems, jade, furniture, and the like, Jean Lee has
linked China’s products arrived at the port of Philadelphia to a biographical
profile of the family associated with their possession. Here is a cross section of
the Philadelphians engaged in their city’s China trade from its beginnings to the
middle of the nineteenth century, those Philadelphians who captained the ships
and manned the crews, voyaged to China and lived there, invested in these
adventures, or simply ordered or purchased or cherished Chinese manufactured
items. Because so many Philadelphians in this traffic were Quakers, the
Philadelphia taste for China’s products exhibits their characteristic restraints in
choosing colors and designs, while the non-friends involved accordingly proved
the rule by their own more flamboyant preferences.

Regrettably, as Jean Lee observes, many prominent Philadelphians has to be
bypassed for want of Chinese objects that could be traced to their families.
Regrettably also, in the case of Nathan Dunn whose remarkable Chinese
Museum in Philadelphia dazzled crowds of visitors from 1831 to 1841, no
Chinese objects that were once displayed in his vast collection can any longer be
identified or included. Numerous rich and well-preserved families are incorpo-
rated however. The clues to their longlived prosperity and its material refine-
ments are evident in Jean Lee’s copious gleanings from Philadelphia’s earliest
China connection.

Bryn Mawr College

ARTHUR POWER DUDDEN

George Washington Williams: A Biography. By John Hope Franklin. (Chicago:

After many years of interest in the life of a Pennsylvania-born Afro-American
historian, John Hope Franklin, John B. Duke Professor of History at Duke
University, has reconstructed the multifarious careers of his subject in George
Washington Williams: A Biography. The carefully researched, tightly written
study of Williams (1849–1891) is as much a personal triumph for Franklin as it
is a contribution to historiography. The author was determined to remove
Williams from “complete obscurity” and prove that the nineteenth-century
historian was indeed “an American of extraordinary achievement;” thus he
spent thirty-nine years “stalking” Williams across North America, Europe, and
Africa. The introductory chapter details the quest.

The biography follows a chronological order with each of the fifteen chapters
representing a crucial phase in William’s life set within the broader historical
perspective. Despite many successes and contributions to the black race,
Williams had an insatiable appetite for additional challenges to advance his
race; consequently, he changed careers with equal agility and astuteness.
Included among his occupations were soldier, columnist, editor, lawyer, and
political activist. Williams’s style and tactics often incurred criticism and
controversy for his motives ranged from opportunism to altruism. Having served
as minister of Baptist churches in Boston and Cincinnati for several years, Williams earned the distinction of being the first Afro-American elected to the Ohio state legislature. After one term, he shifted to historical research and writing. Without formal training in the field, Williams produced the two-volume *History of the Negro Race From 1619 to 1880: Negroes As Slaves, Soldiers, and Citizens* which G. P. Putnam published in 1882. Franklin suggests that the hastily written study contains “improperly digested materials,” yet he concedes that Williams pioneered in the use of newspapers for historical research and “achieved what no other Afro-American achieved” by publishing a “sustained coherent account of the experiences of the Negro people” (115). Chapter nine of the biography contains an analytical discussion of *History of the Negro Race* along with a myriad of reviews that gravitate between “fulsome praise and merciless criticism.” Williams’s second book, *History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* published by Harper and Brothers in 1887, also received mixed reviews. Both works came to Franklin’s attention in 1945 as he collected data for the classic *From Slavery to Freedom*. At this point Franklin qua historian converged with Williams qua historian. 

Historical career aside, Williams began an unsuccessful fight to obtain a diplomatic appointment to Haiti that outgoing President Arthur made and the Senate confirmed in 1885. The incoming Democratic president ignored Williams’s appointment and named Frederick Douglass to the post. This personal defeat along with adverse pecuniary standings and racism did not dissuade the ambitious Williams from embarking upon yet another career—social critic and observer. Under the patronage of Collis P. Huntington, a businessman with interests in building a railroad in the Congo and ending the international slave trade, Williams studied social and economic conditions among Africans. His caustic appraisals appeared in “An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II” (1890) and charged the king with violation of human rights. Williams stood out among critics of imperialism for he “saw fit to make his unfavorable views widely known immediately while others remained silent at the time” (p. 220).

Sympathetic yet occasionally critical of his subject, Franklin assesses Williams’s endeavors at each stage. The public Williams clearly overshadows the private person. In fact, Franklin handles matters relating to Williams’s personal life, the estrangement from his wife for example, so gingerly that one may conclude that these brief treatments are presented only as supportive material for larger discussions. On balance, Franklin does an excellent job of proving that “Williams was one of the small heroes of this world;” however, he cautions “that one should not try to make more of him than what he was—a flawed but brilliant human being” (p. 241).

*Indiana University of Pennsylvania*  

WILMA KING HUNTER


The topic of this interesting book is the staging of twelve international expositions in the United States between 1876 and 1916, and the relationship of these expositions to the determination of corporate, political, and scientific
leaders to shape cultural beliefs and attitudes. Its thesis is ambitious and controversial.

Professor Robert Rydell insists that these world fairs were not designed simply for the amusement of the visitor or the profit of their sponsors. They had a far deeper purpose. They represented a calculated effort by American elites to establish their cultural hegemony by achieving a popular consensus for "their vision of progress as racial dominance and economic growth." (p. 8) The fairs projected a vision of progress that was to be equated with technological advance, material growth, and economic/territorial expansion. That expansion, in turn, was predicated on the subordination of nonwhite people. Consequently, the midway attractions depicting Native Americans, Afro-Americans, Asians and Africans as savages, barbarians, or child-men were designed less to amuse than to indoctrinate. Rydell argues that each of the expositions saw the sponsors utilize government and academic experts in an effort to associate national progress with the superior traits of the Anglo-Saxon "race." Popular racial prejudices were thereby endowed with apparent scientific credibility, and the result was a blunting of class conflict among white Americans which helped assure the acceptance of the foreign and domestic policies of the political and industrial elites.

Many will find this thesis exaggerated, but none of Rydell's readers will have reason to question his diligence. This is a study based on prodigious research in a wide-ranging group of primary sources as well as every published article or dissertation of possible relevance.

Rydell's chapter on the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 illustrates the strengths of his study and the nature of its thesis. Rydell contrasts the handsome exhibition buildings in Fairmount Park and the short-lived shantytown "Centennial City" that sprawled along Elm Avenue, and describes the sponsors' efforts to promote an elevating moral influence as well as sectional reconciliation and national pride. He offers persuasive detail respecting the manner in which the Indian exhibit depicted the "Redskin" as an unassimilable savage and the concession of the "Southern Restaurant" displayed the black American as childish and dependent. He offers insufficient evidence, however, to support his conclusion that these exhibits had marked influence in determining the racial attitudes of visitors and affirming the cultural hegemony of the "upper classes" of Philadelphia.

The single-mindedness of Rydell's thesis is even more evident as he describes later expositions in Chicago, Buffalo, and Saint Louis. He offers new and valuable information on the collaborative efforts of the American Bureau of Ethnology and the history of that discipline, but while he convinces the reader that nonwhites were often depicted with disdain, he fails to demonstrate the specific impact of pseudoscientific racism on either popular beliefs or governmental policy. The Filipino Village at Buffalo gave the visitor to the Pan-American Exposition a false view of the cultural level of the Philippine people. It is doubtful that it had any effect on the Philippine policy of the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations or that it did more than confirm the prejudices of the sightseer, whether or not he favored insular imperialism. Rydell is more convincing when he associates colonial exhibits at the fairs in Portland and Seattle with the goals of foreign markets and commercial expansion, but he provides little proof for his judgment that "as a result of the expositions,
nationalism and racism became crucial parts of ... [a] legitimizing ideology" and bequeathed as their legacy "an enduring vision of empire" (pp. 236-37).

Failing to acknowledge the probable multiplicity of motives of exposition sponsors or the diversity of response of the fairgoers, Rydell provides an account that is skillfully written but, in the last analysis, unconvincing. He has taken a popular culture subject, demonstrated that it is worthy of serious scholarly examination, and then asked it to carry too heavy a burden of historical interpretation.


Hardly a day goes by that some writer or speaker does not mention Horatio Alger and the tradition associated with his name. There is a Society that bears his name. Since 1947 another group has given each year the Horatio Alger Award to several individuals whom they believe have pulled themselves up by their bootstraps. In 1982 the United States Postal Service issued a stamp with the heading "Horatio Alger" under which they pictured four nineteenth-century newsboys. No date of birth or death was deemed necessary since the man, his literary works, and the myths surrounding him have long since merged. The name of Horatio Alger has become a sort of American shorthand that says that hard work and honesty, with a measure of luck, will lead to success.

At this point one is forced to ask, why a lost life? The truth is that what was known of Alger was meager and most of it was wrong. When Alger was dying he instructed his sister to destroy his private papers. She did. By so doing she helped to hide the uncontested charge that had lead to his exit from the Unitarian ministry. The charge had to do with "unnatural familiarity with boys." However the destruction of the papers and the sexual problem were not the major factors that distorted the story of the life of Alger. What lost the life of Alger was the publication in 1928 of a biography by Herbert R. Mayes. Lacking information he turned from true biography to a spoof. Unfortunately his work was taken seriously. He kept silent until 1974 when through the pages of *Newsboy*, the publication of the Society, the facts were revealed. For nearly sixty years writers for magazines, newspapers, encyclopedias, and even the writers of book-length biographies had relied on the biography of 1928. The life of Alger had indeed been lost. What Scharnhorst and Bales have had to do was to overcome the destruction of Alger’s papers to put the sexual materials in a sensible context, and to try to undo the influence of Mayes.

These authors have eliminated inventions and have corrected distortions. In their Preface (supported fully in the Notes in the back of the book) they discuss the previous biographies of Alger. Following this they write an opening Interlude wherein they address the "unfortunate circumstances under which his ministry ... closed." The main part of the book then deals with the life and literary output of Alger. A number of poems are quoted in part (he is not a great poet), various pictures of Alger are reproduced, and several other illustrations are provided. From time to time the authors respond to various studies that have been published over the years which have been instrumental in building the
Alger myths. In a final Afterword they speak to the question relating to Alger's posthumous celebrity and his renown as a success ideologue.

Scharnhorst and Bales have been encouraged in their writing of this biography by Herbert R. Mayes. Limited as they were by the evidence available, they have come up with a first-rate piece of scholarship. Both have been students of Alger and his world for a long time. In their professional careers, Scharnhorst as a professor and Bales as editor of *Newsboy* and a professional librarian, the two have kept on the trail of Alger material. They have definite opinions about Alger and his influence and are careful in their evaluations. Their judgments seem accurate. When they conclude that "Alger himself hardly could have imagined that he would be long remembered, much less celebrated as an American mythologizer a half-century after his death," they are probably correct.

*Indiana, Pennsylvania*

**CLYDE C. GELBACH**


From 1903 to 1929 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania maintained a State Forest School at Mont Alto. Opened in 1903 as a two-year training ground for wardens for the Keystone State's forest reserves, it became known the following year as the State Forest Academy. By 1923 it had matured into a four-year State Forest School, specializing in the education of professional foresters and administrative officers. In 1929 the Forest School was absorbed by what was then called The Pennsylvania State College, which utilized the buildings and wooded area at Mont Alto for the freshman year of the forestry curricula and for summer camp. Finally, in 1963 the physical plant became the Mont Alto Commonwealth Campus of The Pennsylvania State University.

Elizabeth H. Thomas served as librarian at the Mont Alto Campus from 1963 to 1979. During this period she collected a variety of material relating to The Pennsylvania State Forest School and interviewed many of its alumni. Her devotion to Mont Alto led to her authorship of this volume. She supplemented her local research by a wide range of other sources, mostly primary, including manuscripts, state government reports and bulletins, periodicals, newspapers, and pamphlets. In addition to holdings within the Penn State system, she made use of collections at the Library of Congress, the Forest History Society, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry Library.

The chapters, which are arranged chronologically, cover all aspects of the history of The Pennsylvania State Forest Academy/School. Commendably, Thomas does not dwell overly long on the administrations at Mont Alto. Instead, she describes in detail the life of the students: their courses, daily routines, labor in the Mont Alto Reserve and Forest Tree Nursery, field trips, and recreation. The narrative is lightened by numerous anecdotes.

The author places the Forest School against the larger background of the conservation movement. The school's founder, Joseph T. Rothrock, M.D., is usually regarded as the father of Pennsylvania forest preservation. He was enthusiastically supported by Mira Lloyd Dock, public lecturer on civic
improvement, botany, and conservation. Special mention is also made of George H. Wirt, the school’s first director; Edwin A. Ziegler, its second director; and Joseph S. Illick, faculty specialist in dendrology. In addition, most of the other members of the instructional staff receive biographical sketches. The alumni and their professional achievements are also accorded appropriate recognition.

Although Thomas does not make the comparison, her narrative illustrates some of the inconsistencies and contradictions of the Progressive Era and of the later Civilian Conservation Corps. Dr. Rothrock was unquestionably devoted to conservation; nevertheless, he instituted cavalry drill so that in time of war the students could become mounted riflemen. There was sometimes a gap between appearances and realities at Mont Alto. Although the student wardens owned horses and occasionally carried firearms, ostensibly to guard the Mont Alto Forest Reserve against timber theft, they frequently pilfered fruit from nearby orchards. And despite repeated warnings about the high morality expected of their wards, the administrators could not prevent some rather brutal hazing.

The author is frank and perceptive in her appraisals of politicians, including the Cameron-Quay machine and governors Stone, Sproul, Pinchot, and Fisher. On the other hand, she frequently becomes sentimental and nostalgic in describing the school’s buildings and grounds, students, alumni, and most of its faculty. This is understandable, since Mont Alto enjoys an attractive geographic location and has produced many successful professional foresters.

West Virginia University


This reviewer has been to Johnstown, Pennsylvania, only once. That single visit occurred in the fall of 1977, several months after the destructive flood of that year. Since the reviewer has, nonetheless, long maintained a curiosity about Johnstown, it was with enthusiasm that he accepted the opportunity to acquire more knowledge concerning this tragedy-plagued community.

Johnstown: The Story of a Unique Valley certainly provides the reader with a wealth of information. One learns, for example, that Cambria County leads Pennsylvania in the production of domestic mink pelts and that Johnstown’s airport has the highest elevation of any commercial flying field in the Commonwealth. Heady stuff, indeed, for a trivia buff such as the reviewer. Additionally, coverage is given to such diverse topics as geology, agriculture, weather, flora and fauna, the environment, early Indians, architecture, city planning, ethnic and racial minorities, labor, and sports and entertainment. The centrality of iron, steel, coal, and transportation to Johnstown’s growth and development is emphasized.

Unfortunately, this plethora of data is not presented in any systematically organized fashion. This is partly because over twenty writers have made contributions. This huge volume has all the strengths and weaknesses of a multi-author collaboration. That most contributors are experts in the field in which they are writing is one of the strengths. Among the weaknesses are the uneven quality of the chapters and the lack of continuity of purpose and style. There is no unifying theme or central thesis. Indeed the only stipulated purpose
is that the book is "for the benefit and education of the community." There tends to be a considerable amount of overlapping and repetition in some areas.

Most of the contributors are residents of Johnstown. Since only a few are professional historians, the reader is confronted with the kind of antiquarian and journalistic composition typical of amateur chroniclers of history. Most chapters are merely chronological compendia of dates, events, facts, names, and places with little analysis or interpretation. Rarely is the Johnstown experience placed meaningfully in the context of national and state developments. When national trends and events are stressed, it is usually in an extraneous manner at the expense of the local scene. The book is presented as "The Story of a Unique Valley," but without comparisons with other communities, one can only hazard assumptions concerning the exotic characteristic of Johnstown and Cambria County.

Ironically, considering that the volume is published by the Johnstown Flood Museum, the great flood of 1889 is mentioned only briefly, peripherally, and sporadically. Undoubtedly Johnstowners have already heard enough about the flood of 1889 and there is much more relative to the history of the city worth telling. Yet given the devastating influence of that catastrophe (and the impact of subsequent such disasters), it would appear that the flood of 1889, and its torrential successors, could have been woven more skillfully into the narrative.

There is no footnoted documentation. A bibliography appears at the end of most chapters. Judging from the references cited, there has been little original research in primary sources. The book does contain in excellent index.

Despite the seemingly unsympathetic remarks registered above, the Johnstown Flood Museum and editor Karl Berger (a local physician) are to be commended for the compilation of this ambitious anthology. They have set out to inform local residents about numerous aspects of the community and they have succeeded in abundance. The effort is certainly a step in the right direction. Yet Johnstown deserves much more. Unquestionably the community is significant enough to warrant a comprehensive, systematic study by professional, urban historians utilizing the most recent, pertinent approaches and techniques in the field. Perhaps this volume will stimulate such a worthy enterprise.

Edinboro University of Pennsylvania


The U.S. Forest Service has been the subject of intensive study by historians attempting to understand the development of public policy in regard to natural resources. Administratively and legislatively the Forest Service has directed its activities into three principal channels: management of the national forests, research and education, and cooperation with state agencies and private enterprise. The cooperative activity of the Forest Service is the subject of William Robbins's monograph, American Forestry. The Forest Service's cooperative program is not only the most neglected of the three types of activity, but it is also the most difficult to analyze adequately within an agency-wide and national context.

The author traces the development of cooperation from a period of severe
resource limitation that forced the Forest Service into a totally cooperative and advisory role through the congressional mandates for cooperation in the Weeks and the Clarke-McNary Acts to the present day role of resource management educator. The emphasis of the study is upon the most striking and probably the most successful of the Forest Service's cooperative programs, fire protection for the nation's timber resources. The book is especially effective in its analysis of the results and administration of cooperative fire protection and other programs mandated in the Weeks and the Clarke-McNary Laws.

While Robbins's book will be useful to students of the Forest Service, it does harbor a number of conceptual limitations that will decrease the work's value to many students of American public policy. The most significant analytical limitation is the assumption that the only programs and projects that were truly cooperative were those that were accepted or tolerated by the lumber industry. Cooperation is not used as a descriptive term for programs consisting of shared responsibilities, but instead is reserved for programs that were tolerated and/or approved by local governments and commercial lumber producers. The failure of this analytical framework is most appropriately observed in discussions of the Great Depression; the work of many of the New Deal conservation programs was certainly cooperative, however, not all were enthusiastically or willingly accepted by the private concerns that eventually benefited from their implementation.

The second limiting assumption of the work is that large commercial concerns were seldom insensitive to environmental and conservation concerns. Throughout the book, arguments presented by industry representatives and industrial organizations for limiting the power of the Forestry Service are seldom analyzed as being motivated by the desire for short-term profits attainable only in a nonregulated market environment. The destruction of forest resources throughout much of the century resulted from needs or desires for short-term profits by the lumber corporations and to ignore this point renders the analysis less than effective. While American Forestry has a number of conceptual limitations that make its conclusions questionable, the work's detailed discussion of the Clarke-McNary and Weeks Acts precludes its summary dismissal.

Tennessee State Library & Archives

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