BOOK REVIEWS


A lively preface explores definitions of party and faction contemporary with the period discussed. Party was what its nature seemed to be, persons confederated by similarity of design; faction, identified by Samuel Johnson with tumult, discord, dissension, implied activity. After distinguishing the somewhat more acceptable party, from the less reputable faction, Professor Olson admits to using them indiscriminately. While by no means identical with twentieth-century groupings, party was pretty generally acknowledged to be a concomitant of political activity on both sides of the Atlantic, though almost as commonly deplored as dangerous to the stability and safety of the state. The first three chapters of this book suggest that the working of party brought different areas of the first British Empire together, and the last three purport to show it helping to tear them apart.

Arrangement is roughly chronological, each chapter moving between mother country and colony. The first part presents background in 1660, followed by a summary view of the age of the restored Stuarts, and a brief account of emerging factions in the colonies after the English Revolution of 1688, when administration was hotly debated at Westminster. The last three sections concentrate upon politics under the Hanoverians after the eclipse of the old Tory Party. Changing relations between English politicians and the various colonial parties before 1776 mark a period of deterioration in mutual understanding and co-operation.

Professor Olson writes lucidly and well. She has explored extensive material. Documentation is, at times, to be found in lengthy notes at the foot of the page, and at others, in further explanation at the end of chapters. This arrangement, while affording ample evidence of wide reading, often makes for awkwardness in study and correlation. There are occasional slips throughout, and in chapter I positive errors of fact. It would have been wiser to commence in an era with whose background the writer was more familiar. The general theme is original, interesting, and well worth considering, even if its thesis does not always stand up under close scrutiny. Professor Olson is much too good an historian not to realise this. On many occasions, faction or party, she writes, must be viewed as “simple groups of personal friends manoeuvering for preferment” (p. 153). As Whigs and Tories alternated in office after 1688, “individuals rather than issues” pro-
vided the key to faction (p. 82). Colonial governors were rarely politicians, but, since they wished to enjoy patronage in office, they "had some stake" in English party struggles (p. 88).

But Professor Olson has shown the necessity for examining inter-relations, even of disparate political pressure groups. Her remarks on the effect of the virtual disappearance of the old Tories, on the court-country divisions in some settlements, on the wide differences dividing North America, for example, about land purchase, western lands, and proprietary rights, and those problems absorbing attention at Westminster are stimulating. She has written a thoughtful and provocative book, and one which students of both English and American history should read carefully, whether or not they accept the premise and conclusions.

Rosemont, Pa.

CAROLINE ROBBINS


Appreciation for this excellent edition of Samuel Sewall's diary is due to the editor, Mr. Thomas, to the publisher, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, who has spared no expense to make a useful and attractive set, and to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which continues as in so many other ways to open its collections to the world. It was a happy conjunction that brought them all together nearly twenty years ago, and the volumes in hand should fully satisfy their expectations.

Sewall's diary offers more vignettes of late puritan New England than any dozen other documents put together. The wealth of anecdote seems inexhaustible. His quick, incisive style, the polar opposite to that of Cotton Mather, who was almost his exact contemporary, is a joy to read and the devil to epitomize. Unlike most other New England writers of diaries, journals, autobiographies and so on, Sewall was not a minister of the gospel, although as a youth he had thought he might be. His diary is much closer to the secular spirit and purpose of Evelyn and Pepys than it is to the didactic instrumentalism of Shepard or any of the Mathers. By the same token, because we have made our history of New England so largely the intellectual history of the puritan mind, Sewall's worldly and external observations have not earned him the place in history which they might otherwise have done. Then too, disappointingly, Samuel Sewall, for all his seeming to know everyone and be everywhere, for all his success in government, on the bench, in business and society, did not reveal in his diary what went on behind the scenes. Nor does he seem to have had any extraordinary insight into human nature. The diary is no
more than an unusually full record of an extraordinarily full life during fifty years in the hustle and bustle of provincial Boston. The reader may be interested in an excellent recent biography by Theodore Strandness, *Samuel Sewall: A Puritan Portrait* (1967).

M. Halsey Thomas, who was until recently Archivist of Princeton University, built this new edition around the diary published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in three volumes, 1878-1882. He corrected the earlier text, revised and greatly added to the explanatory notes, and produced what Kenneth Murdock called for long ago, a complete and accurate edition sufficient for the needs of modern scholarship. There is no doubt that it will be much used in that way.

A mixed bag of supporting material is appended to the diary itself: a valuable autobiographical letter to Sewall's son, a chronology of his life, a large and impressive genealogy of relatives living during Sewall's lifetime, a new printing of *The Selling of Joseph* (done much better by Sidney Kaplan in 1969), and a catalogue of imprints from the Boston press when under Sewall's management, 1682-1685. Mr. Thomas' bibliography of primary and secondary sources, however, is rather skimpy, and the scholar will do better to turn instead to the general bibliography by Strandness in the biography cited above. Mr. Thomas' index, on the other hand, gives considerable gratification. It perversely ignores politics. There are, for example, no entries for elections, magistrates, assistant, or deputies, although Sewall often entered the tallies of votes for all candidates in provincial elections. But on the other hand, the index is marvellously complete in distinguishing individuals with identical surnames, for which Mr. Thomas will be blessed by generations of scholars. All in all, this new edition of a justly famous diary is a most welcome arrival.

*University of Texas, Austin*  

**Michael G. Hall**

**The Timber Economy of Puritan New England. By Charles F. Carroll.**  

Charles Carroll has wedded voluminous research in unconventional sources to a difficult exercise in very tight writing to produce one of the most highly distilled treatments of a major original historical topic that we are likely to see in this generation. If it is possible to overdo the virtue of economy, he may even have erred on that side. The text of his monograph, not counting appendices, notes, and index, runs a scant 128 pages.

It is, however, a deceptive kind of brevity. A rigid organizational logic, beginning with swift passages outlining the long descent into a critical timber shortage in England, leads the reader easily from a surprisingly
and illuminatingly detailed description of the pristine New England forest through its earliest stages of exploitation to its transformation into a far different thing at the end of the seventeenth century. Throughout this narrative of change, which a particularly well-disciplined reader undoubtedly could dispose of at a single sitting if the circumstances were right, one is made dramatically aware of the inter-relationship of man and nature, and of the capacity of each to remake the other.

Thus, Professor Carroll's book is more than the kind of economic history that its title may suggest. "Economy" here could almost be translated—though one hesitates to say it because it has become a catch-word lately—"ecology." In fact, those who may look for a scientific economic analysis will be disappointed, despite several statistical shipping charts (but with no breakdown of cargoes) at the back.

The strongest and most original parts of the book are the chapters near the beginning dealing with the "presettlement" forests and with English exploration and earliest settlement, and Carroll's careful, terse reflections at the end on the English attitude toward nature and on the importance of the colonists' struggle with the environment "in the slow break between New England and the mother country." There is some fascinating stuff on wood technology—fences, barns, carts, canoes, and the like—in a chapter covering the years of the Great Puritan Migration, but the reader gets the feeling he is glimpsing only the tip of the iceberg. A chapter on the timber trade, the only one devoted wholly to economic history narrowly construed, is neither technical nor as inventive as some of the other portions, but there is an exceptionally able summary of the role of the woodlands in intercolonial and intracolonial politics in a chapter entitled "Timber Imperialism, 1632-1692."

Professor Carroll has made the natural history of the forest—the differences among vegetation regions, the distribution of dense and open woodlands, the vast difference between second growth and virgin timberlands, and even the changes in animal life that accompany the cutting of trees—exceptionally relevant to human history. And he portrays it all with dramatic intensity and detailed precision, drawing upon a fruitful combination of contemporary descriptive sources and modern geographical, botanical, ecological, and silvicultural studies.

Near the end, Professor Carroll takes gentle exception to the thesis that pollution and waste are consequences of the Judeo-Christian belief that man should have dominion over nature. Early conservation efforts, he argues, demonstrate that although economic success in seventeenth-century New England did indeed depend upon the exploitation of the forest, the attitude of these Puritans toward nature was more complex than is implied by those who would blame western man's problems with his natural environment upon the inordinate influence of the first chapter of Genesis.
This study of seventeenth-century New England could hardly be more timely, but to his credit, the author refrains from either preaching or sloganeering. The brevity of the book is matched by its cool dispassion. There are one or two points at which the book would have benefitted had the author applied more critical judgment to some of his contemporary sources and paid closer attention to the logic of the manner in which he developed minor arguments, but they are not worth dwelling upon.

In his preface, Professor Carroll recalls the immense contribution of Walter Prescott Webb’s *The Great Plains*, but adds, “the full story of man’s first great encounter with a new environment in America has not been told.” No reader should approach this book with the expectation that Carroll has done here for the forests of New England what Webb did for the Great Plains. But he has provided a sketch and an outline, and that is an imaginative and a provocative first step.

*University of New Hampshire*  
*Charles E. Clark*


A decade ago, a strong six-year old could have held all the truly great books on the American decorative arts in both hands. Today, if he had become a strapping teenager, he still could. Of all the domestic arts, the field of American pewter would add as much to his informative burden as would furniture and silver. Pewter has always had the good fortune of attracting a dedicated, exuberant group of collectors and scholars. The forty-year-old Pewter Collectors’ Club of America has spurred an interest in the field tremendously through its *Bulletin* and its meetings. The great encyclopedic work is Ledlie I. Laughlin’s two-volume *Pewter in America*, published first in 1940 and revised in 1969, with a third volume added in 1970.

With such apparent thoroughness for the field already accomplished, what could still be done? The answer is Charles F. Montgomery’s *A History of American Pewter*, a strongly written, concise volume that serves as a needed introduction to the beginner and a thoughtful review to the expert in American pewter. Written with common sense, enthusiasm, and documentation, *A History of American Pewter* is the culmination of its author’s forty-year affair with this metal. The book draws on the previously unpublished collection of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, one of the greatest American pewter collections, but the author is not afraid to show examples from other collections to amplify his points. More than 220 illustrations are used, and they cover the basic forms in
American pewter from the seventeenth century to the later britannia productions of the Victorian era. The photography is superb, although sometimes the small reproductions are lacking in detail.

Mr. Montgomery traces the broad developments of American pewter in the first three chapters, delineating the use of pewter in early America, the craft of the pewterer, and connoisseurship. This last chapter is the best in the book, with the author verbalizing brilliantly on what a mature collector should look for in an object. The points here can apply to all the decorative arts.

Nine chapters follow devoted to the forms themselves. The range of American pewter can be seen from church pieces to spoons and from tankards to porringer. Each form is thoroughly explained and explored, and it is in these chapters that the reader can see the strength of the Winterthur collection. Such mouth-watering forms as a creamer by John Will, a footed teapot by Cornelius Bradford, a tankard by John Carnes, and even a late japanned bowl by Crossman, West & Leonard are shown in context of their development. More than 260 marks of American pewterers are also illustrated. The book has ample footnotes, and end matter includes a listing of the flatware at Winterthur, a list of the major public collections of American pewter, an analysis of the contents of the alloy of selected examples, a brief section on the cleaning of old pewter, and a descriptive bibliography on American pewter. Everything one could hope for is here, and if anything is slighted—fakes receive only passing attention while early collectors and collections are not discussed—it would appear that these were more decisions of the publisher than of the author. In fact, if there is a criticism beyond the few gremlins that pop up in every book, it would be that the author has been held in check and forced to cut down his text here and there to fit a format that could have been more expanded, considering the rather high price.

Many bonuses are to be found in the book. The illustrations go far beyond those in most pewter books, with paintings, prints, and advertisements used effectively. Candlesticks are occasionally lit, and the great engraved Simon Edgell tankard is shown in company with a Thomas Danforth III mug, both brimfully full of beer. In the chapters on lighting and on tea and coffee equipage, the author gives much valuable general background material that goes far beyond the subject at hand. Another bonus not covered by any previous writer are censuslike estimates on the numbers of forms in existence today. Since the mortality rate of old pewter was high even from the start, these figures are important.

For Pennsylvania collectors and readers, the range and importance of Philadelphia and rural productions are clearly shown. While the variety of Pennsylvania porringer and beakers is limited, no area produced a more exciting multiplicity of forms in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Fifty examples are shown by nineteen Pennsylvania pewterers.
The versatility of Parks Boyd can be seen in his covered pitcher and Scandinavian-type tankard, the Germanic influence comes through dramatically in the work of Johann Christoph Heyne, and a flair of difference can be seen in the holloware of Robert Palethorp, Jr. Finally, in the work of William Will—from his rich communion pieces to the startling thirty-eight pieces in the Winterthur collection—one has a chandelier-grasping feeling of seeing the heights of craftsmanship and versatility in early American pewter. A too-late-to-classify discovery, two account books of Thomas Danforth III bearing on his Philadelphia activities with other pewterers, is summarized on page 214.

_A History of American Pewter_ is a work that does full justice to its title. It has the richness of substantial social history and the delicious enthusiasm of thinginess—qualities that are necessities for greatness in books on the decorative arts.

_Kennebunkport, Me._

DEAN A. FALES, JR.


Author of three prior books on New Jersey, John E. Pomfret has now produced the best single-volume survey of that state’s history from the early Swedish and Dutch settlements to the end of the War of Independence. Publication of the present work has significance transcending one colony, since it is the first of a new thirteen-volume series on the colonial histories of the original states edited by Milton M. Klein and Jacob E. Cooke.

_Colonial New Jersey_ is a synthesis of the author’s earlier works and the findings of other scholars. Coverage of the pre-English and proprietary periods consists of a synopsis of Pomfret’s valuable studies, _The Province of West New Jersey, 1609–1702_ (1956) and _The Province of East New Jersey, 1609–1702_ (1962). Information on the remaining years to 1783 is drawn from existing secondary accounts, including several recent doctoral dissertations. Notwithstanding statements by the editors and the author eschewing a traditional approach and affirming the importance of the non-political past, Pomfret essentially has written a chronological narrative of governmental affairs, mainly at the provincial level. Nine chapters carry the political story, and three others summarize economic, social, and cultural developments. Institutional history is favored, and attention centers on government, constitutions, laws and legislation, court systems, and congregations and other religious organizations.

Pomfret develops no new themes or interpretations and reasserts familiar conclusions, such as those concerning the importance for New Jersey of
its proximity to Philadelphia and New York, the rise of the assembly as an element in self-government, the basic rural quality of the life of most inhabitants, and the diversity of national backgrounds and religious faiths. The generality of Jerseymen receive frequent praise for their “high moral standards” and “deep concern for morality,” and the author’s partiality to the West Jersey Quakers of the proprietary period continues to shape his handling of that important group. Pomfret appears at his best in recounting pre-1703 political happenings, and he also reveals no little skill in guiding the reader through the complex politics of New Jersey as a royal province. Least satisfying are the chapters on social, economic, and cultural traditions and trends.

The discussion of New Jersey during the Revolution correctly portrays the movement toward independence as characterized by belatedness, indecision, division, and wide-spread confusion. Pomfret makes comprehension of the thrust of events even more difficult by contradictory statements, neo-Whiggish exaltations of the Patriots, an ambivalence as to the roles of political principle and political expediency, and a penchant for designating the whole, i.e. “New Jersey,” when he has in view only a part. Thus we read: “New Jersey never faltered in her dedication to the cause that by 1775 was uniting the colonies.” Yet, the provincial assembly in November, 1775, resolved to petition the Crown directly for redress of grievances, an act the Continental Congress saw as dangerous to American unity. And during the war, hundreds of Jerseymen drew the sword in the name of the King against their neighbors, and thousands of others demonstrated their hostility to the Patriot cause in less forceful ways. Nonetheless, Pomfret concludes that “the years 1775 to 1783 were her [New Jersey’s] finest.”

A synthesis of existing literature, Pomfret’s work constitutes something of a progress report on the present state of our knowledge of early New Jersey, and it seems clear several areas need yet to be explored and others re-examined. The book, however, has positive value and should well serve those seeking a ready means to familiarize themselves with New Jersey’s colonial past. As the first in a new series on the original colonies, Pomfret’s accomplishment bodes well for the entire undertaking.

C. W. Post College

Frederick R. Black

Joseph Ernst's *Money and Politics in America, 1755-1775* is a landmark book in colonial American history. The work of a decade of research and thought, it broaches an area of colonial life that is almost impenetrable for many scholars in this field: the realm of bills of credit, commodity notes, paper currency, sterling exchange rates, fiscal and monetary policy, and the entire apparatus of the Atlantic economy in the eighteenth century. It seems almost too obvious to mention (and yet it is widely ignored by historians of the American Revolution) that every colonist—whether merchant, farmer, shopkeeper, artisan, or common laborer—was affected by the operations of this Atlantic economy, which linked together the fortunes of England, her colonies on the mainland and in the Caribbean, as well as southern Europe and other European possessions in the West Indies. And yet the fluctuations in this economic system and the structural changes that overtook it in the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century have heretofore been obscure. Through painstaking research in archival sources and through deep reading in economic theory, Ernst has demonstrated that monetary crises shook the American colonies repeatedly in the quarter century before the Revolution and that these crises were far more complex than has been indicated by those who have singled out the lack of an adequate supply of currency as the primary economic problem in the colonies.

At the heart of the American problems were the effects that the English financial crises of 1763 and 1772 had on a colonial economy that had experienced extensive expansion in the previous two generations—an expansion powered not only by population increases but by a high increase in "development capital" provided by English and Scottish investors. When "British houses cut back their credit and repatriated their colonial assets" serious economic repercussions were felt in the colonies. Thus, the eighteenth-century Americans were the beneficiaries of expanded British credit of the sort that underdeveloped countries have always relied upon. But they were also increasingly susceptible to fluctuations in English credit and capital markets, as became painfully apparent in the period beginning at the end of the Seven Years War.

Ernst's study, then, is of dual importance. It is by far the fullest and most analytical account of eighteenth-century monetary problems in the colonies south of New England—an account which has as its focus the forces leading to the Currency Act of 1764 and subsequent attempts to repeal or circumvent this attempt of the mother country to bring the colonies into a better state of uniformity and discipline within the mercantilist system. And, equally important, it is the most compelling argument yet published that the reorganization of empire that began even before the beginning of the Seven Years War, and which eventually led to Revolution, was not only a threat to American concepts of political rights and constitutional privileges, but involved "interventions in the Atlantic
economy at a time of profound internal structural change and crisis” in the colonies. Colonial leaders most often used the language of political rights and constitutional principles to express their grievances against England in the decade before Independence. But all of this occurred not “in some economic void or in a mythical state of economic equilibrium,” as Ernst so carefully explains, but in an environment where English economic policies were adversely affecting the lives and fortunes of Americans at all levels of society.

Although one wishes that Ernst had extended his analysis to New England, and especially to Massachusetts where economic dislocation was more severe than anywhere else in the colonies after 1745, this book will stand as a major contribution to the literature of the American Revolution. Indeed, one suspects that it will have a major role in reorienting Revolutionary studies away from ideological approaches and toward greater consideration of the material conditions of colonial life at different levels of society and how these changing conditions and opportunities were related to political movements in this period.

University of California, Los Angeles

GARY B. NASH


One of early America’s main-traveled highways, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road has long been in need of a historian to tell its fascinating story. In this eleventh volume of the American Trails Series, Parke Rouse, Jr., the author of several studies of colonial Virginia, chronicles the history of this great artery from its origins as the Appalachian Warriors’ Path to its eclipse by railroads, turnpikes, and canals in the nineteenth century, and its revival (with a changed character) in the age of the automobile. Commencing in Philadelphia, the road ran west through Lancaster and York, thence down the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and on into the Carolina backcountry, terminating at Augusta, in South Carolina—a distance of approximately 800 miles. Rouse organizes his account of the road’s history into four parts, treating, respectively, the Warriors’ Path; the pre-Revolutionary history of the Wagon Road; The Wilderness Trail, which branched off at Big Lick (now Roanoake), Virginia, and continued west to Nashville; life along the road in the Revolutionary War era; and its subsequent history to the late nineteenth century.

To tell the history of a highway is, of course, principally to record the scenes of human drama for which it served as a stage. Rouse is at his best in performing this part of his task. He vividly evokes the saga of the
immigrants, missionaries, frontiersmen, waggoners, drovers (North America's first cowboys), and others who streamed along the route. We are given glimpses of nascent Americans westering, fighting, and praying. The public houses and ordinaries at which the travelers refreshed themselves come in for entertaining treatment as well. At times, the focus shifts effectively from people en masse to particular individuals, among them Andrew Jackson, Daniel Boone, and the Rev. Francis Asbury, first Methodist bishop in the United States, depicted here in his earlier career as an itinerant evangelist.

If the book has the best virtues of well-paced narrative history, and strong evocative capacity, it is not without its flaws. Rouse's enthusiasm for his subject is obvious and certainly to be admired; but this very exuberance leads him all too often into exaggeration and imprecision of language. We are told, for example, that "Francis Asbury and his fellow itinerants stirred up their hearers to a fever pitch of religious enthusiasm which rocked the Christian world" (p. 130). Dancing, card playing, and the drinking of beer and whiskey "without guilt" are put forward to demonstrate "the easy going morality of the frontier" (p. 123). One wonders as to the precise meaning of the airily tossed-off claim that Presbyterianism was more democratic and "direct" than some other faiths (p. 57). Where careful explanation of behavior is called for, Rouse is usually content to catalogue rather than to weigh phenomena in terms of their causal significance; thus, numerous reasons for emigration to the south are presented, but we are not told which were most important (chapters 3 and 4). The statement that a 1759 description of the social condition of backcountry Virginians as disease-free, robust, and without want is "a fair assessment of life along the Wagon Road until the arrival of the industrial twentieth century" would hardly satisfy most historians (p. 195). Some factual errors seem to be the result of plain carelessness: the Treaty of Paris closing the French and Indian War is dated as having been concluded in 1764 rather than 1763 (p. 90); Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is said to have been laid out in 1721 rather than 1730 (p. 22); and the distance between Philadelphia and Lancaster is variously put at 30 and 66 miles (pp. 37, 44). Boston and Charleston are described as "small towns" in 1790 (p. 213).

All things considered, however, Rouse has done an admirable job. The Great Wagon Road is enjoyable reading; and the ten pages of handsomely reproduced illustrations embellish the text.

Swarthmore College

JEROME H. WOOD, JR.

A Sweet Instruction: Franklin's Journalism as a Literary Apprenticeship.
James A. Sappenfield's thesis is that Franklin's journalism, written over a period of twenty-five years, influenced his later writings. Sappenfield devotes major attention to the Silence Dogood essays in the New England Courant in 1722, the Busy-Body essays in the Philadelphia American Weekly Mercury in 1729, the Poor Richard almanacs, 1733 to 1758, and the Autobiography. I enjoyed his literary analysis of Franklin's defense of Andrew Hamilton in the 1733 political propaganda "Half-Hour's Conversation with a Friend," and the remarks on the great political pamphlet of 1747, Plain Truth. Sappenfield also shrewdly comments on the image that his contemporaries possessed of the young Franklin—"the bold, incisive antiroyalist, and antiproprietary newspaper editor" (p. 82). He pays special attention to the reflections of Franklin's personal life and concerns in the fictional writings, but the chapter on Poor Richard overworks its thesis that Poor Richard's attitudes and purposes "exactly" parallel those of Benjamin Franklin "during the twenty-five years that he compiled the almanac" (p. 126). Sappenfield is so committed to the parallel, that, in support of his thesis, he uses circular logic: he argues not from known facts of Franklin's life to the fictions of the almanacs, but from the fictions of the almanacs to undated events in the life. Thus he claims that the preface to Poor Richard of 1737 is evidence for dating Franklin's anecdote in the Autobiography about luxury entering families "in spite of Principle." The concluding chapter on the Autobiography maintains that the first part of the book is essentially the story of Franklin's rise from poverty and obscurity to a degree of wealth and fame, and that the rest of the book is, in effect, the long-projected treatise on the Art of Virtue. This is a valid enough generalization, though it distinguishes perhaps too sharply between the purposes in the "two" parts of the Autobiography and though it concerns only two of Franklin's many purposes.

On the whole, the book is disappointing because the research is skimpy. The essay "On Conversation," which Franklin printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette on October 15, 1730, and which the editors of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin mistakenly attributed to him (A. Owen Aldridge pointed out the error in a review in American Literature in 1960) is twice cited by Sappenfield as Franklin's (pp. 59-60, 90). Nor is there any indication that Sappenfield has read the best article on Franklin's journalistic writings (A. Owen Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Gazette," which appeared in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society in 1962). In discussing the Busy-Body essays, he overlooks the suppressed Busy-Body (politically the most important of the series), which was published in American Literature in 1965. His discussion of Silence Dogood no. 9 (published July 23, 1722) points out that it "evidently" refers to Governor Joseph Dudley and comments that it "was the most barbed of the Dogood letters" (p. 44). But barbed against whom? Hardly against Dudley personally, for he had died on April 2, 1720. The editors of the Papers (I, 31) had pointed out that Dudley was probably the object of
the satire, without noting that he had been dead for over two years. No doubt the essay did remind readers of Dudley, who was, as James T. Adams says in his DAB sketch of Dudley, probably the most despised man in New England in his day. But it was the most savage of the Dogood essays because it aroused the audience's feelings against Dudley in order to use these animosities against Samuel Sewall, who was currently the Chief Justice of Massachusetts and who, according to an accompanying note, was responsible for jailing James Franklin. In effect, Silence Dogood no. 9 called Sewall the current Dudley. Anyone who reads the actual issue of the New England Courant for July 23, 1722, instead of just relying upon the information in The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, must be struck by the note directly attacking Sewall, a note which complements the Dogood essay and which must also have been written by that young genius Benjamin Franklin.

The criticism is occasionally obscure or unenlightening. Sappenfield writes that the preface to Poor Richard for 1742 is "one of the most compelling passages in Franklin's writings" (p. 141). This passage on Poor Richard's privacy and identity seems entertaining and humorous, but not compelling, and Sappenfield gives little analysis to support his strong opinion.

Perhaps, because of my admiration for Franklin's great writings, and because I believe that he is so rarely done justice, I am too critical of Sappenfield. He says a number of interesting and valuable things. I admired his attempt to define the "relative weight Franklin assigned to history and moral didactism" in the Autobiography, where Sappenfield argues that Franklin ignored or slighted historical events but emphasized wherever possible moral lessons. But I could wish that he had cited Franklin's letter to Benjamin Vaughan of October 24, 1788, where Franklin makes precisely this point. The book succeeds in its primary but minimal goal of showing that Franklin's twenty-five years of journalism influenced his later writings.

University of California, Los Angeles

J. A. Leo Lemay


Elihu Hubbard Smith was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, September 4, 1771, and died at New York City September 19, 1798. Within those years he crowded an almost unbelievable amount of literary, professional, and social activity. Following his graduation from Yale in 1786, his parents, because of his youth, and perhaps because he had lost his religion in the freethinking atmosphere of Yale of his day, sent him to Dr. Timothy Dwight's academy at Greenfield Hill; at this time he wrote a group of
five sonnets, nearly the earliest extant in American literature. Following medical study with his father and a year in Philadelphia with Benjamin Rush, he began practice in Wethersfield. He was unable to make a living as a doctor, but became associated with the Hartford, or Connecticut, Wits, and in 1793 published *American Poems*, the first anthology of American poetry. The same year he settled in Manhattan. There he joined the literary group, the Friendly Club, and quickly built up a sound professional reputation. Smith was on the staff of the New York Hospital and in 1797 became, with Dr. Mitchill and Dr. Edward Miller, one of the editors of the first American medical journal, *The Medical Repository*, to which he contributed several papers. In the great yellow fever epidemic of 1798, he exhausted himself with conscientious attendance on his patients, caught the malady, and died shortly after his twenty-seventh birthday.

Dr. Smith began a diary in September, 1795, and continued it until four days before his death; he wrote almost half a million words. Some men seem to know, or suspect, early that they are going to be great or important, and preserve everything they thought, said or did. Smith's diary is a self-conscious document of this sort, written by an intelligent and articulate man of great energy and uncommonly wide interests. He not only recorded his daily activities—professional calls, business affairs, and social evenings with a wide circle of friends—but he also listed the books and journals he read and the plays he saw, usually with comment; finally he copied in full most of his outgoing letters.

The diary is a vivid and important record of an era in Manhattan which, except for the diary of William Dunlap, lacks documentation of this sort. The literary and cultural life of the city around the turn of the nineteenth century, a generation before the appearance of the Knickerbocker writers, was not inconsiderable, and makes Boston of that day look painfully arid.

The present volume contains a sketch by Smith of his roommate, with interesting light on Yale in the time of Ezra Stiles. Written earlier, but revised and copied into the diary, are Smith's "Notes from recollections of My Life from My Birth till the Age of Eleven," an exceedingly frank and detailed record of life in a small New England town in the years of the Revolution, and of a boy's preparation for college.

Not all the material in the diary manuscript has been printed. It was Smith's custom to write a preface to each month, sometimes each week, with his plans and hopes, and then to write a summary or postscript lamenting accomplishments not achieved; these are tiresome, but are printed. There are frequent omissions, sometimes of professional material which Smith published, but sometimes of writings which the editor regarded as "of no interest." Much in the book will interest historians of medicine.

The index is a strange and most inadequate performance, and no credit to a learned society. It is by no means complete, many individuals are not
properly identified, and some are listed under Smith's incorrect spelling of their names. While there is much about Columbia and its flourishing medical school in the book, the single reference to Columbia in the index is an incidental one, and other institutions mentioned are not included at all.

The greatest imposition on users of the book is the indexer's avoidance of indexing by eliding entries as 24-464, passim; if one wished to look up fully James Kent or Samuel Miller or Idea Strong, it is necessary to look through the book. The Diary of Elihu Hubbard Smith is a valuable, important, and exceedingly interesting record; the reviewer feels that only by employing an expert to index the book de novo can the publisher avoid the accusation of shabby treatment of posterity.

Princeton University

M. Halsey Thomas


If the bicentennial activities of other states result in scholarly contributions similar to Ronald Hoffman's _Spirit of Dissension_, then the hoopla that is normally associated with such celebrations will be countered with significant additions to historical understanding. This book constitutes the most comprehensive analysis of Revolutionary Maryland now extant and provides a treatment of the Free State's economic activities and its elite leadership that is unsurpassed either by Charles A. Barker's _The Background of the Revolution in Maryland_ (1940) or Philip A. Crowl's _Maryland During and After the Revolution_ (1943).

Hoffman postulates that from 1765-1774: "While other factors contributed to the rhythm of political protest, the very definite correlation between the strength of the economy and the forms of political behavior demonstrates that economic conditions exerted a particularly critical influence." From about 1774 to 1778, however, "the disequilibrating social forces released by the revolutionary movement became the critical element reflecting the character of political behavior" (p. 3). During this second phase the gentry "sacrificed principle for power" (p. 222), thereby preserving their position from egalitarian demagogues. They gravitated slowly toward independence, drew up a conservative state constitution, drafted radical fiscal legislation, distributed political patronage widely, re-established the legal system on the rebellious Eastern Shore, and sent several military expeditions to root out Loyalist malcontents. Hoffman's third phase of the Revolution saw politics return to the traditional intragentry battles which split the "popular party" coalition that controlled
Maryland politics, 1774–1778. During these last years of the Revolution elite leaders like Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton fought amongst themselves for power and economic advantage and in the wake of this outburst allegedly left their party “in ruins” (p. 272).

No one has examined the myriad of business records and correspondence that remains in archives from New York to Durham as effectively as Professor Hoffman of the University of Maryland. No one so effectively discusses the sources of social discontent and Loyalism on the Eastern Shore as he does. Yet, this is still a picture of the Revolution from the top down; seen almost exclusively from the viewpoint of the Carrolls, Chases, Tilghmans and Luxes. Not only that, it is the Revolution in which the plight of the inarticulate is seldom explained, while personality clashes between the elite receive extensive discussion. All this is in keeping with Hoffman’s objective to concentrate on “the dilemmas of those who provided leadership for the Revolution but who experienced intense anxiety over many of the social, political, and economic tendencies unleashed by the conflict” (p. xiii). There seems an excessive reliance upon economic causation which simplifies the ideological and constitutional clashes that constituted major contributing causes of the Revolution. The inordinate dependence upon the Carroll papers is most disturbing since it perpetuates Crowl’s belief that the Carroll-Chase battles constituted fundamental differences in public policy. Jackson Turner Main dispelled this notion years ago. Their verbal, public disagreements disguised similar voting records in the General Assembly.

Finally, Carroll receives exceptionally favorable treatment. He was a “man of principle” while Chase engaged in “naked acts of self-aggrandizement” (p. 257), which were actually designed to enrich himself the way Carroll’s grandfather used political connections to found that family’s fortune. Carroll and his father were guilty of ingratitude (especially toward the Dulanys and Calverts who risked and lost popular favor while protecting Catholics from Protestant oppression), arrogance, pettiness, and self-righteousness. Moreover, except for a brief period, 1774–1776, Carroll of Carrollton never held a popularly-elected office in his life. Indirectly elected by members of his own class, Senator Carroll could politically afford to attack the legal tender law and Loyalist confiscation acts that county delegates felt compelled to support.

These disagreements with Hoffman could continue at length, because of differences relative to the nature of Maryland’s Revolutionary experience. They do not constitute, however, a detrimental criticism of Hoffman’s contribution. Both the Maryland Bicentennial Commission and The Johns Hopkins University Press can indeed be proud of this first installment in their bicentennial studies series.

Bowling Green State University

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

"Is it the interest of a man to be a boy all his life?" Such down-to-earth language as that made Thomas Paine one of history's most influential pamphleteers, an inspiration to rebels in his own day and since. Miss Audrey Williamson, although primarily a London critic of the performing arts, arrives at the loving task of writing a life of Paine through several chains of circumstance: she is a dedicated daughter of a socialist trade-unionist, and is moreover a disciple and biographer of George Bernard Shaw, a man who admired Paine and seems to her in some respects to have imitated Paine's career.

The serious student will find rather interesting the new material which Miss Williamson has discovered regarding the six-year period that Paine spent in Lewes before coming to America and will appreciate her balancing of Paine's British, American, and French careers. In general, however, he may prefer A. Owen Aldridge's Man of Reason (1959), which is less defensive and diffuse.

The new biography, unfortunately, also shows less than thorough research. Shallowly rooted in political history, the treatment of England's background is without benefit of Namier, Pennsylvania's is without reference to Brunhouse. Philadelphia's "Fort Wilson" episode of 1779 is reported misleadingly as a riot "against some profiteers . . . ending in the near-lynching of a group of Tories who had fortified themselves in a house and fired on the mob." The claim exploded forty years ago, that Paine was a pioneer of the feminist movement, is repeated. His pamphlet Public Good (1780) is discussed without awareness that he was paid to spread the cloak of general welfare over Pennsylvania's most prominent land speculators. Writing about the generation in which Pennsylvania was settling boundary controversies with no less than seven of her neighbors, the author assumes incorrectly that in 1780 copies of the colonial charters could not have been consulted in Philadelphia. More common than factual error, however, is a general want of precision. The design of interrelating "Life, Work and Times" is in fact overambitious; at times the text tends toward sentimental association and curios a rather than analysis.

Much attention is given to disputing the traditional charges of Paine's critics, charges of alcoholism, indolence, and slovenliness; interstitially, however, it develops that the charges are grounded in fact. Even if they were totally false they would not deserve the heavy emphasis that indignant rebuttals bestow. On the other hand, there is a want of psychological depth; despite loosely-drawn parallels to Shaw, no insights emerge to help us understand Paine's radical drive and his vanity, his charm and con-
viviality, his strange reticences. Similarly, except for broad references to Quakerism, the intellectual origins of his ideas go unexamined.

**Dickinson College**

**Henry J. Young**

*Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution.*

By Frederick W. Marks III. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. xvi, 256 p. Bibliography, index. $10.00.)

Dr. Marks's stated purpose in *Independence on Trial* is to assess the role that foreign affairs played in the adoption of the Constitution. By foreign affairs he means America's relations with European and Indian nations, its image of Europe, and its feelings of national pride. Marks criticizes historians who emphasize "domestic considerations such as class conflict and economic gain as the leading concerns of the founding fathers." Such disparate specialists on the Confederation and the Constitution as John Fiske and Merrill Jensen, Charles A. Beard and Robert E. Brown, and Forrest McDonald and Jackson Turner Main, are all guilty of the sin of neglect. Not all historians, however, have been so negligent. Stanley Elkins, Eric McKitrick, and John R. Roche have influenced Marks to sail this uncharted course.

The United States, declares Dr. Marks, needed a strong central government and military establishment to protect it from hostile colonial powers and their Indian allies. Most foreign nations refused to make commercial treaties with America, and some of them, especially the British, severely restricted its trade and commerce. Also galling was America's inability to prevent the Barbary powers from preying upon its Mediterranean trade. Between 1783 and 1786 Americans made several unsuccessful efforts to remedy these conditions by attempting to increase Congress' power. These failures, fear of foreign subversion, and national pride culminated in the calling of the Federal Convention. The Constitution adopted by the Convention saved the "City on the Hill." It provided for a strong military establishment supported by taxes raised and collected by the central government. Congress was given the power to regulate foreign trade and to negotiate treaties. To get the Constitution ratified, its supporters used foreign affairs as their principal argument because it provided "a basis for a national consensus." It appealed to all classes. The new government dealt more effectively with European and Indian nations, but there were still problems.

Marks never states unequivocally that external pressures and foreign threats were the principal forces behind the Constitution, but that conclusion is inescapable. His attempt not to disparage the accomplis...
of the Confederation Congress, or the impact of the desire for internal peace and the protection of private property is not convincing. He does not place foreign affairs in a broader context, and he is unaware that he had to master the political, diplomatic, and economic history of the North Atlantic quarter sphere. Marks did not realize the immensity of the task that he had set himself.

As to particulars: efforts to increase Congress' power over foreign trade and commerce did not begin with Great Britain's trade restrictions. In 1778 New Jersey recommended that the Articles of Confederation be amended so as to give Congress exclusive power to regulate foreign trade. In 1781 Congress requested that the states grant it an impost, and some Congressmen tried unsuccessfully to increase Congress' coercive and commercial power. British restrictions in their West Indian islands hurt American trade only temporarily as Americans found outlets in the other islands. The decline of the Caribbean trade began in 1786 when the French rigorously enforced their trade restrictions. Some Americans feared Tory subversion, but others encouraged the return of Tories to bolster the American economy. The charge that Shays Rebellion was instigated by foreign agents and Tories was a nationalist ploy to turn attention away from Shaysite grievances. The rebellion jarred nationalists. On February 19, 1787, two days before it called the Federal Convention, Congress voted against suspending army enlistments because the rebellion had not been completely crushed. The Constitution was so effective in erecting barriers to prevent such rebellions that some believed that it impaired the rights and liberties of Americans. As a result, a movement for a bill of rights developed immediately after the Convention adjourned. Antifederalist writers, such as "Centinel," "An Old Whig," and "Brutus," wanted protection against the enemy within, the American aristocracy, not against foreign threats. To draw national attention away from the bill of rights movement, nationalist writers countered with the issue of national security. This strategy was not fully developed until the spring of 1788 when the drive for a bill of rights was in high gear. "The Federalist Papers," upon which Dr. Marks relies so heavily, had little influence on the ratification struggle; they are vastly overrated as propaganda pieces.

Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution

Gaspare J. Saladino


This is the first volume of a projected sixteen-volume series designed to draw together the "official Diary, correspondence, and other documents
of Robert Morris during his administration as Superintendent of Finance and Agent of Marine, 1781–1784.” Although restricted to his “official papers,” the series will also include “selections from his private and business correspondence which throw light on the management of the Office of Finance.”

The work has a narrow focus, and covers fewer than four years, but it promises to be an enormously useful tool for students of the American Revolution. With the single exception of Washington, Robert Morris was more intimately involved in the work of building the American nation during these crucial years than any other leader. And while it is true that this portion of his career has been most fully studied, and that the official Diary and the letter books of the Superintendent have long been readily available to scholars, the letterpress format and the editorial contribution to this series represent an awesome practical increase in information now available on the economic and administrative development of the United States.

The work is specifically organized around Morris’ official Diary, his daily record of the transactions of his office, and to each entry from the Diary are keyed letters from and to Morris, as well as various reports, commissions, advertisements, oaths, etc., according to the manner in which they pertain to Morris’ daily activities. The structure of the work assuredly emphasizes—and probably overemphasizes—the importance of the Superintendent in reviving the nation during a critical period. The Office of Finance inevitably had a hand in every economic matter that comes within the purview of the series. In the long run, I believe we can confidently predict, the work will provide the foundation for a new era of an ascendant nationalist interpretation of the American Revolution, for by comparison with Morris’ activities the contributions of state officials will appear miniscule and will derive significance only insofar as they relate to the larger programs and purposes of the Superintendent.

The volume begins with Morris’ Diary entry of February 7, 1781, recording his receipt of an Act of Congress creating a Superintendent of Finance. And nearly half the first volume covers the period to June 26, when Morris actually began keeping the diary, the day before he took his oath of office. Thus he wrote for June 26: “During the time of the transactions beforementioned I kept no exact Diary wherefore the preceding Minutes are made from Memory and a former perusal of the several papers therein refered to. I have had many Conferences and Consultations with divers Committees of Congress, the several publick Boards and others on the Publick Business accurate Minutes whereof cannot now be made in the Method which I intend hereafter to pursue.”

Actually, the editors have supplied such a wealth of material to go with the documents pertaining directly to this preliminary period, that the volume loses very little from this apparent, though superficial, defect.
Although Morris was engaged in a broad range of private and public, state and national operations, the editors do not attempt to present Morris the Superintendent apart from his other roles. For a work focusing on Morris, no other course would have been practicable, and in this regard the editors are clearly to be commended. On the other hand, many readers will believe that documents are often overannotated, that many identifying sketches are too elaborate, that too many trivial differences in variant texts are noted. Is it necessary, for example, to note the location of all twelve surviving copies of a single circular letter, or to enter separately each of the 106 letters “not found,” when this fact is explained elsewhere in the notes? The pace of the work, which proceeds slowly at best, will soon approach the tedious, advancing but a few weeks per volume. The editors are indeed to be congratulated on the inauguration of this fine project, but is it not reasonable to ask that such a work bear clearer signs of a sense of urgency?

Library of Congress

P. H. Smith


Scholars who have dealt with the history of the early Republic have inevitably encountered the “zealous partisan,” John Beckley. Yet the figure of the man was elusive, a shadowy form whose brief appearances were vague and almost sinister. Perhaps for this reason most historians were suspicious of him and inclined to dismiss him as a political hack of no importance. There was the additional problem of the absence of any considerable collection of Beckley manuscripts, although it was obvious that Beckley himself was a voluminous correspondent.

A large vote of thanks is therefore tendered to Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley for this study which finally gives substance to the shadow. If history is hitherto unacquainted with him, John Beckley’s own world knew him well. By the time he was thirty years old he had served as clerk of both houses of the Virginia General Assembly and as mayor of the city of Richmond for three terms. He was chosen clerk of the House of Representatives in 1789 and from this position he observed and became acquainted with that generation of men whom we call the Founding Fathers. He counted Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Edmund Randolph among his friends and James Monroe and Dr. Benjamin Rush as his close confidants.

The Berkeleys assign to Beckley an important role as a member of the “supporting cast” of Jefferson and his Republican colleagues in their struggle for political supremacy against the Federalist opposition in the
1790s. To Beckley is given much of the credit for organizing the Jeffersonian party machinery and developing techniques of party organization and campaigning. He was a clearing house for the kind of inside information which is so essential to party leaders in planning their strategy. One suspects that he was also something of a gossip and rumor monger, justifying Jefferson's observation that "Beckley is a man of perfect truth as to what he affirms of his own knowledge, but too credulous as to what he hears from others" (p. 91).

Questions arise, and they are posed in the full realization that the authors set themselves a difficult task. The frequent use of "probably," "apparently," and "it appears that" makes it clear that the track of their subject was sometimes difficult to follow. To take one instance, in the battle to defeat Jay's Treaty the Berkeleys note that "Beckley was one of the most active leaders in this ambitious campaign . . ." (p. 111). Yet during the next six months (and almost twenty pages) Beckley's contributions consisted of "having much to do with the calling of a meeting in the State House yard" in Philadelphia, one article published in the newspapers, and a denunciation of President Washington for drawing advances on his salary. The impact of this latter gambit "is not clear, but it was probably effective" (p. 128).

Similar vague conclusions make it difficult to evaluate Beckley's role as a party organizer. Was he a Republican "whip" in Congress? Did he organize Republican caucuses, suggest party "tickets" for candidates at elections, urge the use of patronage? Although these and other practices were beginning to be used as organizational techniques, there is no evidence that Beckley helped develop them. His role seems to have been largely that of an emissary and message center for party leaders.

The Berkeleys are much more successful in their vivid account of the social life of the young republic. The Beckley household was a large one and visitors were frequent. The convening of Congress always meant a constant round of receptions and dinners. The summers usually found the Beckleys traveling to the springs in the Valley of Virginia or visiting friends in Richmond or New York. It is in these scenes that John Beckley, father, husband and convivial host, emerges with much more clarity than the politician.

The authors are perhaps too fulsome in their estimate of Beckley's influence, for to conclude that he "exerted a profound influence on the political trends of the critical times in which he lived, and upon the generations which came after him" is surely overstating the case. And it is doubtful that he "was as responsible as any one man for the overthrow of the Federalist domination of the government and all it stood for . . ." (p. 285).

But John Beckley is no longer a mystery man, and for this Edmund and Dorothy Berkeley earn high marks.

University of Alabama

JOHN PANCAKE

Dennis Clark has written a fine book about the Irish in Philadelphia that is a combination of social history and a study of ten generations of a transplanted minority struggling initially for survival, then for advancement, affluence, recognition and identity against formidable odds. In the process, the Philadelphia Irish created problems (and found some solutions) that are of relevance to modern society in dealing with other minorities.

As history it is selective in that it concentrates on the seventh, or famine generation. It seeks to provide new information and insights that will contribute understanding, if not complete answers, to various questions. Why did the social and political development of the Irish differ in Philadelphia from that experienced by the Irish in Boston and New York? The immigrants who poured into all three cities following the successive failures of the potato crop, beginning in 1846, were similar in background and character. What were the social institutions they created that enabled the Irish, abruptly uprooted from a largely rural society (85 per cent of those coming to Philadelphia were farmers, herdsmen, or engaged in agriculture-related pursuits), to cope successfully with an alien urban environment and a rapidly expanding industrial society? What does this have to teach northern cities that are still coping with the consequences of a vast influx of disadvantaged migrants who arrived in their midst following World War II, mostly from the rural South?

To his credit, Clark refrains from the heavy-handedness of making explicit comparisons between the two groups, but the similarities are implicit in his account of the Irish. Among the reasons that Clark cites as contributing to the difference in the way the Irish developed in Philadelphia, compared with New York and Boston, are: greater availability of land in Philadelphia accompanied by inexpensive row-house construction with homes financed through hundreds of savings and loan associations (many organized by the Irish); the stronger industrial, population, and housing boom in Philadelphia during the critical early years that provided more opportunity for occupational mobility and diversification and new business ventures; the inability of the Philadelphia Irish to dominate one political party (Democratic in New York and Boston) because a powerful Republican machine controlled Philadelphia for generations after the Civil War, attracting many Irish despite their Democratic inclinations; and the success of the Philadelphia Irish in building a much larger network of churches, parochial schools, and private catholic colleges and academies.

Clark is more scholar than Irishman. He looks upon his kinsmen with
a level gaze—scrupulously describing their weaknesses, prejudices, and vices and omitting little necessary for a balanced presentation. Nevertheless, affection is there also, although unobtrusive, with the author extolling in his preface "that sense of loyalty to one's own without which no group and no man can survive."

A weakness in the book occurs in the chapter entitled "Hibernia in Philadelphia," which begins with these sentences: "In the last third of the nineteenth century, the Philadelphia Irish concluded a compact with the rest of the urban society surrounding them. It was a Victorian compromise. Under it the Irish would largely remain within the institutional framework they had been constructing for themselves. They would avoid any attempt to overthrow or supplant the native Philadelphia institutions that dominated the city." This statement, if true, highlights perhaps the most important reason for the difference in the way the Irish developed in Philadelphia, but it is left hanging without proof or documentation of such a pact or compact. It must be regarded either as tacit or to be inferred from subsequent developments.

The book will be of interest to students, urban planners, bureaucrats, politicians, and all of good will who are interested in the Irish—as who is not? There is a thoughtful introduction by William V. Shannon, author of The American Irish, and fifty-seven pages of notes, which, thankfully, are not permitted to intrude upon the text.

Philadelphia

Joseph P. McLaughlin


Louis McLane was one of those political figures who helped shape policy and make history, but never reached the top. A Federalist congressman and then a Jacksonian senator from Delaware between 1817 and 1829, he served as Minister to England, Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State under Andrew Jackson, before turning to business ventures. Although Professor Munroe concludes that his subject's "record was disappointing," McLane's career encompassed so many areas of American life that his story has great significance. His biography adds to our knowledge of Washington society, the Democratic Party, Jacksonian diplomacy, the Bank War, tariff policies, canal digging, railroad building, and upper-class life in the early national period. In short the book opens a large window into the Age of Jackson.

Munroe's biography rests upon a solid base of primary sources. He has drawn upon letters, memoirs, diaries, newspapers, legislative debates, diplomatic instructions and corporate reports, and has mined several large collections of McLane correspondence never previously used. After two
decades of research and writing, Munroe has woven the material into a sound, fascinating study of politics, diplomacy, and business between 1817 and 1857.

McLane rose steadily up to 1832. After four years as the powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and two as a prominent Jacksonian senator, McLane in 1829 was a logical candidate for Secretary of the Treasury, but he had to settle instead for appointment as Minister to England. Within a year he succeeded in opening American trade with the British West Indies and returned to become Secretary of the Treasury when Jackson reorganized his cabinet in 1831. The new Secretary's first treasury report in December, 1831, was a statesmanlike document, rivalling those of Hamilton and Gallatin, in which McLane recommended using Federalist means (moderate tariff protection) to achieve a Jeffersonian end (wiping out the national debt). The climax of his career occurred in the weeks that followed the report. As "first minister" in the cabinet, as a former Federalist in a Democratic administration, McLane was—in Munroe's words—in a strong position "to adjust and settle the diverse interests of segments, sectional and otherwise, of the nation."

But within two months two events undermined McLane's position: Nicholas Biddle's decision to ask for recharter of the Bank of the United States and the Senate's rejection of Martin Van Buren as Minister to England. The first event embroiled the Jackson administration in a war against an institution that McLane supported, the second made Van Buren—not McLane—the heir apparent. From January, 1832, McLane's career went downhill.

Munroe tells the story well, presenting the reader with an indelible portrait of McLane. Yet the study is so detailed that the data sometimes get in the way of interpretation, and Munroe does not move outside of his subject often enough to treat broader topics. Munroe might, for example, have discussed whether McLane was typical of other Jacksonians. Like others in the party McLane was born at the end of the Revolution, was trained in the law, came into power during the War of 1812, served in Congress during the 1820s, played a role in the administration in the 1830s, and enjoyed close contacts with the world of business. And Munroe only scratches the surface of McLane's efforts to make himself Jackson's successor and to swing the administration over to Federalist-Whiggish views.

John Munroe has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of Jacksonian Democracy, but he only whets our appetite for more. This solid biography of a second-line Jacksonian reminds us that we need a full-length up-to-date biography of President Jackson himself.

In recent years American historians, stimulated perhaps by the imbroglio of Vietnam, have begun to write about another controversial conflict, the War with Mexico. This study is the most recent attempt to stir the ashes of scholarship in the "training ground for the American Civil War."

Professor Schroeder has developed a unique theme—a most successful comprehensive examination of opposition to the war. In spite of thirty pages of material about "nonpolitical dissent," including abolitionists, pacifists, religious leaders and literary figures, the work is essentially political history at its traditional best. The congressional battles between the Whigs and Democrats receive maximum attention as the author analyzes the changing issues, positions, and factions as the war progresses. Responsibility for the war falls squarely on Polk, but Schroeder refrains from moral judgments of the manipulative and aggressive Chief Executive.

Congress is the focal point, however, and the course of the legislators' folly and divisiveness is carefully charted. In 1846, the initial partisan opposition of the Whigs and Calhoun Democrats, who feared the disruption of negotiations with Great Britain over the Oregon question and possible British intervention in the war, receives primary consideration. By 1847, the emphasis had shifted and the issues of prosecution of the war, expansion, and slavery (extensive debate on the Wilmot Proviso) added new dimensions to the struggle. While the antislavery Whigs and free soil Van Buren Democrats feared a war to perpetuate the "slave power," the conservative Whigs were apprehensive about the danger to the ideals, true mission, and destiny of the republic. An empire on the Pacific must not be attained at the sacrifice of our republican principles of self-determination for the newly liberated Mexican territories. The Calhounites, whose quondam favorite still eyed the presidency, also suggested that the racial purity of the nation would be colored by a free Mexican population. Fortunately for Polk, while his opponents agreed that the war was a dangerous evil, they could not compromise their partisanship for principles long enough to gain a consensus on how to halt the President. The conservative Whigs ran the risk of exposing themselves to a Federalist-traitor label or deserting two victorious Whig generals, Scott and Taylor, in the field—they deemed the price too costly. The ambitious Whigs and disillusioned Democrats were even obliged to endorse the "objectionable' Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo because they feared the annexation of all Mexico promoted by many expansionists in 1847-1848. The opposition and dissent finally "had little effect on the war's duration, outcome or final terms."
Although Schroeder has told us nothing new about the Mexican War, he has accomplished his objective of providing a synthesis of antiwar dissent. His success makes this work a valuable and welcome addition to the literature of the period.

University of South Florida

John M. Belohlavek


To the multitudes who have clambered aboard the Charles W. Morgan at Mystic Seaport and who have speculated on the antique vessel's adventurous life and miraculous survival, this should be a welcome book. One can place full confidence in the successful attainment of the author's endeavor to create "a comprehensive and accurate history of the lone survivor of the golden era of American whaling."

Launched in 1841 at New Bedford when whaling was at its peak, the Morgan was named for its principal owner, a Philadelphia Quaker who had moved to New Bedford. She was 111 feet long, displaced 351 tons, and cost $52,000. During her eighty years of whaling, the ship completed thirty-seven voyages and earned more than $1,400,000. She returned $56,000 on her first cruise; her record was made on her sixth time out, $165,407. That voyage lasted three years and seven months; her longest and least remunerative lasted five years. During her career she searched the vastnesses of the Pacific for her prey, enduring the gales of Cape Horn, the typhoons of the China sea, the ice of the Bering Sea, and an attack by cannibals. Many men were lost off her, many others deserted.

The author, Associate Curator of Mystic Seaport, is also an artist. In addition to many photographic illustrations, he has contributed drawings of whaling equipment and whaling scenes, explanatory of the technique of whaling. He has also supplied crew lists for each voyage, a summary of the voyages, and a glossary.

Saved by Colonel Edward H. R. Green from being broken up after her final return from the whaling grounds in 1921, the Morgan was acquired in 1941 by Mystic Seaport, where she has since been the star attraction. A "true memorial of the great days of the whaling industry, seamen and ships," the old vessel has been declared a National Historical Landmark. This is an attractive book.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Nicholas B. Wainwright

There is a myth that business success was a simple matter in the early or mid-nineteenth century, when in fact the world of American business was perhaps more fraught with trickery and dishonesty than at the present time. Eternal vigilance and business, as distinct from technical, judgment was essential to success. A greater semblance of commercial order than really existed results from the fact that most histories are either of unusually successful entrepreneurs or long-lived companies.

Herman Haupt was a brilliant technical man and a hard-driving, although fair, manager of labor, but he was a naive and perpetually over-optimistic businessman. Yet it would be hard to say that his life was a failure. He apparently made enough from his intermittent employment at high salaries and some real estate successes to more than compensate for major losses, and meanwhile enjoyed the mobility, activity, and excitement which he and so many other Americans craved.

James A. Ward tells of Haupt's achievements as managing engineer of the early Pennsylvania Railroad, his commercially unsuccessful try at boring the Hoosac Tunnel, his able work on military railroads during the Civil War, his connection again with the Pennsylvania Railroad's southern extensions in the 1870s, and finally his brief period of management of the Northern Pacific. But Haupt's business affairs baffle Mr. Ward, as they did Haupt himself, and will presumably always remain unfathomable. Apparently the Haupt correspondence bemoans losses, but seldom enumerates gain. Except for early success in Pennsylvania, when he had the advice of astute Philadelphia businessmen, the reader never understands how Haupt made all the money that he either lost, or gave to his children.

As a human being Haupt was serious, sincere, incredibly energetic, a fluent writer, but also narrow in social tastes and in the range of his imagination. In spite of lax record keeping and quarrels with his partners, he seems, according to his own lights, to have been strictly honest. Although he loved his wife, a family of nine children kept her from accompanying him on his many business trips, and they were often separated for considerable periods.

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A general entrepreneurial pattern emerges from this case study that Ward does not emphasize. Haupt was, as might be expected, pretty good at assessing physical potentialities, but had little judgment in selecting partners, no interest in accounting, and a stubborn inability to learn that one could not operate a partnership in absentia. Basically, he failed to realize that there was a world of business with credit ratings, legal manipulations, and record keeping as complex as his familiar realm of technology. In addition, he would never commit his energies for any considerable time
to a single enterprise—not even the Civil War. As a result, in promising ventures smart partners on the spot not only succeeded in squeezing Haupt out, but saddling him with debts as well.

All of this, however, was common to mid-nineteenth-century America, and the book may be closer than the author indicates to the history of a normal businessman of the period. The overoptimistic American entrepreneurs who spread themselves too thin were legion, and most of them were not saved, as Haupt was, by marketable technological ability. These men expected to get rich quickly if only they could raise the necessary capital, and seldom adequately assessed the risks involved or the time and money required for maturity of their ventures. Whether this repeated process of overcommitment and insolvency speeded or retarded economic growth is a moot question, but the comparatively poor results from 1865 to 1897 would suggest that a better business system might have been beneficial.


For nearly twenty years John Maass has been one of the foremost popularizers of Victorian domestic architecture in America. Due in no small part to his books, he has witnessed a reversal of attitude toward the artifacts and buildings of the nineteenth century. Retrospect of a century has brought re-evaluation and even a begrudging acceptance of what was until recently considered the nadir of taste. Now he has taken on the defense of the greatest extravaganza of the second half of the nineteenth century—the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876—and its architect-in-chief, that have been largely ignored by subsequent generations.

The story begins in the best Horatio Alger tradition. Herman Joseph Schwarzmann, a German emigrant in his twenties, arrives in Philadelphia in 1868 where he secures employment as a junior assistant to the man who has just been charged with the responsibility of creating the largest urban park in the world. But Chief Engineer John Chapman Cresson is in ill health and his young assistant works hard to prove his worth. When the landscape proposals of Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux are rejected by the Commissioners of Fairmount, the young assistant steps forward to offer his own carefully thought-out designs. Schwarzmann is acclaimed and his proposals adopted. Then the new park is selected as the
site of the Centennial Exhibition that is scheduled to open in only three years. Again it is Schwarzmann's designs that are accepted. In the space of a few months he surveys the grounds and prepares plans for Memorial Hall and Horticultural Hall. In all, the Exhibition, for which he is appointed Engineer, covers 284 acres and contains 249 structures. Most of these are completed on schedule and nearly 10,000,000 people flood into the grounds to see the most successful exhibition of its type ever staged. But somehow the promise that H. J. Schwarzmann exhibits for that brief period does not develop. His efforts to establish architectural firms in Philadelphia and New York fail. He dies in 1891, leaving few buildings of note other than those on the banks of the Schuylkill.

The Glorious Enterprise is really not a biography of Schwarzmann, too little is known of the man; his trail, followed across two continents, was too cold. The central theme is the Exhibition itself. John Maass has clearly mastered the bewildering wealth of material on the Centennial in the Philadelphia City Archives as well as the thousands of pages of the official reports. He has brought to light many little-known and useful foreign accounts and the opinions of leading American politicians and literary figures. Works of art displayed at the Exhibition have been traced and the influence of Schwarzmann's buildings and the overall plan of the Exhibition have been followed both here and in Europe. From a broader perspective we are shown the impact of the Exhibition on foreign observers who discovered the United States emerging as an economic and cultural power in its own right. This book also capitalizes on the natural tendency to look over our shoulder (perhaps nostalgically, longingly) at 1876 when America was realizing its greatness rather than contemplating a less attractive prospect. Maass suggests this himself. "The Centennial," he writes, "took place at a time when almost everyone believed in the absolute certainty of inevitable progress. The Exhibition provided America with a splendid self-image of the nation. It reflected a confidence or illusion which is, of course, missing as the United States approaches the Bicentennial of 1976."

It is in this latter area that the book suffers its most serious flaw. In defending Exhibition architecture against foolish critics, and in tracing such diverting discoveries as Melvil Dewey's cribbing of his library subject index from William Phipps Blake's Classification for the Exhibition, Maass somehow loses the excitement that gripped the millions who came to Philadelphia and went away changed. The Glorious Enterprise provides the outline and sets the stage. We must now await the cultural historians who will flesh out the story, follow the visitors from pavilion to pavilion and then home where new societies were founded, houses redecorated, businesses reorganized, new careers launched. Those historians will of necessity begin their reading with this pioneering work.

The Athenaeum of Philadelphia

ROGER W. MOSS, JR.

The early history of North Carolina has a distinct parochial flavor, and the interests of her people seem to have been directed inward because of internal conflicts that flourished so briskly between settlers and Indians, the tidewater and the frontier and the legislature and the royal governors. Geography played a significant role for the isolation brought about by the existence of the outer banks presented not only an economic obstacle, but was responsible for a cultural lag as well. In a like manner, this physical peculiarity was responsible for a plague of pirates in that the shallow sounds and streams provided a safe haven for these sea rovers who even managed to involve the governing authorities in their schemes and adventures. Poor and inadequate communication and transportation, both internally and externally, contributed to the persistent backwardness of North Carolina in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because the settlers were forced to achieve a high degree of self-sufficiency that was to become a factor in the maintenance of an insular attitude.

Yet despite such physical handicaps, the colony attracted large numbers of immigrants who sought the abundant land within its borders. In addition to the original English settlers substantial numbers of Scotch-Irish, Germans, Scot Highlanders, Welsh and Swiss came in seeking their future, thereby adding to an atmosphere of a "melting pot" and providing some cultural impact upon the area. As a result of this movement, there arose a great middle class which was to give the colony its character. Equally significant in shaping the future was the fact that slaves made up only twenty-five per cent of North Carolina's colonial population, lower than any other southern colony.

In politics, other than the continuing disputes between Assembly and governors, the greatest and most enduring internal factor was the east-west sectionalism that continued to flame past the Revolution and was not resolved until the Constitution of 1835.

The French and Indian War did much to break down the isolation of North Carolina, for during that conflict the people had more contact with the outside and began to feel a more common bond with other colonies. Perhaps this was a factor in bringing about the Halifax Resolves on April 12, 1776, when the Provincial Congress empowered its delegates to "concur with the delegates of other colonies in declaring Independency..." This, in turn, ignited a chain reaction that saw its fruition in the Declaration of Independence. Still, despite such advances, it required half a century after the Revolution to break out of its cocoon of isolation.

This is a delightful book, with an abundance of information packed into relatively few pages. If the other volumes in this "History of the American Colonies" are as well done, the series will be truly outstanding.

Tulane University Hugh F. Rankin
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