

BOOK REVIEWS

America's First Hospital: The Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1841. By WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS. (Wayne, Pa.: Haverford House, Publishers, 1976. vi, 186 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Professor Williams, who teaches history at the University of Delaware, recalls in readable fashion the initial ninety years of our nation's first hospital. His publication, "The Industrious Poor and the Founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital," appeared in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* of October, 1973. The present treatise amplifies and extends that interesting earlier account.

Founded in 1751, the Pennsylvania Hospital at Philadelphia is the oldest hospital in the United States in the modern sense, as well as the nation's first voluntary hospital. The handsome architecture of its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings is doubly remarkable because these structures facing the garden on Pine Street have been in constant use since they were erected: the East Wing in 1755; the West Wing in 1796, and the Center Building in 1804. The people and events they witnessed during the colonial, revolutionary, and early republican eras are revived by the author from records in the Hospital Archives and on microfilm at the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

The year 1841 marked the move of the mental and nervous diseases division to West Philadelphia—the present Institute of the Pennsylvania Hospital. This date logically terminates the present volume.

Through detailed exposition this book brings a new dimension to an old story; the interdependence of medicine, society, economics and politics. Its compiler musters much written, numerical, and tabular data to support his analysis and interpretation of historical forces in early American medical practice and education. As examples, the relations of the Philadelphia Almshouse and the Philadelphia Dispensary to the Pennsylvania Hospital over the years are well delineated.

The book's text is illustrated with historic prints and paintings. Many contributions made by the sponsors and staff of this premier hospital, as well as its British roots and colonial origins, are explained in this vivid story of the founding, funding, and operation of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

Christopher Gist: Colonial Frontiersman, Explorer, and Indian Agent. By KENNETH P. BAILEY. (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, Inc., 1976. 264 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Christopher Gist (c. 1705–July 25, 1759) is best known for his journals of exploration for the Ohio Company and of a journey with George Washington to Fort Le Boeuf in 1753. On Braddock's expedition he performed ably as a scout and less well as a commissary; and he served briefly and without distinction as captain of a company of scouts in the Virginia Regiment. From 1757 until his death he was the Virginia deputy to Edmund Atkin, Agent for Indian Affairs in the Southern District. Almost two centuries later the documented date of his death figured in a dispute over the authenticity of the *Horn Papers*, published in 1945 and since discredited, which placed his death on October 4, 1769. Gist's present biographer records that he challenged the authenticity of the *Horn Papers* as early as 1935, yet he appears reluctant to dismiss them.

Gist is a fit subject, nonetheless, for a biography, whether or not one fully endorses the appraisal in Professor Bailey's concluding epitaph: "In his ability and his contributions he closely resembled the more publicized George Croghan. As an Indian agent he was at least as successful as those who came after him. His contributions to the British cause in America had been significant. His achievements should have received greater recognition by colonial historians." He was, Bailey tells us, "a tough man of whom to get the better."

The present 142-page biography consists for the most part of loosely knit narrative, without much emphasis on background or interpretation. Two chapters, twenty-two pages, are devoted to Gist's explorations, traced in terms of the states and counties on a modern map (which the reader must provide). Bailey's account of Gist's month-long stay at Coshocton (pp. 36–40), relying on his journal, ignores the historic significance of this town, settled by followers of chief Nicolas (Orontony), who had recently removed from Sandusky Bay after an open break with the French in 1747. (Croghan, who was at Coshocton at the time of Gist's visit, had abetted Nicolas' rebellion and had sought Pennsylvania support for him.) The need for a six-page summary (pp. 129–135) of an eleven-page document (pp. 207–217) might also be questioned.

The volume is filled out with forty-four pages of notes set in smaller type, the texts of four documents, a twenty-one-page bibliography, and an index. Two maps reproduced on the endpapers are attractive and useful additions. (One of them is also reproduced on a smaller scale in the text.)

The notes reflect considerable industry, are far ranging, and are frequently relevant and useful, but they suffer from prolixity and their overall effect is spoiled by a generous sprinkling of inaccuracies, misspellings, and typographical errors. Some of the material, including infor-

mation on Gist's immediate family, might have been incorporated into the text. One rather irrelevant passage details Colonel William Crawford's tortures at the stake. A long note (pp. 194-196) reproduces the *Horn Papers'* "beautiful" but fraudulent account of Gist's death.

Illustrative of the inaccuracies is an old confusion between two Iroquois chiefs, Tanacharison and Scarouady (or Monacatoocha). The author correctly attributes this confusion to the fact that Tanacharison (d. 1754) and, later, Scarouady (d. 1757) were referred to as "the Half King" (pp. 168, 178). But he then refers (p. 168) to "Tanacharison or Scruniyatha" (a variant spelling of Scarouady), incorrectly identifies Scarouady as the Half King who accompanied Washington in 1753 (p. 77), and refers to both Tanacharison in 1752 and Monacatoocha (Scarouady) in 1753 as the Half King (pp. 58-59). The index compounds this last confusion by identifying both as Monacatoocha. Elsewhere both Monactaoocha [*sic*] and Scarouady are reported present at a 1754 conference (p. 177). Tanacharison is (correctly) a Seneca on pages 35 and 167-168, but an Oneida on pages 85 and 178.

It is not the fault of the proofreader that the word printed as *ballaubas*, page 151, might have been read as easily and more correctly as *Cattaubas* (Catawbas).

The bibliography shares some shortcomings with the notes. Some of the listed works are not cited in the text or notes, and it is not clear that all were used. The volume edited by Stevens and Kent (p. 227) is *Wilderness* (not *Western*) *Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania*. Everett's article (p. 232), apparently not cited, is derivative as well as secondary. Hamilton's work (p. 233) is a published source rather than secondary material. Some outdated is apparent: The Pennsylvania Archives have not since 1945 been in the State Library; the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs (pp. 92, 182) was abolished in 1968; the two listed articles by Wallace (pp. 238-239) were later incorporated into his 1965 *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

WILLIAM S. HUNTER

The Character of John Adams. By PETER SHAW. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1976. xiii, 324 p. Illustrations, index. \$12.95.)

Peter Shaw covers familiar and well-traveled roads in his study of John Adams' character. The two volumes by Page Smith, the works of John Howe, Jr. and Zoltán Haraszti, and the classic biography by Gilbert Chinard have previously described Adams' ideas and actions in meeting

most events of his long life. Shaw provides neither the depth of Smith nor the analysis of Howe, but he does provide a stream of consciousness approach to the major episodes of Adams' life. He denies that Adams was a "judicious political leader and a political scientist" and concentrates, instead, on Adams' intellectualizing behavior and ideas. It is this approach, primarily, that gives the book a unique quality.

Adams is not an easy person to describe or appreciate, but he left an enormous manuscript collection that gives scholars a wonderful opportunity to penetrate his motives and actions, to make judgments and to speculate. Shaw finds that Adams was deeply influenced by his rural upbringing in Braintree, and by Puritanism, family ambition, and the Revolution. Life later in Philadelphia, Paris, London, and again in Philadelphia added dimensions, but never changed Adams' basic pattern of inheritance. Adams was an extraordinarily ambitious person, a seeker of fame through recognition as a lawyer, who "usually imagined himself catapulted into public recognition by a single stroke of genius." Unfortunately, Massachusetts did not provide many such opportunities so that Adams moved restlessly for a decade and more in Braintree politics, in Boston's, and in those of the bar. The Revolution seemed to rescue him when he went to Philadelphia as a delegate to the Continental Congress. His energy as a legislator was astonishing and extraordinary. His service on committees, his knowledge of government, and his courage accomplished much for the American cause. Opportunities for diplomatic service followed, opportunities that tested his Puritan instincts and provincial habits. The challenge, however, he met after a time and scored high in the peace negotiation of 1783, but at the cost of a bitter rivalry with Benjamin Franklin. Adams' years in Europe from 1783 to his departure in 1788 were happy ones; he read extensively and wrote the bulky *Defence of the Constitution*. His later years in Federalist leadership lacked strong direction, and his inability to grasp executive responsibility surely contributed to his defeat as President.

Adams was undoubtedly a creature of his age. He had never mastered the art of politics and was a victim often of his own careless handling of men and issues. Shaw's commentary points up the crucial episodes that gave direction to Adams' life. It cuts away much local color, biographical detail, and explanatory material. However, a rather thin line of fact is maintained, a line that is frequently bent to make some interesting comparative observations upon Adams' associates.

Because Peter Shaw is a professor of English literature, he had the opportunity to draw on techniques of analysis from another discipline in looking at historical material, and he brings as a result some valuable observations to the reader. But there are times, too, when his lack of appreciation for individuals and institutions caused factual errors, omissions, and imbalances in handling issues. Faulty notes, or no notes at all, also allow controversial opinions to pass unsupported. For example, on

page 53 Ebenezer Thayer was branded as the "worst of pettifoggers." But was he? He was elected to nearly every office Braintree had to offer, and he was selectman, moderator, treasurer and clerk for many years from 1747 to his death in 1794 and, in addition, he served twenty years in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Five excellent portraits give distinction to a well-designed book.

University of Southern California

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

Father Bombo's Pilgrimage to Mecca, 1770. By HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE and PHILIP FRENEAU. Edited by MICHAEL DAVITT BELL. (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1975. xxxii, 98 p. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

The Princeton University Library and Michael Bell have recently brought out the first complete printing of *Father Bombo's Pilgrimage to Mecca*, written in 1770 and no doubt the first authentic American novel. It was authored by Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748-1816), a Pennsylvania jurist and politician, and Philip Freneau (1752-1832), a satirical, anti-British poet of the American Revolution who was dubbed by George Washington, "that rascal, Freneau." Freneau and Brackenridge were undergraduates at the College of New Jersey when they collaborated in writing the novel, which preceded their joint authorship of an epic celebrating America's millennial promise, "The Rising Glory of America," by one year. *Father Bombo's Pilgrimage* is clearly an antecedent for Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry*, "the most substantial work of American social or political fiction before Cooper."

Until 1957, the only part of *Father Bombo's Pilgrimage* extant was a manuscript of Book III made by William Bradford, the other two parts having been lost in the Nassau Hall fire of 1802. This manuscript is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In the 1950s, a manuscript copy of the entire book, written from August 23 to September 13, 1772, by John Blair Smith, a Whig Princetonian and member of the Class of 1773, was discovered in Lexington, Kentucky. It is remarkable that nearly twenty years elapsed before the full printing of this early novel was accomplished. The book is handsomely mounted and beautifully printed; it contains a long introduction by the editor, the full Smith text, and several plates illustrating the manuscript from which the editing was done.

It does not contain a collation of the Smith and Bradford manuscripts for Part III, nor has the text been annotated. This is unfortunate, because in other respects the text is extremely well edited and could be definitive. Professor Bell defends his practice by saying that "there are too many variations (most of them minor) and the relative authority of the two

manuscripts is unclear." Perhaps so; however, a collation of the two copies of Book III would have been extremely helpful in giving this edition a final authority. Other editorial changes indicate that this edition is designed for collectors rather than scholars. "Smith's punctuation, eccentric and often capricious, has been altered where it clearly violates the syntax of the text. . . . In the present edition, capitals are retained only at the beginning of nouns. Finally, in a very few cases, words have been supplied in passages that do not otherwise make sense" (introduction, xiii).

These liberties render a very readable and pleasing text, and the book itself recalls the satirical writing of the "paper war" in Princeton in 1770-1771, an exchange of satires between the rival Whig and Cliosophic literary societies which dominated undergraduate literary life and to which Brackenridge and Freneau contributed by helping to found the Whig Society. We are grateful to Professor Bell and to the Princeton University Press for providing so attractive a document for the modern reader.

*The University of Massachusetts,
Amherst*

MASON I. LOWANCE, JR.

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volume 19. January 1 through December 31, 1772. Edited by WILLIAM B. WILLCOX. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975. xxxiv, 495 p. Illustrations. \$17.50.)

Politics were relatively quiet in 1772 and, therefore, Franklin had time to indulge his taste for science to a degree which he rarely enjoyed in England. This volume, therefore, is heavy with scientific matters and, in the opinion of this reviewer, they are handled more expertly by the editors than in any previous volume in the series. The scientific interests of Franklin and his friends ranged widely—from torpedo fish to protecting the Purfleet Arsenal from lightning to preliminary work on photosynthesis. The editors have mastered all of these topics and have provided full and informative notes on them.

The longest note in the volume—and the one on which the editors obviously worked the hardest—is not scientific, however, but political: an investigation of the Hutchinson Letters affair. The question of who leaked the letters to Franklin has defeated generations of scholarly plumbers. After what must be the most thorough investigation ever undertaken, the editors have not been able to solve the mystery. They lean toward John Temple as the purveyor of the letters; Bernard Bailyn's recent identification of Thomas Pownall as the conduit they reject. But they finally concede that the identity of the leaker will probably continue to baffle investigators.

Events were going Franklin's way in 1772. The Walpole Company

seemed to be on the road to success (although Franklin wisely restrained his optimism), the mulish Lord Hillsborough lost his place, and Dartmouth, in whom Franklin had high hopes, succeeded him. Stimulated and refreshed by travel, science, and good company, Franklin was in high spirits throughout the year. His good humor and the editors' expertise make this a pleasant volume indeed.

Library of Congress

JAMES H. HUTSON

Rebels Under Sail: The American Navy during the Revolution. By WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976. xi, 356 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

A readable one-volume history of the American Navy in the Revolution has been needed for sometime. Dr. Fowler has filled this hiatus with an excellent narrative based principally on American sources.

During the early months of the conflict the Continental Congress, operating without finances or materials of war, was compelled to direct its efforts to building an army. As all major cities were either sea or river ports their maritime defense was temporarily entrusted to the individual states. Threatened disaster later spurred several delegates to propose a Continental Navy capable of harassing British men-of-war and for defensive action in American waters.

Dr. Fowler presents an illuminating and trenchant account of the numerous roadblocks encountered by congressional advocates of a navy. He graphically describes the Machiavellian tactics of certain politicians and the interstate jealousies with their demands to satisfy the priorities of the various states and geographic regions, although their interests were in contrast to the needs of the young nation. Supplies and materials to construct the frigates and other men-of-war were scarce and the logistical problems seemed insurmountable. Ordnance and men were in equally short supply, with the scarcity of the latter exacerbated by the lucrative offers of privateersmen.

The volume dwells at some length on naval actions along the New England coast and on Arnold's defense of Lake Champlain. The principal criticism of this book is that actions along the New Jersey and Maryland coasts, and in the Delaware Bay and River are ignored. Dr. Fowler contends "Philadelphia was not a good base . . .", and adds that the "only way to get to sea from the port was to run the British gauntlet through the Delaware and around the capes. . . ." This regretfully is an inaccurate description of activities on the Delaware. Except for two occasions, British men-of-war rarely sailed far above the Delaware capes. In May, 1776, Hamond with the *Roebuck* and *Liverpool* moved up to the vicinity of Wilmington to replenish their fresh water casks and were rather roughly

handled in Helm's Cove by the galleys of the Pennsylvania Navy. And, again, during the winter of 1777-1778, when Sir William Howe occupied Philadelphia, the British Navy controlled the river and bay—although harassed by a number of guard boats commanded by John Barry. At other times during the war American merchantmen, privateersmen, and men-of-war—singly or in small flotillas—entered or departed through the roadstead between Capes May and Henlopen. Most of the time one or two British frigates or cruisers were on station at the capes, nevertheless American shipping slipped through this thin cover without significant losses.

Many spectacular and bitterly fought engagements between small sloops of war occurred off the mid-Atlantic coast or in Delaware Bay. One of these was the action between the *Hyder Ally* and the British *General Monk* in the bay in 1782; another was the sanguinary encounter of the privateer *Congress* with the British sloop *Savage* off the Chesapeake on September 6, 1781. More important, no mention is made of the daily encounter during October and November, 1777, in the Delaware River below Philadelphia, of British naval units and elements of the Pennsylvania and Continental navies. Journals, diaries, and correspondence of British officers, and the logs of British frigates attest to the severity of these contests and the effectiveness of the small American fleet. Also ignored is the destruction of the 64-gun ship *Augusta*, the largest British ship lost in action with the American Navy during the Revolution.

Of minor import, the district of Southwark, south of Philadelphia, is designated as Southwick. It is also stated the xebecs *Champion* and *Repulse* were loaned to the Continental Navy by the Pennsylvania Navy. These unusual boats were never on the roster of the state navy, although there is evidence they were built by Philadelphia shipbuilders and supervised by members of the state navy board for the Continental Navy.

In spite of these omissions, *Rebels Under Sail* is delightful reading and the best researched study of the American Navy of the Revolution written to date.

Flourtown, Pa.

JOHN W. JACKSON

The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787. By JONATHAN R. DULL. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975. xv, 437 p. Maps, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Jonathan Dull's excellent book deals with the role of the French navy in the diplomacy of the American Revolution. It is "not about the French navy as a political pressure group," but the navy as an instrument of high politics. Dull begins with the assumption that Louis XVI had two possible responses to the American Revolution. He could have used French neu-

trality as a leverage for improving Anglo-French relations; an aim which was consistent with the long-range plans of his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Comte de Vergennes. Or, he could have used the crisis as the opportunity to build-up the French navy in order to intervene in the war and support American independence. He chose the latter option, or rather he was persuaded by Vergennes to choose it. The choice set the monarchy on a course that would eventually end in bankruptcy and revolution. Vergennes' reasoning to the king was based on the misconception that British monopoly over American colonies was the key to British economic and naval strength. To destroy the monopoly would therefore undermine British power. The American Revolution provided the unique opportunity to do this.

The French naval rearmament, Dull argues, was *not* the result of a deterioration of Anglo-French relations growing out of the war, for there was no serious threat to France in the American War. The rearmament was a conscious option and it was skillfully administered by the Minister of the Navy, Sartine. But once rearmament began, each power's response became the argument for the other's further build-up. The result was the classical pattern of diplomatic and military escalation.

Dull's competent treatment of the relation between the French navy and Louis XVI's diplomacy gives us a new perspective on several important aspects of the American Revolutionary War. For example, he does not deny that American military capacities (and French opinion of them) played a role in French intervention. If American resistance had collapsed Vergennes would have with great difficulty implemented plans which assumed a "minimal American capability." But Dull reasons that American victories, such as Saratoga, did not cause France to decide on war, they only provided the favorable opportunity and the "excuse," for war had been decided upon earlier and the timing was conditioned by the pace of French naval rearmament. Nevertheless, Vergennes certainly recognized the need for American military presence.

He also recognized the need for Spanish naval presence. In January of 1778 France had an effective naval parity with England, but Sartine and Vergennes both knew that it could not last. The Spanish alliance was thus needed in order to bring the entire Spanish fleet into the war on the side of Louis XVI. The alliance, however, was bought for a heavy diplomatic price and led to much bickering and waste in the use of the Bourbon navies. Dull concludes, however, that the Spanish navy made a "decisive contribution" to the war.

At the peace table Vergennes regained for Louis XVI the "consideration" among European powers which Vergennes had sought. But the victory was pyrrhic. It cost the French treasury, Dull estimates, more than one billion livres and the treasury never recovered from the blood-letting. The victory was questionable, also, because Vergennes' policy of intervention was based on a contradiction. He wanted to work out a *rapproche-*

ment with England so that France and England working together would exert more influence in Europe, especially Eastern Europe. Yet, to war against England at her moment of peril was not the most diplomatic way to advance Anglo-French cooperation. Naturally, cooperation never materialized. The book combines intensive research in the French naval and diplomatic archives with the courage to generalize and question; it is a significant contribution to the study of the diplomacy and military history of the American Revolution.

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ORVILLE T. MURPHY

A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence. By JOHN SHY. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. xv, 305 p. Index. Paper, \$3.95; cloth, \$12.95.)

In the ten papers reprinted here with explanatory commentary, Professor Shy seeks to remedy the widespread "disconnection" of military and other history (p. x). Yet the fact of warfare permeates the origins and outcome of the American Revolution. War was central to the perception of those living with it. Everywhere in the thirteen colonies may be discovered the extensively ramifying effects of a legally armed male population (p. xii). Through the warring activities in which they were engaged, or by which they were surrounded, many Americans received their political education (p. 216). In setting forth his argument Professor Shy probes various problems. He does not linger on precise analysis of battlefield and the course of general conflict, but asks questions on related subjects: about, for example, the character and changing role of the militia seen as a process rather than merely an instrument (p. 197); about the motivation of the fighting man like "Long John" Scott (pp. 163-170); about the contrasting strategies proposed by George Washington and by the radical Charles Lee (pp. 135-162); about the "shock waves" of reaction prompted by the movements of armed forces among those both of Loyalist and Patriot sympathies (p. 214); and concerning the long-term influence upon American policies and attitudes of the experience of the Revolutionary struggle. He never forgets the relevance of the world in which he lives to the historian's exploration of the past. This volume contributes important reflections on the interrelation of society, political development, and war; no student of the Revolution can afford to ignore them.

The essays, though often provocative, are judicious. Perhaps the review of Lawrence Gipson's interpretation of the history of the old Empire is occasionally less than fair, and oversimplifies emphasis on colonial disorder and unruliness. Yet Shy is appreciative of the views of older his-

torians (pp. 112-131) and accepts not only the discreditation of terms like "whig" and "tory" as well as the more recent "conservative" and "liberal". The impulse that swept the British toward civil war was powerful, and seemed to admit of little real choice in the "limited spectrum" of possibilities revealed in the contrasting position taken by Governors Henry Ellis and Thomas Pownall, bitter though the antagonisms resulting might be (pp. 37-72).

Through the book Professor Shy recurs to the central fact—the colonists won, the British lost. He avoids simple solutions, military or political, sometimes sought in the blunders and expedients of either side. There was little that was actually revolutionary in the conduct of the war, but much that was innovative in its effects upon the emerging social and political structure. Over a long period, Americans were involved in an experience of remarkable intensity (p. 197) with repercussions not only upon actual combatants, but upon the population among whom they fought (p. 199). The civilian factor is crucial to understanding the stages through which British policy passed from repression and law enforcement, to attempts to securing supposedly strategic areas, to a general escalation of war outside the continent as well as throughout the colonies of presumably Loyalist inclination. While other imperial outposts were thus retained, much of American sentiment was alienated. This colonial contest conditioned both British and American lines of future action. Imperialism was modified. Americans continued almost to the present day to conceive of military involvement as a pattern of initial disaster, a bungling direction, followed eventually by total victory.

Digging into the "deeply buried" past, Professor Shy finds many imponderables. A final outcome was so much more than the sum total of decision, geographical advantage, native talent or aroused patriotism. People were propelled in directions they seldom perceived, and to ends they but dimly, if ever, foresaw (p. 258). But in understanding however inadequately events and their consequences, the consideration of the military factor is all important to balanced reconstruction and illumination.

Rosemont, Pa.

CAROLINE ROBBINS

The Books of Isaac Norris (1701-1766) at Dickinson College. By MARIE ELENA KOREY, with an introduction by EDWIN WOLF 2ND. (Carlisle, Pa.: Dickinson College, 1976. vii, 315 p. Illustrations, index. \$21.00.)

Dickinson College has preserved carefully for nearly 200 years John Dickinson's impressive gift of 1,700 volumes to the new college in the western wilderness of Pennsylvania. These books have never been kept secret but only now is the collection being publicized as a Bicentennial

project. While a handful of items may well have disappeared since 1784, this fine catalogue by Marie Elena Korey records essentially the whole gift, largely in original bindings.

The library was formed by the first Isaac Norris, who died in 1735, and greatly added to by his son, who died in 1766. Both father and son were wealthy merchants and landowners; both found time to read and study extensively, as well as to fill important posts in the civil government. Some books were certainly given by them to relatives; but the chief part of the collection was brought by the son's surviving daughter Mary, on her marriage, to the wealthy and erudite John Dickinson. Dickinson was solicited by the founders of the College to support it with funds and books, in recompense for the honor done him in naming the College. This gift in 1784 was his only response.

Unfortunately, the response included few books needed by a frontier college: all are rare volumes important now to a research library, but they were of little use in the institutional program of 1784. Books that the Dickinsons kept back seem to have included Cicero's *Cato Major*, the *Rambler*, *Spectator*, and *Tatler*, Johnson's *Dictionary*, Bower's *History of the Popes*, Aulus Gellius, Epictetus, Horace, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De Veritate*, Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, Baskerville's handsome editions of Virgil and Milton, Locke's *Thoughts of Education*, More's *Utopia*, Newton's *Opticks*, Pemberton's *View of Newton's Philosophy*, Dryden, Pope, Swift, and Worlidge's *Systema Agriculturae*, most of which are identified (from Norris' account books) by Mr. Wolf in his excellent Introduction to this catalogue.

It is perhaps not unfair to admit, as Mr. Wolf does, that Dickinson selected a sizable donation made up entirely by culling from his wife's library such old books of no real interest to himself. An odd donation, at least before the days of the tax deductible gift.

The effect is that this fine catalogue, full of interest as it is to scholarly antiquarians, tells little about the reading interests of an educated and wealthy Philadelphian in the earlier or later part of the eighteenth century. What it does reveal is that the second Norris bought heavily from Thomas Osborn's scarcely saleable stock in his catch-all lists of 1749 and 1752, largely controversy, medicine, and science, published on the Continent between 1550 and 1700. Almost any of these volumes would be difficult to find today, but very few will be sought by anyone other than an occasional specialized researcher.

Possibly the most interesting feature in the careful descriptions is the record of provenance, ascertainable both because so many volumes remain in original bindings and because the younger Norris was so meticulous in noting his acquisitions. The majority of such names will be little known today, of course; but it is exciting to find volumes, even if many of them came from Osborn's left-over stock, from the libraries of Pierre de Cardonnel, William Cecil Lord Burghley, Colbert, Edward Gwynn, Thomas

Hearne, Ben Jonson, Bishop White Kennet, Archbishop Tenison and Archbishop Ussher.

This catalogue will be less interesting to most users than the Logan catalogue. But it is a nobly prepared and notable supplemental volume to Logan, since it confirms the wide-ranging search for books made (in London principally) both by Logan and by the first Isaac Norris and his son.

New York City

ALLEN T. HAZEN

The Collected Works of James Rush. Edited by MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN. (Weston, Massachusetts: M & S Press, 1974. iv, 1,925 p. in 4 volumes. \$95.00.)

If by some happy anachronism his son James Rush (1786-1869), John B. Watson, B. F. Skinner, and other theoreticians of classical and neo-behaviorism confronted Dr. Benjamin Rush with the teachings of this positivistic science of conditioned responses, he would dismiss their views as neither true nor American. A psychology without mind and consciousness was nothing less than a contradiction in terms to the senior Rush, the father of American psychiatry, who stood in the ancient and medieval tradition of Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and their great post-Renaissance disciples. Without question, James would be sent back to the family library to read again his father's *Diseases of the Mind* (1812) and other writings in which consciousness was naturally affirmed as the subject matter of psychology—and Christian revelation was acknowledged as First Truth.

Dr. Melvin H. Bernstein does not take liberties of this kind in his judicious edition of the works of James Rush, which includes a description of manuscripts in the Library Company of Philadelphia. Nor does he intend any systematic comparison of the lives and psychologies of the two Philadelphia physician-reformers who sought to change the way nineteenth-century man perceived reality and turned it to the good. The father, seeing man as made in the image of God with his final destiny in beatitude, projected an American and world Christian republic in which men would live as brothers and conduct themselves according to Biblical norms. The son, intellectually alienated from his father and the theology of grace with which he had been raised and, apparently, in the end accepting only "Nature" as real, drew the necessary conclusions for himself and all other modern men in a naturalism which denied *a fortiori* his father's and Christendom's most cherished hope of transcendence.

James Rush's "idol" was Francis Bacon whom he began reading at his father's suggestion in 1811 while a medical student in London. By the time he sat down to write his *Brief Outline of an Analysis of the Human Intellect* (1865) however, Rush's positivism and materialism—and perhaps his deepening misanthropy, especially after the loss of his wife, Phoebe

Ann—had carried him beyond the empiricism of the Lord Chancellor whose “penetrating mind,” Rush now asserted in true Watsonian manner, had, unfortunately, “been driven by a Conformity with the belief of a spiritual entity in the brain . . .” (II, 332–333n). Indeed, his father would be scandalized to learn that, according to James’s naive (and crotchety) empiricism, he too was a metaphysician, for the *Brief Outline* alluded to his theories of the mind and was described in the subtitle as “intended to rectify the scholastic and vulgar perversions of the natural purpose, and method of thinking; by rejecting altogether the theoretic confusion, the unmeaning arrangement, and indefinite nomenclature of the metaphysician.”

The *Brief Outline* and his earlier *Philosophy of the Human Voice* (1827), both reprinted in this collection along with other pieces, were conceived by Rush as integral parts of a behavioral system designed to teach America and the world how to perceive and think according to “Nature.” Benjamin Rush had also wished to help mankind grasp the true and the real, but, belonging to an age fast coming to an end with his son’s generation, he still viewed nature as fallen and disordered by sin, needing redemption and sanctification through grace. James Rush, emphatically, did not see nature that way. In this, shall we say metaphysical, opposition lay much if not all of the philosophical differences between classical-medieval father and modernistic son.

There are historical as well as philosophical treasures in these assembled writings of James Rush; and Dr. Bernstein, for his part, offers thoughtful interpretations and commentaries which no deep student of the American mind in the period 1830 to 1870 can afford to neglect.

State University of New York, New Paltz

DONALD J. D’ELIA

Ballots for Freedom: Antislavery Politics in the United States, 1837–1860.

By RICHARD H. SEWELL. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
xvi, 379 p. Bibliography, index. \$15.95.)

Throughout much of its history the antislavery crusade was torn by conflict between those who thought slavery could be destroyed by moral suasion and those who believed that this goal could be achieved only through political action. The “Declaration of Sentiments” adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society at the time of its formation in 1833 endorsed the use of both moral and political means in the projected campaign against slavery. While most abolitionists believed that the federal Constitution protected slavery in the states where it was already established, they also held that there were a number of antislavery measures which might be taken by Congress—prohibition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in western territories not yet organized as states, refusal to admit any new slave states, and suppression of the interstate slave

trade, for example. Abolitionists bombarded Congress with petitions in behalf of such legislation in the mid-1830s.

Beginning in 1837 abolitionists proceeded to the interrogation of candidates for office regarding their views on slavery and to the endorsement of politicians with satisfactory stands on the issue. Disappointed with the results of such activity, they went on to the organization of their own political party in 1840. By that time the antislavery forces had split over the question of moral versus political action, with the Garrisonians opposing any further involvement by abolitionists in the American political process. (There were other causes of division—the dispute over the role of women in the movement and over the relation of the antislavery cause to other social reform objectives.) This excellent book is essentially a review of the history of the political-action wing of the antislavery movement as it was embodied in the Liberty Party, the Free Soil Party, and the Republican Party. The main plank in the platform of each in turn was the prohibition of slavery in western territories. While the broad outlines of this story are familiar, it is probable that Professor Sewell, who teaches at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), has told it with more detail and greater perceptiveness than earlier writers. This work is a natural outgrowth of his biography of John P. Hale, which appeared in 1965. Hale was a New Hampshire politician who advocated the antislavery cause in Congress for many years.

Sewell's approach, while quite sympathetic to the antislavery advocates, is extremely well balanced. He presents evidence to support both sides on such controversial questions as the extent of racism among abolitionists, the problem of providing equal rights for blacks in the North, and the relation between abolitionism and the Know-Nothing party. His evenhandedness extends to the point of having some good things to say about Stephen A. Douglas and "popular sovereignty." Buchanan, however, does not fare so well. The amount of attention given to Pennsylvania and such Pennsylvania abolitionists as Thomas Earle, F. Julius LeMoine, William D. ("Pig-Iron") Kelley, and Thaddeus Stevens in the movement is disappointing. The author does not seem to have used Edwin Bronner's study of Earle and the *History of Third Parties in Pennsylvania, 1840-1860* by Sister M. Theophane Geary.

Detailed footnotes are provided at the bottom of each page, but the bibliography includes only an unusually impressive list of manuscript collections cited. The book is very well written but does not contain as much human-interest material as one might hope for. Sketches of the appearance, personality, and character of the leading figures would have been welcome. It might also have been wise to take the story of antislavery politics down through the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment instead of stopping with the election of Lincoln.

The Lady and the President: The Letters of Dorothea Dix and Millard Fillmore. By CHARLES M. SNYDER. (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975. 400 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$9.50.)

One assumes that the titles of books are never lightly chosen. *The Lady and the President* titillates the imagination in the context of today's revelations of the sexual peccadillos of notable twentieth-century Chief Executives. Then comes the subtitle: *The Letters of Dorothea Dix and Millard Fillmore!* As the editor notes, "History has not been overly kind" to either Miss Dix or Fillmore. Miss Dix's achievements in humanitarian reform are no longer known to the general public; Fillmore has become the butt of collegiate humor as "the most forgettable President of the United States." She was a militant crusader who challenged the mores of her time and won notable victories from reluctant or hostile state legislatures in all parts of the Union. He was an unexceptional politician, a Vice-President who accidentally became President because of the death of Zachary Taylor but who was denied his party's nomination for a full term two years later. She was 48, he was 50, when they met. Dr. Charles M. Snyder, Emeritus Professor at the State University of New York, Oswego, presents the record of their subsequent relationship in recently discovered correspondence, 105 of Miss Dix's letters to Fillmore and 69 of his letters to her, written between 1850 and 1869. To this Dr. Snyder has added biographical sketches of both correspondents, the historical setting of each of the letters, and editorial comment based upon broad research in primary and secondary sources.

The lady had a program. Seeking Congressional action on a federal land grant to provide hospitals for the insane, she first met Fillmore, then Vice-President, in April, 1850. Further meetings revealed mutual interests, particularly in the brewing sectional conflict, and a friendship developed, which survived, largely through correspondence, for at least twenty years. In what their contemporaries might have called their "epistolary relationship," Miss Dix was the aggressor. Fillmore, the fulfilled husband and father, could never give her the emotional sustenance she so obviously craved, but he remained a supportive friend. Over the years, she regularly sent him political news gathered in her travels, analyzed his political prospects, and proposed remedial strategies; he continued to praise her work, foretold her reward in Heaven, and invited her to visit him and his family. According to Dr. Snyder, "She never found Fillmore's letters commonplace," but the reader probably often will.

Nonetheless, anyone interested in American life in the mid-nineteenth century will find value in *The Lady and the President*, for both protagonists occupied positions of leadership and their comments upon current events accordingly have significance. The book would have been improved by the omission of the redundant editorial summaries of the contents of the

letters which they precede. In general, however, the reader will find Dr. Snyder's presentation both helpful and interesting. The specialist will welcome the addition of this hitherto unpublicized story to the published record of American Victoriana.

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868-92. By LAWRENCE GROSSMAN. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1976. xi, 212 p. Bibliography, index. \$9.95.)

American attitudes concerning race and their effect upon the political system during the post-Civil War period have been the topic of numerous historical studies. These studies have generally dealt with the viewpoints of Republicans and southern Democrats. Lawrence Grossman examines the issue from a different perspective. He investigates the role of moderate northern Democrats in the development of the party's racial principles and concludes that this faction was responsible for the "new departure," which became the cornerstone of Democratic policy until the 1940s. This policy entailed complying with the Reconstruction amendments in order to return the party to national respectability and to permit white Democrats to regain their domination of the South while at the same time appealing for the votes of northern blacks who were discontented due to the lack of support received from Republicans.

Grossman supports his thesis by tracing the actions of moderate Democrats during the period 1868-1892. He examines the campaign rhetoric of the party press, the party platforms, and the correspondence of leading Democrats as well as the actions of Democrats in positions of power. He finds that the moderates viewed the Reconstruction amendments as a *fait accompli* and that they, therefore, turned from a reliance upon race baiting to other issues such as tariff reform. By the 1880s they had achieved their goal. The party again had national appeal and white Democrats again controlled southern politics.

While adopting a *laissez faire* attitude toward race relations in the South, the moderates actively courted northern blacks. Grossman's review of the civil rights legislation supported by Democrats, and their distribution of patronage to blacks in eastern and midwestern states during the 1880s, as well as the actions of President Cleveland during his first administration provides clear evidence of the new policy. Grossman examines the causes and results of the change in Democratic policy from both the black and white perspective.

In 1892 the "new departure" reached fruition. That year the Democrats achieved a national victory by exploiting issues such as the tariff while permitting the race issue to be handled on a regional basis. Although this

policy led the moderates to abdicate power to the southern wing of the party, their strategy was the key to unity which was required for success at the polls.

In this well-researched study, Grossman carefully examines the origin, development, and consequences of the "new departure" from the vantage point of blacks and Democratic politicians. His conclusions are supported by well-documented evidence. Only in dealing with the Democratic attempts to gain the support of blacks in the North does Grossman tread on thin ice. He claims that the Democratic support for civil rights bills in state legislatures provides adequate evidence of their sincere desire to attract black voters and that the lack of enforcement has little bearing on the issue. This gives white politicians far too much credit. Few Democrats or Republicans would have supported civil rights legislation had they believed that it would be enforced. This contention also assumes that blacks were naive. Although the majority of blacks realized that Republican support for them was tenuous, they were not about to abandon a party which provided them with some hope for another which could provide no protection for the black masses.

Grossman also contends that the moderates were motivated by more than a desire for votes in supporting civil rights actions. He believes that idealism was a major factor. Although he cites several examples of Democrats aiding blacks in cases where there was little or no political advantage to be gained, he fails to give paternalism enough credit for motivating these actions.

These criticisms do not negate the overall worth of Grossman's work, which is part of the *Blacks in the New World* series, edited by August Meier. It provides a valuable interpretation of the political status of blacks in the late nineteenth century. It is a needed addition to the literature dealing with the history of American race relations.

Freeport, N. Y.

EDWARD PRICE

Steel Titan: The Life of Charles M. Schwab. By ROBERT HESSEN. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. xvi, 350 p. Appendixes, illustrations, index. \$14.95.)

The appendixes to this life of Schwab could serve as prefaces. The first is concerned with autobiographical notes dictated by Schwab and housed in the Charles M. Schwab Memorial Library of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. The second, entitled "The Genealogy of an Historical Myth: The Armor Scandal of 1894," deals with the biases and inaccuracies to be found in previous accounts of some incidents in which Schwab was involved. Together they suggest some difficulties in doing research concerning the "steel titan." In effect, by the time he became president of the

Carnegie Steel Company at the age of thirty-five, Schwab had become a public figure. Journalists, steelmakers, financiers, politicians and others could and did report his activities and embellish them as they willed. They have left to us a voluminous and scattered record containing numerous fictions and half truths hiding under the guise of fact. Almost every bit of information concerning Schwab has to be evaluated for accuracy and hidden biases.

Robert Hessen, a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, has accomplished this monumental task and has produced a biography which is reliable albeit reserved. An example will help to show Hessen's restrained judgment in the face of incomplete and conflicting evidence. Schwab bought the Bethlehem Steel Company on two different occasions. The reasons why he bought it the first time can only be established by inference from the facts. Hessen canvasses the speculation in the press concerning Schwab's motives and concludes, "But no one guessed the truth. Schwab had purchased Bethlehem for himself; it was an independent investment." No reliable information contradicts this conclusion. Schwab's later activities permit this as inference. Yet the conclusion evades the issue of the investment possibilities which Schwab might have had in mind when buying Bethlehem Steel. Schwab might have been acting in the interests of the United States Steel Corporation, as some reporters at the time suggested; or, following another speculation, he might have been thinking of E. H. Harriman as an eventual buyer. In other words, some of the speculations in the press might have been true. The trouble is that none can be proved. And Hessen has sifted the available material rather thoroughly.

What sort of a person is the Schwab depicted by Hessen? Let not the reader expect a literary biography such as Catherine Drinker Bowen might have written. Hessen's interests lie more in the fields of economic and industrial history. Schwab headed the three largest steel making companies of his time: Carnegie Steel, U. S. Steel, and Bethlehem Steel. Hence for Hessen the life of Schwab is in great part also a story of the development of the country's steel industry, and the personality of Schwab is largely a composite of aspects of leadership within that industry. Schwab is compared and contrasted with other steel magnates, for example: "Schwab had shrewd business sense; he was bold; he was willing to undertake high-risk innovations; he was determined to surmount all obstacles. Judge Gary of U. S. Steel was of a different breed. Gary was willing to tolerate the loss of a portion of U. S. Steel's sales to smaller rivals such as Bethlehem" (p. 185). Hessen explains to us how Schwab arrived at decisions: "Over the years Schwab had stored in his mind a vast accumulation of factual knowledge and first-hand observations which he drew upon almost without effort. He operated almost entirely by an intuitive or inspirational method; he could reach conclusions and make decisions by a subconscious process of integration—one which his colleagues observed and admired, but which

he was unable to teach anyone else . . ." (p. 229). The title of the book, *Steel Titan*, should be understood against a background of changing conditions for leadership in the steel industry. "Steel titan" has an heroic ring when applied to Schwab's life during the years ending in 1918; it is ironic when used to describe his life after that. In the early stages of the growth of the American steel industry entrepreneurs such as Schwab could work wonders which, because of changing conditions, neither he nor his successors could later accomplish.

Hessen tells the story dramatically and convincingly, emphasizing Schwab's part in creating the integrated and self-perpetuating organization which made him and his kind superfluous. When in middle age Schwab relinquished control of the daily activities of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation to Eugene G. Grace, his creative service to the steel industry came to an end. The industry went its own way. Schwab lived to inherit the presidency of the American Iron and Steel Institute from an old friend and rival, Albert H. Gary. The depression of the 1930s found Schwab living in semiretirement, mostly at Immergrun, the estate at his boyhood home in Loretto, Pennsylvania. There he variously spent the remainder of his fortune in luxurious living and in benefactions, perhaps unwittingly keeping alive the public image he had spent most of his early life trying to foster.

The life story of Charles M. Schwab is a tragedy. Hessen's biography, while emphasizing the economic and industrial side, develops this theme unobtrusively but clearly.

Lehigh University

W. ROSS YATES

Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History. By HERBERT G. GUTMAN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976. xiv, 343, xvi p. Index. \$12.50.)

This volume is a collection of seven essays in "American working-class and social history," each of which has been previously published—sometimes in several forms. Taken in chronological, rather than serial, order, they form, at the very least, an interesting view of the development of their author, Professor Herbert G. Gutman, from simple historian to natural philosopher.

His first two essays, "Two Lockouts in Pennsylvania, 1873-1874" and "Trouble on the Railroads, 1873-1874," published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and *Labor History* in 1959 and 1961, are accounts of depression-time conflicts in the captive coal mines of the Cambria Iron Works of Johnstown and the independently-owned mines of Tioga County, and of the eastern railroad strikes that preceded and in some ways set the stage for the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. His third essay, prepared several years before its publication in 1968, is a primary

account of the activities and thinking—gleaned from his letters to the *United Mine Workers Journal*—of a rather remarkable black, Richard L. Davis, an elected leader of the United Mine Workers in the 1890s. The essay suggests that the common belief of historians that blacks either shunned or were shut out of the labor movement in the nineteenth century is incorrect.

His fourth essay, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement," was published in the *American Historical Review* in 1966. In it, he aims to reveal, what every knowledgeable Protestant has always known, that "Gilded Age Protestantism" was something more than "a conformist, 'culture-bound' Christianity that warmly embraced the rising industrialist, drained the aspiring rich of conscience and confused or pacified the poor" (pp. 82-83). Instead he suggests that "the Christian perfectionism of pre-Civil War evangelical and reform movements lingered on among many discontented post-bellum workers" (p. 85), and that some leaders of labor, the most prominent being George E. McNeill, constantly attempted a "Christian justification of trade unionism" (p. 90). He did not try, however, to analyze this attempt as an example of George Bernard Shaw's aphorism, which he quotes in another essay: "Delightful, medieval America, always in the most intimate personal confidence of the Almighty" (p. 65); nor did he try to gauge the effect of Christian preachments on workingmen. Did they, as did Richard L. Davis in another essay, respond with, "The day has come when we want a little money with our Jesus" (p. 132)?

Two more essays published in collections intending to illuminate long-term historical trends, are concerned with Paterson, New Jersey. Both are case studies, a form of sociological expression for which Professor Gutman shows high favor. The earlier essay, "Class, Status and Community Power," reveals that unlike the stereotype perpetrated by historians, industrialists in the Gilded Age did not find it easy to dominate the urban area in which their factories were located; they were, as in Paterson, successfully opposed by a combination of other economic and cultural interests, including workingmen. The later essay, "The Reality of the Rags-to-Riches Myth," reveals that, contrary to conclusions in some recent narrow historical studies, a large number of Paterson's industrialists began their vocational life as artisans, from which lowly position they rose to guide the fortunes of various manufacturing corporations in the locomotive and machinery industries. Attached to the first of these essays is a postscript which most creditably resurrects from historical oblivion Joseph McDonnell, editor of the *Labor Standard*, as one of the "interests" which opposed the growing autarchy of the industrialists.

The title essay, appropriately published last (1973), although given some previous forms, is rather confusing. Intellectually it is concerned with the reaction of cultures, without ever explaining them: native farm people, mostly New England females, did not take readily to factory discipline

between 1815 and 1843; a diversity of imprecise economic groups reacted the same way after 1843; and immigrant peasants repeated the reaction after 1893. Actually, such reactions seem normal. But Professor Gutman implies that they are particularly significant: they show the failure of the Protestant work ethic; they show a need to study more closely the inner soul of the working class and a need to study counter cultures and their effect on industrial society.

Unfortunately, his account creates almost insurmountable problems. He misconstrues the meaning of the term, Protestant work ethic. The ethic may be learned—as from childhood; it connotes knowledge of, love of, work for its own sake as well as for its results. It is part of self. It cannot be imposed, as Professor Gutman implies, in a factory. To suggest that there was a clash between older work habits, or lack of work habits, and the Protestant work ethic in the discipline of a factory is to create a false issue and a distortion.

His use of the term working class also creates problems. The major one develops from the simple fact that there never was a working class in either colonial or republican America. There never was any feeling of unity, commonality, community, or kinship among all those men and women who “worked with their hands,” except in the associations known as trade unions. Relationships there were job-oriented and usually fleeting. The “working class” as Professor Gutman reveals very thoroughly—his major contribution—has always been a vast diversity, even more diverse than his accounts; it has no collective soul to study.

His suggestion that the counterculture of outside groups in reaction to the industrial system out of which they make a living also needs study must strike a responsive chord. But his illustration of this counterculture—street disorder, street gangs, political disorders on election days, religious symbolism carried into the streets, food riots, tinhorning—is not only appalling but inappropriate. How do these activities, in most of which the Wasps participated at one time or other, reveal the counterculture? How do these public displays affect the industrial system? These are questions which Professor Gutman raises but does not answer.

Temple University

JOSEPH G. RAYBACK

Ezra Pound's Pennsylvania. By NOEL STOCK. (Toledo, Ohio: The Friends of the University of Toledo Libraries, 1976. 111 p. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

This little booklet is a by-product of a much more ambitious biography of Pound as a literary man by the same author. It contains the discarded details of daily life which, in Mr. Stock's opinion, were irrelevant to that task. Would that more biographers of the literary great could make this

distinction and save us from the depressing "definitive" lives of such writers as Faulkner, Hemingway, Lewis, O'Neill and many others of recent years, where the literary life is buried in a mass of irrelevant facts.

What is left is really the story of Homer Pound, Assayer at the Mint in Philadelphia, his wife Isabel, and their son Ra (Ray, Ezra) of Wyncote, Pa. It is the story of the childhood and youth of a quite normal middle-class American boy who spent these years with his parents in suburban Philadelphia, went to local schools, did only fairly well in classes and sports at the University of Pennsylvania and Hamilton College, and then started preparation to become a teacher of foreign languages. No one reading this account would guess that this Ezra Pound was the same person as the exotic poet in and speaker of treason on the Italian radio that we all remember. How small a place one's daily routine of early life may seem to have in the life of whatever genius may lurk within!

Perhaps the most rewarding lesson we may learn from this book is that of the understanding that these simple parents had of their sensitive boy as they guided his youth and then followed his later career with pride even though separated from him for many years in spirit and in distance. Their final year with him at Rapallo, Italy, was their reward, as Ezra's sentimental journey back to Wyncote after his release from St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D. C., was his.

University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT E. SPILLER

Street Names of Philadelphia. By ROBERT I. ALOTTA. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975. xii, 158 p. Illustrations, bibliography. \$6.95.)

The distinguished series on English place names provides a model for studies or indexes of the derivation of local nomenclature. To be sure, antiquity and linguistics create different problems for the writer on English towns and villages from those posed for the student of Philadelphia's streets; nevertheless, both offer an opportunity to explore an expression of a society's history and values and both warrant the same rigors of scholarship. Unfortunately, Robert I. Alotta's *Street Names of Philadelphia* does not meet the challenge.

A list of names does not necessarily lack interest or even amusement; however, without an analytical introduction, such a catalogue loses meaning as history. *Street Names of Philadelphia* has no introduction which attempts to explain the relationship between the naming of streets and a fancy for military heroes, political leaders, local flora, Pennsylvania counties, neighborhood landmarks, developers and their kin, simple utility and urban plan. The shifts of fashion in adopting such names provide a unique means for interpreting the values of a city's fathers, builders and

populace. Although such an introduction falls beyond Alotta's avowed design, his failure to seize this chance is the book's greatest deficiency.

In a catalogue of some one thousand names spanning almost 130 square miles and three hundred years, error and ambiguity invariably occur. Many of those which mar this work, however, do not stem from the oversight of an obscure manuscript. For example, the Supreme Executive Council could not have received a petition for a road in "the first few years of the eighteenth century" (p. 9); it was created by the state constitution of 1776. Although James A. Garfield lingered on for about eleven weeks after Guiteau shot him, assassination seems a more apt and accurate word than "terminal illness" (p. 22). William Penn was born in London, not Chester (p. 40). The description of Andrew G. Curtin (1815-1894) as "Active in Republican politics from the age of twenty-five, Curtin campaigned for candidates in whom he believed—for example, William Henry Harrison in 1840, Henry Clay in 1844, Zachary Taylor in 1848, Winfield Scott in 1852 (p. 48)" does not take into account the genealogy of the Republican Party or date of its founding, 1854. John Dickinson did not vote against independence (p. 53); he absented himself from the session.

Another set of problems rests on methodology. Frequently, Alotta assigns a date to the opening of a street on the basis of an affidavit which attests to the public use of a cartway for at least twenty-one years. This adequately documents official incorporation into the City's street system, but only careful research in deeds and surveys can reveal the actual opening or use of a street; not uncommonly over a century separates the two dates. Similarly, some of the author's sources, e.g., Joseph Jackson's *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia* and the several newspaper series on street names, will not bear the test of close scrutiny, for, as Alotta wrote of the latter, they "contain a potpourri of misinformation and erroneous data." He should receive full points, however, for his discovery of Thomas Nevell's eighteenth-century manuscript "Extracts from John Reed's Book and Measures of the most principal Streets, Squares &c. taken by the Regulators since the year 1782," a document which has languished without recognition in the City's Third Survey District office.

Despite the numerous flaws in *Street Names of Philadelphia*—the mistakes, the lack of an interpretive introduction, the absence of a structure save the alphabet, its concept possesses considerable potential. The failure to realize its full worth as a history of the City's development and values should evoke not carping but disappointment. Perhaps a publisher's rush for the 1976 market prohibited a better book. And certainly, its editors and acknowledged authorities could have served more fruitfully in overcoming the pitfalls. The result is a book by a lover of Philadelphia, a city in need of more etymologically pure amateurs, but a book which unfortunately must be written again.

Colonial Pennsylvania, A History. By JOSEPH E. ILLICK. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976. xix, 359 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Special studies of various aspects of Pennsylvania's colonial history are abundant, but a modern synthesis has been conspicuously lacking. Joseph Illick's volume, appearing as part of the *History of the American Colonies*, fills the gap admirably. Well qualified for the task by his own researches and impressive mastery of the secondary sources, Professor Illick's work is unlikely to be superseded for some time to come.

While it would be fruitless to attempt to identify the thesis of a book dealing with so complex and varied a subject as this one, it is worth noting that an organizing principle is provided by the author's focus on the contrasting ideas and lives of colonial Pennsylvania's two dominating figures: William Penn and Benjamin Franklin. This focus is justified, the author asserts, in that "the first fifty years of Pennsylvania's history were dominated by the personality and the plans of William Penn," while "the second half century . . . reflected the influence of Benjamin Franklin . . ." (p. xviii). It may be argued that this approach has an element of irony in that, by the author's own demonstration, the province failed to fulfill its founder's expectations as a "holy experiment." It may be possible to wonder, too, if eighteenth-century Pennsylvania was so much a reflection of Franklin's personality as we are asked to believe. The focus on Penn and Franklin, however, is not intrusive and does serve to point out the changing circumstances of Pennsylvania's colonial life.

Organized on chronological lines, the book begins with the earliest European settlements and ends, perhaps somewhat inconclusively, with the elections of 1779. Although major emphasis is placed on political developments, matters of religious, cultural, social, and economic concern are by no means neglected. The judicious, if brief, treatment accorded to these special topics is indicative of the author's thorough examination of the available secondary literature.

If there is a dominating theme of the book aside from its focus on Penn and Franklin, it may perhaps be found in that familiar fact of colonial political life, the Assembly's "quest for power." Although the proprietary nature of her government imparted a special, antiproprietary flavor to this struggle in Pennsylvania, Professor Illick's interpretation sustains the general conclusion that this quest for power was carried out by hard-headed politicians dealing with day-to-day issues of government rather than with abstract principles of legislative, as opposed to executive, power. Ironically, the antiproprietary focus of the Assembly's leaders led them to be caught napping by changes in British colonial policy after 1763, especially the Stamp Act. "Still thinking in terms of the political issues of 1764" (p. 252), they continued their out-dated pursuit of the goal of a

royal government for Pennsylvania. Only gradually did they catch up with the times; some, like Galloway, were never able to make the adjustment.

The book is long enough to be reasonably comprehensive in its coverage; and, on the whole, the author has done an admirable job of adjusting the conflicting claims of the various aspects of his story. Some readers, however, may question some of his judgments. The history of western Pennsylvania receives short shrift; Pittsburgh, for example, is mentioned only in passing. Military history buffs, too, may find cause to complain about the absence of any real consideration of Pennsylvania's participation in the various colonial wars, especially the French and Indian War. Illick's treatment is almost entirely confined to the impact of war on the Quaker conscience and the subsequent disputes over the appropriation of money for military purposes. These subjects, of course, are well handled in many specialized sources; but a general history of colonial Pennsylvania might well have been expected to have given them more than cursory consideration.

Complaint, too, seems to be in order in regard to the absence of footnotes, presumably by fiat of the publisher in search of a general reading public. True, the bibliography provides an admirable guide to secondary works; but specific references are always useful. On the other hand, the publisher must be given credit for the book's handsome appearance and useful illustrations. In summation, this is an important book, soundly based on the sources, judicious in its interpretations, and felicitous in its style. It should be purchased by every college library and may even create interest among the general reading public.

Westminster College

ARTHUR L. JENSEN