

BOOK REVIEWS

Foundations of Pennsylvania Prehistory. Edited by BARRY C. KENT, IRA F. SMITH III, and CATHERINE McCANN. (Harrisburg: Anthropological Series of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Number 1, 1971. v, 616 p. Illustrations, bibliography. \$10.00.)

The stated purpose of this initial volume of the projected Anthropological Series of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is "to bring together a collection of the fundamental investigations into Pennsylvania prehistory, many of which are out of print." These readings are offered as the basic syntheses of what has been described of the major culture periods, from Paleo-Indian to Late Woodland times in Pennsylvania with reference to contiguous areas. It can be said at the outset that the objectives of the editors are achieved, and the compilation will remain a basic reference to the prehistory of Pennsylvania.

The collections begin, appropriately, with John Witthoft's able analytical description of the base reference to date for early man in Pennsylvania, the Shoop Site, located on high land on a tributary of the Susquehanna a few miles north of Harrisburg. The distinctive lithic industry on the surface of this eroded land remnant is characterized by fluted projectile points similar in design to the Clovis blades of the high plains of New Mexico which were used for mammoth hunting over ten millenia ago, but also by other lithic flaked tools significantly dissimilar to Clovis and to other Paleo-Indian implements. In the absence of definitive radiocarbon or other means of absolute dating, Witthoft makes a close argument for the primacy of the occupants of the Shoop Site in Pennsylvania as possibly the bearers of the first recognizable cultural identity in the Hudson and the major drainages of the Middle Atlantic States to the south.

Ronald J. Mason considers the Paleo-Indian occupation in the entire Delaware Valley and concludes, in agreement with Witthoft, that the earliest identified people pursued their terminal Pleistocene megafauna game in a south to north riverine pattern, rather than east to west cross-country, with the inference that the game roamed the accessible upland meadows that existed at the close of the last glacial (Wisconsin) advance before the land was forested.

The remaining articles are grouped in the presently conventional mode of cultural period identifiers following the Paleo-Indian: Archaic, Transitional from Archaic to the Early Woodland, and on to Early Woodland proper, Middle Woodland and Late Woodland—the last a witness to the advent of the European discoverers and settlers. Such cultural constructs

exist only in the minds of archeologists, and are intended chiefly to refer to discernible changes in the economy of the aborigines as they began as hunters of the terminal Pleistocene big game, supplanted by or becoming the semisedentary harvesters of shell fish and incipient gardens, followed by builders of the more sedentary communities of early farmers with cremation and mound interment, who developed increasingly defensive villages and were influenced by the traditions of temple mound building, a cultural echo from the Gulf of Mexico into the Mississippi Valley in the first millennium A. D.

The Archaic and Transitional Periods are handled by John Witthoft and Don W. Dragoo who have, like Ronald Mason, updated their original notes to acknowledge important developments since their articles were first published. Inevitably, the characteristic discourses of the authors of the remainder of the volume focus upon types of ceramic and lithic artifacts which become congeries of cultural fossils imbued by the archeologists with the identity of the cultures they sprang from. But alas! Artifacts do not cultures make, and the shadowy creators of the artifacts really do not come to certain life and cultural identity much before the advent of written descriptions of living peoples. The remaining authors include W. Fred Kinsy, who treats of the late Archaic and Early Woodland sites of Bare Island and the Heck Rockshelter south of Gettysburg, Don W. Dragoo, who speaks of the Adena of the Upper Ohio Valley in Early Woodland times, Julius Lopez, who reviews ceramic from coastal New York, and Robert L. Stephenson, who links the Maryland Accokeek Creek Site with Pennsylvania occupations.

The Middle Woodland Period is handled by Edmund S. Carpenter who describes investigations of the Irvine, Cornplanter, and Corydon Mounds of the Upper Allegheny Valley; Don Dragoo treats the Watson Site, Hancock County, West Virginia; and the late Dorothy Cross brings up-to-date the story of the most famous archeological site in New Jersey, the Abbott Farm two miles south of Trenton, once thought to hold the secret of the first aborigines in the New World. The Late Woodland Period is discussed by Julius Lopez with reference to the Mispillion Site, Sussex County, Delaware; Charles L. Lucy deals with pottery types of the Upper Susquehanna; Robert W. Jones describes excavations in Dauphin and Juniata Counties, Pennsylvania; Catherine McCann treats the pottery of the Clemson and Book Mounds excavated by Jones and described in his article; John Witthoft and S. S. Farver report on two Shenk's Ferry Sites in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania; John Witthoft describes pottery from the Stewart Site, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna in Clinton County; Henry W. Heisey and J. Paul Witmer write on the Shenk's Ferry People, admittedly "a laboratory invention" which manages to evoke some cultural inferences from limited archaeological evidence; the late Mary Butler reports on three sites in Somerset County, Pennsylvania; and Don Dragoo details excavations at the Johnston Site, a well-explored palisade

village on the Upper Ohio on the edge of Blairsville which forecast a splendid series of extensive and comprehensive explorations of whole settlement patterns by the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh in the Allegheny reaches of the Upper Ohio drainage for the National Park Service River Basin Surveys.

Two additional volumes of this series are now in press. They will be timely and welcome additions to archaeological identity of the Pennsylvania and Middle Atlantic areas.

University of Pennsylvania

JOHN L. COTTER

The Journal of Madam Knight. Introduction by MALCOLM FREIBERG. (Boston: David R. Godine, 1972. vi, 39 p. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

The Journal of Madam Knight is a completely delightful book. Its text reveals the magnificent personality of Sarah Kemble Knight (1666-1721), liberated business woman of colonial Massachusetts, as she journeyed alone on horseback from Boston to New York and back again on family business, an incredible five-months' ordeal from October, 1704, to March, 1705. Her record of her experiences, first published in 1825 and thereafter appearing in many editions, has now been published in a handsome new volume. It follows the first edition, preserving all peculiarities of spelling, punctuation, and grammar, except for the correction of three obvious typographical errors. Michael McCurdy's five wood engravings, printed directly from the blocks, illustrate the *Journal* with perceptive skill and wry humor perfectly adapted to the text. The Introductory Note of Malcolm Freiberg, editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society, provides helpful biographical and genealogical data concerning Madam Knight and her family, as well as a summary report of bibliography pertinent to the *Journal*. This reviewer heartily concurs in Mr. Freiberg's hope that someone will some day "write the extended biography [Sarah Knight] richly deserves."

Often in "weary, very weary, hungry and uneasy Circumstances," but never daunted for long, the Widow Knight filled her journal with shrewd observations of the quirks and follies of the amazing variety of people she met along the way, including tavern keepers, traders, Indians, Negro slaves, and a particularly rich collection of back country folk, "Indian-like Animals," ragged, awkward, scratching the earth with "shovel-like shoo," smoking in silence, "Chewing and Spitting as long as they'r eyes are open." Each page crackles with her sharp wit. Her reproduction of vernacular speech enlivens every encounter.

All concerned in the publication of *The Journal of Madam Knight* are to be congratulated. They have provided a rich and rare pleasure for all of us.

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

Privacy in Colonial New England. By DAVID H. FLAHERTY. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972. xiii, 287 p. Tables, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Privacy in Colonial New England is a book that invites argument. That is true not only because the book itself is argumentative, contending against the received opinion that New Englanders valued and protected privacy, but because of the framework in which the argument is set. The book's starting point is the modern preoccupation with the defense of privacy. It grew out of work on privacy sponsored by the New York City Bar Association in the early 1960's. Although colonial Americans used the word privacy, as Mr. Flaherty tells us they did not worry about it the way we do. The interest in their enjoyment of privacy is ours not theirs.

The danger, of course, in approaching history so explicitly through a contemporary concern is that we will pollute the past with present concerns. The danger is all the greater in this instance because of Mr. Flaherty's belief that "a need for some privacy seems innate in human beings" and that the "elemental concern for privacy" is pretty much a constant in man's nature, perhaps "rooted in his animal origins." All that changes is the balance of this need against conflicting desires for sociality, moral control, economic exchanges and the other impulses which draw men together. Having been informed of all this, how can we help but be suspicious when privacy turns out to be highly valued in New England? It is difficult not to quarrel with a book whose conclusion seems foregone.

The paramount argument is that all of the intrusions and limitations on privacy which we associate with Puritan society were less effectual than believed. Members of large families living in small houses escaped into the fields or drew the darkness around them. In crowded cities anonymity protected people. If all else failed they could closet themselves in silence. The heavy machinery for moral surveillance actually was rickety. Prosecutions were relatively infrequent. Church elders, grand jurors, tithingmen, neighbors, all the people charged with responsibility for the moral condition of New England, acted only sporadically. Nothing seems to have worked. People took their privacy in spite of all. Moreover, many Puritan authorities were surprisingly tender about protecting privacy.

Mr. Flaherty has displayed great ingenuity in collecting material to make his point. You can learn things about colonial life here that are not to be found anywhere else. Because it all bears on his theme, he tells us that only ten per cent of rural inventories listed curtains, that about a third of colonial homes in 1764 had at least two families in them, one of them presumably a grandmother or maiden aunt, and that mail was distributed by spreading letters on a table in the postman's house. He tells us about average town population, tithingmen, torture, and the form of an oath. Above all, he has dug into country court files for stories of people in trouble. There is plenty here to interest readers with little interest in privacy. It is very much to Mr. Flaherty's credit that he has thought

through the implications of his subject and tracked down evidence in places a less imaginative person would have neglected.

But does he prove his case? In a way, yes. He does show that New England courts and churches were solicitous about privacy in some instances. Despite adverse conditions, individuals could find solitude and intimacy. The whole of life was not lived under public scrutiny and was not meant to be. But for all that, the idea of privacy as a value and fact does not do justice to colonial New England. The modern word with all the meanings it has collected in recent decades distorts and obscures as much as it illuminates. Sensitivity to exposure is no more like the yearning to retreat from the conflicts of public business into solitude than shame is like irritation. Nor are either of these easily equated with the right not to incriminate oneself in a court trial. It blurs important distinctions to make all three expressions of a single principle of human behavior. They do not all add up to a love of privacy.

While making its point, the book inadvertently demonstrates how remote the Puritan sense of privacy was from our own. A society which so readily tolerated strangers sleeping together, put two ministers with a single woman in a tavern bedroom, regularly stuffed six or eight people into a tiny four-room house to live out a New England winter, and repeatedly enlarged the apparatus for moral surveillance, such a society conceived of privacy quite differently than we do. Something could be made of the counterprivate elements the book describes. But we need more than a measure of the quota of privacy allotted to colonial New Englanders to discover their significance. What is called for is an explanation of Puritan sensibilities about the self in society, sensibilities left unruffled by practices so disturbing or comical to us. That explanation would employ analytical categories more responsive to the subtleties of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century materials than the diffuse and insensitive notion of privacy.

Boston University

RICHARD L. BUSHMAN

The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania. By JAMES T. LEMON. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972. xviii, 295 p. Tables, bibliographical note, index. \$12.00.)

In this important and useful study James Lemon tries to give a dynamic dimension to the geographic factors that shaped Pennsylvania's development during the eighteenth century. He goes beyond the single and often static explanations of cultural background or environment and instead "considers more centrally the decisions of the people and their more immediate social situation" (p. xv). The area he focuses upon is southeastern Pennsylvania, especially Chester and Lancaster counties "because of the

availability of data and the variety of social groups and environmental conditions there" (p. xvi). Particularly important sources for Lemon are tax lists for the two counties, from which he skillfully extracts almost all the information that can be obtained. Other sources include account books, deeds, wills, travelers' accounts, farm diaries, agricultural treatises, inventories of estates, farm advertisements, and nineteenth-century local histories. Even with this extensive data, however, there are gaps, and, as a result, Lemon often cannot be very definitive; such words as "probably," "apparently," "not clear," "uncertain," "may," "seem(s)," "suggest(s)" appear frequently throughout the book.

After beginning with a description of the society and the environment of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century, Lemon proceeds to discuss the settlement and the mobility patterns of Pennsylvanians. On the basis of his quantitative material, he offers some noteworthy conclusions about the effect of religion and nationality on economic status, settlement, and mobility. Lemon next considers the important institutions which shaped people's lives, most notably, farms, towns, counties, and the region. By restructuring often-familiar information around concepts of urban functions, he provides new insights into the role and relationships of those institutions, particularly towns. This discussion is followed by a detailed picture of Pennsylvania agriculture, in which Lemon combines quantitative data and impressionistic contemporary evidence to describe the mixed farming that characterized Pennsylvanians' use of the land, and to show the lack of regional variations in the agricultural system at that time. The book concludes with a brief, chronological summary of the development of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Some questions arise with respect to some of his conclusions and the methodology which produced them. Much of Lemon's work is based on surname analysis of the tax lists, yet he does not indicate how he decided the ethnic identification of individuals like those whose names might be Anglicized. Nor does he explain the basis of some of his important comments about mobility. No substantiation is given for his statement that "the disappearance of individuals between 1772 and 1782 in many German townships, such as Cocalico and Elizabeth, was more marked than that from Scotch-Irish Donegal and Derry (p. 78). It would seem that he has identified those inhabitants who remained and those who disappeared from the 1772 tax list on the basis of national groups, but no figures are provided. This is unfortunate since such an analysis would reveal mobility by national groups more precisely and convincingly than he does at present. Even so, one might question the validity of using a decade in which the American Revolution occurred as an indicator of mobility patterns.

At times, Lemon's explanations are contradictory and confusing. For example, in evaluating the reasons for extensive instead of intensive farming in Pennsylvania, at one point he says that "the short supply of labor contributed directly to poor farming practices" (practices which he has

earlier stated contributed to extensive farming), while on the next page he remarks: "The labor supply probably had relatively little influence on the extensive agriculture of the times" (pp. 179, 180). Moreover, Lemon sometimes overlooks contrary evidence. In emphasizing the harmony between urban and rural areas, he ignores the conflict that appeared on some occasions, not only between Philadelphia and outlying counties but also between a borough like Lancaster and outlying townships.

Because of the statistical nature of so much of this book, it is not always the most readable or easily comprehensible, especially when one tries to correlate some of the tables and figures with the text. In fact, simply finding the appropriate tables and figures is frequently frustrating after the first few chapters, for one often has to search back through the book to check references. However, none of these comments should obscure the fact that this book is a significant addition to the literature on colonial Pennsylvania.

Rutgers University, Camden

WAYNE L. BOCKELMAN

The Papers of Henry Bouquet, Volume I, December 11, 1755–May 31, 1758. Edited by S. K. STEVENS, DONALD H. KENT, and AUTUMN L. LEONARD. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1972. xliii, 421 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.00.)

The present volume is Volume I of *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Volume II of which was published in 1951 and reviewed in the April, 1952, issue of this Magazine by the late Albert B. Corey. In that review it was noted that "the present . . . volume precedes volume one because the editors believe that further research may bring to light additional papers relative to the earliest period of Bouquet's military service in Pennsylvania." The editors, in their Foreword to the present volume, explain that, in the 1940's, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission planned a seven-volume letterpress edition of these papers, but that after the publication of Volume II in 1951 "additional volumes were delayed, not so much from lack of interest but because the historical staff became more deeply involved with other projects to meet more immediate needs."

Physically, the format duplicates that of Volume II, and the editorial mechanism is exactly the same as in that volume, so that the two form an editorial and physical pair. In the Foreword to this volume the editors have given a brief resumé of Bouquet's career. This is followed by a summary of the provenance and description of the manuscript Bouquet Papers, along with a discussion of their previous publication. Accreditations of supplemental material from other repositories are here acknowledged. Following this Foreword there are two introductory essays, previously published, but included here to describe something of Bouquet's life prior to his coming to America.

The Papers themselves give a rather well-rounded account of military life in the colonies during the period just prior to Forbes' Expedition, particularly in so far as administrative and logistical matters are concerned. Courts Martial, requests and returns of subsistence, returns of camp equipage, returns of personnel, and a myriad of other forms of pettifoggery were Bouquet's daily chores. It is interesting to note that as early as March, 1757, Loudoun was detailing specific instructions to Bouquet as to the conduct of the campaign against Fort Duquesne, even down to the disposition of the various Provincial troops, the order of march toward Fort Duquesne, and including the tactical method of the attack itself once the troops had reached Fort Duquesne. Early friction between the continental noncommissioned officers and their provincial subordinates is well documented in "Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial" held at Saratoga Camp on November 4, 1756.

In his review of the earlier volume, Mr. Corey pointed out that he would have liked to have seen "a modern map of the area giving both the older and present-day names," and expressed the hope that such a map might be prepared for Volume I. Although there is a quite small-scale reproduction of a part of John Blair's map of North America of 1768, it must unhappily be said that Mr. Corey's long-ago expressed hope has not been fulfilled.

Ever since the days of WPA, with the initial publication of *The Bouquet Papers* in mimeographed form, it has been hoped that all would eventually find their way into letterpress form. However, with such a long interval between the appearance of Volume II and the present publication, it becomes increasingly apparent that we have probably seen the complete edition.

Dillsburg, Pa.

JOHN V. MILLER

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volume 15 (January 1–December 31, 1768). WILLIAM B. WILLCOX, Editor. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972. xxix, 327 p. Illustrations, index. \$17.50.)

For at least the past fifteen years the scholarly editing of the papers of prominent Americans has been an academic growth industry. Now some of the enthusiasm for these enterprises is wearing off and criticism, some of it strident, is being directed at them from several quarters. The projects, it is alleged, cost too much—in 1970 at the Southern Historical Association meetings it was estimated that the major projects were spending an average of \$40,000 per year—and return too little. In some years we get nothing; in others we get what is characterized as a surfeit of pedantry, swamping the documents in a sea of footnotes. In the meantime, editors decline to throw their collections open to scholars, who refuse to accept their justifica-

tions for their protectiveness and regard them as so many Cerberi. Even some of the promoters of the editorial projects—university press directors—are contemplating infanticide. One of the rules of the game has been that subsidies go for editorial, not printing, costs. With manufacturing costs now running as high as \$15,000 per volume, press directors are literally becoming desperate; three NHPC-sponsored projects have, in fact, recently been suspended by sponsoring presses.

Thus, it is not a particularly propitious time for a new editor and staff to take the reins of one of the premier projects. How can they appease the demands for innovation, short cuts, and speed without offending the entrenched advocates of comprehensive selection and exhaustive editing? In preparing volume XV the new editors of the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* must have developed an extraordinary empathy for their subject who in 1768 was caught between the competing constitutional claims of Britons and Americans and found that he could please neither. What Professor William Willcox and his colleagues have done, quite rightly in my opinion, is to exercise caution in their first volume by imitating the tested and acclaimed methods of their predecessor, Leonard W. Labaree. Indeed, I would wager a barrel of Newtown pippins (Franklin's favorite apple) that a casual reader of volume XV would not have recognized that there had been a change in editorial command. But Professor Willcox has not slavishly imitated Professor Labaree. There have been some changes in approach. Moreover, in a prefatory note Professor Willcox indicates that he is aware of the impatience and scepticism that is currently assailing the editorial fraternity and he promises that he is considering the introduction of more drastic changes to expedite productivity. So, volume XV should probably be considered only as a demonstration that Professor Willcox and his staff can match and even exceed the high standards of their predecessors. Their options are still open and in subsequent volumes we may see a dramatic departure from the present format.

I would take exception to only one of the innovations introduced in volume XV: the supplying of a five-page introduction which purports to describe the volume's contents. I question this practice because it consumed much space and doubtless more time and thus thwarted the editors' design of saving both. On a more fundamental level, I do not think it is the editors' business to tell us what the documents say; documents should be allowed to speak for themselves. To become our preceptors, as the editors do, gives the impression of trying to provide an authorized or "official" interpretation of the sources, which will inevitably provoke resentment and challenges. For example, in consulting the document which the editors cite to support their contention that in 1768 Franklin "fell back on distinguishing between the right [of Parliament] to regulate trade and to tax," I concluded that the document (p. 75) in which Franklin stated that it was "difficult to draw lines between duties for regulation [of trade] and those for revenue," proved precisely the opposite. Nor could

I accept the editors' statement that Franklin viewed the ministry's struggle with Wilkes "with detachment," when he arraigned the Wilkesite mobs for "ungratefully abusing the best Constitution and the best King any Nation was ever blest with (p. 129)" and wrote a newspaper article to disabuse the "laboring poor" of seditious notions implanted in their minds by Wilkesite propaganda (pp. 158, 162).

Reservations like these will inevitably be entertained as long as the editors persist in "introducing" the documents for us, with the result that they might eventually lose a degree of credibility. This is a risk that is not worth running, especially when in every other way the editorial quality of this volume is so outstanding.

Volume XV of the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* shows that the project is in exceptionally able hands. Let us all devoutly hope that its backers will continue to support it at a level which will not too severely circumscribe the new editors' talents or the corpus of Franklin's writings.

*Institute of Early American
History and Culture*

JAMES H. HUTSON

American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal. Edited by IAN M. G. QUIMBY.
(Charlottesville, Va.: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont
Winterthur Museum by the University Press of Virginia, 1971.
x, 381 p. Illustrations. Paperback, \$4.50.)

In his introduction to the published proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Winterthur Conference, Chairman R. Peter Mooz states that "the overall design of the conference . . . was to give new impetus to the study of American painting, to open new paths, and to encourage new scholars to follow the methods and goals set forth therein." The volume under discussion was published "as a foundation for scholarship in this field" and the focus here is the period before 1776.

The conference papers are presented chronologically. Samuel Green concludes in "English Origins of New England Painting" that until more work is done by local English historians, we can do little more than establish the English background of early American portraiture. He does, however, lay "the ghost of various theories which have explained early colonial painting in the United States as something indigenously peculiar to these shores. . . ." Abbott Lowell Cummings shows us in his meticulous study, "Decorative Painting in Early New England," the vital importance of research in official records for reconstruction of the extent of painted woodwork in the period before 1750. Roland Fleischer masterfully illustrates the methodology of the scholarly art historian in his study of the style of Gustavus Hesselius, a most valuable contribution, as it is the first in-depth attempt to establish a frame of reference for the work of the

most important artist working in the middle Atlantic colonies before the mid-eighteenth century, for whom no signed work exists. Stephen T. Riley presents Smibert's "Notebook," the most significant discovery of late, and certainly one of the most exciting. R. Peter Mooz details his exhaustive search for evidence concerning the life of Robert Feke, and particularly his activity outside of New England, which now enables us to assign probable dates of 1707-1752 for this brilliant colonial artist. It is not certain, however, that everyone would agree "that Feke is the central figure in the history of American painting during its formative stages in all the English colonies." Mary C. Black, in "Pieter Vanderlyn and Other Limners of the Upper Hudson," identifies several important masters of the school and untangles the twisted skein of early eighteenth-century painting in the Albany area through comparative stylistic analysis. Wayne Craven traces the art scene in New York City in the third quarter of the eighteenth century in a most skillfully comprehensive manner.

Of course there are difficulties inherent in any study of painting which become particularly acute in considering the American colonial period: lack of documentation; absence of signatures; extensive overpainting; poor restoration; persistence of faulty word-of-mouth and family traditions; and the attribution of a huge number of works to a comparatively small number of the most prominent and well-documented artists. All of these problems make vitally important the application of technical aids and knowledge to their solution. Thus the conference was greatly enhanced by presentation of papers by Theodor Siegl, Geoffrey M. Lemmer, Robert Feller, and Eleanor S. Quandt on the need for expertise in recording technical evidence; the development of the use of the x-ray; analysis of pigments; and skilled investigation of the physical properties of a painting, respectively. With the development of this sort of experience we enter a new era which will demand an intense re-examination and re-evaluation of extant works. Two very important points which emerged from the technical papers were the need for cooperation and teamwork between the conservator and the art historian, and the importance of an understanding of technical details by the student of American painting. The panel discussion which followed the technical papers is also published here, as is the list of paintings from Winterthur's rich collection which formed the conference exhibition: "American Paintings to 1776." Another exhibition, "Philadelphia Painting and Printing to 1776," was opened at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in conjunction with the conference.

Credit for the concise clarity of this publication of the conference proceedings must go to the editor, Ian Quimby. Presumably it would have been impossible to include all of the slides as illustrations, but those selected are representative. The bibliographies accompanying each paper are excellent, and the typescript format within soft covers will undoubtedly enable widespread consumption of this appraisal of several aspects of American colonial painting from the theoretical, methodological, and technical points

of view. The southern colonies were not touched upon, thus making this appraisal basically one of developments in the Middle Atlantic and New England colonies. The omission of E. P. Richardson's paper on "Painting in Philadelphia 1750 to 1775" is a serious and most regrettable absence, as it was a superb summation of artistic activity in the richest and most cosmopolitan city in the colonies, and a necessary element in the conference. The material included will, however, give new impetus to the study of American colonial painting if only because of the questions still unanswered and the excellent examples herein to aid in seeking the answers.

Washington, D. C.

ANN C. VAN DEVANTER

The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779-1792. By PATRICIA WATLINGTON. (New York: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by Atheneum, 1972. viii, 276 p. Bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Originally a dissertation completed at Yale University, Professor Watlington's study attempts to show how the frontier struggle in Kentucky from 1779 to 1792 resulted in the development of political parties and how it ultimately caused this area to seek statehood. Watlington's main thesis is that three state parties—not two—arose during the prestatehood period. Thus, she rejects several well-established suppositions about early national politics: (1) the view that Kentucky was a one-party area (Republican) from the time of its settlement until the 1820's; (2) the two-party model; and (3) the view that the national parties which emerged in the 1790's were innovations of the first magnitude.

According to Watlington, political groupings in Kentucky originated in the divisions over disputed land claims, Virginia land laws, lack of defense on the frontier, and, finally, the movement for statehood. By 1785, she argues, three parties were fully defined and vigorously competing in the struggle to decide Kentucky's future. Kentuckians were at first divided between the "partisans" and the "articulate center." The "partisans," originally a group of landless settlers from Pennsylvania and North Carolina, strove to get the Confederation Congress to wrest control of the territory from Virginia in order to annul Virginia land grants and to redistribute land in Kentucky more equitably. After 1784, once it became clear that a separate Kentucky would be controlled by their opponents, the "partisans" opposed statehood. The Virginia-oriented "articulate center," consisting of land surveyors and courtroom lawyers, worked for the establishment of Virginia's claim to the lands of Kentucky and thus opposed statehood. The latter issue, however, eventually divided the "articulate center" into the "court party" and the "country party." The "court party" preferred separation from Virginia, without her consent, and

later independence from the United States. Led by James Wilkinson, they considered joining Spain in an alliance or union to acquire trading privileges on the Mississippi, which an eastern-dominated Congress showed little interest in obtaining. The "country party," which favored legal separation from Virginia and union with the United States, in the end won the eight-year struggle that encompassed ten state conventions. Following the admission of Vermont into the Union, Kentucky became the fifteenth state on June 4, 1792.

Watlington's work, while a valuable piece of state history, is not without serious shortcomings. Her conclusions are plausible rather than compelling. Her primary thesis that the national parties of the 1790's were rooted in the personal factionalism and issues of the 1780's is not warranted by the evidence presented. Scholars will want more than a letter from Dr. Julian P. Boyd to the author (p. 260) and the promise of a future volume on the 1790's as evidence to support her assertion that state parties indeed existed during the 1780's in Kentucky, and to show the continuity of alignment of "court" and "country" parties, respectively, with the emerging Republican and Federalist parties. This study would be more valuable to the historian if the author had expanded the conceptual approach and scope of her monograph. To answer the questions she raises she should have carried her study at least to the year 1799—the time of the second state Constitutional Convention.

The political conflict of the era, moreover, requires a more complicated explanation than is provided. Although very critical of the conventional loose use of the term "party" by historians, Watlington fails to heed her own advice. In fact, she tells us little or nothing about the structure, organization, functions, and ideology of Kentucky's three parties. Her analyses of Toryism and anti-Federalism in Kentucky are neither new nor fully discussed. Nor does the title of the book accurately reflect its contents. Watlington has produced a worthy, interesting, and long-overdue account of the origins of statehood in Kentucky, but a full analysis of the origins of the "first party system" in Kentucky still remains to be written.

Bowling Green State University

ROLAND M. BAUMANN

Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752-1839. By FRANK A. CASSELL. (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971. xiii, 283 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Wealthy established merchant, avid supporter of the military, and member of Baltimore's urban elite, Samuel Smith of Maryland was an unlikely Republican. As unusual and contradictory as these positions appear, however, there still was a consistency in Smith's behavior, a consistency

which Frank A. Cassell skillfully describes and analyzes in this biography. Throughout his long and varied life economic self-interest as perceived by Smith continually shaped his actions and values. His expedient Republicanism is evidence of this point. Viewing the Jay Treaty as more detrimental to commerce than advantageous, he publicly opposed it. As a consequence he lost Federalist backing at a time of increasing partisanship. Political necessity rather than ideology shoved Smith into the Republican camp. As Cassell demonstrates, the strength of the alliance largely depended upon how closely the Republican Party supported Smith's view of beneficial commercial policy and conversely what services he could render the party.

Although Cassell completed the initial study as a doctoral dissertation, he has avoided the common accompanying maladies. The narrative is lively. The focus is clear; previously unknown trivia do not clutter the work. Cassell successfully achieves the difficult balance between the man and his times. Most important, the biography was worth doing. Smith undoubtedly was a second-level figure in the early republic, but an understanding of him, as Cassell intends, furthers our knowledge of the complex politics of the period. Not only does Smith offer an interesting contrast to more typical Republicans, his activities and involvements included him in many of the most significant events of the United States' early history. He was an officer in the Revolutionary War, a brigadier general of the Maryland militia from the confederation period to after the defense of Baltimore in 1814 which he led, a leading Baltimore merchant and financier, a state legislator, and a prominent national politician from Washington's second administration to Jackson's second administration.

Like many biographers, however, Cassell overly sympathizes with his subject and on occasion exaggerates Samuel Smith's importance. Even though he does not hesitate to show Smith's blemishes, he tends to see events through Smith's eyes. The presidential election of 1800 is a case in point. Smith certainly was a central figure in resolving the impasse in the House of Representatives, but Cassell leaves the impression that, had not Smith purposely misinformed James A. Bayard about what concessions Jefferson was willing to make, civil war or at least "some unconstitutional settlement" was likely to follow. "On Smith's report depended the outcome of the election" (p. 100), Cassell writes. But Bayard already had decided that Burr's chances were hopeless. A more accurate interpretation, it appears, is that Smith reinforced Bayard's decision to no longer block Jefferson's election. Bayard, after all, was no more willing than Smith to allow the republic to crumble but, politician that he was, sought to gain by his seeming acquiescence. Another example is Cassell's treatment of Smith's role in the destruction of the first Bank of the United States. He summarizes: "Smith helped to destroy the first Bank of the United States, but his motives were honest and his chief sin was shortsightedness. Madison, on the other hand, knew how essential the bank was to the government

and yet did nothing" (p. 170). Ignorance may be bliss, but here Cassell elevates it to a relative virtue. His judgment is doubly puzzling, considering that he had earlier defined Smith as "an expert on banking matters" (p. 166). One may question, too, how honest Smith's motives were. Cassell makes short shrift of Smith's substantial involvement with state and local banks in 1811 and ignores the possibility that Smith's support of the second Bank of the United States in 1816 was connected with his business partner's appointment to the presidency of the Baltimore branch and to the central board of directors. Lastly, Cassell's choice of such words as "honest," "honorable," and "statesman" seems out of place. Smith was a day-to-day politician and businessman, an immediate problem solver. His decisions and actions generally were neither moral nor immoral; they served his interests as he saw them.

Fortunately Cassell's biases do not diminish the value of the work. Generalizations about the first American party system have been particularly astute during the last two decades, but Cassell's biography of Samuel Smith reminds us that they are only generalizations. A biography can serve no better purpose.

Central Michigan University

RICHARD ARCHER

William Cobbett and the United States, 1792-1835. A Bibliography with Notes and Extracts. By PIERCE W. GAINES. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1971. xxi, 249 p. Appendix, index. \$17.50.)

This is a well-organized, concise yet comprehensive study of William Cobbett which provides a useful tool for students of political history of the United States for the years that Cobbett was in the United States, 1792-1800 and 1817 to 1819. Publications after Cobbett's death in 1835 are not included. It also supplies useful information about practices of printing, publishing, and bookselling for that period.

After a statement of methods, a note on Cobbett, and references used, the works are arranged in chronological order according to the date of their first publication with subentries for later editions, issues, and variants of the same work. The descriptions include title transcription; colophon, if present; collation, including format; pagination; citations; locations of copies examined (twenty-four institutions, well dispersed across the continent, are cited); contents; notes on publication; and extracts. The notes on publication and extracts are well selected and give adequate background for the publication and the flavor of Cobbett's personality and style.

After the "Works," Mr. Gaines treats similarly "Other Cobbett Imprints," "Cobbett-related Pamphlets," and "Items Sometimes Associated with Cobbett." In addition to the bibliography of Cobbett references,

mentioned above, Mr. Gaines has appended a "Secondary Bibliography Selected in Relation to the United States," with citations of the pages where Cobbett-related material is to be found and an indication of the nature of the material. There are indexes of short titles of the publications and of names. The volume concludes with an appendix analyzing Cobbett's Account Book as a bookseller in Philadelphia and New York which is in the American Antiquarian Society (reprinted in substance from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Volume 78, Part 2); a "Chronology of Cobbett Imprints Derived from Earliest Sales in Account Book"; "Cobbett Imprints Sales Data from Account Book"; and a list of booksellers, arranged by locality and the dates of their activity.

In conclusion, I quote from Lyman H. Butterfield's commentary on the jacket: "This is primarily an author bibliography, but it also provides a racy account of a great age of political journalism, with sidelights on Cobbett's numerous other interests, making an important contribution to American cultural history."

The Scheide Library, Princeton, N. J.

MINA R. BRYAN

A History of the National Intelligencer. By WILLIAM E. AMES. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972. ix, 376 p. Bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

William E. Ames, professor of communications at the University of Washington, has written this history of the Washington *National Intelligencer* "to help fill the wide gap in historical information for the period when Washington, D. C., was the journalistic capital of the United States and government patronage was the financial base." He tells the story of Samuel Harrison Smith, founder of the *Intelligencer* in 1800, and of the partners, Joseph Gales and William Winston Seaton, who edited it from 1810 to the Civil War. Ames emphasizes their journal's high standards, quiet dignity and strong intellectual character. Reports of debates in Congress, as well as documents from the executive or judicial branches filled the *Intelligencer*, together with regular news. Gales and Seaton later published important works of historical scholarship based in part upon the *Intelligencer's* contributions as a newspaper of record, including the *Annals of Congress*, the *Register of Debates*, and *American State Papers*. Ames stresses the role of the *Intelligencer* as the semiofficial newspaper of the Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe administrations, as well as of the Whig Party of Clay and Webster. The Fillmore administration spoke through its columns and Lincoln used it for his famous letter to Greeley. Party journals in those days struggled for printing patronage, and among all the Washington political papers the *Intelligencer* received the most lucrative contracts. Although almost all of the original records and editorial corre-

spondence of the *Intelligencer* have been lost, Ames has combed manuscript collections and related sources to present fresh portraits of the Washington editors and their social lives, including a particularly interesting one of Samuel Harrison Smith. Ames also traces the evolving nationalist principles of Gales and Seaton, and he stresses their support of Clay's American System—the bank, tariff, and internal improvements. He probably underestimates the influence of Madisonian thought upon Gales and Seaton, however, and does not tell us that the *Intelligencer's* 1860 valedictory of “long-standing principles” (p. 325) was taken in large part almost verbatim from Madison's First Inaugural Address. Since Ames concentrates his narrative upon political issues and patronage, it is not his purpose to write a comprehensive or detailed analysis of the *Intelligencer*. For example, he does not mention the column of “Major Jack Downing” (Seba Smith) or evaluate literary reviews. While acknowledging that Monroe, Webster, Biddle and others inspired *Intelligencer* editorial policy, Ames does not give much attention to the authorship of specific editorials, which is a task that may belong more properly to editors of the collected works left by political figures who had access to the editorial columns. Indeed, many topics in the history of Washington journalism remain to be covered and students will benefit from this pioneering work by Ames. His conclusions seem sound and he has certainly achieved his objectives in writing this study of the *Intelligencer* as the aristocrat of the Washington press and one of America's great newspapers.

University of South Alabama

HOWARD F. MAHAN

Fanny, The American Kemble: Her Journals and Unpublished Letters. By FANNY KEMBLE WISTER. (Tallahassee, Fla.: South Pass Press. 1972. xvii, 227 p. Illustrations, index. \$7.50.)

Fanny Kemble, unfortunate in her life and especially so in her marriage, is fortunate that that marriage produced a great-grandchild, Fanny Kemble Wister Stokes, who has inherited from her the makings of a most sympathetic biographer.

Even before her divorce in 1849 Fanny Kemble had begun to write about herself. But her *Journal*, published in 1835, was full of blanks where consideration for living friends had caused her to omit their names. These blanks were later filled in by Fanny herself in a copy of her book now in the Columbia University Library. Mrs. Stokes has made good use of this and of unpublished letters in the possession of her family and of various libraries. The result is a portrait of a dynamic and attractive woman, one who would have had fewer troubles had she been born in 1909 instead of 1809.

Today, Fanny's own works would interest only a specialist of the period.

Mrs. Stokes has had the tact to select from them those passages which, strung together with her editorial comments and narrative, make up the story of Fanny's life. After a brief chapter on the Kemble family background, Fanny herself comes on the stage in Chapter II, and from then the interest of the reader is held in a rising crescendo. Fanny becomes the sensation of the London stage, saving Covent Garden and her family from bankruptcy, tours the provinces, rides on Stephenson's first steam railway, dines out at Lord Melbourne's (not yet Queen Victoria's prime minister). Strangely enough, she also visits Newgate prison and is ashamed of the way Mrs. (Elizabeth) Fry, the Quaker social worker, condescends to the female prisoners; she also reads William Ellery Channing, the American Unitarian.

There follows the trip to America, where Fanny is idolized. But unfortunately on the very day after her debut in Philadelphia Pierce Butler comes to call on her. It was October of 1832 and she and Pierce were not married till June, 1834. During that time she saw him constantly, for he was not in business and was pleased to follow the Kembles on their tours. It seems impossible that Fanny did not realize how unsuited to each other they were. She was an intelligent, professional woman and he a southern gentleman of the stuffiest kind. What he should have married was a gentle southern lady with no ideas of her own who would entertain charmingly their planter neighbors. Fanny off the stage was not very pretty and she was supremely tactless. This trait she called "my suddenness." For years she tried to suppress her abolitionist feelings and made enough adjustment to her surroundings to continue to live in Philadelphia, but life on a Georgia plantation was impossible and she was really happy only in Boston or at Lenox with the Sedgwicks. In Boston "suddenness" and Abolition were admired.

The divorce suit was long and bitter. Fanny was left with nothing but the farm, "Butler Place" on York Road just above the present Erie Avenue. Her father in his later years had given Shakespeare readings, and she began to do the same. For twenty years she continued with success to support herself in this way.

Mrs. Stokes has enlivened her account of Fanny with interesting quotations from the diary of Sidney George Fisher and other sources. Unfortunately there are no footnotes, so that these cannot easily be verified. It would be interesting to find the source of the mention on page 75 of Elizabeth Kemble's acting at the Walnut Street Theater in 1814 before President Washington!

But it is Fanny herself who stands out in this book in the round as Fisher described her: "a very gifted person" whose "qualities of heart and character are as excellent as those of her intellect," in short, a person that one would have liked to have known.

Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing. By GLENN PORTER and HAROLD C. LIVESAY. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971. x, 257 p. Bibliography, index. \$11.50.)

In 1815, as Professors Porter and Livesay point out, the commerce of the United States was dominated as it had been for 200 years by urban merchants. They were all-purpose, nonspecialized merchants who dealt in a variety of goods ranging from lace to iron bars. They bought and sold at wholesale and retail, sometimes taking title to merchandise, but frequently acting as agents and receiving a commission for their services. They were both importers and exporters. Often they were shipowners. They financed and insured the transport of goods with their own money or acted as factors for others. They acted individually and in concert. They often loaned funds to capital-poor artisans and farmers who produced the goods in which they traded; and they sometimes made investments for other men. The urban merchants were the dominant element in the economy.

This excellently researched book is a study of the factors which destroyed the dominant position of urban merchants in the marketing of manufactured products on the wholesale level in the United States during the nineteenth century, and of the factors which gave manufacturers a dominant position in the marketing process. It is a pioneer work.

The factors which caused change were not mysterious. During the antebellum period there was a great expansion of population and a strong advance of settlement westward; these created vast new markets. To meet the challenge, or perhaps because they had no choice, general merchants abandoned their previous practices and became specialized merchants, handling only one type of product, such as groceries or dry goods. This adaptation changed the merchants' position. While they continued to dominate the marketing of their specialized products and to provide most of the funds needed to finance manufacturing, they lost much of their insulation against unfavorable changes in the economy for a particular type of product.

Another kind of change occurred in the New England cotton textile industry, where factory owners established their own "selling houses." But the most significant change came in the iron industry. With a marketing pattern inherited from the colonial period, ironmongers after 1815 first began to use specialized commission merchants. As long as these ironmongers produced generic products which were sold in diffuse markets, their alliance with iron merchants remained intact. But after 1842 the railroad industry began to create a large market for specialized iron products, a market that the "unintegrated" ironmonger could not supply. Four integrated rail mills—Trenton, Phoenix, Montour, Cambria—were established and began selling directly to the railroads.

This practice set the new pattern of marketing—one based upon a con-

dition which involved only a few manufacturers (an oligopoly) and a small, easily recognizable, number of customers who demanded a large amount of specialized products. Later establishments of this pattern were greatly aided by the Civil War, during which large orders and high profits enabled manufacturers to wipe out debts and to develop cash resources which greatly reduced their financial dependence upon merchants.

After the Civil War other conditions and developments caused the establishment of similar manufacturer-marketing patterns. The phenomenon occurred in industries dominated by oligopolies, like oil and rubber, which supplied densely populated urban markets (tobacco was a major exception); in industries like meatpacking dealing with perishables which merchants were unwilling to handle; and in industries like electrical equipment in which erection, instruction, repair, and maintenance were significant factors and which merchants were incompetent to handle. In all these areas the manufacturers came to dominate the marketing process by the end of the century. By 1930 their direct sales amounted to two-thirds of the whole.

Nevertheless, merchants remained significant in all those branches of commerce concerned with supplying grocery stores, drugstores, hardware stores, and dry goods stores—that part of the market most frequently used by the man in the street. But the merchants' significance declined even in this area. They no longer influenced consumer tastes and demands; the manufacturer had assumed this function through the use of brand names and advertising.

The authors have filled out this bare-bones outline of their work with lucid explanations and illustrations. They have used the records of a number of Delaware Valley and Pennsylvania firms. Among them were Troth and Company of Philadelphia, drug merchants; Jacob Haldeman of New Cumberland Forge and Gibbons & Huston of Coatesville, ironmongers; Cabeen and Company of Philadelphia, iron merchants; and Lobdell Car Wheel Company of Wilmington, rail-wheel makers. Although their choice of words is sometimes specialized and their writing is occasionally repetitious, they have given historians an excellent study of a slightly known but significant subject.

Temple University

JOSEPH G. RAYBACK

Jersey Troopers: A Fifty Year History of the New Jersey State Police. LEO J. COAKLEY. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1971. viii, 289 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

Leo Coakley, a sergeant in the New Jersey State Police, has produced a well-written, anecdotal history of his "outfit." In his preface Coakley alerts the reader that he "makes no claim to objectivity. This book is frankly a friendly view of the New Jersey State Police." His emphasis is

on the major crimes cleared and the heroic deeds performed by his predecessors and contemporaries in the service. He devotes a full chapter to the tragic Lindbergh kidnapping and the resulting investigation and trial, and there are several accounts of troopers' serious injuries or deaths in the line of duty. In these sections the author conveys a sense of the policeman's life as one of active crime fighting and unexpected danger; he does not dwell on the service aspects of the job—helping stranded motorists for example—or the boredom that most patrol involves.

The book does not provide much information or insight into the administrative or political history of the organization, aside from some comments about top administrators like Colonel H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the first superintendent who later achieved fame by adding verisimilitude to the 1930's radio program, "Gangbusters." Coakley does discuss the political controversy surrounding the creation of the state police, arising from fears that it might become an organization of strikebreakers or destroy local autonomy. Once he has his "outfit" established, however, the author drops only occasional hints about the political context in which the state police operated. He singles out Governor Harold Hoffman, who criticized the organization extensively for its handling of the Lindbergh case. After Hoffman died in 1954, his embezzlement of \$300,000 from a bank of which he was an officer came to light.

The most surprising thing about the book is that in this period of limited or nonexistent budgets a university press would publish a volume without documentation or analysis. Scholarly literature on police agencies, in history, sociology, and political science, is growing rapidly; practitioners of these disciplines recognize that for too long we have ignored the police and the pivotal importance of their social role. However, Coakley's heavily illustrated volume is more a public relations brochure commemorating his organization's first half century than a scholarly contribution. He cannot be criticized for not writing the book that serious students would like to see—his purpose was quite different—but one wonders about a university press sponsoring a volume that has so little scholarly value.

University of Akron

JAMES RICHARDSON

Archives and Manuscript Collections of Dickinson College. A Guide compiled by CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS and MARTHA CALVERT SLOTEN, assisted by ROBERTA ADAMS VINCENT. (Carlisle, Pa.: Friends of the Dickinson College Library, 1972. iii, 67 p. Index. \$5.00.)

This short guide to the Dickinson College manuscripts describes a surprisingly strong if eclectic collection. The 290 entries are divided into three groups: the College Archives (124 entries), the Manuscript Collection proper (107 entries), and the Moyerman family gifts. Considering that only ten of these collections have been reported to the *National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections*, researchers will certainly find it useful.

It is a good guide. The index is accurate and as complete as need be. Some of the entries, especially those describing the College archives, are a bit cryptic: "COEDUCATION: Correspondence on efforts to abolish, 1923." Others reflect a somewhat arbitrary division of collections. Why, one wonders, was the gift of Fisher family papers divided into three collections? On the whole, however, the entries are specific and unambiguous. Sellers and Slotten have not bothered to duplicate biographical information available in the *DAB* or the *DNB* but their biographical notes for less prominent individuals are certainly adequate.

Their decision to describe the gifts of the Moyerman family was a necessary one. Because many of these manuscripts are still unprocessed and because Dickinson shared the Moyerman gifts with the University of Delaware, Sellers and Slotten chose to call the attention of scholars to the possible similarity of materials at the two institutions.

Only in two minor respects is the guide deficient. It contains no information about access or literary rights to the collections. One wonders, for example, whether the Minutes of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure are generally available. More importantly, does Dickinson College own the literary rights to the Robert Bridges and Carl Sandburg materials in its collections? Nevertheless, researchers will find this a useful introduction to an impressive collection that includes not only Bridges and Sandburg, but Joseph Priestly, James Wilson, and James Buchanan as well.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

PETER J. PARKER

No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690. By CARL and ROBERTA BRIDENBAUGH. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. xxii, 440 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$12.50.)

Today's travel brochures describe a serene tropical paradise that awaits the weary northerner in the West Indian islands. Palms, white beaches, luxury hotels, and quaint natives seemingly put there for cameras lure the tourist for sun and swimming. Two and a half centuries and the lush growth of the tropics have hidden most of the remains of a far different world that came into existence on the islands settled by the English during the seventeenth century.

Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh have searched the scattered and incomplete sources and poked beneath the tourist surface of Barbados, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat and Jamaica, and other islands the English fought to hold, to rediscover what life was like for those who came to plant a civilization along with tobacco and sugar. What they tell is a horror story of death, destruction, disease, poverty, cruelty and greed, unending warfare, slavery and a white servitude that was often worse than slavery. It is, ultimately, a story of failure on a giant scale whose legacy

is still in the West Indies. There are also elements of heroism in the English struggle to claw a hold on the island rim of the Spanish Empire and in the almost unbelievable persistence of the English to survive and reap the riches the tropics promised.

The cost was incredible. Thousands of Englishmen (fewer Englishwomen because fewer came) ventured their labor and lives to settle these islands. Thousands more Irish, brought chiefly as indentured laborers, and Negro slaves worked to establish farms and plantations. Few of these people survived. Death was the great harvest of the West Indies. Ill-equipped to survive in a tropical climate, poorly fed, put to work with little chance to recover from an exhausting and sickening sea voyage, using the wrong clothes for work in the heat, ill-housed and afflicted with various diseases, these laborers then had to face the additional hazards of hurricanes, earthquakes, fires and the bloody wars between the English and their Spanish, French, and Dutch rivals. Changes in the economy left many without land or work. Large numbers of former indentured servants and small farmers were forced to migrate when the islands converted to large sugar plantations. War and exchanges of territory in the peace settlements made other thousands homeless. It is not surprising that many took to liquor to escape the horror of their lives.

Yet the English held on. With hard work, luck, and especially with money and connections in England, some men who came after the first stages of settlement succeeded in establishing themselves. They accumulated land for large plantations, built sugar works, acquired servants and later slaves to emerge as a wealthy planter class. There were few of these successes, but these few ruled the islands. Below them were an increasing black population and a declining number of white farmers and artisans. The result was that during the seventeenth century the white population failed to establish a sound family life, churches, adequate schools or the settled communities of Englishmen that they had known at home. "An overwhelming greed for profit and a persisting overemphasis on things material prevented any successful rooting and growth of English civilization in the islands of the West Indies" (p. 411). For many of the great planters England remained home and to England they went as quickly as their fortunes permitted. Government and society was left in the hands of agents and overseers and whites who "could never overcome, before 1690, the barbarism that some of puritan temperament so greatly feared" (p. 411).

No Peace Beyond the Line is great history. It tells a fascinating story of an exotic society whose moment in history was violent and brief. It is a book rich in detail and profound in its insights and interpretations. It provides a superb counterpoint to the more prosaic but more lasting efforts of the English in seventeenth-century New England, Virginia, or Pennsylvania.

Selected Letters of Cotton Mather. Compiled by KENNETH SILVERMAN. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971. xxvi, 446p. Glossary of correspondents, index. \$15.00.)

Cotton Mather was a voluminous writer of sermons, tracts, treatises and biographies. The editor of the volume reviewed thinks that he may have also written 8,000 letters, though only 569 are now known to be extant (p. xvii). Of these about four-fifths have been selected by him and arranged chronologically into five chapters, each of which is prefaced by a commentary upon persons and events in the years covered. There are no annotations. This is occasionally inconvenient, though a useful "glossary" of correspondents is appended. Aside from minor slips—Peter King, the chief justice, was the grandson of Locke's uncle (p. 142)—the editor has produced a book which should prove useful to students of early American culture. Perhaps a little unsympathetic to his subject, Mr. Silverman is not the first to find Mather's personality perplexing and difficult.

Cotton Mather was the most prominent and talented writer of his New England generation. Not surprisingly the *Letters* are greatly concerned with the publication and circulation of his works. Failure to find a publisher for the *Biblia Americana* was a continuing grievance. But an astonishing number of books did appear; to note but two—the *Magnalia*, a monument of American literature in 1702, the *Lapis e Monte Excisus*, a reduction of the essentials of Christianity to fourteen maxims in 1716. Mather did not hesitate to recommend his productions to his numerous correspondents, and on occasion it seems was prepared to write his own "blurbs" (p. 321). His concern, if not always his method, was justified. Many of the sermons bear rereading for a fuller understanding of the New England Mind.

As befitted the son and grandson of puritan ministers, Mather maintained a constant alert for heresy at Harvard College, in the colony at large, and along the seaboard settlements. He worried about the growth of Arianism. He distrusted the activities of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He kept a close watch on family and friends. His attitude to Indians and Negroes was patronizing, and he did not engage in missionary work although he mentioned it from time to time. He supported the rights of Indians to certain properties he thought threatened. He listened to his slave Onesimus on the virtues of inoculation for smallpox. Sharply critical in some matters, he yet maintained patience with the vagaries of his son, Increase, and with the fall from grace of his Uncle Cotton. His attitude to the remarriage of divorced persons shows sensibility (p. 256).

Mather was both credulous and shrewdly observant. Along with reports of monstrous births, he sent scientific friends information about the ornithology of the New World, the strange fertilization of his gourds and squashes (p. 218), the curious "woollen snow" (p. 134) that fell at Fairfield, and the eclipse of 1717. Without regard for the unpopularity it

brought him, Mather recommended inoculation for smallpox long before this was generally accepted as beneficial (pp. 213-214). He presents indeed an odd mixture of good sense and prejudice. The latter is, of course, most famous in his firm support of the witch hunt of the nineties where he was sure of God's "encouraging presence" (pp. 42-43), but it also appears in, for example, his belief in dreams. Perhaps the most fascinating letter in this book concerns the strange case of a cure that followed advice given during the sleep of a sick woman (pp. 116-117). Mather was enormously curious about everything he heard and saw. His great virtue lay in the ability to write vividly and interestingly about all that interested him.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

A Pair of Lawn Sleeves: A Biography of William Smith (1727-1803). By THOMAS FIRTH JONES. (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1972. 210 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

According to the dust jacket blurb, Mr. Jones wrote this book because he felt that Dr. William Smith—Provost of the College of Philadelphia, founder of Washington College, Anglican churchman and Pennsylvania politician—was a man funny and serious enough to deserve a readable biography. There is no doubt that William Smith deserves a new biography. His career was important, and it is richly documented, but he is remembered today through the eyes of his enemies, as the man who sabotaged Franklin's plans for the College of Philadelphia, as a Quaker-baiting, Indian-baiting, and German-baiting muckraker, as a schemer who tried to become the first Anglican bishop in America, as the Tory pamphleteer who attacked Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, as the turncoat who slipped back into public favor after the Revolution by naming his new college in Chestertown, Maryland, after General Washington and by delivering an unctuous eulogy on the death of Franklin, his bitterest enemy. Mr. Jones is not much concerned with most of these issues. He sees William Smith as a character in a picaresque novel, an adventurer always rescuing himself from one disaster after another. In his effort to provide easy entertainment, Jones eschews footnotes and writes in a flip and breezy style, or, to quote Charles A. Beard, "without fear and without research." The result is a cheap and silly book, which neither explains Smith's historical role nor makes him a believable character.

Jones pictures William Smith as a fast-stepping *arriviste* who enjoyed high society, backroom politics, liquor and money so much that he smirched his professional career, and who got equal pleasure from charting the transit of Venus with the gentlemen savants of the American Philosophical Society and swilling whiskey with the frontiersmen of Huntingdon, where he was a big real estate promoter. To Jones, the biggest joke about Smith is that he spent years trying to become a bishop and acquire "a pair of lawn sleeves," yet his fellow Episcopalians passed him by in 1786 because

he got too drunk at a church convention. This approach is more candid than that of Smith's previous biographers, Horace Wemyss Smith (1879-1880) and Albert Frank Gegenheimer (1943), who hide or explain away all their hero's faults and turn him into a stuffed shirt. But is Jones's drunken, belching, slovenly, grasping figure true to life?

Certainly the book does nothing to explain Smith's undoubted achievement as a teacher, preacher, and publicist. Though Jones calls Smith "the greatest intellectual power" in Philadelphia, "the greatest educator of eighteenth-century America," and "the best public speaker in Philadelphia, and perhaps in the whole of America," he offers no discussion of his ideas, nor any analysis of his numerous publications, and pokes fun at the Doctor's rotund and florid style. Jones's own style is something else again, liberally salted with naughty aphorisms, as when he asserts that Franklin by 1760 had "ceased to be an American in everything but name" (p. 64), that Franklin "had no human feelings, except lust and a twisted pride" (p. 66), that "even a fool like William Penn understood the Indians better than Smith did" (p. 81), or that George Washington "was far less intelligent than George III" (p. 133). One might criticize this book for saying so little about Smith's educational efforts at the College of Philadelphia, or about his extremely interesting conservative political role in Pennsylvania during the twenty years before the Revolution. One might protest that Jones should have used the rich Smith manuscripts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania or the University of Pennsylvania Archives. But, as he says, such research is for "a pedant trying to write *Doctor* cheaply before his name" (p. 198). So we must wait for someone else to write an adequate biography of William Smith.

University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD S. DUNN

The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution. By IRA D. GRUBER. (New York: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by Atheneum, 1972. ix, 396 p. Appendix, maps, essay on sources, index. \$14.95.)

This new study of the Howes attempts once again to answer the question of why the British did so relatively poorly in the early years of the American Revolutionary War, before France's participation, when they had an opportunity to crush the rebellion. The book deals at far greater length with questions of strategy, politics, and personalities than it does with tactics. Indeed, the author provides detailed tactical descriptions only of General Howe's clearing the Delaware River and Admiral Howe's drawing the French fleet away from the British base at Newport, Rhode Island.

Gruber believes that the British might have crushed the American rebellion before the Franco-American alliance, and contends that they failed to primarily because the military leaders they chose, the Howes, differed

fundamentally from the ministry on the aims and purposes of their commands. The ministry clearly intended its commanders to wage an overwhelming war, to crush the colonists utterly, before offering peace terms. But the Howes saw themselves as conciliators who should resort to war gently and as a last resort. General Howe believed that if he did not destroy the American army, only defeated it and occupied territory, the colonists would become convinced of British invincibility and return to their allegiance. Gruber maintains that this strategy came closest to success just before Washington's victory at Trenton. Admiral Howe, instead of enforcing a strict blockade—granted his shortage of ships, many of which he necessarily used to support army operations—even allowed Americans to fish.

The result, inevitably, meant United States survival. Determined to put down the rebellion with as little bloodshed as possible, the Howes worked at cross purposes with a ministry who wished to crush it as quickly as possible, regardless of bloodshed. The ministry, at least in the first year of the war, supported the brothers with sufficient troops, supplies, and ships for the job at hand. But the Howes pursued half measures, vainly trying to negotiate a peace without authority to offer substantial terms. The ministry, however, could not simply recall them, for they were too powerful politically. In conclusion, Gruber argues, had the Howes been merely incompetent, the government could have replaced them before they did serious damage. Had they been competent leaders with no interest in conciliation, they might have destroyed the Continental Army and ended the rebellion. But they were competent and conciliatory. They created at least an illusion of success while they wasted two and a half campaigns vainly seeking peace.

The author scrutinizes minutely the planning of Saratoga, though he does not offer substantially new factual information. Rather, he tries to explain Sir William's conduct. He concludes that the General, chagrined by Trenton, which shattered his policy of gradual reconciliation, determined against all reason to continue that policy by "tapping the great reservoir of loyalist sympathy in the Delaware valley" (p. 231). He therefore committed himself to Philadelphia despite clear ministerial expectations of his cooperating with Burgoyne and against the advice of most of his officers. Gruber's conclusion certainly seems convincing, although the author never makes clear, at least to this reader, why Sir William was so inflexibly determined to go by sea to Philadelphia.

Inevitably, in a work of this sort, when fire has destroyed the private papers of the central figures, the author relies to some extent upon supposition. Yet Gruber's research is meticulously thorough. He has examined a sweeping range of papers—public and private—in the United States and Great Britain. As a result, the *Howe Brothers* is a thoroughly scholarly book which adds substantially to our increasing understanding of British military operations during the American Revolution.