Alan Tully sets out to answer the questions, what was the political world of the eighteenth-century American colonist like, and what were the factors determining its character. Other historians have stressed paths taken to self-government, the growing power of the assemblies, the conflicts between the disadvantaged many and the privileged few, and the multifaceted patterns of competing interest groups (pp. xiii-xiv). Reexamining the years 1726-1755 in Pennsylvania, Tully discovers there the overall peacefulness of political relationships and finds exceptional to this only the Keithian wrangles of the late twenties (pp. 15-17), a "round of contention" (pp. 23-37) in the early forties between proprietary-executive politicians and a broadly based Quaker alliance, and the arguments provoked in 1754-1755 by the attempts of the proprietor, Thomas Penn, to curb the financial independence of the province (pp. 41-43, 129-33). There were, of course, minor and personal clashes among prominent individuals, and some differences among members of the Society of Friends, these last most seriously about the degree of involvement permissible in the defense of the colony. But throughout, the emphasis is upon stability and harmony, this being attributed to fortunate economic and geographic circumstance, the excellent constitution of 1701, and, above all, the essential unity preserved by the ruling Quakers. Pennsylvania was governed by what increasingly became a minority, but one, Tully claims, that was sufficiently flexible until mid-century to cope with changing times and conditions. An example of this is provided by the reaction of men like William Allen, Richard Peters, and others to the growing numbers of immigrant Germans. To keep them content, counties with one representative apiece were formed well to the north of Philadelphia (pp. 49-50).

Part One, "Configurations," describes relationships between disparate parts: the proprietary and the settlers, land always being the most sensitive issue; the reluctance of Quakers to meet wartime demands; and a growing rift between radical Quakers and the Penns
already noted. Up to the forties the border dispute with Maryland acted as a cohesive force among Pennsylvanians.

Part Two, "The Bases of Political Stability," analyzes context, structure, local government, and patterns of behavior, concluding with a chapter on the Quaker contribution to an essentially peaceful period. An epilogue summarizes the themes explored. Thirty-six pages of appendixes provide useful statistics on composition, religious affiliation, annual turnover, and distribution of assemblymen, as well as notes on provincial finances and on city and country Quakers. These provide a rich store of material for the student of commonwealth history. In sum, conclusions reached greatly resemble impressions reported by eighteenth-century commentators upon the Quaker colony and its tolerance, peace, wealth, and expanding economy. All these excited a general admiration as well as some envy.

Tully is scrupulous in reporting minor sources of friction and in appreciating external factors in determining the eighteenth-century world of Pennsylvanians. He does not, I think, adequately discuss attitudes and activities outside the area of the earliest settlements — Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks counties. The section on local government is interesting on the officeholders and the function of the courthouse. The author had earlier noted, however (p. 42), the difficulty of finding good candidates for responsible positions, and remarked on the open society enjoyed (p. 62) and its cultural diversity. Yet some discussion of any possible agitation leading up to the creation of counties would have been interesting, even if the records are slim. Lancaster became a county in 1729, York, Cumberland, Northampton, and Berks in 1749-1752, but whether this was simply the result of spontaneous action on the part of the assembly in Philadelphia, or because of action sparked by petition and local organization seems unclear. Surely in those areas people gathered together to obtain the desired status? Tully reproduces (pp. 56, 58) figures from J. T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972, p. 45) on settlement and population growth, but he says little about the political aspirations of their mostly non-Quaker inhabitants. By 1776, war and British policies had extended and sharpened sensibilities, but the question presents itself as to whether those two decades were a development from earlier resentments rather than solely reaction to immediate circumstance. The constitution of 1776 certainly shows no appreciation of the harmony and stability achieved during the years investigated by Tully.
William Penn's Legacy provides a brief and thoughtful, if at times somewhat repetitious account of the period it covers. Possibly a few additional and more specific examples of those frequent "endogamous" marriages (pp. 81, 87) mentioned, or of actual business transactions between Philadelphians and Lancastrians might have added flesh to a clearly written analytical summary of the Quaker policies which Tully finds so conducive to stability between 1726 and 1755.

Rosemont, Pennsylvania

Caroline Robbins


In The Elder Pitt Stanley Ayling has written a biography which supplements rather than replaces Basil Williams's standard work, William Pitt Earl of Chatham (1913). Ayling presents a post-imperial, antiheroic view of the great British war minister. While not denying the genius of the man, he attempts to humanize his subject, and the result is that one sees more of Pitt the politician and less of Pitt the empire builder.

Almost half the book is devoted to the period before Pitt began his war ministry in 1756. His career was shaped by his early association with two opposition leaders: Lord Cobham and Prince Frederick, George II's son and heir. Through the prince Pitt became an ally of the trading interests in London and provincial cities. Thus Ayling attributes Pitt's lifelong advocacy of commerce to this early political association rather than to the fact that Pitt's grandfather had made a fortune in trade in India. In Parliament, Pitt soon made his mark as an eloquent opponent of the government, and during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), his denunciation of English reliance on Hanoverian troops made an enemy of George II. Indeed it was the repugnance which the king felt for Pitt that kept him out of power, until the crisis of the Seven Years' War made it impossible for any government to survive without the participation of the Great Commoner.

The centerpiece of Pitt's career was the period 1756-1761, when he led the nation to spectacular global victories over the French. Ayling minimizes the originality of Pitt's ideas on war aims and strategy, stressing instead the energy and thoroughness with which,