

BOOK REVIEWS

Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone. (New York: published for the Fairmount Park Art Association by the Walker Publishing Co., Inc., 1974. 363 p. Illustrations, index. \$25.00.)

Returning to an American city after a year in Rome, my wife remarked wistfully, "No angels and no fountains." That this city was not Philadelphia is vividly proved by the handsome volume *Sculpture of a City*. In his preface C. Clark Zantzinger, Jr. describes it as "a proud record of the remarkable achievements of an American city in the use of sculpture in public places." It is much more: a textbook for the study of an important segment of art history; a guidebook bound between maps with coordinates locating the works mentioned; a short course in the appreciation of sculpture; and, above all, a source of delight, thanks to a collection of extraordinary photographs. Among the illustrations, which take up about half of the book, are a number of the finest photographs of sculpture ever published in this country.

The happiest idea in the composition of the book was that of choosing relatively few works for full commentary and exhaustive photographic treatment. Nine pages are devoted to Seymour Mednick's pictures of A. Stirling Calder's *Swann Fountain*, portrayed with such skill that we linger over the pleasure of observing the sculptural forms in the play of water. Edward Gallo's close-up photographs give us a new understanding of Epstein's *Social Consciousness*. Bernie Cleff takes us aloft to study Frémiet's *Joan of Arc* and A. M. Calder's *William Penn* from angles ordinarily known only to the sculptors and artisans.

The book is divided into six sections, each representing a period. In addition to the single pages of text that accompany the large illustrations there are twenty-three major essays. One of these, a full report on the *Ellen Phillips Samuel Memorial*, is by R. Sturgis Ingersoll, who was the guiding spirit in the realization of that great project. The others are by twelve distinguished art historians who treat with equal appreciation their subjects which range from the *Nymph and Bittern* (1809) by William Rush to Henry Moore's *Three Way Piece No. 1* (instated in 1964). Single page essays bring us to 1972. They describe five of the fifteen or more abstract pieces and constructions added to the City's collection by that date. The diversity of styles represented is perhaps the most surprising feature of the book, and a tribute to those responsible over the years—particularly the Fairmount Park Art Association—for the acquisition of

the sculptures. The nineteenth century is inevitably represented by the gradually evolving styles of that era, but the wide variety of directions in the sculptor's art characteristic of the twentieth century has also been fully exploited.

The text throughout is enlivened by anecdote and, often, by enlightening quotations from the sculptors themselves. There are many accounts of the vicissitudes—undreamt of by the layman—involved in carrying out an important sculptural project. In this connection the essays on the *Washington Monument*, the *Smith Memorial*, and the *Stone Age in America* should be required reading in any course in the history of American art. Some ironic bits of information also turn up, among them the fact that Philadelphia has benefited from New York's habit of destroying its best buildings. The *Diana* of Saint-Gaudens from the old Madison Square Garden is now the central attraction of the great entrance hall of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and Weinman's monumental eagles from the demolished New York Pennsylvania Station make an impressive approach to the Market Street Bridge over the Schuylkill. On the other hand, it is sad to be reminded that a work rescued from the old Broad Street Station is far inferior to another by the same sculptor, which could not be saved because it was an integral part of the exterior wall. Karl Bitter's flamboyant *Progress of Transportation* is an interior plaster decoration in his early Viennese manner; the lost lunette, *Man Harnessing the Power of the Elements*, forecast his late unique glyptic style.

The appendixes which follow each of the six sections, and the footnotes at the end, are all fully illustrated and contain a great deal of the most important information in the book. Many of the accompanying photographs are necessarily quite small; but there are others which give instructive—and, in some cases, amusing—glimpses of sculpture in the process of execution and installation. With such generous treatment having been given to a limited number of works, another book similar to the present one could be made from the material in the notes and appendixes. Whether or not this is ever done we shall remain deeply grateful for *Sculpture of a City*.

Gloucester, Mass.

WALKER HANCOCK

William Penn, Apostle of Dissent. By HANS FANTEL. (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1974. xiv, 298 p. Index. \$8.95.)

Hans Fantel should have considered Herbert Butterfield's advice before writing his biography of William Penn: "It is not for him [the historian]," wrote Butterfield, "to stress and magnify the similarities between one age and another, and he is riding after a whole flock of misapprehensions if he

goes to hunt for the present in the past." Historians who succumb to the temptation, Butterfield warned, facilly classify persons as progressive and good, or conservative and bad. Fantel has done just that.

In his biography Penn shines because he anticipated Hegel, Martin Luther King, Ghandi, Jefferson, Voltaire, modern sociology, twentieth-century existentialism, democratic pluralism, the American Revolution, the United Nations and women's liberation, among other people and things. This progressive tone is not incidental to the book; Fantel appreciates Penn as "a prophet, making the formative connection between what was and what was yet to be" (p. 184), and he attempts to show his readers that Penn was just such a man.

The biography abounds with bad fellows and regressive events used to set off Penn's and Quakers' prescience: Oliver Cromwell, New England Puritans, seventeenth-century physicians and penologists come off as hopelessly benighted. Often, however, these foils are mere caricatures and errors. Whereas humane medicine was devised at Pennsylvania Hospital, other Americans, says Fantel, considered disease "divine punishment or the justly deserved byproduct of intimacy with demons" (p. 242); New Englanders did not practice medicine except as a military necessity. Some of Fantel's comparisons are drawn gratuitously: fatalities among the Quakers en route to Pennsylvania on the *Welcome* gave Fantel the opportunity to compare Quaker humanity with the ignorant practice of blood-letting—which he then admits caused none of the fatalities on board. Admittedly, New England Puritans were less tolerant than Penn and the Quakers, but such real differences did not satisfy Fantel. His exaggerated Puritan magistrates often "employed torture to help a citizen become more explicit" in confessing, threatened to cut off the ears of "even mild critics" (p. 176), and executed Quaker Mary Dyer, among other reasons, for being a witch.

As for Penn himself, Fantel does not understand his subject, and the Quakers, when Penn and his coreligionists are illiberal and disciplinarians. The Penn who attempted to graft aristocracy onto Pennsylvania, who created the Free Society of Traders, and who wrote that "God has not ranged or dignified them [men] upon the level, but in a sort of subordination and dependency," does not appear in this biography. On a few occasions Fantel criticizes Penn, but often for the wrong reasons, as when the real Penn deviates from Fantel's model, libertarian Penn. By 1699, says Fantel, Penn became "sometimes as sternly authoritarian as his Puritan adversaries" (p. 245). He supported laws restricting language, gambling, games, the theater, and other forms of entertainment. Actually, Penn, like all orthodox Quakers, always supported these restrictions. Fantel's Penn "suffered the agony of seeing his province gradually transformed into a military state like the other colonies" (p. 193). Pennsylvania was never so transformed, but more to the point, when Penn agonized it was on behalf of, not against military preparations; David Lloyd and other

Pennsylvania Quakers were refusing their Quaker obligation to appropriate money for war, and Penn pointed out their error.

Fantel calls this biography an informal work, so that one does not expect scholarly exactitude. Yet informality cannot excuse errors of fact, as when Fantel depicts Penn returning to Pennsylvania in 1699 to be welcomed by Moravians and Schwenkfelders who were not there until the 1730s and later. Nor can one take seriously an author who describes children "all huddled around the fireplace" in the public schools which Penn never created.

University of Arizona

JACK D. MARIETTA

William Penn: A Biography. By HARRY EMERSON WILDES. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974. ix, 469 p. Appendixes, index. \$14.95.)

Scores of biographies of William Penn have been published in the last hundred years and it is safe to predict that dozens more will reach print hereafter. Penn commands attention because of his multiple talents; his involvement in so many momentous events in England in the last third of the seventeenth century; his leading role in Quaker colonization in the middle Atlantic region; and, not least of all, his enigmatic personality and inconsistent ideology. This latest biography of Penn should therefore have a strong appeal to the general reading public. Harry Emerson Wildes has followed Penn's fortunes in England, Ireland, and America; recounted the major struggles in Penn's long, unyielding campaign for religious toleration and more humane social relations; and attempted to present the personal side of Penn's life. He is at his best in stripping away the mythology surrounding the Quaker leader and in getting at the man as he really was. We get a close-up view of the anxiety and heartache that pervaded Penn's long life, as he was hounded by political and religious enemies, saddened by the death of his first wife and most of his children; abandoned by some of his closest supporters, and wracked by money problems that stemmed primarily from his inability to live as he advised others to do. At the same time Wildes paints a portrait of a man who relished verbal battle; who poured forth a seemingly endless stream of letters, pamphlets, and tracts marked by powerful, self-confident language; and who could always pull himself out of periods of frustration and depression with one more project, one more preaching tour, or one more joust with his detractors.

But the book will disappoint those who have been waiting for a Penn biography that incorporates the last quarter-century of scholarship on Restoration England and America, or a biography that unravels the psychological and ideological complexities of Penn. It is clear that the author has consulted the work of many recent historians, such as Edwin B. Bronner, Mary Maples Dunn, John Pomfret, Joseph E. Illick, and Fred-

erick B. Tolles. But he has not grappled with the major historical issues they have raised. Moreover, his apparent ignorance of other recent scholarship, including the work of Hugh Barbour, Richard T. Vann, Francis Jennings, Jack D. Marietta, and a host of historians of Restoration politics and political ideology will leave most professional readers still searching for the biography of Penn that locates the man firmly within his historical context as it has been illuminated by the last generation of scholarship.

As a "life and times" biography, then, Wildes' book does not, in any significant way, go beyond Catherine Owen Peare's study published eighteen years ago. As personal biography it is also disappointing. In part this is because the stunning success of some recent work in psychohistory has led us to anticipate a truly incisive study of Penn's character—one that will cast beams of light into his complex personality and show the relationship between his private and public lives. Wildes attempts to get behind the facade of the public Penn. But in studying Penn's early life, his ideological development, and his personal encounter with the world around him, he does little to improve upon Peare's perceptive but tantalizingly incomplete study.

With Penn, one's appetite for a more analytic biography is whetted by the knowledge that a gold mine of material exists, both in the voluminous published writings and in the extensive personal correspondence ranging over half a century, to support such an undertaking. There are few major figures of the late seventeenth century for whom such a rich, revealing repository of information and personal testimony is extant. It is to be hoped that when the long-delayed William Penn Papers become available, at least in a microfilm edition, that a better study of Penn's "inner life" will be written. The contradictory tendencies in Penn call out for this more penetrating analysis—his repeated calls for simplicity combined with a lifelong penchant of ostentatious living; his vacillations between libertarianism and authoritarianism, between hierarchical and equalitarian conceptions of society; his celebration of pastoral virtue accompanied by a pattern of gravitating toward urban centers of power; his professions of pacifism and quietude coexisting with a combative temperament and a penchant for strong, often abusive language; and his eternal restlessness that made it impossible for him to remain very long in one place.

It seems likely that at some point in the near future we will have such a biography because Penn's enormous talents and his far-reaching influence make him such an inviting subject of biographical and historical examination. We need clarification, as Erik Erikson has put it, of "how the lone individual in seeking to find himself and give meaning to his own character, can give shape and form to a period of history." In the meantime, Wildes' book will take its place alongside that of Peare as the fullest and most reliable guide to Penn's life.

University of California, Los Angeles

GARY B. NASH

British Maps of Colonial America. By WILLIAM P. CUMMING. (Chicago: published for the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography, the Newberry Library, by the University of Chicago Press, 1974. xii, 114 p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$10.95.)

This attractive, well-illustrated volume is the product of the second series of the Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr. lectures in cartography held at the Newberry Library in 1970. Although Professor Cumming does some seventeenth-century cartogenealogy he is very much happier when discussing eighteenth-century British mapmakers, amongst whom he numbers American colonials and continentals such as Romans and DeBrahm who worked in the British dominions or were employed by the British government. His purpose is two-fold: to "discuss mapmakers, their methods and the historical background giving rise to their production as well as the maps themselves" (p. xi). He makes clear that maps were created for a variety of reasons: popular curiosity, political advocacy, and, perhaps most important, "the tremendous need of the parent country, far away, to know something about what this bear-like continent was that it had by the tail" (p. 57).

Professor Cumming divides the volume into four essays. The first three, dealing with the southern and northern colonies and coastal charting, are regional in character. The fourth considers the "Cartography of Conflict," the mapmaking of the French and Indian Wars and the Revolution. He adds two valuable appendixes: the American manuscript maps of Sir Francis Bernard and those of Lord Percy, the 2d Duke of Northumberland. Both of these collections are virtually unknown to Americans. His index is brief, concentrating upon maps and cartographers rather than upon geographical features, but it appears to be accurate. An excellent bibliographical essay surveys resources in both this country and Britain, as well as listing the best cartobibliographies.

Throughout his essays Professor Cumming conveys his enthusiasm for his subject. One is easily infected with cartophilia before realizing that there are a number of important lacunae. Cumming does not discuss the relationship between mapmakers and their publishers. How well did Faden reward his cartographers or his engravers? Who decided which maps would reach the market? How often and how extensively would revisions be made? The importance of these questions becomes apparent when one considers the publishing history of the *English Pilot*, with which Cumming deals only briefly. Some charts in the *Fourth Book* reappeared without alteration from 1689 to 1775. With the number of British and American merchantmen trading to North America this seems almost incredible. Perhaps a brief discussion of the economics of map publishing might have answered some of these questions.

One may suppose, too, that cartophiles will miss some of their favorite

maps in Professor Cumming's book. He admits to being selective, choosing to discuss lesser-known maps that he considers to be of particular interest. One cannot fault his criteria for selection; if nothing else, our collectors' appetites have been whetted. Professor Cumming's enthusiasm makes this a thoroughly enjoyable little book.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

PETER J. PARKER

Revolution & Romanticism. By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974. viii, 487 p. Appendix, index. \$15.00.)

In his Preface Professor Jones announces that "this is the third and final volume in a trio of studies devoted to the complex problem of the relationships in art and thought between the New World, more particularly the United States, and the Old." This will be the middle book of the three. The other two have already been published: *O Strange New World* (1964) and *The Age of Energy: Varieties of American Experience, 1865-1915* (1971).

The first chapters are taken up with definitions and background. Not until chapters V and VI ("The American Revolution" and "Effects of the American Revolution"), one third of the way through the book, do we encounter a revolution *in toto*. There is nothing very extraordinary in the general discussion of the eighteenth century, but the next chapter, III, "The Enlightenment," is brilliant in its depth and ramifications. The following chapter, "Sensibility," is a surprise. The author argues cogently that "this immense sea of passion" was as fundamental to the age of the Enlightenment as the Enlightenment itself. "Neoclassicism and Its Variants" offers several important ideas, the chief being that four classical phases helped nourish the French Revolution—the Platonic, the Plutarchian (many of the leaders thought of themselves as Plutarchian heroes), the Anacreontic, and the Juvenalian.

Professor Jones sees the American Revolution as the last great triumph of the Enlightenment, though, of course, only the leaders were acquainted with the traditions of European political thought. It cannot be argued that the Americans operated on a doctrine of romanticism. Possibly the most influential result of our Revolution was to convince Europe that a republic could govern a large territory. The strange thing is that there was actually not enough British tyranny in America to justify a revolution. Did it come principally because of the irksomeness of colonial status?

The next two chapters are intercalary—"Romantic Individualism" and "The Doctrine of Romantic Genius"—and lead on to the two chapters on the French Revolution. Romantic individualism produced three main types: the sufferer, the rebel, and the liberated woman. The leaders of the

French Revolution thought of themselves as geniuses. (This was not true in America.) "In Napoleon one finds the utmost height and the consequent tragedy of original genius."

Chapter X, "Reflections on the French Revolution," is one of the best in the book. The brief portraits of the leaders are masterly. Possibly its most striking idea is that there continued to be chaos until the creation of the Committee of Safety. No matter how bloody their methods, the Committee "saved France" (p. 320). What Robespierre called the "despotism of liberty" (the Terror) helped to open the way for consolidation under Napoleon.

In XII and XIII Professor Jones deals with two types of romantic egoists who may or may not have been revolutionaries—the romantic rebel and the romantic dreamers and idealists. After 1800 romanticism often remained rebellious without being revolutionary and perfectionist without being sociological. In the wealth of material here about philosophers, poets, painters, and composers one senses that these are the chapters toward which Professor Jones has been heading. They are certainly written *con brio*. Since they are mainly about the course of nineteenth-century romanticism, the revolutions are left pretty far behind. He contrives to get Sir Walter Scott into the company of the dreamers and idealists!

The final chapter, "Faustian Man," borrows its title from Spengler. To the Faustian Man life is a "succession from an unknown centre to an unknowable bourne" (Goethe). The two revolutions left to modern man not "stability but striving." After examining Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1850) and Goethe's *Faust* (1832) at length, the author concludes that the great contribution of romanticism to modernity "is the insistence that every human being is a distinct and autonomous entity, whatever theories of education or of sociology or of political science or of evolution may say to the contrary."

Princeton University

WILLARD THORP

Party Politics in the Continental Congress. By H. JAMES HENDERSON. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974. xvii, 475 p. Bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

In this book, Dr. Henderson demonstrates that the basis of the party system of the 1790s was established in the Continental and Confederation Congresses. He has analyzed the votes of 186 delegates on 1,069 roll calls and constructed annual cluster blocs for the years 1777-1786. These blocs reveal the existence of three "legislative parties," the Eastern, Middle, and Southern. In power, each party had the best representation and leaders in Congress and an ability to form alliances with members of other parties.

Congressional politics went through three stages, each dominated by one of the parties.

The first stage (1774-1779) witnessed the ascendancy of the Eastern Party, in alliance with southerners and Pennsylvania Constitutionalists. Composed of middle-class professionals, the Eastern Party was the "Party of the Revolution," preaching moral regeneration through the establishment of "a republic of virtue." It secured independence and the Articles of Confederation and organized the early war effort centered in New England. However, failure to resolve the financial crisis of 1779-1780, inability to cope with French interference in congressional politics, and the lack of a plan to protect the South toppled the party from power.

The second stage (1780-1783) was dominated by the "Party of the Nation-State," the Middle Party, in conjunction with southerners and Pennsylvania Republicans. This elitist party assumed responsibility for saving the Revolution. Buttressed by its control of the executive departments, it attempted national consolidation through fiscal means and expanded congressional powers, but it lost power within a short time despite much early support. Congress rejected several attempts to enhance its own powers, and Rhode Island turned down the impost of 1781. The party's southern allies deserted it on the questions of land and poll taxes and western lands. The surrender of American foreign policy to the French was a serious blunder.

The third stage (1784-1787) was characterized by the agrarian Southern Party's predominance and the development of three distinct sectional parties. The South had the most votes and the greatest unity on such questions as trade regulation and the location of the capital. Southern policy, however, was western oriented, and the land ordinances of 1784 and 1787, providing for agrarian states, were southern victories. Although the South did not obtain free navigation of the Mississippi, it defeated the proposed Jay-Gardoqui treaty which gave up that right. During the treaty fight the North united against the South, bringing Congress to a standstill. Only the Constitutional Convention, a Virginia not a Middle States production, prevented the Confederation's disintegration.

Dr. Henderson's major contributions are the depiction of legislative parties and the contention that party alignment was not based solely on the issue of centralism versus parochialism. Parties split on many issues and for many reasons; state self-interest and regionalism were especially crucial. Henderson's treatment of the enormous impact of foreign policy on politics was most lucid.

However, in focusing so intently on complexities, Dr. Henderson failed to see that the overriding theme was the debate between nationalists and parochialists over the character of the central government, and that most issues were, in some way, related to that one. This debate, which Henderson did not examine closely, began in 1774 when the antagonistic positions

were defined. Article II of the Articles of Confederation was an unqualified victory for parochialists. Persistent nationalist efforts to increase Congress' powers revealed an enormous dissatisfaction with the federal government of the Articles. When Virginia called a continental convention, Pennsylvania (a middle state) responded immediately and a Republican-controlled Assembly appointed an imposing nationalist delegation. The Convention's major decision (strongly supported by Pennsylvania) was to replace the federal government with a national government.

Dr. Henderson's research in primary sources was good, although he neglected newspapers somewhat. He should also have researched the North-South dispute in the summer of 1788 over the location of the capital. Henderson used many secondary works of disparate points of view and valiantly tried to incorporate these views in order to achieve comprehensiveness. However, he was sometimes too preoccupied with historiography, that bane of the modern historian. His venture into a comparative study of revolutions was not enlightening. Such reservations notwithstanding, Dr. Henderson has written a provocative and imposing book.

*Documentary History of the
Ratification of the Constitution*

GASPARE J. SALADINO

The Way of the Fox: American Strategy in the War for America, 1775-1783.

By DAVE RICHARD PALMER. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975. xx, 229 p. Illustrations, index. \$12.50.)

Colonel Palmer has written an entertaining, scholarly, and convincing analysis of American strategy during the Revolutionary War. He has had the good sense to define "strategy" carefully and to explain to what extent it was understood by the statesmen and generals of the eighteenth century. From that starting point he has moved ahead to explain the grand strategy of the American war effort as conceived by the members of Congress, and the strategy of the military campaigns as planned and executed by General Washington.

To the members of Congress the strategic objectives of the war were twofold: to secure independence from British rule, and to gain territory (including Canada and East and West Florida, if possible). The British government's objectives were to prevent the Americans from gaining theirs. And the primary objective of France was to weaken Britain by helping America to gain its independence. Spain's leaders, on the other hand, were cool toward the cause of America's independence, but they hoped to weaken Britain and to annex Gibraltar and the Floridas.

Responsibility for attaining America's goals was placed by Congress on the shoulders of George Washington. He was obliged to raise, train, and

lead the army which would have to defend America's newly-declared freedom. And, according to Colonel Palmer, he performed his duties better than his critics and most of his biographers have given him credit for. He played the role of Fabius frequently to keep his army in being when it lacked the means to take the offensive. But he was aggressive when British mistakes or the arrival of French fleets and troops presented him with opportunities to attack. He was particularly aggressive and willing to "run all risques" before massive British reinforcements arrived in North America during the summer of 1776. Arrival of the reinforcements made it necessary for him to adopt Fabian tactics for some time, but he remained alert for opportunities to strike at his pursuers—and strike he did at Trenton and Princeton during the winter of 1776-1777.

When France entered the war, Washington was quick to seek opportunities to capture some part of the British army with the aid of a French fleet. He pleaded with the French leaders to join him in making "one great vigorous effort" to win a decisive victory, but the French admiral with whom he had to co-operate in 1778 and 1779 showed a decided lack of vigor at New York City and at the siege of Newport. To make matters worse, the same admiral showed too much vigor at the wrong time when he tried to take Savannah by storm. Thus, three promising attempts at Franco-American combined operations failed miserably in the space of two campaigns. Washington's strategic planning was sound, however, and it was finally rewarded by a smashing victory at Yorktown.

After Yorktown, Washington returned to Fabian tactics because his army had shrunk to Lilliputian proportions. But his thinking remained aggressive, and he hoped to overwhelm the garrison at Charleston or Savannah with the aid of a French fleet. When it became apparent that French naval support would not be forthcoming, he commenced to study the invasion routes into Canada with the hope of conquering some posts, including Detroit, north and west of the United States.

Although Washington was unable to find the means to launch an attack upon Detroit or Montreal, he maintained the credibility of America's war aims during the peace negotiations by holding his war-weary army in being. Doing so was no mean feat because the officers and soldiers were on the brink of mutiny over a months-long shortage of pay and the lack of any prospect of receiving a mustering-out allowance.

By the end of the war, Washington had won his spurs as a military strategist. If the author is correct—and his reasoning is very persuasive—Washington's understanding of strategy was far more advanced than that of any of the British professionals who had opposed him. For the British had bungled badly, but the planter-turned-general had carried out in the Yorktown campaign the strategic masterpiece of the war.

Space, Time, and Freedom: The Quest for Nationality and The Irrepressible Conflict, 1815-1861. By MAJOR L. WILSON. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974. x, 309 p. Index. \$13.95.)

Major Wilson's *Space, Time, and Freedom* is an examination of the public statements made by antebellum political figures. In his own words, Mr. Wilson's purpose was "to analyse in a systematic fashion the rhetoric of political debate . . . to formulate more clearly and fully what held Americans together in the years after 1815 and what drove them at last to civil conflict." To accomplish this purpose, he has "relied primarily on the congressional debates and presidential messages" as the "basic sources for this study."

Anticipating possible objections to his approach by those of us prone to distinguish rhetoric from "reality," Mr. Wilson aptly notes that "modes of political argument and persuasion are themselves a part of reality." A "careful analysis" of politicians' perceptions, he believes, "can throw added light upon the actual course of events." Indeed it can. The question, of course, is how much light does Mr. Wilson's analysis add? Enough in my judgment to have justified a journal article or two, but only had an editor ruthlessly excised the manuscript of appalling phrases endlessly repeated, awkward attempts to strain for profundity, and the imposition on straightforward contemporary statements of "analyses" that distort and confuse rather than clarify.

It is unfortunate that the book's repetitiveness and preciosity becloud the several interesting points it does make. Mr. Wilson discerns three phases in the political debate of the half century he examines. Prior to nullification, a "corporate concept of freedom shaped the debate." The National Republican and Whig adherents to this outlook "took time far more seriously than did their opponents," looking to "use the instrument of government in a positive way" in the future to improve the quality of American life. From nullification to the Mexican War, "federative freedom" prevailed. Believing that "the Constitution had defined at the outset a perfect order of freedom," Jacksonian champions of federative freedom resisted "the efforts of the federal government to direct . . . the nation's course through time." "The future," they believed, should "be marked by a quantitative spread of good rather than any qualitative change in the order of freedom itself." In a phrase that he uses perhaps one hundred times, Mr. Wilson tells us that Jacksonian Democrats viewed "political freedom as a function of space" rather than time. In the final phase, "in political terms the dialectical presence of an aristocratic slaveholding class informed the Free Soil idea of freedom."

I do not mean to suggest that any of these points are convincingly made. Expansionists, if they are clever, will always talk of expanding freedom or the "empire of liberty." To pay attention only to their rhetoric

does a disservice to their realism. And yet in this age of relativism who can find fault with a historian merely for expressing arguable, even wrong-headed, ideas or for documenting them unpersuasively? The best of us, not excluding Potter, Hofstadter, and Woodward, have been thus culpable. What is dismaying in Mr. Wilson's book is not the controversial nature of his argument but the maddening sentences by which it is made. To be told, for example, that in the hopes of Free Soilers, "regeneration . . . involved a purge of the negating element and a repetition . . . of the cosmogonic act of the fathers" is conducive not to clearer understanding but to feelings of desperation on the part of the reader.

It is a pity that Mr. Wilson has not been better served by his editor.

The City University of New York

EDWARD PESSEN

Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute 1824-1865. By BRUCE SINCLAIR. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. xi, 354 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

If the history of American technology still is to be written, Bruce Sinclair's book on the first forty years of the Franklin Institute is a good beginning. While of modest length (324 pages), it is not a book for the casual reader. Begun several years ago as a doctoral dissertation, it was expanded to more than twice its original size before publication. Divided into twelve chapters of varying length, containing interesting illustrations, an excellent bibliography and a meticulous index, the work is thoroughly footnoted for the scholar and serious student of nineteenth-century American technology.

At a meeting held in the hall of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia in 1823, the Franklin Institute was brought into being by a small group of men led by Samuel Vaughan Merrick and William H. Keating, Professor of Minerology and Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. The remarkable facts about these two men were their ages. Merrick, who was to become one of Philadelphia's most important industrial and civic leaders, was scarcely twenty-two years old, and Keating was but two years his senior.

The basic goal of the new Institute was "to promote the useful arts by diffusing a knowledge of mechanical science at little cost to the membership." This was to be achieved primarily by popular lectures. Workingmen, the artisans and mechanics, throughout the city would be encouraged to join and/or attend. The Institute also envisioned a modest library for its members and agreed to award prizes for "useful improvements" in the mechanic arts. As time went on the objectives of the Franklin Institute changed. It engaged unsuccessfully in formal education. Indeed, one of the

most interesting chapters of the book deals with education at the Institute. It served as a quality-control organization for state and nation. It carried on complex research and sponsored public expositions. In 1826, two years after the Institute's founding, it began the publication of a journal which became eventually so technical that it was almost incomprehensible to the ordinary mechanic or artisan.

In the nineteenth century Americans firmly believed that technological advancement and progress were possible only through a thorough knowledge of science. Early in the history of the Franklin Institute, however, some of its leaders concluded that while the assumption was basically true, technology for the mechanic or millwright had to be practical. Whatever scientific principles were presented were to be made simple and clear. The first editor of the *Journal*, Dr. Thomas P. Jones, a former professor at William and Mary and a popular lecturer, followed this format. He remained as editor after he became Agent for Applications for Patents in Washington, and for a number of years included in the *Journal* a monthly series on American patents. Since the Federal government did not publish patent specifications until 1843, and when all the records of the Patent Office were burned in a disastrous fire in 1836, the *Journal's* series on patents became invaluable.

Alexander Dallas Bache, proposed by Merrick and elected to the Franklin Institute in 1829 at the age of twenty-three, moved both the *Journal* and the Institute into the scientific age. Later, as head of the United States Coast Survey and as first president of the National Academy of Sciences, his influence on the Franklin Institute became even stronger. Bache, Merrick, James P. Espy, Walter R. Johnson, Joseph Henry and Sears Walker formed a tight little group called the "Club." Together with John P. Frazer, Frederick Fraley, William Sellers and others, they promoted research, published results and raised the standards of the mechanic arts by the application of science. Meteorology and weather observations, the tensile strength of metals, the safety of steam boilers, electromagnetism, the heating properties of anthracite coal, the manufacture of gas light and the energy potential of water power excited their interest and support. From anthracite iron to Baldwin's locomotive engines, the men who were involved in the Institute also were involved in the educational and cultural progress of Philadelphia.

The history of the Franklin Institute and of its "philosopher mechanics" are not related in isolation. The Institute and its leaders were inextricably entwined with the history of a thriving city; with its educational institutions, which included the University of Pennsylvania, Central High School and the Moore School for Industrial Arts; with its factories and foundries; with its philanthropies and arts.

If there are flaws in this book, they are few. One could point out that the author falls into an all-too-common habit which grows out of research: his writing style and phraseology are often reminiscent of mid-nineteenth-

century articles, reports and pamphlets. Sometimes it is tedious to sort out the many names. And there is need for better organization of material. In general, however, Bruce Sinclair deserves a vote of appreciation from all who seek a better understanding of the beginnings of the American Industrial Revolution and of the men who shaped it. The history of technology is difficult to write and remains elusive to all but the serious scholar. Professor Sinclair performs his task well and with an enviable and exacting thoroughness.

Whittier College

FREDERICK MOORE BINDER

Maryland: A History, 1632-1974. Edited by RICHARD WALSH and WILLIAM LLOYD FOX. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974. xvi, 935 p. Illustrations, index. \$12.50.)

Only a handful of states can claim a history longer than Maryland's three and one half centuries of existence. Founded by the Calvert family mainly as a capitalistic enterprise and only secondarily as a haven for Catholics, Maryland has played an important role in every period of America's development. Yet, until recent years, Maryland has been relatively neglected by historians with a few obvious and outstanding exceptions. Indeed, it has been nearly fifty years since Matthew Page Andrews published the last general history of the Old Line State. Fortunately, *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974*, goes far towards remedying the situation.

The idea for this ambitious project originated with the late Harold R. Manakee of the Maryland Historical Society and has been ably implemented by the co-editors, Professor Richard Walsh of Georgetown University and Professor William Lloyd Fox of Montgomery College. They have organized the volume into ten lengthy chapters each written by a different historian who is expert in the field. Wisely, the editors have insisted that adequate attention be given to social, cultural, and economic developments as well as political history. In terms of balance, the book is about evenly divided between the history of Maryland before and after the Civil War.

While there is understandable unevenness among the chapters, all are quite good. Aubrey Land, the dean of Maryland Historians, provides the opening chapter on the colonial period. As usual his work is of the highest quality. In many ways his task had to be the most difficult since he was allotted a mere fifty pages to summarize and interpret one hundred and thirty years of history. Also impressive in their analysis of early Maryland history are the chapters by Richard Walsh on the American Revolution and W. Wayne Smith on politics from 1800 to 1850. In the later period of Maryland history, Dorothy M. Brown's fascinating study of the 1920s and

1930s and the role of Governor Albert C. Ritchie deserves special praise. So too does Franklin L. Burdette, who undertook the discussion of Maryland's politics and society from the middle 1930s to 1974; it is a task he accomplishes with professional skill.

Maryland: A History, 1632-1974 must be ranked as a significant scholarly achievement. It not only provides a coherent history of the state but also serves as a showcase for the considerable talents of ten very able historians. It is, in addition, a handsome volume. Footnotes at the bottom of the page, bibliographies at the end of each chapter, and scores of well-chosen pictures add to its excellence. The only criticism that might be made is that somewhere, either in an additional chapter or an expanded preface, the co-editors could have attempted some statement of the major themes that run through these three hundred and forty-one years of Maryland's history. Such an omission, however, in no way seriously detracts from the book as a major contribution.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

FRANK A. CASSELL

Coal Age Empire: Pennsylvania Coal and Its Utilization to 1860. By FREDERICK MOORE BINDER. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1974. 184 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$5.50.)

Dr. Binder, President of Whittier College, has made a happy choice in selecting the concept of use as the focus of his study of the development of the coal industry in Pennsylvania to the Civil War. The concept is manageable and can be elaborated without the aid of special knowledge in engineering, chemistry, or other scientific fields. More importantly, the concept of use permits a concentration on the potentialities and limitations of coal as a source of energy, which makes the account timely. The uses to which Dr. Binder gives the greatest attention are those of fuel for domestic living; for illumination; for the steam engine in industry and in transportation, especially by rail and water; and for the iron industry. A concluding chapter on the coal trade shows the interdependence of the market for coal and the available means of transportation. This concentration on the uses of Pennsylvania anthracite and bituminous before the Civil War results in a surpassing of time and place and gives us a study of the nature of coal in general. The study is accurate, unbiased, and well organized. Dr. Binder has used great economy in his presentation, so that the reader's time is not wasted in following each chapter through to its conclusion.

One persistent theme which the concept of the use of coal illustrates is the relative importance of wood and coal in the early years of America's Industrial Revolution. Wood was at first plentiful, cheap, and handy. Coal was also abundant; but at first it was more expensive and needed

transportation to become usable. Eventually a point was reached at which coal became more economical than wood and equally available. At the same time, European experience with machines and industrial processes demonstrated that coal of various sorts could do things which wood could not do. Then a choice had to be made, and for many it was a hard choice. Although coal was the more versatile of the two fuels, wood could still do some things better. In fields such as the manufacture of iron, opting for coal meant in part accepting a lower quality of product. Charcoal made a better iron for most purposes than did coal. Also, people knew the uses of wood. It was a part of the way of life in which they had been reared, and they parted with it reluctantly. In many fields a major job of advertising the uses of coal had to be undertaken, accompanied by the development of special grates, stoves, and other equipment, before people would accept it. They never entirely gave up wood, even though they accepted coal as the major fuel of the industrial age. Coal became a symbol of power, domestic comfort, business prosperity, and national greatness.

Another persistent theme is that coal is really a family of fuels, each member of which has somewhat different strengths and shortcomings. Thus, Dr. Binder tells us that white-ash anthracite contains more carbon than does red-ash and for this reason was preferred by many ironmasters; and white-ash handles better without crumbling. Gray-ash anthracite burns at a lower temperature than does white-ash and is not as hard on iron grates. Dauphin semibituminous coal was found superior to Cumberland bituminous from Maryland in heating the boilers of the ocean-going ships of the Collins line in the 1850s. Bituminous from the Connellsville region of Pennsylvania made a coke superior in almost all respects to that made from Cumberland coal. Discovery of these and other differences proceeded variously by trial and error, by tests made in the field, and by controlled laboratory experiments. President Binder might have sharpened this aspect of his presentation by first conceptualizing and explaining the differences among these basic modes of discovery. It would then have been plain that, before the Civil War, the chemistry of coal was poorly understood. With a few exceptions, such as the adoption of water gas, uses were developed empirically through experience. Indeed, the classifications by which coal came to be sold, both in the various sizes and the different sorts, were developed with respect to empirically discovered uses rather than to chemical properties of composition or structure.

Nature did not recognize the political boundaries of Pennsylvania in depositing coal in the mountains; and neither, fortunately, does Dr. Binder. Although the deposits in eastern and western Pennsylvania provide a geographic focus for his study, he realistically goes further afield and treats of some aspects of the uses of coal in neighboring states as they bore on events to which Pennsylvania coals also contributed. On the other hand, he skimps in depicting the dependence of American users of coal on European science and engineering. Even in his account of the discovery

of the process for making anthracite iron, in which he deals with both American and European developments, he fails to emphasize that it was the superiority of engineering skills possessed by George Crane and David Thomas of Wales which was primarily responsible for a commercially feasible way of using the process in America. More attention to the European contribution would have improved the overall perspective of the Pennsylvania experience. Still, in general the account is well balanced. It suggests indirectly that accounts of Pennsylvania coals from other points of view, such as those of the history of technology, of business and banking, and of science would also be useful.

Lehigh University

W. ROSS YATES

Southern Jersey Towns, History and Legend. By WILLIAM McMAHON. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973. xiii, 382 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$9.00.)

An eminent adopted son of New Jersey—Woodrow Wilson—once said “the history of a nation is only the history of its villages.” While this may be less cogent at this juncture than in 1895 when Wilson made the statement, it is a fact that the past decade has witnessed a remarkable burgeoning of interest and productivity in the field of local history. A number of outstanding historical agencies, such as the one which sponsors this journal, and the American Association of State and Local History, deserve much of the credit for this phenomenon. However, many talented nonprofessionals, like William McMahon, who has published several other interesting works on southern New Jersey, have also made valuable contributions.

Perceptive and knowledgeable amateurs, like journalist McMahon, are increasingly aware of the canons of professional scholarship and are beginning to produce works of real merit. The volume in question here—*South Jersey Towns, History and Legend*—manifests the dichotomy between history and folklore which is prevalent in the local field. The author judiciously assesses many earlier accounts of events of this region and separates legend, lore, and local hearsay from documented historical facts.

The volume is divided into eight distinct sections which deal with the counties—Cape May, Salem, Burlington, Gloucester, Cumberland, Camden, Atlantic and Ocean—of this interesting area. Within this general organizational scheme, the treatment of subjects is both topical and chronological. The author’s attempt to deal with a large number of topics separately results in a rather disjointed presentation of material; and, as is typical of many amateur historians, he records rather than analyzes events.

While many of the natives and residents of southern New Jersey—Clara Barton, James Fenimore Cooper, Richard Esterbrook and Walt Whitman—

were people of vision, it is also edifying to read about others like land speculator Thomas Budd who said of the area which is now the world-famous resort of Atlantic City: "I don't want that swampland at any price. It will never be good for anything but seagull nests" (p. 245).

Although much of what transpired in this vicinity is primarily of local interest, a knowledge of these happenings does contribute to an understanding of larger state and even national issues. The contributions of the southern New Jersey villages to the American Revolution, for example, are a microcosm of the experience of the eastern seaboard region as a whole. The town of Greenwich in December of 1774 had its own version of the more famous "Boston Tea Party." The region, like others, was divided in its loyalties, but largely supported the Revolutionary cause. The iron furnaces at Batsto furnished Washington's army with cannon and ammunition; privateers from many of the shipbuilding towns (e.g. Chestnut Neck) of the area skillfully harassed British shipping; and "Mad Anthony" Wayne directed the nation's first large cattle drive—from Salem to Valley Forge—in the desperate winter of 1778 to supply Washington's beleaguered forces.

William McMahon has researched his topic skillfully, utilizing a number of rather esoteric and privately printed sources, and he presents his material in a lively and interesting style.

*National Historical Publications and
Records Commission*

E. BERKELEY TOMPKINS

Chronological Tables of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, Being a tabular guide to holdings of newspapers published in America through the year 1820. Compiled by EDWARD CONNERY LATHAM. (Charlottesville: published for the American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers by the University Press of Virginia, 1972. x, 131. \$32.50.)

This volume has been prepared as a companion to Clarence S. Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820*, published by the American Antiquarian Society in 1947 and reprinted with additions in 1962. The tables will serve as aids in approaching, on a chronological basis, available issues of American newspapers through 1820. As a visual file, it should prove most useful to newspaper researchers.

Brandywine Village, The Story of a Milling Community. By CAROL E. HOFFECKER. (Wilmington, Del.: Old Brandywine Village, Inc., 1974. 110 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$3.75.)

This small, well-illustrated book sets forth the history of Brandywine Village, founded in the mid-part of the eighteenth century as a millers'

enclave, then a bit removed from the town of Wilmington but now swallowed up by her neighbor. Brandywine Village became a major center for the manufacture of flour. Many mills were built on the river, served by elaborate dams and races, the whole representing a principal source of Wilmington's wealth. Dr. Hoffecker also tells of the efforts to preserve and restore what remains of Old Brandywine Village's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings.

It is a book that should be of interest to anyone who follows urban history, flour milling, and historical preservation.

Index to Maps of the American Revolution in Books and Periodicals. By DAVID SAUNDERS CLARK. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974. xiv, 301 p. \$15.00.)

This book is designed as a research tool to provide in effect a collection of maps for every library that has on its shelves a reasonably good selection of United States history materials. The compiler estimates that ninety percent of the best contemporary manuscript and printed maps, the originals of which are either unique or rare, have been reproduced in the publications included in this *Index*. For many scholars and researchers such reproductions will be as useful as the originals. Although maps of the Revolutionary War predominate in this volume, it also includes maps illustrating other aspects of life in America at that period—town plans, roads, colleges, churches and population.

Winter Quarters: George Washington and the Continental Army at Valley Forge. By NOEL F. BUSCH. (New York: Liveright, 1974. xiv, 206 p. Illustrations, index. \$7.95.)

Noel F. Busch, a distinguished author and journalist, has brought together an account of the events suggested by his title that contains much anecdote and easy reading. If much in it is necessarily familiar to the scholar, the book should satisfy the casually interested reader who, perhaps stirred by Bicentennial ardour, and not lulled by a certain lethargy on that subject, desires to learn more about an epic of the Revolution.

Gettysburg: A Journey in Time. By WILLIAM A. FRASSANITO. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975. 248 p. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

The author informs us that no other war prior to the twentieth century was as well documented photographically as was the American Civil War; and of all the battlefields of that war, none was as well documented as Gettysburg. Many photographers converged on Gettysburg, Alexander

Gardner and his team arriving before the dead had been buried. While the value of their pictures has long been recognized, their use as historical source materials has been limited by vagueness concerning captions, dates, and who took the photographs. The author has devoted five years to discovering the correct location of each scene. They are reproduced in his book with many modern pictures of the same sites. "By treating each photograph," he writes, "as an irreplaceable moment fixed in time and space, and by sharing with the reader behind-the-scenes detective work used to document these views, I have attempted to focus on the overwhelming reality of each photograph, thereby transporting the reader back to the moment of exposure—and creating, in effect, a journey in time."

Pathways to Independence: Discovering Independence National Historical Park. By SHIRLEY MILGRIM. Illustrated by RICHARD FISH. (Riverside, Conn.: The Chatham Press, Inc., 1974. 127 p. \$4.95.)

Attractively illustrated, this little volume tells the story of some twenty-one of Philadelphia's historic landmarks, covering a time span from the dedication of Gloria Dei in 1700 to the completion of the Philadelphia Exchange in 1834. A map provides a handy guide to the locations of the places discussed. Selective in content—the authors devote a chapter to the Mikveh Israel Cemetery but omit the Pennsylvania Hospital, and they favor complete reconstructions such as Library Hall and the Graff House to such genuine articles as Philosophical Hall and the Powel House—the narration is simple and straightforward. *Pathways to Independence* should be useful for tourists "discovering Independence National Historical Park," as well as for calling to their attention other nearby sites. A paperbound edition is available at \$2.95.