
Everybody knows about the Pennsylvania-Dutch country. Everybody knows that the adjective is a corruption of Deutsch, or German. So everybody knows about the Pennsylvania Germans. Almost no one gives a second thought to the Dutch from the Netherlands, except, perhaps, to recall that it was Henry Hudson in the Half Moon, flying the Dutch flag, who may have been the first European to sail into Delaware Bay.

William Penn's mother was Dutch. The first inhabitants of Germantown, in spite of its name, were, to quote Mr. Riewald, "not Germans at all, but Dutch Friends who had been living in Krefeld in the Rhineland." The Mennonites were of Dutch origin, and the founder of the sect, Menno Simon, was born in Friesland. The second printer of Pennsylvania, Reynier Jansen, was Dutch.

Holland had been for many years before Penn's colony was chartered by Charles II a refuge for nonconformists. One separatist sect after another grew and flourished, or withered away and disappeared, or merged into another. George Fox and William Penn were convinced enough that dissatisfaction with the established churches was sufficiently widespread in Holland to make several missionary trips there to gain adherents to Quakerism.

Jansen was one of those who, after coming under the influence of the Flemish mystic, Antoinette Bourgignon, in whose secret printing office in Amsterdam he worked, opted for Quakerism. The detailed, carefully documented history of his religious life is the main theme of Mr. Riewald's book. It is, as the title indicates, a chapter in seventeenth-century nonconformity, and an excellent one.

Although Jansen was a lacemaker by trade, he was also a printer by experience. And Philadelphia needed a printer. William Bradford, who established the first press in Pennsylvania, had quarreled with the Quaker hierarchy during the Keithian controversy, and in 1693 betook himself and his printing materials to the then less prejudiced province of New York. In 1697 for a second time the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting began an attempt to secure printing tools. The following year it sought a printer. Jansen, the Dutch Quaker, answered the call, and arrived in Philadelphia shortly before September, 1698. The output of the press and the biblio-
graphical description of the books and broadsides which issued from it are the American interest of Mr. Riewald’s work.

Jansen’s total production from 1699 until his death early in 1706, plus the few books his sons issued later that same year, amounted to only forty-three pieces, one or two of which, although listed by the bibliographer, may never have been printed, although they were authorized. Of the forty-three, no copies of ten have been found. Of the thirty-three located items, ten are unique and eight are known in only two copies. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has sixteen Jansen items, to which number the Library Company of Philadelphia adds two not in the Society’s collection. The next largest number is at Haverford College, nine. (Mr. Riewald, confusing the symbol of Friends House, London, with the Library of Congress, had given second place to the Friends House.) Of the thirty-three located imprints, twenty-four are to be found in the Philadelphia area.

The works printed cannot be said to be very exciting in the main, being mostly ephemera and anti-Keithian polemics. However, Jonathan Dickinson’s God’s Protecting Providence, 1699, is a most important and interesting work, ranking as the first American-printed Indian captivity. The Library Company’s second copy, lacking the title, but with the last leaf, was not recorded. Another significant publication is the first abbreviated attempt to collect Pennsylvania laws, An Abstract or Abridgment of the Laws, 1701. It is a compliment to the careful industry of Charles Evans and his successors in the field of American bibliography, that this specialized study picked up only three pieces not recorded by them: the form of a bond in favor of William Penn (1700), now at Haverford; Andrew Rudman’s Twentie andelige Wisor (1700), located at Helsinki University Library; and William Dell’s Doctrine of Baptisms (1704), of which no copy was located and which may, indeed, not have been issued.

Mr. Riewald’s monograph is the result of exhaustive research. It is a model bio-bibliography with, in his case, an understandable emphasis on the biographical aspect. It is an essential work for any collector, historian, or library interested in early American printing.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

Edwin Wolf 2nd


This work is a new edition of The Colonial Wars in America, 1607–1775, which appeared originally in 1967 as part of the commemorative book, Society of Colonial Wars, 1892–1967. It has been revised and enlarged, with new illustrations and maps, a well-chosen bibliography, and an “index” which is really a detailed table of contents. It remains an interesting and
useful survey of military happenings in the British colonies down to the eve of the Revolution. An attractive little book, it is well illustrated with old and new pictures of battle scenes and with helpful maps, including six sketch maps by the late Douglas Macfarlan. The proportion of factual error is small for a work covering such an extensive period and condensing so many details.

Bureau of Archives and History
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission  DONALD H. KENT


In this book on the politics of provincial New York Patricia Bonomi has combined historiographical criticism, synthesis of recent work, and original research. The book is directed at understanding the "remarkable pugnacity of the contending parties" in colonial New York and the "peculiarly unstable and factious" character of politics that prevailed, in the author's view, throughout the colonial period. In general terms, this phenomenon is explained by New York's wide diversity of ethnic, geographical, religious, and economic interest groups, and the inability of the colonial government to quell separatist tendencies. Alone among the colonies, New York failed to construct a centralized representative government in the early years, and it was this lack of an elected assembly during the Dutch period and the first few decades of English administration, the author argues, that led to a "Cramped and myopic view of the public interest" and a kind of self-serving localism from which New York never recovered in the pre-Revolutionary period.

Some historians will argue with the central premise of the book—that politics in New York were more factious and unstable than elsewhere in colonial America. This is not proved in the book nor can it be demonstrated until colonial politics in the eighteenth century are studied comparatively. In fact, the argument can be made that the lack of annual assembly elections in New York—the colony often went five to seven years without elections—and the relatively small number of elective local offices retarded the development of modern political organizations and techniques in New York. Nor is it evident that the absence of an assembly in the years before 1691 permanently affected the character of political life in the colony. In other colonies, where representative government existed from the beginning, localism also flourished and political life was also marked by contention, which, after all, is inherent in the nature of politics.

The author is at her best in criticizing the facile generalizations of others who have written on New York in the colonial period. Thus, she argues
persuasively that deference is not a very useful concept to employ in analyzing New York politics; that it is time to put aside hoary notions of aristocratic manor lords dominating the political life of New York; and that the tenant uprisings of the 1760's are better understood in terms of Yankee-Yorker tensions and the machinations of land speculators than as "peasant rebellions" comparable in origins and aims to European protest movements of the same century.

It is unfortunate that having issued so many eminently sane warnings about the weaknesses of other interpretations the author is unable to provide a satisfactory alternative explanation. Primarily this is because a rigorous analysis of the social and economic dynamics of New York society, and how they were changing in the course of the eighteenth century, has never been made and lies outside the scope of her book. Although the subtitle, *Politics and Society in Colonial New York*, leads one to hope for some answers to the critical question of how the various elements of New York society were affected by the growth and development of the mid-Atlantic region and by changes in the structure and operation of the Euro-American economy, the book is almost barren of research in this area. While much is said about the fluidity and participatory nature of local government, no data is adduced to support this and no analysis is given to indicate how the nature of local government might have been changing between the 1690's and the 1770's. Much is said about the politicization of lower-class elements by members of the elite, especially in the 1730's and 1760's, but little is told about how these artisan and laboring groups in New York City were being affected by economic and social change and how, in turn, this may have altered their perceptions of the structure of opportunity and the proper role of government. Though mention is frequently made of the emergence of a popular party, led sometimes by Morрисes, sometimes by Delanceys, sometimes by Livingstons, this popular element is presented only as a mass of undifferentiated city dwellers responding to the siren calls of elitist politicians. This obscures some important matters: that the "popular" element was divided by ethnic, religious, and economic interests; that it was not always merely manipulated from above; and that its response depended on particular circumstances at any given time.

All students of colonial New York will be in Patricia Bonomi's debt, however, because she has perceptively discussed the work of other historians of the colony over the last seven decades and has directed our attention to a number of unresolved problems. But the fact remains that the historical analysis of eighteenth-century New York is in wreckage and the pieces are not likely to be put back together again until a new group of historians undertakes a number of far more particular studies which examine intensively the demographic, social, and economic process in local areas. In this regard, the recent work of Sung Bok Kim on the Manor of Cortlandt, which is not sufficiently recognized by the author, is an example of what can be accomplished by historians willing to give up the fascination
of Puritan town studies for the more prosaic archives of New York. Only with additional studies of this kind will we understand how the internal dynamics of provincial society in New York were changing in the century preceding the Revolution and how these changes transformed the nature of politics.

*University of California, Los Angeles*  
*Gary B. Nash*


Should the individual penning these letters appear today she should and would be welcome in any company. Her attitudes and sentiments might appear as contemporary almost anywhere. She was a woman of brains, character, surely great charm, and well educated. She had French, some Latin, music, English literature and philosophy, and an attitude toward the world and its problems showing the Enlightenment at its best for a young lady, and emphasizing what an education could be had without "going to college."

This young woman, and later this young widow, had never been to "Katherine Gibbes" or worked in real estate or been to agricultural college or studied landscape architecture or law or banking, yet she managed her father's (and then her minor sons') financial affairs with factors and merchants. She was a woman of great acumen and intellect, yet delightful and gay, popular socially with old and young, yet profoundly religious.

Anglo-American social life is here disclosed as well as business history, planting history, medical history, the history of travel, as well as descriptions of the difficulties of travel and a good deal about food. The political and military history of the continent of Europe and of the United Kingdom in its effort to hold the Caribbean and American lands comes through.

From the West Indies, then to school in England and back to the Caribbean, then to South Carolina in 1738 went this daughter, wife, and mother from the age of fifteen to about forty. The correct eighteenth-century manner and manners may be here seen (without Emily Post or Amy Vanderbilt). When an elderly gentleman asks her father for her hand, she writes him "to pay my thanks to the old Gentleman for his Generosity and favourable sentiments of me and let him know my thoughts on the affair in such civil terms as you know much better than any I can dictate; and beg leave to say to you that the riches of Peru and Chili if he had them put together could not purchase a sufficient Esteem for him to make him my husband."

Neighbors were hospitable to the young girl, both at plantations and in Charles Town, where she often visited Mrs. Charles Pinckney. One wonders
if the frail Mrs. Pinckney hoped that after her death her husband would marry their young friend whom they called the little visionary? An intellectual woman with beaucoup d'esprit, these drafts and notes form a fine psychological study.

Many aspects of life come through without having been planned as a project, thesis, or outline; point after point is disclosed in this eighteenth-century letter book.

Charleston, S. C.  

Anna Wells Rutledge

The Iroquois in the American Revolution. By Barbara Graymont. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972. x, 359 p. Appendixes, bibliographical essay, illustrations, index. $11.50.)

There is a real need for a history of the Iroquois participation in the Revolutionary War. They were courted by both sides and the Confederacy of the Six Nations was split. The British having been officially allied in the name of the king in previous wars had the advantage. Only the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, led by the missionary Samuel Kirkland, espoused the American cause. Heretofore, scholars have had to depend upon the very old Life of Joseph Brant (1838) by the elder William L. Stone, the inaccurate and Butler-biased War Out of Niagara (1933) by Howard Swiggett, the one-archive (S.P.G.) treatment of The Faithful Mohawks (1938) by J. W. Lydekker, or the legend and folklore of Jeptha R. Simms. Here then is a scholarly and documented treatise on an important phase of the Revolution.

The author has the approach of the anthropologist and devotes her first chapter to "People of the Longhouse," emphasizing Indian culture and tribal organization. This and the constant reference to individual Indians reflect her sympathy. Unfortunately this sometimes leads to uncritical acceptance of lore and legend.

It seems to the reviewer that more emphasis should be given to the intercolonial wars which preceded the Revolution in which Indian participation was essential. These are touched upon briefly. In fact, there is no mention of the Albany Congress of 1754, which was called for the purpose of conciliating the Six Nations, and in which their leaders chided the English for their weakness in opposing the French. It was during this period that the English influence with the Iroquois was built up by Sir William Johnson. The author errs in saying (pp. 30, 47) that it was through his consort Mary Brant that Johnson was able to manage the Six Nations so successfully. His influence was fully developed and recognized before she appeared on the scene in 1758-1759 (not 1753). Recent scholarship also rejects the idea accepted here that Molly was the granddaughter of Hendrick, or even of a prominent Iroquois family. Her influence during the Revolution was rather due to her being the relict of Sir William, and through her own character. Joseph Brant, who played such an important
part during the Revolution, was neither a sachem nor a chief. He, too, benefited by being a protégé of the Johnsons. The author also repeats the discredited canard about Johnson’s numerous half-breed children and his “series of Mohawk women.” She incorrectly calls his first wife, Catherine Weisenberg, his “consort” and “his indentured servant.” In his will Sir William called her his and her children were regarded as legitimate.

It is inevitable that anyone treating this subject should use the voluminous Draper Manuscripts of the Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the author has drawn upon them repeatedly. A great deal of this material, however, is hearsay and recorded in interviews long after the events. They emphasize the role of Brant who was probably less influential than many writers have made him. Numerous anecdotes and stories of Indian exploits in these records are of dubious authenticity. Their use provides human interest, but too much of this sometimes obscures the narrative of campaigns.

A bibliographical essay for each chapter as well as the notes indicate the extensive research which has gone into this work. Some errors might have been avoided by more extensive use of periodical literature. Missing from the bibliography are the Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson (Albany 1882), which deals with the Oriskany campaign, and A. C. Flick, The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779 (1929). Failure to use the sesquicentennial publications of the State of New York for the Sullivan-Clinton campaign (which was extensively traced by monumental markers) may account for the omission of the exciting episode of Clinton’s floating the army down the floodwaters of the Susquehanna from Otsego Lake. In fact, Clinton’s route is omitted from the full-page sketch map of the campaign. Tory raids from Canada in which Indians participated are frequently vague as to origin and route. Not all came from Niagara; Carleton Island in the St. Lawrence should get more attention.

The emphasis throughout is the Indians, their activity as a confederacy, and the final breakup of the Six Nations both as a force and as a political unit. The white man’s injustice to the red man, his bad faith, the forsaking of their Indian allies by the British in the treaties of 1782–1783, are all fully related. These are aspects of history which have been neglected.

In spite of the above criticism this is a pioneering and important work. It comes as an addition to the bicentennial and the growing literature dealing with the American Indian.

Glenmont, N. Y.

Milton W. Hamilton


Dr. Kipping provides his readers with a sampling from original letters, diaries, and reports written in America during the Revolution by Hessian officers. Most of these originals are preserved in the Hessian State Archives
The sampling is given in three chapters, "The Hessian Troops," "The American Countryside," and "The American People."

The second and third chapters comprise the part of the book which delineates "The Hessian View of America." In the second chapter, "The American Countryside," there are descriptions of regions and towns. Of five descriptions of Philadelphia, the following two are of particular interest. The journal of the Hessian Regiment de Corps states:

Philadelphia is the most beautiful and most regularly laid-out city in America and deserves an important rank among European cities. The city is situated on a nice plain between the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers. At this time, it is not yet completed according to plans and only three and a half English miles long and one and a half mile wide. When we took possession of the city [September 26, 1777], it had about two or three thousand large, regular stone houses, most of them having tile roofs, contrary to other American cities, where houses have shingle roofs.

When plans are completed, the city will spread from the Delaware River to the Schuylkill River, forming a square about five miles long and five miles wide. Both sides of the streets are paved for pedestrians like the upper town in Cassel. The main streets are wide so that three or four coaches can pass side by side. The city is so well equipped with lanterns that, when seen from the market square, it looks like a festival illumination, for all the streets are laid out squarely. The city will equal London when it is finished and will surpass it in regularity (page 16).

Captain Johann Hinrichs wrote to a professor in Goettingen, "Each household [in Philadelphia] gets two poles in the summer, on which to fix canvas, so that one may walk in the shade" (page 17). The book is studded with annotations, most of them indicating the location of the original material from which the "views" were gleaned.

In commenting on the American people, Captain Johannes Ewald, writing from Philadelphia, June 2, 1778, during the closing days of the occupation, said: "A great part of the escaped inhabitants came gradually back to their homes. The city became lively, trade and commerce were blossoming again, and inhabitants and soldiers began to be reconciled to each other" (page 31). Numerous readers will wish that Dr. Kipping would have included many more "views" of America by Hessian officers and soldiers.

Like some other features of this book, the eighteen illustrations are interesting and relevant to the Hessian officers and soldiers in the Revolution, but do not convey a "Hessian view of America." Each illustration is accompanied by a meaningful caption and a useful paragraph of explanation.

For those who want precise information concerning Hessian troops in the American Revolution, this small volume will be a treasure. The first chapter indicates how the troops (more than 30,000 men) were recruited in Germany and transported to America, and discusses morale, discipline, and desertion. An appendix lists the Hessian losses, 1776-1784, by year and by cause and includes the Hessian table of organization; the orders of battle from arrival to embarkation; the changes of names of Hessian units, 1776-1783; rank list of Hessian officers in 1777 for fifteen regiments, a field corps,
and four battalions; and a list of 495 Hessian prisoners, from five Hessian military units, who went out to work, and names and addresses of their employers, mainly in Lancaster, Lebanon, Berks, and Dauphin Counties in Pennsylvania.

Even though this cloth-bound volume has only forty-eight pages it contains a considerable amount of data. The pages are of large size, approximately ten inches wide and twelve high, with up to 600 words per page of text and more than a thousand words on some pages of the appendix.

Waynesboro, Pa. Homer T. Rosenberger

An Unsettled People, Social Order and Disorder in American History.

This is in some ways the most ambitious American history of the last decade, and in many ways the most pedestrian. Berthoff is steadily intelligent but almost never as stimulating or freshly illuminating as Boorstin or Handlin, and his "neoconservative" narrative of America's passage "from adequate order through a period of excessive disorder and back again toward some satisfactory order" mirrors ironically the Marxist synthesis that William Appleman Williams offered a decade ago.

At the center of Berthoff's analysis is what he takes to be his countrymen's commitment, solidly settled by the middle of the nineteenth century, to the "freedom of any man, woman, or child to make a little money." Such economic individualism, and the materialism and mobility it entailed, destroyed the organic society Americans had enjoyed until the Revolution. It dissolved established institutions and undermined social stability, installing anxiety, insecurity, and isolation in their stead and denying its devotees even the means to address their ills except by an intensified individualism or irrational reaction that only aggravated the deeper distress. And it still defines our dilemma today, as we seek stumblingly to reinstitute a regime of reciprocal rights and obligations in the face of a personalism more exaggerated than even the Jacksonians dreamed.

In his indictment of such overweening individualism, Berthoff obviously joins such prophets as Tocqueville and Royce and such contemporary pundits as Philip Slater and Garry Wills. But he has scant company among historians. His sensitivity to order is salutary in a discipline ordinarily all too attentive to "progress," and so is his refusal to allow the traditional pride of place to our liberal achievement and his insistence instead on the debilities we have suffered for our attachment to egalitarian atomism. His sustained focus on primary institutions—the family, the church, and the community—is altogether unprecedented in a comprehensive text.

Yet, for all that, Berthoff's study is flawed, and flawed badly. Despite his declared dedication to a rigorous concept of social structure, he never
defines one, nor does he have any criteria, explicit or implicit, by which to judge one. He rarely seeks a data series where an impression will do (though it would not be impossible by any means to set comparisons over time of social and geographic mobility, income shares, or charitable contributions), and he disdains to take seriously the data series he cites that are inconvenient for his impressions, such as those on church membership or family size. Ultimately he is more concerned to call names than to conceptualize clearly, so that his three periods seem finally mere phantasms of his own polemic and aesthetic necessities rather than real boundaries of social behavior.

Thus he asserts a pervasive transformation between “the first American society,” which preserved “feudal” rank and reciprocity through the century and a half after settlement, and “the society of individuals,” which dismantled those conditions of commonwealth in the century succeeding the Revolution. But it is only an assertion, sparsely substantiated, and his own evidence betrays him again and again. He can hardly distinguish between the colonial and Jacksonian agricultural economies when he concedes that land was acquired similarly over the entire span for speculation and sale, not cultivation and community; and he is hard pressed to differentiate the local settlements built on such opportunism and chicane, preserved equally as they were from any “complex social relationship.” He cannot explain why, if class distinctions and aristocracy constitute evidence of appropriate social order in the eighteenth century, the still greater stratification of the nineteenth century is an indication of instability; nor why political profiteering should prove an “aristocratic ethos” in early America while comparable corruption proves a breakdown of order in the age of egalitarianism; nor why the claims to authority of the colonial arrivistes should be accepted while the parvenu pretensions of their nineteenth-century successors must be scorned. He admits the atrophy of religion long before independence and the persistence of racism long after, and it is only his self-imposed assumption of industrial disorder that keeps him from following his own insights into the conservative and regulatory character of the leading nineteenth-century reforms, with their massive tampering with property (antislavery), children (public education), and personal habits (temperance), all on a scale of concern for the common weal quite dwarfing anything the Quakers or Puritans contemplated.

Similar continuities cross the middle period and “the reconstituted society” of the past century, and even the differences Berthoff does affirm are often colored by wishful thinking, as in his apparent belief that public regulatory agencies really regulate on the public behalf. And similar problems persist, as in the very shaky distinction between Henry Ford’s interest in his employees’ private lives, which “did little to shore up the family as a social institution,” and the same surveillance by the colonists, which supposedly did so much to that good end.

It is no wonder, then, that Berthoff cannot keep his periods in decent
order. He sets the second of them between 1775 and 1875, for example, but never really acknowledges the first forty years of that century, admitting, in fact, that there was still only a "modest agrarian and commercial" economy as late as 1825 and that the industrial expansion in terms of which he characterizes the entire era did not widely supplant traditional techniques "until late in the nineteenth century." And just as the economic, communal, and familial dislocations he attributes to industrialization could not, therefore, have obtained through most of his second stage, so the recovery of coherence which he claims for the third period, 1875–1945, is suspect since "only a beginning" had been made, more than halfway through those years, toward the welfare state that underwrote the reclamation. Berthoff's periodization is not only arbitrary and imposed rather than tied to social processes, which is why he can never account causally for shifts from one era to another, but further does not even fit his own arbitrary imposition.

Ultimately, such confusions derive from Berthoff's failure to fathom deeply his own notion of a good society. It is easy to mouth the phrases of organic order, and it is satisfying to pronounce passionately that man cannot live for himself alone, but that does not get us very far. And it is no help to applaud Puritan moralism yet deride as "fanaticism" most modern moral regulation, whether public (prohibition) or private (Comstockery, the Klan), nor to hail the homogeneity of the early colonists yet condemn such modern movements to purify the populace as immigration restriction and sterilization. It does not carry us closer to an understanding of our prospect to criticize the churches for captivity to their communities without indicating that that might be a condition of the very social integration sought, nor to criticize ethnic associations and residential segregation without seeing that they signify the social articulation craved. It is no use at all to lament the decline of the family without recognizing the concomitant expansion of public authority desired.

There is a great history to be written from a "conservative" conception of the social structure, but that history is not this one.

University of Pennsylvania

Michael Zuckerman


This will undoubtedly prove to be the definitive biography of America's first black man of science. While factual information regarding Banneker's career is rather limited, Dr. Bedini has made judicious use of background information in such a way as to fill out the story for a full-length book.

Benjamin Banneker was born to free Negro parents of Baltimore County, Maryland, on November 9, 1731. His maternal grandmother was an
English woman named Molly Welsh, who was transported to America for the alleged offense of having stolen milk. She was able to rise economically and, in due time, acquired land and slaves, two in number. She freed both of them and married one of them ("Banneky"). Their daughter Mary also married a former slave. The latter took his wife's name, which was later changed to Banneker. Benjamin grew up on the family tobacco farm in the Patapsco River valley and retained it himself until his death. He never married. He was taught by his grandmother and briefly attended a Quaker school, but for the most part he was self-educated. Early showing a scientific bent, he built a clock in 1753; it continued to operate throughout his lifetime.

Banneker's life was deeply influenced by members of the Ellicott family, for whom Ellicott City, Maryland, is named. They operated a sawmill, a flour mill, and a store near Banneker's farm. The Ellicotts took a keen interest in the latter's work and lent him books which enabled him to study mathematics and astronomy. Banneker worked with Major Andrew Ellicott in surveying the ten-mile square of territory which became the District of Columbia. In 1792 he prepared the first of a series of almanacs, which were printed with the assistance of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and which attracted the attention of Thomas Jefferson. "Nobody wishes more than I do," Jefferson wrote to Banneker, "to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of other colors of men. . . ." Jefferson forwarded a copy of the almanac, with an endorsement, to the French philosopher Condorcet. The 1793 almanac contained "A Plan for a Peace Office for the United States," written by Dr. Benjamin Rush. Banneker's last years were plagued by ill health and alcoholism.

The final chapter of Bedini's book provides a survey of what has been thought and written about Banneker since his death. There is a brief account of the Banneker Institute of Philadelphia, a Negro lyceum which was founded in his honor in 1853. Appendixes of the book include the text of the more important documents relating to Banneker's work (there are some selections from his manuscript journal), extensive reference notes (at the end of the book, not the bottom of the page), a full bibliography, and a good index. The book has been handsomely produced, and there are some good illustrations. There are also a few minor errors, such as the reference to Franklin as first president of the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage (1775). The author appears to have done an exhaustive job of research; it is regrettable that information about Banneker is so sparse. The author's literary style is competent but not distinguished. Dr. Bedini is Deputy Director of the National Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C.

The Pennsylvania State University    Ira V. Brown
The Career of Mrs. Anne Brunton Merry in the American Theatre. By Gresdna Ann Doty. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1971. xiii, 170 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $7.95.)

Before the early nineteenth-century American theatrical production was, for the most part, a transplanted English stage. All was copied after British models; actors, managers, theatres, methods of production, and the plays, except for the adaptations of Dunlap and a few others, were all popular English pieces. Although Shakespeare remained a favorite, often in altered form, throughout the eighteenth century, his popularity was severely challenged by the plethora of eighteenth-century afterpieces, sentimental comedies, domestic dramas, pantomimes, and musical pieces.

Gresdna Ann Doty’s The Career of Mrs. Anne Brunton Merry in the American Theatre reveals in an interesting and scholarly manner the American stage from 1796 to 1808. Written from the performer’s point of view, Professor Doty’s research is delightfully different from the standard encyclopedic stage histories of Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston. Since little has been recorded concerning the acting of the period, this book is a much-needed addition and a fresh breath in the volumes dealing with managers, theatres, and play lists.

That Anne Brunton Merry Wignell Warren was totally involved in theatre, both English and American, can be readily observed from two of her marriages to outstanding stage managers in Philadelphia, Wignell and Warren. But her rather brief theatrical career—she died at the age of thirty-nine—represented far more than two marriages to two prominent theatre managers. Born in London into a theatrical family, Anne Brunton received solid stage training in the provinces before making her debut at Covent Garden at the age of sixteen, an accomplishment almost without precedent during the period. Mrs. Siddons, for example, after being turned down by the famous Garrick at Drury Lane, spent four years in the provinces before making a successful return to the London stage. By the time Anne Brunton was ready to leave Covent Garden for America after eleven years of starring roles, she had made her first marriage to Robert Merry, a minor poet and playwright. She performed in many of the leading roles in plays which are mostly forgotten today: The Grecian Daughter, Mahomet, The Orphan, The Distressed Mother, The Foundling, and The Child of Nature; but she also starred in Shakespeare, Sheridan, Congreve, and Goldsmith.

Hailed as a star who was often ranked with Mrs. Siddons, Anne Brunton Merry began a twelve-year successful career in Philadelphia under Thomas Wignell’s management in 1796. The new theatre in Philadelphia owed much of its success to Anne Brunton Merry, who performed most of the leading roles in one grueling season after another, learning as many as nine new roles in a month. She also undertook the challenging task of management after her marriages to Wignell and Warren.
Presenting first-hand information from the newspapers of the period as well as from personal journals, Professor Doty has added a significant link in the early American theatrical scene. It is difficult to write in a factual manner, recording performances and criticism, while making such information appealingly readable. But Professor Doty somehow has managed this. The book is an excellent example of scholarly theatrical research and a most interesting story of an actress, the first outstanding one in America in this early period, who was a star in the most renowned American theatre. But there is more here than the story of a fine actress; there is significant stage history revealing managerial practices, play descriptions, and production methods. Included at the end of the work is a most useful appendix listing all of the roles performed by Anne Brunton Merry and an excellent bibliography.

Centre College of Kentucky

West T. Hill, Jr.


On the night of March 5, 1779, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, aged five, slept quietly in his uncle's house in King Street while close by the Boston Massacre erupted. Eighty-four years later and only a few blocks from the same spot he died. He had lived through the American Revolution and the terms of fourteen Presidents, from Washington to Pierce. Starting his career with a legacy from his grandfather of £66, at his death he was worth the princely sum of $1,600,000. This volume, one of a series of "Harvard Studies in Business," comes close to telling how each dollar was made.

The business life of one of the greatest tycoons of the age is laid bare, no detail spared, no source untapped and all documented in notes. Though the chronicle of profits and losses from each venture tends to blur and merge together, the very weight of the evidence of Perkins' indomitable will to succeed, his uncanny grasp of Time's forelock at the right time enabling him to succeed when others hesitatingly missed the main chance, his acceptance of losses without faltering, compel our attention; his balance sheet becomes an item of almost personal interest. Though scrupulously honest with his partners and associates, he differed little from his successors of a later age. He traded unhesitatingly in slaves, opium and politics, and double dealing with governments.

He and his brother James were early engaged in the China trade, their ships constantly circling the globe, buying anything that could be sold at a profit. The authors aptly say "There is a time to adventure boldly, and a time to be cautiously prudent. The Perkins brothers had the happy faculty of knowing what time it was." They were the first to profit when the embargo was lifted in 1809. Their messengers to Canton were enjoined
that "Nobody must know the embargo has been lifted. Report your ship as being from the Northwest Coast," because good news from America would cause prices to rise precipitously.

In the early 1770's Perkins had lived two years in Middleborough. There he would have seen Judge Oliver's iron works and they must have been in his mind when, years later, he revived the Monckton Iron Works at Vergennes, Vermont. During the War of 1812 Perkins sold sheet iron and shot to the government and occasionally traded, perhaps treasonably, with both sides. When business slackened the only source of profit was the company store where the workmen bought their supplies, including rum, of which "every 10 Days takes a Hogshead." The Federalists, of whom Perkins was one, opposed lending money to support what they termed "Madison's war;" yet when bonds were offered in Boston on a profitable basis with the lure that the names of subscribers would be kept secret, Perkins couldn't resist. Later, while raising subscriptions to build Bunker Hill Monument, he organized the Granite Railway and developed quarries to supply granite for the memorial shaft.

His generosity to worthy causes increased with his age and wealth. The Boston Athenaeum and the Massachusetts General Hospital are under a debt to his munificence; the Perkins School for the Blind perpetuates the memory of his greatest public benefaction. If Boston was a financial center and a leader in charitable and intellectual enterprises in those days, it was in a large part because of Thomas Handasyd Perkins. On the day of his funeral the Great and General Court stood adjourned.

His financial career is a fascinating web, woven on the warp of the times and the growth of a new nation, with the weft of a man of determination, courage and acquisitiveness aided by countless relatives willing to lend their efforts to further his design. It is a stirring tale of a remarkable life, but one to which a strict standard of morality has to be sparingly applied.

Mattapoisett, Mass. Andrew Oliver


As an employee for over forty years in one of the many institutions bearing this worthy Victorian's name I have, perhaps, like everyone else in similar circumstances, a sort of vested interest in anything about Peabody. For though he was a dreary, albeit affluent and generous man for his day, there is a certain revolting charm about the old coot. And he certainly could make money.

Parker does well by his subject and he has surely studied the life of Peabody more thoroughly and in greater depth than anyone else. Previously, he has generously deposited his 1,219 page dissertation on the great
financier in the libraries of the various Peabody institutions. In the present
distillation of that thesis Peabody comes out almost human. Much more
so than one sees him in any of his portraits; or that terrible sycophantic
biography of Hanaford's; or that statue in Threadneedle Street, appropri-
ately hard by the Bank of England, where I once made a pilgrimage out of
piety and found G.P. seated in jowly contemplation of another statue of a
nymph bathing in a fountain not far distant.

I have a further vested interest for Peabody's mother was Judith Dodge,
descended, as am I, from those Dodges of Beverly, fellow fishermen with
Roger Conant. George, third of her eight children by Thomas Peabody,
was born on February 18, 1795, in South Danvers, now Peabody—a leather
city in which George has no competition for the honor of being its most
distinguished son. George was a cousin of Joseph, the wealthy Salem mer-
chant. But George, the only member of the impecunious branch of the
family to distinguish himself, became even richer than his affluent cousin.

In 1811, at the age of fifteen, George joined his elder brother David in
a drapery shop in Newburyport, but the Great Newburyport Fire of that
year ruined their business although it did not burn their store. George,
who had a gift for raising credit, then joined his uncle, Colonel John Pea-
body, in a new store in Georgetown, D. C. Serving briefly in the artillery
in the War of 1812, he saw no active service and missed the capture of
Washington while visiting relatives in Newburyport. An excellent business-
man, by 1817 he had not only settled the debts of various irresponsible
members of his family, but also paid off the mortgages on the family farm
in Danvers and resettled his mother there in reasonable comfort.

In 1815 he became a junior partner of Elisha Riggs, importing goods
from the North, Europe, and the Orient. The business was moved to
Baltimore the following year. He made five business trips to Europe before
settling permanently in England in 1837.

Once on the international scene George Peabody rose rapidly to become
one of the world's foremost financiers. He never married, and, aside from
one romance, devoted all of his time to increasing his fortune. He was
especially interested in furthering and improving relations between Britain
and the United States. His quick loan saved the American exhibit at
Prince Albert's famous Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 from being a
disgrace. In 1854, at the age of fifty-eight, he took Junius Spencer Morgan
into George Peabody and Company as a partner.

Peabody's philanthropic donations began with gifts to certain institu-
tions in Baltimore and continued the rest of his life. He founded libraries
in both Peabody and Danvers, each named the Peabody Institute.

In 1856 Peabody returned to the United States for the first time in
nearly twenty years. Good works now came thick and fast. Many institu-
tions and organizations benefited from his munificence, the largest today
being the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, the Peabody Museum of Salem,
the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale, the Peabody Museum
of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, and the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville.

During the Civil War he helped alleviate some of the bad feeling between Britain and the United States by establishing the Peabody Donation Fund for homes for the poor of London, a pioneering slum clearance project. For this generous act he could have become a baronet had he been willing to change his citizenship.

He made a last visit to America in 1869, returning to England September 29, on the Scotia, and died soon after on November 4, aged seventy-four. His death was followed by ninety-three days of funeral services and interments, beginning in Westminster Abbey and ending in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts, where he finally came to rest on a cold, windy February day in 1870.

Franklin Parker tells the Peabody story well, accurately, and sympathetically. It is doubtful if it could be done better.

Peabody Museum of Salem

Ernest S. Dodge


William Cullen Bryant was our first “major” poet, the principal spokesman for nonpartisan liberal democracy in the turbulent middle years of the nineteenth century, an outstanding independent newspaper editor in an age of personal journalism, an amateur botanist and traveler, a man of home and family, and at the end of his career the one must spokesman at public memorial events in an age of rhetorical oratory. Yet the only full-length treatment of the man and his works is the typical family monument erected by his son-in-law Parke Godwin in the form of a biography with letters and collections of his verse and prose in 1883–1884. There have been many special studies since, notably that of his literary work by Tremaine McDowell and that of his career in journalism by Allan Nevins in his history of the New York Evening Post, but so far no definitive biography covering the many facets of his personality and career. The uncomfortable and paradoxical feeling that somehow this towering figure of his own time is something short of first rate in any of his fields of activity remains unresolved.

This biography by Charles H. Brown, Professor of Journalism at Pennsylvania State University, sets out to supply this lack, but only partially succeeds. Its author’s specialized training in the history of American journalism is apparent at every point. With access to rich funds of manuscripts—many of them still unpublished—in the New York Public Library and elsewhere, and to many ephemeral writings still in the pages of newspapers and magazines of the time, what he has produced is a meticulous
survey of Bryant's career in political journalism framed in an uncritical account of his ancestry, youth, public and private life (in the Berkshires, New York City, and Roslyn, Long Island), and poetry. At no point does the shell of Bryant's image, as it has come down to us from the bearded portrait on the schoolroom wall, crack except to reveal the committed journalist of the editorial pages of his paper; and that second image has already been presented elsewhere more than once.

Nevertheless, Mr. Brown's portrait is useful for the student of the relationship of press and politics from the time of Jackson to that of Rutherford B. Hayes. Bryant was not above quarreling with his son-in-law and associate Parke Godwin on issues of political principle, caning an opponent on the street, writing scathing letters of admonition to President Lincoln for his apparent indecision, switching parties, and deserting friends when the party of his choice or the choice of his party defected from his basic faith in justice and probity, backing abolition rather than abolitionists, conducting continuous sparring matches with his more successful and tempestuous rivals, Greeley, Raymond, and Weed, and at every point responding with consistent personal zeal to any challenge to civil rights or personal liberty. The personification of nineteenth-century liberalism, Bryant lived vitally but outlived his times. As such, he is a focal center and fluent index to American political history from 1825, when he first came to New York, to the year of his death in 1878. This story Mr. Brown has retold with thoroughness and sympathy, but the poet of nature and the man behind the monument remain undisclosed. All the facts are here, but none of the reasons or emotions; the finished portrait is full-length, but lifeless.

University of Pennsylvania  
ROBERT E. SPILLER


Henri Mercier (1816–1886) was the French ambassador to the United States from July, 1860, through December, 1863, and is thus a key figure in the diplomatic history of the Civil War. Feeling that Mercier's American career has suffered from cursory treatment by earlier historians, Mr. Carroll undertakes, on the basis of the more extensive documentation now available, to tell Mercier's story more fully and restore to him the stature he deserves. The publication of Carroll's book comes in the wake of Lynn M. Case's and Warren F. Spencer's exhaustive and authoritative study, The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy (Philadelphia, 1970), which has already been reviewed in this magazine (January, 1971, issue). The archival sources and bibliography are substantially the same for the two books; the interpretation of the basic diplomatic problems varies little. Mercier inevitably occupies a considerable place in the Case and
Spencer work, to which Carroll acknowledges his debt. What, then, can the present, more restricted, study offer in addition?

For one thing, Carroll, working on a smaller canvas, is able to give more about the man himself, his life in the United States, and his personal thinking on fundamental issues. Mercier was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1816, when his father was French consul there, but as he went back to Europe while still an infant, the accident of his American birth seems to have had no appreciable effect on his later career. After a cosmopolitan education in Switzerland, Mercier began as an unpaid attache in Mexico, then worked up the ladder with assignments to Madrid, Lisbon, St. Petersburg, Dresden and Athens. He became the close friend of Thouvenel, who was Napoleon III's minister of foreign affairs at the time Mercier was serving under him as ambassador in Washington. After his return to France in 1864 Mercier was “promoted” to the French embassy in Madrid, but the fall of the Second Empire terminated his public career in 1870. There emerges from Carroll's study the figure of a highly intelligent, thoughtful, and competent career diplomat, worthy of the best traditions of the Quai d'Orsay. His professional dealings in America were chiefly with Secretary of State Seward, who esteemed and respected him.

Although his account is focussed on the diplomatic questions with which Mercier was concerned, Carroll also manages, through the use of such other sources as the papers of William W. Corcoran, to give a feeling of what life in America was like for a diplomat stationed in Washington during the Civil War. We have, for example, glimpses of social life in the capital, of domestic arrangements, of Mercier’s family—including one more example of a diplomat’s wife unhappy and ill-adapted to a foreign environment. The Mercier family spent the summer months in Newport. In Washington they lived for two years in a Georgetown house rented from the Riggs family, and eventually, after this was destroyed in a disastrous fire (March, 1862), in Corcoran’s H Street mansion (a wing of which still housed his art collection). At this juncture Corcoran himself moved on to Paris to join his daughter and son-in-law, George Eustis (secretary to the Confederate representative John Slidell). Mercier’s friendship with such southern sympathizers as Corcoran caused some comment, much exaggerated by the press, but, as Carroll points out, such relationships were a commonplace of the time and place and not peculiar to foreign diplomats.

Mercier’s tour with Prince Napoleon (“Plon-Plon”) in 1861, his visit to Richmond (with Seward’s blessing) in April, 1862, his visit to Yorktown (May, 1862) during McClellan’s Peninsular campaign, as well as the excursion of the diplomatic corps to Seward’s home in Auburn, New York (August, 1863), are all treated at some length and convey something of the temper of the country outside the confines of the capital. It may be noted, too, that not long before his departure, Mercier was present with other notables at the dedication of the Gettysburg cemetery on November 19, 1863. Paradoxically, like Stendhal’s Fabrice who recognized only retro-
respectively that he had participated in a battle, and the Battle of Waterloo at that, Mercier did not then realize that he was listening to "the Gettysburg Address."

Carroll's study underscores anew the close diplomatic cooperation between France and England in the persons of Mercier and Lord Lyons, the British ambassador. In general, the two worked in harmony; although, as Mercier once wryly remarked to Thouvenel: "When you go in tandem, you are rarely guilty of taking too many chances; and especially with England, you don't often get there on time." In addition to his official dispatches Mercier sent "private letters" to Thouvenel, in which he could elaborate more freely upon his personal thinking. One idea to which he returned again and again—at least as long as the trend of the war remained indecisive—was that of an accommodation between North and South based on the preservation of economic unity, a federation of two sovereign states with a "common market," a form of Zollverein or "American Austria-Hungary," as Carroll describes it. Mercier also pondered deeply over the racial aspects of American slavery. His first reaction to the Emancipation Proclamation was one of alarm and bewilderment, for he foresaw, among other consequences, "that it would be infinitely more easy to deal with slaveowners than with the lower class of whites, a class which, wherever there is a free colored population, would not for any cause submit to the principle of racial equality."

Anyone especially interested in the diplomacy of the Civil War must first turn to the more inclusive Case and Spencer book. Nevertheless, Carroll's gathering of one diplomat's experiences and opinions provides a useful supplement and, because of its more manageable size, will appeal to other readers as a less arduous but well-grounded introduction to the subject.

**Brattleboro, Vt.**

**Howard C. Rice, Jr.**

**Joseph Fels and the Single-Tax Movement. By Arthur Power Dudden.**

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1971. xi, 308 p. Illustrations, index. $10.00.)

The career of Joseph Fels (1853–1914), soap manufacturer and Single-Taxer, contains various puzzles. A self-made man, he denounced as robbery the system that produced his wealth. A shrewd, sometimes abrasive promoter, he radiated an almost messianic idealism. An American, he had his greatest impact in England. In this handsomely produced biography, the first scholarly study of Fels's life, Arthur Dudden seeks to rescue from undeserved obscurity a Philadelphian who, he writes, was at the time of his death "as famous around the world as William Jennings Bryan and Robert LaFollette (p. 3)."
Fels's reformism, a mysteriously personal vision, combined Judaic humanitarianism (a legacy of German Jewish parents who migrated in 1848), and promotional skills honed in Alger style by several decades of hardship and struggle. Several factors underlay his conversion to reform. Membership in the Ethical Culture Society, a gathering place for many who like Fels questioned established religious and social creeds, alerted him to mounting social problems. Following the death of an infant son, Fels's wife Mary refused to have children, insisting upon “complete independence and freedom.” This decision, Dudden speculates, deprived Fels of a family circle that, properly idealized, provided psychological refuge from the amorality of late nineteenth-century business. Thus, he and his wife sought in reform an outlet for emotions that for whatever reason they denied themselves at home. The success of Fels-Naphtha, the original washday miracle, coinciding with mass unemployment during the depression of the 1890's, provided the means and incentive for action.

Fels's several crusades in America and England were rooted in Henry George's view that society must appropriate unearned increment in land value. However, as Dudden demonstrates, Fels could claim limited success at best. His support of Fairhope, a Single Tax colony in Alabama, bred near-disastrous dissension among the colonists. Hollesley Bay, his most successful labor colony in Britain, returned some 11,000 men and their families to the land by 1914, but was disbanded in the 1930's. His work with British Zionists eventually bore fruit in the establishment of Palestine, but without the Single-Tax. Although Fels could claim credit for the inclusion of a land tax in the Lloyd-George Budget of 1909, implementation proceeded at snail's pace. His contribution to American Single-Taxism through the Fels Fund inserted Georgism into the progressive movement. But even here, Lincoln Steffens charged, his beneficence discouraged fund raising and weakened Single-Taxism at the grass roots. A loan to the Bolsheviks in 1907, an ironic footnote to history, brought results that Fels, who distrusted all socialist schemes, would scarcely have wanted. Acknowledging that Fels's vision exceeded his ability to realize it, Dudden nonetheless celebrates the idealism that led this soap manufacturer to devote himself and his fortune, often to the distress of family and business associates, to the elimination of poverty.

Keeping Fels at center stage throughout, Dudden refines accounts of Georgism in such works as Charles A. Barker's Henry George, and Elwood P. Lawrence's Henry George in the British Isles. His carefully wrought account nicely illuminates the complexity of early twentieth-century reform. If one remains skeptical that Fels deserved the reputation of a Bryan or LaFollette, this engaging biography resurrects a life clearly worth remembering.
**Sign Posts: Place Names in the History of Burlington County, New Jersey.**


Armchair travelers, historians, ethnographers, geographers, all will find much to admire in Henry H. Bisbee's roll call of the names of his home county. So will lovers of the language. Who could resist the poetry of a stream called Frugality Branch of Tranquility? Or another watercourse named Loveland Thoroughfare? There are the pleasant connotations of the towns, one long forgotten, called Friendship and Harmony, the less attractive image of another lost town called Purgatory, the forthrightness of Four Mile and Old Halfway.

Yet Mr. Bisbee's book is far more than a listing of the place names of New Jersey's largest county. It is a history as well of the groups and individuals who have peopled Burlington, of their pursuits and occupations. It is a history without an end, in which new housing developments take their place alongside Indian villages, ranked in alphabetical order. Here the Lenni-Lenape are remembered, in such names as Atco Atco, Cinnaminson, Crosswicks, Rancocas, Hockamick, and Indian Mills, the first Indian reservation in the United States. Swedish settler Eric Mullica gave his name to the river that forms the county's southwestern boundary. Mr. Bisbee suggests that the intriguing name of a smaller waterway, Cake's Spruto, combines the name of the early settler Joseph Cake, Jr., with the Swedish word "spruts," meaning to spout forth water . . . ergo, Cake's Spring. The Dutch are represented by Batsto, derived from "badstoof," meaning hot bath, and Bread and Cheese Run, a reference, Mr. Bisbee suggests, to a fifteenth-century peasant revolt called the Bread and Cheese War.

For all the priority of the Swedes and the Dutch, the solid settlement of Burlington County began with the sale of West Jersey to a group of Quaker proprietors in 1676. The names on the land, therefore, are primarily English, beginning with the county itself and its western boundary, the Delaware River, and reflected in such localities as Chesterfield, Mansfield, Northampton, Southampton, Evesham and Chatsworth. Englishmen and their descendants provided Moorestown, Jobstown, Gosling's Mill Creek, Lemontown, and Wrightstown with names. Occasionally these toponyms project a deceiving rakishness. The village of Bustletown was named not for its activity, but for a family named Bustill. Recklesstown, a former name for Chesterfield, meant no reflection on the character of that area's somber Quaker settlers. It honored one Anthony Reckless, a Revolutionary War officer.

For all Mr. Bisbee's painstaking research, some mysteries remain. Ong's Hat was named, he records, for one Jacob Ong, but he confesses himself stymied, as others have been before, by the gentleman's millinery. Other elusive derivations are those of Belly Bridge, Comical Corners, and Petti-
coat Branch. For the rest, Mr. Bisbee has combed maps, road returns, deeds, proprietors' records, early travelers' accounts and the like, to provide a definitive record of Burlington's place names and their derivations. As general history, reference and guide, *Sign Posts* is a welcome addition to the growing shelf of local Jerseyana.

*Princeton, N. J.*

Constance M. Greiff


From 1930 until he retired in 1968, the author of this biography of Big Boss Vare was a familiar figure on the University of Wisconsin campus, where he taught politics and published books on boss rule and urban folkways. He took his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, where he also taught, and applied his fellowships from the Social Service Research Council in 1930, 1931, and 1932, in off-months presumably, to study politics and voters in Philadelphia. Dr. Salter interviewed Philadelphia's politicians from ward leaders, division committeemen, city councilmen, judges, magistrates, and others right up to and including Bill Vare himself.

William Scott Vare was the ninth of a string of municipal barons who ruled the Quaker City in succession for almost a century until his deposition and death in 1934. William B. Mann, Robert Mackey, James M'Mannes, David Martin, Israel Durham, Boies Penrose, and Edwin H. Vare, Bill's brother, preceded him. Yet Bill Vare, who believed steadfastly and impartially in God and the Republican Party, was the strongest of them all. Never before in Republican politics had all the leaders of Philadelphia's wards been unified behind the will and inclinations of one man. But, argues Dr. Salter: "He was not at the head of his organization because of any unusual intellectual or social acumen. He was in no sense a cultured or highly civilized person. He had never had time to read, and he knew nothing of the liberal arts. He was ignorant and uninformed about many of the implications of the social process of which he was a part. But he was an ultraspecialist in ward and city politics."

Bill Vare came from English stock, the youngest of ten children, his father and brothers truck farmers and hog raisers who sweated their living from the black swampy muck of the Neck far down in South Philadelphia. His brothers George and Ed turned the dumping grounds of their neighborhood into riches by winning municipal contracts for cleaning streets, and their profits into political power, which enabled them to make even more money and win even greater power. In time Bill was groomed for respectability by his family's senior politicians to become their statesman-successor. Ironically for them, Bill Vare was the prototype of those Philadelphians, the undereducated, pragmatic, hard-working conservative majority, who,
in Dr. Salter’s words, “preferred to live peacefully under a boss rather than fretfully under a reformer.”

It will always be as the consummate example of city-boss politician that Bill Vare will be remembered, not as a statesman, as the master of local politics and politicians. History’s verdict will self-righteously dismiss him in the end as the hapless “victor” in the 1926 race for a seat in the United States Senate, who was denied his triumph due to that body’s acceptance of the charges of corrupt campaign practices against him.

There are rich veins of information and anecdote in Dr. Salter’s book, but it is sorely in need of editing and an index. It is repetitious, unorganized, and maddeningly imprecise. Particularly at those blending points where data turns into historical writing, where more than once, for example, the reader is left to guess which Vare is being mentioned or whatever year or event is intended. As for the author’s prose, his elegy for Bill Vare in political limbo at last can serve us all, and enough will be said: “His unshakable courage was still unshaken.”

Bryn Mawr College

Arthur P. Dudden

Index to Supplement to Charles Evans’ American Bibliography. Compiled by Roger P. Bristol. (Charlottesville, Va.: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1971. v, 191 p. $15.00.)

With this Index Roger P. Bristol brings to successful completion almost twenty years of dedicated bibliographical work on American imprints before 1801. He began his publication in 1959 with the index to the twelve-volume Evans’ American Bibliography, brought out in 1961 the Index of Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers to Evans’ American Bibliography, and then saw through the press in 1970 his most significant contribution to early American studies, the chronologically arranged Supplement to Evans’ American Bibliography.

This new Index is the necessary companion volume to his 1970 Supplement in that it lists alphabetically by author and short title the more than 11,000 newly recorded Evans items which are ordered in Bristol’s 1970 Supplement, as in the original Evans, first chronologically and only then alphabetically by author and short title within each year. Bristol states that he has attempted no subject coverage—an understandably monumental task—and this is literally true, but the prospective user should not be misled by the assertion. Bristol has toiled too long in the wilderness of fancifully titled, anonymous colonial pamphlets, often extant unique in mutilated form, not to understand the difficulties of future scholars.

To that end he has included after many authors not only “items by” but also “items about” and has set down separate laws of the provinces
with dates and, more important, with key words indicating the subject dealt with in the act. Decisions such as these, born of thoughtful wrestling with the problems of these early American publications, raise the Index above the normal routine performance and afford the beginning researcher especially a helping hand.

Bristol's Index falls actually into two sections. The first is the author and title listing of the newly recorded additions to Evans; the second is a listing of the printers, publishers, and booksellers involved in those 11,000 imprints. At long last scholars have now at their disposal the tools needed to refer to the more than 50,000 known publications of the colonial American and early federalist printing through the year 1800.

Temple University

C. William Miller


The bankruptcy of the Penn Central may be looked upon as simply the latest example of a recurring historical process: the failure of financially weak railroads in each period of depression. As the company suffered from very high costs of operation, large funded and floating debts, severe problems of adjustment to a tremendous merger of facilities, and unusual pressure from highway and seaway competition, it was inevitably one of the roads most likely to fail.

Yet, such a generalized view neglects powerful psychological factors that make this particular failure appear as the end of an epoch in American history. In the nineteenth century the Pennsylvania was the paragon of American railroads, the most efficient and the most steadily prosperous. Together with the New York Central, also a road of historic strength and stability, the new company represented America's largest railroad and one of its biggest corporations. Serving all but two of the nation's ten largest metropolitan areas, this corporation was the very core of the American rail network. If railroads were to survive this system had to operate. Furthermore, in no field of activity had such a great business empire ever filed a petition in bankruptcy.

Two reporters of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin have made an objective and even-handed investigation of the difficulties based on fairly abundant records, hearings, and personal testimony. The unfolding of the tragedy illustrates Longfellow's dictum: "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." The merged management, if one where the top officials were all fighting each other can be called a management, made so many mistakes that their record could well serve as a guide to what to avoid in corporate action. To take a single instance, instead of investing
in new freight cars which the system needed if it were ever to prosper, the company invested and lost heavily in speculative Texas real estate.

The railroad was continually deprived of funds in order to diversify holdings and the annual reports were presented in such a way as to make the railroad operation appear profitable when it was sustaining large losses. To raise the price of Penn Central stock, for the purpose of using it as security for acquiring new subsidiaries, dividends were greatly increased when none were being earned. If the value of the outside properties continued to go up, as they did from 1963 to 1968, operation could continue by more borrowing, but once stocks turned downward and traffic fell, the venture was bound to fail, because the railroad, by far the largest part of the business, was not being maintained.

Since inflation, excessive wage adjustments and guarantees, in part forced by the Interstate Commerce Commission, tight credit and depression were the precipitating causes of the debacle, it could all be blamed on the federal government. But even without these extenuating circumstances, diversification by borrowing, while the main property of the conglomerate is allowed to deteriorate, is a policy with dubious prospects. A major lack in this otherwise good book is an appendix giving annual balance sheets with explanations as to what they really indicated.

Although there is as much or more to be learned from studying failures, American business history is generally made up of success stories. This book, therefore, presents an unusual opportunity to examine the maladies to which giant corporations are prone, and to see their effects in an unusually complex and aggravated case.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

Notice

Guy Hollyday, 140 Radnor St., Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010, is compiling a list of manuscript volumes emanating from the eighteenth-century Cloister in Ephrata. He will be pleased to hear from anyone knowing of pertinent music books, letter books, diaries, hymnals, and account books.
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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Founded in 1824, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has long been a center of research in Pennsylvania and American history. It has accumulated an important historical collection, chiefly through contributions of family, political, and business manuscripts, as well as letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, paintings, photographs, and rare books. Additional contributions of such a nature are urgently solicited for preservation in the Society’s fireproof building where they may be consulted by scholars.

Membership. There are various classes of membership: general, $15.00; associate, $25.00; patron, $100.00; life, $300.00; benefactor, $1,000. Members receive certain privileges in the use of books, are invited to the Society’s historical addresses and receptions, and receive The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Those interested in joining the Society are invited to submit their names.

Hours: The Society is open to the public Monday, 1 P.M. to 9 P.M.; Tuesday through Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. The Society is normally closed from the first Monday in August until the second Monday in September.