BOOK REVIEWS


John F. Stover's *History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* is an institutional study of a traditional sort. A chronological survey of the origins, development, and decline of the nation's "mother of railroads," the book is heralded by its jacket blurb as a "... narrative history with careful scholarship and colorful description which will appeal to the railroad buff and the professional historian,..." Indeed, it is narrative history; more later about colorful description and careful scholarship.

We are told a largely familiar tale of the B&O's 1827 founding amidst east coast urban competition to tap western hinterlands. Completing its "main stem" from Baltimore to Wheeling by 1852, the B&O held steady through the economic queasiness of the later 1850's, and reaped profits from the Civil War despite extensive and recurring destruction of its properties. Awash in late nineteenth-century rate wars, the B&O nonetheless greatly extended its lines, paid handsome dividends, but took on a vast bonded debt, plunging it into receivership by 1896. Restructuring its organization, co-existing with regulation, and embracing technological innovation, the B&O coped with a twentieth-century sequence of war, prosperity, depression, war, and crushing non-rail competition. Dieselization, reduced passenger service, and innovative freight operations failed to win viability for the post-war B&O. The aftermath of the B&O's 1962 absorption into the Chessie System concludes this almost tragic saga of a railway that pioneered, struggled valiantly, but failed to keep pace. In coarse outline, this is the gist of the promised narrative.

Stover's B&O history sadly reveals the difficulties of writing for diverse audiences; in this case, rail enthusiasts and professional historians. The "rail buff" is unlikely to find the promised "colorful descriptions;" the professional historian may well question Stover's "careful scholarship." Drawing from a limited supply of adjectives, often repeating words within sentences, and sometimes re-stating material at several junctures, Stover's undistinguished prose might be a deterrent to all but the most devoted B&O fans. There is neither an evocative vignette nor a felicitous phrase in 419 pages. However, eleven maps (B&O lines at various dates), 76 pictures (20 of B&O officials), and 29 tables (unattributed, but presumably compiled from B&O annual reports) prod the flagging reader. Aside from several of the pictures, little here bows to popular taste. Instead, the rail fan will get a heroic dose of generally arid organizational history.

The scholar fares little better. Stover's B&O reverts to the "one damned thing after another" school of history. The work smacks of uncritical company history, hardly a product of the reflective conceptualization expected of historians today. With the trivial sometimes highlighted to the diminution of the salient, thematic development is sacrificed to crowded coverage of B&O presidential terms. Stover is potentially most informative when contrasting B&O finances and operations...
with other lines, but this is spotty, not systematic. Aside from a few skirmishes on detail with prior historians of the B&O, he hardly mounts a historiographical revolution. While the B&O's economic status is often at the core of this narrative, any probing thrust is blunted by lack of figures equated to constant dollars. The B&O as life-giver, life-line, and lifestyle determiner of many an American community for over 150 years receives short shrift. Although the approach is institutional, and board room musical chairs games are described, the story nonetheless lacks real analysis of the B&O's internal and external politics. Those interested in the B&O's Pennsylvania operations will not find much that is new. Stover's is far from a comprehensive, much less definitive, history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Spare, lopsided footnoting and a thin, poorly organized bibliography make it difficult to establish the basis for much that appears in this book. The bulk of citations leads to company annual reports, evidence uncritically accepted by Stover even though he discloses (p. 187) that the late nineteenth-century figures are suspect. Research in manuscripts, government documents, and newspapers is grossly insufficient. And the one newspaper title most often cited is incorrectly spelled in both text and index. Stover's constricted approach to the B&O may find explanation in the relatively narrow range of sources consulted.

Other than its limited value as a reference work, the true merit of Stover’s B&O is both accidental and somewhat concealed. Partly supported pronouncements, inferred questions, and yawning gaps frame scores of problems deserving further exploration; anyone searching for an underdeveloped rail history topic should consult John F. Stover’s History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Penn State-Altoona Campus

JOHN W. LARNER


In the last paragraph of his biography, Michael P. Weber sums up matters this way: “The once shabby environment, with its warehouses, railroad yards, and rundown homes, had been replaced by gleaming office buildings and parks. As David Lawrence had transformed himself from an uneducated son of a minor politician and laborer into one of the nation’s leading urban statesmen, so too did he bring his city from unbelievable ugliness into shining beauty.” (pp. 390–91)

Urban and political rebirth: those are the twin themes Weber pursues in this careful, solid study of the most powerful Pennsylvania politician of the twentieth century. As leader of the state Democratic party, then mayor of Pittsburgh (1945–59) and governor (1959–63), David Lawrence virtually created the modern Democratic organization in the state. Along the way he drafted Pennsylvania’s Little New Deal, revitalized the city, and championed black rights and civil liberties across the land. No mean accomplishments for one lifetime, especially since Lawrence did not seek or like the limelight. Weber is probably definitive at telling this story, drawing his evidence from oral interviews and printed and archival records (Lawrence left no significant personal papers). But Weber’s argument is less persuasive. “Statesman,” or politician of “broad vision” are just too much burden for Lawrence to carry.

Try as he may, Weber cannot make the man interesting. Lawrence was an
almost stereotypical Irish pol, less colorful than most in fact. He was born in the blue-collar Roman Catholic community of Pittsburgh, became a successful lawyer and insurer, yet remained anchored to the world of church and laborer throughout his career. Indeed, like Daley in Chicago, Lawrence even refused to move out of the old neighborhood. His daily routine was organized around visits to the political clubs, funerals and bar mitzvahs, cardplaying, and relaxing with “the boys.” Lawrence’s family, it appears, was mainly ornamental. The single passion arising from it was his commitment to highway safety after the accidental deaths of two sons. His wife found relief in alcohol; only the rituals of ward work and sports seemed to comfort him.

Lawrence’s politics were altogether “pragmatic,” by which Weber means both uninspired and attuned to the voting majority. He did not experiment. In his pre-mayoral days, Lawrence devoted himself to the mechanics of party building. “Keep it in the family” was his operative principle. “If you’re discreet and keep out of trouble, whatever you do, that’s your business.” Patronage, seniority, ethnic balance, local service, and party harmony were the rules he played by. So it is not surprising to find that Lawrence subordinated himself to the dominant Republicans during this period. His first electoral contest, and defeat, was with G.O.P. backing. Nor does it surprise that he was continually linked to political scandals, though the author believes he was not corrupt.

When he got to Harrisburg in 1934 as the power behind Governor Earle, he was astute enough to sense the opportunity presented by the New Deal’s overwhelming popularity. Pennsylvania’s Little New Deal was a scaled-down version of FDR’s pro-labor, public works program, “tempered by a strong fiscal conservatism.” Riding the wake of the national program, it became the basis for a liberal ethnic-black-labor coalition that controlled the state’s politics for over a generation. Lawrence engineered it, and believed in it.

But Weber’s most fulsome praise is reserved for Lawrence’s mayoral years. When Lawrence took office in 1945, Pittsburgh was already a remnant of the industrial past, choked by smoke and soot, decaying factories, and vulnerable to periodic floods. Lawrence cleared the air, dried the land; above all, he pioneered the urban renewal techniques that would be characteristic of the postwar period. Lawrence got the courts to let the city condemn and clear blocs of private property and turn them over to other private owners in the name of social and economic improvement. He initiated a program of civic-corporate cooperation for planning and financing downtown redevelopment that every major city in the country imitated. After a couple of timely fires, Lawrence successfully guided the Gateway Center, his showpiece project at the heart of the city, to completion. Weber concedes some failures as well. The Civic Arena was a white elephant; racial segregation and geographic segmentation issued from the emphasis on downtown renovation vis-à-vis the residential districts; mass transportation was neglected. Nonetheless, Weber argues that Lawrence’s accomplishments were impressively novel in their day.

Through all this shines Weber’s own civic pride. There is certainly much to admire in Pittsburgh’s nonpartisan “renaissance.” One comes to appreciate Lawrence’s managerial abilities, his “fierce sense of duty,” his dispassionate analyses and opportunism. The Little New Deal and the “gleaming” towers are there, still. But so are the racial antagonisms and economic divisions that faced Lawrence in office. (Today the University of Pittsburgh is the biggest employer
Almost needless to say, he is hardly to blame for not solving those deep-seated problems. But, then, neither should he be commended for simply being a "boss" on the grand scale. Lawrence was really no different from such bosses as Daley of Chicago or Crump in Memphis. Typically, they combined a pure love of electoral hurly-burly with a liberal reform program to nourish the machine. Often they were humorless puritans with an appetite for monuments. They would likely be content to be known as builders; transcendence and statesmanship were not part of their political vocabularies. The title of this biography notwithstanding, Lawrence was a boss par excellence. Reduce Weber's claims for Lawrence to that extent and the book, which includes some helpful appendices and two sections of black-and-white photos, is exemplary.

Wayne State University

STANLEY SHAPIRO


From October 1774 to February 1775, Benjamin Towne of Philadelphia published anonymously six pamphlet "chapters" of a biblical parodic satire, The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times. Undoubtedly prompted by the convening of the Continental Congress in early September 1774, the work begins with allusions to the Boston Tea Party of December 1773 and carries Anglo-American politics through the next year. Written in the form of a biblical narrative, the text exhibits both keen humor and scurrilous satire, and celebrates folk heroes such as Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Cooper, famed pastor of Boston's Brattle Street Church, and Israel Putnam, legendary hero of the French and Indian War. While patently and persistently anti-British, the parody is a thinly disguised attack on tyranny, militarism, Catholicism, millennialism, and extremism on either side of the Atlantic.

Ostensibly intended for a local audience, the work gained little if any notoriety outside Pennsylvania except for New England, where it was reprinted in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. The immense popularity of the pamphlets in New England is not surprising given the leading role of the region in the burgeoning imperial crisis and the penchant for "Puritan" preachers to recast Biblical prophesy as American history to justify their millennial zeal for revolution against tyranny and oppression. Bostonians, especially, could relate to the sophisticated parody of their local political personalities and machinations.

Students of the Revolutionary era literature from Moses Coit Tyler to Bernard Bailyn have noted the importance of the American Chronicles, but failed to identify its author. Now Carla Mulford, assistant professor of American literature at Pennsylvania State University, using most obviously a newspaper advertisement in 1776 and, more ingeniously, textual analysis, convincingly attributes authorship to John Leacock. A gold- and silver-smith by trade, Leacock (1729–1802) was a prominent member of Philadelphia's mercantile, social, political, literary, and scientific circles. An ardent patriot who belonged to both the Sons of Liberty and the Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany, he was a political moderate who feared the oppression of mob as
much as monarch and sought to politicize the citizenry through propaganda instead of political activism. One of the least well-known major penmen of the Revolution, he also wrote a broadside song, *A New Song, On the Repeal of the Stamp-Act* (1766) and a patriotic play, *The Fall of British Tyranny* (1776).

Mulford clearly has fashioned the definitive edition of the *American Chronicles*, reprinted here for the first time since its original impressions. She not only has painstakingly identified the persons, events, and expressions mentioned in the text, but also effectively placed the work within the context of biblical narratives popular at the time and explained its rhetorical appeal to elite and non-elite audiences. Indeed, the abundant editorial apparatus—a 38-page Introduction, 27 pages of annotations, and 3 appendices—dominates the brief, 28-page text itself. Mulford’s historical detective work is impressive, but two matters require more explication. First, given an increasingly partisan press, it seems necessary to identify the New England printers who reissued the pamphlets. Second, it is unclear how Leacock acquired such detailed knowledge of Massachusetts (and British) politics—easily the most extraordinary feature of his work.

For all Mulford’s abundant scholarship, Leacock’s *First Book of the American Chronicles*, a work more clever than substantive, remains a “fugitive” piece of greater import to bibliophiles and literary scholars than to historians of the American Revolution. However, this skillfully edited volume hopefully will call greater attention to one of the more interesting and neglected political writings of the Revolutionary era.

University of Utah

LARRY R. GERLACH


There is still little primary source material on nineteenth-century Amish history available in published form. The inaugural volume in the series, *Mennonite Sources and Documents*, begins to fill that lacuna in a very significant way. Editor Paton Yoder’s previous publications on John Stoltzfus—two articles as well as a biography, *Eine Wurzel: Tennessee John Stoltzfus* (Lititz, PA., 1979)—make him well qualified to edit this collection of documents.

John Stoltzfus (1805–1887), the name-sake of the volume, was a product of the Amish community of Lancaster County. He served as deacon in the Lower Pequea Amish congregation from 1845–72, an epoch when the great struggle with modernity was going on across the Amish peoplehood, culminating with the widespread schism which produced the Old Order Amish. Stoltzfus identified with the more liberal side. Perhaps partly to avoid direct involvement in the looming division within his own community, he moved in 1872 to Knox County, Tennessee, where he was ordained as bishop in the newly established Amish community. The move produced the nickname which distinguished him from several of his Amish contemporaries named John Stoltzfus.

The 125 documents in this collection comprise most of the known letters and other writings of Tennessee John Stoltzfus, as well as letters addressed to him
and items which concerned his church work and his family. These writings appear in two groupings—those relating to church affairs and those which are family letters and reminiscences. Of the 71 items in part one, 16 came from the pen of John Stoltzfus. He wrote nearly half of those in part two. Many of the letters come from private collections made available only very recently, and they appear in published form for the first time in the translations of the present volume.

This book proves valuable in several ways. Quite obviously, these documents add a number of interesting details to our previous knowledge of the story of Stoltzfus, and of his role in Amish church affairs and in the division of the Amish. However, while one man provides the focal point of the book, the scope, impact and significance of this collection range far beyond John Stoltzfus and family history interests. For one thing, the letters in part one provide a significant window into the schism which divided the Amish into liberal and old order factions in the middle and latter part of the nineteenth-century. Documents in the volume come from important leaders on both sides. One gets a sense of the pain caused by the schism, as both liberals and conservatives made good faith efforts for many years to work out solutions. Two specific issues were permission to baptize in streams rather than in the meeting house, and disagreement on whether a deacon could preach. At a deeper level, these documents add to the evidence that the real issue was whether the more conservative Amish congregations in the East (Lancaster County) should maintain fellowship with the western congregations who wanted to permit limited changes. Deepest of all, the conflict concerned the extent to which the traditional order and ways of the church could or should be changed. A serious attempt to work at the question of fellowship was the Diener-Versammlungen, a series of conferences to which all Amish ministers were invited, meeting yearly from 1862–1876 and 1878. While conservatives supported the conferences at first, the letters in this collection add to the evidence that the liberals more than the conservatives saw the conferences as a potential solution to the disputes.

The documents of this volume also open a window on Amish life, particularly in the western regions, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The religious blessing of several lines—often with a Pauline ring and following the form of the divine triad—which opened nearly all letters, even to family members, shows a deeply religious outlook on life. That outlook appears again in the long struggle to preserve the fellowship fracturing between conservatives and liberals and in the desire to be obedient to the will of God in all aspects of life. One senses a concern for religious integrity in such things as the reported dealings with a disputed horse trade, or in absorbing a small loss in a turkey deal rather than provoking a confrontation.

In addition to Amish life, the letters reveal much about life in the nineteenth century. One senses the joy of living on the land and from the land. Letters and reminiscences relate countless incidents of pathos and human interest—the thrill of an Amish lad at shaking the hand of President Ulysses Grant; the death of the mother of newborn twins; a 17-year-old dying instantly under the wheel of a wagon load of wood he was driving; watching the new technology used in making thread; the process of purchasing a homestead; floundering after runaway calves on a muddy road; a young Amish man fleeing on horseback from what he thought were Ku Klux Klan members but actually were a sheriff’s
posse chasing and shooting at what they thought was an escaped convict; the
delight of Tennessee John's 21-year-old daughter in making a six-week trip by
train through three states to visit relatives and friends; and much more.

The editor has chosen to put in introductions to the documents all contextual
information as well as the identification of individuals, places and events
referred to. That procedure makes it a bit more difficult to keep track of the
relationships than if identifying material were in footnotes attached directly to
the name in question. The documents referred to on page 14 as nos. 123 and 124
are actually nos. 122 and 123. Given the family relationships existing among the
writers and recipients of letters, and the many references the letters make to
family members, a Stoltzfus family tree would have been helpful. Since this
volume makes Tennessee John Stoltzfus its focal figure, it would have been nice
to have included Stoltzfus' 6-page family history and his 7-page statement on
baptism to the Diener-Versammlung of 1868 in this volume of sources. Both,
however, are available in Paton Yoder's Eine Wurzel, and the baptism
statement also appeared in Mennonite Quarterly Review 53.4 (Oct 1979):
306-23.

In summary, this book is both useful and interesting. It presents a great deal
of new data on Amish history in the nineteenth century as well as fascinating
glimpses of rural, agrarian life of that epoch.

Bluffton College

J. Denny Weaver

BEYOND THE COVENANT CHAIN: THE IROquoIS AND THEIR
NEIGHBORS IN INDIAN NORTH AMERICA, 1600-1800.
Edited by Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell. (Syracuse: Syracuse
University Press, 1987. Pp. xiv, 211. $27.50.)

The Five Nations Iroquois are emerging as an exceptionally interesting
phenomenon in early American history. Historians have known for many years
that they were a force to be reckoned with in the colonial period—Francis
Parkman convinced everyone of that. Till very recently, however, we have not
really understood the terms or structure of that vast Iroquois sphere of influence,
embracing the English, French, and Dutch on the one hand, and a host of
Eastern Woodland and Subarctic Indians on the other. Indeed, we have barely
comprehended their relations among themselves, in their clans, villages, five
distinct nations, and League.

Francis Jennings, in his Ambiguous Iroquois Empire (1984), pretty well
demolished the idea that there was ever an Iroquois “empire,” except in the
minds of English colonial officials who claimed a paper empire for the Five
Nations in order to arrogate it to themselves. If the Iroquois were not cobbling
together some sort of wilderness empire, what was their agenda with all those
Indian nations with whom they fought, traded, or raided for furs, and in the end
wound up either absorbing or aligning themselves? Was there a grand design to
all of this, or is the question itself inapt? This admirably cohesive collection of
original essays addresses these precise issues and goes far toward providing
credible answers.

The book begins with an explanation of the fundamental purpose of the
League (Confederacy), of Iroquois political and social dynamics, and how the
Five Nations adjusted themselves to the imperial, commercial, spiritual, and
demographic constraints of the English and French—three superb articles by Richter, Druke, and Haan. The three emphasize that the Confederacy was never the political institution the English and French imagined it to be; in fact, in its founding it was not intended as a political institution at all. As explained in its charter, the Deganawidah epic, it was designed to end the terribly destructive and seemingly interminable cycle of “mourning war” among the Five Nations. The formulaic speeches of condolence and requickening, along with gift-giving, were created as an alternative to the mourning war, substituting powerful symbols and rites for the vengeance demanded by the “crying blood” of those who had been slain. This, then, was the much vaunted Great Peace—a ritual and symbolic structure that sought to end mayhem by clearing the mind and throat and wiping the eyes of those mourning lost kin. The League Council had no authority whatsoever beyond its persuasive powers of installing “good thoughts.”

While the Great Peace succeeded rather well in keeping young warriors from exacting “an eye for an eye” from members of the League, it was not nearly so successful in keeping these war parties from preying on Indian peoples beyond the confines of Iroquoia. The remainder of the volume covers Iroquois relations with neighboring and distant Indian nations, focusing on the New England Algonquians (Salisbury), the Delaware and Susquehannocks of Pennsylvania (Jennings), the various refugee groups in the Ohio Valley (McConnell), and the Catawba (Merrell), Cherokee (Perdue), and Tuscaroras (Boyce) of the South. The general picture emerging from these case studies is that of a pervasive “mourning war” concept throughout the Eastern Woodlands, which brought many of these people into conflict with one another long before Europeans appeared and added their terms to the discourse. With the whites came staggering depopulation through infectious disease, a burning desire for European trade goods and animal pelts, and terrific pressure to ally oneself with one or another European imperial power or colony.

Surveying this whole panorama, it is still not entirely clear what the Five Nations had in mind in their various maneuvers with these alien Indians and Europeans. Part of the problem lies in the fact that the Five Nations were not a unified body in these matters. Leadership in Iroquoia was always a function of an individual’s powers of oratorical and rational persuasion before an audience of kinsmen, village council, councils of the nation, and ultimately, perhaps, councils of the Confederacy. Factionalism within clan, village, nation, and Confederacy was the order of the day. Unfortunately, none of this was ever adequately comprehended by English and French diplomats and agents, who were often dismayed to learn that the Iroquois elders with whom they had successfully negotiated a certain proposition were being contradicted by another group of Iroquois, say, young warriors.

What seems clear is that the Iroquois had found an ingenious means of ending the “mourning war” syndrome that since time immemorial had bedeviled Indian peoples throughout the Eastern Woodlands. It was while they were engaged in exporting this novel concept and structure that Europeans arrived on the scene and added terms which both confounded and perverted the enterprise. Between them the diabolical pressures of trade, disease, and diplomacy with European rivals turned the Deganawidah myth into something of a farce. Though not totally. The years covered by this volume were ones of almost unimaginable
cosmic turmoil for these Eastern Woodland peoples; this magnificent volume shows them, particularly the Five Nations, hanging on to the old structures and errands while simultaneously trying to comprehend and channel the profound perturbations, with their still barely understood mythic overtones, that whites had unwittingly unleashed. It is good to see the thoughtworld of Indian peoples being taken seriously—and on their terms.

Rutgers University

CALVIN LUTHER MARTIN


Professor Westerkamp has produced an important, intellectually exciting book that I will assign to my graduate students and whose ideas and narrative I will use in preparing my undergraduate lectures. Trained in the American Civilization Department at the University of Pennsylvania, she uses ideas generated in other fields, especially anthropology, to structure her argument. The author begins with a modification of a definition proposed by Clifford Geertz that divides religion into four interdependent components of shared beliefs, common rituals, institutional manifestations, and participants and argues that ritual was the defining characteristic of the Great Awakening. The ritual of revival was distinguished by lengthy services which attracted larger numbers of intensely involved worshipers. This focus on the ritual of revival leads her to ideas and materials either unnoticed or used in different contexts by other historians who have focused on theology, society, or politics to explain the Great Awakening.

After setting the stage she develops her argument in both time and space. She begins with the revivalism and the ritual of revival developed in the early seventeenth century Presbyterian churches of Ulster and Scotland, where large-scale communion services extended over several days. Westerkamp then argues that the Great Awakening stirred America with such force not because religion was in decline but because, at least among Presbyterians, a religiously active clergy and laity was primed for it by their already established ritual of revival.

During the Restoration both the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians had to develop as voluntary and not as state churches which led to the continuation of large-scale outdoor covenant, revival, and communion services. After 1690 Presbyterians in Scotland and Ireland faced different problems as in Scotland the Presbyterians became a state church and in Ulster they had to continue in the voluntary or free tradition. In both situations the early 18th century brought activity and schism. In Scotland the moderates retained control of the church while the more evangelical laity and clergy seceded. The seceders had great success in Ulster but the different circumstances of the church resulted in different battle lines between the evangelicals and moderates.

After working through her argument in time and space she brings us across the Atlantic and shows that the Presbyterians here developed from the Ulster tradition of a free, voluntary, lay-influenced church. A detailed study of developments during the 1720s and 1730s indicates growth, religious vitality, and the development of the tendencies that led to the New Light-Old Light
BOOK REVIEWS

Schism during the Awakening. The Tennent family-log College-New Light connection developed ideas supporting an itinerant ministry whose authority was based on religious experience above education, greater lay involvement, and the crucial importance of conversion. She shows that the essential lines of division among the Presbyterians existed well before Whitfield's arrival. The New Light laity and many clergy, much more influenced by the long-standing revivalistic-ritualistic tradition saw much less danger in the enormous meetings and emotional upheaval associated with the Awakening. Meanwhile the Old Light Presbyterians remained much more suspicious but by 1758 the relative decline of Old Light strength and the growing condemnation by the New Light group of revivalistic excesses, such as those perpetuated by James Davenport and Count Zinzendorf, led the two groups to reunite.

The great strength of this work is that it places the Great Awakening in a new and much broader context. Westerkamp proves the long ancestry of the ritual of revival and the Awakening's influence beyond the early 1740s. She shows that Scotland and Ireland which did not themselves undergo a similar Awakening had been responsible for the rituals and ideas that influenced the colonists. I found the most exciting idea in the book to be the use of ritual as a method of analyzing religious experiences.

The book does not focus on Pennsylvania. But anyone interested in the colonial history of Pennsylvania must read it for the enormous amount of detail on what the Pennsylvania Presbyterians actually thought and did and how the Great Awakening among the Pennsylvanians and Presbyterians relates to a much broader framework.

I had difficulty following the thread of Westerkamp's argument concerning the importance of the ritual of revival through three extremely dense chapters on the development of the Presbyterian church in Ireland and Scotland and I wasn't completely convinced by her evidence linking the church in Ulster to that in the colonies. Obviously Ulstermen flowed into the colonies and brought their religious ideas and rituals with them but her data at Pps. 204 and 205 indicate that, at least for the clergy, the Irish "connection" played a much more important role for the Old than for the New Light group while ministers with a New England background seemed especially susceptible to the ideas and values of the Tennents. Was something more happening? Why would colonial Presbyterians be so much more committed to the ritual of revival? But these are only minor criticisms of a provocative work that should have an impact even outside the field of colonial religion.

University of Pittsburgh

VAN BECK HALL


Only in recent years has Henry Chapman Mercer (1856-1930) re-emerged as a significant figure in the history of American decorative arts because of his contributions to the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. The publication of Cleota Reed's excellent biographical study is, therefore, both timely and welcome.

Mercer was a man of tremendous talent and energy. At the same time, he was
difficult in his interpersonal and professional relationships, and one is tempted to categorize him as a loner. Those relationships which meant the most to him were family ones, and the influence of his mother's sister, Elizabeth Chapman Lawrence, “dearest Aunt Lela,” was particularly deep and lasting. Indeed, so strong was his sense of family that it is a wonder he never married and raised a family of his own.

The author has carefully used the phrase “Renaissance man” to describe her quixotic subject, and she fully exploits a rich lode of surviving papers, business and personal, in order to shed light on Mercer's diversified career as an archaeologist, scholar, collector, designer of reinforced concrete buildings, and tilemaker. It was an unexpected career for a very private gentleman from Doylestown, Pennsylvania, who was Harvard-educated (class of 1879) and who read the law for two years before passing the University of Pennsylvania's rigid bar exam.

Mercer's interest in local history and archaeology can be dated from the mid-1880s, following three trips to Europe and North Africa. Early on, he became affiliated with the Bucks County Historical Society, and, in his later years, became one of the society's principal patrons. He donated his large collection of industrial tools which fellow society members viewed as “junk,” (an opinion, one suspects, their successors may still hold today) and, by 1916, a concrete museum to house them. He was “a true pioneer in the sophisticated use of objects to articulate a historical-cultural context,” (p. 18) according to the author. Because of disagreements with the other leaders of the historical society over collections and publication policies, Mercer withdrew in 1900, an abrupt move which replicated an earlier falling-out with his archaeological colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1897. He did return, however, to the Bucks County Historical Society after several years.

The professional problems of Mercer, the archaeologist and Bucks County historian-collector, had two happy consequences: his emergence as a tilemaker and as a builder of concrete structures. Every Pennsylvanian who has ever visited Doylestown recalls with amazement those utterly fantastic poured, reinforced concrete buildings at Fonthill (Mercer's home from 1912 to 1930) with its nearby tile works, and the multi-storied museum with its patchwork of crazy windows of every conceivable size and shape bearing Mercer's name.

Withal, it was the Moravian Tile and Pottery Works, founded in 1897 at “Aldie,” Aunt Lela's baronial estate in Doylestown, for whose products Henry Chapman Mercer would wish to be remembered, and Mercer has indeed found his Boswell in Cleota Reed.

To attempt to describe Henry Mercer's revolutionary tiles without benefit of the dozens of technical drawings, color plates, and black and white photographs interspersed throughout this well-illustrated volume would be a disservice to both the subject and the author. Suffice it to say that Ms. Reed and her publishers have spared no expense in producing a beautiful book. Indeed, my satisfaction with *Henry Chapman Mercer and the Moravian Pottery and Tile Works* is complete.

Mercer's tiles have survived in numerous private residences and public buildings throughout the United States, and it is in the latter that scholars of the Arts and Crafts movement can see and experience Mercer's work at its best. In Pennsylvania, the rotunda and principal corridors at the State Capitol in
Harrisburg contain the largest single collection of tiles outside of Mercer's "Fonthill" in Doylestown. The latter is essential to understanding the range of Henry Mercer's inventive genius, and Ms. Reed takes the reader through the principal parts of this concrete house in the second part of her book. The fireplace surrounds, the Hall of the Four Seasons with its richly autobiographical tiles from the October series, the Columbus Room dedicated to Aunt Lela's memory, and the adjacent Bow Room (both in the Italianate-style tower)—these idiosyncratic rooms and others whose surfaces are literally smothered with tiles—are described fully and illustrated. Having visited "Fonthill" twice, this reviewer must return another time, knowing that he has a better understanding of the man and his works.

Cleota Reed's book satisfies in terms of both content and arrangement. The author has filled an important gap in the story of the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States by rediscovering Henry Mercer's role. To students of Pennsylvania's industrial history, this is an important book which should not be overlooked because of its art history orientation. To those who are interested in Mercer the man and his ideas, the author has provided much food for thought by her liberal use of sometimes lengthy quotations scattered throughout the text. The reader is warned, by the way, that Mercer's style is turgid and graceless. Not so, Ms. Reed's. Both the University of Pennsylvania Press and the author are to be commended.

University of Scranton

JOHN QUENTIN FELLER


Since the landmark lectures in 1925 of J. Franklin Jameson entitled, The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, numerous scholarly works have examined the fact that America's war for independence contained much more than a political break with England. Professor Rosswurm's study of Pennsylvania, and particularly Philadelphia's internal revolt, is one such work seeking to reappraise this topic. And since it is generally agreed that Pennsylvania experienced the most radical of the original states' internal revolts, his work is particularly important.

Pre-eminent in Rosswurm's study are Philadelphia's "middling" and "lower sorts," largely artisans and unskilled wage earners, whom, he writes, "played a pivotal role in the course of the Revolution." (p. 6) The book proceeds with these often-ignored social groups at the forefront of events. The study's first part covers the period from 1765 to 1776 in which Rosswurm describes Philadelphia's pre-Revolutionary class structure that brought about a radical egalitarian movement among the two lower social classes. He also depicts these social groups wrestling power from the predominant upper-class mercantile-oriented Quaker and Proprietary factions during the critical period of 1775-1776. Similarly, Rosswurm argues that their influence in the wartime, urban-based Committee of Privates and the militia won adoption of the state's liberal constitution of 1776, as well as Pennsylvania's support for American independence that the former conservative establishment had strongly opposed. Such
opposition to independence had been quite evident during this period in the Pennsylvania Assembly from both Quaker-conservative elements and moderates led by John Dickinson.

Class hostility, along with the struggle to obtain independence, is the focus of the remainder of the book. Rosswurm analyzes the period from 1776 to October 1779 as one in which Philadelphia's middle and lower classes bore the inequitable burden of active duty service in militia turnouts. Discontent and dissension over militia exemptions, discipline, and officer appointments were quite evident. This same period also saw Philadelphia's conservative elements mounting countermeasures against the state constitution and often collaborating with the British during their occupation of the city. The British evacuation of Philadelphia (June 1778) brought even more radical egalitarian sentiments among the middling and lower orders that outstripped their patriotic feelings. Rosswurm finds such sentiments revealed in the retaliatory economic and judicial actions that these urban groups initiated against their upper class opponents. Subsequently, the failure of Philadelphia's price fixing committee to stem inflationary costs increased tensions, producing an armed clash (October 1779) in which the city's militia forces were dispersed by conservative state authorities. The book's concluding portion on the years from 1779 to 1783 describes the aftermath of the lower classes' defeat at "Fort Wilson." The author finds their defeat reflected in the triumph of conservative forces in the state assembly elections of October 1780, the laboring poor slipping "back into virtually their pre-1775 state of powerlessness," (p. 256) and the middling class, for many years afterwards, joining the conservative commercial interests. This marked a return to conservative political domination under men including James Wilson, Robert Morris, and Gouverneur Morris. Their control according to Rosswurm continued after the American Revolution, and was marked by Pennsylvania's rigid commitment to order and stability during the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Arms, Country, and Class, is an extremely well organized and extensively researched book. Rosswurm gives a thoughtful introduction to each part of his work that offers a concise analysis of developments occurring during a specific time period. The third part of the book is followed by a short conclusion section in which Rosswurm provides an assessment of the socio-economic Pennsylvania Revolution in the context of the entire revolutionary era. This concluding section is followed by a relevant and valuable Appendix, including data on Philadelphia's taxable wealth in the Revolution, militia service rendered by the community's available manpower, and biographical information concerning members of the Committee of Privates. The inclusion of a detailed map of Philadelphia in this period might have further augmented the text. However, I found little that could have been added to the exemplary list of both primary and secondary sources that the author used to document the text.

This excellent thought-provoking work stressing the determinative role of class conflict in Pennsylvania's internal revolution undoubtedly will cause scholarly debate. Rosswurm specifically notes his criticism of more traditional assessments made about the state's revolutionary turmoil by historians such as David Hawke, Samuel Eliot Morison and Gordon Wood though he also includes supportive writings of others such as Alfred Young, John Shy, and Richard Ryerson to sustain his contentions. Two areas that might bring
questions from scholars on this subject are the actual extent of class conflict in Philadelphia, and the degree to which working men and employers shared similar outlooks on matters that were strictly political. As someone not immersed in the varied details of Pennsylvania's revolutionary history, I would leave this to other historians. However, I do question a few statements made concerning events outside the state. One is the author's declaration that "The British occupied Boston from June 1775 through July 1776," (p. 252) when in fact the occupation began many months before the cited date and concluded in March 1776. Of course, this is extraneous to Pennsylvania events and does not detract from the volume's admirable achievement in offering fresh and welcome approaches to a noteworthy aspect of America's revolutionary era.

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In this study of American proslavery thought, Larry E. Tise seeks with considerable passion to revise what he calls the mythology of proslavery history in the United States. In Tise's view, this mythology rests upon three erroneous interpretations. The first assumes that the provenance of proslavery thought in the United States was southern, specifically the work of southern slaveowners and their apologists. Second, the mythology holds that these southerners gave a unique twist to prior proslavery ideology by asserting that slavery was a positive good for slave and master rather than a burden for both. Finally, the mythology relies upon a chronology which places the emergence of the southern proslavery argument in the 1820s. Tise maintains that all three interpretations are flawed, and this intelligent, challenging, and often ingenious study aims to replace mythology with history.

Each of the book's two parts covers essentially the same revisionist ground. In part one, Tise vigorously attacks the dominant mythology by showing that proslavery thought more frequently was given formal expression in the North than in the South in the years between 1750 and 1835. At the heart of Tise's meticulous research are the ideological biographies of 275 clergymen identified as proslavery authors, most of whom were northern and non-slaveholders. These scribbling divines, defending Federalist principles deeply shaken by what appeared to be the "Jacobinic" politics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were fiercely conservative nationalists who saw slavery as one more prop of the social order. In the second part of the book, this point more fully emerges through a chronology, as Tise argues that proslavery thought was elaborated by northern conservatives long before it appeared in the South in the mid-1830s, following the advent of a new, vigorous antislavery campaign in the North. Proslavery thought thus was not a narrow sectional debate initiated by southern racists. Rather, it must be seen as a broad theme in American conservative social thought, as part of a backlash against the radical egalitarian principles of the American Revolution.

Of course Tise is not the first contemporary American historian to take seriously the content of proslavery thought. But an important achievement of his study is its emphasis on the broad, cross-sectional appeal of certain proslavery
arguments. Tise shows clearly that the main components of proslavery ideology—the racial inferiority of Africans, the Biblical sanction for servitude, the inherently hierarchical, organic nature of all social organization—were advanced by northern clergymen who had little first-hand knowledge of slavery and who assumed that they had a broad, American audience of sympathetic listeners. Moreover, popular authors and professional ideologues seized on proslavery rhetoric as a way of forcing public discourse to take a conservative direction, whether with the iconoclasm of Pennsylvania's Charles Ingersoll or the sentimentality of novelist James Kirke Paulding.

Moreover, Tise argues persuasively that the mid-1830s were an important turning point in the southern locus of proslavery thought. Prior to that decade, the most grandiose proslavery sentiment, including a "positive good" argument, derived from the North. It was only the rise of Garrisonian abolitionism that brought forth substantial numbers of southern voices in dissent. These voices, like their northern counterparts, attempted to swamp the abolitionists with a tide of nationalist feeling. Abolitionists, Tise shows, threatened more than the property interests of slaveowners. They called into question the conservative drift of the American polity, and conservative nationalists North and South struck back with a vision of a unified, organic society well served by what one proslavery southerner would call the "mud-sill" of slavery.

At times, however, Tise's zeal for revision gets the better of his careful argument. It is one thing to show that many northern clergymen advanced proslavery ideas as part of a larger social vision. It is another to establish who was listening. Certainly Tise does not offer conclusive evidence here for his claim (p. 348) that "many, if not most, Americans" embraced his clergymen's conservative vision by the 1830s. Moreover, he sometimes makes proslavery rhetoric seem too central to what northern clergymen were attempting to argue. Frequently, as Tise himself concedes, the argument was not so much a defense of slavery as an attack on abolitionists; fear of "anarchy," not admiration for slavery, was the chief concern. Similarly, Tise tends to dismiss conflicts in the rhetoric of his clergymen. He makes much of their defense of a hierarchical society favorable to slavery; yet when these same clergymen admit to the evils of slavery, he sees this admission as perfunctory rather than as revealing a tension at the heart of their thought.

Despite referring to northern clergymen as the mentors of southern proslavery ideologues, Tise does not in most instances establish the direct influence of these clergy on southerners, except in those cases when the clergymen took up residence in the South. Rather, Tise often relies on a sort of nineteenth-century epidemiological model of intellectual disclosure: if an idea appears first in one place and then in another, it must have "spread" from the first to the second. Yet as recent work by Eugene Genovese, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and James Farmer shows, southern clergy were quite able to develop their own arguments about society and slavery. And while it is important to appreciate that published defenses of slavery prior to 1835 came more frequently from the pens of northerners, it might be observed that more northerners than southerners published antislavery views as well. The key point seems to be not that northerners were more responsible than southerners for launching proslavery thought, but rather that before slavery became a crisis over southern social
relations it was a meaningful—though abstract—metaphor for ministers engaged in social commentary.

Indeed, it is the book’s limited view of the southern context for slavery that is most troublesome. Because he ends his study just as a distinct southern argument for slavery was getting underway, Tise has little to say about the southern sectional consciousness and regional identity much in evidence by the 1820s. Southerners are strangely passive in this book, seen for the most part as come-lately recipients of northern ideas. Yet surely much of the significance of the northern clergymen’s proslavery argument lies in its very abstractness, its removal from the solid, daily realities posed for southerners by slavery. Northern clergymen employed proslavery rhetoric in their fearful social analysis. Yet from the dense complexity of southern social relations would grow an ideological bond between slavery and southernness far more complicated than the one imagined by northern ministers.

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