

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Papers of Henry Bouquet*: Volume 3, January 1, 1759-August 31, 1759. Edited by DONALD H. KENT, LOUIS M. WADDELL, and AUTUMN L. LEONARD. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976. Pp. xxvii, 659. Foreword, illustrations, list of papers, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

*The Papers of Henry Bouquet*: Volume 4, September 1, 1759-August 31, 1760. Edited by LOUIS M. WADDELL, JOHN L. TOTTENHAM, and DONALD H. KENT. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978. Pp. xxiii, 736. Foreword, illustrations, list of papers, bibliography, chronology, index. \$15.00.)

The publication schedule of *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* has seen its share of oddities. Volume 2 in the series, which keyed on the Forbes expedition against Fort Duquesne (1758), was published first, in 1951. It was not until 1972 that Volume 1 appeared, which covered December 1755 through May 1758, Bouquet's first years in America. The publication of Volumes 3 and 4 places the series at its halfway mark, the intention being to complete it with four more volumes, covering Bouquet's career in America to his untimely death in 1765.

Most of the papers that are included in Volumes 3 and 4, as in the first two volumes and those that are projected, are available in older printed works as well. The largest single source of documentary material on Bouquet is the Bouquet Papers, a collection in the British Library. The pertinent letters and papers in this collection were edited by Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent and were published in nineteen mimeographed volumes between 1940 and 1943. Other Bouquet letters and papers have been printed elsewhere. The editors of the volumes under review have combed British and American archives for material on Bouquet and have printed items that, though relevant to their subject, involve him neither as author nor as addressee. Their exertions have permitted them to place some material in print for the first time. However, the revelations are few.

Despite the lack of significant new material, the series is well justified. Its usefulness derives largely from the thoroughly professional editing that has characterized this project from the first. Indeed, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* may stand as a guide to proper editorial method. Both volumes under review provide excellent bibliographies. Both are well indexed. The rules of transcription are precisely

laid out and are followed consistently. Almost all documents, even if previously in print, have been newly transcribed for the present edition. Materials in foreign languages are printed in the original as well as in translation. Letters that could not be located but whose contents are known from other correspondence are summarized from hypothetical reconstructions. For all of these features, the editors are to be commended. Their greatest service, however, lies in the extensive annotation that they provide. The notes on individuals, army units, and localities add greatly to the value of the volumes.

Volumes 3 and 4 find Bouquet between moments of glory. Immediately behind him lay the Forbes expedition, which he had helped to direct. A few years in the future was Bushy Run, his tactical masterpiece that marked the turning of the tide against Pontiac. Though the years 1759-1760 allowed him no opportunity to make use of his abilities as a strategist and tactician, he served the army well as an administrator. This period found him the most important figure in the British and American supply scheme in the west. That the troops were often poorly clothed and fed is unsurprising, given the size of the area under his purview, the ruggedness of the terrain, and most of all the chaotic logistical arrangements of the day. It may in fact be said that Bouquet succeeded as well as any officer might have under the circumstances. His efforts and talents did not go unappreciated by the army. A lieutenant colonel during 1759-1760, he was promoted colonel in 1762, brigadier-general in 1765 — exceptional progress for a foreign-born officer.

Given that Bouquet's efforts in 1759-1760 centered on supply, it should come as no surprise that the two volumes under review are rich in the stuff of ledgers, receipts, notes of payment, debits, and returns of provisions. Generally these documents attest to the difficulty of Bouquet's position. So do dozens of letters that he received from officers on the frontier — desperate pleas for food, clothing, and horses.

*The Papers of Henry Bouquet* paints a depressing picture of army life in the west during the French and Indian War. The recruits, British and American, were of generally poor quality. Most of them did not adapt well to the rigors of army life. Morale was low, desertion rates high, and both problems intensified when pay was tardy, as it often was. In May 1759, Bouquet informed Amherst that "the 100 men Leftt at Cumberland of the Maryland Troops are reduced by desertion to 25. . . . The men having neither Pay nor certainty of receiving any" (3: p. 162). The quality of accommodations was usually poor, and

this, too, depressed morale. In June 1760, Bouquet wrote of Fort Pitt, then under construction, "The Barraks made of green Wood or bad Briks want already much Repair, and some Parts of the Works raised in haste must be pulled down & be made up again" (4: p. 603). Finally, officers and men alike had to contend with the crushing awareness of isolation that pervaded life on the frontier. The sense of being cut off from the broader world bred its own sort of desperation, as one can see in a letter that Lieutenant Lewis Ourry wrote to Bouquet from Fort Bedford in January 1759: "I hope, Sir, . . . you will have more Compassion on me than the rest of the World, & send me up a Bundle of News-Papers" (3: p. 81).

As these selections suggest, the volumes under review emphasize the workaday side of army life. Those who equate military history with the study of battles will find that the volumes contain a few reports of minor actions, but no more. They, presumably, will be disappointed. However, for those who wish to examine the army as a social institution, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* stands as a central reference.

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*The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784: Volume 4, January 11-April 15, 1782.* Edited by E. JAMES FERGUSON and JOHN CATANZARITI. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978. Pp. xxxvii, 671. Illustrations, editorial method, editors' acknowledgments, appendixes, index. \$22.50.)

Throughout the three months covered in this volume the question of whether major combat operations would occur in 1782 hung in balance. On February 6, Morris was ashamed to tell Washington that no money was available for sending Virginia troops to reinforce Nathanael Greene's southern operations. Nevertheless, one month later he lectured a state assembly leader on the importance of Pennsylvania providing revenue so that Washington could begin offensive operations early in the spring. It is not clear whether Morris was bluffing; it was not until mid-May that he would admit to a confidant that war finances were now merely a device for building a national fiscal system.

Although Britain's decision against further offensive operations

was made in the second half of February, the crisis of events in Philadelphia seems to have occurred early in that month. Morris's circular letter to the states (February 9) and plea to Congress (February 11) contained his most persuasive prose, and he had gone to the trouble of having those texts approved beforehand by Washington and administration leaders. Morris's style turned now almost to martyrology, referring always to the common cause and the risk of his personal credit. Now, he and Robert Livingston formally hired Thomas Paine to rouse the people, even though Paine was at the same time badgering Morris as the spokesman for disgruntled army officers.

There are glimpses of bureaucratic life, especially in the Morris daily diary. On February 28, he alluded to having to work late at night and even to being accosted on the street, at dinner time, by persons seeking payments. Small slips suggest that he was under pressure. He paid an express carrier even though he did not know which agency employed the man. On February 28, he entered what may well have been a Freudian slip when he wrote "Captain William Peebles." He meant Captain William Pickles. Peebles had fallen at the head of his company of Pennsylvanians on Long Island in 1776. Part of Morris's explanation for army provisions problems was that the contracts had been written in haste, and the fact that he would write the same person two and sometimes three letters on the same day proves that all was not going smoothly. Morris believed, of course, in hard work; he told the comptroller of the treasury that the way to get results from auditors was to put them in separate offices so that they "work against each other."

Only one diary entry referred to Washington's Monday evening cabinet sessions. Clearly Morris had to make himself available to Washington at all times. The commander in chief took the field April 1, but even before that his obsession with the minutiae of soldiers' equipment and conditions led him to trust entirely in "the Financier."

A personal dimension existed in 1782 which is not fully presented in these documents. On the basis of a single interview Morris concluded that the contractor Comfort Sands, later soundly denounced by Washington, was honest. Apparently he also hired his new secretary, a South Carolina refugee, on the spur of the moment. Although Morris was a close friend of the wealthy contractor William Duer, nothing personal appears between them in these documents. The many money claimants, whose pleas make up most of the diary, were rarely paid. It is not clear whether Morris was acting deviously in stalling and rejecting payments, and it is not clear whether he was motivated

by personal prejudices. Morris's own integrity was attacked only once, in a hot exchange that developed with Benjamin Harrison concerning Virginia's finances. It was not only pride that led the financier to defend himself; his personal credit supported the confederate fiscal system and the credit, in turn, depended on his reputation.

Encouraged by William B. Willcox and others who believe in high standards for published documents, I spot-checked these transcriptions against microfilm copies, especially the Library of Congress's film of its Morris Collection. Only two spelling discrepancies, which could not be justified as silent corrections, were found. On page 115, Clinton is misspelled, and on page 555 (eleventh line) "led" has been transcribed as "but" (the third letter looks as much like "t" as "d"). Only rarely have the editors inserted bracketed words, but in one situation the result is unsatisfactory. On page 365, Morris is shown writing Timothy Pickering that "... the Person acting in your Department . . . , who must be instructed to make the Payment and that he may [know?] exactly the Persons who have the Claim I send herein a Copy of the Account, . . ." Morris's scribe left no space for a missing word. If "know" is removed there is a change in meaning. Thus, "... that he may exactly (*end of phrase*) the Persons who have the Claim I send herein a Copy of the Account, . . ."

The silent correction of punctuation, although an established editorial procedure, is unfortunate because it occasionally interprets words. On page 365, in a letter from Morris to William Dunscomb, the editors silently inserted a period and capitalization to form a sentence break. The break could have been inserted at a different point. The editors produced "William Bedlow Esqr. in his Letter to me of the 31 January last mentions certain Books and Papers in his Possession which are also to be brought down. As one Journey may Answer both Purposes I desire you may apply to Mr Bedlow, deliver him the enclosed Letter, let his Books and Papers be properly put up, . . . and bring them with the others." Moving the sentence break, Bedlow, not Morris, becomes the one suggesting that two chores be accomplished on one trip. Thus, "William Bedlow . . . mentions certain Books . . . which are also to be brought down as one Journey may Answer both Purposes[.] I desire you may apply to Mr Bedlow. . . ." Similarly, on page 583, in the last sentence of Morris's first letter to James Lovell, a semicolon has been silently inserted which changes the antecedent of the pronoun "it." The editors printed "Let the Agreement be in writing and send it to me with the Bond; it shall be complied with."

The footnotes are nearly flawless. In a biographical sketch of James McClene, on pages 337-38, it is unfortunate that the editors drew some information from Robert L. Brunhouse's *Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790* (Harrisburg, 1942) because Brunhouse had confused James and Joseph McClene. They should have cited the primary source, the Minutes of the Pennsylvania Assembly, instead of a secondary work. On page 321, the editors failed to comment on a diary entry that is so startling that it demands explanation. An unidentified Mr. Reed was found to be in Burlington Gaol with a certificate for \$200,000, and Morris sent the paymaster general to try to take it away from him. How did that come about?

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*Benjamin West: A Biography.* By ROBERT C. ALBERTS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978. Pp. xvi, 525. Introduction, acknowledgments, appendixes, notes and sources, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Benjamin West (1738-1820) was known as "The Father of American Art" — the "American Raphael." He grew up in the Lancaster area of Pennsylvania, lived in Philadelphia, and eventually became internationally known as the first painter from America to study in Italy. From there he made his home in London, leading a phenomenal life of good fortune and early success as the historical painter for King George III. West founded and served as president of the Royal Academy and became England's most popular painter.

Although many feel that West had the most successful career of any American artist, there has been no in-depth account of his life since his death in 1820. This is amazing since West's works were actually overpraised in his lifetime. However, they were undervalued for more than one hundred years after his death.

Robert C. Alberts has written the first comprehensive, scholarly, and soundly documented account of West's life. Centuries ago the philosopher Diogenes counseled Croesus that a man's fortune should not be evaluated until after his death. In line with this wise advice, Alberts departs from custom and commences his biography with the

death of the artist. In this surprise beginning, he describes the demise of West, preceded by that of King George III, who commented when he first found out that there were only four months difference in their ages: "Ah! Then when I die, West, *you* will shake in your shoes" (p. 1). Ironically enough, Benjamin West died six weeks after the king of whom he had recently said, "I have lost the best friend I ever had in my life" (p. 2).

Alberts brings forth fresh insights into the life of West — his expertise at ice skating, his poor Italian. He explains how the artist was criticized for painting subject matter that told a story or taught a moral. West was condemned for painting on an enormous scale, and some critics said he was great "only by the acre." The text is sprinkled with interesting information, such as how West used members of his family and friends as models for figures in his paintings. Alberts relates how West's student, Gilbert Stuart, donned a suit of armor and miserably lay on the studio floor for hours while the artist drew him in his painting *The Battle of the Boyne*.

Alberts discloses that in spite of early success which would have inspired the romantic novelist, not all was pleasant for West in the Royal Academy when he took over as president. The author relates in great detail the constant quarreling, jealousies, and turbulent times among members. Illustrative of this rivalry and struggle, Alberts includes a quotation of Sir Joshua Reynolds, first president of the academy: "It is impossible for two painters in the same department of the art to continue long in friendship with each other" (p. 161). Even humorous troubles confronted the academy, such as when the members had to decide what to do with some paintings of naked women which were submitted for the 1798 exhibit (p. 254).

Only one important phase of West's life is omitted, possibly because there is a certain amount of folklore connected with it, though Alberts did include the folklore of West's elopement. What is not included is the fact that West was a tavern sign painter early in his youth. Perhaps the most famous boards, other than the one he reputedly painted for the "Sign of the Bull" in Philadelphia, are "The Hat" and "The Three Crowns." Alice Morse Earle in her *Stagecoach and Tavern Days*, John Omwake in his book *The Conestoga Six-Horse Bell Teams of Eastern Pennsylvania*, William Uhler Hensel (an early owner of these signs), and Dr. Herbert H. Beck of the Lancaster County Historical Society all indicate that there is a strong possibility that West painted these signs. Carl W. Drepperd disputes, not the question of West painting the boards, but the place

where he painted them. He wrote, "Alice Morse Earle is wrong when she says that Benjamin West painted the tavern signs at Philadelphia. He painted them at Lancaster at about the age of 16."

Alberts presents interesting insights into the lives of artists contemporary with his subject — especially those that were his students: Allston, Copley, the Peales, Stuart, Sully, Trumbull, and the inventor Samuel F. B. Morse. All the important American artists of his day traveled to London to study under West, who "fed them, housed them, lent them money, introduced them to patrons, found them work and commissions, encouraged them, and imbued them with pride in their profession" (p. 68). Alberts devotes at least nine pages to Copley and how his life intermingled with West's. He includes the foremost British artists as well — Constable, Fuseli, Gainsborough, Angelica Kauffmann, Lawrence, Hoppner, and Reynolds.

Not only the artists but the patrons (such as Robert Fulton of steamboat fame) and collectors of art are presented vividly in this work. Alberts also provides information throughout the text on the status of some of the old masterpieces which over the years have disappeared from the public eye. This is an invaluable aid to devotees of art.

Alberts gives picturesque eighteenth and early nineteenth-century background on Philadelphia, London, Paris, and Rome. Of Rome he writes that it was "recognized as the most attractive, agreeable, and stimulating city in Christendom. It was a city of pleasant sounds, of church bells by day and of the fountains in its squares by night" (p. 35).

The biographer's style is clear and precise. At times, as an update, he reminds the reader who a previously mentioned character is. For example, he writes, "When Benjamin West was seventeen, his friend Samuel Flower — the neighbor with the motherless children and the English governess . . ." (p. 17). He begins each of his twenty-seven chapters with an interesting quotation which adds charm to the work. In the epilogue, Alberts describes West: "As a teacher and champion of the young he had no peer . . ." (p. 401). Included in the text are eighty black-and-white photographs.

Alberts corrects numerous errors that have persisted throughout history in regard to West and includes in an appendix a discourse on the artist's earlier biographer, John Galt, who wrote much folklore about West in 1816 and 1820. Included also is an account of West's reputation for having achieved a seminal departure in art. West planted the seed of a new art form by painting heroes in their contemporary



dress instead of presenting them in ancient Greek and Roman costumes, which was the prevailing style at that time.

This book has been a long time in coming and the reader is well rewarded for the delay.

Greensburg

HELENE SMITH

*Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810-1850.* By DIANE LINDSTROM. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978. Pp. viii, 255. Preface, appendixes, endnotes, selected bibliography, index. \$16.50.)

Not so long ago, historians of the American economy generally agreed that antebellum increases in per capita income were in some substantial way a function of regional specialization. First canals, and then railroads, allowed the East to concentrate on manufacturing, the South on cotton, the West on foodstuffs. If Philadelphia trade patterns (this is a book about trade patterns) reflect those of other major cities, Diane Lindstrom has issued a formidable challenge to the mythology of the national market. The critical ingredients in the city's economic success were two: intraregional trade (within the East) — primarily in coal, secondarily in textiles; and commerce with the hinterland.

Lindstrom begins by focusing on Philadelphia's 1810-1850 transformation from a commercial to a manufacturing city. (This argument is essential, for Lindstrom equates the city's economic progress with structural transformation.) The evidence in support of such changes is hardly overwhelming, however. Philadelphia's industrial output at least doubled in the three decades after 1810, but was this "impressive growth" (p. 42)? Lindstrom assumes that it was, and this allows her to emphasize eastern demand, because it was "large and more concentrated in the regional economy's goods" (p. 91), at the expense of trans-Appalachian (that is, national) trade. The latter, though growing more rapidly than any other branch of Philadelphia's commerce, is slighted because much of it was in goods made in Europe and New England. In short, if a trade pattern did not contribute to the development of Philadelphia's manufacturing sector, it must not have been central to the city's development. Lindstrom has not so much confronted the national-market theory head-on as side-stepped it by introducing a "dynamic sector" model of economic development.

The relationship between the core city, Philadelphia, and its

hinterland is also treated in the context of structural transformation. Here, however, the statistical case is compelling (the hinterland purchased seven times more goods from the core in 1840 than it did in 1810), and Lindstrom documents important economic changes in the hinterland. In 1810, hinterland residents farmed on a subsistence basis and made most of their goods in the household. Forty years later, commercial farming was the order of the day, manufactured goods were purchased from Philadelphia factories, and mineral extraction was a major source of employment. The result was a functional division of labor between core and periphery.

This substantial contribution to the history of economic development is somewhat diminished by the author's failure to come to terms with the meaning of this hinterland transformation for the people who experienced it. For Lindstrom, this transformation is a "celebration" (p. 151). Subsistence farming is not valued as a way of life; it is a state from which one should "escape" (p. 121). Why? Because specialization meant increased productivity, and increased productivity meant that "virtually every part of the region was better off than it had been previously" (p. 159). We learn, however, that intense competition among hinterland producers of grain, coal, and iron meant that "most of the savings that resulted from hinterland specialization" did not remain there but "were passed on to the urban consumer in the form of lower prices" (pp. 153-54). In the periphery, in fact, "the years from 1815 to 1840 brought harsh readjustments" (p. 178). Two sentences, together near the end of the volume, capture Lindstrom's confused vision of the industrial revolution: "Philadelphia County profited from all of these changes within its hinterland. It attracted a healthy proportion of the outmigrants from the countryside, again depressing unskilled wage rates" (p. 179). The lesson, it would seem, is that one person's profit is another's "readjustment."

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*The Miners.* By MARY SIEGEL TYSON. Edited and Produced by DEAN E. TYSON. (Pine Grove, Pennsylvania, and Ann Arbor, Michigan: Sweet Arrow Lake Press, 1977. Pp. xvi, 368. In appreciation, acknowledgments, author's preface, illustrations. \$5.95, paper.)

To the superficial observer of Pennsylvania ethnic historiography,

the Germans appear to have been well served in print. Scores of books and hundreds of articles have been published over the generations depicting the actions of the "Pennsylvania Dutch," not omitting the somewhat exotic Amish, Mennonite, and Dunker variations on the Teutonic theme. Accounts of the lives and fortunes of German-Jewish financiers and businessmen resident in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia have not been limited in number. Yet a great deal of German-American history as it affected Pennsylvania remains unchronicled, especially as regards the German influence in the labor history of the United States and more particularly, the coal mining industry. The present work is therefore to be welcomed, even though it embodies serious shortcomings as a thoroughly reliable historical document.

Mary Siegel Tyson penned this family history of the Siegels and the Haueisens of Hazleton and its environs while she was in her seventies, intending no doubt to record the actions of her forebears for the future reference of her family as well as for the delectation of a larger reading audience. The story that she relates was well worth publication, although the writer's obviously unprofessional style and lavish employment of contrived dialogue will probably cause professional historians to look askance at her work. This would be unfortunate, however, since Tyson's volume contains much information useful to ethnic and regional historians. Her work is particularly valuable as the narrative of families of workers in the coalfields who were relatively unaffected by radicalism and labor unionism, instead remaining by and large loyal to the "bosses" in their roles as skilled laborers and at times constituting a quasi-managerial staff. The Siegels and the Haueisens were "company men," who brought to their coal mining tasks skills learned in Europe or absorbed from their foreign-born fathers. Men and women alike fully realized the value of a "day's work for a day's pay." They were rewarded in kind for their diligence by their employers who singled them out for such benefits as better housing, special commendations, and, most valuable of all, continued employment during periods of slack sales and depression. If Tyson's account is reliable, none of the Siegels or the Haueisens or their relations was involved with or even sympathetic to the "Molly Maguire" agitation that swirled around them in the 1870s. In fact, Siegmund Siegel, the patriarch of the clan, was even shot at by unknown parties who evidently felt that the German's fidelity to the cause of management was too much for a member of the working class.

Of course, whatever their role insofar as relations with management were concerned, Tyson's ancestors were by no means immune

to the general lot of humanity in those difficult years of the second half of the nineteenth century. The author's narrative is replete with accounts of premature death through sickness and accident, and the subsequent struggles of the surviving mate to hold often large families together with inadequate financial resources. More pleasant events also have their place in Tyson's book, which includes many descriptions of the simple pleasures taken advantage of by the town and rural-based members of the family group. From time to time, excursions to the local metropolis of Hazleton were possible as were tours on the rather shaky passenger trains of the period. Being Germans, the menfolk, of course, always had their beer.

Tyson's understanding of the larger context in which the actions of the Siegels and Haueisens took place is rather limited, although it probably reflects that of her forebears as they attempted to make sense of such phenomena as the "Molly Maguires" or the massacre of the Slavic miners at Lattimer in 1886. More important, the author is most perceptive in her recital of familial relations among the Germans, being especially acute in her rendering of the often highly traumatic antagonisms existing between parents and their children. It was a time when children were widely regarded as economic assets rather than as creatures having any degree of autonomy of their own.

Tyson's book deserves examination by students of the ethnic experience in America. Its text, lavishly illustrated with reproductions of the period, will prove useful as well to regional historians and investigators of the labor aspects of the coal mining industry.

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*Crusade in the City: Revivalism in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia.*

By MARION L. BELL. (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 1977. Pp. 299. Preface, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$15.00.)

In contrast to the rural focus of most histories of American religious revivalism, Marion Bell proposes in this work "to view revivalism in juxtaposition with patterns of urban growth and mobility" (p. 14). She chooses Philadelphia as her case study (Bell now teaches history at Temple University where an earlier form of this study served as her dissertation). She looks at three periods of intense

revival activity: the 1827-1828 visit of upstate New York itinerant Charles G. Finney; the 1858 businessmen's noontime prayer meeting revival; and the 1875-1876 Dwight L. Moody crusade. About two-thirds of the text deals with the Finney era.

Bell concludes that the impact of revivalism in Philadelphia was mostly negative. Finney's visit led to schisms, especially in the Presbyterian and German Reformed churches, and like later revivals had only a temporary and modest upward impact on church membership. Most of Bell's criticism, however, is based on her reading of the revivalists' attitudes toward reform. She argues that Finney was, at best, "ambivalent" toward social reform. Despite some interest in abolition and temperance, his efforts were basically conservative. His only enthusiasm was for "pietistic, moralistic" activities "aimed at individual redemption" (p. 95). No modern social reform (in the sense of structural changes in the society or government involvement) was considered.

By the 1858 businessmen's revival (which originated as a defensive reaction to the Panic of 1857 and the social dislocations resulting from urban growth) even the ambivalence was gone. Now there was a merger of revival techniques and business culture, a union completed by Dwight L. Moody and symbolized in Philadelphia by Moody's alliance with merchant John Wanamaker. Since revivals were now essentially nostalgic celebrations of middle-class virtue, they no longer appealed to the working class or to the young (as Finney's had). Revivalism, like the writings of Horatio Alger and the speeches of Russell Conwell, buttressed individualism and laissez faire capitalism. Revivalism, Bell charges, created a Manichaean view in the American popular mind which fostered "an inability to deal with the complexity of life" (p. 167). As the century wore on, this was increasingly a handicap.

Bell's portrait of Philadelphia revivalism stands in sharp contrast (as she is well aware) to the thesis of Timothy Smith's classic, yet controversial, *Revivalism and Social Reform* (1957). Smith argued that revivalism was a powerful, progressive force for social reform and that mid-century awakenings led directly to the Social Gospel of Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch. My own reading of nineteenth-century sources suggests that Bell is more correct, although it is perhaps unfair to be too harsh on Finney's nonacceptance of structural reform in the 1820s and 1830s when nearly everyone else during those years also assumed a providentially controlled, and hence structurally unalterable, society. But Bell's basic point seems safe: that the

line runs from Finney to Moody, not from Finney to the Social Gospel.

Bell's approach and sources are mostly traditional. There is a rather unsatisfactory attempt to use psychological theory to explain the appeal of Finney to youth and to women, but there is really little of the new social history here. This is mildly surprising because of her announced intention to consider revivalism in the context of urban growth and mobility. She might, for instance, have been more thorough and creative in the use of data to support her generalizations about the impact of revivals on church membership. Perhaps the most original aspect of the study is its description of the relationships between Philadelphia's Jewish community and revivalists who organized groups and programs to evangelize Jews. Bell argues that the campaigns converted few Jews; rather, the perceived anti-Semitic tone of the evangelistic efforts drew the Jewish community closer together and reinforced its sense of Jewishness. In all, this is a good book which can be read with enjoyment by nonprofessionals and cannot be ignored by those professionally interested in the development of American religion.

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CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR

*Transportation Innovation and Changing Spatial Patterns in Pittsburgh, 1850-1934.* By JOEL A. TARR. (Chicago: Public Works Historical Society, 1978. Pp. 64. Preface, introduction, appendixes, footnotes. \$2.50, paper.)

In this short but important monograph, which the author, professor of history, technology, and urban affairs at Carnegie-Mellon University, offers modestly as an essay, Joel Tarr describes the transportation evolution of Pittsburgh from that of a walking city and a street-car city to that of a motor vehicle city — three stages which characterize transportation innovation in a modern city.

In the first section, Professor Tarr deals in surprising detail with the impacts of the streetcar in various forms — the omnibus and the commuter railroad, the horsecar, the cable car, and the electric streetcar — in Pittsburgh from 1850 to 1917. In the second section, he considers the significance of the automobile and motor truck in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County from 1910 to 1934.

The significance of the work lies in the discussion of the impact

that the introduction and expansion of innovative transportation technology had in influencing residential, commercial, central business district, building, highway/thoroughfare, and industrial location patterns.

By 1917, Pittsburgh had radically changed through a series of transportation innovations. While in 1850 the city had a large mixture of land use within the core of the city, the early twentieth century saw far more specialized patterns. The central business district in 1917 had become more important for central office functions than for industries, commercial, or retailing functions. White-collar workers who lived in outlying districts staffed the new offices. Residential housing booms on the urban periphery made possible lower density living conditions. Changes in the housing patterns of industrial workers were still limited, however, in 1917. By 1934, the coming of the automobile and the motor truck to Allegheny County resulted in further substantial changes in population, housing, mode-to-work, and journey-to-work patterns in the area. Underdeveloped areas of the city and the county opened up, migration of firms from the central business district was expedited, and the economy benefited from businesses catering to the motor vehicle.

In the preface to his work, Professor Tarr insists that "a good deal of work still needs to be done on the micro-level; it is quite possible that an analysis of this kind would change some of the conclusions I have reached." While noting this disclaimer, it still can be maintained that this is a seminal work and one richly suggestive for additional research. The speculative activity which apparently occurs in anticipation of a building boom is worthy of a more extensive study as does the author's assessment "that urban decision makers did little to shape the impact of new transportation technology upon the city and county . . ." (p. 38), and that "the pattern . . . of response and reaction to transportation innovation rather than a shaping of its impacts, extends into the present" (p. 39).

Works such as Professor Tarr's, even if presented in nondefinitive terms, are a welcome change to the historical literature on Pittsburgh.

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*The Iron Barons: A Social Analysis of an American Urban Elite, 1874-1965.* By JOHN N. INGHAM. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978. Pp. xix, 242. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, appendix, bibliographic note, index. \$19.95.)

During the apogee of consensus historiography, many scholars depicted a "circulation of elites" among the American upper classes. According to this school of thought, a succession of different groups have, through their talent and initiative, sequentially functioned as an elite before giving way to a new cadre of leaders. Samuel Eliot Morison and other consensus historians portrayed steel baron Andrew Carnegie as the quintessence of the virile Gilded Age entrepreneurs who superseded the rule of genteel old families: "The most typical figure of the industrial age was undoubtedly Andrew Carnegie. A poor immigrant boy . . . he followed and helped to perpetuate the American tradition of rising from poverty to riches. . . . By dint of unflagging industry and unrivaled business acumen . . . Carnegie built up the greatest steel business in the world . . ." (pp. 13-14). Conversely, Ingham contends that, at least within the steel industry, continuity, not fluidity, defined American elites. As a cliometrician, Ingham bases his interpretation on the familial histories of 696 late nineteenth-century steel manufacturers who collectively comprise 77 percent of the industry's leadership within six cities — Wheeling, Youngstown, Cleveland, Bethlehem, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh's steel elite, utilized by Ingham for the construction of a normative model of an urban upper class, largely derived from origins antithetical to those of Carnegie. Most late nineteenth-century Pittsburgh "steel entrepreneurs came from White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant, urban upper-class and upper-middle-class backgrounds" (p. 22); only about 1.5 percent rose from indigent immigrant status. Ingham argues that the mobility of Pittsburgh steel magnates, who were disproportionately Scotch-Irish, pertained to overcoming a negative ethnic stereotype, not to surmounting economic deprivation. After comparing his Pittsburgh model to data compiled from five other cities, Ingham concludes that, with some variation and nuance, late nineteenth-century steel executives, irrespective of locale, shared similar backgrounds. Philadelphia, the oldest city in Ingham's study, proved to be the least hospitable to social fluidity; approximately 80 percent of Philadelphia's steel manufacturers traced their backgrounds to the antebellum economic elite. Only Wheeling provided evidence of a relatively open social order; 27 percent of Wheeling's



steel manufacturers had fathers with working-class origins. Nevertheless, the composite backgrounds of Ingham's steel barons graphically contradicts the Horatio Alger motif. Moreover, Ingham asserts that examination of twentieth-century boards of directors and trust funds demonstrates the perpetuation of privilege and position across the generations.

The steel elite, writes Ingham, maintained numerous institutions to protect and transmit their power. With the exception of Wheeling, all of Ingham's late nineteenth-century manufacturing centers developed an elaborate upper-class infrastructure consisting of private schools, restricted clubs, endogamous marriages, and exclusive neighborhoods. The "Proper Philadelphian," for example, "would live either in Chestnut Hill or the Main Line . . . , attend the Episcopal Church, be married . . . and walk either up or down Walnut Street to lunch with his peers at the Rittenhouse, or preferably the Philadelphia Club" (p. 157). While upper-class institutions, to varying degrees, assimilated newcomers to the elite, such organizations "stamped their members with a badge of exclusivity and privilege" (p. 101). Although Ingham persuasively illustrates correlations between economic and social rankings, his contention of a symbiotic causality between the two conditions appears suggestive rather than persuasive in the absence of data linking country club conversations and specific decisions within the steel industry.

Beyond a tendency to blur the distinction between juxtaposition and reciprocity, Ingham's attempt to compare data from six cities with pronounced demographic differences occasionally renders his synthesis turgid and eclectic. Bethlehem, for example, might have been compared more profitably to Harrisburg and Johnstown than to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Nevertheless, *The Iron Barons* is an important pioneering volume which extends the boundaries of business history to the social and cultural context in which business leaders functioned. Ingham demonstrates the artificiality of traditional boundaries between business and social history.

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*I Could Be Mute: The Life and Work of Gladys Schmitt*. Edited by ANITA BROSTOFF. (Pittsburgh: Carnegie-Mellon University Press, 1978. Pp. 176. Preface, introduction, chronology, illustrations. \$10.95, cloth; \$4.95, paper.)

A collection of ten essays — some critical, some biographical — plus one illustrative short story ("Consider the Giraffe"), this book offers a fascinating introduction to the life and art of Pittsburgh writer and teacher Gladys Schmitt (1909-1972). The book, however, is more than simply a portrait of the artist. It is also an attempt to communicate a sense of "the commonality of female experience" with regard to "the conflicts and confusions talented women face" (p. 16) in our society. To this end, editor Brostoff provides a sampling of articles — all written by women who knew Schmitt either as relative, friend, teacher, or colleague — ranging in interest from intimate personal reminiscences on the one hand (such as Elizabeth Schmitt Culley's "Lasting Impressions" or Dorothy Rosenberg's memories of Schmitt's needlework in "The Pattern in the Tapestry") to detached scholarly assessments on the other (such as Jan Cohn's essay on "The Historical Novel," which places Schmitt's work in a generic context, or Anita Brostoff's own perceptive textual study, "Five Heroines: A Persistent Image"). The essays, with their shifting perspectives yet common thread, weave a stunning tapestry of feeling and thought, as graphic inquiry into the reasons behind Schmitt's faltering reputation as a writer and her fundamental lack of fulfillment as a woman. The picture we get is often painful and seldom pretty.

In a sense, Gladys Schmitt almost failed to survive her birth. She was an RH-factor child, and the symbolism of her tenuous, newborn hold on life stayed with her until death. Numerous unresolved fears and conflicts plagued her throughout adult life. The essays project the image of a woman who was quite talented and intelligent — even "glamorous, irreverent, opinionated and verbal" (p. 24) — but who never felt quite secure in her success; who was, at the heart of it all, essentially tied in knots by a neurotic family system and a destructively symbiotic marriage relationship.

The title, *I Could Be Mute*, is extracted from Schmitt's *Sonnets for an Analyst* (Number 30), published posthumously in 1973 but written a decade earlier during her gradual recovery from an emotional breakdown. Partly because they are her most autobiographical (and, many think, best) work, partly because they offer direct, if speculative, insight into the female socialization process, Schmitt's

sonnets seem to be the authority to which the authors ultimately turn. Such an orientation serves the stated purpose of the book — to understand Schmitt as writer and woman — but it also leads to conclusions that some readers may find equivocal, since all the analysts are themselves women. The conviction that “Schmitt had been fighting a battle all women writers fight” and that “women’s writing is self-definition [and] cannot be edited by husbands, lovers, department chairmen, publishers, or critics, to conform to patriarchal notions of proper womanhood and still be authentic” (p. 81) may well be true, but one wonders if the essays, collectively, do not come down a bit hard, for example, on husband Simon Goldfield, who emerges as something of a millstone around Schmitt’s neck. Curiously, there are no male viewpoints in this book to substantiate or refute the feminist argument.

In the end, the attributes of the work outweigh the limitations. What we have, finally, is a sympathetic and compassionate portrait of the author of *David the King*, *Rembrandt*, and *The Godforgotten* (not to mention six other novels and sundry short stories) that is both timely and impressive, and a fitting tribute to Carnegie-Mellon University’s first Thomas S. Baker Professor of English. *I Could Be Mute* is not, strictly speaking, a biography, nor does it purport to be. The editor’s stated intention is rather to “prompt further study of Gladys Schmitt” (p. 7). Brostoff took the first step in this direction in a short piece published in 1973: “Only Human Values: An Essay on Gladys Schmitt’s *Sonnets for an Analyst*.” Now she has taken a second, more significant step. Hopefully, her efforts will inspire a comprehensive and definitive biographical study somewhere down the road.

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*Gritty Cities: A Second Look at Allentown, Bethlehem, Bridgeport, Hoboken, Lancaster, Norwich, Paterson, Reading, Trenton, Troy, Waterbury, Wilmington.* By MARY PROCTER and BILL MATUSZESKI. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. Pp. ix, 276. Preface, introduction, illustrations, sources, maps. \$17.50, cloth; \$9.95, paper.)

*Gritty Cities* is a teasing tale of twelve cities in the northeastern corridor of the United States. It is teasing in its ability to inspire in the reader a desire for more information about any or all of the small

to mid-size cities chosen by the authors. Although the treatment given each is cursory, an ample number of sources are cited in the bibliography to satisfy the appetites of the inquisitive. Of special interest to Pennsylvanians are the sections dealing with Allentown, Bethlehem, Lancaster, and Reading. In addition to these, the focus is upon Bridgeport, Hoboken, Norwich, Paterson, Trenton, Troy, Waterbury, and Wilmington. Chosen from more than forty cities examined by authors Mary Procter and Bill Matuszeski, these twelve were selected because of aspects of natural setting, historical events, and the nature of their people who have created a special visual character through time.

One of this reviewer's pet annoyances surfaces in *Gritty Cities*, and that is that the book contains no map of the northeastern corridor indicating the location of the cities chosen for inclusion. A simple map would add clarity and eliminate the necessity of reading with an atlas or road map at hand.

The book does not pretend to be an exhaustive survey and analysis. The authors' prefacing statement makes that perfectly clear: "If we have any thesis at all, it is the rather modest statement that such small cities do best when they grow and change by building on those things that gave them their character. Pat solutions imported via big-city consultants, no matter how bold and costly, never seem to succeed as well as carefully thought out approaches that use the unique mix of existing structures and neighborhoods, traditions and industries that comprise a city's legacy" (p. viii).

A brief overview of each city is included in a thirty-page introduction. In addition, the authors make some salient points about the industrial revolution — that sequence of events which gradually led us away from a farm-oriented economy to the urban age. It is the opinion of the authors that the most important period in the economic development of the gritty cities was the period from 1860 to 1920, corresponding roughly with the era between the beginning of the Civil War and the close of World War I. This was an era of rapid population growth brought on mainly by decisions made by industrial enterprises to locate in these places — enterprises which served both agrarian and urban society by manufacturing a wide array of goods from horseshoes and textiles to steel rails. By the early 1920s, however, rapid industrialization brought on by World War I had increased the demand for more valuable manufactured goods such as structural steel. Big-city locations provided a definite advantage in marketing these goods because of their accessibility to more advanced

transportation facilities. With few exceptions there has been little growth in the gritty cities since 1920. Their decline preceded by several decades the general decline in population in larger urban places in the northeast.

Following the introduction, twelve chapters, each of some twenty pages, are devoted to the cities. Of this number of pages, only five or six are in text. The historical and ethnic development of each place is focused upon, but the material presented is largely an elaboration of that offered in the introduction. The authors do capture very well the character of the gritty cities through a collection of poignant photographs whose message is enhanced by excellent photography. Photos are location-keyed on topographic maps of the cities for reference. This is an excellent idea which makes the book a useful travel and research guide for those journeying to or through the gritty cities and who have an interest in industry, architecture, and ethnic neighborhoods.

In this reviewer's opinion, the positive aspects of *Gritty Cities* outweigh the negative. It is a well-written book which all serious readers should find interesting. The authors adhere to and fulfill well their intended goal, that is, a verbal and pictorial description of a vital part of Americana — a part that should be preserved.

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