

BOOK REVIEWS

American Independence, The Growth of an Idea, A Bibliographical Study of the American Political Pamphlets Printed Between 1764 and 1776 Dealing with the Dispute Between Great Britain and Her Colonies. By THOMAS R. ADAMS. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965. xxi, 200 p. Illustrations, index. \$8.00.)

The opening bibliographical salute in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of the American Revolution has been fired. (Did Mr. Adams write his work in 200 pages symbolically?) In the spring of 1765, after a season of consideration, Parliament enacted the Stamp Act. The American reaction to it and subsequent restrictive measures, as Mr. Adams puts it, "changed the British colonies in North America from loyal and even enthusiastic members of a newly enlarged empire into a nation prepared to destroy by force bonds that had bound them to the mother country for more than a century and a half." The change did not just occur by osmosis. It was the subject of talk, speechifying, mature consideration, debate, and much writing.

Mr. Adams' bibliography describes some of what was written. It is limited in scope to what was published concerning the political issues at stake, of American authorship, or of English origin, and reprinted in America, in pamphlet form, and printed before July 4, 1776. It will not surprise many to find listed thirty editions of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, for the impact of that call for freedom has long been recognized. The historian, however, may wish to reessay the importance of Richard Price's pro-American *Observations On the Nature Of Civil Liberty*, of which 26 editions appeared before the Declaration of Independence, and the quasi-official answer on behalf of Lord North's administration to the declaration of the Continental Congress setting forth the reasons for taking up arms, James Macpherson's *Rights of Great Britain Asserted*, which ran to twenty editions. Mr. Adams' notes on the authorship (many of the pamphlets appeared anonymously), background, and publishing history of the works he describes are excellent, informative, well documented, and succinct.

In most ways, including typographical distinction, this is a model essay of descriptive bibliography, with collations, comment, bibliographical references, and locations of copies. Your reviewer, perhaps pedantically, does, however, feel that Mr. Adams might have discriminated more carefully between edition, issue, state, and variant. For instance, there are four entries for the Boston printing of *A Short Narrative Of The horrid Massacre in Boston* (nos. 75a, b, c, and d). Three are genuine issues, according to

Ronald B. McKerrow's definition, adding material to a basic printing, but the fourth is only a variant state with the pagination corrected. Even though Mr. Adams states that Bradford had two separate printings of the "New Edition" of Paine's *Common Sense* (no. 222f), he does not differentiate them with separate entries. It is hardly consistent merely to refer the reader to Richard Gimbel's bibliography. To dismiss *The Speech Of Th-m-s P-w-n-ll, Esq.* (no. 72b) with a single entry and the statement that various copies "show variations in type suggesting that there was more than one printing" is somewhat to evade the role of bibliographer.

In the large, Mr. Adams' skimming over the fine points of analytical bibliography does not lessen the value of the work for historians. It is for them that the work is an attention-getting and warning flag. Here is a record of the political literature of the era which gained currency in pamphlet form. Here also is the evidence that in many cases all printings of the same work may not contain identically the same material. Used in conjunction with Dr. Bernard Bailyn's on-going reprinting of these and similar pamphlets, this bibliography will be a valuable aid to any who wish to learn what the debaters of the rights of the colonies actually did write and how it was circulated in substantial form.

With the move now imminent of the Library Company of Philadelphia next to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the proposed deposit of the rare books of the latter institution in the custody of the former, it may be of interest to note how well represented they are in books within the scope of Mr. Adams' study. (Some additions to the Library Company have been made since the bibliography was frozen in type.) Mr. Adams lists 583 editions, issues, or states of 235 works, of which works six were not printed or do not survive in a known copy. Of these the Library Company has 296 editions of 156 works. To those holdings the Historical Society adds 48 editions of 14 works, not counting duplicates. To the combined collections other Philadelphia libraries add 37 editions and 6 other works. The area ranks with the John Carter Brown Library, the Library of Congress, and the Boston complex of libraries in having the most titles available.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

Pamphlets of the American Revolution 1750-1776, Vol. I: 1750-1765. Edited by BERNARD BAILYN with the assistance of JANE N. GARRETT. [*The John Harvard Library*] (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965. xvi, 771 p. Illustration, index. \$12.95.)

The forces which brought about the American Revolution have been studied longer than any other event in this nation's history. It is surprising, therefore, that the American political pamphlets of the decade and a half before Independence should have received so little attention. They were, at once, one of the principal instruments of those forces and one of the prin-

cial sources through which we have attempted to understand what happened. In this, the first of four volumes, Mr. Bailyn has given us the only major treatment of the subject since Moses Coit Tyler's *The Literary History of the American Revolution* published eighty-seven years ago. This is not to say that historians have not studied and used the pamphlets, but in general they have given us brief summaries using Tyler as a point of departure, or treatment that is tangential to an author's work on some other aspect of the Revolution, or unsatisfactory studies which failed to grasp the fundamental nature of the pamphlets as a body of literature.

Mr. Bailyn's treatment is based on a comprehensive study directed at that literature itself rather than at some other aspect of the Revolution. From a list of "somewhat over 400 pamphlets" he has selected to reprint in this and future volumes seventy-two which appeared between 1750 and 1776. This volume contains fourteen that were printed during the years 1750 to 1765. His original list must have included pamphlets of British origin and a good many ephemeral pieces. Apparently his first step was to establish guide lines to reduce the bulk of the material before the final selections were made. In his "Notes on the Texts," Mr. Bailyn says that the only restriction used was the requirement that the pamphlet be an American imprint. On the basis of the final selection, a list of which appears at the end, and from the author's own statements, certain further limitations seem to have been imposed. Not only are all the selections American imprints but they were all written by Americans and first printed in America thus omitting the writings of Americans, such as Franklin and Arthur Lee, who published in England, and the many British pamphlets which were reprinted in the colonies during the period.

Although the principles of selection included all the literary genres, the emphasis is on conventional political pamphlets. They constitute ninety-one per cent of the final selection: fifty-eight per cent are political essays and thirty-three per cent sermons and orations which served as political pamphlets. Only nine per cent of the selection is devoted to poetry and satires. The core of literature with which the author is primarily concerned is thus narrowed down to pamphlets written by Americans and first printed in America. During the period under consideration about 200 of these were published. Viewed in this light, the number chosen is a substantial proportion of the total. Clearly these volumes are a good deal more than the usual collection of "selected readings."

This fuller treatment is emphasized by the editorial apparatus. Every pamphlet has an introduction, running anywhere from three to nine pages, which sets the stage by telling about the author, his involvement in politics, and describing the immediate pamphlet literature to which the work relates. The generous footnoting emphasizes the exhaustive investigation Mr. Bailyn has made into each of his selections. The texts are printed in their entirety with carefully controlled editorial standards that do no serious violence to the text. The volumes also include reproductions of the title

pages of the first editions, providing the reader with a point of departure toward getting a feeling of the physical form in which the pamphlets first appeared. This is enhanced by including the page numbers of the original edition in square brackets at the appropriate places. An unnecessary redundancy, however, is the transcription of the title pages with line endings, a doubtful bibliographical practice, particularly since no collations are given.

The thing that lifts this into the realm of creative scholarship is Mr. Bailyn's "General Introduction: The Transforming Radicalism of the American Revolution." Running to 200 pages, it is so significant a contribution to the intellectual history of the period that it should also be issued by itself. With James Otis and Thomas Paine as pivotal figures, the pamphlets are used to trace the change of attitude toward the fundamental nature of government which developed in America between the 1760's and 1776. In the two brief opening chapters, the character of the pamphlet as a literary form and the literary qualities of American writers are discussed. Chapters III and IV ("Sources and Traditions" and "Power and Liberty: A Theory of Politics") are a carefully structured history of eighteenth-century political philosophy. After considering the various origins of American ideas—classical antiquity, New England puritanism, and the enlightenment—Mr. Bailyn concludes that the single most important influence was the eighteenth-century anti-authoritarianism which traced its origins back to the English civil war. In the Foreword he tells us that he is going to apply to the American Revolution the lessons drawn from Caroline Robbins' *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthmen*. Within this framework the author identifies and classifies "all the references in the pamphlets and associated documents" that can be attributed to this influence. The next two chapters are devoted to showing how it operated in the march of the forces that ended in open rebellion. The final chapter, "The Contagion of Liberty," discusses four problems unleashed by the Revolution which were to emerge as major questions in the growth of the new nation: Negro chattel slavery, the place of established religion, the role of democracy, and the changes that were to come about in the ordering of the social structure of the country. The result is a balanced exposition of the author's thesis which should help bring back into our understanding of the American Revolution the importance of the role played by the political thinking of men who not only developed the philosophy upon which the new nation was to be based but, in some cases, were instrumental in making it work.

This, then, is an important book and it is likely to have an influence on the future teaching and study of the subject. A reviewer, therefore, is under some obligation to point out things that are not embraced by the author's thesis. Most of the other forces, such as economic and social development, have received and will continue to receive attention. This, however, is a book about pamphlets and there is one aspect of pamphlets which is not covered. Who read them and what effect did they have? When an author sets down his thoughts for private circulation in a letter or a piece privately

printed in a small number, as occurred in the original edition of Jefferson's *Summary View*, the impact is presumably something different from what it is when a printer, who depends for his livelihood on his printing press, decides to issue a man's writing for general public sale. It is this element in the pamphlet literature that has been omitted not only by Mr. Bailyn but, in general, has been omitted from the work of almost every historian who has dealt with this period of the Revolution. They discuss the text but do not take the next step and ask how were the pamphlets, as physical entities, instruments for changing the opinion of the American colonies? The leading reason for this neglect is the problem of arriving at any concrete conclusions. It is possible to say something definite about what effect a pamphlet by James Otis had on John Dickinson, if you can prove that Dickinson read it and then demonstrate, either by a letter or the use of its contents in his writings, that he was influenced by it. The more general effect of the Otis pamphlet, throughout the colonies or even in Massachusetts, cannot be documented with such precision. There is, on the other hand, a certain amount of evidence available. Although the tools and techniques for its use have not yet been fully developed, it raises some pertinent questions. When viewed in the context of publication, even partial answers give quite a different pattern of significance.

Where was the pamphlet printed? How many editions did it go through? In how many American cities or towns was it reprinted as a pamphlet or in a newspaper? To what extent was the original edition imported by printers and booksellers in other American cities and towns, and were there any peculiar circumstances surrounding the arrangements under which the printing took place? When applied to the total output, we have some interesting results. James Otis' four pamphlets, including his *Rights of the British Colonies*, appeared in 1764 and 1765. Three were printed in Boston and the fourth, *Considerations on Behalf of the Colonies*, appeared in a Boston newspaper, but as a pamphlet appeared only in a London printing. The American pamphlets went through only one Boston edition and there is as yet no evidence that they were widely sold or reprinted in the newspapers of other American cities and towns. It would appear that, except for private distribution, Otis' writings had no general impact outside Boston and perhaps a limited one there. Indeed, three quarters of the pamphlets written by Americans and printed in America went through only one American edition. Of the remaining quarter which did go through more than one edition, more than half were reprinted only in the colony in which the original edition appeared. From a commercial point of view it would appear that most of the American pamphleteers had a regional audience. This impression is not mitigated by newspaper appearances or sale outside the colony of origin for, with the exception of a handful, this occurred only in the case of those which were reprinted elsewhere anyway.

There were only seven pamphlets that had a wide publication in that they went through at least five editions in at least four different towns: Daniel

Dulany's *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes*, 1765; Benjamin Franklin's *Examination*, before the House of Commons, 1766; John Dickinson's *Letters from A Farmer in Pennsylvania*, 1768 (first published in newspapers in 1767); John Allen's *An Oration, upon the Beauties of Liberty*, 1773; John Hancock's *An Oration; delivered March 5, 1774 . . . to commemorate the Bloody Tragedy of the Fifth of March 1770*, 1774; Charles Lee's *Strictures on a Pamphlet, entitled, A "Friendly Address to all reasonable Americans,"* 1774; and Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, 1776. Paine presents an interesting problem. *Common Sense's* twenty-five editions in thirteen towns far outstrips its nearest rival, Dickinson's *Letters*, which went through only seven editions in five towns. Its popularity was immediate, immense, and quite unlike anything seen before. Might it not be said that through him a substantial portion of the colonists were introduced for the first time to the nature of the debate which had been going on the previous decade and a half in pamphlets that had only a limited circulation?

There was also a group of pamphlets which Mr. Bailyn and most students of the period treat outside the American experience. They are the ones by British authors first printed in England and then reprinted in America. More than forty of them were issued and four were so popular that they rank with the seven most popular American ones. Two are by Jonathan Shipley, his *Sermon* preached before the SPG in 1773, and his *A Speech Intended to have been Spoken on the Bill for Altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1774*. The other two are Matthew Robinson's *Considerations on the Measures Carrying on with Respect to the British Colonies in North America*, 1774, and Richard Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, 1776. They must have played some role in the thinking of the colonists. This is particularly true in the case of Shipley's *Speech*. In popularity it was second only to Paine's *Common Sense*, having gone through twelve American editions in eight American towns.

These facts are, of course, but quantitative raw material which, in their present form, ask questions rather than answer them. Yet they are questions that ought to be answered before we can fully assess the role played by the literary instrument through which Mr. Bailyn says "much the most important and characteristic writing of the American Revolution appeared."

John Carter Brown Library

THOMAS R. ADAMS

The American Enlightenment: The Shaping of the American Experiment and a Free Society. Selected and edited with an introduction and notes by ADRIENNE KOCH. (New York: George Braziller, 1965. 669 p. \$8.50.)

Anything from the gifted pen of Adrienne Koch demands attention. The introduction to this volume of extracts from the works of five of the Founding Fathers, and the brief essays prefacing each group of selections, are sympathetically and vivaciously written. Professor Koch delights in the

personalities, careers, and writings of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton, and conveys her enthusiasm to the reader for the men she has so constantly studied. For bedside reading, in spite of its bulky six hundred and sixty-nine pages, *The American Enlightenment* may be heartily recommended.

Yet for the serious teacher and student concerned with the period covered, the value of the book is not altogether apparent. Besides the essays already referred to, a brief note on recommended reading, a list of the sources from which material is derived, a table of contents, and a chronology of the lives of each of the five statesmen provide the only critical apparatus. There is no index, and, in spite of the promise of the title page, there are no notes in the commonly accepted sense of that term. Persons receiving letters, for example, as well as those referred to in the text are not identified in any way. A few may, like Abigail Adams, appear in Professor Koch's brief appraisals, but these are usually the most familiar. Anyone attempting to use the anthology must refer to standard works of reference or, in the case of more esoteric characters, to the notes of the editors of collected editions, if they are fully to appreciate the scope of Adams' reading, or the significance of the many authors cited. John Cartwright (p. 470) and Thomas Brand-Hollis (p. 193) may be well known to students of English commonwealthmen, but they are scarcely the expected acquaintance of the average sophomore studying American history. Or again the student wishing to compare the ideas expressed, for example, on education, religion, the Constitution, the French Revolution, may obtain some assistance from the *Contents*, but not a quarter of what an index might have supplied. This may be the fault of the designer of the series, rather than of the individual editor, but, even so, is a serious enough defect to offset the distinction these editors, as such, may bring to the enterprise.

Space does not permit an analysis suggested by the materials selected, but a few indications of the usefulness of an index may be offered. All five certainly believed in the availability of education and information for all Americans. Some were more concerned with educational theory, and this often reflects differences, as in the case of Franklin, the self-educated, and Jefferson, the highly trained, in their own upbringing; some make manifest a legal discipline; others seem more concerned with the new science and its possibilities. All five shared a passionate belief in religious as well as in civil liberty. In the material selected, this is stressed by Madison and Hamilton in their efforts to enlarge and protect freedom of thought. Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, students of the freethinkers and deists of eighteenth-century Britain and France, make apparent a complete lack of enthusiasm for orthodox creeds and disciplines. One wonders if any modern statesman or ex-statesman, would venture to be as frank, even to a friend, about his own heterodoxy.

Differences about the American Constitution have long been studied. Here what chiefly develops is the agreement on fundamentals, and the

divergence on what seemed less essential issues. Hamilton, in some ways most conservative, was in others the most farsighted. Almost alone he seemed to foresee the true economic destiny of the United States. The closeness of the bond of common effort prevented really tragic fission among the wise men. Madison, perceptive about states rights, denounced nullification. Adams and Jefferson mended their fences in old age, in spite of the bitterness of the nineties. Hamilton's integrity was vouched for by Jefferson. Differences about the English constitution, about the French Revolution, as well as on many other matters could easily have been signposted.

A final criticism may suggest to the publisher a supplemental enterprise. Professor Koch has sampled the words of famous men, most of them readily available. But some pronouncements from the less accessible works of a host of luminaries—scientists, doctors, surveyors, historians, and the like—might well have been drawn upon for their contribution, essential to the understanding of the intellectual climate of the American Enlightenment. It is, after all, the sum total of greater and less familiar figures which make this great American era an important part of the age which Emmanuel Kant declared "dared to know." All these men enlightened the western world and freed thinkers from the restrictions hampering earlier seekers after truth.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts. By JOHN JOSEPH STOUTD. (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., Inc., 1964. 364 p. Illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

The arts and crafts of early Pennsylvania deserve a volume as large and as lavishly illustrated as this one. The richness of the material culture produced in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is an impressive achievement by any standard but especially so when one considers the range of activity that had to occur between, say, 1700 and 1800 to transform the wilderness into a thriving civilization. Dr. Stoutd's book has the estimable merit of providing an array of visual images which suggest better than words the material accomplishments of that civilization.

The book is divided into five major sections treating architecture, furniture, fine arts, crafts, and the art of manuscript illumination. All of these subjects are seen by the author in the light of his own rather special thesis which he explains in detail in the introduction. Drawing from the writings of Saint John de Crèvecoeur, Stoutd is fascinated by the image of the independent freeholders who were said to inhabit "the middle settlements," the area between the coastal towns and cities and the frontier. Stoutd feels that the Pennsylvania piedmont corresponds to Crèvecoeur's "middle settlements," and that a new, uniquely American culture came forth in this region. The Pennsylvania piedmont was the birthplace of the "true American styles." "Tidewater America . . . where old world styles

were being imitated, was not the place where American culture was made. Rather it was the piedmont where inherited imported cultural modes faced the frontier and cultural gestation took place." Not surprisingly, Stoudt adds, "the Pennsylvania piedmont was chiefly settled by Germans."

Stoudt's "true American style" is a plain style inspired by German Pietism and English Quakerism. Elegance is written off as un-American: "the exquisite pieces made in Philadelphia during the immediate pre-Revolutionary period did not root themselves in the American way. Rather it was the plain tradition which, carried to interior America, became the fabric out of which our common culture emerged."

The results of this theory are perhaps best seen in his treatment of painting. Eighteenth-century European painting is quickly disposed of with references to the artificiality of Watteau and David. Gainsborough's *Blue Boy* is artificial and stilted in contrast to West's *Death of General Wolfe at Quebec* which, Stoudt claims, "though technically inferior, was marked by the honest simplicity of a Pennsylvania Quaker's search for the simple truth." In Gustavus Hesselius, Benjamin West, and Valentine Haidt, Stoudt finds what he calls "a Pennsylvania tradition of realism and honesty which had developed independent of European art." With the current show of American painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, we can see that there was indeed a tradition of realism that gives much of our painting of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a peculiarly American quality. (See John W. McCoubrey's *American Tradition in Painting*.) It is doubtful that one can speak of this as solely a Pennsylvania tradition, however, and still more doubtful that Hesselius and Haidt, both foreign born, developed their realism "independent of European art." An inordinate amount of attention is given to Haidt, the Moravian painter who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1754 in his fifty-fourth year. Surely his imagery and his style were set by this time. His religious scenes have a certain poignance and his portraits are not without character, yet it is hard to share Stoudt's opinion that "Haidt was one of America's finest portrait painters of the eighteenth century."

In his account of Pennsylvania furniture, Stoudt tries to do justice to the magnificent accomplishments of Philadelphia cabinetmakers and carvers in spite of his preference for the "plain style." Unfortunately, he is confused about the dating of furniture made in eighteenth-century America and seriously questions "whether all Philadelphia furniture which was made between 1730 and 1750 can be justly classed as Chippendale." The experts normally consider this the period of the Queen Anne style in American furniture. Stoudt also identifies something called "Philadelphia Georgian furniture" which is supposed to be found in the transitional pieces between Queen Anne and Chippendale. He cites as examples of Philadelphia Georgian the furniture in the Blackwell Parlor at Winterthur. He finds the carving "still hesitant and indistinct and the sweep of the carvings still not quite graceful." This is astounding news because the furniture in this room is usually regarded as the ultimate expression of the cabinetmaker's craft in

eighteenth-century Philadelphia. The author ignores entirely the fine furniture produced in Philadelphia during the Federal Period. He ends his discussion of high style furniture by calling Philadelphia Chippendale "an exquisite if passing phase of Pennsylvania furniture" which "did not survive in the plain America which emerged after the Revolution."

Stoudt subjects his material to a hierarchy of prejudices which one no longer expects to find in American scholarship. Throughout the book he juxtaposes European and American culture to the disadvantage of the former. He works hard at demonstrating that Pennsylvania-German artifacts are superior to their European prototypes, and he asserts that "our Germanic furniture in Pennsylvania may have had an independent origin." In America "creativity . . . replaced the conformity of Europe." Within America, Stoudt finds Pennsylvania craftsmen superior to those of other regions. "The imagination shown in early Pennsylvania crafts was unique in America." He accuses New England of following English traditions while Pennsylvania was creating new cultural forms. Within Pennsylvania, of course, he prefers the "plain style" to the more elegant material culture of the cities.

There are many errors of fact in the book. On page 148 the author states that none of James Claypoole's work has been identified. Yet on page 140 there is an illustration of a painting with this caption: "Fig. 108. Rebecca Doz: James Claypoole." Jacquard did not invent the four-harness loom, and Charles Willson Peale arrived in London in 1767, not 1761. The claim that Georgian architecture came first to Pennsylvania is incorrect. The most up-to-date architecture in early eighteenth-century America was in Massachusetts and Virginia.

The quality of the illustrations is for the most part good, but there are some which are so bad one wonders whatever inspired their use. Figure 94, for example, is a jumble of odds and ends with the meaningless caption "Nineteenth century furniture." The photographs used in Figures 210 and 216 of ironwork are out of focus. It is a shame, especially in view of the price of this book, that a little more care was not taken with details. Although the book was not intended as a scholarly work, a bibliography would have been helpful.

*The Henry Francis du Pont
Winterthur Museum*

IAN M. G. QUIMBY

The Examined Self. Benjamin Franklin, Henry Adams, Henry James. By ROBERT F. SAYRE. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964. xiii, 212 p. Index. \$4.75.)

Although autobiographical writing is as old as Saint Augustine it has become a conventional literary genre only in very recent times. Professor

Sayre believes that it is also peculiarly appropriate to the American mind, owing to the fluidity of social life and the intensity of the prevailing individualism. Tocqueville had remarked that "in most of the operations of the mind each American appeals only to the individual effort of his own understanding," an observation which serves Professor Sayre as his proof text. Without the framework of tradition and class distinctions the American had to find other means to assist in self-identification. One of these means was the autobiographical statement. The author is not interested in autobiography as a record of personal achievement or observation. He is concerned with it as the literary effort to find and express meaning in personal experience. The meaning, whatever it may prove to be, will give form and tone to the autobiography. This is a highly subjective but nonetheless rewarding approach to the critical analysis of autobiographical writing.

The author believes that the three examples discussed here are the supreme achievements of American autobiography. Each one illustrates distinctive phases of the problem. Franklin's career was characterized by change and discontinuity, and the problem of unifying such a life was compounded by the fact that portions of the *Autobiography* were written on three different occasions, each reflecting a distinctive assessment of the writer's past. Franklin's career was peculiarly that of the scientist, which is by the nature of the vocation discontinuous and incomplete. By way of underscoring this situation Professor Sayre glances briefly at Franklin's contemporary, Edwards, whose *Narrative* of the Northampton revival is treated (not too persuasively) as an autobiographical fragment. Edwards serves as an American counterpart of Augustine, one whose life is unified by the conversion experience.

The most famous, as well as most finished and formal, example of the genre is Henry Adams' *Education*. The unifying theme here is the search through a series of abortive attempts to find an "education" which would enable Adams to understand and accommodate himself to the modern world. Sayre is aware of the fact that the *Education* is not an accurate record of its author's life, and that its single-minded preoccupation with "education" distorts or neglects much in the varied career of its subject. Adams had deliberately reverted to the formula of Augustine in searching for the unifying theme. Its value would be tested by its capacity to organize and illuminate the distinctive qualities of Adams' experience.

The third and most difficult example Professor Sayre has chosen is the autobiographical writing of Henry James, which consists of *A Small Boy and Others* and *Notes of a Son and Brother*. These two books together deal only with the novelist's earlier years. They are concerned primarily with the remembered impressions of persons and places that figured in forming the peculiar sensibility of James the writer. Readers whose interests are historical rather than literary will probably find the discussion of James the least rewarding part of the book.

Taken together the three examples illustrate the variety rather than the unity of the autobiographical form. Professor Sayre brings out what little evidence there is of connections between the three autobiographers, especially the surviving correspondence between Adams and James. But for all practical purposes there might as well have been no connections, since each work has its own unique character.

Professor Sayre believes that autobiography developed early in America because there were so few opportunities for self-knowledge and self-expression. "Men were autobiographers because they were not dramatists or poets, titled aristocrats, professional soldiers, dons, or peasants—because there was not that texture of history in which they inherited their identities." It would perhaps seem unkind to wish for a few ugly facts to test so beautiful a theory. Is autobiography more distinctly American than European, as the quotation suggests? Did it develop early in our history because of the absence of texture in American experience? Could not American life have had an identifying texture of its own without poets or peasants? But the scepticism suggested by these questions is not meant to extend to the thoughtful and penetrating analyses of the three great works themselves, which students of American history will consult with profit.

University of Iowa

STOW PERSONS

George Washington: The Virginia Period, 1732-1775. By BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1964. x, 238 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

In this "new" biography of George Washington's early career, Bernhard Knollenberg has selected specific episodes from Washington's life prior to 1775 for meticulous investigation. In his Foreword, the author states that one of the purposes for writing this biography is to supply contemporary evidence for "many dubious reminiscences and conjectures" which previous biographers have used (p. v). A second reason for the study is to examine critically Washington's own statements concerning the various episodes which are considered in the volume. In order to present a more accurate picture of Washington, Mr. Knollenberg has refrained from undue glorification, particularly where such glorification "has often been at the expense of injustice to the reputation of others" (p. v). While this study may well be considered in the revisionist tradition, what the author has actually done is to show a much more human Washington, with only a few of the weaknesses which other mortals possess. At the same time, Mr. Knollenberg readily stresses those qualities of greatness in Washington's character which have endeared him to his countrymen. His assessment of Washington's abilities agrees with that of Professor John R. Alden, who, in his *The American Revolution, 1775-1783*, wrote that if Washington "now appears to

have been human, something less than divine, he still towers above other Commanders, British or American, of the War of Independence" (p. 31).

The biography includes seventeen chapters, each chapter covering a specific topic without regard to chronology. For example, in order to clarify the ownership of Mount Vernon and to show that Washington never legally owned the property, the ownership is traced from the death of George's father in 1743 until Bushrod Washington, George's nephew, illegally inherited the property after Martha's death in 1802. Minutely, each significant fact is explained in the terse chapter of three pages. It is the author's belief that Lawrence Washington's nephew William was legally the owner, and that "esteem for his uncle's wishes and memory rather than a pecuniary reason was probably the chief motive for William Augustine's decision not to contest the will" (p. 28).

Other events are treated in a similar vein. Of greatest interest may be the chapter dealing with Washington's acquisition of his extensive land holdings in the Ohio Valley. Apparently Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation in 1754, encouraging enlistment in the Virginia regiment by offering 200,000 acres of Crown land south and east of the Ohio River, was to apply only to soldiers, not officers. Nevertheless, late in 1769 Governor Lord Botetourt, acting on a petition from Washington and "other Officers and Soldiers," authorized the division of the 200,000 acres among both officers and soldiers. The machinations are too involved for inclusion here, but Mr. Knollenberg makes it clear that Washington's allotment of 15,000 acres was dishonest, and in 1794 Washington wrote that his land was "the cream of the Country" (p. 95).

Similarly, he obtained 5,000 acres of land as a result of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which had allowed royal governors to grant land to "reduced" officers who had served during the entire war. Since Washington had resigned his commission some two or three years prior to the disbandment of his regiment, he was not entitled to any land under the act. However, Governor Dunmore issued him a certificate for 5,000 acres of land in 1773. "Thus, starting without right to any of the bounty land promised by either of the proclamations, Washington secured under them over 20,000 acres of land." This land Washington appraised in 1799 as being worth approximately ten dollars an acre. These holdings, plus some 5,000 additional acres purchased by him from other claimants, "constituted 40 per cent of the total appraised value of his estate" (p. 99).

In his usual fashion, Mr. Knollenberg has provided his readers with an informative appendix, extensive footnotes, and a list of publications and documents cited. Scholars and students alike will appreciate this additional information. This new biography reflects mature judgment and sound scholarship, is written in a frank and direct style, and sheds new light on many important episodes of Washington's early career.

The Boston Tea Party. By BENJAMIN WOODS LABAREE. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. ix, 347 p. Bibliography, appendix, index. \$6.00.)

The Boston Tea Party is recognized by general consent as one of the few occasions on which the course of American history was deflected suddenly, violently, and permanently, and in a way that could not have been foreseen by even the most prescient. For Mr. Labaree it was the "catalyst" by which "the colonies were united in war against Great Britain." John Adams (not noted as an admirer of mob action) wrote in his diary on the day following the "Destruction of the Tea," that it was "the most magnificent Movement of all" and would certainly be remembered "as an Epocha in History."

Even though much has been written about the Tea Party and the events surrounding it, there has hitherto been no full-scale treatment of how the event took place and why it had the effect that it did. The historical process initiated by the event which gives its name to this book is, as we all know, a vast one. Here at last is a detailed account of this crucial drama in Westminster politics and American recalcitrance. Mr. Labaree's lucid and well-documented book shows us the characters hurrying with blind determination to disaster, with the strophe and antistrophe in the chorus of opposition on both sides of the Atlantic warning hopelessly of what was going to happen.

The nagging question continues to be asked: What finally drove the colonists and their delegates to the Continental Congress to open rebellion against the mother country and to a Declaration of Independence within such a relatively short period of time in the 1770's. The numerous and troublesome problems that remained at this time are familiar: payment of governors' salaries out of the King's revenue; enforcement of the Acts of Trade (particularly the abusive conduct of customs officials and the jurisdiction of the vice-admiralty courts); British restrictions on western migration and settlement; the possibility that the Anglican Church would establish an episcopate in the colonies; and the imperial constitution (particularly the extent to which Parliament had the right to make laws for America). But in Mr. Labaree's view, "potentially the most dangerous question was the right claimed by Parliament to colonial taxation."

Resentment over and opposition to Parliament's asserted right to tax the colonies (in contrast with earlier acts to regulate colonial commerce) had their origins in Townshend's Revenue Act of June, 1767. A protest movement in America adopted resolutions with only a limited degree of success against the importation and consumption of a variety of articles—particularly tea. "On the local level," in fact, "opposition to the Townshend Act itself was almost exclusively concentrated on the tea duty." When Lord North and his supporters adopted the Tea Act in May, 1773, and refused to rescind the Townshend duty in the process, the plan was interpreted by the colonists as "a conspiracy between the Ministry and the [East India] Company to force American recognition of Parliamentary taxation." The

conspiracy theory seemed plausible in Boston, where several of the tea consignees were related to the governor. The base consignees refused to resign their commissions, the diabolical governor refused to let the ships depart with the tea, and the zealous patriots were unwilling to permit the cargo to be landed. The destruction of 340 chests of tea aboard the *Dartmouth*, the *Eleanor*, and the *Beaver* alongside Griffin's Wharf on the night of December 16, 1773, by a group of men estimated to number between thirty and sixty brought to a violent climax this unhappy affair. Irony crept into the words "Tea Party" then as it was to do sixteen months later in the place name "Concord."

English resentment over the Boston Tea Party plunged the government into a policy of retaliation. The Coercive Acts were passed in the spring and summer of 1774 over the protests of a weak and divided opposition. It is indeed a strange story—one of the notable examples in history of the folly of acting wholly on principle without regard to practicalities or consequences. The government moved from administrative measures to legislation in Parliament, and these Acts confirmed for many Americans their suspicions that the King and his ministers were diabolical men. This crisis gave many people their first real sense of commitment to the cause of defending American liberty. In this way, the Boston Tea Party was the catalyst of the American Revolution, in Mr. Labaree's view.

With great learning and ingenuity, Mr. Labaree writes clearly and impartially, without rhetoric and ornament, of one of the more important events in the escalation of this war. The Boston Tea Party has been canonized, embalmed, and petrified in textbooks of American history for generations, but until this pleasing and well-written volume appeared the subject had never been thoroughly explored. A full bibliography and copious notes are included. This is a book that the specialist may read with profit, and for its color and interest should attract the general reader.

Massachusetts Historical Society

WENDELL D. GARRETT

Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty, 1776-1783. Edited by MARVIN L. BROWN, JR. with the assistance of MARTA HUTH. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1965. xix, 222 p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$6.00.)

Among the veteran wives of American history stands a German aristocrat, who, along with three small children and eventually more, traveled with the British during the American Revolution. This devoted spouse of the commander of the Brunswick armies wrote a warm and readable account

of her experiences from her departure from Brunswick in 1776 until her return in 1783. The account is basically nonmilitary, though the Baroness did write of her personal reactions to the horror of watching battle, the necessity of occupying a room with the dying, battlefield funerals, and general conditions of warfare. Little is new but it reinforces charmingly what is known; intimacy and authenticity come to cold details. Her matter-of-fact comment on Burgoyne's delaying to have a jolly time singing, drinking, and amusing himself with his mistress, when she and others, drenched to the skin and miserable, wished to push on with their retreat while there was yet time, was critical between the lines. At other times, she made snide remarks. On the whole, however, her remarks about her host country were generous. Indeed the treatment of the vanquished was marked by magnanimity; the Riedesels were wined and dined by the best in American society, and they appreciated it. Since most of the Baroness' time was spent as consort of a prisoner of war, although that term was not used of the captured Germans in Massachusetts and Virginia, she painted more of a picture of daily life and general conditions in Revolutionary America and Canada, of prices, division of families among rebels and those loyal to the king, crops, frozen foods, primitive dentistry, the rigors of travel, and other diverse matters. She wrote without depth of whatever impressed her as it came to her attention. Incidental and often brief comments revealed her personality and character as well as that of the country she visited. There were flashes of wit, generosity in judgments of others, tact, courage and resourcefulness—to save the German regimental flags she and a tailor sewed them into a mattress and she slept on it from Virginia to Canada.

The letters of the General and the Baroness make the journal more vivid as they indicate financial problems and prospects, sailing and lodging arrangements, motivations for specific actions, religious ideas, and concerns over matters at home. The General's admonition to his wife to be more circumspect in speech, since people profited by her frankness and intrigued against it, evidences the tenderness and understanding typical of the couple. The General's understanding of political forces was not so keen, for he claimed that only a few dozen ambitious people, who enriched themselves by their activities, directed the whole affair, and made the whole land unhappy, while the others did not even know why they fought, were underpaid, lacked everything, and would soon ask clemency of the king!

The editor does not detract from the simplicity and charm of the journal with prolonged distracting notes. He restrains himself primarily to identification of people, terms, and explaining inaccuracies or inconsistencies. His work is truly the supporting frame for the artist's painting.

Campaign to Valley Forge, July 1, 1777–December 19, 1777. By JOHN F. REED. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965. 448 p. Maps, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

Residents of the Philadelphia area will find *Campaign to Valley Forge* to be an interesting and exciting book. It tells about battles, skirmishes, and marches which took place in or near communities such as Germantown, Paoli, and Whitemarsh. The reader may find, as he peruses Mr. Reed's book, that a British bayonet attack once swept through the area which has since become his back yard. Another reader may learn that an American battery was once emplaced upon a hill that is located but three or four blocks from his suburban home.

Mr. Reed's book was evidently written for the general reading public. It tells little about the Brandywine-Germantown campaign that is not already known to the specialist who is familiar with the writings of Troyer Steele Anderson, Douglas Southall Freeman, Theodore Thayer, and Louis Gottschalk. It contributes significantly, however, to our knowledge of the defense of the forts which had been erected along the Delaware River to prevent the British fleet from reaching Philadelphia. The descriptions of the actions at Paoli, Brandywine, Germantown, and Whitemarsh are interesting, but the best chapters in Mr. Reed's book are those which describe the attacks upon and the defense of the forts on the Delaware.

The forts prevented Admiral Howe from bringing his fleet to the docks of Philadelphia for two months after the city had been occupied by the army commanded by his brother. The garrisons of the forts had made a gallant defense of their ramparts throughout October and November and had inflicted heavy casualties upon the British seamen and Hessian soldiers who had tried to open the Delaware to Lord Howe's shipping.

Mr. Reed has given us an excellent account of the defense of the forts. He has also given us an interesting account of the siege tactics used by the engineers who conducted the attack upon the forts. He has used the journal of Captain John Montrésor most skillfully in showing how the British erected dikes, drained mud flats, and built causeways on half-drowned tidal islands to enable them to erect batteries from which to bombard Fort Mifflin. Montrésor and his engineers and gunners were as determined and courageous as were the defenders of the fort. However, Montrésor and his men were poorly supported by their commanding general. Sir William Howe, for one reason or another, remained away from the batteries on the mud flats. The morale of the soldiers who were risking their health in the mud and water of the batteries suffered severely when it became evident that Sir William was unwilling to visit his island garrisons.

The author has closed his story with the retreat of General Washington's army to Valley Forge. The story of the army's sufferings at Valley Forge is so well known that Mr. Reed may have been well advised to end his narrative on December 19, 1777, as he has done. The reviewer cannot help but

wonder, however, if the author has been wise in terminating his book with Washington's march to Valley Forge. It would have been logical for Mr. Reed to have added several chapters including one summarizing the trials of the American army during the winter of 1777-1778, one or more on the British occupation of Philadelphia, one on the impact of American successes during the campaign of 1777 upon the French court, and one upon the decision of the French government to play an active part in the war in alliance with the United States. Mr. Reed could then have closed his story of the Philadelphia campaign with an account of the retreat of the British army to New York under the command of Sir Henry Clinton (who had replaced Sir William Howe as commander-in-chief of the army).

It is possible that the reviewer has overstepped his duties in writing about what could have been added to Mr. Reed's book. It is clear, in any case, that his book is very readable and should be of interest to residents of the Philadelphia area. The maps which the author has included in his book will enable Revolutionary War buffs to find the sites (insofar as they have survived) of the camps, forts, and battles mentioned in the narrative.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

Scots Breed and Susquehanna. By HUBERTIS M. CUMMINGS. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, for the Presbyterian Historical Society, 1964. xi, 404 p. Bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Scots Breed and Susquehanna is much less a history than a dream of glory, the legendary glory of a group of people described in the author's own words as "a goodly array of men, all bearing Scotch-Irish names."

The Scotch-Irish are in fact the "Scots breed" of the title, in allusion to the fact that these eighteenth-century Ulster immigrants were largely of Lowland Scots background. In colonial days they were commonly identified as "Irish"; the hyphenated designation, though used by James Logan, came into general use a century later when these immigrants' descendants—acclimated, successful, and concerned to distinguish themselves from later Irish immigrants—elaborated on their own distinctive Scottish background and pedigrees. In its Scottish emphasis, the present work does not therefore simply portray the Scotch-Irishman in his eighteenth-century spirit and image but rather as reflected in the Narcissus pool of the nineteenth-century Scotch-Irish Congress. The Scottish background is amplified to include all the trappings of Highland clans and tartans, though the Ulsterman's ancestors probably looked on the Highlanders much as the Ulsterman himself regarded the native Irish. Evocations of Robert the Bruce and Sir William Wallace, of the sixth-century St. Columba, and of the legendary Irish voyager Maeldun do not seem greatly relevant; and the effect is innocently comical when Timothy Murphy is said to have killed "another

Scot," and when Armstrong, Whitehill, Maclay, and Forster are presented as a list of "names Celtic." The author's misuse of the Scots term *ilk* is unfortunate.

Real distinctions between Scots and Scotch-Irish are overlooked. The nonconformist Presbyterianism of Ulster differed appreciably from that of the established Church of Scotland (though the Scotch-Irishman found the Covenanter tradition congenial); and in America the Revolution created a sharper division. Unlike the Scotch-Irish, who were quite generally patriots (or rebels), Scots settlers were, with some conspicuous exceptions, loyalists.

It must be conceded that the present work suffers somewhat by posthumous publication. It evidently was written some time before the author's death (Dr. Cummings died in May, 1963; the latest publications cited in his bibliography appeared in 1948), and shows no marks of later revision. This has produced some anachronisms, and the text is sprinkled with minor errors—misspellings, grammatical lapses, inconsistencies, and misstatements—many of which the author would have detected and corrected had he seen the manuscript into print. Placing the State's Public Records Division in the Education Building is wholly excusable, for transfer to the new William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building took place while the present book was being printed, but it is not clear why the agency should be variously identified as the Pennsylvania Division of Public Records, the Pennsylvania Archives Office, and the Pennsylvania Public Records Office. The designations Provincial Papers, Revolutionary Papers, and Post-Revolutionary Papers have been obsolete for several years. The John Elder Papers are not in State custody, as here reported, but at the Historical Society of Dauphin County.

The contents of the present volume consist of a series of essays in chronological sequence. Several chapters on Revolutionary campaigns are related to the central theme by little except the fact that Scotch-Irishmen were among the participants; some later chapters follow individual careers and adventures; the final chapter interprets the removal of the State capital in 1812 as a triumph of Scotch-Irish Harrisburg over Quaker Philadelphia. In spite of a mannered style—Colonel Thomas Hartley is identified, in remarkably Teutonic fashion, as "the Berks County officer designee of the War Board Hartley," and inverted sentences seem at times to march in files—these sketches reveal narrative skill, color, and picturesque detail. There are poetic touches in the Prologue, and the Epilogue is briefly eloquent. An effective, though short, passage describes, with understanding and candor, the situation and attitude of the Susquehanna settlers during the winter of Valley Forge.

Historically, the chapters on the Paxton Boys' massacres of twenty Conestoga Indians, the shabby residue of a once-powerful people, are perhaps the most extensively researched part of the book and possibly the most disappointing. Detailed, devious, and disingenuous, they are openly

partisan and add little or nothing toward an understanding or evaluation of the episode. Defending the anonymous murderers, the author comments on the able planning and orderly perpetration of the massacres. There is no intimation here that the land-hungry Scotch-Irish coveted the Proprietary Manor of Conestoga on which the Indians lived; yet in 1731 thirty families of "Irish" had seized upon this land, "alleging that it was against the Laws of God and Nature that so much Land should lie idle while so many Christians wanted it to labour on and raise their Bread"; and some of the Paxton people seized the land again after the massacres, asserting to the Penns' agent "that he nor the Proprietors had any right to that Land, but that it belonged to the Indians who were killed there, and that they [*the Paxton Men*] had won the best right to it." Nor is there any mention of the possibly relevant fact that in August, 1763, four months before the massacres, a party of Paxton volunteers, scalp-hunting on the upper Susquehanna, had had an unhappy encounter there with armed and hostile Indians.

Previous publications attest to the author's scholarly ability; let the present one serve rather to commemorate his personal interests and enthusiasms.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

The Fortunate Pilgrims. Americans in Italy, 1800-1860. By PAUL R. BAKER. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964. x, 264 p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$5.95.)

This book attempts "to show exactly why Americans went to Italy in the first place, what they saw and did when they got there, what personal contacts they had, what aspects of Italian life and culture particularly impressed them, what evaluations they made of their experiences, and what meaning the country ultimately had for them." Mr. Baker is less concerned with Italy and Italian culture than with the self-revelations of the American pilgrims, his analysis of which "aims to give a better understanding of the American mind and American culture during the early and middle years of the nineteenth century."

The chronological limits set for the study—which are sufficiently elastic to allow for a brief introductory chapter on the eighteenth-century "discoverers" and for occasional glances forward to the later years of the nineteenth century—represent a plausible "period." The end of the Napoleonic wars improved traveling conditions, while increased prosperity in the United States provided the leisure and wealth that sent Americans in search of distant skies; Italian political unification was still incomplete; only after mid-century did the expansion of railroads begin to alter the traditional pattern of travel by road and water; the Civil War marked a decrease in the

flow of transatlantic travelers; massive Italian emigration to the United States had not yet created a significant number of Americans for whom Italy was "the old country." Examining the "responses" of the travelers during this period, Mr. Baker finds certain changes in emphasis. The impressions of the "explorers" of the earlier decades were characterized by moral intensity, by an eagerness to learn and bring back information about social life and customs that might be of value to their own country. But, by the 1840's, with American institutional life more settled into established ways, the travelers were less concerned with such purposeful observation. They had become "romanticizers," whose impressions were fixed by English or American travel literature, by Madame de Staël's *Corinne* or Byron's *Childe Harold*, and for whom Italy was primarily a land of the past, quaint and picturesque.

The written record of American travel in Italy, for this period alone, is bewildering in extent. Although books by professional men of letters account for some of it, there are also countless letters and diaries, both published and unpublished. The travelers were by definition of the literate classes; recording impressions was the general rule (at a time when post-cards and slides had not yet supplanted leisurely correspondence). Mr. Baker has marshaled and surveyed this mass of material with diligence and skill. Inevitably he has found much repetition and a stereotyped consistency in the impressions, from which he has evolved a sort of composite American traveler in Italy. Granted the validity of the method, it results in a certain monotony for the reader. Although individuals are frequently mentioned and cited, the anonymous "he" or "they" predominates. Somehow, individual personalities, and even Italy itself, tend to get lost. At the same time, one of the book's real merits is to stimulate curiosity about the different pilgrims. Mr. Baker's excellent notes and his suggestions "For Further Reading" (pp. 227-231) open up inviting prospects. Although New Englanders, according to his findings, represented "by far the largest group of American visitors" to Italy, there were also Pennsylvanians: among others, Benjamin West, Henry Bembridge, Dr. John Morgan and Samuel Powel of Philadelphia (who toured Italy in 1764); Rembrandt Peale, whose *Notes on Italy* (Philadelphia, 1831) is ranked by Mr. Baker as one of the most perceptive studies for its period; and Theodore B. Witmer, whose *Wild Oats, Sown Abroad* was, according to the Philadelphia publisher of a second edition, so highly valued by the members of "a large social organization in this city," that it was "fastened to a table by a chain to prevent its abstraction."

The Fortunate Pilgrims, in accepting travel and residence abroad as an integral and significant part of the American experience (and not as an irrelevant aberration, as the "frontier fallacy" would have it), reflects a healthy trend in recent writing on American history. In this respect it can be read in connection with such other works as Van Wyck Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia, American Writers and Artists in Italy, 1760-1915* (1958),

Italian Influence on American Literature (catalogue of Grolier Club exhibition, with introduction by C. Waller Barrett, 1962), and Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad, Two Centuries of European Travel* (1964). Although each of these is somewhat different in purpose and scope, they form a useful complement and supplement to the book under review: Brooks, by reminding us that the "American responses to Italy" described by Mr. Baker were not always peculiar to Americans; the Grolier Club catalogue, by emphasizing the literary harvest garnered by the American travelers and residents in Italy; the Dulles study, by placing the Americans in Italy in the more general context of European travel.

Princeton University Library

HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

Matthew Elliott, British Indian Agent. By REGINALD HORSMAN. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964. xiii, 256 p. Bibliographical note, index. \$9.95.)

The Indian agent of the colonial period was usually first a trader who through his vocation had acquired a considerable familiarity with the Indian tribes, lived with them, perhaps married an Indian woman and had half-breed children, and then because of his influence was employed to control the savages of the frontier. He rarely gave up his trading when he became a government agent and his conflicts of interest gave rise to suspicion. In spite of this he was almost indispensable to the conduct of Indian affairs, as government sought to pacify, control, ally with, or to incite to warfare the natives. As a diplomat he had a difficult role and his ways and methods were often devious. Great success, as in the case of Sir William Johnson, might bring fame, recognition, and wealth. Failure could bring obloquy and disaster. His friends the Indians could do little for him and government could find much to blame.

Matthew Elliott, like his more famous contemporaries, Sir William Johnson and George Croghan, was an Irishman, whose successful dealings by the end of the French and Indian War had won him considerable recognition and some business success. As the Revolution approached, he sought to keep his trade lines out in the Ohio country, but was unsure which way his interest lay. At first favoring the American frontiersmen, he recognized that the westward advance was alienating such nations as the Shawnee with whom he had greatest influence. So with Alexander McKee and Simon Girty he joined the British, but was so suspected by them that he was imprisoned. By his participation in the frontier war of the Ohio Country he incurred the hatred of the Americans, and in fact was guilty of much treacherous and hateful conduct.

After the War he settled in British territory around Detroit and established himself as a prosperous farmer. His talents were employed by the

Indian Office of Upper Canada at Amherstburg, and he did his best to keep Indians on both sides of the border in the British interest. The surrender of the northwest posts, including Detroit, impelled his removal. Yet he continued, as a principal agent of British Indian policy, to cultivate Indian tribes, to keep alive their hostility to the Americans as those who deprived them of their land, while preventing an Indian outbreak until war should be declared between the British and the United States. When war came in 1812 he proved indispensable to the collaboration of Indian tribes with the British. Again, however, defeat brought a loss of his property and he soon died, having reached his late seventies, still a controversial figure.

The present volume is valuable in showing how important Indian affairs continued to be from the Colonial period through 1814, and even later. The employment of the Indians in warfare, so often treated as a sign of a vicious government or a malicious enemy, was dictated by the conditions of the frontier, the necessity of having as friends or allies those you did not wish as enemies. The Indian agent got a bad name for he was engaged in a bad business; he dealt with forces he could not control by making promises he could not keep. Elliott was illiterate, unprincipled, and far from admirable, but he won some respect and was a member of the legislature of Upper Canada. His story is a contribution to the literature of the frontier.

The author has well exploited the sources and literature of his subject, but the marshalling of dates and details makes for difficult reading. Unfortunately the printing and production of the volume leave much to be desired.

*New York State Division of
Archives and History*

MILTON W. HAMILTON

Early Engineering Reminiscences (1815-40) of George Escol Sellers. Edited by EUGENE S. FERGUSON. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1965. xix, 203 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$2.50.)

It is one of the odd facts of human nature that we often go to great lengths to record trivial events, while truly important history goes unrecorded by those who lived through it, probably on the theory that it is common knowledge. By the time we realize the significance of the past, there's usually no one we can turn to who has first-hand familiarity with it, and the historian faces the doubt-filled task of trying to piece together a random assortment of available data.

A happy exception is to be found in the case of the technological history of Philadelphia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. George Escol Sellers, a talented member of a talented family, has left us excellent documentation of mechanical experiments and achievements dating back to his youth in the first half of the nineteenth century, and has

included much other useful information on mechanical engineering as early as the Revolution.

Written as a serial narrative for the *American Machinist* from 1884 through 1893, these memoirs have been attractively and intelligently collected and edited by Mr. Ferguson, and published in the handsome style we have come to expect from the Smithsonian Institution. The book also includes several additional selections which have not been published before, and is handsomely illustrated with reproductions of drawings, notes, portraits, and photographs.

This is a book with something for almost every historical reader, for it touches on an astonishingly broad range of subjects—the development of fire engines, screw-cutting lathes, U. S. Mint machinery, papermaking, railroads and locomotives, stationary steam engines, an early internal combustion engine, a fraudulent perpetual motion machine, an early electrical generator refinement, and an ingenious counterfeiter.

Along the way, the reader is offered a myriad of insights into minor technological achievements of early days, and there is a remarkably human quality to the narratives. While some mechanical knowledge is helpful in reading the technical portions of the book, much of it can be read as pure (and very enjoyable) history.

Mr. Sellers was seventy-five years old when he began writing these reminiscences, but the accuracy of his accounts was greatly enhanced by the fact that he and other members of the family had carefully preserved a number of journals, diaries, drawings, and letters relating to mechanical projects in which they and their friends had been involved. These are not the half-remembered, half-fabricated writings of an elderly man relying on failing and deceptive powers of recollection.

Having done some independent work with the Sellers papers, this reviewer is quick to acknowledge that Mr. Ferguson has made an important contribution to the intelligibility of these papers by light, but judicious, editing. Mr. Sellers, like many engineers today, often wrote sentences that almost defy parsing, and his punctuation sometimes seems to have been determined on the basis of allowing quotas of commas, semi-colons, etc., per page, with little attention to appropriateness. Heavier editing, however, would have destroyed the uniquely personal character of the writing.

Far more important, however, is Mr. Ferguson's research contribution. He has taken great pains to explore the subjects and people discussed by Mr. Sellers in order to check details, explain now-obscure allusions, and bring in additional related information. By so doing, he has made this collection very complete and valuable. He has also managed, through diligent searching, to round out the book with a helpful and fascinating assortment of illustrations, many of them quite rare.

Considerations of space and general interest apparently made it necessary for Mr. Ferguson to omit Mr. Sellers' account of his own ill-fated attempts to make paper from cane, and this is unfortunate, for these passages pro-

vide a measure of his remarkable honesty. Also omitted is the story of the long and unhappy argument Mr. Sellers had with Charles Dudley Warner over the latter's use of his name in a Mississippi River narrative. While not essential to the biographical sketch which accompanies this collection of articles, it is important in that the embarrassment of the episode is thought by some to have figured in his seeking the seclusion in which he wrote these memoirs.

Even at four or five times the price, this would be a worthwhile addition to the library of any student of Pennsylvania history; at the Government Printing Office's price of \$2.50, it is a bargain not to be missed.

Ambler, Pa.

JOHN W. MAXSON, JR.

Civil War Issues in Philadelphia, 1856-1865. By WILLIAM DUSINBERRE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965. 197 p. Index. \$5.00.)

This book comes at a time when there is much public misstatement as to the ideals that sustained the North during the long cruel years of the Civil War. Slavery, while deplored in Philadelphia, was practically never thought of as a cause for conflict. In fact anti-Negro sentiment was dominant and widespread in all classes. Rather it was love for the Union that nerved the great majority in the city to support the war. To be sure, there was a group of prominent Democratic leaders who constantly expressed their support of the South and their dislike of Lincoln, using their not inconsiderable influence to cripple the war effort. Their like existed in the other Middle Atlantic States and throughout the southern districts of the Middle Western states. As the author writes, "one must ask how much Democratic hostility to administrative policies may have contributed to the catastrophic way in which the North conducted the war."

It is, however, a pleasant fact that, as the author records, the great mass of the poorer elements of the population in Philadelphia put their love of the Union ahead of their Democratic party allegiance and of their often expressed anti-Negro bias. The leaders of the Union cause, such as Morton McMichael, were mostly former Whigs, as was Lincoln, who had seen their party collapse under the strain of sectional tension.

The sentiments of Philadelphia, the second most populous city in the nation, were largely shared by New York City, most of New Jersey, and many other sections of the North. When Lincoln in his letter to Horace Greeley, the editor of the influential New York *Tribune*, stated unequivocally that preservation of the Union was the paramount issue at stake and not slavery, he spoke for the majority in the North.

Alexander Henry, Mayor of Philadelphia, is pictured by the author as the most praiseworthy local figure of the time. His courageous and intelligent

efforts to maintain impartial order were truly notable. Henry, born in the city in 1823, of a prominent family, graduated from Princeton and admitted to the bar, represented the best of those traditional leaders of Philadelphia who stood by the Union. Elected first by the Peoples party, a coalition of elements opposed to the local Democracy, in 1862 he was the nominee of the National Union party, which was the name the Republicans assumed for that election. He declined renomination in 1866 and was followed in the mayor's office by Morton McMichael.

Dr. Dusinberre points up the interesting fact that right up to the firing on Fort Sumter opinion in Philadelphia was overwhelmingly for letting the South go in peace even though secession was generally considered illegal. In holding these ideas Philadelphia could not have been very different from the rest of the state since Lincoln received 52% of the city's vote compared to 57% outside. It seems likely that Lincoln would have enjoyed wide support if he had opted for some peaceful acknowledgment of the fact of secession even after South Carolina's aggression. His role as a great leader grows with every detailed study of the time.

Dr. Dusinberre has based his book on primary sources. In addition, he shows a broad knowledge of the period. Extraordinarily careful proof reading is apparent. The writing is clear and readable. Unfortunately, through no fault of the author, the numerous political parties of the city with their changing names makes for unavoidable complexity. All in all, this book represents an important contribution not only to the history of the Middle Atlantic states but also to a better understanding of this critical period in the nation's history.

Trinity College

D. G. BRINTON THOMPSON

When the Guns Roared: World Aspects of the American Civil War. By PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965. xvii, 385 p. Illustrations, index. \$6.50.)

Thirty-four years ago, Professor F. L. Owsley published *King Cotton Diplomacy*, and during all of the intervening years it has been the definitive work on the diplomatic phases of the American Civil War. It was an excellent book, but Professor Owsley himself believed that many revisions and additions were called for as a consequence of his continuing research. Unfortunately, he did not live to complete the sequel volume which he had planned. Civil War readers have waited for someone else to accomplish the task. Mr. Stern's book will go a long way toward complementing the Owsley classic.

The fact is often obscured that our internecine struggle of the 1860's was in fact two wars. It was necessary for the Union and the Confederacy to carry on a conflict in the courts and chancelleries of Europe which was

as vital to the outcome as any battles on land or sea. This was "Mr. Lincoln's Other War," and the intervention of England and France on behalf of the South might well have guaranteed a Confederate victory.

Author Stern has much to say in appraisal of the splendid corps of diplomats and agents which Lincoln sent abroad. There are whole chapters on "The Lineup in London," "Efforts to Win Friends" (in France), "Mr. Adams Begins His Work" (in London), "The Union Consolidates its Position in Europe," and "The International Chess Game." The Confederate side is amply handled too—"Confederate Agents Abroad," "Confederate Propaganda in Europe," "The French Minister Visits Richmond," etc.

It will give satisfaction to readers in the greater Philadelphia area to read a book on Civil War diplomacy which gives recognition to the role played by Dr. Thomas W. Evans, a Philadelphia native who practiced medicine and dentistry in Paris, was a close confidant of his imperial patient, Napoleon III, and was also an unofficial agent at work for the Union cause. Paris was a capital where, as Mr. Stern points out in Chapter 9, the Court was almost entirely pro-South and the Emperor Napoleon was constantly surrounded by advisors hostile to Washington. In such a situation the official Northern diplomats, Dayton and Bigelow, were not always effective and Dr. Evans was a very useful tie with the French *élite*.

The case of Minister Dayton has long intrigued students of this period. This ill-starred gentleman died suddenly in the middle of the night in the apartment of a female who was doubly notorious because, as Mr. Stern relates (p. 311), she had been called "a woman of dubious morals" and was also thought to be a Southern agent. The death of the federal envoy in her apartment understandably was an almost unbelievable thing, creating an international sensation. Mr. Stern has an interesting evaluation of this affair which was so embarrassing for Lincoln and Seward.

The author deals with a side of the Civil War which had a magnitude not always recognized or understood in its far flung scope. Intrigue and diplomatic sparring went on in many places besides Washington, London, and Paris. Czarist Russia and Prussia were friendly to the Union and had to be cultivated. The French invasion of Mexico to place Maximilian upon the throne of Montezuma is handled in some detail and with interesting viewpoints toward a very complex international problem and the way Lincoln and Seward chose to handle it.

If there is any major criticism to be made of this book it probably lies in this area of the challenge to the Monroe Doctrine which was made by several European powers behind the screen of our internal conflict. Not only France was involved in Mexico, but Spain and England as well. Moreover, Spain's invasion of Santo Domingo and her intrigues along the west coast of South America were companion pieces to a general ambition entertained by European monarchs to harm the American republican system and to restore old world colonialism in the Western Hemisphere. It was a "grand design" and Mr. Stern does little more than allude to issues over and beyond

the Maximilian affair. It would have strengthened his book to have included in his last two chapters (which deal generally with "The Years Beyond" the war) a summation of the disaster which came upon the European schemes to restore monarchical regimes in the Americas. This was an essential part of "Mr. Lincoln's other war," as both he and Benito Juarez well understood. The victory at Appomattox did not end this campaign, nor did Mr. Lincoln see it concluded. Secretary Seward provided a continuity of policy for Andrew Johnson's administration to accomplish the triumph of the Monroe Doctrine over its greatest challenge.

Mr. Stern has employed new materials from both original and secondary sources. One of his strongest features is a constant emphasis upon behind-the-scenes operations of newspaper publishers and writers, financiers, merchants, politicians, unofficial agents, dedicated female operatives, and plain, ordinary citizens to influence the intricate decision-making of emperors, heads of state, cabinet ministers, and military commanders. Many previous accounts of Civil War diplomacy have been so engrossed with official doings as to obscure this backstage activity and its undoubted influence upon events.

Finally, the author deserves to be commended for his frank acceptance of the slavery issue as the factor of paramount importance in Civil War diplomacy. Whether or not issues such as states rights, cotton's economic role in an industrial world, and sectionalism, were more or less important to the domestic conflict, Mr. Stern is absolutely right when he emphasizes the circumstances of European hostility to human slavery. In the final analysis, foreign powers could not go the whole way in backing the slaveholding South.

Anyone who loves history will enjoy this book. Those who are particularly concerned with the American Civil War and with the diplomatic history of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century will certainly regard it as a worthwhile contribution to historiography.

Rider College

LAWRENCE EALY

Hayes, The Diary of a President, 1875-1881, Covering the Disputed Election, the End of Reconstruction, and the Beginning of Civil Service. Edited by T. HARRY WILLIAMS. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964. xlv, 329 p. Index. \$6.50.)

Only three presidents—John Quincy Adams, James K. Polk and Rutherford B. Hayes—kept diaries while in the White House, and this fact alone makes them unusually interesting chiefs of state. Although Hayes is probably the least important of the three as a president, T. Harry Williams has wisely edited his complete presidential diary and thereby corrected the poorly edited version prepared by Charles R. Williams, *Diary and Letters*

of *Rutherford B. Hayes* (5 volumes, 1922–1926). T. Harry Williams intelligently annotates the diary (although many of Hayes's references remain obscure) and adds a chronology of the Hayes administration, a *dramatis personae*, and a fair-minded biographical sketch that fits Hayes into his times, emphasizing especially the president's personal integrity, his deep party loyalty, economic conservatism, and growing awareness of the national government's power. Williams goes so far as to call Hayes "a nationalist of the nationalists." The diary itself is not a full, day-to-day diary, and it is rich on matters that will surprise few readers: the disputed 1876 presidential election and its aftermath, Hayes's southern policies, the controversial money "question," and everyday details of post-bellum politics. In addition, and to this reviewer's pleasant surprise, the diary sheds light on Hayes's character, personality, and nonpolitical interests. Two examples suffice. After his first school teacher died, Hayes sadly notes: "A good woman gone. Another link broken, which connects me with the past." And of his son Webb, who served as his unofficial secretary, the President candidly admits: "He is twenty-three years. Without the scholarship I wish he had, he is yet a boy to be content with. He is honest, cheerful, very sensible, and full of social and friendly qualities, with good habits and principles."

Many remember Hayes as typical of the dull, ill-informed political leader of Gilded Age America. The diary will surprise them in certain respects. Much is often made of Mrs. Hayes, Lucy, whose firm belief in temperance brought soft drinks to the post-Grant White House, and from this fact is inferred much else about "Victorian morality." It is therefore interesting to note Hayes's reaction to the conviction of Ezra H. Heywood, the Boston free thinker, whose tract attacking middle-class marriage and "Victorian" social norms resulted in a prison sentence for sending "obscene matter through the mails." But Hayes pardoned Heywood and confided:

The law was not violated—the pamphlet was not obscene matter. Indeed, I think the real objection to Heywood's act is not that he discussed a question in an objectionable manner, but that he was on the wrong side of the question. That he maintains the wrong side of the question as to marriage I entertain as little doubt as those who assail me [for the pardon]. But it is no crime by the laws of the United States to advocate abolition of marriage. . . . Pamphlets or books on the wrong side of that question may be obscene publications, so also may writings on the right side of the question. In this case the writings were objectionable but were not obscene, lascivious, lewd, or corrupting in the criminal sense.

Shades of Roger Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union in the Gilded Age and in the White House, no less! Similarly interesting are Hayes's views of the labor question. Although he sent troops to suppress the violence of the 1877 railroad strikers, he nevertheless concluded that the "real remedy" was not force and lay elsewhere. "Now for the *real* remedy," he confidentially mused. "Cant something [be] done by education of the

strikers, by judicious control of the capitalists, by wise general policy to end or diminish the evil. The R. R. strikers, as a rule are good men sober intelligent and industrious." Less than ten years later, in 1886, visiting New York City during Henry George's mayoralty campaign, Hayes admitted that George was "strong when he portrays the rottenness of the present system" and placed the eloquent single-taxer with the other "Nihilists"—himself, Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain, and his friend and campaign biographer William Dean Howells—men who "opposed the wrongs and evils of the money-piling tendency of our country which is changing laws, Government, and morals, and giving all power to the rich and bringing in pauperism and its attendant crimes and wretchedness like a flood." The diary helps us to understand the alienation of a former president from his changing America. He too reacted against the new America that affected so many and that so few could understand.

State University of New York at Buffalo

HERBERT G. GUTMAN

Images of American Living. Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression. By ALAN GOWANS. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1964. xvii, 498 p. Illustrations, indexes. \$16.50.)

Despite the excellent studies of individual cities that have appeared in recent years, we have continued to lack a scholarly, comprehensive, and well-illustrated history of American architecture that is wholly satisfactory. Alan Gowans' *Images of American Living* takes a giant step in that direction. Factual without being tedious, the perceptive text is well supported by numerous photographs and drawings that range in subject from the colonial settlements of the seventeenth century to some of the latest work of Louis Kahn and Buckminster Fuller.

But for many readers the most useful aspect of Gowans' new book is likely to be the inclusion of the interior furnishings of American buildings in the same volume with a discussion of their architectural settings. However appropriate or desirable, this treatment is not common with historians of American art, possibly because few consider themselves qualified to deal with so wide a range of material. Here the author's adoption of this approach was presumably an outgrowth of his participation in the co-operative program carried on between the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the University of Delaware, the institution where for nearly a decade he has served as professor and chairman of the Department of Art. This background may also help to explain other aspects of the book. The collections at Winterthur date no later than about 1830, when the machine began to be substituted for the earlier handwork of the craftsman, and although Gowans continues his analysis to the present day, his treatment becomes increasingly less comprehensive the nearer he approaches the

modern period. Architecture since World War II is represented by only a handful of examples, and contemporary furnishings largely by the familiar "Eames chair."

Just how comprehensive is the illustrative material in the *Images* is suggested by the Index of Architecture (one of three such indexes), which lists buildings from forty-four states as well as the District of Columbia, Canada, Japan, England, and the Philippines. To be sure, some of these areas afford only one or two examples, but others like Massachusetts, New York, or Pennsylvania are represented by up to a hundred or more. Not all of the structures mentioned could be illustrated, of course, but several hundred of the most representative have been. Clearly identified and well reproduced reasonably near the principal discussion in the text, most of the photographs could hardly be improved upon, a very few like that of the Adam Thoroughgood house (now restored without the later dormers shown in Plate 42) excepted.

Among the thousands of names, dates, and facts included in a history of this kind is bound to lurk an occasional error, however painstaking the editing. At least a short list of these could doubtless be compiled in this case, though to cite a few random examples in a short review is to run the risk of magnifying this aspect of a book beyond its true proportion. Moreover, there is always the disturbing possibility that what appears to the reviewer as an error may, in fact, turn out to be evidence of the author's wider acquaintance with the subject. Perhaps the present church of San José y San Miguel de Aguano at San Antonio (Pl. 10) really was "begun" as late as 1768, though a date nearer 1720 is usually given; or possibly "King" Carter is buried under the chancel (p. 184), rather than in the elaborate free-standing tomb still to be seen outside Christ Church and clearly visible in the photograph reproduced as Plate 68. Less debatable is the suggestion (p. 313) that the plan for a public park in Washington, D. C., was "abandoned after Downing's death in 1852." Followed out in most of its essentials—in fact, the large "Ellipse" before the White House still remains—the major lines of Downing's Romantic design only began to be obliterated about 1901 after the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 had fostered an admiration for things French, a cycle in American taste ably discussed by the author elsewhere in his book.

As a member of a younger generation of architectural historians, Gowans is willing to view even such products of the Victorian Era as Philadelphia's City Hall with a more sympathetic eye than have many of his predecessors. Only occasionally are most readers likely to consider that he may have done less than full justice to the achievements of a region or a period in any of the judgments, both stated and implied, with which the book abounds. A case in point might be his treatment of the Spanish colonies. No doubt some of the products of this era may fairly be called "degenerate" (p. 19), but no such term is applicable, surely, to a number of the earlier churches of New Mexico, none of which are illustrated or discussed in detail. In a mission

like that at Ranchos de Taos, Spanish forms are reinterpreted by Ancient Indian techniques to create a remarkably expressive style, an instance, rare in American art, when an indigenous culture may be said to have modified significantly the imported European tradition.

The two-column format and lengthy captions to the illustrations employed for *Images of American Living* may suggest to some a textbook, and that will undoubtedly be one of its principal uses. But this should not be permitted to obscure its value to the professional historian or its appeal to the general reader. As an admirable interpretive summary and ready reference, it deserves a place in the working library of all those interested in almost any aspect of American culture.

University of Pennsylvania

GEORGE B. TATUM

Minstrels of the Mine Patch: Songs and Stories of the Anthracite Industry.

By GEORGE KORSON. Foreword by ARCHIE GREEN. (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, Inc., 1964. xx, 332 p. Appendix, glossary, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

In 1912 a Scranton newspaper columnist came across a copy of "Down in a Coal Mine," which had been popular when he first heard it forty years before; he wondered how many who had been boys in 1872 still remembered it. As George Korson observes, it is the one nineteenth-century song in his collection not indigenous to the anthracite region but commercially composed, published, and copyrighted. It is also the only song about coal mining that was ever popular enough in the region to be a byword in the local press of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the era represented by this collection.

In the nearly thirty years since *Minstrels of the Mine Patch* was first published (nearly forty since Korson's first anthracite collection), folklore studies have become an accepted branch of American cultural history. Beginning as an amateur collector, Korson was one of the first to recognize that industrial workmen had their folksongs no less than Cecil Sharp's Appalachian mountaineers. Historians have only begun, however, to examine the significance of the folklorists' collections of songs and stories.

Although many of the anthracite ballads refer to specific events and situations—mine disasters, strikes, working conditions, the Molly Maguires—they add nothing to the conventional sources. Quite the contrary: Korson is distinguished among folklorists for careful research in conventional sources to provide an accurate context in which to set the songs. He has even turned up from newspaper files and local histories a number of ballads or verses that may never have been sung at all.

The importance of the songs in the popular culture of the region is less certain than Korson suggests. There is no doubt that singing was important to immigrant mineworkers, especially the Welsh and Germans. The "Celtic

flavor" of the Korson collection, however, is almost entirely Irish. Whatever "common Celtic heritage" the Welsh and Irish may anciently have had, they had very little in the nineteenth century, and nowhere less than in the Pennsylvania anthracite region. Miners from Wales brought with them a distinctive musical tradition, from simple folksongs and intricate *pennillion* singing to their own hymnology and Handel. *The Messiah* and *Judas Maccabaeus* were as truly Welsh folk music of the time as any ballad about mining. Welsh immigrants also composed enough music, poetry, and prose to fill a shelf of collections. In the culture of German immigrants the music of *Sängerbund*, *Liedertafel*, and *Männerchor* occupied a similar place.

The Irish had nothing comparable. Displacement of the Gaelic language by English even before the era of mass emigration from Ireland, as George W. Potter has observed, had vulgarized "the tastes and dignity of the peasant." Though there were still minstrels among the Irish in the Pennsylvania mining valleys, the ballads they composed betray some of the "sentimental, tawdry, and buffoonish" quality that Potter notes in the English songs popular in nineteenth-century Ireland. Even one of the best of this collection, "The Avondale Mine Disaster," has more fustian than poetic compression:

Now to conclude, and make an end,
 Their number I'll pen down—
 One hundred and ten of brave stout men
 Were smothered underground;
 They're in their graves till the last day,
 Their widows may bewail,
 And the orphans' cries they rend the skies
 All round through Avondale!

But for George Korson's labor of love the very existence of these songs would be forgotten. At best they were, however, only one kind of folksong in a region where the sound of singing poured forth nightly from churches, society rooms, public halls, saloons, and the miners' houses.

Washington University

ROWLAND BERTHOFF

The Great Boom and Panic, 1921-1929. By ROBERT T. PATTERSON. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1965. xiv, 282 p. Charts, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

It happens that this reviewer was a specialist on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange throughout the 1929 panic and for several months thereafter. So, when I was asked to review Mr. Patterson's book, I was tempted to give the answer Queen Victoria received when, on a royal visit to a British school, she asked the Head Monitor if he had ever been flogged.

"Infandum, Regina, iubes renovare dolorem," he quoted from Virgil's *Aeneid*. "O Queen, you bid me renew unspeakable pain." Though autobiography is no part of criticism, thus much may establish a background of relative competence.

In my opinion, Mr. Patterson deserves high praise for his book, the purpose of which is to explain what happened and why. First, I salute his clarity and readability. Though he is a professional economist, he never falls into the kind of "shop" jargon over which the nonprofessional reader falls asleep. His history of the financial 1920's is as lively as Ian Fleming and genuinely exciting. In reporting one of the great mysteries in American life—why so many varied types of people united in blind pursuit of a mammoth illusion, apparently losing their minds and tragically losing their shirts—Mr. Patterson writes like an aficionado of his subject, but also like a laboratory technician dissecting a cadaver. Since few things are more remote from the emotional tragedy of death than a dissected cadaver, his approach is probably a wise one if he wants to instruct today's young readers, and surely a merciful one for their elders who lived through the holocaust.

Even in two of his chapters called *Human Aspects of the Boom* and *Human Aspects of the Depression* he is a reporter and not a novelist. Had he the intention and the ability to make us actually share the torture, humiliation and in some cases the insanity or suicide of the victims, the book might be too much to bear. His skill in maintaining the interest of our minds without asking too much of our hearts is admirable.

"An Informal History of the Stock Market and the Men Behind It in the Tumultuous Twenties," says the book jacket. One hopes that the kind of intelligent readers who shy away from economics will be attracted by that word "informal." If they are, they will find themselves intrigued by the subject matter and its treatment. At the same time, one hopes that serious students of finance will not be put off by that same word. I can assure them that they will find Mr. Patterson's volume highly illuminating. I vas dere, Charlie.

It has been especially interesting to read and review this book right after the performance of the stock market during the summer of 1965. I think the most encouraging aspect of a comparison between the two periods is the far more balanced public reaction to this year's lesser but still considerable gyrations. Perhaps we have outgrown things that, to quote John Canaday in *The New York Times*, "combined to make the twenties a fantastic decade not divided between illusion and disillusion but somehow making no distinction between them."

A part of Mr. Patterson's final chapter consists of excerpts from statements by eminent professors and other leading figures, mostly divergent categorical opinions about the causes of the panic and prognoses for the future. As one reads, one is reminded of Job's fine piece of sarcasm: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you." Mr. Patterson's

closing comment is: "The variety of explanations of the great boom and panic causes one to suppose that the lessons offered by those destructive episodes are not generally understood or accepted, and so will not be a means of future guidance. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that what happened in the stock market in the autumn of 1929 can happen again—perhaps on a far greater scale."

Let my closing be two lines from Longfellow: "Christ save us all from a death like this on the reef of Norman's Woe!"

Philadelphia

EDGAR SCOTT

Bendiner's Philadelphia. By ALFRED BENDINER. Foreword by B. A. BERGMAN. Preface by RUSSELL LYNES. (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company. London: Thomas Yoseloff Ltd., 1964. 175 p. Illustrations. \$4.95.)

To paraphrase Robert Frost, Alfred Bendiner had a lover's quarrel with Philadelphia. It was a well-tempered wrangle, as revelatory of ambivalence as was the scowl-mask the artist customarily wore in life, possibly to enable him to conceal artfully his enjoyment of his own critiques anent the architecture and latter-day aborigines of Penn's Greene Town. He realized it is unprofessional to laugh at one's own jokes. Instead, in the tradition of great humorists, he laughed silently at himself and at the rest of us, through his dual media of word and picture.

Today's scholars light their way back to Georgian England via the graphic caprices of Hogarth and Rowlandson and the irreverent chronicles by the literary descendants of Addison and Steele, who proliferated during the second half of the eighteenth century. Doubtless, future social-historians will turn to the faceted visual and verbal Bendiner wit to illumine their researches into the tempora and mores of Scrappletown-on-the-Schuylkill, as they were manifest during the final century of the second millenium.

Since its publication several months ago, *Bendiner's Philadelphia*, in addition to an anticipated regional sale, has merited a large national audience. This is evidence of the fact that, although the artist-writer's material is intentionally local in color, it does not require a local glossary to share in its humor. Bendiner was, by accident of birth, a Philadelphian, but he was not parochial. He merged, unselfconsciously, with whatever environment he found himself in—from Paris to Rome. This is clearly demonstrated by the ubiquitous interests and varied careers that marked his life, from architecture to archaeology.

Are his drawings illustrations for his words or vice-versa? Well, sentences and pictures flowed out of this versatile man with the impartiality of water taps in a wash basin. The reviewer does not think it mattered much to Bendiner which tap was turned on.

A deplorable amount of humor (particularly the verbal variety) becomes wilted as quickly as a bouquet of wildflowers. I think the art and writings of Alfred Bendiner will be spared such transience, because his wry wit invariably transcended the temporal life spans of his subjects, whether he was describing the gaseous rigors of automotive travel on the expressway, the fustian forays of the Pickering Hunt, the hieratic traditions of the First City Troop, or the expectorative exploits of a small boy on a trolley ride through Fairmount Park.

The bricks he tossed will outlast the "custom" made brickwork at which he took awesome aim. He never divorced his commentary from that historically constant factor—the human condition. He never forgot that buildings are people-places. This fact lent the architectural structures that he depicted (so incomparably) a subtle anthropocentrism, as well as adding human faces to the humane institutions they housed.

Al had attained the Age of Nostalgia by the time of his death, but, mercifully, he remained one of the toughest-minded escape-artists within memory. Artists are those who (among their other accomplishments) alter our images of our environment, who vitalize our commonplaces. This was an ingredient of the Bendiner genius. He is destined to become as integral a part of The Philadelphia Story as his distinguished predecessors, Thomas Eakins and Christopher Morley.

Philadelphia

BEN WOLF

Philadelphia, The Unexpected City. By LAURENCE LAFORE and SARAH LEE LIPPINCOTT. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965. xiv, 178 p. Illustrations, index. \$9.95.)

In this book the authors attempt to give a portrait of a city, and, since they are devotees of the city, they achieve an affectionate but incomplete picture. This collection of essays and photographs gives the authors' feelings about a city in which they were born and which their forebears helped to found.

A well-written introduction concisely describes the city's Quaker history and sets forth the theme to be carried through the book, that is, the tolerance for all men, laid down by William Penn the Quaker Founder of Pennsylvania. In 1776, "Pennsylvania, splendidly tolerant, had received the widest assortment of races, faiths, and nationalities, as the nation was later to receive them. It had enjoyed for seventy-five years a charter that guaranteed their freedom. . . . The core of the American tradition was to be diversity, religious freedom, and the equality of human beings, and these were ideals that had been made in Philadelphia."

The portrait of the city must of necessity be, if in pictures, an architectural study. The eight essays, on various aspects, are repetitious since they

deal with similar architectural problems. The first three comprise a history of architecture in Philadelphia, from the earliest Swedish and Dutch immigrants through the Quakers, Anglicans, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and all the other sects who came to the city and built their houses of worship. Their mercantile establishments, ranging in style from early Georgian through Renaissance, Tudor, and Gothic, to modern dreary cubes, are described and pictured.

A fourth essay on Philadelphia's row houses describes their evolution and continuing usefulness and comfort, despite large and overpowering fenestrated towers for living. Another essay briefly describes the vast industrial diversification of the city, which provides the cash to support banks, lawyers, stock exchanges, and the countless small businesses and families who make up a metropolis, in this case a diversified city, containing many small neighborhoods, indeed villages, of long-established residents.

The last three essays describe the rediscovery of the lost eighteenth-century city, the fantasies of sculpture and fountains which make the present city so delightful, and the bits and pieces of Philadelphia that have pleased many generations of children who have grown up in it.

The authors are understandably cross with the wholesale destruction of early nineteenth-century houses and warehouses undertaken by the federal government in its reclamation of the slum-ridden Society Hill area. They are also reluctantly pleased with the city planning of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century which created the Grecian Art Museum now commanding a beautifully planned and planted parkway leading to the heart of the city.

The photographs are disappointing and the scholarship is sketchy (a bibliography would have been useful), but the desired effect has been achieved. *Philadelphia, The Unexpected City* is a portrait of a difficult subject, seen by two Quaker artists.

Plymouth Meeting, Pa.

CAROLINE CADWALADER

Notice

Simultaneously with the mailing of this issue of the *Magazine*, the title form and index to Volume 89 (1965) have been sent under separate cover to all institutional subscribers. Members of the Society and individual subscribers who wish this material may have it upon request.

Information Wanted

Mrs. Russell F. Weigley is seeking biographical data on Sarah Tyson Rorer (1849-1937), the pioneer in dietetics. Mrs. Rorer spent most of her active professional life in Philadelphia, where she conducted the Philadelphia Cooking School from about 1881 to 1904. She was also foods editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* for many years and had numerous cookbooks published by Arnold and Company of Philadelphia. Anyone with information about Mrs. Rorer is urged to write to Mrs. Weigley at 2516 Panama Street, Philadelphia 19103.

