

BOOK REVIEWS

Tench Coxe and the Early Republic. By JACOB B. COOKE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1978. xiv, 573 p. Bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

No recent biographer of any early American figure has had available such a large, rich, and previously untapped collection of manuscripts as Jacob E. Cooke in writing this long-awaited biography of Tench Coxe (1755-1824). When the Tench Coxe Papers were given to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1964, they constituted the most important collection for the Revolutionary and early national periods still unexplored. Exclusive access to the papers provided Cooke with an unusual opportunity and imposed a heavy responsibility. Happily, he has produced an excellent biography that provides a detailed account and a thoughtful assessment of Coxe's life and illuminates much of the history of the era, for Coxe's importance lies less in what he accomplished than in the significant events in which he participated, the leading men with whom he was associated, and the public issues—especially economic matters—about which he wrote.

The biography offers new insights into the events of the Revolution by following a Tory merchant who fled Philadelphia, returned with the British occupying army, switched sides when the British evacuated the city, and, aided by relatives in high places, managed to escape retribution. In the postwar era, we watch a Philadelphia merchant active in trade with the British West Indies and an early venturer in the China trade. As Coxe increasingly turned his attention from commerce to politics, we have the rare opportunity to follow the career of a middle-level civil servant, who never achieved the success that he relentlessly sought nor acquired the fame that generally inspires biographers. But Cooke's exhaustive study makes it clear that Coxe's influence was greater than generally realized. A delegate to the Annapolis Convention, he was an early champion of the Constitution, writing extensively in support of ratification. Although never elected to public office, he was influential through his private correspondence, his published writings, and his work in subordinate appointive offices. Evaluating Coxe's influence in the First Congress, Cooke concludes that "no other private citizen exercised a greater influence on its deliberations and decisions" (p. 132).

Coxe held one appointive public office or another for all but two years between 1790 and 1812. Of these, the most congenial to him was that of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Hamilton from 1790 to 1792—an office that he hoped would lead to higher positions. Indeed, he aspired to be Hamilton's successor, but, instead, most of his public career became a frustrating quest for positions that he never attained. It is clear from Cooke's study that Coxe's disappointments stemmed largely from his own personality and interaction with other persons rather than from a lack of talent or from the handicap of his early Toryism.

Cooke sees Coxe's major importance as that of a political economist whose writings were voluminous and widely published, and he has studiously identified a large number of writings that earlier have not been credited to Coxe. While Coxe's contribution to Hamilton's Report on Manufactures has previously been noted, Cooke finds Coxe's role to have been even greater than he did as one of the editors of the Hamilton Papers, and he now concludes that "Coxe was the single individual whose influence was most decisive" (p. 182) on Hamilton in preparing that report.

Cooke ably develops Coxe's relationships with Hamilton and Jefferson. As Hamilton's subordinate in the Treasury Department, Coxe worked closely with him, while at the same time supplying Secretary of State Jefferson with extensive data and suggestions that had more influence on Jefferson, Cooke believes, than Julian P. Boyd has admitted. Coxe was an indefatigable advocate of Hamilton's economic nationalism, but he opposed economic dependence on England and favored cultivating France. While he championed Hamilton's domestic policy, he embraced Jefferson's views on foreign policy. For a while, Coxe believed that a middle ground was tenable between Jefferson and Hamilton, but he found this impossible. He opposed the Jay treaty and openly supported Jefferson for President in 1796.

The Coxe Papers are rich in political correspondence; some of it, such as letters from John Beckley, are especially revealing on party affairs in Pennsylvania. Cooke is able, therefore, to trace for the first time the extent of Coxe's important role in Pennsylvania politics and his active role in the presidential election of 1800.

The major focus of the biography is on Coxe's public life and his writings on economics; but his business operations and land speculations are as fully reported as most readers will want, and his private life is treated in as much detail as his personal papers permit. As the author's footnotes reveal, he has wisely not attempted to report everything in the Coxe Papers, which are especially voluminous in business papers and economic writings, but he has effectively mined the large collection and presented as definitive a biography of Tench Coxe as will ever be needed. The Coxe Papers, however, remain an important collection to be explored by other scholars interested in subjects broader than Coxe's biography. While the Coxe Papers have been the author's major source, his research outside

that collection has been thorough; he has ably fitted Coxe into the history of his times and broadened our understanding of the early republic.

University of Missouri, Columbia

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726-1755. By ALAN TULLY. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. xvi, 255 p. Appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$14.00.)

Alan Tully's book on politics in the second quarter of the eighteenth century in Pennsylvania is a valuable addition to the growing literature on Penn's colony before the Revolution. In the last two decades books on provincial politics in Pennsylvania have appeared at the rate of almost one per year, leaving us with a formidable body of scholarship concerning the first century of the colony's public life. Tully's contribution is twofold: first, he provides the fullest description of politics from the late 1720s until the mid-1750s, a period not treated elsewhere in such detail; second, he uses his analysis of political life to weave a theory about the nature of colonial politics in general. His thesis is that Pennsylvania, in the years under study, was remarkably free of political strife, devised means for resolving conflicts within the body politic, and was populated by a diverse people who were committed to harmonious relations and achieved what they sought in spite of ethnic and religious diversity. Tully believes this paradigm extended far beyond Pennsylvania.

This thesis is worthy of close examination because it challenges much recent scholarship that emphasizes conflict and disorder in colonial life. Even the ideological historians such as Bernard Bailyn have characterized the colonial world of politics as inherently unstable, composed of competing interest groups which contentiously sought their own ends while prating about the pursuit of the public good. Historians have not found seething factionalism and chronic instability in every colony in every era, of course, but the tendency has been to highlight the restless, striving, heterogeneous nature of colonial society and to portray an accompanying political scene marked by turbulence and contention. Tully's depiction of Pennsylvania stands in stark contrast. Elected officials are responsive to their constituents' needs and desires; institutions are established that promote harmony; conflict-resolving mechanisms are devised and successfully employed; a set of economic and political values are enunciated and almost universally subscribed; and political behavior is regularized and modulated so that deference from the bottom up and respectful attention from the top down becomes habitual. Even Edward Hicks could do no better in portraying "the peaceable kingdom."

How was such political harmony and stability achieved? Much of

Tully's book is an extended answer to this question. First, Pennsylvania had a "strong, flexible, and coherent community structure" (p. 53) that allowed for the integration of diverse people who flooded into the colony throughout the colonial era. Second, widespread economic opportunity and a "generally shared rising standard of living" (p. 57) eliminated economic want as a source of discontent. Third, Pennsylvania's leaders were master architects in constructing local and provincial machinery for resolving differences and providing solutions to thorny public problems. Fourthly, though they arrived from widely different cultural backgrounds, Pennsylvanians quickly imbibed a set of values (in economic affairs an unabashed acquisitiveness and in political affairs a desire for harmony) that placed everyone on a common footing. Lastly, the Quakers made a special contribution by imparting to the political community at large the commitment of pacific relations and the techniques of conflict resolution that they practiced within the Society of Friends. Tully does not assign a dominant role to any of these factors but attempts to show how they were interwoven.

Tully's ingenuity in fashioning an explanation for Pennsylvania's political calm in the three decades under question is admirable. But one must be cautious and even skeptical that his thesis has general applicability to colonial politics or can even be employed to understand politics in Pennsylvania during the colonial period. By foreshortening his view of Pennsylvania to twenty-nine years he presents as a general explanation of politics what actually applies to an exceptional, atypical interlude. If one wants to find political torpor the years between William Keith's governorship and the beginning of the Seven Years War are decidedly the ones to study. But if political harmony in this generation was produced by a "whole series of social, economic, political, and cultural conditions that were deeply embedded in the structure of provincial society" (p. 162), then how does one explain the tempestuous years that preceded and followed the era that Tully is studying?

Consider the Keithian era. Tully is obliged to explain it as an anomaly, for if the factors that produced harmony in the 1730s were deeply imbedded in the very structure of Pennsylvania society, then why did they not prevent internecine warfare in the previous decade? To get around this logical impasse Tully presents the raging political controversies of the 1720s as the machinations of an aberrant figure—William Keith. Keithian politics are seen as a "charade" which ended when political leaders became "tired of the needless contentions that had recently disturbed the province" (p. 17). Such an explanation greatly underplays the economic depression that crippled the economy in the 1720s and demeans the mass of people who were politicized in their attempts to find a political solution to their problems. All of the factors which Tully sees conducing to political stability after the 1720s were present during the Keithian period except one. That was economic opportunity. Its sudden collapse, rather than the

temperamental peculiarities of William Keith or his eventual conflict with David Lloyd, lay at the root of political contention.

Similarly, one must reflect on the return of political combat in the 1760s in order to evaluate the overall strength of Tully's thesis. If the various factors that produced stability from the late 1720s to the mid-1750s did not suddenly become inoperative, then why did Pennsylvania descend into a welter of factional disputes in the last two decades before independence? My own answer would be that the stability which Tully sees as deeply imbedded in the structure of Pennsylvania society was in fact extremely fragile. Issues related to the prosecution of the Seven Years War and the severe post-war depression was all it took to divide the colony into bitterly contentious factions. Neither the "Quaker way" nor the carefully constructed institutions of government nor the alleged widely shared values could keep Pennsylvanians from descending into a political maelstrom. As in the 1720s the factor that changed most dramatically was economic conditions. Post-war unemployment, rising poverty, a drop in real wages in some sectors of the economy, and injurious mercantile regulations lay behind the shattering of political calm. By the mid-1760s Pennsylvanians were engaged in heated election contests, spectacular increases in voter participation, scurrilous political rhetoric, and the rise of a radical political consciousness.

Lengthening our view, we might conclude that the period Tully examines with such probing care did not provide the norm for politics in Pennsylvania but was an era when rapid economic development and generally prosperous conditions created an atmosphere of unusual political benignity. Penn's legacy to his colony was, as Tully astutely explains, a wisely crafted set of governmental institutions, a tolerance for diversity, and a commitment to equitable and harmonious community relations. But even these powerfully annealing forces could not hold the body politic together when war, depression, and wholesale social change were visited upon the "holy experiment."

University of California, Los Angeles

GARY B. NASH

The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691.

By ROBERT C. RITCHIE. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977. xii, 306 p. Bibliography, index. \$15.95.)

It is rather remarkable that, while studies of proprietary government in other colonies have been long in print, this is the first published work on New York as a proprietary province under the Duke of York. Heretofore, scholars have had to depend on the work of the nineteenth-century archivist John R. Brodhead for a detailed narrative of the period. For this

reason, perhaps, writers on New York's colonial period have come to regard the proprietary phase as just a prelude to the Crown colony.

When New Netherland was conquered by the English in 1664 certain concessions and promises were made to the Dutch inhabitants: that their local officials would for a time remain in office, and that their local customs and institutions would be preserved. But the charter of the proprietor, the Duke of York, gave him wide powers, and nothing was said of popular representation. The first governors began to establish English rule and before long the Dutch were dissatisfied. English settlers on Long Island, however, had more affinity for New England and rejoiced at the change. But they, too, were unhappy that New England self-rule was not extended to them. Settlements up the Hudson at Esopus and Albany, while mostly Dutch, were somewhat aggrieved that their peculiar interests were not recognized. Hence community feelings were intensified and brought problems to government. As time went on the ethnic differences were aggravated and new social groupings appeared. The merchant class, originally all Dutch, now with others coming in became a powerful economic group. From these divisions new social classes emerged. The author makes an effort to analyze these on the basis of tax records, but the paucity of this data does not provide a clear picture. What is apparent is the influence of these divisions on the political process.

The Duke's province was less influenced by the personality of York than by the character of his instruments. Nicolls, the first governor, was able and intelligent, but some of his successors were weak. Dongan, the best known, who is often commended, is here shown to be corrupt and venal. Jacob Leisler, who has often been equated with the Leisler Rebellion, is shown to have been more the consequence of economic forces rather than the instigator of revolt.

The scope of this work, as indicated by its dates, goes beyond the proprietary period and through the Leisler rebellion. This is inevitable, for that struggle was really a continuation of divisions in the earlier period, and its consequences extended into the eighteenth century. This study is a very important addition to the historical literature of the colony of New York. Hereafter, the general historian will pay more attention to the period of transition and to the social and economic factors which produced change.

Glenmont, N. Y.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

The Young Hamilton: A Biography. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1978, xiv, 497 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

This biography of Hamilton by James T. Flexner, the author of distinguished books in the fields of American history, biography, and art, has

been much touted and also widely criticized as an example of what present-day historians describe as "psychohistory." Although commendably avoiding that awkward term, Flexner's claim to originality in yet another biography of a man on whom scores of books have been written is based on the author's perception of the "real" or "inner" Hamilton. In the early part of this book, Flexner contends that childhood traumas were responsible for Hamilton's tendency to vascillate—"hysterically, invisibly"—between the "accomplished, smooth, and brilliant man of the world" and "an imperiled anguished child." The author also attempts to explain why Hamilton turned out to be a man "so divided that he sometimes seemed to be two different men": on the one hand, "the paragon"; on the other, "the semimadman." What made Hamilton "the most psychologically troubled of the founding fathers," Mr. Flexner asserts, were his childhood experiences on the Leeward Islands. The bastard son of a mother who was legally accused of "whoring with everyone," the young Hamilton was obliged to overcome "his officially delegated role in the world . . . as an 'obscene child.'" And as Flexner demonstrates, Hamilton by force of genius and relentless ambition, surmounted this background, not only successfully but also brilliantly, though not without permanent psychic wounds.

Such conclusions are clearly the most plausible inferences to be drawn from the sparse records of Hamilton's childhood and it is to Flexner's credit that he perceives what other historians have ignored or skirted. The same may be said of many stereotyped depictions of Hamilton that Flexner convincingly contests. Although I am not certain that Hamilton was "*the most* psychologically troubled" (emphasis added) of the nation's founding fathers, his emotional balance was so uneven, his behavior sometimes so rash and often so self-defeating, his pride so patently pervious, that one is impelled to "psychoanalyze" if one is to understand this enigmatic statesman.

But Mr. Flexner (giving him, as I think I have, all possible credit) has not successfully accomplished this task. A book that includes some psychologically-penetrating insights, is for the most part history in the traditional (and in some instances even old-fashioned) mode. Following the first six (of a total of forty-seven) chapters at which point Hamilton enlists in the patriot army, Flexner shifts gears and sets out on a detailed account of Hamilton's role in the Revolution, paying rather more attention to the war than to the book's protagonist. To devote such a large portion of a biography of Hamilton to the military history of the Revolution not only distorts the importance of Hamilton's role but might also suggest to an unwary reader that the young man was a commanding general rather than an aide-de-camp. In Mr. Flexner's book, however, the centrality of the Revolution is not due to any warped view of Hamilton's role but rather to the author's decision to end this biography with the conclusion of the Revolution, when Hamilton was only twenty-six years of age.

The decision is curious, particularly in view both of the accessibility of Broadus Mitchell's book-length study of Hamilton's career during the Revolutionary War (published in 1970) and the availability of Flexner's own detailed account of that war in the second of his four-volume magisterial biography of George Washington, only recently published. The decision is more curious yet when one recalls the indisputable fact that Hamilton's historical reputé rests not on his part in the American Revolution but on his role as nation-builder, exercised most notably by his accomplishments as the new nation's first Secretary of the Treasury. To end his biography in the year 1783, in fine, is rather like abandoning the construction of a multi-storied building once the basement has been dug.

It is perhaps unjustified to fault Flexner for not writing the kind of book this reviewer thinks he should. But even if one confines himself to the book that Flexner did write, one is nevertheless confronted by so many shortcomings that an essay-length review would be required to discuss and to provide illustrations of them. In a comparatively brief notice, such as this, it is only possible to cryptically point to a few representative flaws: (1) the repeated use of excessively long quotations (running sometimes to many paragraphs) where paraphrases would have been far preferable; (2) footnote citations that have no discernable relationship to the text or that are actually misleading; (3) the uncritical use and occasional distortion of documentary evidence; and (4) assertions and interpretations for which—so far as one can tell—there is not a shred of factual evidence, and, relatedly, repeated exaggerations. All this inexorably leads the academic historian to the question: Where does history end and historical fiction begin?

Lafayette College

JACOB E. COOKE

Diary of a Common Soldier in the American Revolution, 1775-1783: An Annotated Edition of the Military Journal of Jeremiah Greenman. Edited by ROBERT C. BRAY and PAUL E. BUSHNELL. (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1978. xlv, 333 p. Bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Jeremiah Greenman, who was a soldier and then a junior officer in the Rhode Island Continental Line, kept a diary of his military experiences from May 1775 until December 1783. His laconic comments give us a chilling view of the hardships and dangers which he and his comrades faced on the battlefield and on the march during eight long years of the war for America's independence. Their war was a constant agony of long marches, rain, snow, sleet, dust, heat, payless paydays, wounds, sickness and death. For them a good meal, a roof over their heads on a rainy night, or a payday when their pay arrived were luxuries. All too often, they went

hungry, or slept in the rain, or went months on end without receiving any pay. And death was at their sides day and night as comrades died of wounds, died of smallpox, or died of "fevers."

Greenman's diary is especially useful since it spans almost the entire course of the war. Its author served in many campaigns and battles from the march to Quebec in 1775 to the mustering out of the army in 1783. His writing is at its best in his accounts of his march, under Benedict Arnold's command, to Quebec and of his participation in the bloody fighting for control of the forts on the Delaware during the Philadelphia campaign. Yet many of his notations tell us no more than how many miles he had marched in a day and whether it was rainy, sunny, hot, or cold that day.

Unfortunately for the modern reader, Greenman's all-too-brief entries do not tell us what he thought of Benedict Arnold, the Baron von Steuben, or George Washington. He served under them and had opportunity to observe them, but he neglected to jot down his impressions of them. Similarly, he was stationed in or visited Philadelphia, Trenton, Princeton, Providence and many other towns and cities, but he refrained from writing his observations about their buildings, people, trade, or social life. As for combat action, he merely recorded advancing, firing, retreating, or being wounded without making any effort to record the drama, excitement, or terror which he must have felt.

Although the reviewer wishes Greenman had been more informative, he is grateful to the editors for making a common soldier's account of the war available. Greenman's account of hardships, smallpox, death and suffering remind us of the sacrifices which many men of his generation made to win independence for the United States. Greenman and his comrades suffered as much or more as did Bill Mauldin's grimy, weary, frontline soldiers of World War II.

The editors are to be congratulated for their painstaking work in identifying people and places mentioned in Greenman's manuscript. Also, their readers owe them a debt of gratitude for their brief introductory remarks about each of the campaigns in which their brave, and three-times wounded, Rhode Islander participated.

Northern Arizona University

GEORGE W. KYTE

The Pennsylvania Line, Regimental Organization and Operations, 1776-1783.

By JOHN B. B. TRUSSELL, JR. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1977. viii, 368 p. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

Pennsylvania's military contribution to the American Revolution was indeed significant. The state made an extensive effort to provide the Con-

tinental or National Army with regular "Line" military units or those whose training, supply, and duration of service would enable them to successfully stand in the eighteenth-century line of battle. At the high point of this effort Pennsylvania was responsible to the Continental service for fifteen infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, one artillery regiment, and one artificer or support regiment, plus the Army's only provost or military police unit. While the extent of this contribution expanded and contracted, various portions of the Pennsylvania Line saw service from the early months of the war in the siege of Boston and invasion of Canada until the final acts of conflict in Georgia and South Carolina in 1783.

This work attempts to provide basic reference information on the composition, organization, and activity of these regular Pennsylvania regiments. There has been special emphasis placed on the regional origins and continuity of various units. This should be beneficial to those students of biography or genealogy attempting to track down the activity of less prominent members of the Pennsylvania Service.

The opening chapter surveys the evolution and operations of the Pennsylvania Line as a whole with succeeding chapters devoted to the examination of individual units. These chapters explain the geographical origin of component units, trace the successions of command, and outline highlights of the regiments' field service.

The five appendixes deal with a statistical profile of the enlisted soldier, casualty figures, strengths, sick and desertion rates, and unit comparisons both within the Pennsylvania Line and with the Line of other states.

Unfortunately, in producing this work the author has made use only of previously published primary sources. Fully two-thirds of the footnotes refer to the *Pennsylvania Archives*, a series compiled and published in the nineteenth-century. Does the writer assume there are no unpublished primary sources on this topic?

There is often an amazing lack of documentation for presented information. The appendixes represent one-third of the text and provide a vast amount of statistical data, yet there are virtually no footnotes to support this presentation. Four of the five appendixes contain none at all. One is continually forced to guess from which bibliographic source various information was obtained. The conspicuous absence in the bibliography of any prominent works on the Revolution—Carrington, Trevelyan, Stedman, Ward—is also distressing.

While the maps provided are of some possible value, the inclusion of illustrations of such dubious quality in a work of this nature is superfluous. The final sentence in the text is indicative of possible flaws one might find throughout. Speaking of desertions we read: "Peak periods were the Valley Forge encampment and the winter encampment of 1777-1778," both of which most will recognize as being one and the same.

Although this publication will be of some use to the student of military history, one can not consider it a definitive work on this topic. We can

only regret that a greater effort was not expended on this potentially valuable reference book.

Atwater Kent Museum

GARY J. CHRISTOPHER

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789. Edited by PAUL H. SMITH. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1978. Vol. I, August 1774-August 1775. xxxvii, 751 p; Vol. II, September-December 1775. xxvii, 585 p. Illustrations, indexes. Vol. I, \$8.50; Vol. II, \$9.00.)

The publication of the first two of a projected twentieth-five-volume documentary formally initiates what promises to be an important scholarly contribution to the history of the American Revolution and of early national government in the United States. An outgrowth of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, this comprehensive edition of the delegates' letters to the Continental Congress has been made possible by a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation in late 1790. According to the editors, the purpose of the documentary is "to provide students . . . reasonable access to a large body of significant documents focussing on the Congress of the United States, 1774-89, and in thus seeking to open wider the window to America's past" (I, vii-viii).

The documentary will draw upon some 21,000 documents assembled from hundreds of repositories and private collections from all over the United States and Europe. Initially, the editors had contemplated a supplement to the eight-volume *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, prepared by Edmund C. Burnett during the 1930s. Upon discovery of numerous unpublished letters of congressmen, the staff of the Library of Congress American Revolution Bicentennial Office, under the direction of Paul H. Smith, decided in favor of a new, expanded edition to be completed during the next fifteen years. Although reviewers have criticized the duplication of letters and of the large expense involved in preparing letter-press editions of the "Papers of the Founding Fathers," the editors' decision seems justified because they intend to publish all extant documents written by the delegates during their periods of attendance at Congress. Thus, the documentary record will expand the incomplete record of the Journal of Congress and portray "the beliefs and multifarious activities of the individual delegates" (I, ix).

Volume I of the *Letters of Delegates to Congress* begins with the arrival of fifty delegates in Philadelphia in September 1774 for the convening of the First Continental Congress and continues through the first adjournment of the Second Continental Congress in August 1775. These congresses were significant learning experiments for the colonial elite. "It was during these months," concludes the editors, "that they began to acquire an identity that distinguished them from their fellow citizens in other parts

of the empire, a unity of purpose that encouraged them to plan and act in unison, and shared experiences that eventually enabled them to chart their future as a separate and independent nation" (I, xix). After reading the 678 documents contained in Volume I, representing the work of sixty-four congressional delegates, one is clearly left with the impression that in 1775 these men were not prepared for revolution and new nationhood, but worked purposely and diligently to obtain a redress of grievances and a reconciliation with the mother country.

Volume II, which covers the work of the delegates through the last fifteen weeks of 1775—from September 9 to December 30—contains 538 documents. They largely detail the military and naval preparations authorized and undertaken by Congress to cope with British armed forces being marshalled against the thirteen colonies. When the British army threatened Philadelphia, the seat of the government, the Congress was forced to flee momentarily to Baltimore.

In these two inaugural volumes covering the First and Second Continental Congress, readers will find many previously unpublished manuscripts, complete texts of documents abridged in Burnett's *Letters*, and a large number of items previously known only to Revolutionary period specialists. For instance, some of the most revealing new material brought together for the first time are four documents in the hand of John Dickinson which demonstrates the important role the Pennsylvanian played in the preparation of the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, Address to the King, the Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies, and the Letter to Quebec; also, there are a number of entries from the diaries and notes of debates kept by Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and Silas Deane, as well as the writings of Samuel Ward and John J. Zubly.

Significant new information is contained in these volumes on a variety of subjects and topics. In general, new light is shed on topics as diverse as the imposition of commercial sanctions against Great Britain, the invasion of Canada, the origins of the Continental Navy, and the struggle between moderates and radicals over the issue of reconciliation with the Crown. More specifically, of the Pennsylvanians we now have a clearer understanding of the activities of Joseph Galloway in and out of Congress and the manner in which Secretary Charles Thomson kept the Journals of Congress.

This documentary satisfies a long-standing need for a comprehensive collection of the papers of the delegates. In preparing these volumes the editors have formulated clear and sensible editorial procedures, and the result is editing that is scholarly without being pedantic. The documents are arranged in chronological order and each one is given a descriptive heading. Provided in each volume, handsomely bound and printed on permanent durable paper, are annotations, bibliographic references, illustrations, lists of delegates to Congress and an extensive subject index. The record will become far richer in the years after 1775, and the editorial task

much more complicated; but, meanwhile, the editors, the Library of Congress, and the Ford Foundation deserve praise for these inaugural volumes, which are so inexpensive that they are within the reach of most individual scholars, students, and libraries to whom they are addressed.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
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ROLAND M. BAUMANN

The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution. Volume III, Ratification of the Constitution by the States: Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut. Edited by MERRILL JENSEN. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1978. 669 p. Index, microfiche supplement. \$25.00.)

This is the third volume in a projected fifteen-volume documentary history of the Ratification of the Constitution—a series designed to draw together all significant documents and commentaries (public and private) for the thirteen original states in the Union. For an earlier appraisal, see Volume CI (April 1977) of this *Magazine* in which the introduction, *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776–1787* (Volume I), and the *Ratification of the Constitution in Pennsylvania* (Volume II) were reviewed. Volume III includes the records of ratification by four states: Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia and Connecticut. According to the editors, the period of December 7, 1787, through January 9, 1788, “completes the history of the first stage of the debate over and action upon the Constitution” (p. 5). In future volumes the editors will cover why there was a four-months lull in the process of ratification and how it got underway again.

For these four states, except for Connecticut, the sources for the history of ratification are indeed sparse when compared to the rich records incorporated in the volume on Pennsylvania. For instance, there are no official state ratification convention debates, nor Convention journals for Delaware and Connecticut, and those for New Jersey and Georgia actually reveal very little. In short, there are very few letters or diaries which directly comment upon the actions of convention members. These facts explain why one-half of the volume’s coverage relates to the “stable state” of Connecticut. In this volume and in the 1,200 page microfiche supplement to it, the editors have nevertheless brought together significant and revealing documents. Among them are items relating to the violence of political factions in Delaware; the records of seventy-nine of the ninety-eight Connecticut town meetings which elected 175 Convention delegates; Connecticut Antifederalist Benjamin Gale’s speech in the Killingworth town meeting; newspaper reports of Federalist speeches in the Connecticut Convention; the Federalist essays by “A Landholder” and “A Countryman”; and the Antifederalist essay by “A Georgian.” This volume pro-

vides a rather complete documentation of how the Federalists worked for the ratification of the Constitution in these four states. Although, because much of what was said and written by Antifederalists was virtually unrecorded, we are still left with a one-sided picture of the ratification controversy.

Five states approved the Constitution by rather large margins during the thirty-four days from December 7, 1787, through January 9, 1788. Pennsylvania's ratification by a two-to-one margin (46 to 23) was clearly the most significant. What is striking about Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, all unanimous in their support, and Connecticut (three-to-one margin) is that more dissimilarities than similarities existed among them. The states varied widely in terms of social origins, political structure, and in the issues that concerned their citizens. Perhaps Connecticut and Pennsylvania focused on many of the same issues. In contrast Georgians were principally concerned with the threat of Indian war, and the citizens of Delaware and New Jersey about their economic dependence on Philadelphia and New York City respectively. Consequently, the editors were unable to develop a single theme to explain the response of these four states to the ratification issue.

Despite the overall scarcity of sources, Merrill Jensen's staff of editors have drafted this third volume with the same judicious editorial skill and scholarship displayed in volumes I and II. The carefully prepared introductions and the comprehensive indexes at the end of each volume continue to make these constitutional and legal materials enormously usable to scholars, librarians, and students of the Constitution. This documentary publication will surely be definitive.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

ROLAND M. BAUMANN

Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach: Franklin and His Heirs at the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1976. By MARTIN MEYERSON AND DILYS PEGLER WINEGRAD with the assistance of MARY ANN MEYERS and FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978, vii, 263 p. Illustrations, index. \$14.00.)

Addressing the alumni of the University of Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1859, Dr. Henry L. Smith, Professor of Surgery, boasted that "it will be apparent to many of the younger portion of my auditors, that in sound mental culture, the graduates of this college have always compared favorably with those of similar institutions." In order to make his point, Dr. Smith briefly traced the history of the institution, recalling the roles played in its early years by Benjamin Franklin, Francis Hopkinson, Benjamin Rush, David Rittenhouse and others. He continued with short

sketches of distinguished alumni, such as Thomas Biddle (1776-1857), investor in coal and railroads, trustee of the University for twenty years and "promoter of most of the projects of public improvement connected with Philadelphia during his active life"; and Henry Reed (1808-1854), trained for the law but then—a brilliant lecturer—Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University.

President Meyerson has cast his book in a similar mold. It is not, he explained, a "history," as was Edward Potts Cheyney's 1940 definitive work, nor an attempt to bring that up-to-date. Rather, by focusing on selected individuals who taught at the University, he hoped to trace its development into a modern institution of learning. There are six sections further subdivided into chapters introduced by an overall view of the city during two centuries. "The Colonial College" includes sketches of Founder Franklin, Provost William Smith, Drs. John Morgan and Benjamin Rush, and the jurist James Wilson. David Rittenhouse, Alexander Dallas Bache, and Joseph Leidy are treated under the rubric of "Pioneers of Science." The men who moved the University to West Philadelphia and added many of its graduate schools, Charles Janeway Stillé and Dr. William Pepper, share the stage with Sara Yorke Stevenson and the first women connected with the institution in "Transition." A potpourri of disciplines gives flavor to "The Twentieth Century": medical research as exemplified by Dr. Alfred Newton Richards, economics by Simon Nelson Patten, law by Justice Owen J. Roberts, architecture by Paul Philippe Cret and Louis I. Kahn, and American history by Roy F. Nichols. The final chapter records the evolution of the physical campus.

One is grateful to President Meyerson and his collaborators for bringing to the fore persons who, at one period or another, shaped trends at the University, and frequently in the larger world. All of the *dramatis personae* are treated with kindness. There is no hint that Provost Smith's difficulties in his later years were the result of his excessive indulgence in spirituous liquors. Although the brilliant mathematician Robert Adrain's appointment to the faculty is briefly noted, it is not stated that he left because of his inability to maintain discipline in the classroom.

In a selective study there are of necessity more personalities left out than included. And each reader looking from the outside can come up with candidates for inclusion in his/her opinion far more worthy than those chosen. Yet, were not the humanities slighted in President Meyerson's choice? What a faculty there was in the late 1890s with McMaster in American history, Schelling in English, Rennert in Romance languages, Learned in German and Jastrow in Semitic languages! Such a line-up was unmatched at any other university in the country at the time. One does not get a feeling that belles-lettres and the social sciences—economics only excepted—were ever very important. And it seems strange to one who knew them that there was no mention at all of Simon Kuznets, Nobel laureate, whose economic yardstick, Gross National Product, was conceived

while he was teaching at the Wharton School, nor of George Taylor, certainly the most influential authority on labor relations in our time, nor of Charles W. David who brought the University's library into the twentieth-century.

It is caviling to suggest the book should have been written with a different cast of characters. But, it is not too much to have expected that, with a large cast of authors and advisers, someone would have been given the responsibility of homogenizing the style and smoothing out what can only be described as "informational input." In the section on Benjamin Rush the book treats, without reference to subject matter or chronology, first of the yellow fever epidemic, then of the Revolution, and finally of the treatment of mental illness and teaching. In the chapter on Mrs. Stevenson we are introduced to her and her interest in archaeology; we are then told about other women at Penn; and finally we come back again to Mrs. Stevenson, the University Museum and archaeology. It is an interesting commentary on changing values that Mrs. Stevenson rated but a sentence in Cheyney's 1940 history.

There is much that will be new and revelatory to one not familiar with the University's past. In spite of occasional references of a technical nature, this is a popular approach to an old institution. Unfortunately, the style is not flowing and the illustrations are frequently not placed where the text would seem to call for them. Yet, President Meyerson and his collaborators succeed in presenting their university in a manner to gain attention. It is as though they had followed the advice of Dr. Smith in the peroration to his 1859 address: "Let us not rest content with the laurels that now adorn her brows, but let us in the true missionary spirit, strive to extend her influence to distant States, until her glory shall be known throughout the land, and her Alumni recognized like those of the revolution—as men fitted to control the destinies of our nation, and protect by their counsel the honor and welfare of our people."

Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

Finance and Enterprise in Early America: A Study of Stephen Girard's Bank, 1812-1831. By DONALD R. ADAMS, JR. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978, xi, 163 p. Tables, index. \$12.50.)

Stephen Girard's is one of the greatest names in early American business history. One or another Philadelphia bank has carried the name continuously since 1812—a unique situation. Professor Adams' monograph deals with the first of these, Girard's bank, which he opened in 1812 and which was liquidated upon the death of the sole proprietor in 1831. His building was bought by the Girard Bank, newly-chartered in 1832, which failed a decade later, managed to reopen in 1846, become the Girard National

Bank in 1864, and merged into the Philadelphia National Bank in 1926. The combined institution was known as the Philadelphia-Girard National Bank until 1938, when it was renamed Philadelphia National Bank. A second institution was chartered in 1836 as the Girard Loan Insurance and Trust Company, today's Girard Bank, thirty-seventh largest in the United States. Girard Bank is in no way related to the subject of Adams' study. The fact that two subsequently, incorporated banks carried the illustrious name has confused the unwary.

In fewer than 160 pages of text and notes based mainly on Girard's extensive manuscripts, Adams gives us important insights into the origin and workings of this leading institution. We are shown how Girard became an accepted member of the Philadelphia banking community within five years after his bank opened amidst hostility from the existing incorporated banks. Girard assumed a conservative capital position in relation to demand liabilities and to assets, and his specie holdings were relatively large. With minor exceptions involving several transportation companies, his loans were limited to commercial advances to Philadelphia businessmen for a maximum of six months. Over time, though, the average loan did tend to longer maturity, and smaller loans became a greater proportion of the total. These and many significant aspects of the bank's activities are carefully detailed by Adams.

However, a number of mysteries remain unrecognized or unresolved. First, is the matter of the private nature of the bank. The 1814 act (c. 98 of the session laws) clearly forbade note issues by unincorporated banks as of January 1, 1815. Girard claimed "to have complied with the Law" (p. 43, quoted) although he continued to issue bank notes to the end. His bank "represented something new on the American banking scene," as Adams points out (p. 68). He does not explain satisfactorily how Girard managed to get away with this, merely stating that Girard's name was removed from the list of unlawful banks after "a short but pointed exchange of letters with the commonwealth banking authorities . . ." (p. 43). Adams' sole citation here is Brown's *Pennsylvania Magazine* article (LXVI, 48), but Brown has no footnote to support this point.

Yet another puzzle is the apparent low profitability of the bank—6.42% is a rather unimpressive average return for the seventeen-year stretch measured. Adams tries to show that this was a good record in comparison with Philadelphia National Bank's and the Massachusetts Bank's but his data is somewhat misleading: his own footnote to Table 30 states that for these latter two, only dividends rather than total earnings are set forth (pp. 132–133). In the case of the Boston bank, varying amounts of net earnings went to undivided profits throughout the period, except for June 1815 and June 1821.

Adams neglects to discuss Girard's bank in the context of Philadelphia's banking structure. Around 1824, with its \$1,500,000 capital, it was the

third largest in Philadelphia (excluding the Bank of the United States), and twelfth in the United States, as Herman E. Krooss pointed out over a decade ago. The eight state-chartered banks in Philadelphia in 1824 increased to thirteen by 1831. Thomas H. Goddard, who listed them, commented that Girard's bank was "one of great usefulness and deservedly popular." Adams nowhere mentions these two sources: Krooss, in David T. Gilchrist, ed., *The Growth of Seaport Cities, 1790-1824* (Charlottesville, 1967), 106, 111; Goddard, *General History of the Most Prominent Banks in Europe . . . and . . . the . . . United States* (New York, 1831), 212.

Girard was instrumental in the movement for a Second Bank of the United States, and became a major shareholder in it. Adams touches on these matters, but does not discuss the working relationship which must have existed between the two nearby institutions. If indeed there was nothing in the manuscripts on this subject, this should have been pointed out.

Kenneth L. Brown argued that Girard's bank was founded "in the hope that his private institution would, in some measure, take the place of" the closed First Bank of the United States. "Stephen Girard, Promoter of the Second Bank of the United States," *Journal of Economic History*, II (1942), 124. Adams should have analyzed this suggestive thesis. However he makes no reference to this article or to Brown's 1941 Temple University dissertation of "Stephen Girard, Financier: Methods and Operations, 1810-1820."

A much less serious omission concerns the property on Third and Chestnut which had been built fifteen years earlier for the headquarters of the First Bank of the United States. Adams does not mention that Girard bought this architectural masterpiece for his banking house, for a fraction of the original cost. Burton A. Konkle, in his *Thomas Willing* (Philadelphia, 1937), 199, estimates the fraction at one-third, while Brown (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, LXVI, 33), at one-fourth. An engraving of the building, a major attraction in Independence National Historical Park, would have been a welcome addition to the volume.

The publisher is guilty of a very inadequate index and such carelessness as: the omission of a Table 13 on post notes (p. 99); dropping the final "n" in Bollmann's name (p. 16); and attributing ownership of two-fifths of the First Bank's stock to the federal government (p. 4), to mention only the most flagrant.

Adams has enriched our knowledge of early American banking operations. However, the book's usefulness would have been substantially enhanced by inclusion of more material on the Philadelphia banking scene, and more comparisons with what other banks of the period were doing.

*The City College of the
City University of New York*

BENJAMIN J. KLEBANER

The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest. By MONROE H. FABIAN. (New York, N. Y.: Main Street Press, Universe Books, 1978. 230 p., 48 full-color plates and 202 black-and-white illustrations, selected bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

While it is surprising that it has taken this long to produce a full-length volume on the popular Pennsylvania German decorated chests, it should come as no surprise that an almost unlimited variety of forms and designs exists which originated from counties all over Pennsylvania and from the adjoining areas to which German-speaking peoples migrated. This situation invites comparisons with numerous other closely-related Folk Arts—especially Fraktur-writing—for their development follows closely similar geographical patterns.

Monroe Fabian's monograph *The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest* with its carefully developed text augmented by 250 illustrations really zeros in on this single category of painted furniture, its European origins, construction, hardware, paint materials, decorations and decorators, and its long-range influences. Going beyond Dean Fales' fifty illustrations of a wide variety of painted Pennsylvania furniture forms in his 1971 book *American Painted Furniture, 1660-1880* and the some twenty-five items illustrated in the Whitney Museum of American Art 1974 exhibition and catalogue *The Flowering of American Folk Art*, this volume really focuses upon all the aspects of the decorated chest, with illustrations of only a few related schranks and design sources thrown in. It will undoubtedly remain the key work on this subject for many years to come.

Of prime importance for all students of the subject is the chapter on "The Chest in Pennsylvania," which thoroughly explores the social aspects of the subject via contemporary manuscripts, wills, and inventories, and really illuminates the whole centrality of the chest in the Pennsylvania-German household. His treatment of the uses of chests, their contents, the rooms they normally appeared in, and numerous other sidelights, I found most interesting—especially as repositories for Fraktur drawings, many examples of which I had already experienced.

Another contribution of singular long-range importance is his minute investigation of the materials required to create a fine chest, techniques of construction, hardware and, notably, the discussion of specific paints available to the decorator. His painstaking and detailed report on paints, their colors, sources, dates of development and availability, and techniques of application, will remain a research source for many years to come.

His careful reappraisal of previously-identified individual artists and styles of decoration, of necessity, limits our enthusiasm somewhat because of the lack of signed and dated pieces. In this field, pedigreed pieces are even more elusive than among Frakturs, and the author has laid to rest many rumors based upon hearsay. Thus, we are left with only a small

group of eight or ten identified artists and, with the exception of the "Jonestown group," these are rather scattered both geographically and date-wise, thereby leaving us with very little feeling of chronology or stylistic development.

Because design and color are so critical to the value of this book, the illustrations—both the 202 black-and-white ones and the 48 in full-color—remain one of its greatest contributions. Here one can run the full gamut from the simpler painted forms to the most elaborate chest decorations, and from the plainer natural wood (almost exclusively walnut) inlaid chests to the elaborate sulphur-inlaid pieces which have been one of Fabian's chief interests. The profuse illustrations make this volume a veritable picture-book of the Pennsylvania-German decorated chest.

I missed any mention of the principle background colors in the descriptions of the chests (both solid or stipple backgrounds), especially in the captions for the black-and-white illustrations. And I looked for either some further explanation of the "County-type" designations suggested by Esther Fraser in her 1927 writings, or possibly some deviation (or even total denial) of her concept which has been so widely accepted. After such exhaustive research, and on the basis of all the chests the author must have seen or heard about, some more definite groupings (or even tentative attributions) of the illustrations would have been welcomed by his readers. A more progressive arrangement of the illustrations to support the chronological development of chest design, so carefully detailed in the text, would have been a major contribution to further research.

Nonetheless, this is a landmark volume of unusual scientific interest, and will not soon be superseded by subsequent additions to the literature of the Pennsylvania-German arts and crafts.

The Pennsylvania German Society is to be complimented on selecting this handsome book for Volume XII of its publication series on the contributions of this nationality group, and The Dietrich Brothers Americana Corporation for enabling the author to present his material so beautifully and to illustrate it so fully.

The Historical Society of York County

DONALD A. SHELLEY

Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland. By JEAN H. BAKER. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. xvii, 206 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$14.00.)

In the fall of 1854 voters in Baltimore elected Samuel Hinks mayor of the city, despite his refusal to campaign actively, make public speeches, or even announce his candidacy until two weeks prior to the election. What startled political observers even more than the unorthodox campaign, however, was that Hinks was a virtual unknown—a man of undis-

tinguished background and the representative of a new political party that even hesitated to call itself a party. Hinks ran as the American, or Know-Nothing, candidate, and his success in the mayoral elections in Baltimore foreshadowed a brief, but politically and culturally significant, ascendancy of the Know-Nothings over the Maryland political scene.

Animated by a common distrust of Catholics and immigrants and devoted to a simplistic vision of America's glorious past, the Know-Nothings quickly gained a dominance in Maryland politics unparalleled in other states. In 1855 the Know-Nothings became the majority party in Maryland; in 1856 the state was the only one in the Union to vote for Know-Nothing presidential candidate Millard Fillmore; and in 1857 the party carried the state once again, sending its candidate to the governor's chair in Annapolis. To understand and to describe the dynamics that account for the meteoric rise of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland, to "investigate the historical reality of a continuing legend" (p. ix), is the author's goal in this study.

While much of the appeal of the Know-Nothings, at least initially, can be ascribed to purely nativist motivations centered on a perceived threat posed by immigrants and Catholics, the author endeavors to examine the Know-Nothings as a whole, devoting chapters to each of six recognizable facets common to all political parties: setting, ideology, leaders, followers, organization, and legislative behavior. This attempt to "focus attention on the whole organization, not just one of its parts" (p. xiii) is a largely successful organizing principle, although in a volume less brief and narrowly focused the absence of a well-defined chronological development would be more disconcerting. Still, the necessity of perusing two-thirds of the book before encountering a discussion of the beginnings of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland and a fully-developed explanation of the importance of the secret societies that were an essential ingredient in the genesis of the party in the state suggest the potentially serious shortcomings of this organizational framework.

In frequently lucid prose the author describes in detail how the Know-Nothings emerged as a major political party in Maryland and why success doomed it to failure. The story, rich in irony, depicts men initially outspoken against immigrants and Catholics, opposed to formal political parties and professional politicians, and committed to vague principles that defied specificity first achieve stunning victories at the polls and then quickly collapse into disunity and confusion because the realities of political life fell short of the ill-perceived vision of government that had proved adequate when power was wielded by others. Yet, the demise of the Know-Nothings by the end of the 1850s did not result in a repudiation of the philosophy expressed by the party. Baker skillfully argues that the Know-Nothing Party was not simply a banner around which members of the defunct Whig Party could rally, but rather that it articulated widespread public resentment and distrust of government, a sense of insecurity, and a real fear of the potentially disruptive effects of industrialization, immi-

gration, and urbanization. Xenophobia, a pietistic commitment to purifying the American way of life, and other features of nativism remained viable, albeit not always as highly visible, social themes in the years after the 1850s, and they played an important and discernible role in political behavior. In Maryland especially the Know-Nothings correctly identified genuine issues that, though often expressed in emotional phrases calculated to attract working-class urban voters, nonetheless appealed to a wide spectrum of the population, regardless of socioeconomic condition or geographical distribution. As a result, the impact of the Know-Nothings on traditional political alignments in Maryland was severe and permanent. The Know-Nothing Party lacked the functional and organizational apparatus essential to sustain its identity as a political party, but its legacy of popular concerns could not be ignored by those who attempted with varying degrees of success to reshape Maryland politics in the aftermath of the Know-Nothing hegemony.

Maryland Hall of Records

GREGORY A. STIVERSON

Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution. By ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. xx, 554 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

In the United States local history has seldom attracted first-rate scholars. *Rockdale*, therefore, is a unique book. It is a meticulous study of the industrialization of a centrally located valley in the Philadelphia-Wilmington area, written by a leading historical anthropologist. Since, as the book abundantly shows, the owners and managers of enterprises on Chester Creek were active participants in the affairs of the larger urban area, the book is in many respects a pioneer study of the technological, social, and religious thought of this region from 1820 through the Civil War. As an anthropologist, Wallace feels it essential to do careful ethnographic study of the culture. Hence power sites, machines, and factories are described in a detail otherwise available only in technical manuals. The family background and culture of each of the important operators is explored and related to their individual successes or failures.

A major idea that grows inevitably from such analysis is the relatively intimate personal relations of machine shop and mill operators and their families all the way from the Brandywine to the Schuylkill. Wives, children, and husbands visited each other's families and shops, the master mechanics among them freely studied each other's new machines, and also met together in Philadelphia to buy and sell. Factory operators were accepted as equals by the farming gentry, and both of them took an interest in the advance of technological and scientific learning. The reader should be cautioned, however, that there was a level of in-city Philadelphia society made up of wealthy lawyers, merchants, and financiers that re-

garded itself as somewhat superior to the new men of technology and is, quite properly, not represented in this study.

Another idea arising from the first half of the book is the industrial maturity of the metropolitan area by the late 1820s. Although orders for machinery were occasionally placed in Baltimore, Trenton, or Paterson, the lower Delaware was self-sufficient from the standpoint of all the machinery in use, and led by the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia (founded in 1824) and its *Journal* it was the major source of new technological knowledge.

Less realized, even by scholars, was the Philadelphia area's leadership in radical social thought before 1830. Robert Owen, utopian socialist, Joseph Neef, and Marie Duclose Fritageot, Pestalozzian educators, and many other later-day exponents of the ideas of the "Enlightenment" found converts and money in Philadelphia. Two short-lived utopian communities were started nearby. The same type of interest in advanced ideas also made Philadelphia the center of the trade union movement among skilled artisans. In 1834 the mule spinners and power loom weavers had special skills, and aggressive strikes in the Chester Valley for better conditions were fairly effective. When the cotton mill workers struck against continued wage reductions in the depression year of 1842, however, they had little bargaining power and practically no success. Furthermore, ring spinning and improved power looms were rapidly reducing all mill operatives to the semi- or unskilled category.

The last part of the book emphasizes the triumph of evangelical Christianity among the middle and upper-middle classes of the Valley from about 1830 on. While such beliefs made relatively little progress among mill workers, they replaced liberal utopianism with what Wallace calls Christian industrialism among the managers. The central doctrines to which all Christian faiths might subscribe were the promise of earthly prosperity to all who worked, and spiritual prosperity to those who had faith. The stewardship for God of men of wealth was a closely related doctrine. Enthusiastic millennialists of the Valley, seeing the Civil War as preparatory to the second coming or the final battle of Armageddon, gave the war strong support, and set a tone of militant patriotism to the Union.

Wallace gives a fine and convincing picture of the intricacy of cultural change during about forty years. Some readers may find the detail culled from letters, genealogies, biographies, and earlier technological and local histories excessive, but this material enhances the value of the book to scholars. One should remember that this history centers on textile mills and attendant machine shops which were the most important business institutions of Chester Creek. It is not a general economic, technological, or social history of the Philadelphia-Wilmington area. But within its chosen confines it raises local history to a new intellectual level.

The Distelfink Country of the Pennsylvania Dutch. By MILDRED JORDAN. Illustrations by HOWARD BERELSON. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1978. xxx, 174 p. Index. \$12.95.)

Mrs. Jordan's latest book is intended as a *Liebesbrief* to the Pennsylvania Dutch with whom the author identifies herself sufficiently enough to refer to them part of the time as "we," although her connection in fact is through her marriage, so that the rest of the time she designates her subject in the third person. There can be no question but that the author is thoroughly and enjoyably at home among the rather amorphous group of heirs of the many Germans who made southeastern Pennsylvania and neighboring areas their home and created a cultural island there which has been recognized as such since its beginning in the eighteenth century and continues so today.

Mrs. Jordan's memoir is not intended as an academic, but rather as a popular presentation. Allowing it to be that, we must recognize that "popular" analyses tend to canonize whatever they say. One would hope, therefore, for accurate summaries of the latest investigations. Unfortunately, the author's researches seem to have stopped with a cursory reading of some of the articles in *Pennsylvania Folklife*. Specifically, her representations of the dialect and of Dutchified English are not accurate most of the time. *Hame*, the dialect for German *Heim*, English *home* is not a Scottish word (p. 31), for instance; nor is *Tut*, the dialect word for paper bag, anything other really than a legitimate form of the German *Tutte*. No one really spells *sie* (they) with a *z*. Moreover, the author frequently introduces customs from her midwestern German—Scandinavian heritage, which confuses the picture, relates many anecdotes of her children, and dips into the general popular cultural life of the Reading, Pennsylvania, area, whether or not it is "Dutch" in origin.

James T. Lemon has successfully demonstrated that the myth about the Germans being the first to take limestone soil (p. 42) is false. Weaving was not a household industry (p. 192), as Alan Keyser and Ellen Gehret have carefully pointed out in their writings on Pennsylvania German textiles. Monroe Fabian has shown that Heinrich (really Henrich) Otto did not paint blanket chests (p. 193). By the 1780s, not 1810 (p. 209), printed *Fraktur* forms were to be had. By 1725 (p. 187) no one was producing Windsor chairs and neither Reading nor any other Dutch town existed. And one must rue the day that the die was cast for the terminology "gay" vs. "plain" Dutch (*passim*), not only because the former is now misleading, but also because a more significant distinction could probably be made between the Dutch who lived in the small towns and cities and practiced handcrafts there and those who tilled the soil. One could, regrettably, go on and on.

Nevertheless, there are bright spots. The story about the Halloween child's complaint about an apple dropped in his other treats (p. 130) rings as true as it can. The chapter (pp. 100–113) about the Dutch love of the

soil is generally well done and has a title right out of the folk culture. Finally, the friendly tone throughout the book is not entirely romantic and the so-called seamier sides of Dutch folklife (their generous use of profanity, love of locker room stories, frequent sampling without benefit of clergy, and heavy dosage of superstition) are not compromised in the least. A good attack of *Hausbutzgichtere* (p. 10) by the right reader before publication and *The Distelfink Country of the Pennsylvania Dutch* would have been a superb book to recommend.

Hanover, Pa.

FREDERICK S. WEISER

The Fifties: The Way We Really Were. By DOUGLAS T. MILLER and MARION NOWAK. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1977. viii, 445 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

This reviewer admits to a prejudice against books about subjects like "The Gay Nineties" and "The Roaring Twenties." Historic developments rarely start and stop in years that end in a zero. An exceptional prototype for such volumes is Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen Twenties* (1931). Allen chose a distinct period, selected significant episodes, and wrote a most vivid and revealing book. The present authors picked a merely numerical time span, compiled incidents with scissors and paste, and produced a readable but unoriginal survey.

In recent years the 1950s have enjoyed a boom in the mass media and show business, with popular hits like *Grease* and *Happy Days*. The authors set out to create a counterimage to this unreal view of the "Fabulous Fifties." The subtitle, *The Way We Really Were*, is an intentional or unintentional version of Ranke's famous claim of 1824, ". . . wie es eigentlich gewesen." As a valid study in history such a book was bound to fail. The Fifties were not really a discrete period though they happened to coincide roughly with the eight years of the Eisenhower administrations.

The authors quite rightly interpret the current nostalgia for the trivia and tunes of the Fifties as a protest against the present. Middle-aged people now perceive the Seventies as the frustrating times of big government and high taxes, liberated young people and assertive blacks, Viet-Nam defeat and Watergate disgrace. They see the Fifties through rosy glasses as the good old days "without stress, Negroes, and genitalia." The chapters of this book are devoted to separate aspects of the decade; they include anti-Communism, the bomb, religiosity, the intellectuals, education, youth, popular music, the movies and television. These topics have been ably treated by critical scholars and investigative writers before; the authors have not come up with significant new facts or interpretations. One of the few incidents new to this reviewer is an anecdote from the

heyday of McCarthyism: A three-year-old girl who posed for a college art class was not paid her model fee because she could not write and could therefore not sign a non-Communist loyalty oath. The total picture of the period is now also well known. It is a sorry spectacle of materialism, smugness, and social inaction.

Miller, a professor of history, and Nowak, a journalist, were conformist students in the Fifties who have since been very mildly radicalized. They are generally on the side of enlightenment but shackled to a preconceived black-and-white scheme. With their simplistic approach they are unjust to some valiant figures of the past. Thus, Adlai Stevenson is falsely accused of differing "very little" from Eisenhower. Thus, the authors revile the liberator Sigmund Freud (died 1939) with crude slogans of the Seventies because he did not write like Betty Friedan (born 1921).

The authors boast that they have written "a scholarly book" (p. 12) and "the first in-depth study" of their subject (p. 419). Unfortunately, these assertions are not true. Despite the presence of footnotes, *The Fifties* is a superficial account. It may be of some use as an antidote for readers whose knowledge of the Fifties derives only from TV shows like *Laverne and Shirley*.

City of Philadelphia

JOHN MAASS

