

BOOK REVIEWS

The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674-1751. By EDWIN WOLF
2ND. (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1974.
lvii, 578 p. Illustrations. \$45.00.)

Austin K. Gray wrote of James Logan in his history of the Library Company of Philadelphia that, he "was, without doubt, the most remarkable man residing in the American Colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century." With somewhat more restraint, Carl Cannon says of him that he was "an extraordinarily able, even distinguished, man." In particular, he was a scholarly collector of books, Benjamin Franklin describing his library as "without doubt the largest and most valuable of the kind in this part of the world."

In 1743/44 Logan engaged his son-in-law, Isaac Norris, to prepare a catalog of his collection at Stenton, then numbering 990 titles in 1,272 volumes. This catalog, so far as we have been able to determine, was the first catalog of a private library in America which gave such full bibliographic citations.

Logan died October 31, 1751, leaving behind a detailed statement concerning the disposal of the library, but no valid will. His principal heirs, his sons and daughter, were determined to carry out his wishes with regard to the establishment of a public library, and after a period of legal discussion the building was completed and the books were transferred from Stenton to the new structure in 1753. His son William commissioned a new catalog of the collection, giving explicit instructions for its compilation which was completed by Lewis Weiss in 1760. In 1792 the collection was transferred to the custody of the Library Company of Philadelphia and a new catalog was printed in 1795.

The present publication is based primarily on the catalog published in 1760 (which listed 2,076 titles in 2,547 volumes) and lists 2,185 titles in 2,651 volumes. Of that number, only 156 titles, comprising 207 volumes, cannot now be located.

Scholars, especially students of American intellectual history, and of the history of science, will experience little difficulty in finding reasons for gratitude that this catalog has been published. The Loganian library was a very important collection, and in the mid-eighteenth century, both in size and quality, probably outranked the collections of Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary. Moreover, of the three great private libraries of the colonial period, it is the only one to have survived intact.

This catalog is much more than an alphabetical listing of bibliographic artifacts. It reveals what books were available to, and purchased by, the

American scholar of the period. Logan bought extensively from English booksellers and several in Europe as well. His extensive annotations and notes, included in the descriptions of his books, reveal not only his intellectual interests, but also, in many instances, what other editions were or had been available, their merits and relative importance, their cost, and where they might be obtained. He also referred to editions or works available only in other library holdings, against the day when they might come on the market so that his bookdealers would know what to buy for him. His lengthy and detailed instructions to his booksellers provide us with insights into the state of publishing, printing, the book trade, and the intellectual interests and habits of the colonial scholar that are difficult, if not impossible, to find elsewhere.

The bibliographical undertaking represented by this publication in its annotated form was originally subsidized by a grant from the American Philosophical Society, and the design of the book, an admirable example of the printer's art, was prepared by Nicholas Barker, editor of *The Book Collector*. Arrangement is alphabetical by author, with full bibliographic citation. Annotations have been added indicating Logan's marginalia and other comments (including his corrections of text), and giving indications of the "provenance" of previous owners of the volumes, where such are known. There are two indexes: Index of Correspondence and Other Sources; Index of Former Owners and Correspondents.

This work, therefore, with its meticulous scholarship, will be welcomed for both its introductory material and the catalog proper by all those concerned with the cultural history of the American Colonies.

Case Western Reserve University

JESSE H. SHERA

Empire and Liberty, American Resistance to British Authority, 1755-1763.

By ALAN ROGERS. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1974. xiv, 205 p. Bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

Alan Rogers discovers in the years of the Great War for Empire—the French and Indian War—most of those colonial grievances which were later to spark the Revolutionary struggle with Great Britain. Americans of many of the thirteen colonies resented costs incurred during the war years because of the presence of British troops. They often disliked the soldiers and deplored their behavior. Wartime demands arbitrarily intruded into their affairs. Methods of tax collection, about which James Otis was to fulminate, and further restrictions upon trade, stirred indignation. Appointment of British, rather than colonial individuals, to office diminished any affection Americans still retained for the mother country. Enthusiasm for the war against France was much less than commonly described. Rogers brushes aside evidence of rejoicing at the conquest of

Catholic Canada and the expulsion of the French from the northeastern continent—not, incidentally, as the Preface states (ix), “all of North America.”

Chapter II discusses plans for Union, 1754–1755, and commentaries upon them by William Shirley and Benjamin Franklin. Had they succeeded, the latter afterwards remarked, separation from the Empire might never have taken place. But the British considered Union, as debated at Albany, too democratic, the several assemblies as too supportive of prerogative. Americans feared, Rogers suggests, French aggression less than the loss of any of their liberties (p. 21). A brief account of Indian affairs in Chapter III concurs with Lord Loudoun’s judgment that contention about rationalization of the chaotic state of relations with the Indians derived from “a jealousy of the Power of each colony being taken out of their hands” (p. 36). Not surprisingly, the Crown appointment of an overseas commander-in-chief was viewed with suspicion.

Four chapters (IV–VII) concern the problems raised by military activities, needs, and regulations. After 1756 recruitment of colonial soldiers was difficult. Recruiting parties were unpopular; arguments against impressment were influential; reverses suffered by Major General Edward Braddock and Colonel Thomas Dunbar were inimical to British prestige. Plans to form two completely American regiments, and to fill gaps in others brought about by casualties with colonial soldiers, were unsuccessful. In the towns community pressures, and in country districts anger at seizure of wagons and other properties, combined to diminish enlistment. Relations between British and American soldiers deteriorated. Colonists tended to denigrate the military skill of the British and to estimate favorably, perhaps too optimistically, their own. During this war, Rogers thinks, confidence later to be displayed in the Revolutionary struggles was developed. Quartering, imposed on reluctant householders, roused resentment. Fear grew that military force of one sort and another might, should serious difference arise between Britain and her colonies, be increasingly used to implement imperial regulation.

Not all grievances were military. The flourishing trade between American merchants and the French West Indies, legal under the navigation acts, was prohibited, and the embargo was enforced by the royal navy. The burden seemed disproportionately heavy (p. 104). As the crises of the sixties developed, Americans increasingly thought of the recent war as fought by Britain “for the sake of her trade and dominions,” that is on her account only, and not for their protection save as a frontier of Empire (p. 134). Moreover, without the proposed union each colony was free to decide on its contribution of men, money, and supplies. This strengthened provincial autonomy but angered impatient generals and administrators. By 1763 local assemblies had for the most part greatly gained in power and confidence at the expence of royal prerogative (p. 102).

Empire and Liberty is based on a lengthy bibliography (pp. 177–195).

Its one hundred and thirty pages are supported by another forty of notes (pp. 135-175). Criticism, save in detail, seems likely to concentrate on its emphasis. Britain certainly tried to improve imperial administration in the second half of the eighteenth century. This in turn stimulated protest and opposition. Other factors after 1763 must still be regarded as important. The actions of Westminster during peacetime, and when a postwar depression had lowered colonial prosperity, seemed unsympathetic and arbitrary, as well as without the sanction, however unwillingly recognised, hostilities had brought. Even as late as the fall of 1774 there were some in the Continental Congress prepared to return to the situation as it existed in 1763. It was from that year that grievances were listed. Rogers makes a contribution to our understanding of a wartime climate of opinion, 1755-1763, but exaggerates in identifying it so completely with that of 1775.

Rosemont, Pa.

CAROLINE ROBBINS

Tradition and the Founding Fathers. By LOUIS B. WRIGHT. Foreword by WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975. xvi, 151 p. \$7.50.)

Louis B. Wright, Director Emeritus of the Folger Shakespeare Library, has written more than twenty books, many of them scholarly studies on topics ranging from the Renaissance to American colonial history. This small volume will give the general reader some idea of his interests and the charm of his style, but one must turn to Dr. Wright's earlier studies to appreciate his contributions to English and American studies. Seven of the eleven essays in this volume appear here in print for the first time; nearly all of them were delivered as lectures to general audiences. They have a certain appeal, but they lack the solid, nourishing qualities of Wright's fuller, more original studies.

This book reflects several of the themes and concerns of the author's long and productive scholarly career. He was schooled in a classical, liberal arts tradition, served as director of the chief center of Shakespearean studies in this country, and is something of a Renaissance man in the breadth of his interests. Dr. Wright's lectures exhibit his respect for the classical tradition, his hearty enjoyment of Shakespeare, and his impatience with the narrow specialization of scientists and humanists in our time. The dominant theme is certainly worthy of any historian, and worth the attention of any educated man—the impact of the ancient classical tradition upon the Renaissance, both in Italy and England, and its abiding influence in early America. In his essay on the division of science and the humanities, he sketches the varied achievements of Filippo Brunelleschi, Leon Battista Alberti, Leonardo da Vinci and other Renaissance figures. In other lectures, he describes the influence of the Greek and Roman

classics and the Renaissance conception of the gentleman upon the aristocracy of colonial America.

Dr. Wright is especially knowledgeable about English society and culture on the eve of colonization, and traces the influence of early English capitalism, English law, language, political thought, education, and values not only in the colonies, but in the United States through much of the nineteenth century. He may exaggerate the influence of the Scottish tradition in American religion and education, but he is persuasive as to the British origins of such American values as hard work, sobriety, and the cocky self-assurance that God speaks our language, which led us to assume we had a Providential mission in this world. The volume's title derives from several essays on early America that are appropriate to the nation's bicentennial—the jealousies of the various colonies, the trials of the new United States of the 1790s, and the famous correspondence of Jefferson and Adams late in life, as well as from those dealing directly with the classical influence in America.

Five or six of the essays are certainly worth reading; the others are rather thin, even for popular lectures. But most of the essays gain a considerable charm from Dr. Wright's style and opinions. Both have a pungency that, even when one disagrees with the author, one finds interesting beside the pallid prose of most historical writing and the homogenized pap of much social commentary. Wright is an old-fashioned man who believes in hard work, perseverance, human imperfection, humanity's commonality through the ages, and the importance of learning. He takes a jaundiced view of what often passes for "relevance," doubts that every social reform embodies mankind's salvation, and suggests that "human nature is static, perverse, and given to sin and error." He laughs at contemporary follies, and denounces the "deification of juvenility," the "squadrons of dogooders," and "long-haired youth and the apostles of permissiveness." His view of the contemporary scene is summed up in his comment on "barefoot philosophers [who] sit around their communes scratching fleas, smoking pot, sipping apple wine, and railing at an Establishment that emphasizes thrift, sobriety, and diligence." His opinions are sometimes strange, sometimes irritating, and often out of place. But sometimes the well-turned phrase and the uncompromising view may strike a more responsive chord in many readers, as in his comment that "An age which finds *A Clockwork Orange* an artistic treasure has something to answer for." If there is little here that is new, there is much that is enjoyable.

Cleveland State University

JOHN H. CARY

The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends.
By J. WILLIAM FROST. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973. vi, 248 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$4.95.)

This helpful study examines the Quaker family as it existed in the colonies from 1672, when George Fox first visited the New World, until well after the American Revolution.

Understandably the work opens with a summary of Quaker faith and practice. Religion and family were closely united in early Quakerism, and became even more so with the eighteenth century when Friends realized that their gospel would not sweep the world, and that the survival of their principles must depend on the progeny of those already members, and on the family which fostered their religious instruction. Hence the concept of childhood, the rearing of children, the role of the father, the position of women, the business of choosing a wife—all were shaped and colored by Quaker belief.

Of course, the Quaker family was, in many respects, like other colonial families. But there was a percentage of difference, and the interest of the reader lies in that percentage. For example, the attitude toward the child appears less harsh than among the Puritans, who believed the infant bore the stigma of original sin through his parents. Because Quakers believed in the possibility of perfection for the persevering Christian, the child was relieved of at least some of this burden. Sinless parents, according to George Fox, produced sinless children.

And when, after 1760, the general attitude began to mellow, and children ceased to be regarded as “treacherous small adults” requiring constant correction, Friends were early in recognizing a new and happier concept. They did not originate this change—which probably derived from romanticism and Rousseau’s *Émile*—but they accepted the concept more rapidly than their neighbors because it was more congenial to Quaker than to Calvinistic theology.

But the influence of religion yielded to time and pressure. Early Quakers had depended chiefly on God’s will, or their perception of it, in the choice of a spouse, and the particular prospect’s affiliation with the Society of Friends was of prime importance. But as the eighteenth century progressed an increasing number of marriages with those outside the Quaker fold—many involving disownment—suggest that Friends, like the world around them, were succumbing to the American cult of romantic love.

Related to the family was the system of apprenticeship under a Quaker master or mistress, which not only taught youth how to make a living (or keep house, for girls were also apprenticed), but served as a steadying force during that hazardous period, which we now call adolescence, from age fourteen to marriage. The hazards of these years were also realized then, and it was regarded as a time of “temptations” from which parents could no longer seclude their offspring. Paradoxically, though both apprenticeship and secondary school involved departures from the home, they were an extension of it in structure, as in such boarding schools as Philadelphia Yearly Meeting’s Westtown, where faculty and students formed a large family group headed by a married couple who served a parental as well as administrative function.

A certain amount of the material cited is already familiar to students of Quakerism, but the greater part is the result of recent and exhaustive research. Dr. Frost has built a coherent framework, pointing out significant trends and patterns. His work is extremely well organized, each chapter concluding with a brief summary. Because of the terse style and pages packed with fact and anecdote, *The Quaker Family* is somewhat condensed for relaxed reading, but it is invaluable for reference. It should be welcomed by librarians and by students at all levels as a useful tool in the exploration of Quaker culture.

Pendle Hill

ELEANORE PRICE MATHER

In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805. By EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975. xi, 288 p. Illustrations, tables, index. \$12.00.)

The object of *In Pursuit of Profit* is to examine the careers of Annapolis merchants during the Revolutionary period and the effect of diminishing trade opportunities on the town's business community. Like most researchers in southern commercial history, Edward Papenfuse was faced with a limited amount of source material. He made good use of the few available merchant papers, then turned to Maryland's extensive court records as his main source—a natural step for the state archivist. The result is an excellent book.

Mr. Papenfuse suggests bureaucratic growth, not economic enterprise, was the impetus for Annapolis' early expansion. In his anxiety to collect all fees conceivably due him as proprietor, Lord Baltimore filled the colony's capitol with officials and eventually created a political center which attracted wealthy planters whose spending habits, along with those of the civil servants, supported tradesmen and merchants alike. The author skillfully demonstrates how the construction of elaborate townhouses made a significant contribution to the local economy. Only in the last decade before the Revolution, commercial ventures originating in Annapolis seemed possible when former shopkeepers who had prospered found London merchants willing to extend credit. One firm, Wallace, Davidson and Johnson, even managed to compete successfully with the largest London companies, thanks to credit acquired through a partner's contract to build Maryland's expensive colony house. Thus, even when it flourished, the business community of Annapolis depended on the colonial government.

When war changed Annapolis into an army camp and distribution center for war material, merchants discovered that army contracts might be profitable, but the soldiers themselves could afford to purchase few goods and their rowdiness discouraged affluent visitors from coming to town.

Expectations for better business rose at the end of the war, but commercial growth was frustrated, according to the author, by external factors: the rise of other urban centers, planters depending less on direct importation, and a national depression. That the future lay elsewhere became evident as even Annapolis merchants invested in Baltimore companies or ships. Yet, Mr. Papenfuse emphasizes, the great majority of citizens stayed in Annapolis. Lawyers and civil servants, plus the tradesmen who served them, were least affected by the town's economic decline. Merchants who stayed in business usually reverted to storekeeping again and depended on wholesale goods from Baltimore.

Of course, any historian worthy of his profession can find points to quibble over with the author. Despite the general dates given in the book's title, the text actually covers the years from 1771 to 1789 most thoroughly. About half the book concentrates on the commercial efforts of Wallace, Davidson and Johnson (altered to Wallace, Johnson and Muir after the war). While this emphasis obviously results from the scarcity of other business papers, one hustling company does not make an entire merchant community. The basic failure of Annapolis, not stressed enough by the author, was that it was simply a consumer economy that lost its largest consumers. Mr. Papenfuse believes that the postwar departure of "only nineteen percent" of the population demonstrates its "remarkable" tenacity. But that percentage is the same used by the Census Bureau to describe the mobile American society of 1960. And even the author admits that the departing citizens were the richest, that is those most able to move.

Against these minor weaknesses are the book's accomplishments: clear descriptions of eighteenth-century business methods and an outstanding analysis of Annapolis society that should serve as a model for colonial demographers, business and social historians. In a year of soft drink cups and other paraphernalia celebrating the American Revolution, the Maryland Bicentennial Commission must be complimented for sponsoring this work.

Virginia State College

JOSEPH A. GOLDENBERG

Growth of the American Revolution, 1766-1775. By BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG. (New York: The Free Press, 1975. xxii, 551 p. Appendixes, bibliography, illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

When Bernhard Knollenberg died in 1973—completing a varied career which spanned the proverbial fourscore years—he left in virtually finished form the manuscript of this book. It has now been seen through production by his widow and Professor John R. Alden of Duke University. A sequel to Knollenberg's earlier volume, *Origin of the American Revolution: 1759-1765*

(1960), this new book is difficult to assess in terms of its possible audience, actual structure, texture, and interpretive thrust.

The intended readership is unclear because the book is much too dry and monotonous for either a general audience or for undergraduates. Its usefulness to advanced students and scholars will be as a handy reference for chronology and basic policy decisions; yet most professionals will find the story more fully told in Merrill Jensen's majestic narrative, *The Founding of a Nation: A History of the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (1968), or offered with more illumination in Pauline Maier's *From Resistance to Revolution. Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (1972).

As for structure, the book may fairly be described as curious. Its 533 pages comprise 196 of text, 72 of appendixes, 224 of back-notes, and 41 of bibliography. The text includes 32 chapters: 1-12 dealing largely with parliamentary policy between 1763 and 1773; 13-19 dealing chiefly with the Tea Act of 1773 and its consequences; 20-26 covering the First Continental Congress and its efforts to obtain relief for the colonists; the final 7 chapters describing the ultimate crisis of 1774-1775, with special attention to events in Massachusetts. Overall, half the text really concerns the period 1765-73, and half treats the final two years, 1774-75.

Regarding texture, the book's strengths are offset by its oddities. It is tediously factual and straightforward, unadorned by interpretive flair or focus. Chapters and paragraphs are very short, crammed with source quotations and notes. A typical chapter is four pages long and contains 40 footnotes. A typical paragraph is ten lines long (four sentences) with six footnotes. Sometimes as many as three footnote citations occur within a single sentence. Since each note is descriptive as well as documentary, the serious reader will find the book impossibly disruptive and hence disconcerting to follow. In sum, Knollenberg's scholarship is neither presented gracefully nor worn lightly.

Are there redeeming virtues to the book? Yes, a few. Although the author's sympathies were basically with the colonial Whigs, his handling of the narrative is dispassionate and judicious. He does an interesting job, moreover, of relating older imperial legislation—hence the origins of policy decisions—to the final decade of disruption, 1766-1775: e.g., the Navigation Act of 1663 and colonial admiralty courts; the Act of 1696 in relation to the Declaratory Act of 1766; and an Act of 1698 granting the East India Company the exclusive right to import tea into Great Britain, yet providing that it could sell its tea only by public auction. The volume might almost be called a *legislative* history of our prologue to Revolution. It is clear and careful—sometimes almost literal—in its reading of the evidence. What little interpretive emphasis there is, however, appears only in the 27 appendixes and discursive back-notes.

All in all, this book scarcely supplants Jensen, Maier, Gipson, Morgan, Zobel, Labaree, Ammerman and other basic works on the period. It will,

however, serve as a useful reference—especially for matters of chronology and for points where there is contradictory evidence. One has the sense that Knollenberg wanted to set down the basic *story*, once and for all. In that he has, to a reasonable degree, succeeded.

Cornell University

MICHAEL KAMMEN

Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution. By ELIZABETH EVANS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975. 372 p. Illustrations, selected bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution presents the experiences of eleven women who lived through that time that tried men's souls. Elizabeth Evans tells each story in part by extended quotation of the woman's diary, journal, letters, or reminiscences, supplementing these eye-witness accounts with related historical data placing the tales in context. Ms. Evans is a member of the Company of Military Historians and of the National Organization of Women and both interests inform her book. It is directed most obviously to a general audience as part of the Bicentennial celebration, but the Revolution seems far less important to most of the women than do courtship, marriage, the bearing and raising of children, and general household responsibilities.

The youngest witness is the Philadelphia Quaker Sally Wister (1761–1804), whose well-known journal, written when she was sixteen and published in 1902, is reproduced in its entirety, a delightful record of her romantic reactions to the American officers quartered with her family, then in a farmhouse in Penllyn, from the fall of 1777 until June, 1778. Far less sophisticated, the diary begun in 1774 by nineteen-year-old Jemima Condict Harrison (1755–1779), then unmarried, tells less about the Revolution than about current and prospective suitors, but also records the grim reality of recurring epidemic illness and sudden death in a small community in the mountains northwest of Newark, New Jersey. Probably the oldest and certainly the unhappiest of the women was Grace Growdon Galloway, who spent the last years of her life, from 1778 to 1782, in Philadelphia, vainly trying to prevent the confiscation of her property as part of the penalty exacted of her Loyalist husband Joseph. (Ms. Evans does not use the word Tory.)

Most of the women write as wives and mothers, for whom the war only added one more set of difficulties to an already harassed existence. Few expressed any enthusiasm for the American cause. Martha Pans Walker in 1763 moved with her family from Boston to Montreal, where her husband's organizing and training of both French-Canadian and Anglo-American rebels involved them both in terrifying violence and caused their return to the United States in 1776. Margaret Hill Morris (1737–1816), a

thirty-nine-year-old widow with several children, maintained Quaker neutrality as British and Hessian forces fought with American troops and naval units in Burlington, New Jersey, and up and down the Delaware River from December, 1776, through June, 1777. Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker (1735-1807) was one of many Quaker wives in Philadelphia whose husbands, refusing to take sides in the war, were exiled to Winchester, Virginia, in September, 1777. Anna Rawle Clifford (1757-1828) reported also about Quaker Philadelphia in letters to her Loyalist mother, exiled in New York in 1781. Mary Gould Almy (1735-1808) in Newport, Rhode Island, welcomed the British occupation in December, 1776, but her husband joined the Continental Army in July, 1778, and left her with six children as the town became a battle ground for British, Americans, and the newly arrived French fleet. Elizabeth Foote Washington (?-1812) of Virginia, whose husband, a kinsman of the Commander-in-Chief, managed the Mount Vernon estate, saw little of the war. The excerpts from her diary, beginning in 1784, deal exclusively with domestic concerns, how to please her husband, manage the servants, and serve God.

At the opposite pole from these middle- and upper-class lives was that of Jane Young Ferguson (1765-1862), pioneer of the Mohawk Valley and survivor of the Cherry Valley massacre in 1778, who dictated her journal to her granddaughter shortly before she died. The shortest of all the book's accounts, it says little about the Revolution.

An astonishing commentary upon life among the fighting men is the story of Deborah Sampson Gannett (1760-1827), who served from May 23, 1782, to October 23, 1783, in the Continental Army as Robert Shurtleff. The impact of this incredible experience is unfortunately dulled by the quotation of the full text of a long and stilted oral version which Mrs. Gannett delivered before many audiences in 1802.

Each story testifies to diligent research in manuscript and printed resources in many depositories. Unfortunately, Ms. Evans sometimes tells us too much that is peripheral to the lives of her protagonists. A notable instance is the lengthy description of George Washington's death and the probating of his will in Elizabeth Washington's story. The appeal to a popular audience is sometimes too obviously sensational, as in the opening sentence of Sally Wister's story: "On July 20, 1761, a tiny infant, dripping salty fluid, was abruptly thrust out of a dark, warm womb, only to be assailed suddenly by the starkness of light." Ms. Evans finds "intolerable" the restrictions of colonial women's lives, but only Deborah Gannett and Grace Galloway appear to have been possible precursors of the women's liberation movement.

Professional scholars will regret the absence of footnotes and will find inexplicable the omission from the Bibliography of the manuscript sources which are the major concern of the book. Nor does the narrative itself always make clear the nature of the primary sources being quoted. One is not told whether the diaries and journals are cited in full or in part.

Ms. Evans gives us several vivid accounts of American life in the Revolutionary period. None of the eleven women in her book reveals any understanding of or interest in the political philosophy or military strategy of the Revolution. In this they were undoubtedly like most American men. However, being a female in the eighteenth century was a complicated problem in itself and the American Revolution provided a uniquely challenging setting in which to experience that fate.

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

Alexander McDougall and the American Revolution in New York. By ROGER J. CHAMPAGNE. (Schnectady, N. Y.: Union College Press, 1975. xiii, 280 p. Bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

The politics of provincial New York has been of special concern ever since Carl Becker more than a century ago posed what was then the novel thesis that the American Revolution was not simply a struggle for home rule, but also a contest to see who would rule at home. Later Merrill Jensen, with whom Champagne studied, was to elaborate on this theme and to suggest that while the upper-class magnates who contended for power did not intend to institute popular rule, inadvertently they brought this about in enlisting the lower orders in the struggle against Britain. More recently, under the influence of the writings of Bernard Bailyn and his students, historians have gone back to the interpretations prevailing before Becker published his study, to see a prime moving force for the Revolution in the compelling logic of radical Whig ideology. This exhaustively researched and informative biography of one of the second-line Revolutionary leaders in New York seeks to reconcile these hitherto diverse interpretations.

The son of an immigrant Scottish milkman, Alexander McDougall rose to become a ship's captain and then a successful privateer during the Seven Years' War. By the early 1760s he was investing his new wealth in trade and land. To him, and other men of recent riches whose upward movement would have been slowed but not checked by the hierarchy of the province, politics was the field wherein men of talent and ambition could rise. It was precisely at this point in his life that imperial programs heightened the competition for power among the members of the patrician classes, themselves but a few generations old. At mid-eighteenth century James DeLancey had been the dominant political figure, but his unexpected death in 1760 temporarily ended his coalition's control and allowed the balance to swing to the landed magnates under the leadership of the Livingstons and a lawyer-based triumvirate in the capital. Seizing on the issue of the Stamp Act, James DeLancey, Jr. and his uncle breathed new life into their faction by urging extreme opposition to Britain (ironically

they were to end as Loyalists during the Revolution), and by their victories in elections were able to win control of the Assembly in the contest for power over the Livingstons, who enjoyed the patronage and friendship of the royal governor. As evidenced by their electoral support, they represented the will of the people. During their struggle to reconstruct their power, the DeLanceys were popular with the populace in the capital and enjoyed the support of the Sons of Liberty. Publicizing themselves as the true defenders of American liberties, they vigorously attacked the home government and charged their opponents with being at best only lukewarm patriots. Ever watchful for an opportunity, the Livingstons, with McDougall among them playing a prominent part in extra-legal activities, used the same rhetoric against their opponents. They seized on the issue of quartering British troops and the related question of paper money to attack their rivals. Champagne sees these issues as marking a turning point for McDougall. They constituted a threat to American liberty. Convinced (conveniently) that the DeLanceys could not be relied upon, that they, as almost all politicians, were corrupted by power, he threw himself into the struggle to challenge their leadership. His role, according to Champagne, made him a "popular" hero in the provincial capital, popular in the sense that he claimed power for the people. His attack on the elected establishment, Champagne thinks, was more than a product of his partisanship, for his political beliefs were rooted in radical Whig ideology, a commitment to popular political power, and a conviction that the DeLanceys had sacrificed the liberties of the people for their own private gain.

By 1775 McDougall was a figure of consequence in the Revolutionary movement in the province and, with New York a critical colony for the Continental cause, he was granted a colonelcy. Serving with Washington in the northern campaigns he rose to the rank of general and for years, despite poor health, held high-level administrative posts in the northern military department. His wartime experience embittered McDougall as it did many of the general officers, faced with petty jealousies and massive indifference by the state legislatures and the Congress over the plight of the Continental Army. "In the end, Washington's generals became distrustful of the people's representatives in government" (p. 146). Although Champagne seems to equivocate on this point, McDougall came close to advocating a military takeover in the name of the people, at least for the duration of the conflict. "His own faith in republicanism—in the people's ability to rule themselves—which he had so vigorously expressed in earlier times, now seemed to be weakening under the weight of the army's misery" (p. 152). McDougall went on to play an important part in the negotiations over the officers' pay and in the movement to strengthen the central government. This role and his persistent pursuit of back pay were "expressions of a deep concern over the loss of fortune and feared decline in status" (p. 199). In the few years remaining to his life McDougall's "com-

pulsive need to achieve social recognition make public office a natural postwar activity for him" (p. 205). A recognized political and social figure, he worked to further the commercial and financial interests of New York City.

Champagne concludes that despite McDougall's libertarian principles he was never a social and political leveler, that he was basically a practical man whose practicality was tempered by a political idealism which, despite the wartime experiences, remained grounded on the "assumption that republican government was the best way to serve the ideas of justice and liberty for the people . . ." (p. 202-203). What a remarkable coincidence that McDougall's ideology happened to buttress his political ambitions! And that his behavior resembled that of the rivals he attacked! Or was he one of those whose psychological makeup made it easy for him to internalize his rationalization and thus deceive himself? In attacking British measures as subversive to American liberty was McDougall any different than the DeLanceys? As Champagne points out, McDougall's lessons on popular politics—on the tactics of organization, public meetings, newspaper polemics—these lessons in the vital elements in establishing and directing the support of the rank and file, were learned from the Delanceys who had "shown a mastery of those techniques in winning elections . . ." (p. 40). Those who won elections, the majority in the popularly elected assembly, not the self-proclaimed leader Mike McDougall who "saw himself as the true representative of public good" (p. 52), spoke for the people. All of the incipient Revolutionary leaders based their legitimacy on the proclaimed right of the populace, but before 1777 when had the people sanctioned them?

Notwithstanding the attempt to reconcile radical Whig ideology with McDougall's behavior, this book stands as a very valuable contribution to the politics and the organization of the Revolutionary movement in a key colony.

University of Nebraska, Lincoln

JACK SOSIN

Leadership in the American Revolution: Papers Presented at the Third Symposium, May 9 and 10, 1974. (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1974. xii, 135 p. \$4.50.)

These five papers, introduced by Elizabeth Hamer Kegan and by opening remarks by Lyman H. Butterfield, deal with political, congressional, and military leadership, the democratization of the mind and the psychological dimension during the Revolutionary years. The first, weightiest, and possibly most controversial address by Alfred H. Kelly, is subtitled "The Optimistic Ethical World View and the Jeffersonian Synthesis." A political leader must command affection, formulate and implement public

policy, possess courage, the ability to inspire the social order, and to manipulate the "symbol system" of society (p. 7). Western civilization, as distinct from the generality of others, has been economically dynamic, committed to the control of depravity, and, with a few exceptions, committed to the acceptance of upward class mobility. Three ideological themes may be found in the Revolutionary years: constitutionalism, a rule of law founded on eternal verities; rationalism or the enlightenment; and democratic idealism (p. 15). These seemed at times mutually contradictory. Emergent American republicanism needed the vision of a special destiny. The synthesis achieved was largely due to the optimistic ethical view of man, and constituted the greatest service Jefferson performed for his country.

Marcus Cunliffe limits analysis of congressional leadership to reflections upon the Continental Congress, falling, he claims, "into the collective mindset of the delegates" (p. 42). The powers of this body were ill-defined, and uncertainly divided between its duty as a protesting body, directing eventually successful military and diplomatic activities against Great Britain, and its limited authority as representing thirteen almost sovereign states. Meeting, often with scarcely a quorum, Congress seemed august to observers at times, and at others, ridiculous. To Cunliffe, the history of the Congress reveals the essential ambiguities of democratic leadership.

Military leadership requires, probably at all times, Don Higginbottom explains, the characteristics of both the great soldier and the successful statesman. The eighteenth century emphasized natural ability and social status rather than training. Experience, of course, might be useful, but professional schools like Sandhurst and St. Cyr did not then exist. Logistics and strategy were little understood. Everything revolved about a central figure, prompted by traditions of service and honor, to achieve victory. England and America maintained a belief in civilian control over the military. Colonials for the most part did not seek innovation, and studied European treatises upon the art of war. Yet changes were taking place. Washington generally opted for native rather than foreign soldiers in spite of the numbers from abroad seeking service. Americans called from farm or shop soon acquired the status, in their own eyes at least, of officers of gentler birth (p. 100). Americans, too, Higginbottom guesses, were more republican than militarily ambitious. Motivated by notions of sacrifice, virtue, and patriotism, American generals were obliged "to wire together" a heterogeneous throng and make it fight without antagonizing non-combatants or officials (p. 107). George Washington and Nathaniel Greene were most notably successful in their varied duties. Once the war was won they were able to return to civilian life. America escaped the dangers armies often pose to free societies, establishment of her soldiers as a distinct corps alienated from the rest of society (p. 109).

"Nothing illustrates better the transforming democratic radicalism of the American Revolution," Gordon Woods concludes, "than the way its

intellectual leaders . . . contributed to their own demise" (p. 84). The extraordinary galaxy of leaders during the Revolution formed an elite seeking to convince others of similar background by persuasion and reason that in the long run freedom for political as well as religious opinion would bring about a consensus on truth. After 1776 the American people, served by vastly increased numbers of newspapers and polemical tracts, became much more determined to exert their "inalienable" rights. Before a new century began the effects were obvious. Propaganda supplanted reasoning; demagoguery supplanted gentlemanly rhetoric. Madison and Jefferson retained their belief that the metamorphosis was good, for "the People in general are right" (p. 76). By 1800 men like John Adams were convinced that security precautions like the sedition acts were necessary. Even Jefferson and Madison kept their opinions as much as possible to themselves, and their intimates. It was by then obvious that intellectuals were distrusted, and the leadership of the Revolutionary struggle was no longer feasible.

The psychological dimension of Revolutionary leadership, Bruce Mazlish declares, has been largely neglected. He finds that American leaders on the whole lacked charisma and were not noticeably ascetic or puritanical. A leader must be primarily competent to bring about unity. The contest with Britain was not so much to break with the past, as to eliminate the imperious father-image of George III, and the remiss maternalism of the mother country. Father and mother had failed to fulfill parental obligations. Mazlish sees in George Washington the results of a sense of abandonment in youth, and of frustration later on as an officer in the British forces. Washington's case was not unique. America frequently shared a sense of parietal betrayal. This is not, of course, a complete answer to questions about the psychological dimension, but suggests a fruitful approach to "the deepest aspect" of the Founding Fathers' creative effort (p. 131).

Inevitably these five papers leave many problems unsolved, but they provide much food for thought and many suggestions for further exploration of the nature of Revolutionary leadership.

Rosemont, Pa.

CAROLINE ROBBINS

Pennsylvania Speculator and Patriot: The Entrepreneurial John Nicholson, 1757-1800. By ROBERT D. ARBUCKLE. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975. 266 p. Bibliography, index, illustrations. \$12.50.)

Forged documents, obstruction of justice, bribery, land sales manipulations, impeachment, resignation and public exile—all represent a portion of America's political history of the 1770s. But who would have suspected American patriots founding a new nation to be so heavily embroiled in similar escapades? Robert D. Arbuckle's *Pennsylvania Speculator and*

Patriot: The Entrepreneurial John Nicholson, 1757-1800 reminds us that even our "founding fathers" occasionally subscribed to less than honorable behavior.

The John Nicholson of historian Arbuckle was a mechanical "wheeler-dealer" of outstanding proportion. He controlled title to over 4,000,000 acres of Pennsylvania lands, thousands of acres in Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia and South Carolina, and much of Washington, D. C. His enterprises included glass, iron, button, hat, carpet, saltpeter, flour milling, and maple sugar manufacturing works. He tried to entice foreign immigrants to his planned communities; and he invested in turn-pikes and ferries, canals and steamboats, and copper, coal, silver and lead mines.

Nicholson moved in and around the law in order to build a speculative empire principally based on land. Through his Pennsylvania Population Company and the North American Land Company, many investors (including such prominent speculators as Robert Morris, Aaron Burr, and James Wilson) were attracted to put up cash or promissory notes. As comptroller-general of Pennsylvania, Nicholson used his office to gain illegal title to massive quantities of lands by writing in fictitious names on certificates and bribing surveyors for the best acreages. A "Pennsylvania Land Connection" evolving around the comptroller carried from the lowest level of state government to Governor Thomas Mifflin, all resulting in the accumulation of temporary titles in Nicholson. On the national level, Robert Morris and Nicholson were particularly successful in gaining potential control of lands in the new nation's capital and the southern states, especially Georgia's Yazoo domain.

Unfortunately for Nicholson, and many other speculators, credit was called to bare fruition and manipulations were investigated by "authorities." His empire collapsed throwing him into debtors' prison in 1799, where he died approximately one year later. But to Arbuckle, Nicholson's activities had been worthy. He had provided a new state with solid financial management. He had promoted immigration and invention. And he had been favorably disposed toward black freedom and independence, although his own slave was one of his last possessions successfully attached by creditors.

In tracing the rise and demise of John Nicholson, this revised dissertation's stated purpose was "to reveal his [*Nicholson's*] role in the economic history of Pennsylvania and the nation during the early national period" (p. 4). In general, this goal has been realized, although an economic history of the United States during its formative years has not been presented. Of particular strength are two sections. Chapter eight is especially adept at describing Nicholson's role in land speculation surrounding the new Federal City, and chapter eleven liberally samples the rich letters circulating between Morris and Nicholson as they await and succumb to their inevitable imprisonment.

Weaknesses are evident in Arbuckle's attempt to place Nicholson within the political constructs of a complex developing party system. A reading and application of Richard E. Ellis' *The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic* would have been most helpful on this topic. Also, Arbuckle saw Pennsylvania's substantial internal improvement program and Nicholson's guiding hand as a necessary outgrowth of the state's purchase of the Erie Triangle, whereas new scholarship persuasively argues that the planning of the improvements program was in fact the backbone behind the attempt to acquire the Triangle. See Carl B. Lechner, "The Erie Triangle, 1782-1802" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1975).

In addition, certain questions remained unanswered. The author neglects, either by choice or by lack of sources, the private side of Nicholson. What was the man and his family life really like? One is impressed by Nicholson always acting as a speculator. Yet how did he acquire this "art" and were there particular enterprises that he used to learn his chosen trade? And of a more general nature, how important were these speculators and what economic impact did they have on the new nation?

These questions and objections should not detract from the value of this work, especially as a contribution to the history of early Pennsylvania. John Nicholson was an active participant in our initial national experience, and his economic relationships, however suspect of noble purpose, have been comprehensively documented.

Case Western Reserve University

JOHN R. WUNDER

Jefferson, Nationalism, And The Enlightenment. By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. (New York: George Braziller, 1975. xx, 196 p. \$7.50.)

This book is a collection of previously published essays, a number of which should be familiar to students of the era of the American Revolution. The opening chapter, "America and the Enlightenment," for example, is the paper Commager delivered at the first of the Library of Congress symposia on the American Revolution, and was published in *Development of a Revolutionary Mentality* in 1972. The other chapters, "Jefferson and the Enlightenment," "The Declaration of Independence: An Expression of the American Mind," "The Pursuit of Happiness," "The American Enlightenment and the Ancient World: A Study in Paradox," "The Past as an Extension of the Present," and "The Origins and Nature of American Nationalism," have all appeared in print, although sometimes in abbreviated form, largely during the past ten years. Nonetheless, it is appropriate that these essays should be put under one cover, for some have had less exposure than others, and they have a unity (not without occasional re-

dundancies) that is unusual in collections of this kind. It is fortunate as well that a broader public should have access to the impressions of a distinguished historian about the mental world of late eighteenth-century America.

Commager's portrait of Jefferson and his generation is wholly sympathetic. It is a celebration of men who combined rationality with moral concern to such good purpose that they were able to absorb and contribute to the Enlightenment by institutionalizing it and democratizing it. It is a portrayal of a unique polity that was able to defy the conventional imperatives of national cohesion while framing a new nation as "a creative act, the product of the deliberate application of will and intelligence . . ." (p. 166). These two themes, the uniqueness of the American experience and the enlightened rationality of the leaders of the Revolutionary generation, help give the essays unity and coherence. Americans, in their unique situation in the New World, could implement the Enlightenment because they had already accepted its assumptions. And when creating a new nation they were able to compensate for what seemed indispensable in Europe, a common past, partly by acting as moral philosophers who used classical history to prescribe for their own times—that is, by using the past "as an extension of the present."

The merits of this book do not consist in novelty of interpretation, for students of the period are familiar with its basic premises and arguments. Few would quarrel with the notion that the Old World formulated the Enlightenment while the New World actualized it; or that Jefferson was a social philosopher on a par with the *philosophes*, but unlike them he was pragmatic, not doctrinaire, democratic, not exclusivist; or that Americans, lacking an extended past, used all of history as a fund of moral lessons that seemed appropriate for the new nation. Only occasionally are we presented with an enigmatic and potentially disputable idea such as the contention, never really explained, that the failure to eradicate slavery was a failure of romanticism, not of the Enlightenment.

Still, despite the conventional character of Commager's argument, the narrative, richly scored and technically brilliant, sustains the tempo of the book. The essay on "The Pursuit of Happiness" gathers in not only Jefferson, Washington, Jay, and other Americans, and not only the more famous Europeans such as Paine, Rousseau, Voltaire, the Abbé Raynal, Montesquieu, Dr. Johnson and Beaumarchais, but also Muratori of Modena, Johann Friedrich Struensee, Goldoni and Carlo Gozzi, Sebastian Mercier, and the Marquis d'Argens. Few American historians bring to their writing such an unusually broad angle of vision—one that merges, as well as distinguishes between, American and European history. Readers acquainted with Commager's virtuosity will not be disappointed in this book.

The Papers of Daniel Webster. Correspondence: Volume I, 1798-1824. Edited by CHARLES M. WILTSE and HAROLD D. MOSER. (Hanover, N. H.: published for Dartmouth College by University Press of New England, 1974. xxv, 518 p. Illustrations, index. \$17.50.)

With the publication of this first volume of letters, the immortal Massachusetts Senator will join, somewhat tardily, the lengthy list of prominent Americans whose writings have been systematically collected, organized, and edited in accordance with the highest standards of modern scholarship. The series will eventually run to fourteen volumes, divided between his correspondence (7), legal papers (3), diplomatic papers (2), speeches and formal writings (2). Compared with some similar projects, the Webster papers will be relatively modest in size, but the quality, if the present volume is a fair example, promises to be of a high order. Why the publication of the Webster papers has lagged behind that of a number of his contemporaries is not clear. Perhaps it is a continuation of that bad luck (among other reasons) which caused him to be overshadowed in life by men of lesser talent. Publication, most appropriately, was made possible by two agencies of the federal government, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publications Commission (as well as, of course, his *alma mater*).

The letters are presented chronologically, except for those sent as enclosures. Only a few of the incoming letters are included. All are printed in their entirety. The editors have struck a balance between personal correspondence and that pertaining to legal and political business. On the whole, the selections seem well made, although other letters, in certain cases, would have served equally well.

The editorial work is far superior to previous editions of Webster's letters. The explanatory footnotes, which must have required astute detective work, are as complete and authoritative as space allowed. General notes have been interspersed throughout to provide the larger historical context for sections of the correspondence. The originals, when extant, have been reproduced as closely as type permits, errors included. Significant cancelled passages, properly marked, have been retained, as have interlineations. In short, the transcriptions have been carried out with exceptional care; scholars may use them with confidence.

Unfortunately, because of the limitations of space, they will not be able to use them exclusively, even if they are restricted to print. There are still many letters found in earlier collections of Webster's writings, most importantly those edited by Fletcher Webster and Charles H. Van Tyne, which do not appear in this edition. The editors, however, certainly do not claim otherwise—the letterpress version is designed for students and the general reader. What will make the series invaluable for scholars, apart from the footnotes, is its integration with the definitive *Papers of Daniel Webster* by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor. At the end of the

volume (and of subsequent ones) is a complete calendar of letters giving the microfilm frame number and the location of the original. The printed volumes will furnish "an indispensable annotated guide" to those deeply involved in studying the man and his times. This seems an eminently sensible solution to the growing problem of book costs for both publishers and buyers.

Webster's correspondence will produce no instant re-assessment of the man or statesman. The letters, the most interesting of which have been printed elsewhere, contain no new information or insights. Rather they confirm what is known. As ably summarized by the editors: "The image that emerges from his papers is that of a many-faceted man, a little larger than life, strong-minded and strong-willed, gregarious, acquisitive, ambitious, basically honest, with a sure sense of reality and an unshakeable faith in the destiny of his country." So far as the volume under review is concerned, the only qualification would be that Webster's faith in America's destiny appeared less than firm during the War of 1812, a lapse for which he subsequently paid a high price.

University of Arkansas

JAMES S. CHASE

Settlement Houses and the Great Depression. By JUDITH ANN TROLANDER. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975. 216 p. Bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Judith Ann Trolander is one of a small, but fortunately increasing, number of historians who are exploring the origins and development of our social welfare and charitable institutions. In this book she attempts to provide an answer to a question that has long puzzled students of the subject: Whatever happened to the great settlement movement of turn-of-the-century America? Where are the Jane Addamses, the Mary Simkhovitches, the Lillian Walds and the Graham Taylors of our day?

Professor Trolander has an answer: the Community Chests destroyed the radicalism, the zeal for change and "social action," and the willingness, nay the eagerness, of settlement residents to take risks and to defy existing authority, whether political or economic, in order to right wrongs and improve neighborhoods or cities. This mutation was accomplished by making the settlements, like other private social agencies, dependent for their income upon central fund-raising and disbursing bodies which were controlled by small groups of wealthy and conservative individuals. By 1929, the private charity field was almost completely under the control of Community Chests, with but two important exceptions. But what exceptions—New York and Chicago!

It is these exceptions which the author employs to prove her thesis. In New York and Chicago the lack of centralized financial control permitted settlement workers to maintain their tradition of radicalism, to push for government action to meet the great needs of the Depression, to support

the New Deal in its more progressive proposals, and to aid the unemployed and mistreated industrial workers in securing their sustenance and rights. Many examples are given, both of the reluctance of settlement staffs in Chest cities to back important actions to aid the needy, and of the activism of their New York and Chicago counterparts.

Boards of Chests, as of the settlements themselves, usually consisted of representatives of "the social, business, and professional elites of their communities" (p. 55). They generally held "conservative beliefs" and "occasionally inhibited agency programs and the political activities of the staff." This "was more likely to occur in Chest cities than in non-Chest cities."

Unhappily, Professor Trolander has not made a convincing case. Like most efforts to find origins of long-term historical phenomena, serious examination reveals many, rather than single, causes. The author's data are selected carefully. They appear to be heavily weighted toward a few communities that she apparently knows well, especially Cleveland, where she earned her doctorate. Cleveland was a Chest city, the first, as it happens. And one very conservative man there, who aspired to share the lifestyle and means of his board members, George Bellamy of Hiram House, opposed the New Deal. One George Bellamy does not make a trend, but, to judge from the number of times his opinions and actions are chronicled, one might think otherwise. It is also somewhat unfair to cite Helen Hall so frequently as one who maintained her zeal for social action throughout the thirties without stressing the fact that, during the worst of the Depression, she headed the University Settlement in Philadelphia (a Chest city) and did not move to New York until 1933.

Furthermore, to claim that the lack of Chests made New York and Chicago settlements more radical is missing a most important point. New York and Chicago were—and have usually been—centers of radical activity. Unemployed Councils, Workers' Alliances, Socialist and Communist Parties flourished there in the 1930s to a far greater extent than they did in Cleveland or Philadelphia or New Orleans. It would have been strange indeed if settlement workers in those cities had not been more activist than their colleagues in quieter communities.

The real question is not why did the settlement movement become more conservative in the 1920s and 1930s than it had been (if indeed it did!). The still unanswered question is why did the settlement movement go into a decline after the First World War? There are many possible answers to this genuinely important query and, to Professor Trolander's credit, she realizes this, for her final chapter is indeed addressed to this problem and acknowledges that only by solving this puzzle can her subordinate one be answered. For raising these issues, and for calling our attention to these vast changes in a once vital movement, Professor Trolander deserves to be read with thanks.

Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution. By GEORGE C. NEWMANN and FRANK J. KRAVIC. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1975. 286 p. Illustrations, bibliography. \$17.95.)

The coming of the American Bicentennial has prompted a great increase of interest in America's early heritage. One aspect of this period which is seeing growing attention and research is that of the common soldier in the War of the Revolution. Both professionals and laymen are asking questions about the actual clothing of the colonial soldier. What did he carry with him in the field? How was he armed and what did he eat? Questions such as these and others may well be answered with a look through the *Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*. This excellent work should soon become a major reference tool for historians, collectors, and hobbyists interested in any aspect of late eighteenth-century military life. The authors have made extensive use of photographs of artifacts to bring the reader a true picture of the times. These documented original specimens are supported by line drawings by the noted military artist George C. Woodbridge and a wide range of well-researched reproductions.

The work is arranged alphabetically and covers almost any conceivable topic from abatis and beds to trousers and wigs. Fully two-thirds of the book are devoted to illustrations with descriptive texts generally appearing at the bottom of each page. This arrangement occasionally causes some confusion since texts for specific views often appear on preceding or following pages.

Although a fine work overall there are errors. Under the heading of infantry there is the statement "English regiments consisted of ten companies." An English regiment usually had one battalion which consisted of ten companies. Prior to the Revolution most British regiments had only one battalion but there were several with two or more and many of the British and Loyalist regiments raised during the rebellion were multi-battalioned. This is a point which often causes confusion and it is sad that the authors could allow such a basic error. In the same area we find a photograph of a man in a reproduced pioneer's uniform of the reconstructed 43rd Regiment of Foot. The caption for this view reads "British leather-helmeted light infantryman . . . not wearing the usual shoulder wings." While his helmet is similar to that prescribed for British light infantry, being close is not acceptable for a work of this nature.

One of the most interesting and perhaps important sections is a special chapter contributed by Mr. Kravic titled "Preserving Your Collection." This chapter introduces the reader to the various aspects on the care, restoration, and organization of surviving materials. Mr. Kravic deals in depth with the procedures necessary for the preservation of artifacts and provides basic information on the care and restoration of manuscripts.

The extensive bibliography can be of great help to anyone wishing further materials on related topics and gives a strong indication of the

amount of research on the part of the authors necessary for the production of a valuable work of such wide scope.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

GARY CHRISTOPHER

Architecture in Philadelphia: A Guide. By EDWARD TEITELMAN and RICHARD W. LONGSTRETH. (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1974. xviii, 284 p. Illustrations, index. \$27.50.)

Long in preparation and in press, this attractive architectural guide is one of the latest additions to the growing number of books about Philadelphia that are being published to coincide with the approaching Bicentennial (for another, see Margaret B. Tinkcom's review of John Francis Marion's *Bicentennial City: Walking Tours of Historic Philadelphia*, in the April, 1975, issue of this quarterly. The fact that *Architecture in Philadelphia* was only published late in 1974, and then by a press in Massachusetts, may also suggest something about Philadelphia and Philadelphians; for some years comparable guides have been available for other cities, such as Chicago, New York, Richmond and Washington.

In all, Teitelman and Longstreth have selected for listing nearly 500 buildings. These they divide into nineteen groups, each preceded by a schematic map on which are located by number the buildings identified on the pages immediately following. The first seven groups comprise buildings in what has come to be known as "Center City," and these are followed by five groups in the north and northeast, three in West Philadelphia, and two in Germantown. One section is devoted to South Philadelphia and one to Fairmount Park. Over half the entries are illustrated with comparatively small but generally excellent photographs, most of them taken by the authors and nearly all of recent date. If any criticism is to be made on this score, it should probably be for the scarcity of interior views, an understandable omission but one which could be questioned when dealing with an art that has as its essential quality the conditioning of space for human use. The concluding section contains a short list of the most important buildings demolished during the last five years. There is also a selected bibliography and separate indexes for architects, styles, and buildings.

Not the least appealing aspect of this new guide is the fidelity with which the photographs are reproduced, a feature all too rare in books published in the 1970s. To achieve this—and to be sure the illustrations would appear to advantage—the publisher made the hard decision to use a relatively heavy paper and to spare large portions of the white page. The result is a book that is easy on the eye and doubtless more durable than most. It is also too large to fit easily into a purse or pocket and far too expensive to fit the budget of many visitors to Philadelphia.

Like any book of its kind, *Architecture in Philadelphia* contains hundreds of facts, and doubtless specialists on various aspects of Philadelphia history will find reason to disagree with the authors concerning a number of these. In general, however, Teitelman and Longstreth can be relied on for the accuracy and completeness of the information they give concerning the dates and architects of the buildings listed, including those for the later alterations and additions that are so often overlooked. Readers not familiar with Philadelphia would probably be grateful for a word or two indicating the occupation or status of the designers mentioned. As it is, no distinction is made between a master-carpenter like Edmund Woolley and a physician such as John Kearsley.

Since Longstreth is a practicing architect and Teitelman a physician known for his work on Wilson Eyre, Jr. (1858-1944), it is perhaps to be expected that the historical essay with which they preface their guide would be strongest in those sections dealing with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and most open to question in the earlier parts. Many of the most innovative buildings are perforce excluded from books of this kind because they are no longer standing, but even the authors' estimates of those still extant seem to belie their emphasis on the conservative qualities of early Philadelphia. Nor, aside from their meeting-houses, would it be easy to prove the influence on the city's architecture of the supposed taste—or lack of it—of Philadelphia Quakers. Not a few of the qualities that are said to constitute the "Quaker esthetic" are, in fact, also characteristic of English buildings of the period.

On at least a few points the introductory essay may also be considered somewhat out of date. For example, during the past decade revisions in the estimate of the colonial population have denied Philadelphia its place as "the second city of the British Empire" (most recently, Gary B. Nash and Billy G. Smith, "The Population of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *PMHB*, July, 1975). Nor can B. H. Latrobe continue to be described as the first architect with English training to practice in America. Earlier, there was William Rigby Naylor in Charleston, S. C., John Hawks in New Bern, N. C., and John Ariss in Virginia.

But surely these are small faults in a book so useful and so welcome.

University of Delaware

GEORGE B. TATUM

Winterthur Portfolio 10. Edited by IAN M. G. QUIMBY. (Charlottesville: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum by the University Press of Virginia, 1975. viii, 242 p. Illustrations, index. \$10.00.)

When the first *Winterthur Portfolio* appeared a decade ago, it was still fashionable in museum circles to reject Victorian decorative arts as vulgar,

ostentatious, and certainly not worthy of serious attention. This prejudice was reflected at Winterthur itself in the terminal collecting date of c. 1840, but not, fortunately, in the museum's publication program. Virtually every volume in the *Portfolio* series has contained an article on the mid-to-late nineteenth century in a trend that included a major defense of things Victorian in *Portfolio* 7. Casting aside any hesitation that may have remained, editor Quimby has now given us an entire volume of sound articles as the museum's contribution to the "healthy reappraisal of nineteenth-century American art [that] is now in progress."

The eight articles range from a broad and rather unconvincing study of the Gothic Revival in America by Alice P. Kenney and Leslie J. Workman, through Jay Cantor's excellent detailed study of the monumental and picturesque A. T. Stewart house in New York City (1864-69). Between these two extremes we are given concise summary studies of two much maligned and little-understood types of late Victorian furniture. Mary Madigan ably separates the theory of Charles Locke Eastlake from much of the furniture that bears his name, while Kenneth L. Ames of the Winterthur staff brings to machine-made Grand Rapids furniture a depth of research and connoisseurship formerly reserved for hand-made objects of an earlier period.

If Eastlake and Grand Rapids furniture represents one side of Victorian taste, the work of Louis C. Tiffany and the other Associated Artists of the late 1870s form the other. In one of the most important articles, Wilson H. Faude looks at the great commissions of this firm and their influence on American decorative arts. Concurrently, the artist John La Farge was embellishing American buildings with major murals and stained glass drawn from eclectic sources to satisfy the developing taste here for European art; his work in three New York churches is discussed by Helene Weinberg. The balance of the articles deal with nineteenth-century fabrics: Caroline Sloat on the calico printing techniques of the Dover Manufacturing Company, 1825-29, and Samuel J. Dornsife's heavily illustrated survey of nineteenth-century window hanging design sources that is based on his own extensive collection that now belongs to The Victorian Society in America.

Students of American material culture have come to expect high standards indeed from the publications of Winterthur Museum. In this reader's estimation, *Portfolio* 10 is equal, if not superior, to its predecessors in the series. It reflects well the broad strength of this great teaching museum and the number of younger scholars who are active in Victorian studies. The chief weakness of the single theme *Portfolio* is the absence of a summary bibliography, or even eight article bibliographies. The articles are fully footnoted, but to qualify as an "authoritative reference" for the serious student this additional service should be provided in future volumes.

Handwoven Textiles of Early New England: The Legacy of a Rural People, 1640-1880. By NANCY DICK BOGDONOFF. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1975. 192 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$17.95.)

The only good reason for the publication of this book is the fact that it re-emphasizes the large amount of spinning, weaving, and home production of household linens in America. The book may also have some appeal for the homemaker who wishes to sew and make bed hangings in the "old time" manner. Although the publisher claims this to be a "never-before-told story," as long ago as 1917 Rolla Milton Tryon in *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860* (reprinted 1966) told a far more accurate story that was documented with contemporary accounts, government statistics, and historical facts. Mrs. Bogdonoff, on the other hand, documents few of her statements and includes neither footnotes nor statistics.

In her discussion of the "early" period of 1640 to 1880, the author has not taken into account the vast changes which took place in New England during the first two centuries of settlement. By 1825 New England was well supplied with textiles from the flourishing mills dotting the rivers, and the frontier and rural communities had moved west.

Whether it be economics, social customs, description of architectural details, furniture styles and nomenclature, or the interpretation of historical documents, the author errs on count after count. Household inventories are a standard research source. Mrs. Bogdonoff cites them frequently, but apparently she never saw one, for she suggests that they were made by the householder rather than by local specialists appointed by the court after his death. The publisher claims that "the technology of weaving is covered in depth" in this "definitive classic," yet the author's descriptions of fiber processing are unclear, and in several instances textile definitions do not take into consideration their change over time. Many textiles such as coatings, serges, flannels, fustians, jeans and muslins are absent from her list, although Alexander Hamilton's famous 1791 report on manufactures includes them as important home manufactures. Recent studies dispel the myth that "pictorial coverlets" made on the cumbersome, heavy looms with complex jacquard attachments were ever made by itinerant weavers. For the patterns of window curtains the author gives us her own tight little sketches rather than photographs of surviving examples or illustrations taken from prints and paintings.

The author is eager to tell us of curiosities she has discovered in museums and historic houses—among them what she believes to be a checked linen chandelier cover. Where did she find this information?; what rural home boasted a chandelier, let alone a cover? Abbott Lowell Cummings is careful to point out in *Rural Household Inventories, 1675-1775* that chandeliers were not found in such houses.

While the author acknowledges the assistance of many museum pro-

fessionals, and the names of their institutions appear in bold face type on the dust jacket, the lack of professionalism in the author's presentation suggests that she profited little from their knowledge.

New Haven, Conn.

FLORENCE M. MONTGOMERY

The Blathwayt Atlas. Volume II. Commentary. By JEANNETTE D. BLACK. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1975. xx, 235 p. Index. \$25.00.)

The publication of Jeannette Black's *Commentary* on the Blathwayt Atlas completes one of the most ambitious publication projects conceived by the late Lawrence C. Wroth. Meriden Gravure produced the fine colotype facsimile reproduction of the atlas which Brown University is offering for \$500. One suspects they will have few takers but hopes that Miss Black's separately-published *Commentary* will reach a much wider audience. It is at once an appreciation of the atlas itself, a cartobibliography and a model essay in historical cartography.

In her brief introduction Miss Black, Curator of Maps at the John Carter Brown Library, describes the atlas itself and sketches the career of William Blathwayt for whom it was compiled. Blathwayt served as secretary of the Lords of Trade from 1675 to 1696. Before his tenure those charged with administering the colonies had apparently made few efforts systematically to collect maps but the new secretary, who had traveled perhaps more widely than many of his contemporaries, began to assemble a working reference library for the Lords of Trade. The atlas, now at the John Carter Brown, formed part of that collection. It is a guard-book into which were pasted a good number of loose maps, both engraved and in manuscript. Some are not dated but Miss Black believes that most were done between 1629 and 1683. She underscores the importance of the atlas by reminding us that most of the materials of the Lords of Trade are scattered throughout the Public Records Office and elsewhere. This is the only part of Blathwayt's reference library to remain intact.

Thirteen of the maps are in manuscript, ten of which are so similar in style and execution that Miss Black describes them as the product of the "Thames School." The group included John Thornton and John Seller with whose *South and eastbounds of Pennsylvania* (1681) many of us are familiar. Her discussion of the school, although brief, is valuable cartographical scholarship.

It is her commentary on the forty-eight maps that now comprise the atlas that will interest a broader audience. In forty-three essays she describes the maps themselves, lists and locates different states and reviews the literature. She then describes the circumstances behind the creation of the maps and the uses to which they were put. The essays are not equally informative but the necessary evidence has simply not sur-

vived. Take, for example, her essay on Thornton & Green's *Mapp of Virginia Maryland, New Jersey, New York, & New England* (1678-79). Miss Black attributes much of the field work for New Jersey to James Wasse, one of the Commissioners for West Jersey. She has found and summarized Wasse's instructions from the Proprietors and she retells his adventures. But, as Miss Black notes, Wasse's report to the Proprietors is lost; she can only say that some of the information he provided survives on the Thornton & Green map.

Miss Black's essays draw upon remarkably disparate sources, many of which are probably unknown to modern scholars. The product is a delightful recreation of the exigencies that produced the Blathwayt maps. The book is attractively produced. Miss Black's comprehensive notes are printed in the handsomely wide margins. Her citations are complete and the index appears to be accurate. In both form and content, Miss Black's *Commentary* reflects the high standards that we have come to expect from her.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

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