

BOOK REVIEWS

Pennsylvania: A Bicentennial History. By THOMAS C. COCHRAN. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978. xii, 207 p. Illustrations, index. \$8.95.)

Published as one of the volumes of the States and Nation Series under the auspices of the American Association for State and Local History, this short chronicle offers a survey and analysis of Pennsylvania's economic development from the days of William Penn to the recent present. The stated intent of the General Editor, James Morton Smith, was to select an author who would set forth "what seems significant about his or her state's history." The choice of Professor Cochran for this assignment guaranteed a not surprising emphasis on Pennsylvania's industrial and business growth.

Cochran's treatment is almost exclusively the industrial and financial developments within the state. He finds little room for politics and politicians, a product for which Pennsylvania has long been famous. There is no notice taken of the arts or cultural development and but incidental attention is paid to the effect of all this on the "lifestyle" of Pennsylvanians at large. Yet, in his Preface the author warns his readers. "There can be little question," Cochran writes, "that after the American Revolution Pennsylvania's most important contributions to the nation were in natural resources, business institutions, and manufacturing."

In the 191 pages of text Cochran makes a good case for this thesis. He argues persuasively that "Pennsylvania's part in the Revolution was geographic and economic." The colony produced Robert Morris and Haym Salomon among others to complement the contributions of Jefferson and the two Adamses. It was Pennsylvania's agricultural resources and munition manufacturing that largely sustained the Patriots' war effort. During the immediate post-Revolutionary years the presence of the Bank of North America (1780) and the Insurance Company of North America (1792) in Philadelphia helped make the city the new nation's financial center. While agricultural progress was slow, land speculation flourished and as the population spread to Western Pennsylvania the state took the lead in turnpike construction.

Home of the two Banks of the United States, Philadelphia continued as the nation's financial center through the first third of the nineteenth century. The wizardry of such Pennsylvanians as Albert Gallatin, Stephen Girard, and Nicholas Biddle played an important part in this development. But the proximity of lavish natural resources turned the business

community toward heavy industry in which Pennsylvania soon assumed leadership. Nevertheless, according to Cochran, "the Quakerlike frugality and caution that seems to have characterized Philadelphia transactions may have worked against producing brilliant entrepreneurs such as Rockefeller, Carnegie, or Morgan."

Geography made Pennsylvanians transportation minded. Both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were entrepôts, the one for the Atlantic Seaboard and the other for the Mississippi Valley. The economic welfare of the state called for connecting these two ports. Thus, in 1834, the state subsidized and operated Mainline Canal came into being for a brief period. Cochran notes that "perhaps never in history has such a great man-made transport system had so short a useful life." By the 1850s the extensive canal system in Pennsylvania had yielded supremacy to the railroads, which were generally the product of private enterprise.

Because of the near availability of food, labor, and raw materials, Eastern Pennsylvania became industrially self-sufficient during the first half of the nineteenth century. The increasing domestic demand for coal, iron, and timber made Philadelphia merchants less dependent on foreign trade than were their counterparts in Boston and New York. Cochran writes that "at midcentury Pennsylvania supplied half the iron ore mined in the United States," ore that was transported by the expanding railroads which were also the principal consumers of the finished product.

Cochran does not dwell on the impact of the Civil War on industrial production in Pennsylvania or elsewhere. He merely notes that Pennsylvania "was controlled for over fifty years by Republican political czars friendly to business." This opened the way for the achievements of such moguls as Tom Scott, Rockefeller, and Carnegie. The timely discovery of petroleum in commercially profitable amounts in the 1860s was an important factor. Finally, the ingenious technological advances fathered by Sir Henry Bessemer, William Kelly, Alexander L. Holley, and George Westinghouse helped insure by 1900 the industrial growth of the Pittsburgh area.

In a late chapter the author discusses the impact of this post-Civil War second industrial revolution on the life of Pennsylvania's people. He notes the availability of cheaper food which helped promote population growth accompanied by urban overcrowding. Strife characterized much of the industrial scene as the often exploited labor force contended with recurring economic depressions, stubborn employers, hostile courts, and public apathy. By 1910, Cochran concludes, the state had within its borders "extreme contrasts between old, rather unchanged German or Scotch-Irish farming areas, much wilderness . . . and heavily foreign, unplanned, and unregulated centers."

This is a valuable little book from the pen of a recognized authority in the field of American economic history. One of the best chapters is the final one in which Professor Cochran provides a perceptive comment on

the economic future of the state and nation as the twentieth century winds to a close. This reviewer finds little to criticize except for the somewhat inadequate index and an editorial slip where former Governor Earle is referred to as "George M. Earl."

Gettysburg College

ROBERT L. BLOOM

Seeds of Anger: Revolts in America, 1607-1771. By SALLY SMITH BOOTH. (New York: Hastings House, 1977. xiii, 301 p. Index. \$9.95.)

Historians of early America will find little that is new or valuable in this turgidly composed compendium of outbreaks of violence in the colonies. The author's object merely seems to have been to demonstrate that rebellions of all sorts were a persistent and characteristic trait of colonial society. She has achieved that goal, but the volume has little to offer readers who desire an imaginatively conceived treatment informed by the best recent scholarship.

Beginning with the well-known difficulties of early Virginia and tracing her way forward to the "rebellions" of the North and South Carolina Regulators, Sally Smith Booth provides a virtually complete catalogue of "revolts in America" during the colonial period. All of Great Britain's North American provinces receive due attention, and Booth's accounts of such phenomena as Bacon's, Leisler's, and Culpeper's Rebellions, the Maryland Revolution of 1689, and the Stono Rebellion (among others) are accurate and relatively free from serious factual error. Although the writing lacks grace and energy, the various narratives are clear enough and the stories the author tells are easy to follow. However, the book also suffers from two flaws that undercut its overall usefulness.

The first problem is that the research has a scattershot quality. Peter Wood's *Black Majority* appears in the bibliography while Edmund Morgan's essential *American Slavery, American Freedom* does not. Booth cites David Lovejoy's *The Glorious Revolution in America*, but inexplicably omits David S. Jordan's and Lois G. Carr's *Maryland's Revolution of Government*. Such important students of early American violence as Pauline Maier, Gary Nash, and Edward Countryman—to name only three—seem also to have escaped Smith's notice entirely. And in a volume on so broad and widely studied a topic, a bibliographic essay of less than six pages that is not supplemented by footnotes almost necessarily indicates that the text will ignore interpretive and analytical perspectives crucial to an understanding of the subject under discussion.

A second—and related—difficulty is that the book does not identify any interpretive framework at all. The rebellions are presented chronologically without so much as a transitional paragraph or two to bridge them. They stand entirely independent of one another, and if the reader is expected

to draw any conclusion from so eccentric a strategy, I must confess I do not know what it is. Booth does imply that the events she describes were related to the American Revolution, but she never indicates what the precise nature of that relationship was. I finished the book feeling that its author had given very little thought to the significance of violence in early American history, that she had assumed that the facts must somehow speak for themselves. They do not. In fact, despite the recent outpouring of studies of violence in the colonies, we still do not possess a precisely delineated and generally applicable interpretive apparatus for understanding the role of violence in early American society and politics. Unfortunately, scholars looking for such a tool of analysis will not find it in this volume.

In short, this book should have limited appeal since it provides neither unique factual material nor original insights on the subject of "revolts in America" before the Revolution. Professional scholars and serious general readers will be better advised to consult the numerous excellent specialized studies that abound in recently published books and articles.

Lawrence University

DOUGLAS GREENBERG

The Revolution is Now Begun: The Radical Committees of Philadelphia, 1765-1776. By RICHARD ALAN RYERSON. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977. xv, 305 p. Bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

In this thoroughly researched and well-written study, Professor Richard Ryerson presents not only a detailed account of events in Philadelphia just prior to the American Revolution, but also a thesis about the origins of the modern American political system. His close analysis of the committee system in Philadelphia leads him to conclude that the coming of revolution encouraged mass participation in politics which, in turn, radically transformed government in Pennsylvania during the years between 1765 and 1776.

Ryerson begins with a brief survey of colonial Pennsylvania. He contends that the political traditions of that colony—particularly its proprietary government and its Quaker-dominated Assembly—led to a peculiar insularity. Until 1774 Pennsylvanians could neither "look upon London in the same way as their counterparts in other colonies nor understand what these other colonial spokesmen were thinking or doing" (p. 24). Ryerson devotes the remainder of the book to explaining how and why Pennsylvania, and particularly Philadelphia, developed an alternative political system which, unlike the old regime, was able to face the challenge of armed resistance and independence.

In effect, according to Ryerson, Pennsylvania underwent two revolu-

tions. The first developed gradually between 1765 and 1774. The established, mercantile, Quaker leadership lost control of Philadelphia politics to a younger, more pluralistic, although still largely mercantile elite. This second elite was subsequently replaced, in the second revolution, by a new leadership "which drew from the entire upper and middle ranges of Philadelphia society but which finally centered on the aggressive, rising men of the middle classes" (p. 190).

Ryerson recognizes that to describe what happened in Philadelphia during these years is not to explain why or how, and he attempts to remedy that defect. He analyzes the membership of each new committee elected in Philadelphia, and convincingly documents the gradual inclusion of individuals from broader social, economic, and religious groupings. The mercantile elite was gradually forced to share power with public men from the mechanic, or middle classes. This recruitment of new leaders resulted "from the interplay between resistance strategists seeking certain kinds of leaders and aggressive young men seeking public honor, fame and power" (p. 206).

Ryerson uses John Dickinson's fall from power in 1776 to illustrate the relationship between the first and second revolutions in Pennsylvania. It was not that the colony deserted Dickinson and the moderates, but that this moderate leadership deserted the colony. When the Assembly refused to recognize the rising demand for resisting imperial authority, and insisted on defending the status quo, the result was "a more total and vindictive destruction of the Constitution of 1701 than either independence or a republican government required" (p. 246).

The author recognizes that "both the concept and the practice of elitist leadership survived in Revolutionary Pennsylvania" (p. 206), but he also insists that the impact of "newer mass-oriented elements" created the birth of modern American politics. It was in this establishment of majoritarian democracy by "thousands of committeemen and local leaders throughout the colonies" that Ryerson finds the American Revolution to have been a "seminal event in world history" (p. 256).

The book has some weaknesses. Ryerson generalizes from events in Philadelphia to the colony at large, and then even to the colonies as a whole—colonies which have previously been seen as quite different from Pennsylvania. The author's excellent analysis of committee membership according to age, social position, wealth, etc. adds significantly to our understanding of the movement to Revolution, but the precise details of the radicals rise to power remain elusive. The abundance of literary evidence, which is used to flesh out the activities of men like John Dickinson and Charles Thomson, is apparently unavailable to help us understand the doings of more radical leaders such as Timothy Matlack.

This book is, nonetheless, an important contribution. Ryerson has not only provided a definitive study of events in Philadelphia just prior to the Revolution, he has high lighted the extent of mass participation in the

movement which led to that event. In doing so he has weakened the argument that the American Revolution was the result of a small, if clever, radical minority. And throughout this work, Ryerson's prose is clear, his research impressive, and his organization excellent.

Florida State University

DAVID AMMERMAN

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784. Volume 3, October 1, 1781-January 10, 1782. E. JAMES FERGUSON. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977. xxxvi, 557 p. Illustrations, index. \$22.50.)

This is the third volume in a projected eleven or twelve-volume series designed to draw together the "Official Diary, correspondence, and other documents of Robert Morris during his administration as Superintendent of Finance and Agent of Marine, 1781-1784," for an earlier overall appraisal of which see volume XCVIII (July 1974) of this magazine. The series has been scaled down from sixteen volumes in response to economic pressures and experience gained in producing the first three. The editors' annotations have consequently become somewhat "leaner," but they have sacrificed nothing essential in streamlining their work and have thereby improved an already fine product. The *Morris Papers* now stand as one of the most valuable tools available to specialists concerned with American development during the crucial years of their coverage.

Although covering fewer than four months, Volume 3 makes clear how central Morris' activities were to the maintenance of America's credit and credibility during the winter of 1781-1782. During these months Americans experienced their greatest triumph of the war—the capture of Cornwallis' army at Yorktown—but they immediately found that military victory brought little relief from basic economic problems, and indeed heightened some because relaxation of military pressures produced a parallel relaxation in the states' support of the Continental Army and the Confederation government.

More ominously for the immediate future, the allies' success in the Chesapeake signalled a shift in French policy of extending financial credits to the United States, which is easily the most important issue Morris faced at this time (and significantly the French Minister La Luzerne replaces General Washington as Morris' most frequent correspondent). When La Luzerne announced on November 4 that Morris should expect no French aid beyond what had been pledged previously, the Superintendent launched a campaign to convince the French that their continued support was vital despite the allied victory at Yorktown and that it was

in France's interest to maintain U. S. credit abroad until Congress could obtain dependable revenues and the states could implement new fiscal measures. The issue dominates not only Morris' correspondence with French officials, but also his letters to Congress, to the various states (to whom he appealed for ratification of the impost amendment and for legislation making bills issued for supplies legal tender payable for taxes), and to the American commissioners abroad (whom he urged to renewed efforts to obtain foreign credits despite La Luzerne's assurances that French, Spanish, and Dutch operations against Britain had dried up credit sources that had once been available to the Americans).

The documents bearing upon this development have been annotated in exemplary fashion, and the letters to Morris written in French have been conveniently provided in translation in the notes. Other difficult issues thrust upon Morris at this time have also been rendered much more comprehensible in the editorial commentary accompanying key documents, even though the reader will find many routine letters printed in full that could have been summarized in brief notes without detracting from the value of the work, particularly in the case of several letters relating to the voyage of Morris' two sons to France. The issue is not that these should be excluded because they are primarily of a personal nature, for this volume nicely illustrates the subtle interplay of private and official interests in the conduct of public business, but rather that essentially repetitious documents of such personal nature readily lend themselves to subordination in footnotes. Still, one should not quibble over comparatively minor editorial details, because by and large the basic documentary record has been presented and annotated with distinction.

That documentary record also includes important items relating to the opening of the Bank of North America, operation of the U.S. lottery, applications of foreign officers, difficulties in supplying garrisons not under Washington's immediate control, contracts and agreements negotiated with various agents conducting business with the Superintendent, and newspaper attacks on his financial dealings. Morris' correspondence as Agent of Marine does not loom large in these pages, but it is not always readily apparent in what capacity he acted when composing some of the letters. Naval matters were never far from his immediate concern, and several essentially marine letters bear the designation "Office of Finance" rather than "Marine Office" or "Navy Office." This fact simply underscores the incredible complexity of Morris' work. It is a tribute to the editors that they have so successfully immersed themselves in that detail and have accordingly rendered many of the intricacies of his operations comprehensible.

The Federalists and the Origins of the U. S. Civil Service. By CARL E. PRINCE. (New York: New York University Press, 1977. xiii, 381 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$17.50.)

This book considers the place, role, and underlying structure of the Federalist Party in the American political experience. Carl Prince argues that the majority party of the 1790s, long considered "the party of the aristocracy," was very much a political movement that drew its lifeblood from the middle class of post-revolutionary America (p. ix)." He challenges the current stereotype of federalism and the patterns of individual and group motivation as being rooted in a crisis over issues and ideas, and shows that Presidents George Washington and John Adams remained in power for twelve years because they successfully built a party organization around a nucleus of placemen. In building a party cadre that coincided extensively with federal officeholders, the Federalists successfully drew upon the image of the party of the American Revolution, Federal Constitution, and the "people."

Chapters two through eight constitute the heart of the study. The author investigates the four major components of the first Civil Service: Customs, Internal Revenue, Post Office Department and Federal Judiciary. Party operations revolved around the local Customs Service and its officials "formed the backbone of the Federalist establishment in the harbor towns (p. 22)." Yet, the upper echelons of the Internal Revenue Service worked even more effectively in spreading the Federalist Party message in the sixteen states. Prince details, for example, how political interference from supervisors in Western Pennsylvania between 1792 and 1794 contributed to the Whiskey Rebellion. But these officials, being "well-heeled gentry," fit the older stereotype. The larger group of lower Internal Revenue Service officials, consisting of collectors and auxiliary officers, were middling townsmen or yeomen. The Post Office Department, which was indeed a "natural shelter for party men," was the most politicized and the fastest growing service. Postmasters tended to be middle-class Federalists from politically related occupations. According to Prince, the postal service "provides the clearest insight into the sources of Federalist followings and leadership within the middling elements of small town and rural America" (p. 207). From top to bottom the federal judiciary appointees more closely fit the traditional view of Federalists in terms of wealth and status; but, Prince argues that as a group they were as politically committed and shared with the postmasters "a common perception of political responsibilities" (p. 240). So, initially, rather than being an independent and impartial third branch of government, the judiciary was "compromised."

In examining the policies and attitudes of key figures in the Federalist administrations, Carl Prince offers some new insights and conclusions. For example, President Washington did not always rise above political combat

or delegate appointive authority strictly to Alexander Hamilton. Washington also approved the systematic exclusion of Antifederalists from office and accepted a political standard in making appointments. "By the time of John Adams' presidency," contends Prince, "the politicization of the federal service was an accomplished fact" (p. 10). Although biographers of John Adams have long characterized the second President as openly partisan, Prince breaks new ground in his treatment of Adams' appointments of land tax commissioners in 1798. As is quantitatively presented in Tables 1-3, overall appointments usually went to persons holding Revolutionary War credentials and early Federalist leanings.

This study is based on the successful use of many well-known secondary works and the little-used series of Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administrations of Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Madison deposited at the Library of Congress and National Archives. The author has woven together a vast amount of material and utilized new historical techniques such as career-line analysis, collective biography, and quantitative analysis. He correctly asserts that the period 1789-1815 cannot be understood as a separate historical entity.

Prince's well-organized account is adequately researched and written. It is a worthy contribution to the early political and administrative history of the United States, superceding the works of Leonard White, Carl Fish, Sidney Aronson and James Kirby Martin. Now, it is necessary for scholars to follow the lead of this instructive model. We need detailed state studies on patronage, using neglected voluminous state appointment papers such as those deposited at the Pennsylvania State Archives.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

ROLAND M. BAUMANN

Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821. By
ROBERT V. REMINI. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1977.
xx, 502 p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$15.00.)

This is the first volume of a projected two-volume biography by an eminent student of Jackson. Robert V. Remini brings to this task not only a lifetime of work in this field, but also insights gleaned from new documentary material collected by the Andrew Jackson Papers Project, which has been placed at his disposal, and also European sources, particularly from Spanish archives. The European perspective, Remini concludes, made him appreciate more fully that Jackson "more than any other man of the nineteenth century, . . . determined the course of American expansion." While some may quibble with this statement, Remini presents an admirable argument to support this thesis. Jackson is presented here as a man with a clear purpose who was fortunate enough to be placed in positions to carry out his will. His implacable hatred of the British and

the Spanish dons found release in the Battle of New Orleans and the seizure of Florida, and while Remini is careful to point out that Jackson did not hate Indians, he was nevertheless responsible for dispossessing them of vast areas of the South, and he began the process of removal which later became the hallmark of his presidential policy.

Remini believes that the impressive Jacksonian scholarship since the two-volume Pulitzer prize-winning biography by Marquis James warrants a new major biography. His criticism in his preface of the "one-dimensional Jackson" that emerged from James's biography invites comparison, and Remini obviously is matching his biography against James's. For example, James is cited only twelve times while the older James Parton biography is cited no less than one hundred and fifty times. Remini's work is undeniably a sounder piece of scholarship, but it does not surpass the narrative vigor of James's. Remini's style is, in fact, noticeably restrained. For example, he presents in a very low-key manner new information relating to Jackson's marriage that brings into serious question the veracity of the account presented by John Overton in 1827, which might have been handled by others more sensationally. Likewise, with due deference to the sensitivity of the times, references to Indians as "savages" are always qualified by quotation marks. On the other hand, Remini perhaps claims too much for Jackson's victory at New Orleans. It is doubtful that the British would have seriously attempted to repudiate the Louisiana Purchase if they had won, except as a bargaining ploy. Also, Remini does not seem to appreciate that the Army Reduction Act of 1821 was, at the very least, an effort to reduce Jackson in rank and hopefully to drive him from the service, which it did.

Remini repeatedly falls back on the phrase "indomitable will" to explain Jackson's mastery of men and events. Occasionally he calls it luck. How else can it be explained how an untutored, backwoods lawyer-soldier-politician emerged to dominate this era? Apparently the nature of Jackson's charisma still defies description or analysis. Remini wisely eschews the psychohistorical analysis of some recent historians, although he does accept some of the insights of Michael Rogin. Nevertheless, Remini's "indomitable will" is not much of an improvement over the nature-providence-will explanation of John William Ward. Despite this failing, however, this is an excellent book and the fruition of Remini's long labors in Jacksonian history.

Memphis State University

C. EDWARD SKEEN

George Mifflin Dallas, Jacksonian Patrician. By JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK.
(University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press,
1977. xii, 233 p. Index. \$12.75.)

The name of George Mifflin Dallas, United States Senator, Vice-President, and Minister (Ambassador) to Russia and England appears occa-

sionally in monographs on diplomacy and politics in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and in histories of Pennsylvania, but Belohlavek's study is the first book-length biography of him. In the past historians have been handicapped by the limited number of personal papers, but the fortuitous acquisition of additional correspondence and diaries by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania permits a more intimate examination of his life.

Gifted with a keen intellect, Dallas was born to the purple (Philadelphia style). Son of Alexander J. Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury between 1814-1816, and credited with the chartering of the Second Bank of the United States and restoring the federal treasury after the War of 1812, George received a liberal education, much of it from association with his father. He grew up to become handsome, socially attractive, and energetic, with a training in law and a flare for politics. Marriage ties in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh enhanced his prospects for the latter.

Opportunity knocked early. In 1812, after leaving Princeton, he received a commission as major in a militia company, but a few months later he was en route to Russia on a diplomatic mission as private secretary of Albert Gallatin. Home again, he served as solicitor of the second Bank of the United States and deputy attorney general for Philadelphia while making a place for himself in the councils of the Democratic Republican Party. As one of the leaders of the Family faction he promoted Calhoun for the presidency, but switched to Jackson in time to ride the groundswell in his favor.

In 1831, when thirty-nine, he was elected to a vacancy in the United States Senate, and at its termination accepted Jackson's appointment as Minister to Russia. In 1844 he was elected Vice-President, and with Polk's refusal to seek re-election appeared to be a possible choice for the presidential nomination in 1848.

Yet his political path had seldom been smooth, and he was sidetracked by matters beyond his control. In Federalist-Whig Philadelphia his party was a consistent loser and, aside from the Pittsburgh area, he lacked a sizeable following. Elsewhere, his perennial rival, James Buchanan, repeatedly outmaneuvered him. In the Senate in response to the instructions of the Pennsylvania legislature and the wishes of the directors of the Bank of the United States he introduced the bill for its recharter at the moment Jackson was preparing to destroy it. He eventually swallowed his pride and accepted the party line. Fourteen years later, when Vice-President, he had to break a tie on the controversial Walker Tariff. He voted affirmatively, explaining that his responsibility was to the national party rather than his state. It was courageous, but it foreclosed the possibility of becoming the favorite son in Pennsylvania in 1848, where protection had become a watchword.

However, he survived these difficulties to serve as Minister to the Court of St. James under both Pierce and Buchanan; the latter either overlooking past disagreements, or as Belohlavek speculates, preferring to have him in

England than at home. Whatever the reason, Dallas demonstrated that he was an able diplomat during misunderstandings relating to colonialism and the suppression of the African slave trade on the high seas.

Belohlavek's treatment of Dallas is generally even-handed, and his research is thorough. He appears to overemphasize Dallas' alternating fits of depression and boredom during periods of absence from his family—moods, which Dallas mentioned frequently in his letters to his wife. Similarly, a reference to Dallas as "an outcast socially and politically" in Philadelphia after he had become an opponent of the rechartering of the Bank of the United States by Pennsylvania appears theatrical. The same might be said with regard to his reference to the German element as "isolated, uneducated and often apathetic."

But these are minor matters, and do not detract from Belohlavek's insights into the Jacksonian era. The book fills a need in Pennsylvania history and calls a deserved attention to an almost forgotten national figure as well.

State University of New York, Oswego

CHARLES M. SNYDER

A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840-1860. By DREW GILPIN FAUST. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. xiv, 189 p. Index. \$11.00.)

In the American South, perhaps contrary to what Carl Bridenbaugh found in his *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South*, there have been almost from the first planting formal and (more frequently) informal groups of intellectuals who exercised some sort of love-hate relationship to their region, groups which simultaneously both attacked and defended the way of life in the area and felt that they must keep alive or strengthen if they could some sort of existence for the mind. Such a group existed at Jamestown in the 1620s in Wyatt-Sandys-Davison-Erondelle, in Annapolis in the 1740-1755 period in Hamilton-Green-Bacon, and a little later in Charleston in the age of the Pinckneys. In the national period the William Wirt circle in Richmond and the Legaré-Elliott-Crafts group in Low-Country South Carolina continued the tradition. And there were others.

In *A Sacred Circle* Drew Gilpin Faust discusses, and indeed may have in some sense discovered, a later group of five southerners who continued the tradition. These men even more than their predecessors were concerned with the social and political issues of their time as well as with consciously developing at least a small group of intellectuals who might be nourished through exposure to each other. Professor Faust believes that in such a study as this the cultural, social, and psychological phenomenon which is the southern mind "best can be explicated by analyzing the interaction and interdependence of these factors."

He has found that two South Carolinians, two Virginians, and a Britisher domesticated in the region developed an active relationship through meetings, correspondence, and formal publications in books and journals each read. It is a fascinating group. William Gilmore Simms, versatile and learned man of letters as well as planter, is perhaps the best known. His friend, the politician and writer James Henry Hammond, sometime Governor of South Carolina, for the literary student may be best remembered through his exchange of letters (published in the 1950s) with Simms. The agricultural historian and others will remember Edmund Ruffin, Virginia editor of such journals as the *Farmers' Register* and long before the Civil War a militant defender and advocate of the southern system and notable as the man who fired the first cannon against Fort Sumter. His book on manures is a classic recently reprinted in the John Harvard Library series. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, lawyer and fairly prolific writer who lived and taught in Williamsburg (as well as Missouri), was a novelist who in 1836 in *The Partisan Leader* was predicting the Civil War. The fifth man is in many respects the most interesting. George Frederick Holmes, born in British Guiana of British parents, educated in the University of Durham, professor at Richmond College and William and Mary and first president (chancellor?) of the University of Mississippi, spent forty years (1857-1897) of his long life as professor at the University of Virginia, pouring out essays and books and stimulating many generations of students. This reviewer recalls that in his seventies his grandfather was still enthusiastic about what he had learned and how he had learned it from Holmes at Charlottesville a year after the Civil War.

The story of this group is curious but certainly not without precedent. Their letters indicate that they were "lonely and unappreciated," and that one of their lifelong tasks was to make literate, or rather make literarily sophisticated, their southern fellow countrymen. They inveighed against intellectual apathy, blundering and primitive methods of farming, and northern abolitionists, among much else. Tucker in these two decades worked his way from the fairly liberal position of his famous father, St. George Tucker, to the ultra-conservatism of his half-brother, Randolph of Roanoke. Hammond, perhaps personally the least attractive figure of the group, had a broad range of interests including education, finance, moral philosophy, religion, and ethnology. Simms developed his own rationale for slavery, accompanied by a strong southern nationalism. Ruffin was perhaps the first of the group to become an outright southern nationalist, his convictions thereto resting on his beliefs about agriculture vs. urban capitalism and about the moral rightness of slavery. Holmes, because of his background, naturally the most detached as observer of institutions and society, at the end of the 1840s believed that the slavery controversy was leading to the "creation of a genuine Southern literature," not only about slavery per se. His religious philosophy also evolved from rational liberalism to orthodox Trinitarianism based on "faith."

Before 1860 there were changes of attitude among the group, and all along they had differed in what they considered minor principles. But this study illustrates graphically and chronologically the change in climate and thrust and principle of the southern mind between the time of the Jefferson-Madison late eighteenth-century group and of the later more conservative thinkers who led to the Civil War, the latter undoubtedly produced in part by economic decline and a rationalized belief that a slave-based society could be a righteous one. Bridging the gap between Jefferson and Ruffin, though not here really considered, were the moderately conservative Jeffersonian William Wirt and the Old Republicans John Taylor of Caroline and John Randolph of Roanoke.

Faust has produced a stimulating little book about the nature of the southern mind which considers much that such historians as W. J. Cash and Clement Eaton have not. Perhaps the "Dilemma" of the title is not really here, any more than it is for the intellectual in other areas and periods of American life. Perhaps of necessity it leaves out much—as the relation of these minds and characters to John Pendleton Kennedy, John R. Thompson, George Tucker, Calhoun, Paul Hayne and Henry Timrod. Faust feels that his circle represents a southern reform impulse which somewhat paradoxically led to strong proslavery argument. He sees the situation of these men as a need both to justify and to reform. The Southern Agrarians of 1929 felt the same need.

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania. By GEORGE P. DONEHOO. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1977. Reprint edition of the 1928 printing. xiv, 290 p. Bibliography. \$12.50.)

The present publication is a photo-offset reproduction of *A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania with Numerous Historical Notes and References*, copyright 1928. The author, the Rev. George P. Donehoo, D.D. (1862–1934), a Presbyterian clergyman and onetime State Librarian, was the author of several historical works, including a four-volume history of Pennsylvania, superseded now by later and more scholarly studies. He had a particular interest in the Indians, and his lecture, "Indians of the Past and of the Present," delivered in 1922 to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (of which he was a member), was published in its *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

His most useful publication, ultimately, was a product of this same interest. Published originally by the Telegraph Press, Harrisburg, *Indian Villages and Place Names* appeared in two formats, a limited edition autographed by the author and an otherwise identical unlimited printing. The

present reprint reproduces copy No. 96 of the autographed version. In compiling this reference tool, Donehoo consulted most of the published sources and secondary works then available; and each of the alphabetically arranged entries includes the origin or etymology of the name, geographical and historical notes, and a list of references. The work is unique: John Heckewelder's 1834 compilation was limited to Delaware Indian names and etymologies; A. Howry Espinshade's *Pennsylvania Place Names* (1925) is a more inclusive, less informative survey. No one has yet been tempted or persuaded to update Donehoo's work.

Uniqueness and the inclusive survey of sources justify the present reprint, and libraries and interested individuals will welcome the renewed availability. Obviously the work is dated, and allowance must be made for this. The compiler could not fully compensate, moreover, even in his own day, for the uneven quality of the secondary works he cited; and more source material and much scholarly work has become available since. Possibly the greatest weakness in the reprint is its unavoidable and unintended perpetuation of outdated scholarship, such as, for example, Heckewelder's unfortunate but widely known confusion between Indian clan and tribal names, illustrated in the MUNCY entry (p. 121), where the Munsee tribe is equated with the Wolf clan of the Delawares.

Donehoo was aware that his book was not definitive; and the 1928 printing included blank unnumbered pages for the user's own additional notes. These pages are omitted from the 1977 reprint, but the reminder is still in order, that this book is not an infallible and final authority. It can serve, however, as an interesting and useful aid, and Mr. S. Hamill Horne's interest in having it reprinted has not been misplaced.

Mechanicsburg, Pa.

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

Crusade in the City: Revivalism in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia. By MARION L. BELL. (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1977. 299 p. Maps, tables, index. \$15.00.)

Most studies of revivalism place the major revivalists at the center and follow them from place to place. This study focuses on the City of Philadelphia and watches the revivalists come and go over the half century from 1828 to 1876. Bell's purpose is not only to measure "how revivalism affected America's industrializing cities" but how "the city shaped revivalism." Wedding the technique of urban social history to that of religious history, the study uses street maps, church membership tables, and a great deal of detail about the growth of the city and its institutions to confirm what more general studies of revivalism have noted: over the years "Revivals became orderly, businesslike, an extension of the values of an industrializing society where success was the golden grail" (p. 19).

It does not, however, reveal anything sufficiently peculiar to Philadelphia in this period to provide a new angle of vision.

The book accurately notes that as the city became more industrialized the rich and middle class moved to the suburbs, the downtown churches lost membership and financial support, and the revivalist became an efficiency expert trying to "reach the masses" and bring native-born rural immigrants into the churches. It portrays the tensions between the revival-goers (who identified Americanism with Evangelicalism) and the Catholics, Jews, and Unitarians. It shows how employers used revivals to keep their clerks imbued with the Protestant ethic and the sense of nostalgia, excitement, and purpose which revival meetings temporarily gave to the otherwise drab and frustrating lives of those of common evangelical background.

Bell reaffirms that the churches did not reap any benefits in the long run from the revivals, that the revivalists (despite increasingly elaborate techniques) did not reach "the masses" (if by that is meant the foreign-born immigrant or working class), and that tensions between various social and economic classes intensified rather than decreased over the century despite endless sermons and hymns preaching love, brotherhood, and the imminence of the millennium. This "case study" approach has the advantage of demonstrating these facts convincingly; Bell keeps her focus fixed and maintains a cool, objective eye upon the exaggerated claims of those who touted mass revivalism as the solution to the cities' problems. She provides an excellent account of the close relationship between the YMCA movement and revivalism as well as a perceptive group-portrait of the rising evangelical merchants (John Wanamaker, George H. Stuart, Alexander Whilldin, Thomas Potter *et al.*) who fervently supported every new wave of revivalism. Perhaps the most useful aspect of the book is its demonstration of how America's middle-class evangelical majority, caught in the web of an individualistic ideology, persisted so blithely in ignoring the destruction of "community" as the cities grew in complexity, anonymity, and in ethnic and class divisiveness—as if preaching would make it so.

Bell throws new light on Charles G. Finney's revivals in Philadelphia in 1828–1829, noting that he reached primarily "craftsmen and the uneducated working class" and (like most evangelists) caused serious disension in the churches. Her treatment of the great "Prayer Meeting Revival" of 1858 seriously questions Timothy L. Smith's view that the roots of the Social Gospel movement can be found in this "awakening." She provides the best evidence we have yet had of D. L. Moody's anti-semitism and, like Moody's most able biographer, James K. Findlay, she notes that Moody concluded that his highly organized, businesslike revivals were failures. In Philadelphia Moody tried to keep devout churchgoers from returning night after night, demanding in vain that they stay home to leave seats for the unchurched.

In one respect the focus on Philadelphia may warp Bell's perspective,

for nineteenth-century evangelicalism in its broader thrust (apart from soul-winning revivalism) did certainly have a close relationship to the reform spirit of the pre-Civil War era. I am not convinced that there is, as she says, "a straight line" from Finney's optimistic post-millennialism to Moody's pessimistic premillennialism. Something drastic happened to American evangelicalism after 1865. Nonetheless, by confirming in a very specific, well-documented manner the inconsistencies in revivalistic preaching and the gap between goals, means, and ends in urban mass evangelism, Bell's work is a significant contribution to the study of American religious history.

Brown University

WILLIAM G. McLOUGHLIN

Eadweard Muybridge. The Father of the Motion Picture. By GORDON HENDRICKS. (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1975. xvi, 271 p. Illustrations, index. \$25.00.)

Many of us associate the name Muybridge vaguely with the beginning of photography of motion. A few Philadelphians are aware that those pioneering photographs of figures walking, running, climbing, were a remarkable episode in the history of the University of Pennsylvania. The shadowy figure of the photographer is here brought to life in exact and carefully documented detail by Gordon Hendricks.

It is an extraordinary story. Born in England as Edward James Muggeridge. Eadweard Muybridge (a name he evolved for himself) appeared in San Francisco about 1862 as a book publisher's agent. He drifted into photography in the late 1860s when the camera was still a primitive apparatus but photography was rapidly expanding in popularity. Muybridge made a name for himself quickly, partly because he was a good photographer, partly because he had a gift for making himself a celebrity. He married a silly girl half his age who, during her husband's long absences, was seduced by an adventurer. The husband's discovery of the affair, his murder of his wife's lover, his trial and acquittal by reason of temporary insanity, was the first of the scandals that marked his career.

Leland Stanford, president of the Central Pacific Railroad and Governor of California, was owner of a famous trotting horse, "Occident," and wished a portrait of the horse trotting at full speed. Dissatisfied with the pictures he had seen of horses in motion, he turned to the skillful and technically imaginative photographer to attempt what was thought an impossible feat, a photograph of the horse moving at full speed. After long and expensive experiments, Muybridge produced in 1877 the photographs that brought about a revolution in our concept and fascinated artists as diverse as Meissonier, Degas, Thomas Eakins and Frederic Remington. In May 1881, he published a celebrated album of photographs, *The Atti-*

tudes of Animals in Motion, and began a career of lecturing to scientific and artistic audiences.

Something went wrong between Stanford and Muybridge. A friend of Stanford, Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, began to prepare a book to be called *The Horse in Motion*, based on Muybridge's photographs. In London, the Royal Society was about to publish a monograph by Muybridge and subsidize further experiments, when Stillman's book appeared without any mention of Muybridge. Muybridge was taken to be an impostor, claiming credit for work he had not done.

He survived this scandal as he had survived the murder of his wife's lover. Returning to America, he gained the support of a group of distinguished Philadelphians, including Provost Pepper and Fairman Rogers, for a new series of experiments in the instantaneous photography of motion, carried out 1883 to 1886 in a special building on the grounds of the University Hospital. A multivolume work of 781 plates, a smaller selection of 100, a narrative volume entitled *Animal Locomotion, The Muybridge Work at the University of Pennsylvania* appeared in 1886. For the rest of his life Muybridge reverted to his early career as a book agent, lecturing and endeavoring to sell his plates and pay back the money put up by his backers.

Dr. Francis X. Dercum, a neurologist and later president of the American Philosophical Society, author of an essay in *Animal Locomotion*, worked with Muybridge on artificially produced abnormal movements of the human body. Dercum found him "a most attractive personality." Another scientist, the physiologist Edward T. Reichert, called him "the most eccentric man I ever knew personally . . . a strange character, but withal very likeable when you know him well." He set in motion the technical development that led to the motion picture and changed the world.

Philadelphia, Pa.

E. P. RICHARDSON

End of the Line: Alexander J. Cassatt and the Pennsylvania Railroad. By PATRICIA T. DAVIS. (New York: Neale Watson Academic Publications, 1978. 208 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

As Mrs. Davis explains in her Bibliographical Note, which scholars should consult in advance of reading the book, material is not presently available for a history of the Pennsylvania Railroad and her reason for writing a biography of Cassatt was the large collection of family letters then in the possession of his granddaughter the late Mrs. John B. Thayer. Mrs. Davis also had access to Cassatt's letter books while president, 1899-1906, and to an unfiled mass of in-letters. While Mrs. Davis is a skilled professional writer, she specifically denies being a railroad historian,

For these reasons the book is important as a portrait of how a somewhat unusual railroad millionaire and his family lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rather than as a description of the problems of the eastern trunklines. Some of the material on the latter is erroneous, but this is not important to the main theme of the book.

Practically every ambitious administrator of the period 1850 to 1890 enriched himself from investment, often with no cash outlay, in companies that his railroad could benefit. Until around 1885 such involvement on both sides of railroad purchasing or rate-making was not regarded within the trade as unethical. The creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887, however, gave added force to a movement against selling to your own road that had already been initiated by scrupulous presidents such as Charles E. Perkins of the Burlington.

Judging by what we know of the Carnegies, Scott, and Thompson, no other road offered better opportunities for making such roadside investments than the Pennsylvania. At any rate after twenty-one years in the company, as a protégé of Scott and Thompson, Cassatt was a rich man. So rich, that when the Board of Directors made the conservative George B. Roberts, rather than the forty-two-year-old Cassatt president, he left the company and promoted a railroad of his own. The route down the Delmarva Peninsula from south of Wilmington to Cape Charles, and then by car ferry across the bay to Norfolk, was successful in tapping a large volume of southern traffic and was ultimately purchased by the Pennsylvania.

Cassatt came from a family that, while not rich, were able to enjoy cultivated leisure. He was interested in horse breeding and racing, yachting and travel. Educated in Europe, as was his famous sister Mary Cassatt, he visited the Continent frequently and for long periods. After his early retirement he took to the life of absentee planner and financier as readily as Andrew Carnegie, but whereas the latter mixed much business with pleasure, Cassatt seems to have been more devoted to his hobbies and his family. The book is good family history of the very rich and of a new, and short-lived, world of luxurious ocean liners and yachts, private railroad cars, summer resorts, grand hotels and country estates. The well-brought-up rich did not try to be conspicuous, but, as compared with the more private periods before and after, their new style of life made them highly visible, and their doings made good newspaper copy.

Cassatt returned to the Pennsylvania as president in 1899. His seven-year administration was a period of major expansion, justifiable on the basis of a presumed continuation of past rates of growth in traffic. Besides a number of small additions to the system, the company tunneled the North and East Rivers, built a monumental terminal in New York, and electrified this part of the line. Inflation during World War I eased the burden of debt incurred for these expenditures, but acquisition of the Long Island Railroad, chiefly dependent on money-losing commuter traffic, never ceased to plague the Pennsylvania. Truly Cassatt, while

efficient, honest and vigorous, reached the summit of grandeur for the Pennsylvania, and went beyond, the "end of the line" of profitable expansion.

*Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation,
University of Delaware*

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

Work Without Salvation: America's Intellectuals and Industrial Alienation, 1880-1910. By JAMES B. GILBERT. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. xv, 240 p. Index. \$14.50.)

Ever since the founder of the First International penned his troubled sentences about the tendency of capitalism to separate human beings from the mental and material products of their labor, social scientists and historians have found it necessary to test their own formulations regarding work and its meaning against those of Karl Marx. In the case of Weber and Tawney, such reconsiderations revised the nature of the discussion and the language of the debate. James B. Gilbert's purpose in *Work Without Salvation* is more modest. A Professor of History at the University of Maryland and the author of an earlier study of industrialization and cultural expression, Gilbert aims to analyze the writings of social scientists, philosophers, and educators in the urban northeast who discussed the implications of the changing character of work for American society, culture, and personality.

In the first part of the book Gilbert presents what he sees as the definition of the problem of "industrial alienation" (he uses the phrase in a rather loose fashion as "the effects of modern work") as expressed in the writings of the period. The framework of his argument is the thesis that the influx of immigrants into burgeoning industrial cities provoked a widespread fear that symptoms of social disorder, such as vagabondage, signalled the breakdown of internalized self-control and suggested the need for scientific social engineering. Social scientific theorizing about neurasthenia and "deviant intelligence," as well as more popular speculation about the psychology and sociology of sport, is presented as evidence of a widespread sense that an earlier pre-industrial (Gilbert avoids the term "pre-capitalist") fit between work, moral character, and human satisfaction had been broken and needed to be replaced by a new and carefully constructed social bond.

Gilbert's description of what he considers attempts by reformers to create institutional imperatives to take the place of the ruptured work ethic as a regulator of social relations occupies the second part of the book. Drawing on the reform by imposition thesis of revisionist social and educational historians such as David Rothman and Michael B. Katz, Gilbert fits the arts and crafts movement, manual training and vocational education, new techniques of public schooling, and rehabilitation programs

of "asylums" into a common interpretive mold: they represent to him "a focus on the environment of work and an effort to recreate there the conditions that had once induced a healthy relationship between labor and moral character."

In the last part of the book, entitled "A New Definition of Work and Human Personality," Gilbert describes those theorists and programs which he regards as a turn away from reforms to recover pre-industrial internal personal discipline and shared cultural predispositions. According to his argument, the work of psychologists such as Hugo Munsterberg, Edward Thorndike, and Lewis Terman was designed to establish physical and mental "stigmata" that could be used to categorize and institutionalize persons dangerous to social order. Individuals—depicted as puppets lacking will and dancing to the dictates of unconscious hereditary urges—would thereby become subordinated to Society. Physical and mental testing would provide scientific justification for fitting persons to the places in society most appropriate to their unequal talents and capacities. In a passage that is typical of his tendency to collapse distinctions, ignore contradictions, and reduce scientific theory to a correspondence with material conditions, Gilbert describes what he regards to be the social basis of scientific racism: "Animated by the fear of rapid change and immigration, convinced that the census showed declining morality, and confused by the enormous pressures of success and mobility, many American psychologists and sociologists could not resist using the new science to proclaim the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and English culture." Gilbert is kinder toward William James, whom he regards somewhat sentimentally as a tragic figure who both helped destroy older individualistic philosophies and fought against the behaviorist implications of newer psychologies. Indeed, James emerges as somewhat of a neglected prophet in the eyes of Gilbert: "What James had uncovered was a terrifying implication of modern alienation: Absolutism and totalitarianism thrived upon the constant division and redivision of the intellectual and physical tasks of modern society."

It is this kind of exaggeration, as well as a certain willingness to read contemporary preoccupations into historical texts that robs Gilbert's book of much of its potential significance. *Work Without Salvation* will prove a useful compendium of relatively esoteric and otherwise inaccessible sources for those who desire a guide to the relations between conceptions of work, certain social theories, and the changing conditions of industrial America. Readers who wish to confront the full complexity surrounding the social and cultural impact of "industrial alienation" should consult the older work of Reinhard Bendix and Loren Baritz, the more recent studies by Joachim Israel and Istvan Meszaros, and Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital*.

San Francisco State University

WILLIAM ISSEL

Whitpain . . . Crossroads in Time. Compiled by the Whitpain Township Bicentennial Commission. (Whitpain Township, 1977. xiv, 402 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography. \$7.00.)

In bringing this volume to the attention of our readers it is necessary to inform them that it is sold out. Still, residents of Whitpain Township, Montgomery County, who do not know of the book may bear it in mind in the chance of picking up a copy.

The book is the work of many authors, some of whom describe their own properties. Certainly, data on a large number of the Township's most interesting houses is to be found here. The purpose of the book was "to bring the past of Whitpain Township closer to the people, especially our neighbors," and in this it is highly successful. The committee which produced the volume did not consider their work to constitute a conventional history, but rather "a combination of historic fact and forgotten tales which will interest not only the historian but also our friends and neighbors."

From this modest, nonacademic approach, those responsible have given to the public a valuable selection of local lore that may well serve as a guide to other localities anxious to preserve their records for the edification of present and future residents. Numerous illustrations enhance the volume's interest.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT