

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Deputyes & Libertyes. The Origins of Representative Government in Colonial America.* By MICHAEL KAMMEN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, xiv, 212, iv p. Bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

In the past decade there has been an upsurge of interest in political thought (Caroline Robbins' *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* is the model in the field), constitutional practice (Jack P. Greene's *The Quest for Power* has been the most ambitious attempt), and a combination of the two through the agency of social psychology (the work of Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood in the Revolutionary period is exemplary). Most of these studies have concerned the eighteenth century. Michael Kammen's *Deputyes & Libertyes* falls into the second category, constitutional practice, but focuses on the origins of representative government in the seventeenth century rather than its later development.

In a seventy-page essay Kammen discusses the emergence of legislatures in the Atlantic seaboard and Caribbean colonies, rejecting as "simplistic" the notion that these systems were modeled after the English law. Furthermore, he argues that the assemblies were more self-aware and, consequently, more mature than studies of the eighteenth-century legislatures (which assume an earlier lethargy) have led us to believe. The treatment of each situation is necessarily brief, but there are more than one-hundred pages of documents on the English background and the major colonies. Brevity is possible also because the approach is institutional: the text deals only with legally established bodies, while the documents do not range beyond constitutions, charters, legislative proceedings and official letters.

Nowhere has this information been brought together previously in a single source. The book's value is as a comparative study of institutions. It makes no pretence of dealing with the social basis of politics as Gary Nash has done in his recently published work on early Pennsylvania, *Quakers and Politics*. Kammen could have been more accurate by substituting his handy and thoughtful study "The Institutional Origins of Representative Government in Colonial America."

*San Francisco State College*

JOSEPH E. ILLICK

*The Notebook of John Smibert.* With Essays by SIR DAVID EVANS, JOHN KERSLAKE, and ANDREW OLIVER. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969. vi, 131 p. Illustrations, index. \$10.00.)

Every library and every young American scholar should have a copy of *The Notebook of John Smibert* on their shelves. Few young scholars have

written on early American painting. The most recent work on Smibert was published by Henry Wilder Foote in 1950. The publication of the *Notebook* should open the present generation's eyes to the many exciting possibilities in eighteenth-century painting, and show that the final chapters on Smibert, Feke, Copley, Stuart, West and others have not been written. Thus, with the *Notebook*, a new era of scholarship in early painting in America is upon us which may lead to a better understanding of the role of the artist in American society, as well as of the confrontation between art and the American that has pervaded our culture.

Publication of the *Notebook* was made possible by Andrew Oliver and the Massachusetts Historical Society. A Committee of Publication organized the book. It includes a foreword by Stephen T. Riley, a series of introductory essays by Sir David Evans, John Kerslake, and Andrew Oliver, a facsimile of the original *Notebook*, a transcript of the text, a section of "Notes on American Paintings" by Andrew Oliver, and a very good index.

The decision to publish the actual *Notebook* in facsimile was exemplary. Many important clues to identify pictures, hidden in the handwriting and ink density, would have been lost without the facsimile. For example, the handwriting used for the word "Boston" on page seventeen, next to a 1728 entry for *The Bermuda Group* was invaluable in determining that the second part of the entry was made in 1739 and that this entry referred to the completion of *The Bermuda Group* at Yale (see R. P. Mooz, "Smibert's Bermuda Group—A Reevaluation," *The Art Quarterly*, Summer, 1970). The transcript was also a good idea as it saves on the eyes, but it alone would give only half the story provided by the *Notebook* facsimile.

The various introductory essays are informative and important, but are not well co-ordinated. Some material, like that on Thomas Moffatt, is repeated in several spots and no correlation of information is attempted. Sir David Evans' essay on "The Provenance of the Notebook," gives many vital facts needed in dealing with the book. Still, he wrongly assumes "The Bermuda Group" was completed in 1730 and neglects to qualify his statements on the pictures of the victors at Louisbourg regarding the authorship of the Samuel Waldo portrait raised by Virginia Robie and Henry Wilder Foote in their writing on Smibert.

Kerslake's essay on "The Significance of the Notebook," discusses the "news" in the book (*i.e.*, Smibert's heretofore unknown trips to Philadelphia, New York, and New Jersey). The paragraph on the prices is important and should be added to previously published material on Copley's prices and soon to be published data on Feke's prices to compose a new study, but the rest of the discussion is very obvious to most scholars.

In the essay, "The Relevance of the Notebook," Andrew Oliver also jumps to the conclusion that "The Bermuda Group" was completed in 1730 and relies too heavily on Foote's book which by the very nature of the *Notebook* has been largely superseded. On the other hand, Oliver proves himself astute in pointing out the surprising productivity of

Smibert in America. This type of evidence may eventually overthrow the idea that artists in America were all "moonlighters," following one occupation to earn a livelihood and running a painting business on the side. Hopefully, one will some day show that Smibert was indeed the "Gentleman" described in his obituary.

In this writer's judgment, the least well-conceived aspect of the book is in the "Notes relating to Smibert's American Portraits." Much good information and a great deal of effort went into its completion. But, Foote's book is somehow used in this section as a concordance to the *Notebook* instead of vice versa. Once attempted, the "Notes" should have been more complete, or omitted until further developed, and published separately. Instead of dropping the matter when a picture was "Not in Foote," other sources, such as *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* or *Portraits in the Essex Institute*, should have been used. Also, because Foote's *John Smibert, Painter* is poorly illustrated and photographs of Smibert's works have been only sporadically published, it would have been extremely useful to have listed places where illustrations of the known American portraits can be found.

All in all, however, the book does just what Oliver says: it leaves "for another to rewrite the Smibert record." American scholars will revise the Smibert catalogue, write an article on Smibert's New York sitters—hopefully solving the problem of the Schuyler portrait, and other "Watson-Smibert" problems—and add a whole new chapter to the history of early eighteenth-century art in Philadelphia.

This presents Philadelphians with a new, rich opportunity for study. No real chronology of stylistic development has been established for Philadelphia in the eighteenth century. One does exist for Boston and New England. Are we to think the trips to Philadelphia by Smibert in 1740 and by Feke in 1746 and 1750 make Philadelphia art merely an offshoot of the New England school? What happened in Philadelphia between 1750 and the arrival of Charles Willson Peale in 1776? Some of these questions will be treated in a conference at the Winterthur Museum in 1971, but Smibert's *Notebook* provides a "field day" for the American scholar. It will give a whole new insight into style movements and patterns in America as well as stimulus to the study of the period in England when the English School was being formed. This last aspect of the *Notebook*—Smibert in England—is not explored at all in the present publication. Perhaps it is time for a two-volume work on Smibert, à la Jules David Prown's book on Copley, with the tables turned in reverse. In this writer's view, the Massachusetts Historical Society and Andrew Oliver have done scholars a great service in making *The Notebook of John Smibert* available.

*The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum*

R. PETER MOOZ

*Dr. Alexander Garden of Charles Town.* By EDMUND BERKELEY and DOROTHY SMITH BERKELEY. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969. xiv, 379 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Edmund and Dorothy Berkeley have here produced the first full-length biography of the colonial physician and natural history enthusiast for whom *Gardenia* is named. They have previously written the life of Dr. Garden's older contemporary, The Rev. John Clayton of Virginia, memorialized in *Claytonia*.

Although Alexander Garden failed to publish any of his investigations in natural history, he was a voluminous correspondent with, among others, Dr. Cadwallader Colden of New York, John Bartram of Philadelphia, and, particularly, John Ellis of London, a merchant active in the Royal Society. The Berkeleys have made full use of Garden's correspondence, both published and unpublished. They have also searched the archives of eighteenth-century America, from Charleston to New York. With the aid of a grant from the American Philosophical Society, they investigated Garden's boyhood in Scotland and his later years in London. The result is a compendium of fresh information in two areas: first, on the life of a colonial physician and the state of American medicine in the eighteenth century; and, second, on the development and achievement of American natural history in the eighteenth century.

Most notable in the life of the South Carolina physician were the constantly recurring epidemics, chiefly of smallpox, but also of typhus and yellow fever. Dr. Garden became an early proponent of inoculation for smallpox, using "a little pus taken from the legs of a young Person." Also, one is reminded afresh here of the horrifying conditions of the slave trade. Writing of the ships from Africa which he inspected, Dr. Garden noted: "I have seen some that have lost two thirds of their slaves. . . . I have never yet been a board one, that did not smell most offensive and noisome, what for Filth, putrid Air, and fetid Dysenteries." Finally, one is appalled by the ubiquitous infant mortality. For example, although three of Dr. Garden's five children reached maturity, of his surviving son's six children, not a single one lived long enough to produce progeny.

In between his busy practice and the full social life of Charleston, Dr. Garden kept up a steady interest in natural history, gathering many "Curiosities" of the warm temperate zone of the New World. Especially interested in botany (he had some training in botany, along with his medical education in Scotland), he became something of a magpie, collecting specimens of insects, fish, shells, rocks, as well as plants, most of which were sent to English collectors or to Linnaeus. In fact, the authors describe him as a "Collectors' Collector." His finest botanical introduction was Loblolly Bay, named *Gordonia* for an English gardener, James Gordon. Garden tried, unsuccessfully, to have an American *Swertia* named "Ellisia," for John Ellis, believing it to be a new genus. The authors point out that the late J. K. Small listed the plant as *Frasera caroliniensis*. It should be noted, however, that the plant has once again been placed in Linnaeus' genus of *Swertia*.

*Gardenia* was not discovered by Dr. Garden, nor is it even an American plant; the first specimens were brought to England from the Cape of Good

Hope. Ellis wrote that it was a sensation in London: "Everybody is in love with it." Wishing to honor Dr. Garden, who had sent him so many treasures from America, Ellis described the new plant for the Royal Society and succeeded in getting Linnaeus to accept the name of *Gardenia*. Ellis sent two plants to Dr. Garden; one was dead on arrival, the other expired shortly after. Wrote Garden, this "sudden death I take to be no good omen for the continuance and duration of my botanical name and character."

The most startling zoological specimens collected by Dr. Garden, and sent to John Ellis for reports to the Royal Society, were the *Siren lacertina*, "an Amphibious Bipes," in 1765, and the "Electric Eel" which he obtained in 1772 from a sea captain who had collected it in Surinam.

The authors say that Dr. Garden had a part in developing the great gardens around Charleston. I wish they could have been more specific here.

Born and educated in Scotland, Garden came to Charleston in 1752. There he lived and practiced medicine for thirty years until his loyalty to the British Crown during the Revolution forced him to leave America upon the conclusion of the war. He spent his last years in London, regretting that in his years of retirement, when he might have had time to explore more fully the treasures of America, he had to be exiled. He consoled himself with activities in the Royal Society.

While the Berkeleys have amassed quantities of data on Garden, possibly some of the material, such as details of litigation on land, could have been omitted here. In place of such trivia, Garden's career could have been illuminated with a broader contemporary context, including more information on the general state of medicine and of natural history in the colonies, and even on the course of the Revolution in South Carolina. This reader would have specially appreciated further identification of Garden's botanical collecting and travels. As it is rather lacking in perspective, the chapter on Garden's place in the history of science appears to be the weakest in the book.

The volume is attractively illustrated with marginal drawings by Dorothy Berkeley of discoveries by Garden and scenes from his life. Incidentally, the major editor of the *D.N.B.* was Leslie Stephen, not Stephens.

As one interested in the natural history of the southeastern United States and historians of the region, the reviewer is most grateful for the labor, clearly *con amore*, which went into *Dr. Alexander Garden of Charles Town*.

*Philadelphia Botanical Club*

RALPH M. SARGENT

*The Colonial Silversmith, His Techniques and His Products.* By HENRY J. KAUFFMAN. (Camden, N. J.: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1969. 176 p. Illustrations, index. \$12.50.)

The idea behind this book is a good one. A thorough knowledge of the processes involved in early American silversmithing is crucial to understanding and connoisseurship. It is the most certain guide to authenticity in a field as rife with forgeries as American silver. In the past, any discussion of the technical aspects in books on the subject have been relegated to a few brief pages or paragraphs by scholars who are generally more concerned with the history and artistry of the silversmith's products.

Henry J. Kauffman, Professor of Industrial Arts at Millersville State College, has long been interested in early American copper, brass, and pewter. He has undertaken the task of explaining the methods of the early silversmiths. Through a generous use of clarifying drawings by Dorothy Briggs, Staff Artist of the Smithsonian Institution, he discusses the making of various forms. Stressing flatware, cups, tankards, and teapots, he also gives information about such other forms as candlesticks and Indian medals.

It should be acknowledged that a number of the procedures put forth by Mr. Kauffman will be disputed by silver scholars because some of the methods described have greater application to the making of copper objects. Silversmiths made more use of the anvil than they did of the wooden block in shaping up a hollow vessel and it was more practical to shape a domed lid over stakes than to try to hammer it into a grooved swage as depicted in the book.

Uneven treatment and spotty coverage of the miscellaneous objects may be another criticism. For instance, it is not mentioned that buckles were formed by casting and that baskets were made in the eighteenth as well as the nineteenth century. Not all of the objects selected for illustration were actually seen by the author. A nineteenth-century apple corer is identified as early eighteenth century and described as being made with a number of knifelike blades (the photograph itself gives this impression), when in fact it has a single solid scoop attached to its handle.

There are other minor flaws it is the duty of a reviewer to point out. One is the perpetuation of the mistakes of previous writers. Thomas You's name was once spelled in a 1763 newspaper advertisement with the final u placed upside down. Because of this he has been mistakenly called Thomas Yon. Also, the obituary used to illustrate Joseph Richardson's prestige in Philadelphia is actually the death notice of the Quaker merchant of the same name who died in 1770 and not that of the silversmith who did not die until 1784.

The design of the slender book is attractive with silver printing on green cloth binding and endpapers taken from the plate in Diderot's *Encyclopedie* showing silversmiths performing some of the basic steps. There is an index for both text and captions, and a listing of selected readings. Although not included in the listing, Bernard Cuzner's *Silversmiths Manual*, William de Matteo's *The Silversmith in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, and

H. Wilson's *Silverwork and Jewellery* are sources anyone pursuing the subject should certainly consult first.

Undoubtedly this book will be used by beginning students of silver for some time to come, and it is hoped that if it proceeds through further editions, it will be improved and expanded.

*Kennebunkport, Maine*

MARTHA GANDY FALES

*Whig-Loyalism: An Aspect of Political Ideology in the American Revolutionary Era.* By WILLIAM ALLEN BENTON. (Rutherford, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969. 231 p. Bibliographical essay, index. \$8.00.)

William Allen Benton begins his study of Whig-Loyalism with a good question: "Why should a man encourage and support one side of a cause and then, as it gains momentum, switch his allegiance to the other side?" He is concerned with a cluster of nine patriots from six colonies who changed their political affiliation: William Byrd III, Robert Alexander, Daniel Dulany, Andrew Allen, William Smith, Peter Van Schaack, William Samuel Johnson, Daniel Leonard and Benjamin Church. While conceding that they shared little in common besides beginning as Whigs and concluding as Tories, Benton argues that his political team of switch hitters were "neither ambivalent nor indecisive," that their change in affiliation was "in keeping with their ideological beliefs." Clearer understanding of this group, Benton contends, enhances our understanding of the conservatism in the philosophy of the American Whigs.

Few would dispute Benton's objective: there is much to be gained from a closer scrutiny of all aspects of the political ideology of the non-Revolutionary patriots of the 1760's and 1770's. More debatable is Benton's success in finding persuasive answers to the difficult questions he poses. Indeed, some will query the very identity of these Whig-Loyalists. Are they really *bona fide* Whigs in the first place? What is their political ideology and does it indeed shift? What are the real roots of their political beliefs? For this reviewer such questions seem inadequately attended. Instead we are furnished a convenient, not unattractive, treatment of the lives of nine secondary political figures of the Revolutionary era, followed by an examination of their response to (i) the Stamp Act, (ii) the Townshend Acts, (iii) the Episcopacy question, and (iv) the tortuous road to independence and political realignment.

At least part of Benton's difficulties stem from the organization of his study. As he frankly confesses, to trace ideological development is difficult, even for prominent political leaders such as Washington (this is no place to question whether Washington actually experienced ideological development). To attempt this task for men of comparative obscurity is infinitely more demanding. In some instances Benton has been defeated by his

material—or its lack. In others, his chronological approach seems to deny him the opportunity to explore and discuss the real significance of the conservative patriot ideology. But this does not explain his failure to attend the illuminating “First Citizen”—“Antilon” dialogue between Charles Carroll and Daniel Dulany, Jr., an exchange which explains much of the drift and character of Dulany’s thought. Only when he approaches the issue of independence does Benton seem to come to grips with his original quest, reminding us of the agony with which even *convinced* patriots addressed separation from the mother country (see pp. 173–189).

Certainly there were many in Philadelphia in July, 1776, who would agree with Robert Morris that the Declaration came at “an improper time,” and “caused division when we wanted union.” But the hesitation of such men as John Dickinson came more from anxiety for internal union and an external ally than doubts over the justness of independence itself. Benton’s Whig-Loyalists were largely conservative patriots who could not accept the final logic of their political arguments; but Benton’s own story of their grudging awareness of this dilemma hardly confirms his claim that they lacked ambivalence or decisiveness.

In sum, *Whig-Loyalism* emerges as an engaging but frustrating study of engaging but frustrated men. Perhaps its most puzzling aspect is its avowed enthusiasm for the scholarship of Bernard Bailyn and Trevor Colbourn and its failure to build upon the work of either.

*University of New Hampshire*

TREVOR COLBOURN

*The Loyal Whig: William Smith of New York & Quebec.* By L. F. S. UPTON.  
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969. ix, 250 p. Bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

William Smith was part of the New York political triumvirate that included William Livingston and John Morin Scott. Professor Upton characterized them as arrogant young men determined to upset the “establishment.” Though they accomplished that purpose, more than simple arrogance was involved, at least in Livingston’s case. However, Smith remained a contentious figure, whether in New York, London, or Quebec. Indeed, he was not humbled until late in life when, as one of a number of Loyalists seeking redress from the Crown, he became aware of his own unimportance. That may have made his later career in Quebec more fruitful than his earlier one in New York. Skillful at manipulating situations, as a Loyalist he retained his estates in New York and Vermont while receiving from the Crown the highest judicial post in Quebec, no mean combination.

Upton finds Smith a man in constant search of political balance. New York politics were so heavily aristocratic that Smith threw his weight to demos, but within an Anglo-American context. When demos went beyond



that context, Smith withdrew. By 1785, as his final career began, he found that he had no choice, that he depended wholly on Sir Guy Carleton.

Upton simply and succinctly stated the value of his work: Smith "is a man of uncertain motives who documented his own weaknesses in great detail. . . . Smith left no great accomplishments behind him as a politician, but [he becomes] a valuable commentary on the great events of his time." As a man out of joint with his own times, Smith exhibited a thorough understanding of the forms of government and a complete misunderstanding of the spirit of society. He represented then as now the failure of American reformism, ever ready to tinker with governmental machinery and never ready to accept the limits of human tolerance.

Upton's study has many merits, including a thorough mastery of the sources and a sense of humility in approaching his subject. Some clarifications are needed, however: he described the New Hampshire grants controversy (ch. VII) without explaining why they were controversial; he commented that Smith drafted an order for Philip Schuyler which involved Governor Tryon's safety, but never specified the nature of the order (p. 97).

Moreover, sloppy editing and publishing are most evident. The first third of the book contains at least nine typographical errors, and "Charles Nova Scotia" suddenly appears (p. 197) with no explanation (Charles Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia, is meant). A book so marred is regrettable; a *good* book so marred is doubly unfortunate. As a major contribution to the growing Loyalist literature and to our understanding of the phenomenon of allegiance, Upton's *William Smith* should have been packaged better.

*Lehigh University*

LAWRENCE H. LEDER

*Printing in Delaware, 1761-1800. A Checklist.* By EVALD RINK. (Wilmington, Del.: Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, 1969. 214 p. Illustrations, indexes. \$9.50.)

Users of this checklist of eighteenth-century Delaware imprints will assuredly judge it against the high standards established by John Alden's *Rhode Island Imprints, 1778-1800*, and Marcus McCorison's *Vermont Imprints, 1778-1820*. In fact, its dust jacket invites us to do so. I found Rink's list somewhat thin by comparison.

It is a much briefer list. Delaware's printers, as Rink points out in his useful historical introduction, always worked in the shadow cast by their competitors in Philadelphia or Baltimore. Although this explains why Rink lists only 566 entries for the forty-year period, one could wish that the sponsors of the project, the Council of Historical Libraries of Delaware, had prevailed upon Mr. Rink to extend the list into the nineteenth century.

Rink follows the successful format used by Alden and McCorison. He provides locations, cross-references to other bibliographies, an author-title

index, and an index of printers. He carefully notes which volumes owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania are on deposit in The Library Company of Philadelphia. He has even run to earth a few items that survive only in private collections. Nevertheless, Rink's entries are somewhat leaner than those of Alden or McCorison. He does not indicate, for example, whether he has found any variants or any information about the size of editions. (For comparison, see Alden, p. 441, and McCorison, p. 402.) This certainly does not mean that users will find Rink's work less satisfactory than Alden's or McCorison's, just somewhat less satisfying.

*Library Company of Philadelphia*

PETER J. PARKER

*Letters from America.* By William Eddis. Edited by AUBREY C. LAND. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969. xxxiv, 237 p. Index. \$6.95.)

This carefully published volume contains forty-two letters written between 1769 and 1777 and which first appeared in print in 1792. Now they have been reprinted in a John Harvard Library Book and a valuable service for scholars has been performed, for many of the letters have been quoted in recognized writings about the American Revolution.

As Professor Land points out in his helpful introduction, William Eddis was a born letter writer in a great age of letter writing. The missives are not only richly informative of the events which took place in Maryland and New York during these crucial years, the style is elegant and delightful, almost a model of fine expression, despite the effusiveness found where such a grand manner is employed.

Eddis was an accomplished young Englishman—details of his personal background seem to be unknown—who remained loyal to the Crown even though happy in America. Most of the letters appear to have been written to his wife who had gone back to England, but it would be desirable if the book were more clear as to whom each one was written. He was a popular member of the royal governor's circle in Maryland and thus was in a position to know and reveal much about the political and social life of the Chesapeake colonies, a few of the letters being written from Virginia. A noteworthy feature of the collection is the marked change from blithe happiness to dire sorrow in the life of Eddis, as the fortunes of the British fell in America.

For most of this period, Eddis was surveyor and searcher of His Majesty's customs in the port of Annapolis. He describes vividly the family life of the lower classes with whom he came into occasional contact, as well as that of the few large planters. He found little difference "in the manners of the wealthy colonist and the wealthy Briton." The most appealing of his description is that of his own felicity with his family with whom he enjoyed his first years in the new land. But at the end of 1773, his world

changed and he keenly sensed the prevailing spirit of discontent. He could sympathize with the colonial cause but could not bring himself to embrace it. Although he did not approve of all that England did, he always felt devoted to her and lamented in print the inevitable separation of motherland and colonies. After the Intolerable Acts, he wrote, "All America is in a flame."

A gracious and appreciative person, Eddis often expresses his warm gratitude for what his friends, Americans as well as British, had done for him and his family. He was so welcome in official circles that one wonders why he did not reach a higher station in life. As it was, the position he had obtained here was abolished and he was forced to flee to New York and then back to England where he rejoined his wife and son. There he lived for almost half a century more, but apparently never so happily as when he was in America.

Like so many of the unfortunate Loyalists of the American Revolution, William Eddis made an eloquent plea for compensation for his losses in the land from which he fled. But like most of them, too, he received only a comparative pittance from the British government, his being £180 a year. But through his elegant and entertaining letters his name will live longer than most of his exiled associates'. Through this medium, also, has come to us useful knowledge of conditions in the seaboard colonies presented through the viewpoint of an honest and capable observer who happened to be on the losing side.

*New York University*

NORTH CALLAHAN

*Aftermath of Revolution: British Policy Toward the United States, 1783-1795.*

By CHARLES R. RITCHESON. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1969. xiv, 505 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

United States negotiators at the close of the War for American Independence won from Britain peace terms remarkably favorable to the new nation. Part of this success has been attributed to the vision of Lord Shelburne, who advocated a liberality that would lead toward future co-operation, amity, and unity. However, the emergence of the United States represented a potential threat to Britain in the view of other British foreign policy makers who advocated economic nationalism. They sought to regain Britain's pre-eminence in American trade, to hold the Old Northwest posts, to secure the Canadian fur trade, to extract payment for debts and Loyalist claims, and to deny the British West Indian commerce to the Americans. Thus, according to the interpretation in this new study by Charles R. Ritcheson, mercantilism dominated British policy after the war.

American disorganization and weakness under the Articles of Confederation hampered diplomacy. According to Ritcheson, John Adams, the first United States minister to Britain, bungled in handling treaty pro-

visions with respect to debts. Adams' failure led to years of wrangling. Gouverneur Morris, who followed Adams in Britain as an agent of the United States, also failed due to personal shortcomings. But Ritcheson saves his major criticisms for Jefferson, who is seen as pro-French, unrealistic, and a chief source of misunderstanding. "If Jefferson had died in 1795," says Ritcheson, "his position among the founders of the Republic would have been little better than that of, say, Gouverneur Morris or James Dulaney—honorable, but scarcely stellar." On the other hand, the author defends Federalist leaders, especially Hamilton. Julian P. Boyd's attack upon Hamilton in *Number 7: Alexander Hamilton's Secret Attempts to Control American Foreign Policy*, for example, is rejected. The author finds Boyd's "assumptions, reasoning, and conclusions unacceptable."

The new American Constitution and Britain's drift toward war with revolutionary France led to further developments in British policy. Although Lord Hawkesbury (Charles Jenkinson), tough and meticulous president of the Committee for Trade, still advocated an unswerving mercantilism, the newly appointed chief of the foreign office, Lord Grenville, sought negotiations with the United States. This reflected the growth of a new Anglo-American commercial community. Mutual interests intermeshed. The British need for grain, naval stores, and raw materials fitted nicely with American need for credit, manufactures, and trade. Where regulations stifled trade, illegal practices proliferated. Ritcheson stresses the importance of this economic community of interest at a time when the war with France led to worsened diplomatic relations with the United States.

He heartily approves Jay's Treaty, which engendered an Anglo-American rapprochement. Although he treats Bemis' *Jay's Treaty* respectfully, he disagrees with the interpretation. He is generally closer to the view of A. L. Burt. He praises both John Jay and Lord Grenville. He sees Jay as a man of integrity. "Deeply committed to Christian principles, he was unyielding in the defense of what he believed to be right." Grenville is seen as an underestimated man. Though lacking brilliance, he "possessed rectitude and sound intelligence in abundance." The treaty itself was a "fair, honorable, and reasonable settlement wrought by two fair, honorable and reasonable men." The real and solid advantages won by Grenville "outweighed not a whit those won by John Jay."

The author concludes his book by asserting that the "creative impulse [in Anglo-American relations] came from Shelburne and Grenville, Hamilton and Jay, not from Sheffield and Hawkesbury, Madison and Jefferson. The anomaly is not Lord Grenville's treaty with Mr. Jay, but the War of 1812." The harsh judgment against the Jeffersonians, however, may very well underestimate their realism. They had good reason to be skeptical of British policy. With Spain in control of New Orleans and with Britain pressing into the Mississippi basin, France remained a logical ally.

This work is an outgrowth of the author's previous studies of British politics during and after the period of the American Revolution. Ritcheson

concentrates upon the fundamentals of British policy as seen from the point of view of London rather than from New York or Philadelphia. He does not seek to re-examine the whole range of Anglo-American relations as did Bradford Perkins in his three-volume study of the subsequent period, 1795-1823. Ritcheson's purpose is to offer a new perspective on Anglo-American relations by challenging traditional views about British policy held by American historians who have heretofore seen Britain as capacious or hostile. His research is based upon the mass of diplomatic and consular correspondence between Britain and North America, together with relevant collections of private and public documents in Britain. The bibliography for this interpretation is adequate although not exhaustive. Professor Ritcheson's analysis helps clear the way toward a fresh synthesis of Anglo-American relations during this period.

University of South Alabama

HOWARD F. MAHAN

*The Columbian Magazine and American Literary Nationalism.* By WILLIAM J. FREE. (The Hague and Paris: Mouton & Co., 1968. 176 p. Index. 26 Dutch Guilders.)

*The Columbian Magazine; or, Monthly Miscellany* (title changed to *The Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine* in March, 1790) published in Philadelphia from September, 1786, to December, 1792, was probably the best magazine of its time. Faithful to a purpose, Dr. Free uses the journal to document the forces that shaped American literary nationalism in the early national period.

The ascendant position of the *Columbian* is certified by the author on the bases of its longevity, circulation, original material, and literary nationalism. The hazards and vicissitudes of periodical publishing in the whole era are presented as he explains the connections of the publishers (at various times: Mathew Carey, William Spotswood, James Trenchard, Charles Cist, Thomas Seddons, *et al.*) and the editors (at various times: Mathew Carey, Francis Hopkinson, A. J. Dallas, and William Young) with the magazine. The forces that Dr. Free found militating against the success of the *Columbian* were those that were to plague conductors of periodicals for some years to come: a reading public too small, unlettered, and unappreciative; faulty managerial practices; a dearth of good contributors. Sustained, however, by a dedication to the national weal, the *Columbian* bore its afflictions for six years before it was dispatched by the Postal Act of 1792, which set rates so high on monthly publications that they could not survive.

The literary theories and aesthetics—identified and elucidated by Dr. Free—in the *Columbian* attest that it was of its age, for its contributions were written and judged by the neoclassical precepts which had been

systematized in works of Lord Kames and Hugh Blair, the main purveyors of Scottish Common Sense aesthetics and rhetoric in America. Morality, universality, decorum, and correctness—the commonplace literary criteria of the Scots—were the *desiderata* in the *Columbian*. Servile acceptance of the rules of the Scots, it is pointed out, obstructed the progress of literary nationalism because their ossified pronouncements discouraged the use of new and peculiarly American scenes, themes, and forms; and, in fact, discouraged the use of the creative imagination altogether.

The author's classification of genres reveals that the *Columbian* editors invited and printed such unexceptional types of odes, elegies, beast fables, satires, and epic fragments. As in the case of genres, the metrics, diction, and tone of the poetry displayed little experimentation and originality. The author's canvass of prose fiction showed that creative and critical deference was paid to reality and morality, that sentimentalism was rife, and that tales were mostly fashioned in the seduction, Oriental, and allegorical molds. Essays were generic replicas of those written by Addison, Steele, Johnson, and Hawkesworth. Generously mixed with the *belletristic* literature were biography, history, geography, and topography—all in abundance, understandably, to satisfy the philosophical demand for the real. Having followed the author's commentary on the foreign and traditional genres which predominated in the *Columbian*, no one will take issue with one of his conclusions that neither the cause of literary nationalism nor of good literature was helped by the servile imitation and awkward use of native ideas put in foreign form.

Whether there was a quantity of native subject matter sufficient to support a national literature was a question that engaged the thinking of many American writers throughout the nineteenth century. Authors writing for the *Columbian* wrestled with the problem before the turn of the century. Some contributors found a wealth of domestic material on which to write, but most did not; thus the magazine, theoretically American, appears British in content. The great amount of foreign subject matter in it notwithstanding, the kinds of native subjects and their treatment anticipated what was to come in the following century. America's natural resources were disparately treated as having predominately either a spiritual or a commercial value. The American Indian was viewed as both good (*i.e.*, the Noble Savage) and bad, but editors and reviewers generally favored the latter position. American history was a source of subject matter, the Revolution being the most popular part. As a fictive character, the everyday American was not realistically treated; he found a place only as a stereotype. The American Dream, so Dr. Free found, was a popular subject with the *Columbian* writers. They were completely optimistic about America's future.

Dr. Free does not add to the familiar list of forces which helped or hindered the growth of a national literature in the early national period, but he does show that these positive and negative pressures, in varying

degrees and combinations, were present in the *Columbian*. His book will be of interest to all students of the early national period in American literature, but it will be most appreciated by those who need or desire to trace the complex skein of American literary nationalism and follow the drift of Scottish Common Sense aesthetics and rhetoric from their inception in domestic journals.

The book has a good index. Though well documented throughout, it would have been made a little more useful as a research instrument if a bibliography had been included. The work is well written, and the assemblage of material in it makes it a substantial contribution to literary scholarship.

*Tennessee Technological University*

GUY R. WOODALL

*Early Stationary Steam Engines in America: A Study in the Migration of a Technology.* By CARROLL W. PURSELL, JR. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. viii, 152 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.75.)

It is a cliché of American history that the steam locomotive was a primary force in carrying our civilization westward; what is often overlooked is the effect of the stationary steam engine in providing the manufacturing power in the East which made that westward expansion possible. The reason, as the author suggests, is probably that stationary engines are less glamorous than the early steam locomotives and steam boats.

Dr. Pursell has made perhaps the most exhaustive study ever undertaken of the evolution of steam engine development, production, and applications in America, and has produced a book which will be of quite some interest to engineer-historians, as well as to those concerned with the early development of the Industrial Revolution in this country.

The first steam engine in the colonies was imported from England in 1753, and was used in pumping water from a copper mine near Passaic, New Jersey. This engine was of the Newcomen pattern, quite different from the conventional steam engine we think of today. Since the Newcomen engine relied partly on gravity for operation, it operated only vertically. Steam was used to drive air out of the cylinder, and a hand valve was then opened to release cold water into the cylinder, causing the steam to condense, thereby producing a vacuum which pulled the piston downward. The piston was connected to a pivoted horizontal beam, and the far end of the beam was used to raise heavy objects, such as buckets of water. When the lifting end of the beam was raised, the cold water was turned off manually, and steam was again released through a hand valve into the cylinder, starting the cycle over again. The speed of the engine, therefore, was controlled by the operation of the hand valves. Interestingly, these

early devices were called "fire engines," a name which later came to signify the steam-engine-powered pumping vehicles used in fighting fires.

The first steam engine entirely designed and constructed in America was made in Philadelphia for a distillery by an Irish immigrant named Christopher Colles. This engine was built 20 years after the importation of the Passaic engine. Philadelphia quickly became a center for the production and use of steam engines.

The expansion of steam applications was rapid in the new country, and American and foreign engineers quickly improved the new source of power which would free industry from its dependence on horses, men, and water wheels in generating energy in the volume needed to manufacture for the new nation. Ideas were freely exchanged, adapted, or stolen between the continents as engineers sought greater horsepower, speed, efficiency, and simplicity of construction and maintenance, although it is probably safe to say that the majority of significant later improvements were developed in America.

Stationary steam engines soon found application in printing, foundries, cotton gins, textile mills, paper mills, and many other industries, and the direction and speed of the development of the American economy was permanently set. Within less than fifty years the new country shifted from a basically agrarian to an industrial economy, enabled through the steam engine to take advantage of our enormous wealth of natural resources. In the long run, this predestined America to become the world power it has been for so many years. Less happily, the development of low-cost power also set up the conflicts of regional interest which resulted in the bloody and destructive Civil War.

Because his interest is in the field of technological development, Dr. Pursell quite properly does not extend his remarks to discuss the social, economic, and political implications of this technology. In a sense, however, this is regrettable, for these are things which would have held more interest for the general reader.

The North, with its productive facilities and relatively low man-power requirements, became interested in high tariffs to discourage importing and thereby protect developing industries. The South, on the other hand, being primarily agricultural, and producing far more than could be consumed by the domestic economy, feared that high tariffs would result in retaliation abroad, thereby reducing its market. Closely related was the dispute between the two sections of the country over the question of labor supply and its management, the South believing its competitive vitality depended on the low-cost institution of slavery, while the North, being heavily mechanized, endorsed the concept of a free labor market. It could be said, with some justification, that the Civil War was caused in part by the development of the stationary steam engine.

This is a scholarly and important book, and Dr. Pursell makes useful and interesting observations on the spread of early technology. Those



especially interested in Pennsylvania history will find good source material on local leaders in steam engine development and production, including Benjamin Henry Latrobe, James Smallman, Daniel Large, Robert McQueen, and others.

*Ambler, Pa.*

JOHN W. MAXSON, JR.

*To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789-1815.* By JAMES M. BANNER, JR. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. xvi, 378, xii p. Appendixes, note on sources, index. \$8.95.)

The Hartford Convention constitutes one of American history's ironies. Through it, the party which had championed national supremacy sanctioned a regionalist movement and endorsed the interpositionist philosophy of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. As traditionally pictured, it expected to capitalize politically on what many thought an unwise, unquestionably mismanaged, war—yet presumably it killed the Federalist Party through association with supposed treason. Ostensibly it attempted to legitimize opposition to hostilities which were, if not won, already over when its indictment was implemented. Perceptive readers will see certain similarities with current events, but Dr. Banner's work quite properly leaves any specific parallels to be inferred.

Indeed, the volume provides additional ironies and some surprising evaluations as well. In scholarly, if not always easy, fashion it proclaims the assemblage (hitherto held an example of elitist and obstructionist manipulation) was actually the product of democratic forces. Far from disloyal, the gathering and its resolutions represented an extension of American Revolutionary principles—which undeniably were endangered in a mercurial and unfriendly world. Moreover, the Federalists sponsoring the conclave believed in elitist politics, but they had in practice already abandoned these to remain in power—and that abandonment unleashed forces demanding drastic action. And the Convention so discredited nationally proved triumphant locally.

Banner sees Republican-Federalist differences as largely a matter of emphases. Both parties appealed to our Revolutionary heritage; Massachusetts in general suspected aliens, rejoiced in its English background, and distrusted monetary acquisitiveness. The commonwealth was concerned over relative loss of status nationally and apparently disintegrating religious unity. Federalism (a mode of thinking before party structure developed) appealed to people in all walks of life, and neither economic position nor questions of constitutional construction in themselves decided party affiliations. Federalist leaders *did* tend "to rehearse the ideas of the past." But they honestly deemed Jeffersonianism destructive to freedom, and the administration fully as depraved as ever England's had been.

By 1804, however much they stressed obligations to society above benefits derivable from it, many Federalists had become politically lethargic. Party chieftains desired rule by a natural aristocracy, but accepted representation in principle—seeing democracy as a legitimatizing process, rather than the end, of government. Instead of restricting that process by limiting suffrage, they (like today's intellectuals) sought to "raise passion and [then] direct it," capturing votes for elitist purposes. Accordingly, they adopted the committee system (organized around legislative caucuses), augmented the electorate, and developed a full-fledged political structure. But within this framework, reaction against deism and resentment at Jeffersonian policies, considered inimical to New England, combined in a groundswell of pressure threatening party control by moderate leaders.

To Banner, talk of a "junto" dictating to New England Federalism after the early 1800's is mere myth. Most insiders feared the Convention, postponed calling it, and when it came modified extreme demands into relatively mild proposals. Even the "ambassadors" to present recommendations to the administration were obligated by instructions only to push for reimbursement of state funds expended for defense.

Ingenuous, complex, often persuasive, the volume delves into party constituencies and interests, all the way from clerical influences to a possible generation gap. There are some paradoxes and ambivalences. New England is both provincial and extolled for breadth of interests. Sharp election practices were scarcely Federalists' monopoly, and this reviewer doubts their invective greatly surpassed that earlier used by their opponents. The role of foreign affairs and the attractiveness to some of economic opportunities under Federalist policies seem slighted as affecting party alignments.

Yet this work is indispensable for serious students of the period. Its revisionism is supported by detailed tables and factual evidence. The Hartford Convention never seriously contemplated secession; it may even have prevented it. Nor did it deliberately seek to embarrass Madison. Whatever its consequences nationally, the gathering strengthened New England Federalism—and it focussed attention on enduring questions about the nature of the republican system.

*State University of New York  
College at Cortland*

DONALD H. STEWART

*"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America.* By LEONARD L. RICHARDS. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. ix, 196 p. Appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$6.50.)

Americans' perpetual astonishment over the vagaries of American behavior constitutes one of the more fascinating aspects of American

national character. Violence has been a recurring phenomenon in American life since the beginning of our history, yet its periodical outbreaks have always come as a horrifying surprise to the majority of our citizenry. The surprise has characteristically escalated into hysteria, accompanied by profound self-hatred, self-castigation, and apocalyptic visions of imminent national extinction. The pragmatic historian hopes that the study of the past will somehow break this chain of events, not only at the level of public reaction but more importantly at the existential level where mob action starts. At the very least, in the words of Carl L. Becker, such knowledge of history could "prepare us to live more humanely in the present."

In "*Gentlemen of Property and Standing*": *Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America*, Mr. Richards, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts, asks "how, when, and why mob violence erupted and ebbed in our past," and examines one segment of the historical record for possible answers. Specifically, he studies mob action directed against abolitionism in the 1830's and 1840's in terms of the types of mobs involved, the nature of their leadership, and the patterns into which their action fell. He probes deeply into selected cases of mob violence—New York City in July, 1834, Utica in October, 1835, Cincinnati in July, 1836, and September, 1841, Alton in November, 1837. His book happily combines the best of both old and new approaches to historical research. In addition to its basic coverage of the enormous body of secondary literature on abolitionism, Richards' bibliographical essay indicates extensive investigation of manuscript and printed primary sources—personal correspondence and miscellaneous papers, journals, memoirs, diaries, organizational records, federal censuses, city directories, newspapers. Armed with provocative hypotheses, Richards uses quantitative measurement based on detailed sociological identification of individual participants in his selected examples of mob violence and provides conclusions based on statistical generalizations.

Contrary to general belief among professional as well as lay observers, Richards finds that the mob actions he has studied in the Jacksonian period were not spontaneous uprisings of rabble mindlessly destroying everything they encountered. Three-fourths of these outbreaks were in fact well-organized efforts directed at specific targets under the leadership of "gentlemen of property and standing," conservative rather than destructive in intent. The other twenty-five per cent differed from the majority only in at least appearing to have been unpremeditated and in the inclusion of more lower-class participants. The New York City riot of July, 1834, and that of Cincinnati in September, 1841, were of this type, which Richards calls "atypical." Profoundly racist members of old and socially dominant families led or organized almost all of the mobs studied. Convinced that racial amalgamation would inevitably follow the abolition of slavery, they invoked violence in defense of the status quo. An interesting addendum to our understanding of this mentality is Richards' conviction

that this leadership, exclusively male and mostly within the thirties and forties age brackets, found additional provocation to violence in the abolitionists' direct appeal to women and children, behind the backs of their "natural" lords and masters.

Richards' evidence correlates mob action with the rise of organizational activity by the American Anti-Slavery Society, with a cyclical pattern of initial violence, reaching its peak in the mid-1830's, followed by decline into relative calm, for all of which he hazards several explanations. He also places anti-abolitionist violence within a larger context of technological change, pushing Hofstadter's concept of "status revolution" back several decades, in effect corroborating Henry Adams' belief that the 1840's constituted the major watershed in American history. Persuasive though the argument is, however, this reviewer found the mental leap from the rioters' Negrophobia to "their nightmare of becoming cogs in a mass society" somewhat taxing to the historical imagination, even for one already receptive to the thesis that technology is the independent variable of social evolution. One would like Richards to tell us more than he has been able to do in this initial short venture. We are grateful, however, for what he has provided, an imaginative, well-documented, gracefully written study, humanistic in its language, modest in its claims, provocative in its conclusions.

We all need to know more about the phenomenon of social violence. Richards' book should be welcomed by both amateur and professional historians as a vital contribution to our understanding of this subject.

*Lebanon Valley College*

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

*The Anti-Slavery Movement and Reconstruction: A Study in Anglo-American Co-operation, 1833-77.* By CHRISTINE BOLT. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. 197 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.95.)

Historians of antislavery reform in the United States have concerned themselves primarily with the struggle for emancipation within the nation. Frank J. Klingberg and Frank Thistlethwaite, among others, have called our attention to the close working relationship between the British and American abolitionists, though antislavery as an international reform movement remains fertile ground for future research. This volume adds a new dimension to the study of Anglo-American co-operation and also does for the British antislavery movement what James McPherson has done for its American counterpart. It traces the important role of antislavery reformers in informing the British public and arousing support for the recently freed slaves in the United States. Although, as the title states, the years 1833 to 1877 are covered, it is Reconstruction and the problems growing out of it that provides the bulk of the contents.

British abolitionists, who had successfully campaigned against slavery in the empire and had led the international effort to end the slave trade, gave aid and comfort to their American friends prior to and during the Civil War. After the war they turned their attention to the plight of the freedmen in the southern states. Working through various freedmen's aid associations and co-operating with American sympathizers, they circulated information, held numerous meetings, and collected money and supplies for the former slaves. Many of the British reformers were members of religious groups, especially Quakers, and they tended to emphasize Christian piety as a major objective of education for the southern black people. They also used economic arguments for their cause, pointing out that a satisfied and working black population would provide inexpensive cotton for British textile mills.

Their attempts to avoid taking sides in American political debates proved virtually impossible. The English reformers gave unqualified support to the Radical Republicans, though some of them came to balk at the idea of Negro suffrage. In time, the British friends of the freedmen also came to question the feasibility of indefinitely continuing their own program of charity and, finally, the whole program of radical reconstruction itself. They came to accept an avowed doctrine of the superiority of the white race, a viewpoint becoming increasingly influential to the British public at large. A change in sentiment in the United States away from radical reconstruction, an increased attention to the racial implications of Darwin's doctrines, a growing fear of racial conflict in the United States and a need to justify British colonialism all contributed to the change in viewpoint. The short-lived effort to aid the American freedmen was the last major attempt to change opinion in the British Isles and abroad against slavery and its aftermath.

The author has drawn her material from a wide variety of manuscript and printed sources, including diaries, letters, and manuscript minutes of meetings. Since the reform described was primarily humanitarian and religious rather than political, little political material was used. This is a well-written, significant book covering an aspect of late antislavery history not previously studied in depth. Although certain conclusions are clearly presented, it is primarily a narrative rather than an interpretive study.

*Wilmington College*

LARRY GARA

*Centennial: American Life in 1876.* By WILLIAM PEIRCE RANDEL. (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1969. x, 475 p. Bibliographical note, index. \$12.50.)

There is nothing new about choosing one year out of America's past and examining its record from many angles. One can think of but few years, however, that offer as much to the historian or the reader as the centennial,

1876 was a year in which the nation focused its attention upon the pageantry of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, paused to examine itself in the light of its past, and yet at the same time was struggling with social, economic, and psychological changes unparalleled in the history of man.

Mr. Randel opens his panoramic account with delightful samplings of opinion about the state of the Union from a dozen travelers. Except for Jacques Offenbach and Thomas Henry Huxley, these wide-eyed observers of the American scene have been virtually forgotten. We should be thankful to the author for searching them out, and grateful to these voices out of the past for reminding us again that life in the United States has always been infinitely varied, and that what pleases one man's taste may be most displeasing to another.

In the "Year of a Hundred Years," as Longfellow called it, the United States was still a loosely connected group of regions, the eastern states already urbanized but still looking backward toward Europe. The frontier had crossed the Mississippi, but beyond it was a wilderness where cowboys trailed cattle overland, soldiers still fought Indians (the Custer disaster on the Little Bighorn was a highlight of 1876), and outlaws roamed freely (Jesse James robbed the Northfield, Minnesota, bank in 1876). The old North-South confrontation was shifting into an East-West differential.

The author is at his best in the chapters describing the vast energies let loose in the nation after the Civil War, his discussions of the quality of life, the arts, the movement toward universal education which was something unique in the progress of mankind. He is at his weakest in the chapters on President Grant and the disputed Tilden-Hayes election.

Mr. Randel's dislike for Ulysses S. Grant is remindful of the Franklin D. Roosevelt haters who blamed everything that went wrong during the New Deal period on "that man." He accepts the weary clichés of "Grantism" that were manufactured by the President's contemporary enemies and subsequently found their way into histories of the times. Two of the overstated scandals of the Grant administration came to a head in 1876, but the author does not tell us that the Whisky Ring, which bribed the President's secretary, originated during Lincoln's administration, or that the Spoils System, which made the Belknap scandal possible, was started by Andrew Jackson. In his urge to blame everything on Grant, Mr. Randel is not beyond enlisting Mark Twain as a witness by implying that Twain's *The Gilded Age* was an attack on Grant's administration. Twain was exposing the grossness of the era, not Grant; if we may believe Twain's autobiography he was a great admirer of the President. As for the Tilden-Hayes election, perhaps the most important event of the year, Mr. Randel fails to explain the forces beneath many of the surface actions which finally culminated in the Compromise of 1877 between northern Republicans and southern Democrats—a coalition that was to effect the course of American politics for years to come.

For all its minor faults, *Centennial: American Life in 1876*, is a useful and entertaining book. The author's enthusiasm for his subject never lags, but he wisely leaves it to his readers to draw parallels with our similarly turbulent times as we approach the bicentennial.

*Urbana, Ill.*

D. ALEXANDER BROWN

*The Mollies Were Men.* By THOMAS BARRETT. (New York: Vantage Press, 1969. 216 p. \$3.95.)

*The Great Molly Maguire Hoax.* By CHARLES MCCARTHY. (Wyoming, Pa.: Cro-Woods Publishing, 1969. xv, 152 p. Illustrations. \$4.95.)

Both of these rough-hewn books by native coal region authors—Barrett, a miner, and McCarthy, a newspaper man—tap a long-suppressed point of view concerning the Molly Maguire episode which sent twenty miners to the gallows in the wake of the "Long Strike" of 1875. All the ingredients of epic tragedy—class struggle, heroes, traitors, and death—abound in the socioeconomic confrontation of John Kehoe, the immigrant Irish labor leader, and Franklin B. Gowen, the relentlessly acquisitive President of the Reading Coal & Iron Company.

As Schuylkill County Ancient Order of Hibernian delegate and elected high constable of Girardville, Kehoe represented an ascending Irish political power. He embarrassingly bested Gowen in the heated gubernatorial races of 1872 and 1875, when Governor John F. Hartranft of Montgomery County narrowly defeated Gowen's hand-picked candidate Judge Cyrus Pershing, who, ironically, later pronounced Kehoe's death sentence. While their historical techniques leave much to be desired, both books plumb interesting facts. McCarthy traces Judge Pershing's political hegira to the coal region from the obscurity of the Cambria County bench, after an undistinguished legislative tenure which saw him voting against the Emancipation Proclamation; against the 13th Amendment; and against allowing Negroes to settle in Pennsylvania. As for Kehoe, his sister-in-law and brother-in-law were killed during a midnight raid by vigilantes who were identified, but never prosecuted.

The Molly Maguire trials were conceived in an atmosphere of religious, social, and economic bigotry. Prosecuted by Gowen and General Albright, whose patriotism was manifest from his full military regalia, the trials of the doomed men failed to comport with elemental due process. The miners' fates were pre-ordained by a rabid press and by juries which excluded Catholics, but which, according to Barrett, curiously included at least one noncitizen. Defense witnesses were systemically evicted, blacklisted, cut off at the company store, and several were imprisoned. The chief witness against the miners was James McPharlan, the same Pinkerton whom Clarence Darrow later uncovered turning perjured evidence against Big Bill

Heywood and the Western Federation of Miners in the famous Steunenberg case. Kehoe was hanged when the Parole Board deadlocked 2-2.

Dartmouth Professor Wayne Broehl's definitive 1966 *The Molly Maguires* supports McCarthy's thesis that no Molly Maguire organization ever existed. Significantly, none of the hanged men was ever apprehended in an act of violence. In a final spasm of vulgar victory, their coffins, marked "The wages of sin is death," were systematically displayed throughout the coal region. After the hangings Gowen toured England and reassured Reading bond holders: "We had to contend with a powerful and unscrupulous trade union . . . which enabled a man of the meanest capacities to earn good wages. There was no telling where this system might have led and we plainly saw that although we had acquired the ownership of property, still we would not obtain the practical ownership of it *unless we were permitted to do what we liked with our own.*"

The miners were ill-equipped to cope with the establishment's press, politics, courts, and coal and iron police. After the hangings, there was no major labor stoppage until the "Great Strike" of 1902. The historical value of both technically defective books would be enhanced by footnotes and indexes (a fatal failing of Arthur Lewis' bland *Lament for the Mollies*), the pruning of irrelevant photographs, and an adjectival de-escalation. Today, the miners' spiritual ancestors—MacCarthy and Barrett—have produced a Manichean catharsis, which cannot pass as good history, but does make a contribution by piquing new perspectives into the brutal history of the power and politics of coal.

*Philadelphia*

JOHN M. ELLIOTT

*Chestnut Hill, An Architectural History.* Prepared for the Chestnut Hill Historical Society by WILLARD S. DETWEILER, JR., Inc. (Philadelphia: Chestnut Hill Historical Society, 1969. 110 p. Illustrations. \$6.60.)

The Chestnut Hill Historical Society is to be congratulated on keeping to a simple, paper-bound format rather than producing another cocktail table picture book, but perhaps it would have been wiser to entrust its composition to Susan G. Detweiler, listed on page 8 under "consultants" as author, rather than to a committee.

The book opens with a clarion call from the president of the Historical Society to preserve "our community's rich and distinguished architectural heritage." This "open letter" is full of "alarming signals," "rare opportunity," and "determined commitment," and is followed by one from the co-chairman of the Survey Committee describing "planning consultants," "briefing sessions," "multiplicity of sources," "evaluation of material." These can be easily skipped. Evan Turner, the Director of the Museum (he incidentally resides in house No. 85, although this is not mentioned), contributes a brief foreword, and finally we come to the History proper,



the first section of which is entitled "Development Factors." (Why not merely "Development"? ) This gives an all-too-brief account of the original ownership of the land and the gradual opening of the streets of the area, illustrated by six small maps. These would be more easily followed if a modern city plan at the same scale had been included for comparison and if the list of street openings beginning on page 99 had been incorporated in the text, or presented as footnotes. The maps are a little misleading, too, in that the latest one seems to show Thomas Mill Road, which since 1890 has stopped at Chestnut Hill Avenue, still continuing to Graver's Lane or beyond, on a diagonal line. Henry Howard Houston is given due importance on pages 23, 27, 46 and 67. A consolidation of this material would have made more vivid the "even greater entrepreneurial development thrust" of this creator of "social foci." (I am tempted to rewrite this as "Houston was a slick operator who knew how to attract the rich.")

At last we come to "The Architecture," pictures of one hundred buildings, mostly dwellings. These are arranged in chronological order, and are from photographs presumably taken, and well taken, by James J. Bartkus. However, No. 82 is lifted, without credit, from King's "Philadelphia and Notable Philadelphians" (as are also the oval portraits of Henry H. Houston and others) published in 1901. The pictures are accompanied by a running commentary, but unfortunately the captions which belong with the pictures are all lumped together in the back of the book under "Building Notes," making constant turning of the pages necessary. For some reason the names of the present occupants of the buildings are seldom given, nor, except occasionally, are any notes made of changes to the original structures. For instance, King's picture of No. 83 shows wooden railings on top of the porches, the bay windows, the porte-cochère and the "widow's walk" which give the house a much more lively appearance than the present photograph. No. 36 has lost its tall, narrow two-column portico whose outline clearly shows on the stonework and explains the awkward placing of the too-high center window. Comments are particularly needed when a building has been "earliered up" by the addition of details whose style precedes the date of the original building, as, for instance, the attractive doorway of No. 33. The complete twentieth-century remodeling of the Baptist Church is not even mentioned, although the 1857 and 1874 remodelings are. The latest rebuilding gave the church its "eighteenth-century" sash windows and doorway. It would be interesting to know who gave No. 48, only listed as "before 1876," the crew cut which left it shorn of all that in 1876 would have been called architecture, leaving an interesting shape but not one typical of any style or period.

Let us hope that the Chestnut Hill Historical Society will continue to take pictures and publish them so as to preserve the record of an attractive and in many ways unusual suburban neighborhood.

*Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis.* By HAROLD M. MAYER and RICHARD C. WADE, with the assistance of Glen E. Holt. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. ix, 510 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

*Chicago* represents an outstanding contribution to graphic history. It is distinctive in several respects: the collaboration of geographer (Mayer) and historian (Wade); the attempt to "use photography as evidence instead of mere illustration"; the emphasis upon physical development of the city in text and graphic content; the excellence of the photographic reproductions and their captions. Although somewhat narrower in scope, *Chicago* is one of the rare examples of graphic history which can be compared favorably to Kouwenhoven's *Pictorial History of New York*.

Organized chronologically, the book is divided into the following time segments: 1830-1851, 1851-1871, 1871-1893, 1893-1917, 1917-1945, 1945-1969. In all cases, the editors are consistent in their emphasis upon physical environment. Commerce and industry, housing and real estate, transportation, and suburbanization are explored in detail. Society (high and low), social issues, personalities are subordinated to the development of Chicago as a physical entity. Indeed, here is a history of Chicago in which Al Capone and Prohibition are not even mentioned!

The metropolitan perspective of this volume is commendable. Considerable attention is devoted to the Chicago suburbs in all periods, as well as the development of regional industrial parks and shopping centers after World War II. A metropolitan perspective is inseparable from transportation technology, and the editors devote much attention to this issue. They trace, in considerable detail, the evolution of the regional transportation system from the horse-drawn omnibus to the high-speed expressway and jetport.

Using photography as a form of historical documentation, and physical environment as an organizing principle, Wade and Mayer are primarily concerned with illustrating ordinary scenes and activities in the life of Chicago. If this book has general value for understanding the urbanization process, it is because of the insight it provides into the routine physical living and working environment. *Chicago* unfolds not a glamorous portrait, but an honest one. It shows Chicago from the perspective of the factory worker, clerk, shopkeeper, realtor and middle-class citizen (although the Chicago of Potter Palmer or Hugh Hefner is not entirely ignored). In this book the streetcar competes successfully for attention with the mansion. The neighborhood movie palace and shopping center are not ignored in favor of the Loop. The great architectural monuments—from Sullivan, Burnham and Root to the urban renewal scene—are covered, but what makes the book unique is the fact that more humble scenes, like a 1935 "Suburban Service Station at Ogden Avenue and La Grange Road," are also included.

The text is well co-ordinated with the photographs, and is more informative than is usually true of graphic compilations (although it does not attempt any conceptual innovations in urban history or geography). The book also benefits from a large number of excellent, specially prepared maps and diagrams of population distribution, transportation systems, and suburban development.

*University of Pittsburgh*

ROY LUBOVE

*Samuel Fels of Philadelphia.* By DALE PHALEN. (Philadelphia: Samuel S. Fels Fund, 1969. x, 100 p. Complimentary distribution.)

This life of Samuel Simeon Fels, soap manufacturer, civic leader, and philanthropist who, for more than half a century, was one of Philadelphia's leading citizens, is, as its author recognizes, more of a memorial than a full-scale or critical biography. It is published by the Samuel S. Fels Fund to provide some biographical information about its founder.

To those who knew Samuel Fels, who died in 1950 at the age of ninety, the influence of his thought, his philosophy, his scientific curiosity and intellectual vigor constituted an inspiration, which this volume will rekindle. For others, to whom this man with "an open mind, an open purse, and an open heart" is only a dim and legendary figure connected somehow with the nearly forgotten but once familiar Fels-Naptha Soap and various good works for education or human development, Samuel Fels deserves to be fully introduced. Philadelphians, in particular, cannot afford to discard the example of civic dedication set by this frail wisp of a man. He hoped that he could "rouse a sense of participation in our universe" among his townsmen, and especially among young people, which inspired him to give the planetarium instrument that bears his name to the Franklin Institute. When reporters interviewed him at the dedication of the Fels Planetarium on November 1, 1933, he said he thought it would be well for Philadelphia to have one, "and so," he said, "I ordered one," adding his hope that young people in Philadelphia would become as familiar with the stars as they were with traffic lights. Dale Phalen's warm tribute to Samuel Fels reminds us that pollution, decay, and discord are not the only prospects for our lives.

*Bryn Mawr College*

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN

*The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia Beginnings, 1730-1830.* By OTIS K. RICE. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970. xiii, 438 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$10.50.)

This book covers in detail one hundred years of the history of that portion of Virginia which later became West Virginia. Some topics are carried beyond the one-hundred-year span to more suitable terminal points.

West Virginia was settled rather slowly. The region was by-passed by two of the major routes of migration, the Valley of Virginia and the Ohio River. In 1790, when Kentucky contained more than 70,000 people, West Virginia had only 20,000.

In this area primitive ways of life were prolonged by problems of transportation and communication. The necessity for hunting to obtain meat became a habit which persisted after the need had passed. The author believes that isolation "preserved customs and ways of thinking . . . and in time accentuated traits and practices which might otherwise have been modified."

A chapter entitled "Mountaineer Ways and Folkways" gives a fascinating view of the people and how they lived. "Repairing Broken Constitutions" is an interesting and informative chapter on folk medicine.

"The Midnight of Ignorance" covers West Virginia education or the lack of it. Some of the first settlers came with a concern for education. The generations immediately following were more concerned with conquering a wilderness. By the time this was completed some were beginning to question the value of formal schooling. A few educational advances were made in the valleys of the Potomac, the Monongahela, the upper Ohio, the Greenbrier and the Kanawha where economic conditions were better. In some towns academies were established, partly to instill middle-class ideals. They often were controlled by churches, whose members believed "that education devoid of moral training was dangerous." Bethany College was the most successful institution of higher learning founded in the period before the Civil War. Its success was due largely to the wisdom and dedication of its founder, the Disciples of Christ minister Alexander Campbell.

West Virginia's first newspaper was started at Shepherdstown in 1790, and the first book was published at the same place in 1797. By 1830 at least forty-five newspapers had been started, but many had not lasted. Publication, library companies, literary societies, and academies notwithstanding, "West Virginia in 1840 suffered an educational backwardness which was to plague most of the Allegheny region for generations to come."

Professor Rice gives a balanced account of the growth of religious denominations. The advance of settlement into the Alleghenies coincided with the Great Awakening, and the migrants carried with them a fundamentalism which has persisted.

West Virginia's isolation was partially compensated by the presence of abundant mineral resources and by streams suitable for the development of water power. Salt making and iron manufacturing began in the eighteenth century. Coal mining, so important today, was started for the benefit of other industries.

The counties which eventually became West Virginia were under-represented in the Virginia Assembly. This lack of power was damaging to the hopes of those who sought state support for education and internal improvements. Virginia's Constitutional Convention of 1829, which the

votes of Allegheny people had helped to call, made improvements, some of which were only temporary.

Lacking confidence in the ability and concern of their state government, West Virginians had looked to the Federal Government to solve the Indian problem and to get the Mississippi River opened to western commerce. The custom of supporting the Federal Government and of seeking its aid in solving problems, especially those resulting from exploitation or neglect, has become a permanent feature of this region's politics.

Unlike delegates from Kentucky, who in the Virginia Convention of 1788 voted 10 to 3 against the Federal Constitution, delegates from West Virginia voted 14 to 1 in favor, with one delegate abstaining in each case. It is Professor Rice's belief that "insufficient attention by the state government to economic and political needs of the Allegheny counties, and not clashes over the moral issues related to slavery, ultimately resulted in disruption of the Old Dominion and the creation of the state of West Virginia."

This book is based upon the better secondary sources and upon a wealth of primary material. There are valuable facts and thought-provoking interpretations. The bibliography is excellent, and the index is thorough. Most readers will appreciate the fact that the footnotes are exactly where footnotes should be. Fourteen clearly reproduced illustrations appear near the middle of the volume. The maps are especially helpful. They show such things as French and Indian War and Revolutionary forts, the land surrendered by the Indians between these two wars, and paths of settlement. Maps on the end papers show the counties which existed in 1830 and also the principal towns.

*University of Kentucky*

CHARLES G. TALBERT

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E. James Ferguson is editing the papers of the Revolutionary financier, Robert Morris, under the sponsorship of the National Historical Publications Commission and would be grateful for any information about documents in obscure places or in private hands. Please send any information to him at the Department of History, Queens College, Flushing, New York.

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# JACOB EICHHOLTZ

## 1776-1842

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