BOOK REVIEWS

Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713. By Richard S. Dunn. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina Press, 1972. xx, 359 p. Illustrations, tables, index. $11.95.)

That pre-industrial revolution, the "sugar revolution," is here viewed as a social revolution, with particular attention to the class that won it. Much more is known of the fall of the planters than of their rise, but this valuable study does much to improve that imbalance. A fresh subject, new sources, and current demographic techniques are handled well by an established American colonial scholar to yield both a solid monograph and a wider argument.

Social history is a seamless whole, and this work is structured to combine approaches. Opening chapters rightly assert the uniqueness of each of the islands regarding geography, early settlement, and the pace of the sugar revolution. The reader travels from Barbados, first to develop a ruling elite yet last to lose a substantial poor-white population, then rather hastily through the Leeward Islands where the evolution of the sugar society was less dramatic, reaching Jamaica where the contrast between substantial planter and slave was starkest.

The analytical second half of the book de-emphasizes these differences and argues that there was an essential unity to island society. Both the sugar industry and the life and death of whites and blacks are analyzed with various techniques. Whether discussing slave life-expectancy and sex balance (and discovering some of each), or demonstrating the killing insistence upon English food, clothing, and shelter by those who could afford it, Dunn draws a deft and convincing picture.

While revealing sympathy for the slaves, Dunn handles his planter "anti-heroes" dispassionately, seeing their success as based on staying alive, staying in the islands, and inheriting or building contacts that could provide capital. Yet those who obstructed the rise of the elite naturally appear as obstructionists in this study. The poor whites were no threat, and they soon fade from the story except for demography charts. Those other "anti-heroes," the royal governors of the 1680's, were a more serious challenge. But even if they were as selfish and ambitious as the tight little elites they disturbed, it seems somewhat harsh to classify them as of the species "gubernator tyrannus" (p. 133). As with so many aspects of this story, this contest caricatures some developments on the American main-
land where, as John Rainbolt has argued, governors allied with less-powerful colonists in what proved a vain attempt to unseat an incumbent oligarchy.

Wealthy sugar planters and tropical demography were not found in the mainland English colonies, and Dunn’s conclusion that the tropics, sugar, and slaves combined to make the island experience essentially different may be irresistible. Yet, even though based upon most of the extant material, this conclusion must be considered tentative. This study by definition concentrates on one class, the big planters, and however much they dominated white island society and its records, they were not the whole society. Sugar allowed an elite to fulfill aspirations that might well have been shared by colonists elsewhere. Even if the wealthy planter had no continental parallel, might not the merchants, small farmers, and servants? Was the English “slave revolution,” which Dunn traces to the mainland from Barbados, really of less social consequence than the peculiarities of sugar cultivation? Does the intimate picture of planter life, drawn largely from good use of new Jamaican material, really convey the varieties of life on the less-polarized islands? Whatever the answers to these questions, Dunn has made it clear that tropical demography imposed fateful limits to life expectancy and family structure in the islands. The social consequences of these frantic circumstances certainly were not shared by the mainland colonists after the “starving times.”

As was true wherever he went, some habits and attitudes of the migrant English pioneer withered and others flourished under the tropical sun. To understand what he was we must look at the many different people he became. Sugar and Slaves is a significant contribution to this purpose, and to the history of the British West Indies. It would be an unfortunate irony if Dunn’s conclusion, that island society was fundamentally different from that of the mainland English colonies, should support those who ignore the English Atlantic islands in studying American colonial history. His book is abundant evidence that they are missing a great deal.

University of Western Ontario

I. K. Steele


Most history of America is Europe-oriented, based on the records of Europeans. But the United States has become more than a liberated European colony, it has a character influenced by the aborigines, mistakenly called Indians. Therefore, it is informative to study the history of the Delaware Indians, and incidentally learn a lot about Pennsylvania in
particular, also about other states, and about the government of the United States and its past and present treatment of American Indians.

About half of this book deals with the history of the Delawares in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. For persons interested in the history of this area, it will reinforce prior knowledge with information from a different viewpoint, and also bring newly disclosed information. The state of the nation has always been reflected by the way Indians have been treated. When Indians were powerful, they were treated respectfully. (This is illustrated by the figures on the famous wampum belt displayed in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: the dominant, larger figure represents the Indian, the slim figure represents the supplicant, the Englishman.) When the Europeans were humane and honorable, as when Penn was the proprietor, Indians were treated fairly. But when ruffian frontiersmen, the army, and land-hungry pioneers had their way, the only good Indian was a dead Indian, just as in Colombia and Brazil today.

Weslager is the outstanding scholar and writer about the Delawares. He obviously tries to tell the Indian side of the story fairly. However, an Indian reading this book would surely find many instances of culture bias imbedded in the records. It was “riotous conduct” when Connecticut people drove Indians from Indian land, and Pennsylvania was “divesting herself of her bothersome Indians.” When Indians retaliated it was a massacre, an atrocity.

Earliest Indian reaction to the coming of Europeans was friendly, sometimes worshipful. The Delawares continued to have relatively good relations with the Dutch and Swedes, whose interests were primarily commercial, and not the colonization of numerous settlers. Penn and the English maintained excellent relations, desiring to enjoy the province with the “love and consent” of the Indians—which is a more admirable policy than the recent one of consultation only. But a large number of colonists occupied the land and killed and drove away the game on which the Indians subsisted, with the result that the Indians had to move elsewhere also. They moved into areas already occupied by other Indians, and onto land claimed by other colonies. Their relatively peaceful experience had not prepared them for the violence to come. Their numbers diminished as they were forced to move to western Pennsylvania, to Ohio, to Indiana, to Ontario or Wisconsin, or to Missouri, to Kansas and finally to Oklahoma.

It is interesting to speculate what the results would have been if the Delawares had been a warlike people. Would they have maintained a tribal or national existence like the Iroquois, or would they have been exterminated like so many others? Their descendants are scattered and mingled with other groups. The “Absentee,” or Delawares of Western Oklahoma, are culturally white and exist only as an organization to prosecute claims against the government. The main body of the Delawares has merged with the Cherokees in eastern Oklahoma. A few are with the Stockbridge-
Munsie in Wisconsin, others are with Ojibwa and Iroquois in Ontario. They have survived, but have lost nearly all of their identity, culture, language and land.

The notes and appendixes of this book are more than the documentation of scholarship, they add much of interest and information, and the thoroughgoing index is useful. The chapters "How the Delawares Lived," and "The Delawares and William Penn" should be useful to teachers of Indian units commonly taught in elementary schools, and in the course on Pennsylvania history required in schools in the Commonwealth. Those who plan the celebration of our nation's bicentennial should study this book and consult with its author, because Indians were influential in the confederation of the original thirteen colonies, in the events of the early years of the United States, and Indians have contributed much to the character of America that makes it different from that of the homelands of the immigrants.

If history teaches us anything more than an interesting story, we should learn from it the results of the policies of those times. Before the coming of the Europeans nature was undefiled and in a stable equilibrium. When greed and commercialism were introduced even the Indians were devastating their natural resources. We have passed laws to prevent Indians and Eskimos from making a living by killing seals, polar bears, and migratory fowl, but we have not learned how to provide all people with the necessities of life, and opportunities for its enjoyment, without the destruction of our habitat.

Indian Rights Association

Theodore Brinton Hetzel


Michael Kammen has already contributed three valuable volumes to early American history: A Rope of Sand, 1968; Deputyes & Libertyes, 1969; and Empire and Interest, 1970, and has edited others. With an unusual measure of originality and considerable competence in his chosen field, he has also read extensively in related areas, and has acquired a formidable vocabulary. Readers should not be intimidated by titles like Prolegomenon and Epilogism, nor words like quiddity, biformity, and syzgy. The present study is the result of investigations into past and present history for the purpose of examining the "strange hybrid" of the American national character, or, as Kammen would prefer to call it, "style." Writing as an
historian particularly familiar with the formative seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Kammen describes his approach, in contrast to the static quality of many other discussions of American culture, as dynamic. Readers might do well, perhaps, to skip this preface until they have mastered Part One, "The Unrecorded Hum of Implication." The three chapters that it contains present the thesis of Paradox and argue plausibly for its essential validity.

Professor Kammen dwells on the quest for legitimacy in colonial America—that is, for an acceptable order of established authority (p. 32) as a basis for sound government and good society. He reflects upon the problems of unstable pluralism—that is the variety from the beginning in colonial settlement, peoples, religions, institutions, what he calls "prodigious clusters of private groups, factionalism, a fairly complex governmental apparatus" (pp. 57-58).

In Part Two, "A Strange Hybrid, Indeed," discarding single-factor explanations drawn from such considerations as the European heritage, English tradition, the process of immigration, Kammen quotes Erik Erikson on the "functioning American, as the heir of extreme contrasts and abrupt changes" (p. 98). He notes that on the whole Americans themselves have been less sensitive to the existence of contradictory tendencies than foreign observers.

The ambiguities of the American Revolution, discussed in Part Three, "The Implications of Biformity," were produced by traits at once radical and conservative. These were "a product as well as a cause of rising nationalism" (p. 225). Professor Kammen observes perceptively the differences between English, French, and Spanish colonists (pp. 203-205), and even more of this would have been welcome. Throughout he draws upon varied material, and extends his inquiries into European parallels and contrasts. He notes others who have also detected the diversities and contrarities he describes. Possibly he could have paused to compare the paradoxes offered by some other countries—France, where Revolution and Ancien Regime have never been reconciled, or India where widespread tolerance and the most rigid of caste systems have accompanied without modifying each other.

People of Paradox will suggest many fruitful lines of further study and immediately leads to the desire to argue it out with its gifted author. American historians are fortunate in that development can be studied in its three or four centuries with detailed analysis and in a sharper focus than that of other areas. Readers of this book will be reminded of many important and often neglected factors in discussing the American "Style." This is an immensely stimulating book.

Bryn Mawr College

Caroline Robbins

Those people who know the author are aware of the fact that he is something of a detective, constantly at work seeking to solve some of the riddles or problems of Quaker history. This particular monograph, which is the fruit of more than twenty years of research in both England and the United States, shows Henry J. Cadbury at his best. Through an inspired search of letters, diaries, minutes of monthly and quarterly meetings, and other such early sources, as well as an analysis of the texts of the various extant manuscripts of Woolman’s own journal, he has thrown much light on the four months Woolman spent in England prior to his death in York in October, 1772.

Printed copies of Woolman’s Journal usually devote about a dozen pages to this period, leaving so much in doubt: What was his purpose in going to England? Why did Yorkshire weigh so heavily on his mind? Where did he travel? With whom did he stay? What were the responses to his deep and moving ministry? And to his unusual appearance, as he traveled on foot wearing undyed clothes? Although some questions remain, much can now be known. Thus, the final chapter in the life of this important New Jersey Quaker and antislavery worker has now been brought into much better focus as Professor Cadbury has provided new information and has also corrected a number of earlier misunderstandings or false interpretations.

Southern Methodist University

Kenneth L. Carroll


William Smith, Jr., was recognized by his eighteenth-century contemporaries as one of provincial New York’s leading lawyers and politicians. Born in New York in 1728, Smith was raised in an environment of law and politics, and from the early 1750’s to his death in 1793 he dedicated himself tirelessly to both activities, gaining personal wealth, professional eminence, and royal appointments to high offices in New York and later Quebec. Perhaps Smith is most often remembered for his association with William Livingston and John Morin Scott, who together formed a political “triumvirate” against the power of Lieutenant Governor James De Lancey.
It was during the 1750's that the trio produced *The Independent Reflector*, espousing such causes as an independent assembly, freedom of the press and separation of church and state. But Smith in his younger years was more than a rising lawyer who dabbled, as others did, in politics and government affairs; he was strongly attracted to history, finding pleasure in rummaging through old records and documents. In 1757 that interest bore fruit: Smith published in London the first systematic account of his own colony, *The History of the Province of New York, from the First Discovery to the Year 1732*.

William Smith's *History of the Province of New York* aroused only mild interest in London and his own colony when it first appeared, but it grew in stature as the years passed and won for Smith the enduring title of "historian of New York." As first published, Smith's *History* stopped with Governor Cosby's ill-fated administration, and though Smith continued to collect materials and kept a copious diary of his own political experiences, it was not until 1777 that he found time to prepare a manuscript covering the years 1732 to 1762, and fifty years more before the *Continuation* was printed by his son. Although modern scholarship has probed deeper and more thoroughly into New York's colonial past, historians nonetheless still value Smith's work for its political commentary and its descriptive and biographic data, which in some instances cannot be found in any other source.

The Belknap Press of Harvard has now issued a superb two-volume edition of Smith's *History* and *Continuation*, edited by Michael Kammen of Cornell University, which will supersede all earlier versions. Praise is due Michael Kammen for his meticulous editorial work and thoughtful introductory essay. The biographic sketch of Smith is well researched and proportioned, revealing him as a quiet personality whose truer interests were in the law and history all the while that he busied himself as a lawyer, politician, and placeman; a Whig who sung the praises of America only to choose the side of Crown and Empire during the Revolutionary War. As Kammen portrays him, Smith was less inconsistent than complex, more skeptical and suspicious than cynical and cunning. In a valuable synthesis of eighteenth-century historiography, Kammen shows how Smith projected his values into his *History*, believing that the record of the past supplies a direction for the present. Seeking causes and explanations for the mother country's apparent indifference to New York's development and importance, Smith severely criticized the incompetence, pettiness, and greed of most of New York's governors and political leaders as a root cause for New York's lack of identity and recognition within the Empire. Smith never systematically analyzed the causes of the Revolutionary War, but it would seem that the mother country might have avoided some or all of the policy errors of the 1760's and 1770's if, in earlier times, she had been honestly and fully informed of the colonial condition.
Kammen places in useful appendixes English reviews of Smith's *History* and the documents on Smith's quarrel with Colden over certain points in his narrative. Also included are notes from Smith's annotated copy and a biographic directory of mid-eighteenth-century New York.

Altogether, Belknap and Kammen have performed a distinctive service for scholars and students of American colonial history.

*Illinois State University*  
Roger J. Champagne


The focal event in James Hutson's history of Pennsylvania politics is the decision of the Assembly in 1764 to seek royal government for the province. Some sixty per cent of his narrative treats the events of the years 1746 to 1764 in order to illuminate the reasoning of Quaker Party assemblymen, and especially Benjamin Franklin, who resolved to see the proprietorship of the Penns dissolved. Hutson's narrative of the recriminations between Assembly and Proprietor which permeated these years is skilfully done: it inspects them more intensively than any previous account; yet it moves steadily and economically toward the 1764 denouement. Hutson has either discovered or wisely inferred the motives and calculations by which disparate events now sound an arpeggio of legislative discontent with the Proprietors.

Hutson's story does not end with the decision to seek royal government; he investigates the remarkable persistence of the campaign in view of its hopelessness, its effects on Pennsylvania's response to the Stamp and Townshend Acts, and its legacy for the 1770's. With respect to its effect on Pennsylvania politics, there is no better explanation of the intricate metamorphoses of Pennsylvania's factions after 1765 than Hutson's. In sum, Hutson succeeds in raising the campaign for royal government to pre-eminence among the events of Pennsylvania's pre-Revolutionary history.

If Hutson regarded his history as a chapter in the rise of American assemblies and its effect in one colony, he would be less open to criticism than he is. But he has claimed that the campaign for royal government was a rehearsal for revolution: "the campaign against proprietary government prefigured with remarkable fidelity the campaign which . . . Americans conducted against the government of George III . . ." (p. 4). Only Pennsylvanians before 1764 experienced the outside interference which all Americans experienced thereafter, and only Pennsylvania before 1765 attempted to overthrow the existing regime. Yet several impressive facts in Hutson's work discredit the characterization. Most significantly, 15,000
Pennsylvanians signed protests against the campaign of Franklin and the Assembly for royal government, whereas 3,500 petitioned for it. In 1764, the dominant Quaker Party maintained its power in the Assembly because its country members, unlike Franklin and Joseph Galloway who lost their seats, repudiated before their constituents the royal government campaign. Finally, the Quaker Party nevertheless fractured when the Assembly persisted in the campaign. One must question Hutson's allegations that Pennsylvanians, rather than just Quaker Party activists wished to replace the proprietary regime, and that Thomas Penn's outside interference aggrieved the people and violated popular rights rather than merely the corporate rights of the Assembly.

Control of the expenditure of public monies was, according to Hutson, Penn's central concern and attempt to exercise the kind of outside control that George Grenville and Charles Townshend later attempted. This interference was expected to "raise such a Flame in the province as would not be quench'd in many years" (p. 11). Yet Hutson, in another of his studies of Pennsylvania politics, disclosed that the interference caused "no province in flame, not even a spark" when the public learned of it. In his last chapter Hutson acknowledges that "'The rights' which Penn's instructions abridged were those which pertained particularly to the Assembly... Numbers of People in the province did not personally 'feel' the violation of these 'rights'..." (p. 246).

By reason of Hutson's unconvincing characterization of the campaign for royal government, the conduct and motives of the Proprietors appear less blameworthy, and those of the Assembly more suspect; the Whig interpretation of Pennsylvania history is not yet restored.

The campaign for royal government may not have the intercolonial significance that Hutson attaches to it; it is the craftsmanship of the author rather than the sweep of the theme which makes Hutson's work significant.

University of Arizona

Jack D. Marietta


Pauline Maier's fine and fascinating study deals with political and ideological developments during the crucial decade preceding the Declaration of Independence. Because in 1765 even the most ardent opponents of British policies eschewed independence and admired British institutions, the King, and the Empire, the author finds it essential to analyse closely
the evolution in outlook and tactics which occurred with the passage of time. Gradually, ultimate faith in British rule faded and alienation intensified until the colonists became intellectually and emotionally capable of separation.

The author focuses upon radicals, whom she defines as the vanguard and nucleus of the opposition to Britain. They were men such as John and Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Christopher Gasden, Charles Thomson, John Lamb, Isaac Sears and John Dickinson. In general, Maier's radicals were respectable members of their communities, not the inarticulate or sort who currently attract the attention of Jesse Lemisch and others. Neither demagogues, nor elitists, nor secret conspirators, the radicals publicly sought a broad popular base of support.

Particularly significant is Maier's analysis of mobs and violence, subjects which she has already dealt with in articles. Like George Rudé, she finds that mobs were not chaotic, mindless, and bloodthirsty, nor were they composed simply of the lower elements of society. Especially striking is her claim that the radicals sought to control violence, and that they maintained a deep concern for law and order. They found violence counterproductive. Indeed, the "restrained" radicals attempted to exhaust every peaceful effort to redress complaints before turning to disciplined violence.

Another first-rate section of the book deals with the influence of international events upon radical thought and action. Maier agrees with her mentor, Bernard Bailyn, concerning the great significance of "Real Whig" thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in explaining the American Revolution. Radicals feared not only policies directed at the North American colonies, but many events which indicated that everywhere tyranny threatened to extinguish liberty. Maier deftly deals with the farflung pieces of a plot which the radicals abhorred. Setbacks to Pascal Paoli's "sons of liberty in Corsica" and his subsequent pensioning by the "corrupt" British government, to the reform movement in Ireland, to John Wilkes and civil liberties in England, and even to the Black Caribs in the West Indies hastened the colonists toward rebellion. By 1776, they felt themselves to be the last hope of mankind. One aspect of world-wide degeneration which Maier slights occurred within colonial society. Evidence in newspapers, diaries, letters and elsewhere indicates that many colonists also feared alarming tendencies in their own society, many of which were not simply associated with royal authority.

Along this line of thought, it seems that the oncoming revolution has been constricted perhaps too much. The radicals sought law and order, they controlled violence, they sought political rather than social and economic reforms. After the war commenced, the author implies that very few failed to confirm the radical's conclusions. Except for the political change from a monarchy to a republic, few Revolutionary characteristics or ambitions exist in this "defensive revolution." Other neo-whig traits appear
in the author's view that the radicals were not demagogues and that they tried every possible alternative to independence before being forced out of the Empire by the British.

Overall the work merits considerable praise. A lucid and flowing style enhances Maier's presentation. Careful research in American and English depositories of letters, diaries, public statements and newspapers produced valuable rewards. The author retains firm control on her information and carefully develops her thoughts. Fine organization characterizes the entire work.

Pauline Maier has provided an enjoyable and significant contribution to our understanding of the development of colonial opposition to Britain.

*University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*  
RANDOLPH SHIPLEY KLEIN


This book is by way of being an addenda to Bernard Bailyn's *Pamphlets of the American Revolution* (1965). Professor Bailyn restricted his selection to pamphlets written by Americans and published in America. Omitted were the some thirty odd pamphlets by Englishmen which were reprinted in America, to say nothing of the enormous number which appeared in Britain. Confining himself to those sympathetic to the colonial cause, Mr. Smith has chosen five of the most popular British tracts reprinted in the colonies; and properly chosen American editions as the basis of the reprint. They are Jonathan Shipley's *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1773*; and his *A Speech Intended to have been Spoken By the Bishop of St. Asaph on the Bill for Altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1774*; Matthew Robinson-Morris Baron Rokeby's *Considerations on the Measures Carrying on With Respect to the British Colonies in North America, 1774*; Catharine Macauley's *An Address to the People of England, Ireland, and Scotland on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs, 1775*; and Willoughby Bertie, Earl of Abingdon's *Thoughts on the Letter of Edmund Burke, Esq., to the Sheriffs of Bristol, on the Affairs of America, 1778*.

Mr. Smith's Introduction is a useful survey of the current state of thinking about the nature of the pamphlet literature. Although his principle concern is with the pamphlets in America, he makes some interesting observations about their appearance in a British context, such as the suggestion that the writings of the British radicals may in fact have more significance than Burke and Pitt who traditionally have received most attention. Each of the reprints is preceded by a concise account of the background against which each pamphlet appeared.
The one thing for which one feels a need is some account of the basis of selection. It could be, of course, that it was simply a question of space, but it would be helpful to know why works of Granville Sharp, Richard Price, and John Cartwright were not included. However, if the Library of Congress Publications for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution are designed to stimulate thoughtful reconsideration of the whole subject, then this, the third in that series, does its job very well.

The John Carter Brown Library

Thomas R. Adams


The publication of a new biography of General Greene invites a comparison between it and Theodore Thayer’s Nathanael Greene, Strategist of the American Revolution (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960). As its title suggests, Thayer’s book examines Greene’s career as a military leader and stresses his role as a strategist. Before he held an independent command, the erstwhile Quaker played an important part in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Brandywine. But he won his brightest laurels when he commanded the American army in the Carolinas in 1780 and 1781. His battlefield tactics were sometimes faulty as shown by the fact that he lost all three of the battles which he fought in the Carolinas. Yet his strategy was superb. He outmaneuvered three British generals and forced them to relinquish thousands of square miles of territory which they had overrun.

Greene’s success as a strategist and as a military organizer has been explained thoroughly in Professor Thayer’s pages. But Thayer has focused his attention on Greene as a military planner and leader. He has paid but scant attention to Greene as a husband, a father, and a breadwinner for a growing family. Thane, on the other hand, has been somewhat less thorough in his analysis of the strategy and tactics of the Quaker General. Instead, he has stressed the sacrifices which Greene made for the cause of American independence in terms of prolonged separation from his wife and family, damage to his health, and the undermining of his economic well being.

Whereas Thayer wrote a scholarly book which he hoped would win the approval of his fellow historians, Thane has written a popular book which he hopes will appeal to the patriotism of his readers. His purpose is made clear in his preface. Writing in anticipation of the forthcoming Bicentennial, he asks his readers to contemplate the hardships, including “grinding hunger” and “the famous bloody footprints on frozen ground,” endured by our forefathers in their courageous effort to found a new nation.
No one can quarrel with Thane’s patriotism. Indeed, it is refreshing and inspiring to read of the sacrifices which men like George Washington, Nathanael Greene, and Francis Marion made for their country. And it is touching to learn of the patience and fortitude with which Martha Washington and Kitty Greene awaited the return of their husbands from the battlefield—always with the knowledge that their men might not return at all. Yet Thane’s patriotic approach has resulted in a book less precise and scholarly than Thayer’s. Thane has sometimes written about “rifles” when he should have said “muskets.” He has described the small field pieces used at Trenton as “big guns.” And he has praised Greene as a tactician when it has been made clear by Thayer that he was a masterful strategist but only an indifferent tactician.

Although Thane has made some errors in matters of detail, his story is basically sound and is well written. It should provide good fare for the general reader. Assuming that the reader is a member of what has so often been called an affluent society, it should be instructive for him to contemplate the risks and hardships which Greene and many less well-known men endured to win independence for the United States.

Northern Arizona University  
George W. Kyte

Folklore and Folklife, An Introduction. Edited by Richard M. Dorson.  
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972. x, 561 p. Illustrations, index. $12.50.)

Richard Dorson has successfully achieved in this volume the first comprehensive American survey of the scholarly discipline of folklore and folklife. Its publication will be welcomed not only by folklorists but also by scholars from other fields whose concerns touch on folk studies.

The introduction by Dorson, “Concepts of Folklore and Folklife Studies,” and the following twenty-six essays by a variety of noted American and European scholars should dispel most of the common and persistent misconceptions of those outside the discipline. The major areas of folklore and folklife and the recognized methods of studying them are clearly delineated. Part one contains eighteen essays on the fields of folklife studies and ranges from oral folklore (narrative, epic, proverb, riddle, speech) through material culture (craft, art, architecture, costume, cookery), and the arts (drama, music, and dance). Part two consists of eight essays on the methods of folklife study and covers fieldwork, archiving, the use of printed sources, atlas mapping, artifacts, and a general overview of cultural geography and folklife. Virtually all the essays are crisp and readable as well as erudite, and invite both browsing and serious study.

The Pennsylvania scholar should especially benefit from Folklore and Folklife. Our state’s history has featured two of America’s most significant
regional and ethnic folk societies—the Pennsylvania Germans and the Scotch-Irish. These groups could have provided apt illustrations for all of the volume’s twenty-six essays; those scholars familiar with these societies will find the volume a catalyst for their reconsideration. Special mention should also be made of the three essays on folk medicine, costume, and cookery by Don Yoder of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Yoder taught the first course of Folklife in this country and is editor of *Pennsylvania Folklife*, one of the few journals here or abroad that devotes itself entirely to folklife studies in all its aspects. He is respected both in Europe and the Americas for his pioneering scholarship in folklife research, especially with the Pennsylvania Germans. If only as an introduction to Professor Yoder and his work, this book would be a worthwhile investment to Pennsylvania scholars from related disciplines.

Surveys of this type are quickly dated. In its future revision, I hope Professor Dorson gives more due to one of the twelve approaches he outlines in his introduction—the “contextual” movement. It is the most recent of the theoretical approaches to folklore and as the most interdisciplinary one deserves to be as well known outside the discipline as it is within. This however is a minor fault in an altogether commendable book.

*The Pennsylvania State University*  

**Jay Allan Anderson**


This is a potpourri of letters, short stories, illustrations, and the author’s own narrative recounting of the sixteen-year relationship between Frederic Remington and Owen Wister. It succeeds as an impressionistic reconstruction of the vocational lives of two men whose primary interest between 1893 and 1909 was in advancing themselves through their artistic and literary portraits of the American West. We see the important part played by Remington and Wister in each other’s growing success as Westernizers; the extent to which each came to identify with the other’s work; the very sharp difference, despite this interaction, between the two men’s personalities and sensibilities. Wister, Mr. VorpaHL tells us, was a romantic who idealized the West to make it attractive to easterners, while Remington was an antiromantic whose illustrations conveyed a sparse violent world to those who preferred their encounters with the wilderness to be vicarious. Each man touched upon a current of atavistic escapism in American society at the close of the nineteenth century: those who desired a simpler, cruder, more “masculine” life found it in Wister’s writings or Remington’s paintings or Theodore Roosevelt’s mythical charge up San Juan Hill.
Mr. Vorpahl's documentation is thorough and his interest in the experiences of his subjects remains unflagging until the end. It is a pity that one cannot predict a similarly continuous interest on the part of his readers. But there is too much exuberance over minutiae not to awaken one's suspicions. The initial meeting of Remington and Wister at Yellowstone Park in September, 1893, is presented as if it were a summit conference: "When Wister came in from the cold, Remington was seated by the fire. After lunch the two men who had come so far to find each other drove to Mammoth Springs, where they dined together and talked far into the night. Wister, who felt that only a 'huge and bloody disaster' could save the country from sinking into a political and economic morass, found in Remington a kindred spirit."

From this episode on Mr. Vorpahl continues to find significance in prosaic details. He reads a 1902 letter from Remington to Wister as indicating that "the impending strikes in Pennsylvania coal mines seemed to Remington more important than Wister's quarrel with Russell's publishing house, the desire for rest . . . more urgent than acquiring Wister's help with the picture book." By 1908 he finds a "positively chilly" politeness in one of Wister's letters to Remington, and in his summation maintains that the relationship between the two men "embodied qualities of the West itself—startling, unlikely, colorful, forever tantalizing in its possibility because forever unfulfilled."

Mr. Vorpahl skillfully handles the interplay of human competitiveness and pettiness with the urgent public need for "Western" material. He proves himself a discerning critic of Wister's and Remington's art: the best passages in the book are comments on the use of a character in a specific story. He is also very good on filling us in on background details, although sometimes he withholds from us the sources of his information.

All of this tends to make one wish that Mr. Vorpahl had adopted a different focus for his enterprise. There is abundant material for a full-scale study of Remington's Western writings: none has appeared. There is no biography of Wister, and no recent one of Remington. There are several themes involving the two men's lives that Mr. Vorpahl has not pursued, among them the close, emotionally charged, and ambivalent relationship between Wister and his mother and the growing misanthropism and misogyny that characterized Remington's adult life. Finally, there is the spirit of an age that elevated Remington and Wister to the status of public figures—and which missed the humor and the irony of an 1895 dinner given by Roosevelt for Wister, Remington, and Rudyard Kipling, where doubtless the relative stout-heartedness of the several races of man was ascertained. Mr. Vorpahl has chosen to de-emphasize such themes to focus on some fairly dull letters.

University of Virginia
G. Edward White
A Quiet Boomtown: Jamison City, Pa., 1889-1912. By Craig A. Newton and James R. Sperry. (Bloomsburg, Pa.: Columbia County Historical Society, 1972. xviii, 148 p. Illustrations, index. Cloth binding $4.95; paper $2.95.)

Jamison City, on the boundary between Columbia and Sullivan Counties, came into being in 1889 when a sawmill and tannery and construction of the Bloomsburg and Sullivan railroad provided the means to exploit 200,000 acres of virgin timber, much of it in great unbroken expanses of hemlock and pine. Business establishments quickly moved into the village augmenting the services and amusements demanded by a prospering community. No matter how optimistic the citizens might be, a short life was an inevitable part of its heritage. As the limited natural resources were depleted Jamison City eroded away until, today, only a few inhabitants occupy the site.

Professors Newton and Sperry consider Jamison City a case study in a "tragic process . . . the easy ability to accept the destruction of the nation's natural resources as a necessary prerequisite to progress and the failure to recognize that by this act . . . [is brought] an end to the standards and aspirations which prompted them to begin the cycle." "In seeking a better lot they succeeded in ruining its foundations, thereby clearing the way for an urbanism which rendered much of their confidence and many of their ideals obsolete."

Thus two themes run through the history: the rise and decline of Jamison City and an interpretation of what happened in terms of a general trend in American economic history. The origin and growth of the community are sympathetically narrated and carefully documented. The reader senses the vitality and industry of the people. On the other hand, the authors apply a currently fashionable hindsight judgment of the exploitive aspects of natural resource utilization without considering the slow evolution of that value judgment. There are hundreds, indeed thousands, of American ghost towns, each with its own reasons for origin and extinction, often independent of natural resources.

Among the informative features of this book are excellent sketches of the tan bark and tanning industries and other technological processes. Appendixes listing the inhabitants of Jamison City in 1889-1893 and in 1901 provide occupational and other data. The book is illustrated with an interesting selection of thirty-six photographs which, unfortunately, are poorly reproduced.

Local historians will find much that is informative, lively, and sentimental. Books such as A Quiet Boomtown: Jamison City remind us of the many communities that lived for a short span in the ever widening milieu of social change.

Gettysburg College

William C. Darrah
O! (some versions have "Oh!") say you can see whatever there is to find out about the genesis, composition, versions, printings and popularity of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in the exhaustive compilation of Mr. Filby and the late Mr. Howard. The song surprisingly did not become the official National Anthem of the United States until 1931.

Rarely has a single poem and its borrowed music been so historically, textually, and bibliographically analyzed, anatomicized and apothesized. But, then, a copy of the first sheet-music edition fetched $23,000 at the Streeter sale in 1967, only $1,000 less than the earliest manuscript copy with the first broadside printing realized when sold by the executors of Henry Walters at auction in 1934. Since the Maryland Historical Society had in its collections a copy of the song sheet and acquired the two Walters items, as well as a vast amount of collateral and supporting material, it assembled three years ago on the occasion of its 125th anniversary the most significant exhibit of "The Star-Spangled Banner" ever shown. The Filby-Howard volume is an expanded and permanent record of that exhibition.

Every scrap of evidence concerning the events which inspired Francis Scott Key to write the poem has been gathered and scrutinized to separate fact from myth. All that is known of autograph manuscripts, and of early printings as broadsides, in newspapers, in magazines and in books has been brought together. Two of the most important dates in a tight chronology remain in question: when did Key write his text (September 15-16?) and when was it first printed as a handbill (September 17?). The first hard date connected with the poem is its appearance in the Baltimore Patriot of September 20, 1814. There is no answer to one curious phenomenon in the spread of newspaper printings, twenty-two of them in 1814 from Boston to Savannah: there was no 1814 newspaper printing in Philadelphia.

Yet many curious facts concerning the song have been discovered and recorded. The first printing of the tune, "To Anacreon in Heaven," to which Key's words were set, appeared on a four-page sheet in London in 1779-1780. Key was first mentioned as the author in the Frederick-Town Herald of September 24. Originally titled "Defence of Fort M'Henry," the anthem was first called "The Star-Spangled Banner" in an advertisement of the Baltimore Theatre in the American & Commercial Advertiser of October 18. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote a fifth verse in 1861. As in all attempts to be inclusive and definitive—every known 1814 printing in any format was included—publication stimulates others to find "the heretofore unknown." The Library Company shortly after Star-Spangled Books was
issued came up with Wilmington 1814 printings in an almanac and a newspaper.

The volume was written and produced with love and enthusiasm. It is handsomely printed, and—a joy to scholars and bibliophiles—copiously and clearly illustrated. The book in content and execution did, however, deserve a better spine than that provided by "Wimcote imitation leather." It is, and will long remain, the work on "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

Early American Bookbindings from the Collection of Michael Papantonio.

(New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library with American Antiquarian Society, Cornell University Library, Princeton University Library, University of Virginia Library, 1972. x, 89 p. Illustrations, indexes. $5.50.)

Collecting early American bindings is not yet as popular as collecting campaign buttons, vintage coca-cola bottles or big news newspapers. On the other hand they do not have the cachet—or command the prices—of autographs of the Signers of the Declaration, English colonization pamphlets of the seventeenth century, Philadelphia Chippendale furniture or portraits by John Singleton Copley. It takes a pioneer to enter and almost singlehandedly dominate a worthy but unsung field. Michael Papantonio has done that.

Five libraries recognized that the Papantonio dedication to American bindings was worthy of more and better visibility. As a result, a traveling exhibition was arranged, and a superior catalogue of that exhibition produced.

Until the Scottish binders came over to America in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, little good can be said of American binding, aesthetically speaking. The superb Aitken Chippendale tour de force for his edition of Blair’s Lectures is unique. Other bindings of his workmen and contemporaries are interesting, but hardly in a class with the masterpieces of London and Paris. It is really not until the 1820’s that we find workmanship which stands up in comparison with that of transatlantic craftsmen. The New Yorker George Champley and the still anonymous Philadelphia binders of that period deserve considerably more research.

It may be that the publication of Mr. Papantonio’s exhibition catalogue will stimulate that research. Careful, modern work on American bindings has been done up to the present time only by Hannah D. French and Willman Spawn. The publication here of sixty-one bindings, excellently reproduced, is without precedent. Mr. Papantonio, who presumably is responsible for the descriptions, pays due respect to the unillustrated Grolier Club exhibition catalogue of 1907 and the very few other pertinent
publications dealing with American bindings. His catalogue will become an instant classic to which all future writers on the subject will have to refer.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

Lehigh Valley the Unsuspected. By RICHMOND E. MYERS. (Easton, Pa.: Volume V, publications of the Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society, 1972. 249 p. Illustrations, index. $6.50.)

This volume contains articles dealing with the Lehigh Valley selected by Dr. Myers from his column, "Pennsylvania the Unsuspected," which appeared three times a week in the Bethlehem Globe-Times from March, 1955, to August, 1962, and which since February, 1963, has been appearing weekly in the Allentown Sunday Call-Chronicle. Much of the author's information was gained from personal observation during extensive traveling back and forth across Pennsylvania.

The book is divided into five sections: "Nature's Valley"; "Pioneers' Valley"; "Moravians Valley"; "Traveler's Valley"; "Industry's Valley." Each one of them is subdivided into a number of articles, many with intriguing titles such as "Deerskins & Christmas," "What is a Putz," and "The Problem of Foul Rift." Unquestionably, this compilation contains much data not readily available elsewhere.

N. B. W.


These two volumes are part of the American Historical Catalog Collection series of the Pyne Press. Brought together in the first are reproductions of the key illustrations from a number of catalogs issued by manufacturers of lighting devices, including Philadelphia's celebrated Cornelius & Sons.

The second volume illustrates more than 800 items such as tea services, pitchers, napkin rings, tureens, pickle casters and the like from the catalogs of Rogers Brothers (1857), Meriden Britannia (1867), and Derby Silver (1883). From a toothpick holder in the form of a porcupine to firemen's trumpets, the illustrations reflect high Victorian taste.

Each volume contains an informative essay. The material included in each should prove of particular interest to collectors.

N. B. W.
"Salutary Neglect": Colonial Administration Under the Duke of Newcastle.


Henretta's "Salutary Neglect": Colonial Administration Under the Duke of Newcastle attempts to view "from a colonial perspective" the "developing political and administrative system" of England up to 1760. It "elucidates the often tenuous connection between domestic politics and imperial programs and patronage" and centers its discussion around the question of why so few fundamental changes were effected in the colonial system prior to 1760—in short, why the period prior to the Revolution was one of "neglect," salutary or otherwise. After a well-documented and well-written description of the interaction of patronage and politics in the formation of colonial policy prior to 1760 (with emphasis on Newcastle and his personal interests and activities), Henretta concludes that during Newcastle's political generation "colonial policy was determined by the blind interaction of private interests" and that it was not until after 1750, "when the twin pressures of military defense and financial necessity forced a newly self-conscious parliament and a new generation of political leaders to re-evaluate the nature of the colonial system, that any steps were taken to overcome the 'natural' dichotomy between the English state and American society. By that time, however, much of the damage had already been done."

Book reviews are supposed to be impersonal. And book reviewers are supposed to be "informed" but "objective." In reviewing "Salutary Neglect" I am willing to be regarded as "informed" but make no claim to being either "impersonal" or "objective."

Over the last ten years, hidden from general view by the interest in applying new techniques (statistical and behavioral) to old problems (the internal nature of colonial society and the evolution of Crevoeour's "new man"), a far-reaching revision of our basic approach to Anglo-American relations in the pre-Revolutionary period has been effected. A few years ago (and still today, for some schools and some historians) the American Revolution represented a break in the hitherto "harmonious" relations between the colonists and their British imperial rulers—a "break" to be explained either by gradual changes which took place within American colonial society (increasing "democratization," or increasing "class" rigidity—depending on which historian you read) or by changes which took place within English society (the "new monarchy" of George III and/or the breakdown of Namier's idealized nonparty government "by personal factions").

Today we know better. Recent revisionist works, such as Henretta's "Salutary Neglect" (and my own work—which is why I make no claim to objectivity or impersonality), have made us aware of the unresolved tensions of the pre-1760 colonial relationship, and of the emergence of those unresolved
tensions to the forefront of Anglo-American relations after the termination of the Seven Years' War.

For myself, I am full of admiration for the thoroughness with which Henretta has researched his study, and also for the care with which he has selected the evidence he chooses to offer. I only wish that, in putting his results together, he had separated his generalizations and conclusions more clearly from the multitude of specific examples he sets out. As it stands, the full effect and importance of his work are not readily visible at first sight.

What "Salutary Neglect" offers is the most thoroughly researched, carefully selected evidence on the interaction of American colonial affairs and English politics now available. As such, it is a work deserving of more importance than its author (and its editors and publisher—unusual as that may be) have seen fit to claim for it.

Clark University

THOMAS C. BARROW
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