

BOOK REVIEWS

Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years: 1681-1776. By JOSEPH J. KELLEY, JR. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1980. xiv, 848 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

This whopping volume is as easy to read as it is hard to hold. Those acquainted with Kelley's earlier work on colonial Philadelphia will welcome his decision to bring to a larger landscape his keen eye for human foibles and his sense of the ironic in everyday affairs. Unlike most earlier full-scale histories of provincial Pennsylvania, this one avoids any thematic approach and posits no interpretation. It encompasses most aspects of the life of the people, and the author has tried "to let the actors speak for themselves." (xi) This in part explains why he provides no footnotes to the multitude of quotations, for such entries would almost double the already ample size of the book. Still, the lack of documentation of quotations leaves us at the author's mercy, since checking the authenticity or context of them is impossible.

The story proceeds in nearly unbroken chronological sequence. If the author were trying to follow some institutional, or constitutional, or economic development, this method would not work well; but he has a different objective. What were colonial Pennsylvanians thinking about from day to day, and how reacting to what they perceived? He lets their own comments and snap judgments "capture the pulse of the moment," and asks the reader to wait, as the speakers had to, for the implications of their attitudes to unfold, years later.

In the 33 chapters divided into six parts, all the major events and personalities appear with a few exceptions. The emphasis is on Philadelphia. The back-country appears when it becomes involved in military campaigns or Indian forays. I found no consideration of the "Concessions" of July, 1681, and little of the Proclamation of 1763. The entire constitutional development of the province is treated casually. In view of the amount of space given to disputes about the British Parliament's right to tax, I think that far too little attention is paid to the clear assertion of Parliament's right to tax Pennsylvania in Article 20 of the Proprietary Charter.

The content of the book reminds me of the first volume of McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*. You can open to any page and start reading and will not intrude on a developing plot, for there is no plot—just the daily onflow of human activities, especially newsworthy ones. The material seems derived largely from the writings of the Penns, Franklin, Bouquet and others including missionaries and travelers, and from contemporary newspapers, provincial statutes, petitions to Assembly for redress of grievances, county

court dockets, and basic Philadelphia books like Watson's *Annals* and Scharf and Wescott. The bibliography, one segment for each of the six parts of the book, is prodigious; but the above sources have been most heavily used.

To give a sense of "being there," the author repeatedly uses what he calls "mosaics," swift runs over the various events being talked of in coffee houses and taverns that week. Thus, on pages 190-196 we find paragraphs on border brawls, debt collection, blackmail, flooding, botany, newspaper ads, Catholics, John Penn, pay for carpenters, counterfeiting, flax bounty, status of the Lower Counties, Thomas Penn, the Zenger Trial, and the 1763 Indian Treaty. On pages 205-6 we find material on voting, exports, smallpox, the Molasses Act, tavern prices, poverty, paper currency, and filth in the city streets. Much of the trivia deals with what one finds in court records: sex offenses, assault, robbery, vandalism, slander and the like. Possibly because so much material derives from the courts or from grievance petitions, or from letters of politicians speaking of their enemies, the cumulative effect of the details is to present the reader with the worst face of a subject without compensatory concern for the best side of the countenance. The greatest of the leaders of the day are seen as their adversaries pictured them, and few escape this belittling. I would be glad to know who was talking about the "parcel of Quaker sons of bitches" on page 228, for the importance of such strong statements lies not in the words, but in who said them and under what compulsion.

The volume is well spiced with sex and harrowing Indian-white encounters. The emphasis on colonial depravity makes the urban reader at length rejoice that he lives in so orderly and peace-loving a city as contemporary Philadelphia; and to wonder why the author still exhibits that "instinct of disparagement," noted by Edwin Wolf in the January, 1980 issue of this journal. Finally, your reviewer must note that very little appears about those scores of thousands of colonials who, by living peaceably in their shops or on their farms, never were on a court docket for peccadillos which historians, centuries later, would use to portray their society. Reading about rascals is more fun.

Pennsylvania State University

PHILIP S. KLEIN

Missionary of Moderation: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Lutheran Church in English America. By LEONARD R. RIFORGATO. (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1980. 250 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$19.50.)

Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg has been described as an eminent colonial clergyman, and rightly labeled patriarch of Lutheranism in America. Leonard R. Riforgiato set out to fill in and color this conventional image more fully than previous chroniclers of the German Lutheran church have done, to provide a picture with better focus and sharper contours of an outstandingly adaptable

ecclesiastical organizer and unique, if not original, theologian.

In this worthwhile endeavor two broad areas of inquiry and analysis are of particular interest. One is the development of German Lutheranism in colonial America, and Muhlenberg's role in it, as one weave in the ethnically and religiously heterogenous fabric of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. The other is an assessment of the nature and the scope of Muhlenberg's theology and how this influenced his proceedings concerning the structure and implementation of church policy in the New World. These topics overlap, and can be fully understood only against the European background from which the congregants and their minister came.

Riforgiato's treatment of Muhlenberg does not clearly choose either focus. Rather he oscillates between the two. Relying heavily on a close reading of Muhlenberg's writings, the selection of issues for descriptive analysis is more determined by specific situations in Muhlenberg's ministry than by central and recurrent themes in his personal and official communications which would illustrate that his theological convictions were indeed the basis for his practical decisions as Riforgiato postulates. This ambiguity of analytical focus and lack of adequate explanation concerning the relationship between thought and action is reflected in the order in which the chapters are presented. After "The Origins of Muhlenberg's Thought" (chapter 1) are briefly discussed, the central issues of "The Theology of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg" (chapter 5) and "Muhlenberg's Ecclesiastical Polity" (chapter 6) are only taken up again after the situation of "American Lutheranism before Muhlenberg" (chapter 2) and Muhlenberg's stand against and handling of the Moravians and the Orthodox Lutherans in New York (chapters 3 and 4) are described. That puts it up to the reader to make the connections and draw the conclusions between the concrete situation and the theological background supposedly responsible for Muhlenberg's action in particular circumstances.

Riforgiato's failure to build and then support in a logical order his argument that Muhlenberg ingeniously chose the best of continental Pietism and then anchored it in sound orthodox ecclesiastical structures, which proved to be an immensely adaptable combination for the unprecedented conditions of the New World, leaves the reader unconvinced. Rigorous and thoughtful editing might have eliminated these structural weaknesses. (There are also several cases of misspelling, particularly in the German.) More serious, however, are the number of questions unasked, the connections not made, and the comparisons not drawn. For example, from where did Muhlenberg's sweeping authority originate? And how did the relationship to Halle, Germany change after American independence? The main source of these fundamental omissions, as well as the frequent vagueness and a consistent absence of essential definitions (such as who constitutes a congregation or parish), seems to be a surprising lack of familiarity with the more recent literature on Pietism (ranging from F. Ernest Stoeffler's later works to the series *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus*) and with many well-documented aspects of life in colonial Pennsylvania (for instance community studies focused on localities

with sizable proportions of German Lutheran settlers). Thereby the author perpetuates a dependence on older works, mostly by church historians, that he sought—but failed—to supercede. The value of the topic in early American history is unquestionable. Unfortunately, a definitive assessment of Muhlenberg's role in the development of German Lutheranism in colonial America still remains to be written.

Temple University

MARIANNE WOKECK

Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820. A Conference held 25 & 26 May, 1978 by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Edited by PHILIP CASH, ERIC H. CHRISTIANSON and J. WORTH ESTES. (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1980. xxiii, 425 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$25.00.)

This handsomely produced book marks a new level of interest and sophistication in the study of medicine in colonial and early national America. It incorporates as well the skills of an eclectic assortment of authors drawn from the worlds of both academic history and clinical medicine; this sharing of interests suggests a promising future for a still rapidly expanding field of historical inquiry.

Though based on symposium proceedings, the editors and sponsors have had the foresight to allow the contributors time to revise their essays and to present them with a generous accompaniment of illustrations, charts and appendices. This is as much source book as collective synthesis. (As well as a beautiful job of book-production; the Stinehour Press and Meriden Gravure have done their predictably elegant job of composition and printing.) The contributions group themselves into three clusters. One seeks to place Massachusetts medicine and its practitioners in an appropriate social and intellectual context. The bulk of the book is occupied by two other groups of papers, one centering on the practitioners of medicine, the other on the nature of their practice. In the second group of essays, studies by Christianson and Cash center in detail on the question of personnel, while C. Helen Brock provides a useful survey of European influences. The essays by Cash and Brock are enriched by appendices listing Boston physicians 1760-1798, doctors listed in the Boston directories of 1789, 1796 and 1798, and a register of practitioners who received some European medical training. Of particular interest to a middle-Atlantic constituency is a well-balanced essay by Whitfield Bell deftly comparing the Philadelphia and Boston experiences.

The group of essays relating to medical practice are, if anything, even more valuable. Of particular interest—both substantive and methodological—is a lengthy contribution by J. Worth Estes on therapeutic practice; in almost ninety pages of text, charts and appendices, Estes describes prevailing therapeutic practice as it can be quantitatively reconstructed from the clinical

case-books of a handful of particularly assiduous practitioners. This is a fascinating experiment in the "behavioral" analysis of an area which has generally been marked by either neglect or casual anecdote. Estes' article is nicely supplemented by George Gifford's study of botanic remedies and William Wigglesworth's evaluation of surgery—so that this symposium provides an invaluable, if de facto, study of actual medical practice not available for any other state (except in a more discursive way in Wyndham Blanton's volumes on Virginia). Other valuable essays include discussion of early vital statistics (by James H. Cassedy), public medicine and dependency (by Douglas Lamar Jones) and the role of Boston's medical community in the world of science (By John C. Greene). Every historian of American medicine will find this beautifully designed and carefully documented book of value. We are indebted to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for sponsoring it and to its editors for seeing it so carefully through the press.

University of Pennsylvania

CHARLES E. ROSENBERG

American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution. By PETER SHAW. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981. 279 p. Illustrations, index. \$17.50.)

Peter Shaw's new book is sure to generate debate among students of the American Revolution. *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution* attempts to interpret the relationship between two sets of materials. On the one hand, Shaw seeks to provide a fuller analysis than we have previously had of the meaning of crowd disturbances in the pre-Revolutionary decade. On the other, he attempts to demonstrate how the private histories of four "conscience patriots"—James Otis, Jr., John Adams, Joseph Hawley, and Josiah Quincy, Jr.—interacted with the public events of the 1760s and 1770s to produce both personal crises and political action. More than that, however, Shaw presses his readers to consider what he takes to be the role of irrational and unconscious motives in the coming of the Revolution. The volume draws upon traditional historical sources, but its methods derive from anthropology, psychology, and literary criticism. The book is a refreshing and daring departure from the superficial sociological approach of much that early American historians have recently written, but it is also a maddening piece of work. It is often brilliant, always controversial, and, occasionally, just plain wrong.

Shaw has mastered an impressive body of source material. This is a learned essay, and not the least of its value lies in the new information it provides. For example, Shaw's lucid history of Pope's Day in chapter 9 is by far the best available and should prove indispensable to the many scholars who have been attempting to discover what that astonishingly complex festival is all about. Further, Shaw's skillful blending of literary texts (particularly Hawthorne's "My Kinsman, Major Molineux") with historical sources is heartening at a time when many colonial historians seem to be dismissing literary materials

altogether. In addition, one can only admire the intellectual risks that Shaw has taken in this book. It is ambitious in the best sense for it seeks to come to terms with the problem of the irrational in a period of American history that has too frequently been treated as though irrationality played no role at all in human behavior.

The thoroughness of Shaw's research and the boldness of his approach, however, will not gainsay some very real problems in his handling of evidence and his use of language. At the center of Shaw's argument is his conviction that the American Revolution was a *rite de passage*. That is, the Revolution was not merely an allegorical coming of age as some historians and innumerable writers of fiction have suggested; rather, the events of the period were *in fact* events that involved the acting out of severe conflicts between fathers and sons. In the case of the four conscience patriots, this conflict took the form of attacks on Thomas Hutchinson who served, Shaw would have us believe, as a substitute both for real fathers and for the imperial father, George III. Otis, Adams, Hawley, and Quincy, unable to confront their feelings of rage toward their own fathers and toward their King, focussed their emotional vitriol upon Hutchinson who appears in this account as a virtually blameless and public-spirited man unaccountably victimized by the individual and collective neuroses of the people of Massachusetts. Thus, the Stamp Act riots in Boston were not really about the Stamp Act at all. Rather, they were "symbolic" and "indirect" attempts to avoid "admitting the sentiment of revolution." Hutchinson was for the rioters, as for the conscience patriots, a "scapegoat."

Perhaps. But surely that was not *all* Hutchinson was. As a hard money man of distinctly aristocratic bearing, he had never exactly endeared himself to the people of Boston. The causes of the riots were undeniably complex, perhaps even including deep-seated conflicts over parental authority, but they were not symbolic as Shaw seems to argue. There were real issues involved, issues about which people had good reason to care deeply. To portray the events of 1765 as Shaw does bypasses these issues and does violence to the historical record. The articulated ideas of the patriots and their leaders (however they may have felt about their fathers) cannot be entirely ignored. Shaw himself would certainly not be pleased to find a reviewer characterize the neo-Tory perspective of this book as an attempt to reconcile anxieties the author feels about *his* father. Rather, one assumes, he would wish his argument to be taken seriously in its own terms before the search for hidden motives began. The patriots deserve no less.

This is not to argue that the sort of unconscious motivation with which Shaw is concerned should be dismissed; it deserves serious attention, but that attention must be given within an analytical frame that acknowledges the complexity of human motives and seeks to comprehend both the rational and the irrational impulses that drove the revolutionary generation. That said, there is a genuine evidential problem that must be faced. Since unconscious motives, by definition, are never directly stated in the sources, Shaw must jump from what the words meant to those who wrote them in the eighteenth

century to what Shaw believes they really meant. Historians do this sort of thing all the time and, in some circumstances, it is a legitimate analytical strategy. In this instance, however, much of the motivation that Shaw imputes to the patriots derives from his misunderstanding of the "parent-child" metaphor and its place in eighteenth century political thought. The oft-noted use of this imagery by the Revolutionaries need not indicate deep-seated conflicts between fathers and sons. The family metaphor was *the* metaphor of Anglo-American political discourse, and its use was in no way unusual or remarkable. The language of the patriots was so familiar as to be commonplace. Consequently, it is very misleading to single out the use of the parent-child metaphor as a peculiarly American and, therefore, psychologically significant rhetorical device. Psychotics, neurotics, and perfectly well-adjusted people all use such language. Not having read Freud, or despite what Shaw says anticipated him, no one in the eighteenth century would have found any special significance in the application of the family metaphor to imperial relations. That it may have had such significance for some people is certainly a possibility, but Shaw provides no consistent rationale for distinguishing such people from those for whom the metaphor possessed a political rather than personal meaning.

Shaw's psychologizing will undoubtedly be the most provocative aspect of his analysis, but several other criticisms may also be briefly noted. First, he never delineates the precise connection between the personal crises of the four patriots and the behavior of the crowds. Indeed, it is not even clear what these two sets of materials are doing in the same book unless, of course, Shaw wishes to argue that everyone in Massachusetts or, for that matter, everyone in colonial America shared the anxieties of four quirky Whigs. And this leads to a second point: What about the rest of the colonies? There is some material here about crowd behavior outside of Boston, but most of the author's evidence is drawn from the Bay Colony. Readers of this journal may legitimately wonder whether Shaw means to suggest that Philadelphians were driven by the same impulses that drove Bostonians—especially since Shaw's title suggests that he means not only to include Philadelphians, but Virginians, New Yorkers, and everyone else in colonial North America in his generalizations.

Finally, there are some matters about which Shaw is simply incorrect. He says that Pope's Day was the only popular holiday in colonial New England. In fact, the celebration of Thanksgiving Day had been a yearly event at least since the late seventeenth century, and it was not only a much older holiday than Pope's Day for the majority of New Englanders, it was also one whose excesses attracted far more attention from ministers and provincial officials. Shaw says that the colonists suffered from "festival deprivation," but this was not the case. Yearly as well as occasional fasts and thanksgivings were very common in colonial New England and were taken far more seriously than Pope's Day, a holiday which had a dramatic but short-lived history. Even Shaw's reading of the Pope's Day evidence, therefore, misconstrues the event because he ignores the deeply religious character of the language of the occasion and entirely

underestimates the continuing vitality of religion generally and piety in particular in the public life of eighteenth century New England.

Lest these criticisms be misunderstood, I must reiterate that this book is one of the most thought provoking works on early American history that I have read in a long time. Shaw's evidence is elusive, his writing is allusive, and his argument is illusive. Still, for all of that, *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution* engaged my attention and stimulated my interest as few recent books have. No reviewer could ask for more.

Princeton University

DOUGLAS GREENBERG

The Old Revolutionaries: Political Lives in the Age of Samuel Adams. By PAULINE MAIER. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980. xxii, 309 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

The Old Revolutionaries seeks to characterize the personal styles and political ideologies of that generation of men—most of them born in the 1720s and 1730s—who were in the forefront of the “radical” opposition to Great Britain which Professor Maier chronicled so compellingly in her earlier work, *From Resistance to Revolution* (New York, 1972). Many readers of that earlier book were uncomfortable with Maier's use of the term “radical” to describe the behavior of men of such traditional social backgrounds as Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee, and in this book she addresses herself more explicitly to the question of why the Old Revolutionaries “were radicals in the context of 1765-1776, but were not necessarily in the vanguard of change thereafter” (p. xvii). What bound those men together in Maier's view were not similar backgrounds or even wholly common responses to the events of 1765-1776, but rather a shared commitment to traditional notions of republicanism and, in particular, a concern for the preservation of virtue and the combatting of corruption in the social order.

Professor Maier's interpretation of the collective mentality of the Old Revolutionaries is based on case studies of five men—Sam Adams, Isaac Sears, Dr. Thomas Young, Richard Henry Lee, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Among the five, Sam Adams stands out clearly as the archetype. His sturdy New England moralism and his Calvinist commitment to the preservation of virtue made him “less suited for the role of founding father than for that of a moral reformer” (p. 33). Moreover, Adams was prepared to live out his creed, eschewing affluence in both his possessions and his personal appearance. Maier's description of Adams is an arresting one; although I think she tends to overstate that traditional whig's commitment to egalitarianism, her depiction of Adams as a moral reformer is much more illuminating than the more conventional view of historians such as Vernon Parrington, who described him as a “professional agitator” or John C. Miller, whose biography of Adams was subtitled “Pioneer in Propaganda.”

Professor Maier's portraits of the other four Old Revolutionaries, though elegant and insightful as individual character sketches, are not as compelling as a composite of a coherent generational temperament. Isaac Sears, of less prominent parentage, less of a man of words and more of a man of action than Adams, seems plainly to have been less attached to traditional notions of republican virtue than his New England counterpart and, even more strikingly, more attuned to the acquisitive, entrepreneurial spirit which Maier sees as typical of the new, post-revolutionary generation. Dr. Thomas Young, more militant in his disrespect for constituted authority than any of the Old Revolutionaries, was, even by the logic of Maier's own analysis, more closely linked by intellect and temperament to Thomas Paine than to Samuel Adams. Richard Henry Lee, who clearly did preach both a virtuous, spartan mode of daily conduct and a sternly-disciplined mode of resistance to England that may have caused him occasionally to yearn for the honesty and simplicity of Sam Adams's New England, was, in his actual *style* of life if not in his ideology, far-removed from that austere and virtuous world. Maier rightfully notes that Richard Henry Lee never enjoyed the level of affluence of some of the members of his exceptionally wealthy and prestigious family, but his dependence on slaves, his handsome plantation house, and his excellent kitchen containing "everything that is most excellent in fish, crabs, wild fowl, and exquisite meats," as well as "the best of liquors" (p. 167), do not suggest that Lee's commitment to the building of a Calvinist Sparta on the banks of the Potomac was quite of the same order as Adams's quest for moral reformation in Boston. And, if Dr. Thomas Young was considerably to the "left" of Sam Adams in his views respecting social and political authority, then Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the subject of Maier's final biographical sketch, was so far to the "right" that it is difficult to imagine what the aristocratic Marylander could have had in common with a man like Young other than a roughly similar birthdate and a commitment—though a much more hesitant one at that—to support the rebels against the mother country. Maier's sketch of Carroll is a fascinating one which draws together in impressive fashion the private and public strands of his life, yet for all of the elegance of her portrait of the individual, Carroll's place in the composite of the Old Revolutionary mentality seems quirky and uncertain.

Maier's final chapter, "Of Faiths and Generations in Revolutionary Politics," seeks, principally by contrasting the Old Revolutionaries with those "young men of the Revolution" who led the movement for the federal Constitution, to reemphasize her claim for a common, generational mentality for those five men whose public careers reached a culmination rather than a beginning at the time of Independence. Plainly, the simple fact of the advancing age of the Old Revolutionaries did place some limits on the extent to which they could adapt to the new realities of post-revolutionary America, but it does nevertheless seem to this reviewer that the line of demarcation between the "old" and the "new" generation of revolutionary leaders is not nearly as sharp as Maier implies. Moreover, as in the case of her earlier book, Maier

overworks the concept of republicanism as a unifying device for what still appears to be a strikingly disparate group of revolutionary leaders. The great merit of this book then is not its success in capturing a common pre-revolutionary mentality, but rather, its sensitive portrayal of five men whose disparate lives suggest, in Maier's words, "that revolution is not so different from the rest of life, where people frequently do the same thing for different reasons" (p. 270).

University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD R. BEEMAN

The Press and the American Revolution. Edited by BERNARD BAILYN and JOHN B. HENCH. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1980. 383 p. Tables, index. \$24.95.)

This book of seven essays, a foreword, and an afterword, is the American Antiquarian Society's "primary contribution to the American Revolution Bicentennial." It assembles fresh interpretation and facts in a rewarding addition to the literature of politics and the press during the last half of the eighteenth century.

No chapter in the book is more illuminating than that by Robert M. Weir, whose interpretation of the role of southern newspapers in the Revolution helps close a notable gap in colonial press history. Weir portrays the movement of most southern newspapers toward the evolving revolutionary position of the dominant southern establishments. The papers served largely as "adjuncts to the state," which meant that, driven by prudence as well as ideology, the printers placed their papers at the service of the most powerful instruments of government—the Assemblies—which stood at the heart of the revolt. Weir believes that many southern newspapers continued in this mode for generations after the Revolution. Alone among these authors, he builds his case in part by using theory developed for communication research by social scientists; structure, context, and generality all benefit.

Richard Buel develops and elucidates the revolutionaries' belief, stemming from English opposition ideology, that press freedom inhered essentially in liberty to resist the most oppressive power—the executive. Controlling oppression required a press free to attack oppression. In this context, intimidation or even violence against Loyalist printers who supported the King and Ministry was not violence to press freedom. Valuable as the elaboration of this is, Buel's expressed intent in another regard—to challenge Leonard Levy's *Legacy of Suppression*—brings no more than modest results: Buel finds the emergence of American libertarian thought where *Legacy* does—in the Jeffersonians' reaction to the Alien and Sedition Acts. He argues cogently that Jefferson's propensities to control expression were far milder than the Federalists'. But in minimizing danger to expression from the early and almost universal adoption by the states of criminal libel laws, he ignores much about

the result of these laws. For example, even in the highly incomplete record left by the haphazard printing of state court decisions in the nineteenth century, between 200 and 300 criminal defamation decisions appear, many of them against government officials and politicians.

The long-slighted topic of loyalism in the colonial press is addressed by Janice Potter and Robert M. Calhoon, who examine the intellectual and ideological content of newspaper essays favoring loyalism. They analyze within Daniel Leonard's contemporary diagnosis of Patriot "disaffection, petulance, ingratitude, and disloyalty." Despite overlap among these categories, the interpretation has clarity. And in the portrayal of Loyalists' anguish at Patriot suppression of their views, is their grasp that press freedom meant or ought to mean a tolerance not yet perceived by revolutionaries.

An analysis of Pennsylvania's German-language newspapers, by Willi Paul Adams, emphasizes the role of the Sowers' and Henry Miller's newspapers in exposing the German-speaking population to the issues of revolution. Previous characterizations of this press as heavily religious, Adams shows, overlook its forceful engaging of the controversy with the mother country. Extensive treatment of the conflict provided the content that could prepare German-language readers for the break.

The familiar story of the arrival of the "opinion-forming function" in American newspapers with the coming of revolutionary controversy achieves depth in Stephen Botein's opening essay. The case is made lucidly for the economic factor as the central source of pre-revolutionary printers declaring their presses nonpartisan, "open to all," and thus free—their "trade strategy." Most, he finds, became partisans reluctantly, forced to do so in prolonged crisis. With partisan service to the cause, however, printers increasingly viewed themselves as editors of judgment and influence—a self-image that, Botein says, they strove vainly in subsequent generations to fulfill.

G. Thomas Tanselle produces statistical summaries of printing for the two revolutionary decades, too modestly terming them "rough approximations." Paul Langford argues that direct correspondence to the newspapers from people in Britain produced a portrayal of the attitudes of the British public that was misleading because it was biased in favor of the American cause.

Marcus A. McCorison's foreword summarizes the work of printer Isaiah Thomas, who founded the Society in 1812. James Russell Wiggins holds, in an afterword, that the nation's concept of press freedom was the "especial handiwork" of printers. Wiggins and Buel might have found added evidence for their perceptions of the emergence of libertarian thought in studies of newspapermen's attitudes in the 1780s and 1790s.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

HAROLD L. NELSON

John Jay, The Winning of the Peace: Unpublished Papers 1780-1784. Edited by RICHARD B. MORRIS and ENE SIRVET. (New York: Harper & Row, 1980. xi, 765 p. Illustrations, index. \$30.00.)

Richard Morris has produced the second volume of his documentary biography of John Jay covering the life of the New York jurist and statesman from October 1780 through May 1784, the end of his peace mission in Europe. It is divided into four parts: I—"Impasse in Spain" (consisting of 101 documents) which is the story of the last 17 months of Jay's frustrating mission in Spain; II—"Paris and the Challenge of Peacemaking" (89 Documents), from his arrival in France in June 1783 until the end of the year, climaxing with the signing of the Preliminary Peace on November 30; III—"America and the General Peace" (86 documents) bringing the story up to the signing of the Definitive Peace on September 3, 1783; and IV—"Closing Months Abroad" (70 documents). The editors exercised wide latitude in their choice of documents. As many of these items were never seen by Jay the justification for including them in a documentary biography is their importance in either Jay's personal life or his diplomacy. In Part II, fewer than half the documents are letters to and from Jay, 13 are diplomatic items—including drafts, proposals, and the Preliminary Peace—and four are journals recording face-to-face encounters among the negotiators. Because of the importance of the Peace of Paris this book will undoubtedly see heavy use as a reference work. However, the editorial format is appropriate for a book to be read from cover to cover. Nowhere is there a complete list of the documents. The index, although thorough, only partly compensates for the absence of the list. Short editorial essays form subdivisions within the four parts. These are excellent factual summaries of the important events mentioned in the published documents or useful for an understanding of the historical situation.

An atmosphere of intrigue added to the normal uncertainties of diplomacy during the three years prior to the Definitive Peace. Ciphered statements, decoded for us by the editors, frequently appear in Jay's correspondence with other American officials. There were frequent and costly information leaks and losses of mail. The documents show convincingly that Jay's suspicions of French and Spanish duplicity were well founded. There was much internal discord within the British and American governments. Both Congress and the British cabinet sometimes changed policies to the embarrassment of their diplomats. Also, in both nations, official and unofficial rivals to the designated negotiating missions arose many times. Within the four man American mission, however, there was little discord.

Jay emerges as the bellwether of the American team. It was due to his insistence that two important decisions were made, the American rejection of the first wording of Richard Oswald's commission and the defiance of Congress's instructions that American negotiations could only occur jointly with the French. As a person Jay seems to have been temperamental, self-sacrificing and daring. Although he appears to have been much more businesslike than

Benjamin Franklin, there seems to be no basis for saying that Jay acted more as a lawyer than John Adams. Some readers may agree with me that there were surprisingly few, if any, references to compassion and bloodshed in the statements of representatives of all nations involved in the peace settlement.

This volume will emerge as one of the lasting documentary contributions of the Revolutionary Bicentennial period.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

LOUIS M. WADDELL

The Engineering Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Edited by DARWIN H. STAPLETON. (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1980. xx, 256 p. Illustrations, plates, appendix, bibliography, index. \$60.00.)

More than twenty-five years ago, in his Pulitzer prize winning biography, Talbot Hamlin brilliantly recreated the life and times of America's first professional architect and engineer, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820). Thanks to his efforts, Latrobe still walks among us, principally because Hamlin depicted the architect as a creative, if opinionated and immodest man who approximated the contemporary popular image of the architect as a creator following his own inner light, who was thus doomed to tragic existence in philistine republican America. Moreover, Hamlin suggested that Latrobe was like the modern professional in combining architecture and engineering, anticipating by more than a century the unification of both phases of the building arts.

Still, for Hamlin, Latrobe's engineering was primarily a means to an end, and the discussion of it was treated almost as an afterthought in the final chapter. It would be anticipated that this oversight would be corrected in *The Engineering Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, edited by Darwin H. Stapleton as a part of the ongoing ten volume publication of the Latrobe papers by the Maryland Historical Society and Yale University Press. The subject is particularly timely in this era when the consequences of the dependence on technology for water supply, agriculture and transportation are forcing re-examination of traditional American solutions to problems caused by growth. It was, after all, Latrobe's achievement to push the nascent nation toward the Roman imperial exploitation of resources rather than the Greek balance of supply and demand. Waterworks in Philadelphia and New Orleans cut the gordian knot of city growth, while canal systems in Delaware and Washington, D.C., navigation projects on the Susquehanna River, and highways paralleled the labors of Hercules, applying natural resources to serve industry.

But, despite publishing in exhaustive detail twelve separate projects, with 116 halftones (nearly a third of which are of the Philadelphia waterworks), and ten color plates (which for some reason repeat halftones, as if they were added at

the last minute), the engineering volume is a disappointment. This is not because of inadequate chronology. The problems appear to have arisen from the vastness of the overall project which has been broken into four separate editorial components—the journals, the architecture, the engineering, and the correspondence—all of which depend on the foundation of the microfiche edition of *The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, edited by Thomas Jeffrey (Clifton, N.J., 1976). It is from this that the letters and sketches providing Latrobe's commentary on his work must be drawn. The obvious problems of accessibility to the microfiche, which remains a library tool, the less than perfect index, and the failures to transcribe texts to legible type (see review by Franklin Toker, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXXVII, 1 [March, 1978] pp. 42-43) are compounded by the inexplicable decision to refer to documents by date and location, but not to the microfiche edition despite its being part of the Latrobe project. And because the letters and sketches that form the background to the engineering work are not included, Stapleton's acknowledged goal, the demonstration of the evolution and transmission of non verbal concepts, is seriously compromised.

More distressing was the decision to separate structural from mechanical and civil engineering, apparently reflecting the editorial categories of architecture and engineering. It was Latrobe's understanding of contemporary English engineering, learned in John Smeaton's London office, that transformed American public architecture from carpentry to masonry—vaulted permanence in such masterpieces as the Bank of Pennsylvania and the United States Capitol, and in turn was transmitted to pupils William Strickland, Robert Mills and Frederick Graff. Unless structural engineering is extensively treated in Charles Brownell's forthcoming architectural volume, the consequences of the separation will be severe indeed.

Finally, it is a misplacement of scholarly objectivity to present the drawings without the leavening of historical interpretation. Latrobe provided a firm foundation for our technologically based society; he spanned diverse approaches to funding from European monarchies and English capitalism to penny pinching republicanism in the United States while commenting on each approach, yet the implications are rarely discussed. For that matter, the drawings make it apparent that aesthetic decisions often overrode functional criteria, in contrast to the theory if not the practice of our era, but again the subject passes without comment. This handsome volume extends our understanding of the Latrobe contribution, but it will not replace Hamlin's richly textured portrait.

University of Pennsylvania

GEORGE E. THOMAS

Early American Music Engraving and Printing A History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on Earlier and Later Practices By RICHARD J. WOLFE (Urbana, Ill. University of Illinois Press, 1980 xix, 321 p. Illustrations, appendices, index \$24.95)

This book, designed to serve as a companion piece to the Sonneck-Upton bibliography of eighteenth-century American music (1945) and to Wolfe's own continuation, *Secular Music in America, 1801-1825* (1964), "attempts to answer such questions regarding the engraving, printing, publishing, and selling of music in America during the colonial and federal periods, as a collector, librarian, musicologist, historian, bibliographer, researcher, or other interested person would be likely to ask." It is the latest volume in the well-established "Music in American Life" series and came into print as a cooperative publishing venture of the University of Illinois Press and the Bibliographical Society of America.

Wolfe's volume is a masterful assembling of disparate bodies of knowledge which the author had to acquire once he committed himself in 1958 to imposing order on what remains of the great masses of vocal and instrument sheet music printed during "the birth and cradle period" of American music publishing. He needed first to understand how the British and Europeans went about printing musical notation before and during the settling of the Colonies.

His opening chapter, therefore, rehearses the difficulties that type designers, compositors, and printers had to solve before they were able to achieve in 1501 in Venice a genuinely elegant though very time-consuming and costly printed text of polyphonic music done on movable type in a single impression. After 1587 foreign publishers moved to the aesthetically more satisfying free-hand engravings on copperplate, and early in the 1700s turned to the use of the stamped or punched pewter plate as the means most widely used thereafter in post-Revolutionary America to run off frequent small printings of popular secular selections.

Wolfe next surveys (1) the sporadic appearance of musical notation in colonial printing: the use of wood blocks in 1698 in New England, the earliest use of movable type by Saur in Germantown in 1752, and after 1760 in Philadelphia and Boston a turn to the use of copperplates, and (2) the establishment of printing music from type on a permanent basis in both Philadelphia and Worcester in 1786.

But even more important, in the following year, 1787, a Philadelphia metalsmith, John Aitken—not to be confused with his contemporary, Robert Aitken, the Bible printer—published the first American musical score from a stamped pewter plate. The emergence of this more convenient means for engraving musical notation was fortuitous. It occurred just at a time when talented British and continental musicians, coming to the United States to seek their fortunes, were bringing with them the latest theater music from London and Paris. Thus Philadelphia, the capital of the new republic, and its economic and political hub, was very soon to become its musical publishing center as

well. The foremost publishers in the city, Benjamin Carr, George Willig, and George E. Blake, were musicians and composers as well as engravers. They and their competitors established their places of business in the vicinity of Chestnut Street between Second and Fifth, and from those shops sent their music to correspondents in Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Charleston, the other cities where the publication and sale of music were thriving.

Wolfe devotes the central chapters of his study first to a meticulous reconstruction of a typical American music establishment and then to a careful step-by-step consideration of the engraving process itself, the understanding of which is helped no end by reference to a group of relevant contemporary illustrations. In his longest chapter Wolfe turns from printing to the "Customs and Conditions of the Trade," an illuminating account of the merchandising, marketing, distribution and sale of sheet music. Of key importance in sales was the introduction of the use of illustration which after 1826 with the introduction of lithography as an inexpensive method of reproduction led to the proliferation of pictorial music title pages.

This volume is a significant compendium of important bibliographical data on early American music printing, based at its center on solid original research. It is, in addition, well organized, readable, and up to the year 1974 when the manuscript was completed a full survey of the published scholarship in the field.

Temple University

C. WILLIAM MILLER

Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1871. By GARY LAWSON BROWNE. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980. xiii, 349 p. Maps, tables, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

In this interesting study of Baltimore's history from the Revolution to the American Civil War, Gary Browne traces the evolution of an urban economy and its impact on local political and social development. Browne begins with the assumption that Baltimore can only be understood in the context of its role as a center for business transactions. Indeed, he portrays the city as a diversified business enterprise with its leading merchants, manufacturers, and industrialists acting as a corporate board. Like any business, Baltimore was enmeshed in an environment of national policies and international economic conditions. Product lines, profit margins, marketing, labor relations, competition, and capitalization were subjects that preoccupied the city's leadership. In short, the business of Baltimore was business, and everything else was subordinate.

Browne asserts that there are three distinct phases of Baltimore's history in the seventy years he covers. The first, from 1789 to 1815, witnessed the establishment of a commercial elite that was preoccupied with foreign trade. The wars in Europe stimulated demand for flour, Baltimore's chief export.

The War of 1812 checked Baltimore's prosperity and caused significant social and political dislocation within the city.

The years 1815 to 1843 were not easy ones for the Baltimoreans. Changing conditions demanded new initiatives. While trade remained important to the city's economy, manufacturing and industry assumed growing significance. If Baltimore retained a European orientation, its leaders were beginning to understand the rich promise of developing areas to the west. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was but one example showing that Baltimore intended to compete with New York and Philadelphia for the products and markets of this newly settled region. The changing business directions profoundly influenced the city's character. The old commercial leadership was supplanted by a more open and democratic society. While the old merchants and their offspring continued to set the social tone of the city, real economic power had shifted to quite different groups.

Browne argues that in the two decades prior to the Civil War, Baltimore completed its transition from an 18th century society. It became a "public society" in which impersonal institutions replaced the personal and individual relationships of the earlier age. Industry based on the steam engine replaced the merchant and his sailing ship as the dominant economic activity of Baltimore.

This volume is a significant contribution to our understanding of urban history in the early republic. Browne is masterful in tracing the complex developments within the city and relating them to the larger national and international contexts. While Baltimore is the focus of the work, much can also be learned about American business developments in this period.

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

FRANK A. CASSELL

The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard & the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1870. By RONALD STORY. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980. xv, 256 p. Sources, index. \$16.00.)

The Boston Brahmins have been America's most civic minded, articulate and intellectually accomplished upper-class group. In its heyday the proper Bostonians ranked with genteel Philadelphians as the top urban elite in perpetuity and cohesion and just behind the upper strata in New York (and possibly in Philadelphia) in entrepreneurial achievement, economic power and personal wealth. For these reasons the Boston gentry is the elite most frequently investigated by U.S. historians. The terrain has been worked over, but *The Forging of an Aristocracy* proves that it is still a fruitful field of historical research.

Ronald Story's account of Harvard and upper-class Boston from 1800 to 1870 is a fine addition to the study of the Boston Brahmins and a useful contribution to elite studies. Concerned mainly with the shaping of Harvard as a Brahmin citadel, this book also contains valuable information and analysis

about other Brahmin institutions and the development of this enclave. Story's superb treatment of the political and economic crisis confronting the Boston elite during the 1850s is indispensable to understanding this powerful and important American leadership group. The author successfully aspires to show how Harvard became elite dominated and the fundamental cultural institution in upper-class Boston; homogeneous in the composition of its administration, faculty and student body; intellectually prestigious; socially influential; and the richest, largest, most powerful and widely imitated American university. Although some aspects of Harvard's history are impressionistically known, never before have the interrelationships between these facets been so efficiently argued. Nor has Harvard's history ever been presented with such abundant statistical and other forms of systematically organized data or illuminated with such cogent thinking. Seldom has this subject been handled with such literary elegance.

The author is less original in his structural characterization of upper-class Boston. Its interlocking business and cultural directorate, the consolidation of its local hegemony, the process of group integration and the priority of business over culture have been explored in previous studies. Nonetheless, Story extends our understanding of these issues by providing new information and intelligent analysis.

Amidst the many virtues in *The Forging of an Aristocracy* lurk a few flaws. Story is too quick to dismiss the reservations of Boston Brahmins—even as late as the 1840s—regarding cultural endeavors (p. 9), or at least careers in literature, history or the fine arts. He notes the advance of social, political and cultural conformity in elite Boston, and therefore at Harvard, but does not explore the relationship between increased conformity and the concomitant advance in sophisticated scholarship and other intellectual and cultural attainments that took place at the college and in other ornaments of genteel Boston. Another uninvestigated paradox is the tension between upper-class values of business success and gentility (p. 123) harbored at Harvard and throughout the Boston patriciate.

Story's statistical analysis is generally good, but estates of under \$10,000 in 1801–30 hardly indicate "straitened circumstances" (p. 93). Further, his contention that "fewer than a third of the mid-century Overseers possessed sizeable estates" is disproved by his finding that 73 percent of them had estates worth more than \$50,000 (p. 157). The tabulations of quantitative data are also marred because the author does not consider changes from 1800 to 1860 in the value of the dollar or in the numbers of people in higher wealth categories—these changes might affect some of the conclusions he draws about increasing percentages of Harvard trustees, donors, faculty and students at higher levels of affluence after 1830 (see for example p. 93).

A more significant and general interpretive flaw inheres in the depiction (chapter 9) of a post Civil War resurgent upper class. During the late nineteenth century Brahmin dominated banks and railroads were increasingly tributary to New York financiers, Brahmin originated industrial ventures were

taken over by Gotham capitalists, Brahmin control over the municipal government was threatened by Irish Catholic dominated machine politics and Brahmin influence in the national government was marginal. Even Harvard, which Story argues was by 1900 at the apex of its national influence (pp. 175, 179, 181), was challenged in its academic excellence (if not in reputation) by the Universities of Wisconsin, Michigan and Chicago. Story notes, in support of his assertion that Harvard achieved national academic prominence, that the university "was attracting both the wealth and the sons of 'Robber Barons' and non-New England business leaders generally" (p. 179). He might have added that Princeton and Yale were doing the same and quite possibly in larger amounts and numbers. Moreover, the innovations of the Eliot presidency may have made Harvard a great university but they also may have undermined the ascriptive biases and arrangements upon which Brahmin cohesion increasingly came to depend.

The key weakness in this volume is the failure to systematically compare nineteenth century Harvard with the colonial college. This omission makes it impossible to ascertain whether or how much post-1830 upper-class and anti-democratic trends resembled conventional practices. Could the 1800-30 period have been a relatively atypical and brief egalitarian intrusion at Cambridge? What implications would that possibility have for Story's claims about the relationship between genteel Boston and Harvard and about the role that cultural institutions play in the consolidation and aggrandizement of urban upper classes?

University of Illinois

FREDERIC COPLE JAHER

Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons. Edited with an introduction by DANA GREENE. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. IV. (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980. ix, 401 p. Appendix, index. Paper, \$24.95.)

Lucretia Coffin Mott, who lived from 1793 to 1880 and spent most of her mature years in Philadelphia, is an important figure in the history of American Quakerism, abolitionism, and feminism. Last year Margaret Hope Bacon of the American Friends Service Committee gave us an attractive biography emphasizing Mrs. Mott's personal life (reviewed in the October 1980 issue of the *Magazine*). Now Dana Greene of St. Mary's College of Maryland has enriched our knowledge of her life by providing us with a substantial collection of her public addresses.

Forty-nine speeches are included. The texts are taken from a variety of sources, both manuscript and printed, the largest number consisting of manuscript sermons preserved in the Mott Collection at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. They are arranged chronologically, the first having been given in 1841 and the last in 1878. Since Mrs. Mott must have given hundreds of speeches, the title of the book is somewhat misleading, but

the speeches included here are representative, and four hundred pages of them are probably all that most scholars will care to read. The editor notes that she has not made an attempt to correct mistakes in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization in the texts which she has reproduced. The book contains a good many typographical errors, for some of which the editor or the printer are probably responsible. The speeches are not annotated, but the editor has supplied a 20 page introduction and an appendix briefly identifying most of the persons referred to in the speeches.

The addresses are somewhat repetitive. Mrs. Mott made the same remarks on a great many different occasions. The speeches are overwhelmingly religious in tone. Certain basic themes recur throughout the book. The Quaker doctrine of the "inner light" as the best source of religious truth is preeminent. The Bible and churches could not take the place of the "divine spirit" within the heart of each human being. Mrs. Mott thought that true religion consisted not in subscription to creeds or observance of rituals but in leading a godly life. Since she considered human nature fundamentally good rather than evil, she thought that all people might live righteously. Religion, she maintained, should be oriented toward social reform. Guided by this faith, she believed it was possible to abolish slavery, to end race and sex discrimination, and to achieve international peace. She was also a temperance advocate, and she opposed capital punishment. Not given to harsh denunciation even of slaveholders, Mrs. Mott approached all these problems with unfailing sweetness and light.

This is a valuable book, but the price seems excessive for a paperback reproduced from typescript.

The Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War. By ERIC FONER. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. 250 p. Index. \$15.95.)

Despite its ambitious title, this is, in fact, a brief collection of essays touching upon various aspects of American history in the mid-nineteenth century. The subtle relationships between class and ethnicity, politics and ideology, institutional development and economic growth have determined the parameters of historical writing about this period. These seven essays, written over the last sixteen years, however, are not particularly well integrated, quite uneven in quality, and demonstrate the author's weaknesses as well as his strengths. All of Foner's relevant essays are not included and criteria for exclusion are by no means clear. My favorite Foner article, that on the Wilmot Proviso, is not included, while the lone essay written for this volume is seriously flawed. In the end, this reader was frustrated by Foner's failure to discuss politics with any kind of precision.

The title, introduction, and dust jacket—which claims classic status for two

of the essays—are far more pretentious than the essays themselves. The first two deal with the “Origins of the Civil War.” One is historiographical; the other is a summary of the argument presented in *Free Soil, Free Labor and Free Men*, Foner’s first book. Two essays, under the rubric of “Ambiguities of Anti-Slavery,” deal with labor reformers who opposed slavery and the racism of the New York Free Soilers. The final three essays discuss “Land and Labor After the Civil War.” These, on free labor and free land in the Reconstruction South, Thaddeus Stevens and confiscation, and American Irish support for the Land League, give a clue to the probable thesis of Foner’s forthcoming book on Reconstruction.

Certain themes do reappear in several essays, such as the contrast between the bourgeois emphasis on free labor and free land and the pre-bourgeois needs of the plantation system, and the connection between secular and evangelical forms of “radicalism.” Thus, the essay called “Reconstruction and the Crisis of Free Labor” extends beyond the war the consequences of the ideology delineated for the pre-war period in “Politics, Ideology and the Origins of the American Civil War.” In other essays, Foner disputes labor opposition to abolitionism, finds some Radical Republicans like Stevens “radical” within the limits of their bourgeois ideals, and even discerns a “radical” potential within the traditionally conservative culture of Irish-Americans.

Foner’s essays are very seductive, because he writes very good sentences that carry the reader along; yet, there is an abstract quality to his use of language that undermines his seemingly plausible arguments. The problem was pointed out by Gary Wills in his review of *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America*. Foner manipulates his central concepts in “an accordian-like manner,” expanding and contracting them as he wishes. In the end, his arguments are made of that “jelly” William Hesselstine found so difficult “to nail . . . to the wall.”

His initial essay, “The Causes of the Civil War,” combines an intemperate attack upon Lee Benson and Ron Formisano with a typically elastic use of “modernization theory.” The essay on “Abolitionism and the Labor Movement” shows how Foner is willing to combine loose conceptualization and a modicum of data to produce sweeping generalizations. The article “Class, Ethnicity and Radicalism in the Gilded Age,” reveals most of the problems with these essays. In contrast to the title, it is a modest effort to show that some Irish Americans supported “land reform.” Foner, clearly, is not at home with either Irish history or Irish-Americans. Their peculiar connection between religion and republicanism confounds his earlier dichotomy and forces an argument similar to the contemporary Marxist defense of the Provos. But the main problem is that the essay lacks systematic and precisely constructed analysis. Although it is a very small point, it is illustrative that Foner argues that riots in “Shamokin, Easton and Wilkes-Barre” represented the Irish-labor radical response to the corporate domination of Pennsylvania mines. Easton, by far the largest town mentioned, did not have a significant Irish population, was not a mining town, and was not in the grip of “the Ruler of the Reading.” One learns very little about the relation between class, ethnicity and

radicalism from this essay, or from this book.

Lehigh University

WILLIAM G. SHADE

Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago.

By GWENDOLYN WRIGHT. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. viii, 382 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

The celebration of the suburban home, surrounded by grass and trees with a happy family gathered around the fireplace or in the parlor, has been an integral part of the American Dream since the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed attitudes toward the home are closely related to middle class status, the role of women and what it meant to be a man in American society. The development of the suburban home is also related to building design, home economics, architecture and city planning as we learn in this fascinating book. Gwendolyn Wright, trained in both social history and architecture, gives us a new angle of vision on the complex urban and industrial world at the end of the 19th century. The book focuses on Chicago but it should be of interest to all students of American cultural history and to those who want to understand the American visual environment.

The strength of this book is in its fascinating detail drawn from a wide variety of sources including architectural and building trade journals, domestic guides, women's magazines and exhibition catalogues. We learn about Eastlake, Queen Anne and Mission style and how the Arts and Crafts movement set out to destroy bric-a-brac. We discover how the fireplace, with its elaborate mantel, became the symbol of family solidarity, even after efficient furnaces came on the market. We discover the fascinating origin of the home economics movement and how by using science women sought to uplift society and at the same time solve the servant problem. Aided by effective illustrations and photographs we can appreciate how the image of the ideal home changed in forty years from the complex, ornate and cluttered Victorian house of the 1870s to the more simple box-like structure which appealed to designers on the eve of World War I. The earlier houses were sometimes characterized as "Queen Anne in the front and Mary Anne in the back," because the fashionable parlor occupied by the lady of the house contrasted sharply with the more functional kitchen area where the Irish maid held forth. Even though no more than twenty-five percent of all households in Chicago employed even a single servant, the servant played an important role in the image of the ideal home. We learn a considerable amount in this book about the shifting design of the kitchen and the parlor but there is only a brief paragraph on the transformation of the bathroom. For that we will still have to turn to Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*.

The main theme of *Moralism and the Model Home* is the change and development of the ideal and the actual home brought about over a forty year

period by the forces of professionalism, mechanization and technology. The builder is replaced by the architect; ornament, design and style are influenced by the development of power tools and mass produced furniture; and city planners and speculators take over for individual builders. In one of the many useful insights, Wright comments that "the modern machine aesthetic could be accepted in American homes because at the turn of the century, the romantic Victorian idealization of the building worker as a craftsman had been destroyed."

There is much that is provocative and suggestive about this book, but the detail is often more impressive than the generalizations. I would have liked to have seen more attempts to relate the ideal home to the real home, how the actual use of interior space corresponded with the neat drawings in the design books. I was distressed by occasional oversimplifications, by the uncritical acceptance of Hofstadter's status revolution theory for example. I was disturbed by occasional errors of fact, especially when those errors influenced the interpretation. In arguing that even settlement workers like Jane Addams and Graham Taylor shifted their focus from city to the suburbs, Wright cites a book by Taylor on suburban development without realizing that the book was written by Taylor's son, Graham R. Taylor. It was not Addams and Taylor who shifted their attention from the city to the suburbs, but the next generation of social workers. It is fascinating to learn that Herbert Croly once edited *Architectural Record* and wrote several books on domestic architecture before writing *The Promise of American Life*. He translated his concern for planning and federal regulation of buildings to politics, but it is startling to discover that his book influenced *both* the New Nationalism and the New Freedom and that Croly helped to found a magazine called "the National Republic." There are many typographical errors, awkward constructions and complex and unclear paragraphs. The author deserved better assistance from the University of Chicago Press. Despite its limitations and its errors this is an important book, one that should be read and pondered and placed alongside Giedion on our shelves.

Temple University

ALLEN F. DAVIS

Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900-1950. By JOHN LUKACS. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1981. x, 358 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Penrose, Repplier, Bok, Bullitt, Pepper, Wister, Barnes—all these names are still as familiar to most literate Philadelphians as are the names of their uncles and aunts. They are part of that great dim portrait gallery of local celebrities about whom anecdotes, affectionately humorous and scandalously derogatory, are still told: Penrose's lecheries, the insults of Barnes, the acidulous old-maidisms of Repplier, the dashing outrages of Bullitt. With the

exception perhaps of Barnes, they were all once prominent figures on the national scene, Penrose and Pepper as politicians, Repplier and Wister as writers, Bok as editor, Bullitt as first American ambassador to Soviet Russia. Now, in typical Philadelphia fashion, they have retired from the national consciousness and become more purely local; not statues in a national Pantheon, immediately recognizable like Franklin, but items in a dusky parochial warehouse.

This sort of posthumous Philadelphia reticence means that a book for the general reader, like this, must have two faces: one turned in toward the city, one turned out toward the barbarians. Since I have written, a little or a lot, about all these people, it is of necessity the Philadelphia face I must see. For me the book had the effect of a tour through a familiar family mansion, made into a monument, with an articulate, knowledgeable and slightly Mephistophelean curator. All the family legends are retold, and a few new ones. The basic characters do not change; but the total effect is that of seeing these people turned inside out, like gloves or socks. From the "family" point of view, one doesn't learn much, but one does have a rather startling experience. One can only warn the ignorant outsider that, yes, it is all quite true—but is most certainly not everyone's way of looking at the truth.

The book consists of a preface, seven short, packed, sharply etched biographical sketches, and an epilogue. The preface is a wonderfully evocative memorial to Philadelphia as it must have been in 1900. The epilogue is a far less satisfactory attempt to portray the place in 1950. In between we have those Characters. Mr. Lukacs in the past has been accused of writing impenetrable prose. Certainly not here. Vivid, amusing, full of insights, tightly organized, all these sketches are a pleasure to read—but an odd pleasure.

Lukacs writes as an intellectual Central European Catholic who hates Franklin as representative of the worst of Protestant utilitarianism. Now, *nobody* hates Franklin nowadays. American liberals love him for his daring, wit and venery; conservatives love him for his good fortune, good works and good business sense. Lukacs regards him as the symbol of all that is unpleasant about Philadelphia, its cautious conformism, its materialism, its smug self-serving charitableness. Bourgeois! This bias appears again and again, even in his irritation at the naming of the Ben (*sic*) Franklin Parkway. It means that his heroes and his villains are those he thinks least or most like Benjamin. If Jacobeanism, the support of the House of Stuart, were at all possible in America, Lukacs would be a Jacobean—with grave reservations. What he appreciates are gallantry, panache, individualism, cosmopolitan sympathies, and an acute not to say cynical appraisal of erring human nature. Admirable appreciations certainly. He hates progress and getting ahead. His villains—the laughably get-ahead Bok, the superficially charming but smugly wrong-headed Pepper—are exponents of the Protestant Ethic at its most flagrant. These are his chief Philistines of the title. Those he admires—Repplier, Bullitt, Barnes—are, he feels, misunderstood and neglected people of talent and honesty. His chief enthusiasm is for that witty Catholic maiden Agnes

Repplier; and if his masterly presentation helps to refurbish her at her best, one could only be grateful. His approach to Penrose and Wister is really odd; and revealing. He can't propose to approve of them, but he admires their patrician disillusion. They are closer to Hungarian noblemen in their romantic despair than most Philadelphians.

For like nearly everyone who writes about the city and its denizens, he's disappointed. He wants Philadelphia patricians to be something they are not. Digby Baltzell wants them to be Boston Brahmins, goaded to ruthless achievement by tortured consciences. Lukacs wants them to be aristocrats of soul, full of fire and melancholy, wit, intelligence and style. The Philadelphia scrapple of caution, conformism, comfort stands in the way.

Only if the reader has this key to the book, and is willing to adjust to its oddity can he be expected to relish it, outsider or insider. I have many quibbles. I could write another book disagreeing with his judgments on all these people. Repplier is injured for me by too narrow a focus and a vein of bitter reaction. Bullitt was a spoiled darling, and his novel *It's Not Done* is the least, not the best, of the quite sturdy tradition of the Philadelphia novel. There's more to Wister than he allows, and maybe less to Barnes. Pepper *is* charming, boneheaded though he may be. As for Bok being anyway near a "reincarnation" of Franklin! In many of his little asides, such as the footnote on Francis Biddle and Johnson or his comments on Struthers Burt's remarks on the best of Philadelphia, he tends to be reckless and petulant. But not smaller matters of accuracy and detail are dubious so much as larger matters of ideology. Jacobeanism is always glamorous; but it was the Hanoverians, cautious, conformist, comfortable, who won. Philadelphia quite properly prefers to be on the willing side, unlike the South. Nonetheless, to see the city from the off-beat Lukacs point of view, though it may exasperate, also fascinates. It certainly fascinated me.

Princeton, N.J.

NATHANIEL BURT

Freedom Not Far Distant: A Documentary History of Afro-Americans in New Jersey.

Edited by CLEMENT ALEXANDER PRICE. (Newark, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Society, 1980. xvi, 334 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$17.95.)

Professor Price traces with painstaking thoroughness "grass roots" sources unknown to previous historians of Afro-Americans in New Jersey. His book brings together a selection of readings and documents from printed and manuscript sources in New Jersey historical collections. A helpful chronology of events is arranged thematically. The historical selections convey an overall picture of religious, political and social contacts between black and white citizens of the state from the days of slavery to the present.

Price provides scholarly interpretations on a number of subjects, ranging from formal essays on the birth of a slave society and the quest for racial

identity, to brief comments on the modern civil rights movement. It is his goal to show that Afro-Americans have always played important roles in New Jersey's society.

The documents reveal the struggles of blacks in the period following the Civil War; a struggle that was directed against the numerous legal roadblocks erected during the ante-bellum period and which continued through reconstruction to the modern civil rights period. The materials vividly portray the Afro-American's struggle for equality. The chapter on the modern civil rights movement represents the first attempt to provide a detailed but comprehensive view of the protest movement in the 1960s within the state.

While this book is by its nature a survey and analysis of documents generally available in New Jersey archives, the author identifies sources relating to the state's Afro-American experience that can be found elsewhere.

Obviously, no book such as this can have the last word on a subject so complex. It can, however, advance public discussion and stimulate scholars to improve the documentation of a rich Afro-American heritage. The book's powerful information affects all Americans and will no doubt serve as important documentation for future generations.

*The Pennsylvania
Black History Committee*

CHARLES L. BLOCKSON

Folklorist of the Coal Fields: George Korson's Life and Work. By ANGUS K. GILLESPIE.
(University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980. xxi, 200 p.
Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

George Korson was a pioneer in the study of industrial folklore, according to Angus K. Gillespie. Korson's efforts to collect coal mining folk material opened an entirely new field for folklorists and his presentation of folklore in the context of life in the mining community preceded the "holistic folklife approach" as a formalized academic activity (pp. 58-59). In *Folklorist of the Coal Fields*, Gillespie has attempted to identify Korson's specific contributions to American intellectual life and to explain what factors in Korson's life and background contributed to his success.

Gillespie's overall thesis, that Korson opened a new field previously ignored by folklorists, is set forth in his preface and introduction, "The Folklorist's Image of the World." In the introduction, Gillespie argues that before the 1930s folklorists adopted one of two world views: the "aristocratic view that workers were distasteful clods, or a Jeffersonian view that workers were honest yeomen" (p. 2). Since the 1930s, folklorists, he contends, have had to choose between a Marxist and a corporate-liberal world view. Korson, the son of poor Jewish immigrants from Russia, did not fit the aristocratic tradition, and his work, carried out amidst the industrial landscape of coal breakers and culm banks had nothing to do with the Jeffersonian-agrarian tradition. Moreover,

Korson rejected the Marxist position adopted by his contemporaries such as Charles Seeger, Ben Botkin, and Alan Lomax. Gillespie develops two subordinate themes in subsequent chapters. First, he asserts that Korson began somewhat naively to collect the folklore of contemporary industrial workers. Second, he notes that presentation of Korson's material was consistently shaped by his commitment to the United Mine Workers of America, and his belief that a strong union was an essential element in promoting the labor-management accommodations necessary to preserve the corporate-liberal state.

It was Korson's lack of academic training, in Gillespie's opinion, which freed him from the prevalent aristocratic and agrarian biases of contemporary folklorists and allowed him to begin collecting industrial folklore. Korson was the eldest of the six children of Joseph and Rose Korson, who moved to Wilkes-Barre in 1912 when George was thirteen. The family was always financially hard-pressed, and Korson contributed to its income by delivering newspapers. He joined the Boy's Industrial Association, a Wilkes-Barre educational program to aid working boys. Through the B.I.A. he made his first friendships with people in the anthracite industry: the breaker boys, door boys and mule drivers. Upon completing school in 1917, Korson went to work as a reporter. His experience as a working journalist and his early friendships and family background, not his formal training, directed Korson's career as a folklorist.

Korson began to collect the miners' ballads and stories which he heard while on reporting assignments in Pottsville. Korson was used to observing and explaining the context of news stories and found it logical to do the same when he began to collect folk material. As a working reporter, he was also able to develop friendships in the community and close relationships with informants which contributed to his success as a collector. In late 1926, *Songs and Ballads of the Anthracite Miner* began to appear in serialized form. The following year it was published as a book.

Songs and Ballads won critical approval from a variety of sources, including Carl Sandburg. The book's success led to Korson's participation in the National Folk Festival in 1934, and to increased interest in his work by John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers. Korson's participation in the folk festival with a group of union-sponsored miners encouraged him to found the Pennsylvania Folk Festival the following year.

In the 1940s Korson published *Coal Dust on the Fiddle*, a collection of bituminous miners' folklore sponsored by the UMWA. It reflected Korson's pro-union, anti-radical position and strengthened the affiliation with the union which helped make him a successful collector.

By the time of his death in 1967 he had collected a tremendous body of mining folklore, published a total of eight books, recorded a wealth of coal mining folk songs, and carved out and legitimized a new field of study for professional folklorists. He had done virtually all of this while working full time at non-academic jobs.

Gillespie's study of Korson bears the marks of meticulous research and

thoughtful reflection. He has made extensive use of both published and archival material as well as interviews with Korson's family and associates. Gillespie presents his facts with insightful analysis. For example, he shows that *Coal Dust on the Fiddle* was a product of the era in which it was written by placing it in the context of the pioneer movie documentaries of the 1920s and 1930s, *Nanook of the North*, *The River*, and *The Plow That Broke the Plains*. He goes beyond Korson in pointing out the differences in anthracite and bituminous region ballads, observing that the latter sound more "musical" since they derive from a more familiar southern tradition rather than the Anglo-Celtic tradition of the former.

In preparing Korson's biography Gillespie has also used photographic archives. Rather than simply using photographs to decorate, or break up the text, Gillespie has followed the lead of his subject and more creatively used the photographs to provide the context for the lyrics of folk songs Korson collected. By doing so, he adds a dimension of understanding to Korson and his work which readers not familiar with the anthracite region might otherwise miss.

If Gillespie is to be faulted, it is because in his anxiety to emphasize his theses that Korson was a pioneer in his field despite his lack of academic training and that he was a devoted defender of the corporate-liberal state, the biographer fails to show how, or if, his subject's thought evolved during his adult life. Gillespie asserts that Korson knew Will Geer before visiting Geer's theatre on his honeymoon in 1926, and that the intellectual positions of the two drifted apart in the 1930s as Korson moved into the mainstream of New Deal liberalism. However, he does not discuss either the prior contacts between Korson and Geer or develop the causes for Korson's assuming a mainstream position. Neither does he develop the reasons for the initial affinity between Korson and the UMWA as fully as we might wish. Why, for example, did the union journal choose to serialize *Songs and Ballads of the Anthracite Miner*? Since Gillespie's principal criticism of Korson's work is that Korson's world view caused him to omit or temper folk material of radical labor sympathizers, additional discussion of Korson's centrist philosophy and early relationship with the union seem to be in order.

Nevertheless, Gillespie is to be congratulated for his study of George Korson. Not only does it contribute to a little known aspect of labor and twentieth century social history, but it shows how important trends in scholarship may originate outside a formal academic setting.

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

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From Streetcar to Superhighway: American City Planners and Urban Transportation, 1900-1940. By MARK S. FOSTER. Series in Technology and Urban Growth. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981. xiv, 246 p. Illustrations, bibliographical note, index. \$19.95.)

In 1900 most American cities had electric streetcar systems which operated relatively cheaply and efficiently to move large numbers of passengers in and out of the central core. In addition, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia began underground rapid transit networks to alleviate street congestion. By 1940 these mass transportation systems were in decline, both in terms of ridership and physical condition. The reason for this dramatic decline in public transportation, of course, was the automobile, whose falling price and immense popularity did so much to change the form and shape of the American city.

Mark Foster has turned to the early decades of the century to deal specifically with the question of where city planners stood on the issue of the car versus public transportation. Were planners more prescient than others as to how the car would affect the city? If they were not, why were they unable to see the consequences of widespread automobility? Considering the revived interest in public transportation in the past decade, these are important and valuable questions. The answers enlarge our understanding of how the society and urban specialists viewed the city and a new technology.

City planning in America as a self-conscious profession began simultaneously with the emergence of the automobile. Most early planners were trained as engineers, landscape architects, or lawyers. The new profession lacked any specific body of literature or established tradition as to what the proper or appropriate form for a large city should be. There was no consensus among planners as to the best transportation policy. There was, however, at least one pervasive assumption shared by planners and other urban critics in the Progressive era. It was the notion that the large cities were distressingly overcrowded and that measures which eased the congestion in housing, land use, and street traffic were beneficial. This attitude reflected the genuine housing shortage and overcrowding of working class neighborhoods, but also reflected the anti-urban, pro-suburban bias of most middle class professionals and reformers of the day. And so, planners for the most part eagerly embraced the automobile as a solution to urban congestion and shared the enthusiasm for it that most Americans felt.

One of the key reasons for the planners' enthusiasm was that the expanding suburbs provided them with a clean slate on which to write their plans for subdivision design, land-use planning, and traffic patterns. They viewed the older built-up neighborhoods as hopelessly obsolete and only subject to limited tinkering to ameliorate their worst features. They optimistically and naively believed their tools would enable them to control the automobile.

The crucial decade for transportation planning and policy was clearly the twenties. In those years streetcar ridership reached its peak while automobile

registrations tripled. Planners, in something of a crisis atmosphere, were pre-occupied with resultant traffic problems, or were busy with their newly discovered tool to control land use—zoning. Detroit and Los Angeles seriously debated building rapid transit systems advocated by local planners, but the cost and the popularity of the car doomed those proposals.

The vast expenditures for public purposes in the thirties might have provided an opportunity to revive and invest in mass transit, but most planners by then were fully committed to the automobile and offered no effective lobby for mass transit. Only Chicago initiated a new rapid transit system in those years while the WPA spent thirty percent of its money on road building. Streetcar ridership fell by almost a third and the systems received no capital funds, but despite the depression, passenger car registrations actually increased by 3.5 million during the decade. Planners, if they were concerned with transportation at all in the thirties, continued to focus on highways and suburbs. They failed to see how much new traffic their freeways could generate—an issue faced only in the last twenty years.

In reviewing these developments Foster focuses primarily on the speeches and writings of the leading city planners. Although the book reads well and draws on a wide range of sources, the presentation is somewhat incomplete. Foster tells us little of what planners actually accomplished in those decades. He mentions that much of their time was devoted, of necessity and by preference, to solving traffic problems and improving highway design. Although the focus is the debate on transportation policy, a more detailed treatment of the leading achievements would provide the reader with a more complete sense of the context of the debate. Such major projects as the Holland Tunnel and the Pennsylvania Turnpike are not mentioned at all, while the West Side Highway and the Westchester Parkway are only treated in passing. Philadelphia, which extended its elevated system in the twenties, is not mentioned at all. Too few cities provide the bulk of the examples.

The study is worthwhile in demonstrating the thinking and biases of the emerging planning profession, but it is by no means a definitive study of the shift from the streetcar to the highway.

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