

BOOK REVIEWS

Benjamin West: A Biography. By ROBERT C. ALBERTS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978. xvi, 525 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

This book is doubly welcome, as a masterly work of biographical craftsmanship, and because it meets a need of long standing in the field of art-historical writing. With the materials gathered and set in order, the wonder grows that in the more than a century and a half since he died in 1820 there has been no whole-length treatment of the extraordinary career of Benjamin West. Robert C. Alberts has struck an author's bonanza, and has exploited to the full its plenteous riches.

It is not that West can be ranked with painters of the first order—only during his lifetime was he overrated as an “American Raphael”—but that he was a competent, innovative, totally dedicated, and widely respected artist who functioned as a catalyst and a source of inspiration in the Anglo-American art world of his time. In its thoroughgoing investigation of that world and West's role therein lies the great merit of *Benjamin West: A Biography*.

The story of West's life might well have been contrived as a scenario for a B.B.C. television series. There was the prologue of his emergence as a boy prodigy, the son of a Quaker father and a mother “disowned” by the sect, whose talents, comeliness, and likability enabled him to assimilate what was found around him in an artistically provincial Philadelphia and to win the sponsorship of an affluent gentry who underwrote his going abroad in 1760, never to return.

Throughout the ensuing quarter-century his successes mounted one upon another as immediately and persistently as the rungs of a high-reaching ladder, from being favored by leading artists and the cognoscenti of Italy, where he stayed three years, to his quick rise in London and designation as history painter to George III. Among the founders of the Royal Academy of the Arts in 1768 he was listed second, after Joshua Reynolds, whom he succeeded as president in 1792. With an American wife, Elizabeth Shewell West, and their two sons, he lived graciously in the city and maintained a country place. Trend-setting works of his were the talk of London, and engravings of them spread his fame and influence.

Then from about 1785 onward for two decades his fortunes declined. Royal patronage proved insecure, and he was suspected of “democratic” leanings during the revolutionary crises in America and France. Por-

traiture was not his forte. The most severe of his tribulations, however, arose from bitter factional strife within the Royal Academy itself. In 1806, hard pressed and in ill health, he resigned the presidency.

One year afterward he was re-elected to the office with minimal opposition; contention subsided, and his renown soared again to "the highest pinnacle." In the end, a revered figure, he was given a public funeral and buried in St. Paul's.

With research that can mildly be termed voluminous, Mr. Alberts has fleshed out this life core with vital detail and implanted it in an all-embracing setting. Places—eighteenth-century Rome and London, the Paris of 1802—are animatedly sketched; a host of individuals of major and lesser importance are concisely profiled; events are woven into a clearly flowing narrative. A recurrent interjection is the coming on stage one after another of West's pupils from overseas, some two score of those who are still the best-known American painters of their time.

After an "Epilogue: The History of a Reputation," in which the later vicissitudes of his fame are traced, two brief appendixes discuss respectively the reliability of the early biographer John Galt (West's Parson Weems) and the painter's somewhat controversial use of contemporary costume in pictures such as *The Death of General Wolfe*.

A very few numbered footnotes appear at the bottoms of pages, but references are fully explicated in fifty-nine pages of "Notes and Sources," for which a sensible method of listing pages rules out littering the main text with numbers.

A copious bibliography fills thirty-one pages. In the mass of newly consulted primary source materials, the most rewarding were the diaries of West's erstwhile pupil John Farington, a fellow academician, close friend and advisor. Enriched with personal observations on West and their associates, these journals, which in print fill eight volumes, supplement the official records of the Royal Academy with a "sunlight" exposure of actuality.

About eighty illustrations (unnumbered) have been chosen as visual adjuncts to the writing.

The Pennsylvania State University

HAROLD E. DICKSON

Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook.

By JOHN J. MCCUSKER. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History & Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1978. xi, 367 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$25.95.)

John J. McCusker has written an extraordinarily innovative work, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775*. Subtitled modestly *A Handbook*, the work stands midway between an indepth monograph

and a statistical abstract. It deals with the problem of standards of monetary value in the Atlantic basin between 1600 and 1775. Only on the West Coast of Africa did he find the records too scanty for the presentation of annual schedules of rates of exchange. Elsewhere he presents tables showing the London rates on Amsterdam, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Paris, Cadiz, Lisbon and all the principal English colonies in North America. Less detailed sections deal with the rate of exchange between each of the five European colonial powers and their American colonies. Wherever possible monthly as well as annual rates are quoted. Most tables use 100 sterling as the standard to which local equivalents are quoted, though where necessary other units are cited. The sources consist chiefly of manuscript letters and account books, newspaper quotations, and printed source materials located in many widely scattered libraries and archives. Although regional authorities may be able to extend the quotations given in any particular table, it is certain that they must deal with McCusker's materials.

Each section has an introduction of great value that discusses sources and the main course of the monetary history of the area tabulated. These sections and McCusker's comments are so precise that this reader assumed that the author would soon provide an extended wider discussion less narrowly confined by the tables. In any event, the vast reservoir of information he provides will encourage a host of statistical and analytical studies of the European trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Despite the use of English pounds sterling as standard, a nagging systematic difficulty remains. Since no uncontested modern conversion value can be substituted for the historical pound, so also national comparisons of conversion and discount rates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remain relative and cannot be read out of context. Instead, national and to a lesser degree chronological boundaries still remain a challenging hazard and confirmation of mercantilism.

This reader had only one reservation, namely regret that the tables were not carried through the American and French Revolutions to 1800. This decision inhibits some statistical comparisons with the preceding century and at the same time removes one of the most chaotic and rapidly changing periods from easy review.

Hopefully also, if as contemplated a second edition is issued, Mr. McCusker will relate his commentary on coinage and elements of its weight, metallic analysis, and design to dated issues of gold, silver, and base metals. Too complex a theme to be treated briefly in its entirety, the coins themselves might prove an additional rich though lesser source of information.

Regardless of what aspect of these problems he or others pursue in the future, this *Handbook* will be the basis and starting point for all estimates of comparative economic value during this period in Europe and America. Mr. McCusker has done history a unique service and has provided a new

tool quite as innovative in its way as the application of the computer to census and voting patterns. It has the very rare blend of provocative analysis and rich original source quotation, of economic theory and classical history. Most readers will, like myself, look forward to his next commentaries.

University of Pennsylvania

ANTHONY N. B. GARVAN

Providence & Patriotism in Early America, 1640-1815. By JOHN F. BERENS. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978. xi, 188 p. Bibliography, index. \$9.75.)

In the past decade historians increasingly have argued that the political rhetoric of the Revolutionary era, especially the kind designed for common people, took deep root in Christian millennialist ideas rather than the rationalist European Enlightenment about which earlier scholars had written so eloquently. John F. Berens surveys this new argument in his broad study of American "providential thought" from the opening of the colonial period to the War of 1812.

Berens' main argument is that Americans of the colonial and early national periods consistently turned to providential themes as they explained, defended, or bemoaned their condition in the world. Berens conveniently summarizes these themes as follows: "(1) the motif of America as God's New Israel; (2) the jeremiad tradition; (3) the deification of America's founding fathers; (4) the blending of national and millennial expectations; and (5) providential history and historiography" (p. 2). For more than two centuries these notions explained the rise and decline of Puritanism, the coming of witchcraft, defeats and victories in the French and Indian War, Tory and Patriot political views, the election or defeat of early presidential candidates, and the coming of the War of 1812.

Equally interesting is Berens' argument about the origins of American providential thought. It came directly out of Puritan New England, nowhere else. Its forms developed there in the seventeenth century and, although Berens is somewhat vague on the point, triumphed over competing forms—even possible complementary ones—found in other colonies in the eighteenth century. As a result, the years after 1720 witnessed two revolutions in America: the coming of independence from Great Britain and what Berens terms "the 'New Englandization' of American thought and culture" (p. 31). Thus according to Berens the Delaware Anglican minister who compared the situation of American colonists in 1757 to that of Jews in Old Testament times exemplified "the ongoing nationalization of concepts derived from the New England Puritans" (p. 49). Even George Washington, who "reaffirmed the Republican Israel's providential mission," testified to the New England roots of American politics (p. 125).

Although Berens' study is well written, its principal arguments do not survive critical analysis well. First, they suffer from incomplete intellectual development. The governing concept of what constitutes providential thought is so broad that it defines little. Nearly any allusion to God seems eligible for inclusion in Berens' scheme and he quotes many of them without benefit of significant analysis. In addition, he too often mentions modern historians to assert his own originality or comprehensiveness while failing to use them as foundations for developing new themes and ideas. As an example, see his ungenerous and unenlightening reference to Nathan Hatch's important work on civil millennialism in Revolutionary America on page 124n. The result is a study that slides past important intellectual problems and misses opportunities to expand on parallel themes already developed by other historians.

Second, Berens is simply wrong to argue that American providential thinking came from New England. One does not have to be an apologist for the history of the middle and southern colonies to deny that America was "New Englandized" between 1720 and 1820. Berens' explanation of how this event took place is unnecessarily weak because he has excluded important material originally published as an essay in the journal *Cithara* in 1977, but which most readers will find difficult to obtain. No matter, however. The main reason his explanation fails is that the event it describes never occurred. American providential thinking derived from diverse sources found nearly everywhere in Tudor-Stuart English culture, not just in Massachusetts. Quakers celebrating God's aid in establishing Pennsylvania did not borrow New England concepts to do so and the Delaware Anglican minister who used providential ideas followed S.P.G. materials sent out from London. Dissenting criticism aside, English Anglicans did believe in God and in God's ability to guide human affairs.

Despite Berens' claim then, America never was "New England Writ Large," as the title of his first chapter has it. To argue so is erroneous and provincial. Worse, it is regressive. It returns historians to that tired New England equation by which the history of one region is believed to summarize the history of all the colonies and early states. It never was wine, but here it is again in one more new bottle.

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

JON BUTLER

The Case Of Major Fanshawe's Chairs. By DAVID LOUGHLIN. (New York: Universe Books, 1978. 160 p. Illustrations, index. \$10.95.)

In October 1973, Major Fanshawe consigned five high-style eighteenth-century chairs to Sotheby's, London, to be sold for his account. They were illustrated and listed as George II. Through a series of unusual circumstances, the chairs were reassessed and identified as matching a

famous American chair in the Henry F. du Pont Winterthur Museum. They were subsequently transferred to Sotheby Parke-Bernet in New York, where they were sold separately to various American museums and collectors in 1974 for a record price.

This book is an effort by the author to trace the history of these five chairs, from the time they are believed to have been ordered in Philadelphia about 1770 to the present day, and by whom they were made. Because of circumstantial evidence that reoccurs throughout almost 200 years, it appears that these chairs were probably part of the set ordered by General John Cadwalader, a prominent eighteenth-century Philadelphia gentleman. In 1964 Nicholas Wainwright in *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia* published several eighteenth-century inventories and bills made out to Cadwalader. He also listed several large groups of chairs, of which these five may have been a part. Over 100 years later in the early twentieth century, a listing of chairs, the property of a descendant, appeared in local and family records. They were probably some of the same chairs. Their owner, Dr. Charles E. Cadwalader, moved to London in 1904. It is suggested that he had the chairs reupholstered and took them with him, living in London until he died in 1907.

If we take for granted that the Cadwalader chairs were in England after 1904 and that Major Fanshawe's chairs were part of the same set, we have sixty odd years in which to speculate on their location. During this period Mr. Loughlin manages to achieve somewhat equivocal evidence of their whereabouts until they reappeared at Sotheby's in 1973.

For instance, these chairs were presumed to be in the possession of Lord Westmeath at Pallas Castle in Ireland before 1937. At Pallas, Mr. Loughlin questioned an eighty-five-year-old caretaker, probable victim of a stroke, about the chairs that he might have seen so long ago. From a xerox copy of the Winterthur Museum Chair, the old caretaker positively identified the chair as part of the set belonging to Lord Westmeath. A more convincing judgment might have been achieved by showing the octogenarian six xerox photos of six different chairs, and asking him to pick the Westmeath chair from the group.

Mr. Loughlin also seeks to identify cabinetmakers' products by the similarities of certain carved detail, but as Charles Hummel, Curator of the Winterthur Museum, states this set could have been made by a number of excellent Philadelphia cabinetmakers and carvers. Even Affleck's bill to Cadwalader, which includes two commode card tables that match the Fanshawe chairs, also contains two separate bills for two firms of Philadelphia carvers.

On the other hand, sorting our travelogue, extraneous history and romance for positive contribution to the story of the Fanshawe chairs, the author achieves a significant point in his sleuthing. One of the chairs bears the name in script: "C. Hanlon, John Wannamakers Phila" on the shoe of the splat, apparently scribbled at the time the chairs were re-

upholstered possibly for their trip to London in 1904. In Gopsill's *Philadelphia City Directory* for the year 1904, Mr. Loughlin discovered the name "Chas. M. Hanlon, upholsterer." The inscription places the chairs in Philadelphia with Hanlon in this crucial year. It also presents a logical reason for upholstering before their transfer to England with Charles E. Cadwalader.

We have in this book a mystery and an enthusiastic travel story interlarded with details of American furniture history. An essay on the Fanshawe chairs has become a book, including not very pertinent stories of an Irish castle of the De Burgo line and a 1,000-year-old-stone circle called Dindcheanchus of Magh Sleacht. The book was probably not intended as a scholarly essay. It surely can be a pleasant diversion for a few hours. The problems in this book are problems endemic to the study of the Decorative Arts.

Wilmington, Del.

DAVID STOCKWELL

Liberty and Empire: British Radical Solutions to the American Problem, 1774-1776. By ROBERT E. TOOHEY. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1978. xiv, 210 p. Bibliography, index. \$13.00.)

This slim volume focusses upon five British writers publishing during the years 1774-1776 works relating to the contemporary imperial crisis. All sympathetic to the Americans, their ideas, though rejected by the majority of Englishmen, were acceptable to the numerically few but diverse radical politicians. These disagreed with the Tory Edmund Burke's pleas for conciliation and with the arguments of Josiah Tucker for immediate separation. John Cartwright, lately resigned from the navy and living in London when Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, brought out *The True Interest of Britain* in January 1774, deeming the colonies a source of weakness, replied to this in the following March and April in ten open letters. His *American Independence* was reissued, added to in 1775, and printed in Philadelphia in 1776. By recognition of the fundamental rights of Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic, Cartwright hoped to maintain a free commonwealth of self-governing communities under the British Crown.

A Declaration of the People's Natural Rights by Granville Sharp, already known for involvement in the antislavery decisions of the Somerset case in 1772, appeared in the spring of 1774. Sharp believed that ancient liberties should be equally acknowledged and implemented in England, America, and Ireland, particularly emphasizing the injustices suffered by the Irish.

Three weighty volumes, *Political Disquisitions* by James Burgh, came out in London in 1774 and 1775, and in Philadelphia in the latter year. The degeneracy of society, the decline of parliamentary integrity and

effectiveness, the growth of a standing army in place of a national militia, and the inequities and illegalities of current colonial policies were detailed at some length, and the dangers they posed examined. Only thorough-going reform could save Britain from imminent disaster.

In 1775 the principles enunciated by these three men were re-enforced in *An Address to the People* by the celebrated historian Catherine Macaulay, defender of English seventeenth-century revolutionaries against the strictures of David Hume, and in this tract again stressing the right of resistance in favor of threatened liberty.

Professor Toohey describes the diversity of radical groups, and might well perhaps have dwelt on others in areas further from London. He might also have noticed in more detail that failure of leadership and cohesiveness among them which rendered them so unsuccessful in lessening the general condemnation of American activities and claims. That failure was originally less obvious in the thirteen colonies and among those Anglo-American connections discussed, where the often brilliant and articulate work of their sympathizers seemed to reflect a support in Britain more significant and powerful than it actually was.

Professor Toohey writes well, and, in his eleven chapters, touches on important aspects of radical attitudes to American problems. His selection of writings in two vital years will interest readers, but these may well wish he had extended his examination in more depth.

Rosemont, Pa.

CAROLINE ROBBINS

The Diaries of George Washington. Edited by DONALD JACKSON and DOROTHY TWOHIG. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978. Vol. III: 1771-75, 1780-81. xv, 494 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$20.00. Vol. IV: 1784-June 1786. xv, 405 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Excellent editing, voluminous annotation, and interesting and informative illustrations are as characteristic of the third and fourth volumes of Washington's diaries as they were of the first two. The third volume covers the period from January 1, 1771, until June 19, 1775, four days before Washington left Philadelphia for Boston to assume command of the American forces. Apparently he kept no diaries from June 20, 1775, until January 1, 1780, when he was encamped at Morristown, New Jersey, and then he commented only on the weather until May 1, when he resumed his diary. This is indeed fortunate since his last writings cover the six months prior to General Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown on October 19.

The most interesting reading in his writings are the brief entries in the section titled, "Where, how or with whom, my time is Spent." In addition

to the numerous guests who come to Mount Vernon for pleasure or on business, Washington was involved in a multiplicity of activities. As a burgess, vestryman, and large landowner, he participated in almost every facet of Virginia's political, religious, and social life. He also assumed responsibility for Martha's two children from her former marriage. There is much personal information concerning the epilepsy illness and death of Martha Parke "Patsy" Custis, and courtship, marriage, and death of John Parke "Jacky" Custis, while serving as a civilian aide during the Yorktown siege.

Many of the entries in the first five years, in addition to his meticulous recording of the weather, are devoted to his efforts to make his plantation profitable and to secure his bounty lands. The reader is informed that Washington sold 13,500 pounds of flour in May 1771, and the following month about 128,000 for a total of almost £800. Although many readers may be familiar with Washington as a flour miller, they may not be aware that he was also involved in fishing. In May of 1772, he sold 929,700 herring and 10,894 shad for more than £184. There are many brief comments concerning land transactions, varying from his problems over the 15,000 acres of bounty land awarded him for service during the French and Indian War, to the sale of his mother's Ferry plantation and the purchasing of suitable quarters for her in Alexandria.

The fourth volume begins with a narrative of Washington's 680-mile trip to inspect his western lands in the Ohio country. He left Mount Vernon on September 1, 1784, and returned on October 4. Along the way he visited persons who shared his interest in western lands, flour milling, and the development of east-west transportation, both water and surface. His main concern was to make his numerous farms profitable, as well as to insure that they were being maintained to his standards. Among the many men with whom he conversed was General Daniel Morgan of Frederick County, who shared Washington's interests.

The remainder of the volume is a continuous diary from January 1, 1785 through June 30, 1786, and is particularly interesting because Washington included the names of many visitors one would not expect to find visiting Mount Vernon. The editors have identified these visitors and explained why they had come to see Washington, but only a few can be mentioned in this review. Noah Webster spent one night in May 1785, when he was attempting to get state legislatures to enact copyright laws. Mrs. Catherine Sawbridge Macaulay Graham, the noted English historian, and her husband paid a courtesy visit in June, 1785. Early in October of the same year, Jean Antoine Houdon came from France. An annotation indicates that Houdon came to Mount Vernon for much less than his usual fee because he was eager not only to meet Washington but also to make his bust. Dr. William Gordon, an English dissenting minister, came to America in 1770, joined the independence movement, and then proposed to write a history of the period. He spent more than two weeks in

February 1786 at Mount Vernon copying documents. In addition, many prominent Americans of the period either visited or corresponded with Washington.

In the diary there are also references to such diverse matters as the Society of the Cincinnati and to Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture*, to which Washington subscribed. In the opinion of this reviewer, the sound scholarship, erudite annotation, and genuinely interesting reading, make these volumes worth while for the general reader.

Emporia State University

JOHN J. ZIMMERMAN

The Battle of Long Island. By ERIC I. MANDERS. (Monmouth Beach, N. J.: Philip Freneau Press, 1978. 64 p. Illustrations, index. \$13.95.)

The Long Island campaign of August 1776 proved to be a grueling test of the British and American armies, a test which, when all is said and done, the British passed and the Americans flunked. Eric I. Manders, native Long Islander and Fellow of the Company of Military Historians, combined his local and military history interests to study this crucial campaign. The short book that resulted is the latest addition to the Philip Freneau Bicentennial Series on the American Revolution.

A new monograph covering the Long Island campaign has been needed for some time. Henry P. Johnston's seminal *The Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn* was published over a century ago and copies of it are hard to come by. But Manders, I am afraid, has not filled the need. This is not to say that his book contributes nothing to our knowledge, for I believe that it does. Manders' appendixes on disease in the American army, his breakdown of unit organization and numerical strength for the armies and navies of both sides, and his note on casualties are most helpful. The eleven maps included in the text are excellent and Manders does a nice job of leading the reader by the hand through a geographical maze of country roads, tidal marshes and wooded hillocks. And there are numerous places in the book where the author warms to his subject, particularly when he described the less than warlike attitude of New Yorkers before the arrival of the Continental Army, and later when he detailed the smashing assault launched by the British and Hessian "juggernaut."

These strengths notwithstanding, the book has many weaknesses. Though it contributes to our knowledge of certain facets of the campaign, it does very little to increase our understanding of the campaign's overall significance. The author is to be complimented for his lucid, narrative style, but it seems that he was more eager to turn a phrase than to analyze a point. Manders' study is primarily an organizational and operational history, a story of armies in the field. Hence his details on troop forma-

tions, dispositions and movement, information that comprises a major portion of the book, to the exclusion of more telling analysis. Grand strategy is only alluded to. Likewise, Manders ends with the evacuation of Brooklyn and makes no attempt to explain the long-term impact of the Long Island campaign or pass judgment on its participants.

The author, to his credit, scrupulously avoided writing a panegyric. At the same time, however, he let slip an opportunity to critically evaluate the generalship of William Howe (for example, what was uppermost in Howe's mind, winning a war or negotiating a peace?). Manders also chose not to make a post-mortem of the American defeat even though many American officers who had been on the scene did so without compunction. Most notably, Samuel Parsons blamed Samuel Miles for the British sweep through Jamaica Gap, while Miles in turn blamed John Sullivan. Christopher Ward, in his *The War of the Revolution*, does a better job with such issues, but Ward, oddly enough—like a number of other leading authorities—is not listed in the bibliography. Thus, while Manders has provided a useful retelling of the Long Island campaign, his unwillingness to explore deeper issues diminishes the value of his work.

Brigham Young University

NEIL L. YORK

A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination.

By MICHAEL KAMMEN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. xxi, 384 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

By "historical imagination" the author means the popular view of our Revolution over the past 200 years. He measures it by examining attitudes expressed in poetry, drama, art, novels, short stories, orations, and slightly in music. These limited instruments are not the same as opinion polls, because one never knows how many people in the audiences agreed with the authors—but they are all we have. I hope no future researcher concludes that most of us believe in astrology simply because many newspapers carry astrology columns, a lot of books on the subject have been published, and zodiac signs appear on various commercial products.

Kammen's undertaking is a bold and innovative one because his survey requires a familiarity with and evaluation of the vast world of the arts that few historians possess. So it is not surprising that he slips now and then. For instance, he seems unaware of the classical origin of Savage's 1796 engraving of Liberty, which he treats as an eagle "hovering over a chick" (p. 95); and "the first Yankee character-type really to take hold in the American theatre" (p. 99) was not Jonathan Ploughboy in 1825, I believe, but Jonathan in *The Contrast* of 1787.

The second chapter, on changing attitudes toward the Revolution by successive periods, is very good, except that he seems to imply that now there is general agreement on its meaning—news to me—which dramatists and novelists neglect to communicate to their audiences (pp. 129, 160). He complains repeatedly that historical novelists treat the Revolution as simply a war for independence or as a *rite de passage*—that is, a coming of age, a unique experience now past, evolutionary, and “nonreplicable.” Therefore, “we need not have another” (p. 219). This is partly true, Kammen admits, but he believes it “trivializes” the American Revolution, or “de-revolutionizes” it. Quite aside from the fact that the novel is an art form with its own requirements different from those of an historical monograph, Kammen seems to forget that some respectable academic historians have not seen a social revolution in the American war either. At the same time he has to concede “the novels seem repeatedly to have anticipated some of the best insights and emphases of professional historians” (p. 177). So where are we? His example of Cooper, Sedgwick, and Churchill anticipating Bernard Bailyn’s ideological interpretation of Revolutionary thought by 70 to 150 years is amusing.

He goes on to dismiss Kenneth Roberts and Inglis Fletcher as historical novelists for their conservative prejudices, and recommends Howard Fast and Gore Vidal, who are in my view more prejudiced and less reliable as interpreters.

Further, I confess that I fail to find mystery in why the Revolutionaries of ’76 became conservatives after ’87. They had written a constitution for a new kind of government (that might be considered revolutionary enough) which contained an amendment process that rendered another revolution unnecessary. Pauline Maier pointed this out in an article in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1970.

Kammen’s conclusion is a little surprising and even confusing. He believes that the American Revolution “has remained the foremost provenance of nationality and of tradition in the United States” (p. 259), even though it has been stripped of its true meaning by various popularizers! He is certain to get an argument from Civil War buffs, but I would agree with him that the Revolution has been more influential.

As for style, Kammen writes easily and clearly, yet betrays a lingering fondness for the dissertation method favored in some universities. He begins each chapter by telling us what he is going to discuss, then he discusses it, and then he concludes by summing it up. His profusion of citations and annotations are grouped together at the end and cover 96 pages. The book is a provocative scholarly product of the Bicentennial. He has thought long and hard about our views of the Revolution, and although he is disappointed he is not cynical or pessimistic.

American Essay Serials from Franklin to Irving. By BRUCE GRANGER. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978. ix, 278 p. Bibliography, index. \$13.50.)

In his *American Essay Serials from Franklin to Irving*, Professor Bruce Granger has studied closely the life of the belletristic species of the periodical essay from its beginning in America with Franklin to its demise with Irving. Essays formal in nature and immediate in purpose have been excluded from his inquiry. Fifty-one separate series of periodical essays which appeared in the 100 years after 1822 have been critically inspected by the author. Many of these are extensive in number and volume, and most range from good to excellent in literary quality. Out of the total number of series scrutinized, twenty-three are discussed at considerable length.

In an introductory chapter the English periodical essay tradition is established as the model and inspiration for the art form in America. Especially the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, all published between 1709 and 1714, shape and stimulate later British and American periodical essays. In each chapter after the first, American essays are measured against the British, especially the *Spectator*. Features of the British essays with which the American ones are compared are the moral and didactic intent, and the formal conventions, such as the persona, the club, aptronymous names, real and fictitious letters, dream visions, the foreign visitor, the biographical sketch, and the oriental tale.

Ten subsequent chapters trace geographically the essay serials in America from their beginning in Boston with Franklin's "Silence Dogood" papers (1722) and Mather Byles' "Proteus Echo" (1727-28). The author follows Franklin to Philadelphia for a consideration of the young printer's "Busy-Body" papers (1728-29), William Smith's "The Prattler" (1757-58), and Thomas Paine and Francis Hopkinson's "Old Bachelor" (1775-76). Early Southern essays, studied in chapter four, are represented by the "Plain Dealer" (1728-29) in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*; "The Monitor" (1736-37) in the Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette*; "The Meddler's Club" (1735) and "The Humorist" (1753-54) in the Charleston *South-Carolina Gazette*. Chapters five through eight are structured about authors rather than geographical locations. John Trumbull's "The Meddler" (1769-70) and "The Correspondent" (1770, 1773) in the *Boston Chronicle* are examined. Next to be treated are the essay serials of Philip Freneau, written in various locations and journals: "The Pilgrim" (1781-82), "Tomo Cheeki" (1790, 1797), "Hezekiah Salem" (1796), and "Robert Slender" (1799-1801). Joseph Dennie is presented as the first of the Americans to think of the periodical essay as his métier. Professor Granger discusses his "Farrago" (1792-1802) and "Lay Preacher" (1795-1818). A chapter is devoted to Judith Sargent Murray and her "The Repository" and "The Gleaner" (1792-94). The decline of the essay serial is first noted

in chapters on William Wirt and Washington Irving. Wirt's "The British Spy" (1803) in the Richmond *Argus*, and "The Old Bachelor" (1810-11) in the Richmond *Enquirer* are the final series in the South that are studied. Finally analyzed are the periodical essays of Irving: "Jonathan Oldstyle" (1802-03) in the New York *Morning Chronicle*, and *Salmagundi* (1807-08), issued periodically in New York in collaboration with his brother, William, and James Kirke Paulding.

The American essayists cover a wide range of subjects similar to those found in the English essays. A few recurring ones include manners, morals, literary criticism, the theatre, education, eloquence, fashions, political parties, quacks, dueling and industry. The attitude, not infrequently satiric or ironic, of the author of the serial essay toward his subject is noticed. Frequently the author of the essays masks himself in a persona to achieve objectivity.

As the author follows the tradition of the periodical essay in America, he documents the steady decline in such things as the objectivity of the essayists, their didactic intent, and their use of the commonplace conventions. By the time that Irving published his *Sketch Book* (1819) and *Tales of a Traveller* (1824), the serial essay had given way to genres less didactic and more subjective. Professor Granger closes his book with the wish that it will convince the reader of the impressive achievement of the American essayists. The book is indeed convincing. Moreover, it will be of invaluable use to those making genre studies, for no other such appraisal of this art form in America exists. Likewise, social historians will find the book valuable, since the periodical essay is always more social than personal in that it analyzes and criticizes manners, morals, and tastes of an age.

The book has no major faults worth mentioning. The pleasure that it offers and its usefulness might have been enhanced somewhat, however, by including more lengthy excerpts from some of the serials which are not so readily accessible to students of literature. Useful also, perhaps, would have been a concluding chapter on the legacy of the serial essay in the poems, short stories, and novels of the American Renaissance.

Tennessee Technological University

GUY R. WOODALL

Thomas Paine. By JEROME D. WILSON and WILLIAM F. RICKETSON. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978. 170 p. Bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

The writings of Thomas Paine have not yet been accorded their due share of careful analysis, a neglect attributable in part to the fact that Paine never held important political office in this country. The new biography by Jerome D. Wilson and William F. Ricketson, both of Lander College in South Carolina, clearly intends to answer some of the most provocative questions concerning Paine's ideological origins, literary style, and religious views. The answers it offers, despite its intentions, are inconclusive.

Did Paine understand "the character of the American Revolution?" Did he understand "Hobbesian metaphysics and Lockean philosophy" (p. 7)? In all cases, the authors answer that Paine did not. They fail to explain, however, exactly what they believe "the character" of the Revolution was, or how Paine misunderstood it. In their discussion of "Hobbes's concept of the social contract" (p. 82), they have demonstrated not that Paine didn't understand it but that Paine did not *agree* with it, which is quite a different thing. To a third question—to what extent was Paine influenced by Descartes, Newton, Locke, Diderot and Rousseau—they have given no coherent answer. Locke's name appears more often than any other's, yet Paine's claim that he never read Locke is not mentioned.

It is interesting to note that despite Paine's alleged incapacity to understand, Wilson and Ricketson conclude that, as "an originator of action," Paine "never was swept along by forces he did not understand" (p. 149). It is the authors who have failed to understand the meaning of Paine's participation in the French Revolution.

One question does receive adequate treatment: how important is *The Age of Reason* "in a modern assessment of Paine" (p. 7)? The authors hope to demonstrate that Paine's attacks on the Bible pose no threat to modern biblical scholarship. Having done so, they believe that "our final opinion of the man should not rest upon this work" (p. 148). This is admittedly an issue of interest to Christian admirers of Paine's other writings. The authors go on, however, to express regret that Paine was so "deadly serious" in his attacks, an expression which indicates a lack of concern for the context of Paine's deadly seriousness. It is no accident that Paine wrote the first part of *The Age of Reason* in 1793, a year in which he experienced political and personal failure in the French Convention and retreated for a time into despair, possibly into drunkenness. By the time he had completed the work, he had seen many of his friends go to the guillotine for their political errors and had resigned himself to prison and a similar fate. These events undoubtedly played a part in releasing his long-restrained bitterness toward the Christian Church, in which he had been raised, and for which he had preached as a younger man.

This *Thomas Paine* will be of little use to scholars, and offers neither the thoughtful explication of the period, nor the complete bibliography which might otherwise recommend it to students.

Temple University

ALYCE BARRY

Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800. By NORMAN K. RISJORD. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978. xiv, 715 p. Maps, note on sources, index. \$27.50.)

The purpose of Risjord's lengthy opus is to analyze the evolutionary and complex development of political parties. The selection of the Chesa-

apeake (the states of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina), a regional unit with similar agricultural, economic, and social characteristics, was made because of its importance in this political growth. Not only did many of the national issues of the 1780s and 1790s center in the region but the politicians of these states led in the formation of state and national political structures. The enormous detail due to the complexity of causes and variations in the three states makes *Chesapeake Politics* an historical work that is difficult to summarize in a short review; suffice it to say that historians and political scientists will be mulling over the conclusions of this book and most certainly using it for years to come.

Risjord sees the ascent to national political parties evolving out of the creditor-debtor conflicts of the state legislatures that emerged with the postwar depression after 1784. The creditor-debtor factions were the first identifiable political groups and were led by the strong personalities of men like Samuel Chase, Patrick Henry, and Willie Jones. Throughout the years of the 1780s the issues that formed these interest groups were economic; other concerns such as slavery, the Anglican establishment, and the treatment of Loyalists broke the strong debtor-creditor factions down into the more varied interests of geographical locales.

It was out of the political milieu of the Chesapeake that the movement for a federal government originated, led by the same creditor-debtor factions. The debates over the Constitution, of course, affected or included all of the same economic issues of the 1780s—debts, taxes, paper money, and Loyalist property. But more importantly these debates, so crucial to the future of the country and recognized as such by the leaders, gave the opportunity for the practice of the political crafts recently learned and moved the issues from the local to the national level. Now with the emphasis on national issues, greater voter perception, and the move from personality-oriented to issue-oriented elections, the conditions for the development of a national party system were present. By 1792 the Republicans of Jefferson and Madison had established its party organization and challenged effectively the once secure Federalists.

The years of 1793–1800 were those of the maturation of the first American party system, a movement clearly marked in the Chesapeake. The economic recovery after 1789 and the rise of new concerns like the location of the capital and the French Revolution brought an end to the division of political discussion along purely economic lines; by the mid-1790s the Federalists and Republicans espoused little fundamental differences in political convictions but debated intensely matters like the presidency and political patronage on all levels. Political tickets, political platforms, electioneering, and greater voter participation were all in the forefront of the system by 1800.

Risjord's detail does much to show the differences and similarities of the three states and even of areas within the states such as Baltimore and the Eastern Shore in Maryland. North Carolina throughout the book often

appears as a contrast, predominately because of its heavier toll during the war and slow recovery in succeeding years. I am confident that Risjord will receive mixed views by the political and economic historians who perhaps hold to more different concepts. Although Risjord addresses himself throughout the book to this argument, pausing to reconsider his conclusions in light of prominent historical schools—like that of Beard and his revisionists—this is not in my own mind an important concern. What impresses me about this work is its attention to detail, careful use of an immense amount and variety of sources, intricate analyses of political behavior, and ability to interweave what could really be three state monographs so well as to show the significance of small local occurrences in larger arenas. This is local history at its best, so well done and perceptive that it makes one forget it is primarily concentrating on localities. The at times tedious reading because of its detail is a necessary evil and I could not bring myself to be critical even here. Risjord's *Chesapeake Politics* will be the classic work on the early politics of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina for years to come and all new work will be compared to it.

Baltimore City Archives

RICHARD J. COX

Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851. Edited by ELIZA COPE HARRISON. (South Bend, Ind.: Gateway Editions, Ltd., 1978. xii, 628 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$19.95.)

Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851 is a welcome addition to the published record of the pre-Civil War period in Philadelphia. Thomas Pym Cope (1768-1854), born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, moved to Philadelphia in 1785, where he quickly became a successful shipping merchant and a respected leader in an extraordinary number of civic and charitable enterprises. His extended and lively record of his experiences has been edited by his great-great-granddaughter, Eliza Cope Harrison. Mrs. Harrison has provided an account of Cope's life in an excellent Introduction and has also prepared a helpful genealogical chart and an alphabetical listing of brief identifications "Toward an Orientation Regarding the Names in the Diary." The publisher has given the *Diary* a handsome format in text and binding. Unfortunately, however, and quite inexplicably, the sixteen pages of illustrations, poorly reproduced, fall far below this high standard.

Mrs. Harrison reduced the approximately 1,900 pages of the manuscript diary to 606 printed pages, "a large percentage" of the original, with "something of every subject Cope wrote about." Scholarly readers will be upset by the fact that there is no way of knowing where deletions have been made, since, by the publisher's decision, no ellipses or other indica-

tions of omissions appear in the printed text. For the same reason, although "an occasional personal pronoun or short word has been added for clarity," no brackets indicate where these additions have been made. Most regrettably, there are no footnotes.

The dates given in the book's subtitle are somewhat misleading in that the first 387 pages of the book cover the years 1800-1820, following which there is a break in the diary until 1843, from which date it continues to 1851. This hiatus is particularly disappointing because the missing years included the founding in 1821 of the Cope packet line, the first to provide regular service from Philadelphia to England, the mercantile enterprise for which Cope is perhaps best remembered. The *Diary* does, however, relate many exciting adventures of Cope's earlier shipping activities before and during the War of 1812, vividly recounting the emotional pressure of waiting day by day for news of ships, crews, and cargoes, while government directives slowly crossed and recrossed the Atlantic, and lives and fortunes hung in the balance.

Widely acclaimed for his unblemished integrity, his acumen, and his indefatigable energy, Cope was constantly importuned to accept positions of leadership in the city's life. He found politics distasteful, but reluctantly served several terms on City Councils, went briefly to the state legislature in 1807-1808, and attended the state Constitutional Convention of 1837-1838. However, he gladly gave his time, energy, and private funds to many civic and charitable organizations. His major projects included the establishment of the city's first water-supply system in Center Square, and, in 1843, to protect the water supply at the Fairmount Waterworks, he negotiated the city's purchase of the Lemon Hill estate, which coincidentally initiated the development of what would become Fairmount Park. He founded and was for many years president of the Philadelphia Board of Trade and the Mercantile Library. In the mid-1840s he fought successfully to procure a charter and financial support for the building of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Among the many institutions which he served in various capacities were the House of Refuge, the Pennsylvania Hospital, the Friends Public Schools, and Haverford College.

The *Diary* presents a fascinating account of life inside the closed circle of Philadelphia Quaker society. General readers who are not Quakers may find it difficult to grasp the hierarchical relationships between the various meetings which Cope attended, and those not familiar with Quaker history may wonder why, according to Cope, his co-religionists spent most of their time at meetings in the 1840s disowning fellow members. However, Cope's frank and wickedly humorous descriptions of many Quakers in action will delight the reader in their universal humanity.

This reader was astonished at the virulence of Cope's anti-Catholicism, although this paranoid manifestation was widespread in the 1840s. Cope also shared the antagonism of the majority of his fellow citizens for the Garrisonian approach to abolitionism. Though Cope himself disapproved

of slavery, he refused to act in opposition to the laws which protected that institution. The particular animus he expressed toward the Hicksite leaders James and Lucretia Mott reminds us that the split in the Society of Friends went beyond theological issues.

Cope's vigorous personality and his boundless energy, his unflagging enthusiasm for the vagaries of human behavior, enliven every page of *Philadelphia Merchant*. The book will be enjoyed by both general reader and specialist.

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

The Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860. By SUSAN E. HIRSCH. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978. xx, 170 p. Index. \$14.00.)

The artisan was an ubiquitous and seemingly essential figure in the early American city. He occupied a vital niche in the pre-industrial economy, manufacturing goods that were too difficult or specialized to make in the home but did not require the aid of the water-powered mill. He was a pillar of middle-class society, a participant in local political and community affairs. Yet he proved remarkably vulnerable to economic change. His proficiency with tools and materials obscured the fact that he thrived because of, not in spite of, poor transportation, primitive technology, and limited competition. In effect, he was the hallmark of an underdeveloped economy. When that economy changed, the artisan's vulnerability became obvious. His eclipse is a familiar chapter in most studies of the English and American Industrial Revolutions. His reactions to economic growth are likewise a standard feature of most accounts of British and American labor history. Indeed, because that response included the formation of the first important trade unions, artisans have received more attention than any other group of nineteenth-century industrial workers. Susan E. Hirsch takes yet another look, confining her attention to the craft workers of Newark, New Jersey.

The choice of Newark severely inhibited her research and ultimately the value of her study. Unlike the craftsmen of other urban centers, Philadelphia for instance, Newark artisans left distressingly little record of their views or activities. Hirsch has uncovered no major primary sources—letters, minutes, testimonials—to aid her effort. As a result her story includes almost no individual workers and little of the drama of their struggle, traditionally the most attractive feature of such accounts. Hirsch skillfully uses the manuscript censuses of 1850 and 1860 to reconstruct Newark society at the end of her period, but by that time the artisan community was largely obliterated. Almost as serious are the complications arising from Newark's proximity to New York City. All microcosmic studies of the Industrial Revolution confront the difficulty of explaining

results without causes, local developments that were at best indirect responses to local events. Newark's nearness to New York exacerbates that problem. By the 1830s Newark had become a satellite of her larger neighbor. Newark businesses became branches of New York firms; Newark employers operated in the shadow of their New York counterparts; even the immigrants who swelled the city's population in the 1840s and 1850s appear to have been part of the New York overflow. The artisan's decline was inextricably related to transformation of the regional economy as well as to the larger process of industrialization. Focusing on Newark alone, Hirsch is not always able to disentangle these interrelated trends.

As if she did not have problems enough, Hirsch unnecessarily complicated her task. She consistently confuses the enlarged handicraft shop with the factory. She emphasizes technological change but does not describe it; her treatment of mechanization, in particular, is vague and incomplete. More surprising, she does not emphasize the distinctive feature of Newark industry, the prevalence of leather (especially patent leather) and leather products manufacturing. Relatively slow to evolve, these industries afforded handicraft workers more opportunities for union organization, political action, and other defensive measures than, for example, textiles and iron. Hirsch, however, has little to say about this link between technology and protest or about the similarities and differences between the fates of Newark's leather products workers and those of comparable workers in other cities. She is strongest in describing Newark community life, yet for some reason severely compresses this section of the book. And again, she does not compare Newark with other industrial towns that have been the subjects of recent community studies.

Hirsch's artisans, in short, remain a shadowy group. Clearly they suffered the fate of craftsmen in other cities but the nature and dynamics of their decline are uncertain. The principle obstacles, I reiterate, are the lack of source materials and the complexity of the Newark situation. Hirsch has approached the surviving records with diligence and tenacity, but her efforts fall short of her goal. For the "roots" of the urban working class, one must look elsewhere. Perhaps it is time to ask whether detailed, quantitative studies of workers in specific towns and cities are worth the effort. Alas, Hirsch's book suggests that this genre may have reached the point of diminishing returns.

University of Akron

DANIEL NELSON

Philadelphia's First Fuel Crisis: Jacob Cist and the Developing Market for Pennsylvania Anthracite. By H. BENJAMIN POWELL. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978. 167 p. Illustrations, index. \$10.00.)

Perhaps it is the title of this volume which catches the eye in these times. The mere mention of a fuel crisis of any dimension today is bound to stir

the curiosity of laymen and historian alike. Mr. Powell, however, is referring to the "fuel crisis" which struck Philadelphia during the War of 1812 when the British blockade prevented shipments of Virginia coals from reaching the markets of that key city. Around this event he weaves the story of Jacob Cist of Wilkes-Barre, a young, ambitious, and clever entrepreneur who marries well and devotes his energies to the fostering of the Pennsylvania anthracite trade in order to supply the city of Philadelphia with fuel at a handsome profit. The two-year fuel crisis, 1813-1815, is dealt with in the second chapter, but persists as a theme throughout the book. Professor Powell suggests that the coal-fuel crisis served as a catalyst for the beginnings of the anthracite trade and that Jacob Cist was the prime mover in this early enterprise. Cist continued to be among the foremost leaders in this new business throughout the rest of his short life.

Actually the fuel crisis affected only a small segment of Philadelphia's population, namely the artisans who had used about 3,000 tons of Virginia's bituminous coals annually in their various shops and enterprises. The Virginia coals were supplemented by an unknown amount of British coals, mainly bituminous, and by very small amounts of shipments of Kilkenny anthracite from Ireland. As the supply of Virginia coals and foreign shipments slowed to the proverbial trickle during the war, the price of available bituminous in the city tripled.

Anthracite was a familiar fuel to the blacksmiths and nail makers of the Lehigh and Wyoming valleys, and had been utilized by these craftsmen for many years. But it was relatively unfamiliar to the artisans of the seaboard cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. Cist, among others, led the way in conducting a campaign to convince them that Lehigh coal was not difficult to burn and could be used in the shops and forges under proper conditions in an efficient and advantageous way. This persuasion was accomplished by ardent pamphleteering, endorsements by prominent artisans and businessmen who had used the coal successfully, and by demonstrations. With the peace of Ghent the blockade was lifted and Virginia coals, cheaper and easily combustible, dominated the market once more.

So much for the fuel crisis which hardly affected the general population of Philadelphia. Wood was the universal fuel for domestic heating and still was cheap and in plentiful supply during the War of 1812. Dependence on coal for home and industry was not established for at least a decade. It was much later, in 1831-1832, that both Philadelphia and New York did experience a bonafide fuel crisis when contrived shortages, winter weather, and heavy use through improvements in grates and stoves contributed to a coal shortage in these cities which produced some privation and outrageously high prices.

Based on meticulous research and using the Cist family papers and much primary material, Professor Powell carries the story beyond the peace of Ghent to and through the early period of the anthracite trade, with Cist as the principal advocate. The greater part of the book is divided

between a brief biography of Jacob Cist's business life and the establishment of the anthracite trade between 1815 and 1825. The year 1825 marked Jacob Cist's death at the age of forty-three, on Christmas Day (or was it December 30?). The author is confused on the exact date; see pages 23 and 144.

Perhaps the best chapter is the one which deals with Cist's part in encouraging private capital and the Commonwealth to sponsor internal improvements, namely canals, to support the growing anthracite trade. One cannot agree, however, with Mr. Powell's contention that economic historians have missed the fact that large sums, nearly \$10,000,000, mostly subscribed by private interests, were committed to construct canals for the anthracite trade from the coal regions to the seaboard. The history of the Pennsylvania anthracite canals, as well as the history of Pennsylvania anthracite railroads, is familiar to most economic historians. While Professor Powell indulges himself from time to time in a few "may have(s)" or "no doubt(s)" and his literary style lacks sparkle, his work shows clear evidence of strong scholarship. His book is an important contribution to the story of the early anthracite trade and, in particular, to the growing field of entrepreneurial history.

Juniata College

FREDERICK M. BINDER

Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920. By PAUL BOYER.
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978. xvi, 387 p.
Illustrations, index. \$18.50.)

This is a timely work that will take its place alongside David Tyack's *The One Best System* and David Rothman's *The Discovery of the Asylum* as a carefully documented and thoughtfully argued synthesis of recent historical research on social reform. Tyack analyzed the reformers who created urban public schools, and Rothman studied the establishment of prisons and mental institutions, but Boyer has focused on Bible tract societies, Sunday schools, prohibition crusades, antiprostitution campaigns, charity organizations, playgrounds, and the civic designers of the city beautiful movement who aimed to be architects of an environment built according to the blueprints of social control theorists. Though he uncovers no new evidence, Boyer surveys an entire century of moral reform effort, illustrates the change (toward "positive environmentalism") as well as the continuity (commitment to village "mores") in the diverse programs of a series of reform movements, and describes the limited extent to which the dreams of well-to-do moral crusaders became the institutional imperatives of the daily life of working-class urban Americans. At a time when advocates of "client liberty" voice skepticism about

traditional ways of "Doing Good" (to name one recent critique of the State as Parent), Boyer's careful, self-conscious, history of moral reform should be of value to all concerned with past and present social policy.

Professor Boyer, an historian at the University of Massachusetts and co-author of a prize-winning study of the social origins of Salem witchcraft, takes as his theme "America's moral response to the city." He explains in the preface what he means by social or moral control campaigners: "individuals and groups who sought through consciously planned and organized (but voluntarist and extra-legal) effort to influence that range of social behavior usually considered outside the purview of criminal law, yet not entirely private and personal." These groups, rather than the urban masses of the title, dominate the narrative.

Roughly two-thirds of the text covers the period from the middle of the nineteenth century to the end of the First World War, and the section on the Progressive Era (from which Boyer excludes the 1890s) is the longest of the four chronological parts of the book (Jacksonian Era, Mid-Century, Gilded Age, and Progressive Era). Each section begins with a brief summary of familiar urban-industrial growth data intended as a reminder of the context in which reform leaders and their followers created their moral control programs. The useful histories of reform organizations and the revealing explications of their literature from each period are enlivened by sympathetic biographical sketches of the inspired leaders (such as Charles Loring Brace and Josephine Shaw Lowell) who labored to recreate in industrial cities what the author calls a "pre-urban model of homogeneity."

Boyer's synthesis improves upon some of the work from which he draws his evidence because he is sensitive to the need to evaluate the outcomes of reform and insists that the working-class (often immigrant) objects of reformers ought to be considered as subjects creating their own (unreformed) communities. If the book tells us more about ideologists of moral order than about the urban masses, it is partly because detailed evidence about the working-class is only now appearing in print. His more serious shortcomings are an uncritical use of traditional textbook periodization and an insistence upon a deterministic, almost naturalistic, notion of causation in social history. He bases his interpretation upon the powerful momentum of urbanization and industrialization, and he preserves a sense of the human dimension by showing us the personal history of specific reformers. But he tends to slight the political process by which reformers tried to implement their programs, and his adherence to old-fashioned chronology tends to blind him to the protean and complex interrelations between industrial capitalism, economic development, social groups, and the state as exemplified in the history of social reform. While these flaws weaken Boyer's explanation of the social dynamics of the urban moral reform movement, his book does offer a more convincing explanation than Rothman's *The Discovery of the Asylum*, and it combines

the readability and comprehensiveness that has made Tyack's *The One Best System* the standard introductory work on its subject.

San Francisco State University

WILLIAM ISSEL

The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856. By WILLIAM J. COOPER, JR. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xv, 401 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

The author of a widely acclaimed study of Bourbonism in postbellum South Carolina, *The Conservative Regime*, William J. Cooper, Jr., undertakes in the present work a broader survey of southern politics before the Civil War. His thesis, boldly advanced in the Preface, is that "slavery remained the central axis of political debate in the South" from the late 1820s until the Civil War. Although economic and demographic changes affected the region in that period, "they had little impact on southern politics" (pp. xii-xiii). The remainder of the book falls short of sustaining this sweeping claim, but it makes a good case for the milder view that many southerners were concerned enough about northern attacks on slavery to make it a major political issue as early as 1836.

It is generally accepted that slavery and related issues came to dominate southern and national politics at the time of the Mexican War. Cooper provides further evidence that this was so. The problem for his argument lies in the earlier years. Just as Joel H. Silbey and Thomas B. Alexander pointed in 1967 to the primacy of economic and party issues that were bisectional before that war, Cooper concedes that the Panic of 1837 ushered in a half dozen years when economic issues dominated southern state politics. Although Henry Clay temporarily embraced sectionalism and slavery to win southern Whig support for the presidency in 1840, he reverted to nationalism in 1841 and carried southern Whigs along with him. Across the South Whig newspapers, officeholders, and candidates echoed his cry for a higher tariff and a new national bank. According to Cooper, sectional issues received only infrequent and perfunctory notice from southern Whigs in these years until John Tyler brought them to center stage in 1844 with the Texas annexation question. Thereafter they rapidly surged to the fore and Cooper ably describes and explains the transition.

With the centrality of slavery denied by Cooper himself between 1838 and 1844, and virtually conceded by everyone after that time, the value and novelty of his argument would seem to reside primarily in the decade before 1838. But Cooper's early chapters on southern politics in the Jackson period emphasize personal rivalries, the tariff, and states rights in general more than they do slavery. He attributes the emergence of the Whig Party in the South by 1836 to nullification and the tariff, the bank issue, and the accession of Martin Van Buren as Jackson's successor. If

antitarriff views were really inspired in large measure by fears for slavery, then Cooper might be conceded to have advanced if not established his case. But that conclusion rests here, as it did in William W. Freehling's masterful study of nullification, *Prelude to Civil War*, more on logical construction than direct evidence. In the relative absence of evidence directly connecting the two matters, opposition to the tariff may primarily have signified opposition to the tariff. Cooper quotes numerous expressions of pro-slavery feeling in the 1830s but they have little political bearing until 1836. He shows clearly that slavery did intrude into partisan politics then but he concedes (as already indicated) that it was a subsidiary issue most of the time until 1844.

What Cooper does provide in this book is an articulate account, based on a wide reading of manuscript and newspaper sources, of the rapid rise of slavery as an issue in southern politics after 1835, its partial decline in the wake of economic depression, and finally its resurgence and triumph after 1844. It is a creditable feat.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

ALLEN W. TRELEASE

Indiana County: 175th Anniversary History. By CLARENCE D. STEPHENSON.
(Indiana, Pa.: A. G. Halldin Publishing Company, 1978, Volume I,
xi, 736 p. Illustrations, index. \$25.00.)

This is a chronicle rather than a history. The author gives fair warning: "I have deliberately chosen not to explain in any detail 'why' anything happened." Observing that "analysis and interpretation are currently popular methods used by some historians," he rejects such sins, declaring that "in these volumes I have elected to tell the story [and] let the record speak for itself."

The record to which Stephenson refers is that culled mostly from the local newspapers. If the press accurately reports and reflects public opinion, a debatable point, then he has performed a real service for those interested in such matters. Regrettably, however, he fails to distinguish between the important and the trivial. The reader who wades through the volume gets a mish-mash of undigested fact, legend, rumor, and gossip covering almost two centuries of life in what is now Indiana County. There is, it must be said, clear evidence of prodigious labor no doubt performed *con amore*.

This is the first of a projected five-volume work. It is divided into three main sections aptly labeled "Chronicles." Chronicle I deals with the "Pioneer Period" which Stephenson believes began in the mid-seventeenth century and continued until the formation of Indiana County in 1803. In many ways this is the more valuable portion of the book. Stephenson treats of the pre-historic Indians, the coming of the first whites, the impact of Anglo-French rivalry in Western Pennsylvania, subsequent Indian troubles, and the process of early settlement.

Chronicle II covers developments from 1810 to 1844, an era which saw the frontier community turning from predominantly agricultural pursuits to extractive industries such as salt processing, exploitation of petroleum, gas and coal resources, and iron and metal manufacturing. During this time Indiana County citizens were not oblivious to the effects of the Industrial Revolution and the political currents of Jacksonian Democracy. Anti-Masonry had its day, but this mania eventually gave way to voters' return to the traditional party warfare between Democrats and Whigs.

The years 1845-1865, called by Stephenson "Time of Crisis," form the subject matter of Chronicle III. They found the county's population growing and increasingly divided over the slavery issue. This division continued on through the Civil War as Democrats and Republicans reacted differently to the tragic sectional conflict. Meanwhile, the press revealed the county's continued economic growth and the cultural adjustments which produced social problems not easily solved.

As valuable as this work may be for reference purposes, it is still more annals than true history. The reader fails to discover the existence of anything particularly unique about Indiana County, its people, its development, in a word, its history. As a county history it is inferior to that recently written by Charles M. Snyder on Union County and reviewed in this publication. The mass of matters treated makes the Stephenson account something of an "overkill" with its indiscriminate compendium of facts.

Gettysburg College

ROBERT L. BLOOM

Boyertown Area Cookery, or the Boyertown Housewife & Kitchen Efficiency Guide & Companion. By the BOYERTOWN AREA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. (Boyertown, Pa.: Boyertown Area Historical Society, 1978. ix, 204 p. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$6.30 postpaid.)

Generalizations about the diet of the Pennsylvania Germans are deadly. So much commercial folklore and myth surrounds this species of American cookery that the story, the real food history, is largely bogged down in distortion and popular kitch. Fortunately, or should I say, gratefully, the Boyertown Area Historical Society has made a contribution head and shoulders above anything published as a Pennsylvania Dutch cookbook since the appearance of Hark and Barba's *Pennsylvania German Cookery* in 1950.

This cookbook, interspersed with quotes from local diaries and account books, all cited in the bibliography, effectively captures the flavor of Boyertown's local setting. It is a thick paperback printed on quality eggshell paper, with an exterior look suggesting one of those 1880s charity cookbooks, with one major exception. The charming artwork by Melissa Horn is both accurate in its depiction of nineteenth-century cooking

utensils and as professionally crisp as anything produced by a major commercial publisher. That in itself is a credit to the taste of this very new and energetic historical society.

A committee of five women, headed by Nancy Roan, did the actual preparation of the book without the usual meanderings so much in evidence in committee productions of this sort. Thanks to intelligent research, the editorial approach to Pennsylvania German foods, while limited to the plainest type of rural cookery, is refreshingly honest, with a minimum of myth and culinary caterwalling. It is also relatively straightforward in its assessment of many dishes not uniquely Pennsylvania Dutch. Although much of the material is adapted from local nineteenth-century manuscript sources, with interesting comments on local social history, the book is not a history, and was never intended to be. Yet, with the inclusion of such rich material as John Harner's account of building an outdoor bake oven, the book does go well beyond the limits of simple recipe collecting.

The period title is somewhat stiff and unnecessarily long and tiresome, but this is really quite minor—only painful to the librarian who does not know where to stop. More serious, I believe, is the failure of the editors to standardize the *Deitsch* (dialect) recipe names and cooking terms, whether according to the Buffington-Barba System or, at least, according to Lambert's dialect dictionary (Lancaster, 1924), cited in the bibliography. For example, baked pudding, called *Bogg Uffa Schlupper* (p. 126) and *Bock Offa Shlupper* (p. 127), cannot be rendered this way in a Germanic tongue without some comedy. A *Bock* is a ram. *Backoffe Schlupper* would have been preferable and correct in both cases and would have been immediately clear to both Old World and New World dialect speakers. But this shortcoming is partially redeemed by an honest attempt at a glossary of dialect cooking terms, one of the first of its kind, however brief. In the glossary, spellings are closer to standard forms.

Aside from this, it is hoped that where other historical societies and regional groups wish to collect material on local cookery, this book will serve as a model. Certainly, it is well priced, and may be ordered directly from the Boyertown Area Historical Society, 43 South Chestnut Street, Boyertown, Pa. 19512.

West Chester, Pa.

WILLIAM WOYS WEAVER

The Extraordinary Mr. Poe: A Biography of Edgar Allan Poe. By WOLF MANKOWITZ. (New York: Summit Books [Distributed by Simon & Schuster], 1978. 248 p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

As Mr. Mankowitz points out in this concise and dramatic biography, Poe had the failing of trusting matters of importance to enemies. The appointment of the Reverend Rufus Griswold as his literary executor was perhaps the most disastrous error of this kind Poe made, and the "Memoir of the Author" which Griswold printed in the third volume of his edition

of Poe's works, published in 1850 a year after the poet's death, was a vicious attack on Poe. As a consequence of that attack, almost every writer on Poe since then has been, in some degree, involved in adjusting or readjusting the balance Griswold set awry. Mr. Mankowitz' work is no exception. If he makes much of Poe's drinking, and perhaps too much of his use of laudanum, he shows us clearly that Poe's life was a tragedy, the story of genius brought low by a fatal flaw. His view of Poe is essentially that of Hervey Allen, whose biography was published in two volumes in 1926, reinforced from time to time by insights from Marie Bonaparte's psycho-analytic interpretation of 1949. His quotations from Poe's letters are apt, and he supports his interpretation of Poe's motives, conscious and subconscious, by reference to his works. Mr. Mankowitz has not attempted critical literary judgments in depth, leaving that field to Arthur Hobson Quinn, Thomas Ollive Mabbott, and Daniel Hoffman.

Occasionally, in his eagerness for effect, Mr. Mankowitz heightens a story without regard to the reliability of his sources. To cite an example, his story, at page 171, of Poe's reading "The Raven" in Graham's office and of the fifteen dollars collected for Poe at the suggestion of one of Graham's workmen is based on recollections set down forty to sixty years after the event as improved on by the imaginative amongst later biographers. It concludes with the lines: "Poe's fierce, proud spirit had never sunk lower than in this moment of unbearable philanthropy. He took the money and left the office in silent despair." Very moving, but no witness ever asserted that the money was given to Poe on the spot.

This is a life with pictures, including not only pictures of places and people but also of the work of distinguished artists who have illustrated Poe. With one or two exceptions, the pictures are admirably chosen and well printed. One might have preferred a view of the Highlands of the Hudson from West Point to the view of the Catskills at pages 70-71. It is more likely that Poe wandered in the Highlands in his little free time at the Academy than in the more distant Catskills, and he mentioned the beauty of the river in a letter to John Allan. Surely a general view of Philadelphia would have been more appropriate at pages 138-139, to open "Chapter Six: 1842-1846," than the view of Washington at mid-century printed there. Poe visited Washington, but he lived in Philadelphia from the summer of 1838 until April 6, 1844, longer than anywhere else without interruption, and the earlier of those years were the happiest and most productive of his life. The book includes two other general views of Washington, but no general view of Philadelphia.

In one instance the text would have gained from attention to a picture, that of the Poe House on North Seventh Street in Philadelphia at page 60, for the description of the house at page 148 is not accurate. In two instances the captions would have gained by attention to the text. Mr. Mankowitz mentions Dickens' visit to America in 1842 at page 137, but the caption to the picture of Dickens at page 116 describes it as having been taken in America in 1843. In fact the original from which the picture

was reproduced was taken about 1852. Finally, the caption to the view of Washington at pages 138-139 refers to the White House in the foreground (the building is the Capitol) and tells us that "Poe moved to the Spring Garden area of the city in 1842." What is meant is the Spring Garden section of Philadelphia to which Poe moved, as nearly as can be determined, in the spring of 1843. These are, however, but four errors in more than a hundred captions, and such imperfections may be laid at the door of "The Imp of the Perverse." The over-all effect of the illustrations is striking and they support the text admirably.

The Free Library of Philadelphia

HOWELL J. HEANEY

Sources of American Independence: Selected Manuscripts from the Collections of the William L. Clements Library. Edited by HOWARD H. PECKHAM. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978. Vol. I, 285 p.; Vol. II, 287-622 p. Illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

In his dual capacity of Professor of History at the University of Michigan and Director of the William L. Clements Library, Howard H. Peckham wrote some of the best military history of the Revolutionary Period, taught courses to both graduates and undergraduates, and assisted in the research of several generations of specialists in his own and related fields. Few would deny Peckham the title of Dean of American Revolutionary Military Historians.

This work, published just a year after Peckham's retirement, serves as something of a *festschrift*, as each of its eight sections is introduced by a short essay by one of his students, colleagues, or friends.

This is not a hodge-podge, as each of the sections is either a unified collection or an extensive single document. Editorial notes have been kept at a minimum, and there have been occasional deletions. As to what useful purpose will be served by the collection, it must be said at once that while the serious researcher will want to consult for himself the documents in their own manuscript context, *Sources of American Independence* will serve as excellent published source material for undergraduate student papers on an infinite number of subjects dealing with the Revolution and its origins.

"Confronting Rebellion: Private Correspondence of Lord Barrington with General Gage, 1765-1775," with an introduction by John Shy, records the attitudes of the British Secretary of War and the commander of His Majesty's armed forces in British North America during that critical ten-year period. This exchange makes abundantly clear that while neither Barrington nor Gage had any particular affection for the colonials, both were fully aware of the Americans' suspicion that an army of defence could easily become an army of oppression and that each did all that he could to allay the understandable fears.

"William Knox Asks What is Fit to be Done With America?", with an introduction by Leland J. Bellot, is an interesting "might-have-been" of American history. Knox, Senior Undersecretary in the Colonial Office, misjudged the progress of the war in early 1777, and, assuming a successful outcome of the impending campaigns of Generals Howe and Burgoyne, set forth a victor's program for America, one which included American revenue duties, colonial representation in Parliament, and the creation of a colonial aristocracy.

"The Clinton-Parker Controversy Over British Failure at Charleston and Rhode Island," introduced by William B. Willcox, is a series of "blame-fixing" documents concerning two British military fiascos. A related collection, "An Officer Out of His Time: Correspondence of Major Patrick Ferguson, 1779-1780," was edited by Hugh F. Rankin. Ferguson commanded Carolina Loyalist volunteers during the southern campaigns and was killed at the Battle of King's Mountain. Most of the documents, however, concern activities around Stony Point, New York, an intended invasion of New Jersey, and some interesting "intelligence" regarding the state of Rebel preparedness along the New England coast.

"Journal of the Brunswick Corps in America Under General Von Riedesel," edited by V. C. Hubbs, traces the movements of one of the best-known German mercenary units.

Robert G. Mitchell's "After Yorktown: The Wayne-Greene Correspondence, 1782" tells much concerning the plight of the southern Loyalists in the anticlimactic years following Cornwallis' surrender.

A change of pace and locale is Arlene Phillips Shy's "Puritan Revolutionary: Selected Letters of Edmund Quincy," several of which are in the Massachusetts Historical Society rather than in the Clements. Quincy was but a minor participant in the affairs leading up to the Revolution and in the actual conflict itself, but he had been an ardent advocate of non-importation in the 1760s, was eager to see a victorious America separated from a decadent Britain during the 1770s, and in the 1780s rejoiced in American independence.

"Vengeance: The Court-Martial of Captain Richard Lippincott, 1782," edited by L. Kinvin Wroth, is a verbatim transcript of the court proceedings (with accompanying documents) in the case of the commander of a quasi-military Loyalist organization which operated during the final years of the war. Lippincott and his men had hanged one Captain Joshua Huddy in retaliation for the death of one Philip White, a New Jersey Loyalist. On General Washington's demand, Sir Henry Clinton tried Lippincott for murder. Lippincott was acquitted. The British insisted that the court had acted properly in its interpretation of the law of nations; the Americans insisted that the verdict represented a miscarriage of justice. The reader may decide for himself which interpretation was correct.