

BOOK REVIEWS

Colonial Maryland: A History. By AUBREY C. LAND. (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981. xviii, 367 p. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

When Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, received his charter for Maryland in 1632, nonconformists were pouring into Massachusetts and planters could still find good land in the West Indies and Virginia. Baltimore's venture was not an immediate success; unlike William Penn a half century later, the proprietor of Maryland could not draw thousands of settlers within the first few years with his promises of economic opportunity and religious freedom. Founded just eight years before the English Civil War, Maryland got off to a slow start. Challenges by William Claiborne, Richard Ingle, and Puritan immigrants from Virginia threatened the proprietary government. Superior investment opportunities — especially in the West Indies — lured capital elsewhere.

In this well-written history of colonial Maryland, Aubrey C. Land paints a vivid portrait of the settlement of the second province on Chesapeake Bay. Early relations with the Indians, creation of governmental institutions by trial and error, without an overall design like Penn's *Frame of Government*, and Baltimore's battles to keep his patent are all clearly drawn. Land's major concern — which gives the book unity — is the conflict between the proprietor's claim to authoritarian power under the terms of his charter and the inhabitants' demand for a larger measure of self-government. The Assembly first won the initiative in law-making in 1638, but remained unsure of its constitutional standing until the royal period in 1692–1715. During the eighteenth century, after the Calverts regained the right to govern, political battles focused on the proprietor's control of officials' fees, export duties, fines, forfeitures, and the salaries of Anglican ministers. Large planter-merchants also demanded legislation to upgrade the quality of exported tobacco. The Assembly had some success in bargaining with Baltimore by refusing to pass military support bills unless he made concessions on other issues. In the period after the Seven Years' War, the coalescence of the movement against parliamentary taxation — retarded at first because the country party looked to the home government as an ally against the proprietor — soon gained momentum as the provincial elite realized that the Stamp Act, Townshend Acts, and Boston Port Act were challenges to their own

power that were not unlike proprietary assaults. Land relies heavily upon his work on Maryland's first families to trace the development of anti-proprietary and anti-British sentiment. Short biographies of men like Daniel Dulany the Elder, Thomas Bordley, Daniel Dulany the Younger, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton help bring the discussion of these political contests alive.

Land thus elucidates the conflict between proprietor and country party in colonial Maryland; one is convinced that the provincial elite had acquired a political expertise and corporate identity in their skirmishes with the Calverts that they brought to the larger battle with Britain. Disappointing, however, is Land's failure to integrate more closely recent scholarship on economic opportunity, demography, the development of slavery and the growth of Afro-American families, and changes in the social background of the political elite. Land certainly employs the results of some of this work, and makes it clear that he believes this research has been fruitful. He was, after all, a pioneer in using probate inventories systematically to gain information about the society and economy of the colonial Chesapeake that could be obtained in no other way. What is missing from this book is a clear sense of how demographic and socio-economic developments interacted with events in the political arena. How did the expansion of settlement and the erection of new counties affect the distribution of power? What kinds of issues created factions among the provincial elite? Did contrasting interests of Western Shore tobacco planters and wheat farmers from the Eastern Shore and backcountry divide the elite and make it less powerful in its dealings with the proprietor?

Land also might have discussed the role and influence of Afro-Americans in Maryland society and economy in more detail; blacks formed over thirty percent of the colony's population by 1762. And one would like to know the source of his information on the kinds of work women performed on plantations (p. 72). Beyond these problems, however, few important errors mar this praiseworthy work. *Colonial Maryland: A History* provides a useful and much-needed survey of the history of Maryland, and at the same time introduces students and more general readers to the wide variety of research being done on the Chesapeake colony.

The Papers of William Penn

JEAN R. SODERLUND

Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676-1724.

Edited by ALDEN T. VAUGHAN and EDWARD W. CLARK. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981. x, 275 p. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

This excellent book contains a selection of reports by white settlers held

captive by Indians. These "captivity narratives," as such reports are called, have their locale in northern New England and adjacent Canada, and chronologically are confined to an approximately fifty-year period. With the possible exception of Elizabeth Meader Hanson, likely a Quaker, all the captives may be described as Puritan.

Captivity narratives generally abound in American literature. (A fourth-coming publication devoted to them is 111 volumes long!) In *Puritans Among the Indians*, the editors have selected accounts they believe reflect the Puritan captivity narrative as a *genre* at its best. In Puritan New England, captivity narratives were essentially religious tracts written for the spiritual edification of the reader. Captivity was viewed by the captive narrator as God's punishment for sin, personal or corporate, and redemption from captivity was seen as an example of God's infinite mercy.

The narratives give the reader a feeling for the Puritan psyche during what must have been very bad years for New England. In the reviewer's opinion, no white population at any other time in American history experienced more hideous conditions of prolonged terror than did the settlers on the New England frontier. Surprise attack was the rule, often during the dead of night, in which families were abruptly roused and members irrespective of age or sex brutally slain in full view of horrified kin. Forced march of survivors, who were usually ill clad for a long journey by foot in often inclement weather, was also the rule. Those unable or unwilling to keep up were killed, irrespective of age or sex. Death by fiery torture and mutilation was a frequent fate for those males who were old enough to be considered as men and who tried to escape from or organize any resistance to their captivity. Hard servitude was a real possibility, frequently for months, sometimes years, in an alien society, uncertain if one would ever be redeemed and reunited with family and people.

The Puritan narratives make no pretense of giving a balanced view of Indian-White affairs. Indeed, if the Indians had chronicled *their* captivity experiences, the stories probably would have matched the Puritans' atrocity for atrocity. By contemporary standards the level of reciprocal savagery was extraordinary and must have left much slow-dying hatred. By no means are the narratives filled with unrelieved horrors. Sprinkled liberally throughout are acts of human kindness, generosity, and self-sacrifice performed by Indian, French, and Puritan alike.

Included in the narratives is that of Mary White Rowlandson, clergyman's wife and daughter of one of the town's founding fathers, taken from Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1676; Quentin Stockwell, taken from Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1677; John Gyles, taken at ten years of age from Pemaquid, Maine, in 1689, whose account has the most to say about ethnography

and natural history; Hannah Swarton, taken with her four children from Casco Bay, Maine, in 1690; Hannah Dustan, taken from Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1697, who with two others escaped her captors after killing and scalping an Indian family of ten; John Williams, Congregational minister and married to a Mather, taken from Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1704; and Elizabeth Meader Hanson, a probable Quaker, taken from Dover Township, New Hampshire, in 1724, a martyr to her husband's pacifism. Also included are the briefer accounts from Cotton Mather's *Ecclesiastical History of New England* of Clement Short, Thomas Toogood, Robert Rogers, James Key, Mehetable Goodwin, Mary Plaisted, and Mary Ferguson, all from the Maine and New Hampshire frontiers. The book — a successful combination of impeccable scholarship and readability — is highly recommended to both the professional and layman.

Community College of Philadelphia

C. EUGENE COOK

Conscience in Crisis; Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739–1789: Interpretations and Documents. By RICHARD K. MACMASTER with SAMUEL L. HORST and ROBERT F. ULLE. (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, Vol. 20, 1979. 576 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$17.95.)

Conscience in Crisis is directed most immediately to historically minded members of, and sympathizers with, the American peace churches: Brethren, Dunkers, Mennonites, Moravians, Schwenkfelders and Quakers. The work consists of sets of documents grouped chronologically and interspersed with interpretive essays. These essays and documents explore the origins and trace the evolution of pacifism within the sects in Colonial and Revolutionary America, and particularly in Pennsylvania. The book achieves these objectives gracefully. The essays use recent historical scholarship to provide a broad context for a discussion of the politics of non-resistance. In the authors' view, those politics are best understood as a persistent effort by the sects to preserve a commonwealth in which they could live as well as worship according to the dictates of conscience. This sectarian vision subsumed ethnic, national and theological differences between the sects, and was one mechanism which allowed the "Quaker Party" to control Pennsylvania politics until the American Revolution. The documents have been chosen with an

equally sharp eye to the establishment of a proper context for the understanding of historical American pacifism. They include non-pacifist as well as pacifist writings and a rich variety of personal, legal, governmental and economic documents. In short: for those who trace their pacifist heritage to early America, *Conscience in Crisis* offers an intelligent and evocative representation of the milieu in which that heritage was formed.

In level of argumentation *Conscience in Crisis* merits a broader audience than its subject might suggest. By focusing our attention on the much neglected Germans of early Pennsylvania, it takes one step toward redressing a major historiographical oversight. And by organizing its presentation around (1) the divisions within and among the sects concerning the proper understanding of pacifism, and (2) the ethnic and religious divisions which determined the course of Pennsylvania politics, *Conscience in Crisis* forcefully reminds us that the course from the past to the present was laid in argument as well as in agreement.

This concept, of plural opinions in a plural society is the organizing theme of *Conscience in Crisis*. The authors begin by asserting that pacifism was central to the Pennsylvania sectarian vision from the start. But the precise forms of modern American pacifism evolved historically. The crucial period in this evolution was the five decades between 1739 and 1789. Each outbreak of fighting in this time of almost continual war became an occasion for the sects to define more exactly their understanding of the seemingly contradictory New Testament injunctions to obey authority and avoid war. Each time, non-resistance was defined more rigorously. By 1789, behavior — the payment of taxes for indirect military uses, for example — which had been acceptably pacific thirty years before was scrupulously avoided by the sectarians. War was the proximate cause of this process of definition, but the real cause lay deeper — in the rise of the democratic nation state. As the individual gradually became the base, constituent unit of politics, his responsibility for the actions of government increased. In coming to understand and accept this responsibility, the sectarians were forced to proscribe any complicity with governments at war. Thus, the evolution of pacifist thought in early Pennsylvania becomes a lens with which to view the emergence of political modernity, while pacifist sufferings become an early struggle for minority rights in a majoritarian culture.

At this level of analysis, the intellectual promises of *Conscience in Crisis* exceed its achievements. The authors clearly describe some of the links among theology, religion, politics, and the rise of the nation state. But if the work hints at a fully culturalogical analysis, that analysis remains undeveloped. The authors continue to regard thought and action as discrete domains of

human behavior; and they seem not to recognize that the rise of the democratic nation state was itself a product of still more fundamental economic and social transformations. Such a recognition would have permitted them to explore the structural similarities between Pennsylvania politics and politics elsewhere and to treat sectarian politics as a particular instance of a general development. In turn, sectarianism itself might have been treated as one response to modernization, and the internal contradictions of sectarian thought — between the concepts of community and private property, for example — more fully explored. Such problems may be beyond the proper scope of a book of documents and essays about pacifism in early Pennsylvania. That they can be raised at all indicates that *Conscience in Crisis* admirably accomplishes its modest objectives.

The University of Chicago

JACK MICHEL

A History of Metals in Colonial America. By JAMES A. MULHOLLAND. (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1981. xiv, 215 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Cloth \$17.95, paper \$8.95.)

Since no comprehensive survey of the role metals played in colonial American history exists, James Mulholland has attempted to fill this void. His thesis that metals were essential for the successful colonization of America (p. 163) shows that he has a firm grasp of the obvious. To prove his point he has synthesized material from significant scholarly works.

Mulholland arranged his chapters chronologically. After explaining the importance of metals to European countries before Jamestown, he discussed their necessity for colonization. The two metals receiving the greatest attention were iron and copper with brief mention made of lead, tin, and zinc. After noting the location and dates of mines and production facilities, he proceeds to explain the regulation of the colonial iron industry and the role metals played during the American Revolution. He concludes with the post Revolutionary period, examining the arguments for establishing extractive industries as well as other events relating to metals. Mulholland noted the development of metals went through three stages. The first stage involved prospecting for metals, the second dealt with exploiting the ores, and the third was creating an indigenous industry.

This volume is marred by a number of serious flaws. The use of the terms "exploitative stage" and "entrepreneurial stage" showed sloppy thinking. Mulholland used the term exploitative for those endeavors to export metals from the colonies to England and entrepreneurial for those attempts to

develop facilities making metals for use within the colonies. He gave exploitative a negative connotation and entrepreneurial a positive connotation. From colonial perspective this was not necessarily the case. Furthermore, these terms are not mutually exclusive. The term entrepreneurial refers to the process of establishing an enterprise. The product can either be used within or sent outside a region. Exploitative means seeking to make a profit for personal enrichment no matter where the product is sent.

Mulholland's statement that the colonists were unable to correctly find and identify metal-bearing rock cannot be accepted at face value (p. 12). Seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts of Pennsylvania such as Gabriel Thomas' *Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania* (1698) clearly show that colonists were looking for a wide range of mineral resources. They had developed a number of common sense methods for detecting various resources. Interest in prospecting and assaying was frequently described by British writers. One of these publications (Gabriel Plattes, *A Discovery of Subterraneall Treasure: viz, of All Manner of Mines and Mineralls from Gold to the Coale, with . . . Directions for the Finding . . . Melting . . . and Assaying of Them*, 1639) contained these common sense rules. It was printed in the United States in 1784 and by 1800 had undergone two more reprints. One must also keep in mind that educated Englishmen could also read Latin, Italian, and German so that other sources for finding and assaying metals were readily available even if *De Re Metallica* was not translated into English until the twentieth century (p. 13). By 1800 American entrepreneurs used this information when prospecting for and assaying valuable resources.

Students of American history will find the repetition of well-known irrelevant information bothersome. Equally annoying is the format of the paperback edition. The University of Alabama Press printed the paperback in what is technically known as page proof. Hopefully their hard cover edition was printed in the format to which most people are accustomed.

In spite of the flaws, this book will be valuable to general readers who desire a survey history of metals in colonial America.

Bloomsburg State College

H. BENJAMIN POWELL

In Defiance of the Law: The Standing-Army Controversy, The Two Constitutions, and the Coming of the American Revolution. By JOHN PHILLIP REID. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981. viii, 287 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

The dimension of the law has, Professor Reid believes, been neglected by

historians of the American Revolution. Legality then was not what it is now — the command of the sovereign (p. 3). Officials themselves frequently mistook its meaning. The parliamentary supremacy established in and after 1689 created an eighteenth century constitution often lacking in precision, and often at odds with the older system of customary restraints upon arbitrary power. The majority of Englishmen accepted the use of soldiers, if required by legislature or magistrate, to keep the peace in Ireland and to put down colliers burning pits or rioting weavers at home. Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke, could defend the decision to use military force even if it meant disobeying statutory regulation. Londoners, even when threatened with a foreign attack, maintained that stationing troops in the city was illegal unless at their request. This, at least, is what William Wildman, Lord Barrington, informed George III in January 1776. Famous men in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries proclaimed the unconstitutionality of armed police without the proper civilian authority. Yet, on the whole, the dispatch of British garrisons to Boston, New York and Charleston, to secure obedience provoked only a light and ineffective opposition within England.

Americans, on the contrary, viewed taxes or military occupation without their consent as infringements of those immemorial rights which they had brought with them to the New World. Loyalists like Thomas Hutchinson dared not ask the soldiers in Boston for help when it was impossible to obtain agreement of the assembly. General Thomas Gage was similarly frustrated. A change in English law might have helped the governors, as was the design of the "intolerable acts." But the precedents afforded by the seventeenth century and belief in the rights of provincial assemblies were too strong to permit Parliament to pass laws just to weaken American rebellion.

After discussing differing interpretations of law and constitution under Stuarts and Hanoverians, Reid notes the commonly held conviction of the evils of a standing army as a major example of the confusion in imperial and English thought. A prime example was the irrelevance of the army stationed in Boston. Of course after violence erupted, British reaction was inevitable, though unsuccessful and served only to unite American opinion. Hardly any but the customs commissioners welcomed the troops though at first Hutchinson had hoped their effect might be beneficial. Why then, it may be asked, did the Westminster powers fail to recognize the army's failure and withdraw it from the town?

Reid thinks any weakness by Francis Bernard and Hutchinson has been exaggerated. He also argues that England was for the most part unaware of the strength of American feeling. Few statesmen were prepared openly to jettison revered rights and strictly define imperial and parliamentary control. The concept of virtual representation was a prime example of a futile attempt

to reconcile English and colonial claims. Tradition against a standing army in time of peace was still too strong and powerfully set forth, though upset by governmental policy. Constitutional ambiguity did not aid authorities in confrontation with rebellious colonists. Americans, to be sure, tended to magnify the menace represented by soldiers in their midst; Englishmen and loyalists like Hutchinson tended to minimize rising determination among the colonists. The seventeenth century constitution both hindered effective eighteenth century action and strengthened the case set forth in letters, grievances and declarations. Imprecision was scarcely corrected until well into the next century. Then a sovereign rather than a concept of law became the general rule (p. 235).

This is a brilliant and stimulating book, required reading for all students investigating the periods covered.

Rosemont

CAROLINE ROBBINS

Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America. By LINDA K. KERBER. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980. xiv, 304 p. Illustrations, note on sources, index. Cloth \$19.50, paper \$9.00.)

Although only one of several books to appear on the subject, *Women of the Republic* is the best book now available on the ways in which the American Revolution affected both the lives of women and the perception of their role. As this book makes clear, historians of these subjects are forced to deal with aspects of women's experience and often unintended consequences, because women played a peripheral role in the central political issues which defined the Revolution itself. Beginning with an excellent discussion of Enlightenment views of women's place, Kerber traces the sometimes halting evolution of the concept of "Republican motherhood" which dominated post-Revolutionary thought about women. In the process she devotes two chapters to women's responses to the situations created by the war, three others to legal questions concerning coverture and divorce, and one each to female education and women's reading.

Kerber details how little support those looking for revolutionary conceptions of womanhood could find in the major male writers who provided the underpinning of the republican ideology. "If American women were to count themselves as the daughters of Liberty," she concludes, "they would have to invent their own ideology." While Kerber gives evidence of some change over the half-century from 1760 to 1810, she argues that what emerged was

the product of an evolutionary and ultimately conservative process. "Republican motherhood" as described by Kerber gave women "a political purpose" and an important function in strengthening the Republic, yet limited that function to the domestic sphere and the nurture of a virtuous citizenry.

The central chapters of the book detail the conservative or even reactionary ways in which revolutionary promise was met. In behavioral terms, the war "did place women in unfamiliar positions where they found old ideologies less and less useful," but few new ideas appeared and the very important activities of individuals and women's associations were "justified . . . in terms of women's domestic and religious obligations." Possibilities inherent in the republican ideology went unrealized. As Kerber argues, the Revolution "challenged familial rule. . . . Americans had rebelled against father king and mother country," but male revolutionaries chose to accept coverture and circumscribe women within the family, and refused to accept them legally as individuals. A revolution against "dictatorial masters offered an ideological validation for divorce," but "the promise was never given a high priority and was not fulfilled." Here Kerber sees the glass as half-empty while others have described it as half-full.

Portions of this book are excellent, especially the early chapters on ideology and those which most directly concern "Republican motherhood." Simple, obvious, but little noted comments dot the text: the law and courts were "a male domain," uncongenial to women; in a society where "county courts were a source of political and practical information" women remained outsiders; the "severe disparity in verbal fluency" between men and women had multifocal implications; and "If a woman sought to learn how other women coped with reality, she had few printed resources other than fiction to which she might turn."

There are, however, problems with the book. At times it seems like a set of essays that are not well integrated or at least not tightly knit to the central thesis. The thrust of the chapters on coverture and divorce runs at angles to the evolution of "Republican motherhood." The chapter on women's reading disrupts the flow from the excellent chapter on education to the conclusion. But perhaps these problems are dictated by the subject and stand out because of the many qualities of the book. Not the least of these is the marvelous set of illustrations that are more completely integrated with the text and argument than those in any other book in this reviewer's memory.

Lehigh University

WILLIAM G. SHADE

The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Volume 3. 1799–1820: From Philadelphia to New Orleans. Edited by EDWARD C. CARTER, II, JOHN C. VAN HORNE, and LEE W. FORMWALT. (New Haven: Published for the Maryland Historical Society by Yale University Press, 1981. xxxiv, 351 p. Illustrations, index. \$65.00.)

Though not without peers in early national America, Benjamin Henry Latrobe nonetheless was the country's leading professional engineer. Within a few years of arrival from England, he had introduced Greek Revival architecture, built the nation's first urban waterworks in Philadelphia, and begun work on some of the earliest canals in the United States. The entries Latrobe made in his journals from 1799 to his death in 1820 document, however, not so much the specialized professional's interests, but the observations and perceptions of a broadly-read and widely-traveled "public character." Indeed, his aim, Latrobe explained in 1799, was to collect observations and record information on matters in which his "personal interests and actions were not immediately involved" (p. 7). He does not avoid comment on matters such as the design of buildings and cities or the relative merits of different rock deposits for engineering projects (included here is an entry on stone quarries which was the basis for a paper read to the American Philosophical Society and later printed in the *Transactions*). Yet Latrobe's final journals are filled more with descriptions like those written during travels from Philadelphia to New Orleans: first by sea, then by land and river. In 1806, Latrobe wrote a full, often painfully graphic account of a month-long illness from which he barely emerged with his life. And out of his thirteen months in New Orleans came drawings and written journal entries on the social life and customs of the French and increasingly dominant "American" populations, of free Negroes and slaves, and of the remnants of the Choctaw tribe who inhabited the crescent city and its environs.

The diversity of Latrobe's journal topics contained in this volume makes it an apt companion to the specialized volumes of engineering drawings and architectural renderings already published and to the two volumes of the Virginia journals from the 1790s. This volume on the Philadelphia, Washington, and New Orleans years, like the earlier publications, has been well-edited by editor-in-chief Edward C. Carter II and his associates. The annotation is ample — perhaps too much so at times — and clearly written. In the world of modern editing, the Latrobe papers represent one more example of the diversity of recent editorial projects, a situation to be valued not only by the working historian but also by the serious historical buff.

For individuals interested in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, there exist scattered comments of significance in this volume, such as those on the yellow-

fever epidemics which decimated the city in the 1790s. Also, in response to a request from a military official in 1800, Latrobe examined the fortifications on Mud, or Fort Island in the Delaware River and was led to comment generally on the nature of the land areas built up by silting from the Schuylkill. He explained that the "meadows" below old Philadelphia — the bottom of the wedge formed by the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill — were deposited by silt in the same manner as the mud islands. Latrobe wrote at length on some regional topics, as in the case of Newcastle, Delaware which he discussed at the beginning of his sea journey to New Orleans. He characterized the settlement as Philadelphia's Gravesend — the last port town on the path from the city to the ocean. And like the original on the Thames below London, Newcastle was full of vice, that is, "conveniences for the accommodation of seafaring men." Newcastle was as well "a *little* country town" with "all the petty scandal, curiosity, envy and hatred which distinguishes little towns all over the world" (p. 39).

Latrobe was ever alert during his frequent trips as an architect and engineer: to a cathedral in Baltimore, a waterworks in New Orleans, or a governmental building in Washington. He wrote about the rigors of travel (the poor condition of inns led him to conclude that "as long as you travel, so long must you be filthy" [p. 85]) and about the changing weather and currents as his ship moved down the Atlantic coast and into the Gulf of Mexico. His drawings and journal entries on the entrance to the Mississippi River below New Orleans are detailed and clear. To technical matters, he brought a trained mind; to social phenomena, a sensitive and involved consciousness. There were few others in the country during the early years of industrialization who could have better comprehended what they saw and experienced. It is this informed approach to the interplay of civilization and nature which distinguishes this volume of Latrobe's journals and recommends it to the reader.

Philadelphia

MICHAEL MCMAHON

Jefferson and His Time. Volume 6. The Sage of Monticello. By DUMAS MALONE. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1981. xxiii, 551 p. Chronology, illustrations, map, appendices, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

The Sage of Monticello is the sixth and final volume of Dumas Malone's biography of Thomas Jefferson, entitled *Jefferson and His Time*, which was initiated in 1943. It covers the long span of time between Jefferson's retire-

ment from the presidency on March 4, 1809 and his death on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, one of the notable Virginian's most enduring achievements. The final years of this most enigmatical and perhaps most multi-faceted of Americans were characterized by the pleasures of family life (for the most part tranquil), philosophical serenity (even in the face of financial ruin) and by an accomplishment that in Jefferson's eyes rivalled the authorship of the famous Declaration: the founding of the University of Virginia.

Jefferson was close to sixty-six years of age when, his presidency ended, he ferried across the Potomac and set out, in one of the worst snowstorms that he could remember, on a five-day arduous journey to his beloved Monticello, his magnificent house, completed only after a long generation of construction and remodeling, atop a little mountain in Albermarle county. There, in this red clay country, he would remain, never leaving his native state again and making only occasional trips to nearby villages and to Poplar Forest, his second home in Bedford County. The kind of life that he wanted to lead was, in Malone's words, the agrarian model that had been "extolled by ancient writers he knew well — Cicero and Horace and the younger Pliny." That it did not turn out exactly this way was owing to developments largely beyond Jefferson's control.

Nevertheless, the role of revered *pater familias* was congenial. His daughter Martha, her husband, and their numerous brood (six daughters, five sons, and some of his many grandchildren, including Francis Eppes, the son of his deceased daughter, Maria) lived with him at Monticello. He was surrounded not only by close relatives but also by other visiting kinsfolk (who often made annual visits of from six to eight weeks) as well as by celebrities — scientists, scholars and literati — from home and abroad.

But Jefferson was not burdened by this houseful of relatives and guests. He rode horseback for hours each day, supervised his plantation (including his agricultural experiments), his mills, his nail factory — and his slaves, some 200 of them. He found time, too, for a bulky correspondence with longtime political associates, American and foreign acquaintances, and friends (most notably John Adams, from whom he had been estranged for years). The variety and quality of his correspondence are extraordinary, comprising, in the words of the historian Gilbert Chinard, a literary legacy that is "the richest treasure house of information ever left by a single man." His correspondence also reflected his voracious reading, always his happiest pastime. Books lined the walls of his private wing at Monticello and spilled over into other areas of the house. By 1814, his library numbered some 6,500 volumes, probably the finest collection in America. To help defray his mounting

debts, Jefferson was, however, obliged to sell this magnificent library to Congress for a sum that, compared to its subsequent value, was infinitesimal. As Malone writes, "this Apostle of Enlightenment" thus "made a lasting as well as a highly distinctive contribution both to his country and to civilization. He never claimed that he founded the Library of Congress, but the institution that emerged from the ashes after the war [of 1812] was virtually his creation."

But the financial relief that he gained was only temporary. His steadily mounting debts were a constant problem, the more serious because of his endorsement of a note of \$20,000 for a friend and neighbor who soon went bankrupt. Jefferson's financial ruin was now complete, despite the stratagems (the sale of lands, an abortive lottery, and gifts by public-spirited fellow citizens) that were used to avert it. In the end he lost all, even Monticello itself.

But he did leave a legacy that was the crowning achievement of years in retirement: the creation of the University of Virginia. After some years of tedious preliminaries, that institution was granted a charter in 1819; after six more years of taxing political, legislative, and financial battles it finally opened its doors. As Malone concludes, the university that Jefferson established was "unique." "There was scarcely a thing in the original institution that he did not prescribe and many of his distinctive ideas were to be long-lived." It was also an architectural triumph, as attested by a recent resolution of the American Institute of Architects proclaiming Jefferson's "academical village" to be "the proudest achievement of American architecture in the past 200 years."

The Sage of Monticello is, in sum, an appropriate finale to one of the great biographies of our time. Its principal flaw is the excessive detail that Malone provides for even comparatively minor features of Jefferson's years of retirement — to choose virtually at random, lavish information on the flower beds that he planted, the weather records that he kept, his experiment in merino sheep raising, or his opinion on dogs. But such a flaw pales by contrast to the overall brilliance of Malone's *Jefferson and His Time*. "It has been my great privilege as a biographer to be intimately associated with this extraordinary man for many years," Malone concludes. "At the end of my long journey with him I leave him with regret and salute him with profound respect." So, too, should historians salute Dumas Malone for one of the finest biographical achievements of this century.

Urban Capitalists: Entrepreneurs and City Growth in Pennsylvania's Lackawanna and Lehigh Regions, 1800-1920. By BURTON W. FOLSON, JR. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981. xiv, 191 p. Maps, tables, figures, photographs, bibliography, index. \$16.50.)

This is the first volume of studies in Industry and Society under the general editorship of Glenn Porter, published by the Johns Hopkins Press with the assistance of the Eleutherean Mills-Hagley Foundation. The book is a study of the early industrialization of two river valleys in Eastern Pennsylvania whose history had much in common with that of the settlement and growth of other regions rich in some raw material.

The Lackawanna River region, around a northeastern tributary of the Susquehanna, developed a strong center in Scranton from 1840 on. Its growth was based on access to anthracite coal, which had just become usable for smelting iron ore. But ore was scarce in the area, and the development of an iron industry as well as coal export depended on new canals and railroads largely financed from New York City. The pattern was reversed in the Lehigh Valley. Here ore was plentiful and coal scarce. Furthermore, the capital for canals and railroads came from Philadelphia rather than New York.

But ethnic considerations may have been as important as geographical differences. The Lackawanna Valley was only recently settled by New Englanders, New Yorkers, and North Jerseyites. It represented the normal movement of population westward as new opportunities beckoned. In contrast, the Lehigh Valley German Lutherans and Moravians, and Scotch Irish Presbyterians had settled from 1700 on in their own strongly church-oriented towns. These groups seemed more concerned with preserving and celebrating their cultures than with industrialization, as a mark of which there were by 1850 five denominational colleges within eight square miles. This is richly suggestive of the reception given industrialism in older areas less committed to expanding capitalism. Had it not been for the rise of the Bethlehem Steel Company in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Lehigh Valley region might never have become the third largest metropolitan area in Pennsylvania. Meanwhile, as anthracite coal was superseded by Western Pennsylvania coke, the Scranton area lost its initial impetus for growth and declined in population and importance.

The history is clearly told, but one wishes the author had included fewer names and speculated more of the effects of changing economic, geographic and social backgrounds. As the title indicates, the author wished to stress entrepreneurship, but it is not necessary to take an "either or" view of this element in relation to other environmental forces. All factors are parts of complexes which cannot be easily torn apart.

The last two sentences of the book are: "No city (or country) is destined to greatness by the environmental advantages or culture of its citizens. Great cities (and countries) are created; they endure only with an abundance of talent and luck." The author's over-emphasis on entrepreneurial talent and luck, however, does not prevent the study from being a substantial contribution to regional economic history.

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An Imperfect Union: Slavery, Federalism, and Comity. By PAUL FINKELMAN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981. xii, 378 p. Bibliography, index. Cloth \$22.00, paper \$12.00.)

The American Law of Slavery, 1810-1860: Considerations of Humanity and Interest. By MARK TUSHNET. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. ix, 262 p. Bibliography, index. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$9.50.)

The American system of slavery and the law it engendered hold a peculiar fascination for historians. The remarkable way in which the system of justice accommodated itself to the evils of slavery presents a challenging case study of the manipulation and compromise of principle. Two recent books by Mark Tushnet and Paul Finkelman examine, respectively, the contradictions in the development of the domestic law of slavery in the South and the difficulties of the interstate law of slavery in the federal system.

Tushnet presents a critical theory of the development of Southern slave law. His account of this much-discussed subject is unique in its application to the topic of the approach of critical legal studies. In this approach law is conceived to be an ideology which helps people "interpret the material conditions of their existence in ways that make their experience coherent. . . . [T]he primary, though not exclusive, material conditions that shape interpretations of the world are the material social relations of production" (pp. 31-32). Law is not merely a reflection of the struggle among contending interest groups or of the will of a dominant class. Instead, it is independent to some extent — "relatively autonomous" — of the relations of production. While the law is inextricably linked to the relations of production through the political principles generated by segments of the dominant class, institutional factors such as the system of precedent and its requirement of rational decision-making make invalid the common metaphor of law as a mirror of society.

The central problem for legal institutions in the South was developing a coherent body of law to deal with the basic contradiction in the relations of

production — the uneasy position of a slave economy in a capitalist world. The essential social relation of the slave system was the relation of master and slave; the master's total dominion over the slave required him to confront all aspects of the slave's life and personality. But the essential relation of bourgeois society was the confrontation of capitalist and worker in the wage bargain; participants in wage bargains (and other market transactions) disregard personality and all aspects of others' lives and only consider the productive utility of the exchange. While bourgeois judges and legal scholars were developing a body of law to interpret the world of partial social relations, the Southern bench and bar did not develop a body of law to interpret the world of total social relations, or to interpret the concurrent existence of both worlds in the South.

The two primary characteristics of slave law represented inadequate attempts to solve these problems. First, because the total relations of slavery seemed more appropriately governed by the sentiment of owners than by law, the courts attempted to allocate control over slaves to the master class. Such a result would have removed the courts from the scene entirely, and that turned out to be impossible. Second, the judges attempted to categorize slave law as a distinct area of law in order to secure the political allegiance of non-slave owning whites by aligning them with the master class and to simplify and limit the application of slave law, but that effort failed because of the complex and contradictory character of the society as well as the nature of legal reasoning itself.

Tushnet examines a wide range of cases and doctrines in tracing the problems faced by Southern courts. The novelty of approach provides fresh insights into well-known events and enables him to criticize effectively prior scholarship. This is an important theoretical and historical work, although because of the density of the argument it probably will be difficult to digest for those wholly unfamiliar with the issues.

Finkelman addresses the external law of slavery — the interstate problems created by the existence of slavery in some but not all states in a federal union. As the political conflict over slavery intensified, state and federal courts were increasingly uncomfortable with the terms of the constitutional compromise over slavery and increasingly unwilling to recognize through the doctrine of comity the law of states on the other side of the Mason-Dixon line. The federal courts became the enforcers of the Constitution as a "pro-slavery compact" (p. 236), while state courts in North and South increasingly favored their own states' policies toward slavery over their obligation to accommodate the law of other states.

The reception of slaveowners and slaves in courts in Pennsylvania is an illustration. The strong anti-slavery sentiment in Pennsylvania produced

abolition legislation as early as 1780. But Pennsylvania was bordered by slave states, and Philadelphia, as the nation's leading city and, for a time, its capital, was often visited by slaveowners. The emancipation statutes enacted in Pennsylvania were gradual in effect and excepted the slaves of travelers or visitors who remained in the state for six months or less. In early decisions under the statutes the courts recognized the legitimate interests of slaveowners. By the 1830s, however, attitudes hardened as the central issue shifted from transients to fugitive slaves. In 1842 in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional Pennsylvania's 1826 personal liberty law as an interference with the constitutionally-permitted rendition of fugitive slaves. The legislature responded with a new law which did not call for direct interference but prohibited state officials from aiding in the return of fugitives. Because of the limited resources of the federal government, this meant that slave catchers would be hard-pressed to capture fugitives in abolitionist Pennsylvania without engaging in unlawful breaches of the peace. The legislature also removed the six-month exception to emancipation and the right of transit. The courts ordered the freedom of slaves brought into the state under the new statutes, declared the offspring of fugitive slaves to be free, and otherwise rejected their earlier accommodating positions.

The decline of comity in the North was mirrored in the South. Before the 1840s, Southern courts frequently would recognize the free status of slaves who had been emancipated under the laws of Northern states during sojourns in the North. Over time, however, Southern judges, like their Northern counterparts, favored the policy of their own states over the recognition of out-of-state law.

As the conflict between Northern and Southern law heightened, Northerners feared that the Supreme Court would invalidate as unconstitutional all Northern restrictions on slavery. Finkelman argues that the fears were justified, based on the beliefs exhibited in decisions such as *Prigg*, and he provides an imaginative counterfactual approach to the 1860s which explores how national slavery could have become mandated by law.

An Imperfect Union, together with recent works by Don Fehrenbacher and William Wiecek, provides a comprehensive account of the national law of slavery. Finkelman ably examines the major Northern, Southern and federal decisions in their legal and political context. The study becomes even more useful when Tushnet's theory is applied to Finkelman's data. Then we can see that the problems faced by Northern judges deciding interstate cases were not significantly different from the problems faced by Southern judges in domestic slavery cases. Each attempted to provide coherence to a contradic-

tory social order through rational lawmaking, and each, ultimately, failed in the attempt.

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Witnesses to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth-Century Response. By LEE CLARK MITCHELL. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. xvii, 320 p. Bibliography, illustrations, index. \$18.50.)

By the end of the nineteenth century, as Lee Clark Mitchell observes in *Witnesses to a Vanishing America*, about one fifth of the original acreage in the United States had been left unburned, unlogged, and uncleared. With the exception of a scattering of groups like the German farmers in Pennsylvania, who practised land conservation, the settler was pursuing his manifest destiny as if the opportunities for fortune were exactly what Benjamin Franklin and others had said they were — unlimited, in a land of unlimited resources. Gone was much of the wilderness, gone were the buffalo, and going fast were the Indians, victims of forced relocation, land swindles, and massacres. If it seems too easy to see in hindsight how little foresight our ancestors had, Mitchell's book makes clear that a minority preservationist viewpoint was strong and persistent throughout the century.

Professor Mitchell deals encyclopedically with that viewpoint, a range of alternative attitudes toward the depredation of the environment and the elimination of the Indian that encompassed the celebration of the landscape (and condemnation of arrogant enterprise) in Cooper, Melville, and Twain; the visual memorials of the wilderness and its first tribal citizens in paintings by Catlin, Remington, Audubon, Cole, and Bierstadt, and in the later photographs of Jackson, Curtis, and Vroman; the successful rescue efforts of John Muir out West and of Frederick Law Olmsted in the city; and the archival collections and early ethnographies of Indian civilizations by Thomas L. McKenny, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Franz Boas. Many of the figures in Mitchell's story were accidentally drawn into their preservationist careers, often helping to preserve with one hand what they were destroying with the other; but none had quite so bizarre a history as Frank Hamilton Cushing, who lived with the Southwest Zuni Indians and advanced in the ranks ultimately to become head war chief, though not before taking the required enemy scalp — "probably the only scientist to do so in the line of duty," as Mitchell observes.

The scope of Mitchell's study is huge, demonstrating the pervasiveness of the preservationist ethos in the nineteenth century and revealing the evolution of an attitude of cultural relativism on the part of whites who began by assuming the unquestioned superiority of their own culture. The sense of the passing moment is voiced again and again by the preservationist, and Joshua Clark's 1849 remark, in his reminiscences of the Onondaga Indians, can serve for dozens more: "Indian tradition, with all its vivacity and interest, is fearfully becoming extinct. A few short years and nothing new can possibly be gleaned."

In fact, the refrain occurs with such stupefying regularity in Mitchell's book that it becomes finally like a bell tolling the persistent problem with *Witnesses to a Vanishing America* itself. For while Mitchell has gathered his witnesses from all quarters, one quickly grows willing to concede his central point — that we cannot understand "the American character" unless we admit this strong preservationist strain. What Mitchell hardly explores at all, however, is the exact degree to which the preservationist was in conflict with the exploiter, the balance between the two forces (which changes throughout the century), the whole social dynamic of a society which was not — on Mitchell's strong evidence — wholly blind to what it was doing. And just here Mitchell blurs the point: how and when did the isolated witness become part of a national consciousness (if it was that) issuing in preservationist legislation?

Inconsistencies and wavering emphases abound: Mitchell speaks of "the remarkable frequency" of expressions against progress and exploitation in the nineteenth century, and on the same page says that "most never questioned the process, much less resisted it" (p. 6). "In the broadest sense," Mitchell says, "nineteenth-century Americans wanted to freeze all aspects of the wilderness experience" (p. 90). But surely that is *too* broad a sense, given what actually happened. "Increasing numbers of Americans toward the end of the century" were troubled by the vanishing cultures (p. 171), yet, as the epilogue states, "The point nonetheless bears repeating that far less than a majority ever felt the apprehensions, much less entertained the ideas, suggested above" (p. 271). In short, one becomes confused. Mitchell has wanted to anchor his observations about explorers, artists, writers, and ethnographers in a social context that he only barely suggests, and never with the authority one wants. The encyclopedic survey of the main thesis becomes numbing, and one wishes that Mitchell had instead focussed on some fewer representative cases, where the details might have been more fully developed, demonstrating the full complexity of opposing forces in the society at large at key points in the century.

Still, *Witnesses* is nothing if not a timely book in this age of James Watt, and one can only be grateful to Mitchell for letting us sardonically relish how prescient a preservationist like John Muir was, when writing in 1871, "A generation hence our children will look with astonishment at the recklessness with which the public domain has been squandered. It will seem to them that we must have been mad" (p. 54). Still are.

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Literary Democracy, The Declaration of Cultural Independence in America. By LARZER ZIFF. (New York: The Viking Press, 1981. xxv, 333 p. Index. \$20.00.)

The development in the mid-nineteenth century of a distinctly American literature in the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Herman Melville has provided literary historians and critics with fertile ground for investigation. Some studies have examined these writings as artifacts reflecting, as a mirror image, the society that produced them. Others, concerned with the texts as works of art, have analyzed the form and content to come up with an aesthetic evaluation of the literature.

While Ziff acknowledges the value of both these approaches, he sets a different task for himself. *Literary Democracy* is concerned with the life and times of those writers who established the literary independence of America as well as the literature they produced. The careers of the six principal writers — Edgar Allan Poe is also included — are considered within the social contexts that contained them and are contrasted with the careers of their significant contemporaries in an effort to demonstrate the social origins of the first great body of American literature.

Ziff's study focuses on the era that began with the great financial panic of 1837 and ended with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. The boundaries are defined in terms of political events but Ziff ably demonstrates that they also mark a distinct literary age. While America was struggling to recover from the worst depression it had known, Emerson was gaining his first attentive audience with his address, "The American Scholar"; Hawthorne ended his isolation and anonymity with the publication of *Twice Told Tales*; and Poe left Virginia first for New York and shortly thereafter for Philadelphia and the world of national magazines. That same year was a year of embarkation for Melville and Thoreau as well. In 1837 the former made

his first voyage, sailing as cabin-boy on the *Highlander*, and the latter graduated from Harvard.

The terminal year of this history is a more obvious crossroad. The Civil War brought about the demise of the social and political order of old America, and the literary life that had grown since 1837 inevitably was affected. Poe had, of course, died several years before the outbreak of the war. Hawthorne and Thoreau did not live to see the end of it. Although Emerson and Melville survived the war physically, Emerson conceded that his creative energies were spent and Melville had lapsed into a near silence that lasted until his death. Only Whitman continued to publish but his postwar accomplishments differ greatly from the revolutionary explosion of *Leaves of Grass*.

What happened within these framing dates — how these writers discovered “a new way of perceiving reality,” why this development occurred when it did, and what made the writings of these authors different in form and content from the work of their significant contemporaries — is sketched by Ziff in his narrative. He examines each of the major authors and shows the complex and subtle interplay of common concerns in society and literature. In addition, Ziff includes chapters on such popular writers as George Lippard and Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose social novels echo the preoccupations of their age. Ziff also discusses the career of Margaret Fuller as representative both of the condition of women and of a class of talented persons “who wrote only because their society afforded them no outlet for direct action for which their talents were better suited.”

Implicit in Ziff's analysis of the social origins of literary democracy is the conviction that it had to be preceded by a redefinition of American society. In the Federalist period the nation defined itself in terms of Europe; political attitudes were characterized as pro-British, anti-French, or vice versa. But a change came about in the formative years of Emerson's generation. A new nationalism, based on the land, westward expansion, and the ability to make history rather than be its victim, gave America a positive, dynamic sense of identity. The popular interest in the Wilkes expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the South Polar regions and in Elisha Kent Kane's Arctic explorations was a manifestation of this ebullient self-consciousness.

While Emerson and his contemporaries might deplore the land greed and materialism the new nationalism unleashed, they were able to build upon it culturally. They recognized that democracy was nourished, not by institutions, but by the land itself. Having accepted this they could begin to develop a national literature distinctive in form and language. The patterns of this development, the intermergings of society and literature, as illustrated by

Ziff, make *Literary Democracy* a necessary introduction to the "American Renaissance."

The Library Company of Philadelphia

MARIE ELENA KOREY

The History of American Wars from 1745 to 1918. By T. HARRY WILLIAMS.
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981. xvii, 435 p. Bibliography, index.
\$20.00.)

In *The History of American Wars*, T. Harry Williams intended to write a military history of the American people and nation from the colonial wars to Vietnam "comprehensive enough to give a well-rounded picture . . . yet succinct enough to fit into a single volume" (p. xi). Williams' death in 1979 prevented completion of the project. The book actually presents in clear, uncluttered prose a narrative account of America's military efforts from the mid-eighteenth century to the end of World War I. A short introduction defines wars and military terms, then briefly surveys the changing nature of warfare from 1745 to the late twentieth century. Chapters dealing with America's major wars are interspersed with short "interludes" which discuss the institutional evolution of the military services, the halting development of American military policy, and conflicts with the Indians.

The History of American Wars is more than the traditional "drum and trumpet" campaign history. Each war is set in its proper historical context. Williams devotes considerable space to the origins of America's wars. He does this in order to emphasize the political objectives — i.e., the war aims — the nation's leaders sought when they decided to resort to the force of arms. This is the greatest strength of the book. The reader is never allowed to forget the Clausewitzian dictum that war emerges from the political process and is used to gain political ends. When those ends are vaguely defined or poorly articulated, Williams stresses, the conduct of war flounders. The strategic direction of war is inextricably connected to policy. When policy makers and military leaders forget that, things go awry. Not surprisingly, he uses the War of 1812 to make this point, and intimates the Vietnam war would have served the same purpose.

Williams emphasizes as well the fact that the battlefield is not isolated from the economy and society of a nation waging war. Despite the challenge any author would face in synthesizing the impact of war on society, he effectively though briefly examines the financing of each war, home front support and opposition to war, and the degree to which individual wars

affected society as a whole. The descriptions of the conduct of wars are mainly on the strategic level, with occasional accounts of particular campaigns. The effects of changing technology on tactics are reviewed, but Williams gives no tactical descriptions of specific battles.

Overall, *The History of American Wars* meets Williams' self-determined goals of comprehensiveness and succinctness. He indicates an awareness of the trend of the last twenty-five years to broaden military history beyond pure campaign history. At the same time, Williams never forgets that people die in war, that war is destructive and costly. At times the "interludes" are too brief and the discussions of the origins of wars too long. Topics which belong in the "interludes" appear in the chapters on wars on occasion, leading to some overlap and redundancy. Had Williams been able to carry the book through the Vietnam war it might have lost its succinctness, but given the task at hand, T. Harry Williams' last work is a durable piece.

Two complaints, which may well be the result of editorial decisions, need to be made. Unaccountably, the book contains no maps. This is disconcerting enough for those familiar with America's major wars but doubly so given the obvious fact that the book is intended for a general reading audience. The reader simply cannot follow an account of the conduct of a war without reference to well-designed maps. The second caveat deals with the bibliography. It is not well-balanced and is too short. It is poorly edited as well, with several glaring errors in the titles of well-known and important books.

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