BOO K REVIEWS

That I May Tell You: Journals and Letters of the Owen Wister Family. Edited by FANNY KEMBLE WISTER. (Wayne, Pa.: Haverford House, 1979, ix, 276 p. Illustrations, index. $10.00.)

Owen Wister's daughter, Fanny Kemble Wister [Stokes], has rendered a great service to all those who are interested in her father and the fascinating and important family of which he was a central part. In this book she has made readily available various materials which not only are of distinct interest in themselves, but which also are indispensable to those studying Wister, other members of his family, and their times. As one who has written about several facets of Wister's life, I time and again realized as I read this book how useful this material would have been had I had it at hand as I was writing. In this volume are materials which are crucial to Wister's biographer or to others trying to understand him and his works. This book and the editor's 1958 edition of her father's western journals and letters (Owen Wister Out West) do not provide a full biography, but together they provide so much of the material necessary for one that it would be wrong to consider them to be only biographical source books. However, as the editor obviously did not intend to duplicate here much already available elsewhere, this book finally must be joined with others for the complete picture. On the other hand, that picture clearly can not be complete at all without the many things made readily available for the first time by their inclusion here.

That I May Tell You has eleven sections, arranged with a chronological orientation. The first contains brief biographical sketches of Owen Wister, of his mother, of his father, and of his grandmother, Fanny Kemble. This is followed by excerpts from the 1861 journal of his mother, including her 1889 annotations. The third section is entitled "The Early Years of a Child of Promise," a title given in 1905 by Wister's mother to her attempt to record for the benefit of her son her "observations and recollections" of his childhood and youth. Actually, some portions of this were written during the years covered. Also, Mrs. Wister incorporated "memoranda and memories of my own life." Appropriately chronologically interspersed are at least portions of letters which are pertinent to fuller understanding. Covered in this third section are 1860–1883, with an 1887 letter at the end, though Mrs. Wister's original intention was to focus on only her son's first thirteen years. Especially interesting and important in this section are the 1880s letters and commentary for them concerning a crucial portion of Wister's life when he and his father were at odds over Wister's desire to follow a
career in music. This is the first time that such full information about and insights into this matter have been available.

The fourth section has brief biographical sketches of Wister’s wife and of Susan Stevenson, a relative. This is followed by a section which through letters focuses on the 1898 marriage and honeymoon of Wister and Mary Channing (Molly) Wister. This section is followed by a short one in which the editor remembers the family in its residence at 913 Pine Street in Philadelphia, which serves as a good preface for the longer section, “The Difficult Years” (1900–1911), which follows. The latter section depends primarily on letters between Wister and his wife, with much emphasis on illness. Of course, this also covers the years when Wister established himself as a writer on the national scene, especially with *The Virginian* in 1902 and *Lady Baltimore* in 1906. Next come three short sections of the editor’s remembering the family: at Butler Place in Philadelphia, at the family’s home in Saunderstown, R. I., where Molly Wister died in 1913, and at 1112 Spruce Street in Philadelphia following that death. The final section of the book is Owen Wister’s diary for 1914–1915, especially poignant because of his continuing remorse over the loss of his wife. The diary includes an interesting trip to Europe, including Germany in 1914, with an entry for June 28 in Triberg about the assassination in Serbia which in effect ignited World War I.

By far, the bulk of the book is made up of letters and diaries from the past, which are very useful for their somewhat direct information and insights. However, these are greatly enhanced by the annotations and intersections of the editor, filling in gaps, identifying elusive names, etc., and explaining things which otherwise might not have been so clear. Of course, the book’s central focus is on Owen Wister over the first five and one-half decades of his life; but in it one also learns much of and comes better to understand his forebears (especially his father and mother and their families), his wife, his children, and to a lesser degree other relatives from various branches of the family and also close friends—and, of course, the interrelatedness of these, and that in the context of those particular times and places. Through this book the well-known western writer is placed in fuller perspective as (heretofore lesser-known) human being, family man, and Philadelphian. Particularly important and attractive are the often poignant and intimate aspects of what is presented, bringing the reader close to persons, situations, triumphs, struggles and everyday lives. While what one can gain from this about an important writer and his remarkable family is significant, what may be of even more significance is what one can learn from it about human life in general and its potential for hope, disappointment, perseverance, courage and various types of accomplishment of a high order. These glimpses into the past have significance for today beyond the fascinating historical record (which they do provide in full fidelity to the promise of both breadth and depth in the book’s title and
subtitle), and one feels privileged to share in this way in the lives of the people presented.

Necessary to easy continued use of any book of this type is a good index. While this one could be fuller, it will meet most reasonable tests, especially concerning the many persons appearing in the volume, including thirty-four different Wisters, sometimes with similar names or with nicknames. One slight peculiarity of the index is that it contains entries for Nicholas B. Wainwright, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Edwin Wolf, and Clarence Wolf for page 271 (a page of the index), which apparently refer to an earlier (now nonexistent) acknowledgements page. One can find fault with any book if he looks carefully enough, and this book has some faults too. For example, George Washington Cable is misidentified as James Branch Cabell; and it would be helpful if the present repository for each item included were given so that those interested could more easily consult the originals, particularly those only partially included in the book. However, this book doesn't deserve nit-picking. Instead, one should emphasize how much it adds to our understanding through information, feelings, and, happily, photographs which include most members of the immediate family.

In her preface, the editor says that the book contains "background, circumstance, and history of two generations." This it does and more. She goes on to add: "Thus one sees them intimately, knows them well, and the talents in Owen Wister can be traced, his early years accounting for much that before . . . seemed hard to explain." The pictures of family life reveal the early influence of a strong mother on a precocious son with early interests in music and language, and we are able to follow the growth of those early seeds in both sunshine and storm to strong and various flower. This is a fascinating and most welcome book. It will be very useful to many, and in a variety of ways.

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Julian Mason


Given the central importance of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to early American science, the careers of scientists active before 1900 are of particular significance to students of the Mid-Atlantic area. Consider further the generalized nature of pre-twentieth-century science, and the close relationship of the scientist to general historical studies becomes even clearer. That this collection of biographical sketches covers not only the period of Philadelphia's leadership but also the time before the extreme specialization of American science thus makes it another useful tool for regional scholars. Clark A. Elliott, an associate curator of archives at Harvard University,
has chosen as his subject scientists whose major contributions came before 1906, the year of the first edition of *American Men of Science*. Six hundred entries have been newly prepared by Elliott, and he has included cross-reference entries to about 300 scientists found also in the early editions of *AMS*. As a reference volume for the biographies of pre-twentieth-century scientists then, Elliott's work complements existing biographical dictionaries.

In spite of the unspecialized nature of the careers of American scientists during this period, the author includes information chiefly about the scientific work of the individual. This apparently follows out of Elliott's previous scholarly efforts to define the American scientist, an interest reflected in his doctoral dissertation on the "American Scientist, 1800-1863: His Origins, Career, and Interests," finished at Case Western Reserve University in 1970. The particular sciences he includes in this dictionary are "mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, geology, and their allied specialities, and including some aspects of applied science" (p. x). In light of these choices, Elliott intentionally omits engineers and inventors since they are "motivated chiefly by the desire to control the environment," whereas scientists are "motivated chiefly by the desire to increase knowledge" (p. 3).

Elliott supports his selective criteria in an informative, introductory chapter on "the scientist in American society." Besides discussing the complex issues involved in distinguishing scientist from technologist during these centuries, he provides in the footnotes a helpful list of recent articles and books dealing with the issues of science-technology relations and the professionalization of science. In the introduction also are tables on education, employment, and fields of science. In addition, there are five appendices that classify the nearly 1,000 subjects in the dictionary according to year and place of birth, education, occupation and fields of science. All are intended to guide the historian through some crucial aspects of the careers of American scientists in the centuries during which they achieved professional identity.

As the citations in the introduction indicate, Elliott's biographical collection responds to a decade of intensive work by historians of science and technology seeking to define the scientist and pinpoint his emergence as a professional. This dictionary thus will serve as much to summarize recent scholarship as to spur additional studies; such a service to scholars is admirable in itself. Ironically, however, the author's narrow criteria have been applied at a time when many scholars are exploring both the social impact of science and technology and the place of the scientist in the larger world. But perhaps the work of Elliott and his colleagues will help us to understand better the scientist *as scientist* so we can more clearly comprehend the scientist's work *in context*.

Elliott has performed an important service for the scholarly community. He has admittedly received the help of a distinguished group of consultants
and has drawn heavily from other dictionaries, yet it is chiefly his labor
that has created this biographical dictionary. For that, both the historian
of science and the general historian can be thankful, since his labor lessens—
and enhances—our own.

Philadelphia

MICHAL McMAHON

Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715–
iii, 283 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

In writing of the employment of slaves in the coal and iron mines of
Maryland and Virginia Ronald Lewis covers most of southern mining and
iron making before the mid-nineteenth century. At the very least, he un-
doubtedly explores the typical problems of the use of slaves in these
industries, and he does it as thoroughly as the available source materials
will permit.

The central theme is the problem of slave labor in activities both dan-
gerous and requiring skills. Most slaves in coal and iron were rented from
their owners at rates dependent on skills and the risks involved. In the
colonial period such labor was relatively cheap and competitive with free
labor in the North, and as late as 1814 one Virginia coal miner boasted of
$75,000 a year profit. Mr. Lewis claims however that the existing records
will not support any definitive general estimates of the profitability of the
companies employing slave labor. As the cotton boom from 1825 on rapidly
increased the price of slaves, coal and iron from Virginia and Maryland
became less competitive with Nova Scotian coal or British iron. While
local political attitudes were not openly hostile to industrial activity,
neither were they particularly friendly. For example, Virginia planters, who
dominated politics, did not favor financing improvements in transportation.
As a result even nearby coal fields ran high costs in getting their product
to tidewater. One is reminded of the attitude of the landed class in parts
of Europe.

Managing slaves involved much the same problems as in the case of free
labor. If slaves were worked too hard they sulked, inflicted injuries on
themselves or ran away "to the swamp." Since in many localities company
stores provided all the goods the workers bought, whites who were deeply
in debt might also run away. Extra pay for "overwork" was found to be a
valuable incentive for both blacks and whites. In effect, the problems of
supervision were not very different from those in a northern rural plant.
Biggest difference, of course, was that the free white worker could save
from his pay and move West or to a better job; the black slave might save
to buy small luxuries, but not freedom to move. Plantation slaves rented
to fairly distant mines or furnaces also had to leave their families, and time
off for visits was usually limited to once or twice a year.
The discussion of the productive aspects of coal and iron mines and furnaces is enlivened by well-chosen quotations from the sources. The study is not a business history of the coal and iron trade of these states, but rather an informed and sympathetic account of management and workers in the processes of production.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN


In this history of Connecticut colony from its seventeenth-century origins as an offshoot of Massachusetts Bay to its acceptance of the Declaration of Independence in October 1776, Professor Robert Taylor finds that the "Land of Steady Habits" maintained a consistent attitude toward managing its affairs. Connecticut instituted and maintained a comparatively liberal franchise, a belief in responsible government with the "locus of power" in the legislature, and a persistent adherence to the precept of "rule by the fittest." In religious affairs, Connecticut's General Assembly was continually employed in assisting the colony's established Congregational churches, in their efforts to maintain internal church order and to uphold Puritan social and ethical ideals. Taylor depicts Connecticut's economic steadfastness in its dominant agricultural pursuits, while social constancy is characterized by close-knit conventional communities that managed their own local affairs.

Perhaps the most outstanding symbol of its steadiness is represented in the colony charter of 1662 which Connecticut's establishment zealously regarded as the cornerstone of its extensive liberties and broad self-governing powers. Although the charter did not prevent occasional Crown interference in the colony's affairs, Connecticut continually resisted the manueverings of English officials to subvert this document. Consequently, Britain's post-1763 political actions, which directly challenged these charter rights, are viewed as the principal forces that ultimately drew Connecticut into its support for independence. Furthermore, the long-standing freedoms enjoyed by Connecticut citizens under the charter are seen as facilitating the colony's actual transition to independence.

Professor Taylor also describes changeable characteristics exhibited in colonial Connecticut. Thus, in governmental practices, he notes that although an elite group monopolized most colony offices, electoral procedures underwent considerable alterations. Such alterations also took place in the colony's judicial and land granting procedures. In religious affairs, although Connecticut attempted to maintain a form of order within the established
Congregational churches, its efforts were unsuccessful, as witnessed by the growth of dissenting sects, and the divisive effects of the Great Awakening. Economic changes are depicted in commercial expansion and the emergence of small, sometimes governmentally assisted industries, while some social change in the colony resulted from the absence of a rigid class structure.

This book, part of a thirteen-volume series devoted to the original colonies, is the finest general history of colonial Connecticut to appear in many years. During the past three decades several noteworthy scholarly works have been written concerning specific aspects of Connecticut’s colonial past, but publication of this splendidly written, well-organized work has finally filled the need for a broad, comprehensive history. Almost all aspects of life in early Connecticut receive mention, including such topics as agricultural methods, women’s status, community social services, architectural styles, and recreational practices. Professor Taylor also provides an extremely informative and selective bibliography, while within the text itself, there are numerous relevant references to authoritative writings.

The only criticisms I have of this superior volume are rather minor. For example, the legend concerning the theft of Connecticut’s charter from Sir Edmund Andros in 1687, and its subsequent concealment in a tree (p. 86n), was first related in Samuel Peters’ history of the colony rather than Benjamin Trumbull’s later work. I feel also that the author should have included some discussion of the philosophical writings of the Reverend Samuel Johnson during his survey of the colony’s various cultural achievements. Such admittedly minor criticisms do not detract from the overall achievement of this excellent scholarly work. This comprehensive volume should prove to be the definitive guide for students or researchers in this small but singularly autonomous New England colony.

Loyola University of Chicago

Sheldon S. Cohen

Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia. By Harvey H. Jackson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. xii, 209 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $16.00.)

Lachlan McIntosh at the age of eight in 1735 came with his family from the Scottish Highlands to Georgia’s southern frontier. In time, with the backing of Henry Laurens of South Carolina, he became a successful rice planter on the Altamaha. At the outbreak of the Revolution the Georgia provincial congress gave him command of the colony’s battalion of Continental troops. After leading two expeditions into upper East Florida in 1776, McIntosh fought a duel with his political and personal enemy, Button Gwinnett. When Gwinnett died of his wounds, Laurens helped secure McIntosh’s transfer from the Georgia battalion to Washington’s army at Valley Forge. Washington put General McIntosh in command of an expedi-
tion of Pennsylvanians and Virginians into the Ohio country in the winter of 1778-1779. Upon returning from the expedition and learning of the fall of Savannah, McIntosh resigned his command, much to the satisfaction of a number of his officers who were pushing for his removal, and returned to Georgia. He acted in late 1779 as commander of his old Georgia battalion in the unsuccessful Franco-American siege of Savannah, and in 1780 he served as commander of a contingent of South Carolina militia in the unsuccessful defense of Charleston.

Before his imprisonment by the British at the fall of Charleston put an end to his military career, McIntosh learned that Congress at the behest of the Georgia legislature had stripped him of his Continental rank. His first order of business after the war was to win vindication of his role in the Revolution from Georgia’s General Assembly and the Congress of the Confederation and to restore his war-ruined fortunes. He had only limited success with either undertaking. McIntosh lived out his long life at Savannah as a land-poor gentleman in good standing with an extensive and sometimes bothersome family, only occasionally appearing in the public eye.

Harvey Jackson’s book is the first coherent and reliable account of Lachlan McIntosh’s life that we have. While conceding that McIntosh was a man of limited talents and often his own worst enemy, Professor Jackson finds that throughout his public career he was a hapless victim of Georgia’s factional politics. It is in the demonstrating of this that Mr. Jackson provides an acute and fresh analysis of Revolutionary politics in Georgia from the early 1770s to the mid 1780s. For this, historians of the Revolution will need to read this study, which they will find direct and remarkably succinct.

University of Virginia

W. W. Abbote


These volumes, most recently published of The Adams Papers, are part of Series III, “General Correspondence and Other Papers of the Adams Statesmen.” Covering sixteen months, a period when John Adams spent most of the time in attendance at the Second Continental Congress, they open with a letter to Joseph Palmer written May 2, 1775, while Adams was in Hartford on his way to Philadelphia. They close with a letter written to John Adams on August 28, 1776, by Jonathan Bayard Smith. Each volume has a brief but knowledgeable introduction and Volume 4 closes with a combined index for both. The high standards of scholarship established in the earlier volumes of these Papers are maintained. Each volume contains a dozen illustrations, all carefully described. Footnotes follow each
During this period John Adams was seldom with his family in Braintree. When able to be absent from Philadelphia he was often at Watertown as a member of the Massachusetts Council (the upper house of the colonial legislature). These letters and other writings, as one would expect, illuminate the problems, the efforts and the accomplishments of the Congress. Even more important, they are of great value in revealing the personality, the character, and the philosophy of John Adams.

If one characteristic stands out above all others, it was Adams' skill as a politician with, as Mr. Taylor characterizes it, "a lively sense of the possible and a willingness to use his influence" (Vol. 3, xix). Over and over again Adams cautions "patience" to hot-headed advocates of the very measures Adams most desired. On April 22, 1776, he wrote James Warren "The Management of so complicated and mighty a Machine, as the United Colonies, requires the Meekness of Moses, the Patience of Job and the Wisdom of Solomon, added to the Valour of Daniel. They are advancing by slow but sure steps, to that mighty Revolution, which You and I have expected for Some Time. Forced Attempts to accelerate their Motions, would have been attended with Discontent and perhaps Convulsions" (Vol. 4, 135).

Adams was certainly the most influential leader in the drive for independence. Richard Stockton of New Jersey called Adams "the Atlas of American Independence," and nearly four decades after independence was declared Thomas Jefferson referred to Adams as the "ablest advocate and defender against the multifarious assaults it [independence] encountered" (Vol. 4, 345). In these volumes one can trace the skillful maneuvers by which Adams led the way to that momentous vote on July 2, 1776. One can also follow the political aspects of military actions, for to John Adams "military affairs became a source of never-ending concern, partly because of his committee responsibilities, but probably even more because of his temperament" (Vol. 3, xv).

John Adams had a true sense of priority. For example, there is no doubt of Adams' revulsion at the very idea of slavery, yet Taylor suggests that Adams "seems not to have seen the Revolutionary crisis as a time for social change" (Vol. 3, xvii), and in 1775 and 1776 he moved with a single mind and will for the realization of independence. Adams recognized, however, that it was a time for political change and he desired "the establishment of independent governments for each of the colonies. These could be a long step toward the independence that many of the members of congress were so reluctant to accept" (ibid.). On May 15, 1776, Congress adopted a resolution urging each state "to adopt such Government as shall in the opinion of the Representatives of the People best conduce to the happiness and safety of their Constituents in particular, and America in general" (Vol. 4, 185). John Adams was the author of that resolution and he declared
to his friend James Warren that it was "the most important Resolution, that was ever taken in America" (Vol. 4, 186).

Every student of this period is familiar with Adams' *Thoughts on Government*. Here we find four different drafts as well as Mr. Taylor's admirable exposition on Adams' developing ideas (see Vol. 4, 65-93). Taylor suggests that "The emphasis in [these drafts] upon the balancing of the elements of government expressed Adams' deeply held conviction that freedom under government could be achieved in no other way" (Vol. 4, 73).

Mr. Taylor tells us that "Besides his political acumen, Adams showed a capacity for and skill in committee work that placed him on several of the most important committees in this period" (Vol. 3, xx). The nature and importance of this committee work is amply documented in these volumes. Perhaps the most interesting personal characteristic illustrated here is Adams' all-embracing desire for information; he could never know enough about any problem or situation to satisfy him. Here we can read, in innumerable letters, of his curiosity, his desire to learn, his craving for facts and opinions.

Quite accurately Mr. Taylor concludes, "The picture of Adams that emerges in these two volumes is of a man punishing himself with committee work, yet somehow thriving on the demands made upon or readily assumed by him, despite his complaints of exhaustion and bad health and of the disgust he felt with some of his colleagues. It was an exciting, lively world Adams dwelt in, with its ups and downs of boredom and discouragement, achievement and triumph... He knew that he was at the center of great events. Vanity, however humble its guise, duty, and a sense of history kept him at his tasks" (Vol. 3, xxi).

Readers will hope that Mr. Taylor and his staff will keep at their task until the publication of *The Adams Papers* is complete.

*State University of New York at Cortland*  
RALPH ADAMS BROWN

*Long Island Printing 1791-1830: A Checklist of Imprints.* By MARGUERITE V. DOGGETT. (Brooklyn: The Long Island Historical Society, 1979, xxv, 192 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

It took almost a century for printing to spread from New York City to Long Island. The first press was established at Sag Harbor in 1791 but, as Ms. Doggett's study indicates, it was not very productive until the mid-1820s. The presses at Brooklyn were more successful, possibly due to the proximity of New York City. Certainly a symbiotic relationship existed, for almost a third of the Brooklyn imprints produced between 1791 and 1830 were printed for publishers or booksellers in New York and elsewhere. A similar situation developed when printing extended to Queens County
in the 1820s. More than half of these imprints were produced for the New York and Boston market.

With a bit of work much information about early 19th-century printing and publishing history can be gleaned from Ms. Doggett's book. The checklist follows a combination of geographical and chronological arrangements. Printers are listed by county and town, starting with the earliest printer, David Frothingham of Sag Harbor in 1791. Under each printer his imprints are arranged chronologically. A biographical sketch of the printer, where this information was available, prefaces the list of imprints. Books and pamphlets only are included in the list; broadsides, unfortunately, are omitted. The transcription of titles follows modern cataloguing practices; pagination, size in centimeters and brief notes make up the collation; and an extensive list of locations is given. Bibliographical references (Evans, Drake, Shaw and Shoemaker) are not cited with the individual entry. But these and other source material are included in the bibliographies of published and unpublished sources assembled at the end. Although Long Island newspapers are not enumerated in the checklist, Ms. Doggett gives an account of them in the biographies of the printers. An appendix lists authors associated with Long Island and the nature of their association. The index includes all printers, publishers and booksellers as well as authors, title, newspapers and names of Long Island towns. Though the organization is a bit unwieldy, on the whole Long Island Printing provides some interesting information on 19th-century printing history.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

MARIE E. KOREY


This book is dedicated to Burton Spivak's undergraduates at the University of Texas at Austin (p. v). The Preface defines its chief concern as the description and explanation of Thomas Jefferson's formulation and handling of America's English problems (p. ix). In an "Essay on Sources" (pp. 231-241), a sizeable number of manuscripts, published and unpublished documents, and correspondence searched are listed, and many of the "scores" of books and articles utilized critically examined. Though the context of Jefferson's attitudes in colonial and early Federal America is duly outlined, and the accomplishments of his first term mentioned, the focus is very much on the difficulties and frustrations of the second term. The first chapter ends in 1805, the second with the seizure and search of the Chesapeake by H.M.S. Leopard in June 1807. The remainder of the study, heavily footnoted throughout, details the controversies and suggested solutions for them of the last eighteen or twenty months of Jefferson's
presidency. To the general reader, if not to the students for whom it is intended, this will seem a very specialized monograph, devoted to the failure in this period of the great Virginian to provide leadership, resolution, and coherent policy.

Throughout his active life, Jefferson hated and distrusted the English. He was chiefly responsible in 1776 for listing their infringements of American rights. During the years immediately following the establishment of the Republic, he was increasingly out of sympathy with the administration’s cautious adjustment of remaining difficulties, especially those connected with England’s high-handed enforcement of her maritime supremacy. John Jay’s treaty in 1794, though by it was secured access to the rich East Indian trade, seemed to Jeffersonian Republicans more a concession to English claims than a recognition of America’s just title to neutrality. Yet with the Revolution of 1800 and the Polly decision, making possible the re-export of goods that had landed and paid duty in the United States, Anglo-American relations were, momentarily, less frail. English assistance in the acquisition of land in Florida was contemplated. Even so the diplomatic efforts of James Monroe and William Pinkney in London were unproductive of any modification in the practice of impressment, search, and seizure of contraband and deserters. Tension again rose after the Essex decision reversed that of the Polly. War began to seem likely with mounting turmoil in Europe, the issuance of Berlin Decree and Orders-in-Council, the Chesapeake affair, and further extension of attacks on neutral ships. Americans were intensely averse to conflict. So the Embargo, sent to Congress in December 1807, rapidly became law. It banned all American shipping in foreign waters save by special presidential permission. A precautionary measure to keep citizens out of harm’s way, rather than the coercive measure some hoped for, it was regarded as temporary and designed to gain time while the country prepared to cope with threats from abroad.

As time wore on, Jefferson’s attitude changed. Having earlier thought of “a manageable war,” he then hoped for delays through the Embargo. By the summer of 1808 he was less anxious for speedy repeal. Peace became an overriding consideration as he prepared for his eagerly anticipated retirement. But to keep the Embargo draconian enforcement, not originally provided for by Congress, was essential. In the event, all such attempts proved singularly ineffectual. David Erskine, English minister to Washington, observed that Americans would renew overseas trade whatever the official regulation (p. 197). The profits were too great to ignore. England was indeed suffering both from the inclement weather of 1808 and from the scarcity of American wheat and cotton, but not as yet severely enough to alter her determination to adhere to the old troubling policies about neutrals. Neither the Embargo nor that nonimportation beloved of men like Andrew Gregg of Pennsylvania and northern Republicans (pp. 35-36), nor more violent measures possibly favored by James Madison earlier (p. 120) had much general support, as Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury was aware.
He, unlike the President, appears to have been sensitive to popular mood and escapist tendencies (p. 153).

Why in view of such diversity of approach and behaviour was Jefferson so anxious as his term neared its end to enforce the Embargo? He saw, Spivak points out, evasion as the action by only a few, seduced by Federalist intrigue and merchant avarice (p. 224). By imposing the sacrifice demanded by the ban he hoped not only to avoid dangerous incidents, but to avert dangers to the fulfillment of the ideals of 1776 and 1800. That was the continuance of the economy of a great agrarian republic presenting such a contrast to the corrupt, moneyed, commercial system established in urbanized Great Britain. The obstacle to his fellow countrymen’s entrepreneurial activity involved a temporary sacrifice, but possibly a permanent redemption. The farmer and artisan would eventually bring the only kind of prosperity suited to the United States. The homespun spirit would become that of the future (p. 205). England’s political, international, and urban examples would finally be neglected for a better life.

Rosemont, Pa.

CAROLINE ROBBINS


FLASH! Henry Clay, the Great Compromiser, the author of the American System, is the man most responsible for the Civil War. The origins of the Civil War do not lie in the blundering generation of the 1850s or in the Free Soil and abolitionist movements of the late 1840s. They lie in the crisis and failure of the Whig Party in mid-1841. A crisis largely caused by Henry Clay’s drive for supremacy in the Whig Party. The above only slightly overstates the approach, tone, and conclusions of Parties and Political Conscience.

William R. Brock’s well-written study covers familiar ground; the origins of the Democratic Party in the presidential campaigns of Andrew Jackson and of the Whig Party in opposition to his executive leadership are developed. The final emergence of the “first” national two-party system in the presidential election of 1840 is chronicled. Thus, Americans accepted political parties as permanent, necessary, and useful and as reflecting and embodying real, abiding, and legitimate differences. The important questions regarding the relationship between national majorities and constitutional restraints raised by the failure of the Whigs in 1841 to enact their policies or provide leadership and new direction to the national government are also noted. Settling these questions became entwined with the issues of expansion, war, slavery, and the character of American nationalism.

Throughout Parties and Political Conscience the focus shifts between
tracing national (congressional) politics and the intellectual milieu which first supported then opposed the two parties of the new party system. The belief that political means had been used to achieve moral purposes (Brock’s definition of political conscience) underlay the popular support for American political parties and American politicians at all levels. The perception that political means had been used for immoral purposes—war with Mexico, territorial acquisition, and efforts to extend slavery—had dire consequences on politicians, political parties, and the nation.

The “Two Critical Years” of 1844-1846 saw the election of Polk, the annexation of Texas, war with Mexico, presidential acknowledgement of aggressive territorial goals, and the conflict in politics and conscience over the Wilmot Proviso. The remainder of the study deals with responses to these issues. Brock presents the positions of all major segments—Cotton Whigs, Conscience Whigs, Democrats, Barnburners, Free Soilers, Southerners, intellectuals and conservatives. In doing so he overemphasizes the credibility of the newly emerging, still minority views and dismisses the unsuccessful but genuine efforts of old-line conservatives and traditionalists to preserve the status quo. Likewise, he discounts the widespread popular support for the Compromise and the equally diverse efforts to return to more traditional political issues.

Finally, Brock views the Compromise of 1850 as a major failure. It failed to settle the questions of the extension of slavery or the future of slavery in the South, thus alienating both northerners and southerners from the national government and from the existing political parties. Sectionalism, sectional political parties, inflamed rhetoric, and eventually disunion resulted.

Professor Brock’s English heritage, training, and residence provide an “outsider’s” view of American politics. This view is refreshing, candid, and perceptive. It is also flawed at times. While the events of 1841 would be a failure in a parliamentary government, the same assessment cannot be made within the American congressional structure. Indeed, some have viewed them as a success for, and confirmation of, the American constitutional structure and the concept of executive government.

The importance given to the disjointed, unorganized, and mostly unheard voices of America’s scattered intellectual community of the 1840s is also invalid. They could not influence politics through journals and newspapers, clubs, and contacts with public men to the same extent as their British counterparts.

Finally, two admittedly minor points. Texas entered the Union in December 1845, not January 1846, and James Buchanan removed himself from the American political scene to the safety of the Court of St. James in 1853, not in 1850.

Numerous other recent studies provide greater detail than this study. Their conclusions are neither challenged nor altered. Parties and Political Conscience, like other studies by Brock, is a synthesis of the works of others.
embellished with his own observations and judgments. This debt is more apparent in the bibliography than in the footnotes. *Parties and Political Conscience* will benefit the general reader more than the antebellum scholar.

**The National Archives and Records Service**

**BRUCE I. AMBACHER**


It is a rare privilege to be asked to review a book about one of the leading firms in a business to which one has devoted one's own life. An added satisfaction is to find the *More Than a Century of Investment Banking* by Professor Vincent P. Carosso is a thorough and gripping story of an outstanding firm.

Popular opinion about investment bankers has ranged from A to Z during the century-plus since the Civil War, from enthusiastically "pro" to violently "con." Academic thinking has often been well represented among the "cons." Not so with Professor Carosso. He simply tells the story of Kidder, Peabody, presenting the partners and officers as a proper historian should: their successes, their mistakes, their troubles and their triumphs.

In this age when a considerable percentage of our population has some contact with today's bankers and brokers, there must be many people who do not know, and who will relish learning about, Kidder, Peabody's origins, including the predecessor partnership J. E. Thayer and Brother, founded in 1839. John Thayer had started in business in 1824, and headed the partnership until his death in 1857, when he was succeeded by his brother Nathaniel.

J. E. Thayer and Brother acted as brokers for individuals, estates, and institutions, and carried investment accounts. After Nathaniel's arrival in 1839 the firm invested for its own account in Massachusetts real estate, western lands, banks, insurance companies, railroads and in the London capital market, where they began an important association with Baring Brothers & Co. During and after the Civil War, the firm bought and sold bonds of our federal government.

This summary of categories shows that by the mid-nineteenth century the Thayer partnership had already entered most of the financial fields which developed into the later scope of today's Kidder, Peabody.

The new firm took over the business of J. E. Thayer and Brother on April 1, 1865. Kidder had been Nathaniel Thayer's confidential clerk and the Peabody brothers had been with the Thayer firm twenty years. (A typical Boston sidelight: both Thayers and both Peabodys were sons of Unitarian ministers.)

From the start, the new firm developed admirably. Professor Carosso
heads his second chapter "A New Firm With an Old Experience." Large success eventually involved them in general popular suspicions (characteristically American) of the "moneyed interests." Following a series of ups and downs for the financial industry, Congress formed the Industrial Commission to investigate. Professor Carosso leads us through all this, including the highly publicized probe presided over by Louisiana Democrat Arsène Pujo. Interlocking directorates brought charges of conflicts of interest between "a handful of self-constituted trustees of the national prosperity."

Then we are led through World War I, during which United States bankers provided a vast amount of financing, first for the European allies, then for our own war effort. After the war came the famous boom, during which firms were tempted into overexpansion. When bust followed boom, there was widespread financial disaster, the memory of which is still much alive in Wall Street today.

I must remind myself to avoid retelling Professor's Carosso's story. My job is to review his book, not the period it covers. Having entered the securities business myself in 1928, I am tempted to do exactly the opposite. But no. Let me recommend his treatment of Kidder, Peabody's strong growth, near failure, and its heroic reorganization in 1931 by Albert H. Gordon, Chandler Hovey, and Edwin S. Webster, Jr. It is a thrilling story. He renews my admiration for those three men. I am proud that my firm has since been associated with theirs in numerous syndicates and other activities.

The creation of the Securities and Exchange Commission and regulation of stock and bond transactions since the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt are most interestingly explained.

Professor Carosso, thank you for your fine book. Reader, go read it.

Janney Montgomery Scott Inc.


In 1911, in the case of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey v. the United States, Justice John Marshall Harlan, an ardent antimonopolist himself, concurred with the Supreme Court's majority in upholding the circuit court's conviction of the oil trust for violating the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, but he disagreed openly with the rule of reason being advanced by Chief Justice White as de facto guaranteeing the monopoly's perpetuation. Expostulated Harlan: "All who will recall the condition of the country in 1890 will remember that there was everywhere, among the people generally, a deep feeling of unrest."

Piqued, Harlan went on: "The nation had been rid of human slavery ... but the conviction was universal that the country was in real danger from
another kind of slavery sought to be fastened on the American people, namely, the slavery that would result from aggregations of capital in the hands of a few individuals and corporations controlling for their own profit and advantage exclusively the entire business of the country, including the production and sale of the necessaries of life."

Harlan comprehended that monopoly was instinctively feared and hated by his fellow citizens for its exactions whether real or imagined and the threat it posed to individual ambitions. As Judge Cooley realized earlier, the very word "monopoly" had long held an ominous sound for American ears, and was condemned in advance. Ruefully George Gunton, Standard Oil's publicist, recognized that such a prejudice afforded "a standing invitation to politicians... to enact all sorts of arbitrary laws restricting industrial enterprise," on the premise that to wound a monopoly or trust would be to perform a heroic public service. Henry Demarest Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (1894) defined the sharklike metaphor of predator John D. Rockefeller attacking hapless victims, and Ida Tarbell's nineteen-part "History of the Standard Oil Company" in *McClure's* magazine (1902-1904) aroused popular hostility to the combination to heights hitherto unachieved. President Theodore Roosevelt after 1901 orchestrated this antagonism for his maximum political benefit, repeatedly assailing the power and evil embodied both in Rockefeller and Jersey Standard. The climax came, of course, in the trust-busting suit against the Standard Oil Company launched by Roosevelt in 1906 and consummated under his successor by the Supreme Court's order in 1911 for the Company's dissolution.

Bruce Bringhurst's monograph, *Antitrust and the Oil Monopoly*, endeavors to challenge what he believes to be the commonly accepted view that trustbusting was, and is, the most effective device for curbing monopoly by upholding competition and open opportunities for individuals and enterprises alike. He evaluates as ultimately futile the suits against Standard Oil brought by several states under their own antitrust statutes, notably by Ohio, Texas, Tennessee, Kansas and Missouri, with the petroleum combination's superior wealth and talents decisive in the end. He notes that Standard Oil was already by 1900 the prototype of today's multinational colossi. He judges rightly that Roosevelt's deftly publicized and highly moralized trustbusting had more to do with his own politicking and inherent fear of socialism than any serious intention on his part to effect alterations in the relations of the state to the industrial system.

The new, smaller companies of Rockefeller's empire continued to function for many years after 1911 as closely coordinated elements with a common cause. So the antitrust process, Bringhurst concludes, which failed to dissolve Standard Oil, is demonstrably ineffective. America's oil industry is governed today by Standard's offspring—EXXON, Mobil, Chevron, ARCO, SOHIO and others, and the resources of crude oil and capital they and their kind control.

The puzzle is that historian Bringhurst believes he has to make this case
at all, though a certain segment of the public admittedly continues in troglodyte fashion to uphold the faith in antimonopoly prosecutions. (A correspondent to the New York Times (August 5, 1979) is even proposing an “international antitrust agency” under the United Nations to break up international commodity cartels.) Many people, however, doubt that much, if anything, can be done through antitrust actions to restrain the powers exercised by economic imperialists operating with relative impunity around the world. The weakness of Bringhurst’s challenge to historians’ conventions stems from his oversight or ignorance of modern legal scholarship. If his lengthy bibliography is typical, it could mean that American historians generally are failing to take advantage of contemporary studies by professors of law. One late example, Antitrust Laws by Phillip Areeda and Donald F. Turner (3 vols., Little, Brown and Company, 1978), offers both law and history in elucidating the development of property rights and contractual obligations safely sheltered from trustbusting politics, legislatures, or public-defender-style incursions. It is a persuasive piece of work for explaining entrepreneurial stability and continuity against the familiar saga of the antimonopolistic people and their antitrust champions. Since Dr. Bringhurst’s book is published in a series of “contributions” to legal studies, the puzzle remains just where his contribution can be found.

Bryn Mawr College

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN


London has exerted an almost hypnotic spell on American writers and artists from the time of Benjamin West and Washington Irving down to that of Pennell, Abbey, James, Pound and Eliot; but the period covered by this book (1894–1914) seems to have been especially intense. In these two decades the American migration was so great that it threatened to take over the British world of literature (fiction and poetry, but not drama), art (chiefly painting), and publishing (quality and avant-garde magazines).

Stanley Weintraub has produced an entertaining and informative narrative of this impact of world on world without obvious or heavy-handed generalizations or judgments. His method is roughly chronological, with one or a small group of Americans treated in each chapter, all of which are titled by the street or quarter of London or its suburbs concerned. The result is cumulative, but the attention is held on every page by a dramatic focus on a particular artist, his personality, his activities, his family and friends, his successes and failures—a thoroughly human reading experience.

In perspective, however, it is possible to make some generalizations. The total period divides roughly into two: the era of Whistler in painting and Henry James in literature; and the era of Sargent, Abbey, and Pennell in art and Pound, Frost, and Eliot in literature. During the first era, the
visiting Americans like Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Logan Pearsall Smith, Frank Harris, Stephen Crane, Harry Harland, Harold Frederic and James A. McNeil Whistler each lived his own life and wrote or painted his own way—most of them eccentric but basically involved in the Establishment as represented for Americans by Henry James (just recovering from his failure as a playwright) and Whistler (back from his self-exile in Venice). They all acted greater or lesser roles as lions or house guests for London society, and they all published their works or painted their pictures for the established galleries and magazines. The one off-beat note was the Harland-Beardsley Yellow Book, which was shocking rather than revolutionary, and in which some of the best novellas of James appeared amid Beardsley and Pennell drawings. Stanley Weintraub’s book starts lamely, through no fault of his, with a chapter on Mark Twain during his years of personal tragedy, but it soon picks up interest with Jennie Churchill’s friend Pearl Craigie (John Oliver Hobbes) and proceeds from one lively vignette to the next.

With the arrival of Ezra Pound, however, in 1908 the focus and tempo of the story abruptly change. Instead of a dignified introduction by Henry James into the best London clubs and salons, the visiting American writer would now find himself caught up in Ezra’s reforming zeal and promotional skill. Yeats, Lawrence, Ford Madox Ford, T. E. Hulme, Amy Lowell and Jacob Epstein now take stage center, and new aesthetic movements like Imagism and Vorticism link the London group (which has by now become more of a cell) with Harriet Monroe’s Chicago and her Poetry magazine. New avant-garde magazines start up and fail—Egoist, Blast, Freewoman—and literary evenings at Pound’s Church Walk take the place of social salons. The twentieth century is swinging into action and Americans are at the helm.

It is into this world that Robert Frost and T. S. Eliot were plunged, each to make the most of it and to establish his international reputation with its aid. Frost’s fight for recognition was conciliatory and gentle at this stage in his stormy career, while Eliot slipped in on the smooth runners of social grace and erudition. These two are perhaps the real heroes of this motley comedy of alienation and international exchange.

A word should be added for the readers of this journal on the interesting fact that so many of these artists and writers came from Philadelphia. I counted eight and I probably missed some. The long tradition of American supremacy in the graphic arts was sustained by the Pennells, Edwin Austin Abbey, and John Singer Sargent (the Singers are Philadelphians), and the Philadelphia literary life was represented by Ezra Pound, Logan Pearsall Smith, and John Cournos. I have always said that the reason I feel so much at home in London is that it reminds me of Philadelphia—a remark which the English don’t always appreciate.

Good history, but also good gossip.

*University of Pennsylvania*

Robert E. Spiller

It would be brash to suggest that by now most Americans must have at least one Scotch-Irish ancestor, but the idea may not be too far-fetched; for aside from their prominence in education, religion, and politics, these early immigrants seem to have settled everywhere and to have had a facility in discarding Old World ties and assuming an essentially American identity.

These Scotch-Irish settlers, those of Pennsylvania especially, have been the subject of a number of scholarly studies, ranging in size from C. A. Hanna's two-volume work published in 1901 to Guy S. Klett's 46-page booklet in 1948. Wayland F. Dunaway's 1944 work, now reprinted, falls conveniently between these extremes and is attractive in size and readability. Its author, a distinguished professor at (then) Pennsylvania State College, was best known for his History of Pennsylvania, which, first published in 1935, went through successive editions and was regarded as the standard work on the subject. Among his shorter writings were articles on ethnic groups other than the Scotch-Irish, published in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography and other professional journals.

His longer work on the Scotch-Irish, originally published by the University of North Carolina Press, was favorably reviewed on its first appearance and praised by later writers. Klett referred to it in his 1948 booklet as "the most recent and scholarly work on the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania"; and the 1957 Bibliography of Pennsylvania History rated it, in one of its few appraisals, as an "excellent work."

Actually, a more cumbersome title, including the phrase "and Their Descendants," would have better defined the scope of Dunaway's book, which extends well beyond the colonial period and the boundaries of Pennsylvania. This broader coverage undoubtedly provides greater interest for the general reader, but the author's reliance, for the post-colonial period, on local histories and the publications (1889-1901) of the Scotch-Irish Society of America raises certain questions. These late nineteenth-century publications, which presented the Scotch-Irish in a very favorable light and gave their hyphenated name its first widespread currency, might seem to attest to their survival as a distinct ethnic group; and Dunaway does not explain that the publicity reflects rather a desire on the part of the early settlers' well-established descendants to disassociate themselves from the wave of later Irish immigrants.

This problem of interpreting the literature points up the major limitation of Dunaway's book: simply stated, the present reprint has a publication date of 1979 but a research date of 1944. Such a relevant work as, for example, James G. Leyburn's 1962 The Scotch-Irish, A Social History, does not appear in Dunaway's bibliography, of course, and could not have been
taken into account in his writing. No present-day student can disregard
the later work, however, and a comparison of it with Dunaway's earlier
work is stimulating. The fact must be stressed, that this limitation of
Dunaway's book is imposed by the passage of time and was beyond the
author's control. Nevertheless, the present reprint must now be appraised
as a reputable work, still readable but outdated.

The reprint illustrates, incidentally, the rising prices of books (and other
necessities); if you had bought the original 1944 edition, you would have
paid $3.00, and no sales tax.

Mechanicsburg, Pa. 

William A. Hunter

Autobiography of Samuel D. Gross, M.D., with Sketches of His Contem-
poraries. Edited by his sons, Samuel W. Gross and A. Haller Gross.
(Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1887. Reprint New York: Arno Press,

Dr. Samuel D. Gross practiced and taught surgery for more than fifty
years—from 1828 to 1884—and in three major medical centers, Cincinnati,
Louisville, and, most importantly, Philadelphia, where in 1856 he was
appointed Professor of Surgery at Jefferson Medical College. During these
years anesthesia was discovered, the conditions mandating asepsis came to
be recognized, more complex surgical procedures were developed, and
“empiricism” in the prescription of medicine was replaced by scientific
diagnosis.

Gross was awed by these changes and by the men who had made them.
Having based his own practice on scientific principles as they evolved, he
had been uncommonly attentive to the achievements of his colleagues in
America and Europe. Thus his autobiography—the first draft written in
1870, and sections added until his death—is a rich picture of nineteenth-
century medicine.

The names of many of the great medical men of the mid-century appear
in the book, and they represent men whom Gross knew personally: Karl
Rokitansky, the Vienna pathological anatomist; Rudolf Virchow, the Berlin
pathologist; Sir James Paget, the London surgical pathologist who rose
from poverty to knighthood in the practice of surgery; and J. Marion Sims,
the American gynecologist. Curiously, Gross mentions few Frenchmen; in
contrast to the great interest of his American colleagues in French surgery,
Gross focused his European travels and his comments about medical
achievements on Germany, Austria, the Lowlands and Great Britain. In
discussing his American colleagues, he includes medical men not only in
Cincinnati, Louisville, and Philadelphia, but in New Orleans, Charleston,
New York and Boston.
The medical man's indefatigability is an important theme in Gross's book. Gross himself wrote five to six hours daily, composing his drafts mentally while he made his rounds, and published not only articles, collections of articles, and small books but his famous comprehensive System of Surgery that went through six editions. The cultivation of the physician is another theme: Gross believed that the love of painting, literature, and history was essential to the character of the physician. He himself saw the great art collections of Vienna, Dresden, Amsterdam and Antwerp; and, in Philadelphia, his close friend Henry Carey was an art collector. Occasional humor enlivens Gross's book; for instance, he tells of an ignorant patient who for his medicine made a tincture of the paper on which his prescription was written.

The most significant aspect of the book is not its array of information, however; it is Gross's point of view that the conscientious practice of medicine leads to moral heroism. According to Gross, the ideals of medical practice are founded on moral imperatives: the exemplary doctor's professional bearing in all situations is courtly; he undertakes and publishes as much research as possible; not only does he teach but he does so systematically and impressively; his success in all the dimensions of his practice is due not to genius but to industry; and, most importantly, he is motivated by religious piety. Although the virtue of industry weighs heavily in Gross's appraisals of his colleagues—he cites instance after instance of men who struggled against poverty and ignorance to become physicians—fundamental to all the virtues Gross demands of his medical colleagues is reverence. Believing that in the humanitarian calling of the physician religion and science were united, Gross uses New Testament language to describe the physician's responsibilities: "to heal the sick, to open the eyes of the blind, to make the deaf hear, to enable the lame to walk, and to loose the tongue of the dumb." Gross modestly cites his own attempts to embody in his practice these critical medical ideals. That he succeeded and did so with an inspiring intensity we know from the testimony of his colleagues, from his academic honors, and, most concretely, from Thomas Eakins' great painting, The Gross Clinic of 1875. A powerful image of Gross's moral heroism—in his surgery, in his teaching, and in his very bearing—with the year 1979 the painting had hung at Jefferson Medical College for 100 years.

Modern readers will learn much about nineteenth-century medicine from Gross. They will be astounded at how thoroughly he knew his professional community. But most importantly, I think, the modern reader will be moved by—and perhaps envious of—Gross's confidence that human achievement could be moral and his faith that his own work had exemplified this morality.

University of Maryland

Elizabeth Johns

The history of the Brethren in Christ is a two-century American odyssey that began in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, during the Revolutionary era. Many aspects of Brethren history exemplify the paradoxical characteristics typical of sects everywhere. Although formally separated from the secular world, the Brethren have been deeply affected by parallel religious groups. Their German founders merged Mennonite and Dunker practices with Pietism to create the group in about 1775, while a century later the adoption of Wesleyan Holiness doctrines by many midwestern Brethren congregations dramatically altered Brethren worship and behavior. Although a largely rural people, after 1880 the Brethren funded many urban and overseas missions that further altered their traditional identity and thrust them out of the sectarian mold in which they had been created. Still, despite kaleidoscopic confrontations with both worldly society and oftentimes narrowly interpreted Biblical injunctions, the Brethren of the 1970s have in striking ways adhered well to the doctrines of personal convincement, sanctification, and pacifism that characterized their predecessors two centuries ago.

Carlton O. Wittlinger tells part of the Brethren story well. The chapters that describe Brethren agony over the Wesleyan Holiness problem, the development of urban and overseas missions among the Brethren, and their pacifist record are especially well done. Wittlinger is no mere apologist for the denomination either. He frequently points to gaps between Brethren ideals and social reality, noting, for example, the gap between promise and performance in the matter of military service. While a 1950s survey of draft-eligible Brethren males suggested that most would decline active military duty, the opposite became true, with congregations in the eastern United States, mainly in Pennsylvania, registering the largest number of young men rejecting traditional Brethren pacifism.

However, two major problems will limit the volume’s usefulness to anyone except the Brethren laity. First, it omits nearly all Brethren history between 1775, when the group was founded, and the 1880s. Part of this omission is explained by the fact that the Brethren kept no official minutes of their gatherings until the late nineteenth century. But the failure to explore alternate sources leaves readers interested in Brethren development during the early national and antebellum periods little to peruse. Second, Wittlinger writes in a narrow sectarian style that fails to set the history of the Brethren in the context of American social and religious history. We learn relatively little about the religious and political climate of Revolutionary Pennsylvania that might have produced this group. Possible relationships between Brethren urban and overseas missions and those of other religious groups remain unexplored. Only in the brief discussion of eighteenth-century Pietism or in the analysis of Brethren attraction to Wesleyan
Holiness doctrines does Wittlinger fit Brethren history with the cultural world in which it evolved. The result is a frustrating book that hints at an exciting, significant history but either analytically or chronologically tells only part of it.

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

JON BUTLER


This book is the first full treatment of its subject, and one of the few to deal with working people in this period at all. Covering mechanic political, economic, and social life, it is rich in information based upon extensive quantitative and qualitative work in a variety of sources. Part I, "Politics," allows us to see mechanic politics over time, from the Revolution through the War of 1812. Though he follows the work of others on mechanics in the Revolution and the 1790s, Rock adds his own work on the following period, with chapters on conflicts among mechanics, and between mechanics and Republicans, over the Embargo and the War, and with new and helpful statistics on mechanic officeholding and voting. Parts II and III carry the mechanics through the transition from the "Traditional" to the "New" marketplace, covering economic developments in different trades, conflicts between masters and journeymen, and "work and morality."

Although this book reveals a great deal about the mechanics, it also reveals the problems that remain to be overcome in order to understand them. The source of these problems is the author's failure to address the conceptual and interpretive questions raised either by his own evidence or by other scholars. Hoping to avoid "definitive explanations," Rock in fact adopts two explanatory frameworks without confronting their conflicting implications. One is acknowledged as "the new social history" (p. vii). The mechanics formed a "community." A large and divided group, they also shared "common interests and characteristics" that made them "distinct in some respects from the rest of society" (p. 12), as well as active in the shaping of American life. "The country they lived in was their creation" (p. 326). Here are the ingredients of a view of working people and of class associated with E. P. Thompson and others—their common class experience unifying apparently contradictory interests and attitudes, their distinctiveness, their historical "agency."

The other framework is that of the "old" labor history. The ideas and tactics of the mechanics in this period "would inform labor movements in the following generations" (pp. vii, 324). Thus the mechanics are seen as forerunners of bread and butter trade unionism ("they were not, of course, ideologues" [p. 200]), antiideological politics ("they were a part of the system" [p. 325]), and "countervailing market force" (p. 283), with all of which the author is in obvious but uncritical sympathy. Here are the
The ingredients of a view of working people and of class associated with Commons and Perlman, the "Wisconsin School."

Whether you can have the new labor history and the old too is a problem that is never addressed. But having in hand the ingredients of both, the author fails to apply the insights of the former and recapitulates the biases of the latter. The result is a contradiction that fails to do justice to the mechanics and actively invites misinterpretation of them.

Although Rock rightly warns that the unity of the mechanic experience "must be kept in mind," it is the parts that take over in the course of things. Here the mechanics are "libertarian," there "moralistic" (undefined terms); here deferential, there impudent; in some ways violent, in others not. Scattered throughout the book, there is no reminder that these qualities may be understandable as two sides of the same class, even the same personal, experience. "Work" (compartmentalized into a separate chapter) is conceived, not as the defining characteristic of mechanic life as a whole, but as a separate component of it. There is no conception of class beyond craft or occupation, or of culture beyond "values" and lifestyle. The concept of a mechanic class or culture as a whole larger than its parts is not applied.

It is not that these concepts should intrude on the evidence, but that without them the mechanics become fragmented and quickly lose their autonomy, integrity, and distinctiveness. The fact that they sought "improved social and economic standing" and shared certain values with other classes leads Rock to describe them, anachronistically, and contrary to the evidence, as "middle class" (pp. 288, 317). Given this, all of the helpful information on mechanic political, economic, and cultural activities and beliefs is cast in a more derivative and passive light than the author seems to realize.

It is perhaps an instructive historiographical irony that a book can nod in the direction of the new labor history, apply the Progressive sympathies of the old, and produce mechanics who will be seen as a consensual historian's delight. But it is also testimony to the contribution Rock has made that the richness of the mechanic experience he has uncovered manages through all of this to survive.

Saint Mary's University

Richard J. Twomey


This Guide, compiled and edited by Dr. Baumann, Chief, Division of Archives and Manuscripts (State Archives) of the Pennsylvania Historical
and Museum Commission, describes Record Group 27 in the State Archives which has been reproduced on fifty-four rolls of microfilm.

These manuscripts and printed records cover the period from 1775 to 1790 and constitute the record of Pennsylvania as a government during the Revolutionary era. The publication is divided into four sections: the manuscript minutes of the Committee of Safety, Councils of Safety, and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania; the Executive Correspondence of these councils; records relating to the executive activities of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary governments; and the corresponding published minutes and executive correspondence, known respectively as Colonial Records and Pennsylvania Archives, First Series. Although the Guide does not have an index, one is in progress and will constitute a separate publication.

This volume is the second guide for a Record Group to be issued by the State Archives, the first being the Guide to the Microfilm of the Records of the Provincial Council (1966). It may be ordered from the Commission, P.O. Box 1026, Harrisburg, Pa. 17120.


In 1957, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission published Norman B. Wilkinson's Bibliography of Pennsylvania History, which listed writings produced through 1952. Subsequently, in 1976, Carol Wall's Bibliography of Pennsylvania History: A Supplement filled in the years from 1953 through 1965, including some items dating as recently as 1969.

The Additions Through 1970 is the first in a series which will bring the published bibliography of writings on Pennsylvania history up to date, and which will keep it as current as possible. As the initial issue of the series, this volume lists works published primarily in the years 1966 through 1970, but also includes some earlier materials.

In conformance with the previously published bibliographies, this new series follows their format as to its organization and presentation of subjects, with some modifications. For example, each era is subdivided into five topical categories—economic history, social and cultural history, politics and government, biography, and special events, and there are other refinements. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is performing a useful task in compiling these bibliographical aids.
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<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td><strong>Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)</strong>: 3,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td><strong>Paid Circulation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><strong>Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales</strong>: 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><strong>Mail subscriptions</strong>: 3,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td><strong>Total Paid Circulation</strong>: 3,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td><strong>Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means</strong>: 3,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td><strong>Total Distribution</strong>: 7,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td><strong>Copies not distributed</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><strong>Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing</strong>: 1,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><strong>Returns from news agents</strong>: 476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td><strong>Total Distribution</strong>: 8,107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part 11: Certification

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

**Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Manager, or Owner**

**Signature**: [Signature]

**Title**: [Title]

### Part 12: For Completion by Publishers Mailing at the Regular Rates

39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4369 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates."

In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the regular postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626.

**Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Manager, or Owner**

**Signature**: [Signature]

**Title**: [Title]