

BOOK REVIEWS

The Colonies in Transition. 1660-1713. By WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968. xvi, 363 p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$6.95.)

The twenty-eight-volume American Nation Series, issued in the earliest years of this century, is gradually being updated by the New American Nation Series, which promises an admixture of recent scholarship to older knowledge in forty-odd volumes. The subject matter of Wesley Frank Craven's *The Colonies in Transition. 1660-1713* was handled in the initial Series in C. M. Andrews' *Colonial Self-Government. 1652-1689* and the first half of E. B. Greene's *Provincial America. 1690-1740*. Although Craven's approach, like his predecessors, is primarily political and constitutional, his emphasis is often different. This is clearly a new book, a major piece of scholarship, though the novelty of Craven's conclusions is muted by his manner of stating them. He is true to his word in a recent historiographical essay: "What is needed today is a little more tolerance by revisionists for other revisionists . . . and a little more awareness of the contribution each group has made and can make. . . ."

Rather than contrasting the New England to the Chesapeake colonies in 1660, Craven notes the fundamental similarities between the two regions. The contrast, ironically enough, was to be seen in England, where John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut was more successful in dealing with the Restoration government than was Sir William Berkeley of Virginia, largely because New England's desires were complementary to the Navigation Acts and those of the Chesapeake planters were not.

In his discussion of Restoration colonization, Craven points out that it was dependent on the "ambition and enterprise of Englishmen already living in America," that these colonies were populated by internal migration rather than by an exodus from England, with the exception of Pennsylvania. New York, probably the least studied of the English colonies founded after 1660, is the focus of Craven's attention, and particularly the work of its first English governor, Richard Nicolls, whose achievements are attended with considerable praise.

Craven's treatment of the two major Indian conflicts of the latter seventeenth century, King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion, is prefaced by the statement that Englishmen purchased land from Indians "to a far greater extent than most of our historians have bothered to suggest." The depressed economic status of the Indian, especially due to the decline of the fur trade, is emphasized as a contributory cause of conflict, while, on the opposite side, psychology played its part, at least in Virginia where "colonists suffered less

at the hands of the Indians than they did from the fears his retaliation had stimulated."

But the major significance of Bacon's Rebellion was "the revelation it provides of political unrest," a situation which persisted into the 1680's, when it was accentuated by Governor Effingham, and which was paralleled in North Carolina (Culpepper's Rebellion), Maryland (tension in the Assembly), and New England (with the amendment of Massachusetts' charter and the erection of the Dominion). Yet in the midst of this aggressive royal action, colonization was revived, most notably in the Delaware Valley. Craven portrays Penn as a sincere Quaker, dedicated to the "Holy Experiment" yet intent on extending his own personal estate which, on the basis of his substantial investment, he wanted protected. The Quakers were dependent on Penn's influence at Court, but he in turn was dependent on their response to the goals of the colony. The granting of a royal charter to Penn in 1680/81 would seem anomalous but for Craven's interpretation of the new imperial challenge as a matter of circumstance rather than design. Nevertheless, there was a desire to reorganize the empire which cannot be viewed simply as an extension of Stuart tyranny.

The Glorious Revolution in America, as in England, was the work of substantial men cut off from power. The settlement was largely negative, leaving as many issues unsettled as settled. "Again, as in the Restoration era, the New England colonies came out best." In the policy that had evolved by 1713, and which underwent only minor changes before the Revolutionary era, Craven sees little consistency save for two points: trade was confined to certain channels and colonies were to pay their own administrative costs. The extension of royal authority through the customs service, the admiralty courts, and the royal governors was counterbalanced by the established permanency of the assembly at this time. A new element in the political situation, the increasing power of the Church of England under Archbishop Compton, is described thoroughly and convincingly.

Craven's command of his material and his use of facts is such that someone unacquainted with the subject matter will not only miss his interpretive virtuosity but may lose the thread of his argument. Although mention of the colonial American's inclination to "reach for the final solution" in war, notation of the frequent resort to violent action, and discussion of the status of the Negro in the early eighteenth century demonstrate the meaningfulness of the past for the present, this is not a book for the layman.

San Francisco State College

JOSEPH E. ILLICK

The Wall and the Garden: Selected Massachusetts Election Sermons, 1670-1775. Edited by A. W. PLUMSTEAD. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968. x, 390 p. Index. \$8.50.)

A generation ago one of the most prominent writers on the New England Puritans boasted that he scorned to read their sermons. That he was neg-

lecting the record of one of the great adventures of the human mind, Perry Miller demonstrated; and this volume is a close study of the most significant group of these sermons, made in the Miller manner and with Miller thoroughness.

Mr. Plumstead has studied the ninety-eight surviving sermons in this series, and has selected nine as best illustrating their character and the changes which occurred over the period of a century. No modern society has such a series of documents. In colonial Boston, each year, a distinguished clergyman reviewed the relation of his society to the divine plan. And since God was quick in the minds of these men, and their state was painfully oriented to His will, the social issues were clearly drawn: "Have you not been as an inclosed garden to me, and I a wall of fire round about you?"

This volume is intellectual and literary history in the Miller manner, but it should be pondered by the political historian, for it includes Cotton Mather's sermon after the Revolution of 1689, Jonathan Mayhew's call to arms in 1754, and Samuel Langdon's sermon to the rebels in arms in 1775. The editor has read and pondered all of the Election Sermons, and he uses those not reprinted to provide background for the nine selected. His choice and interpretation are reasonable, and his conclusions seem to the reviewer to be sound. It would be hard to find a more useful book than this for outside reading in a course in American intellectual history.

Harvard University

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812. By WINTHROP D. JORDAN. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina Press, 1968. xvi, 651 p. Essay on Sources, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

In the past fifteen years the flow of literature on the subject of the American Negro has been so extensive that any previous period of publication wans by comparison. So much of this literature, particularly the re-examination of slavery and the plantation system and the study of the civil rights movement, has fallen short of the depth necessary for an understanding of the most volatile problem in American society today. An historical myopia has confined the triple pronged problem of race, religion, and sex to a limited examination which in turn has militated against a fuller understanding of Americans of African descent.

Clinging to the concept of a "Negro problem," historians and sociologists, with only too few exceptions, have by-passed the study of the circumstances and the intellectual forces that moulded these attitudes. Depth and originality also have been lacking and the new materials brought to light have not generated new ideas.

Winthrop Jordan makes use of new materials by exploiting them in depth and with originality. These qualities are a persuasive force in his brilliant study of white attitudes toward the Negro. The concept of his work is that of a "white problem." And it is within this concept that Jordan travels the length of a color line which extends from the mid-sixteenth century to the end of the slave trade.

The literature of the latter half of the sixteenth century, infrequently used to determine the impact of color on English eyes, is examined and analyzed with an astounding thoroughness. But more is involved than the energy required to ferret out the reactions recorded by English travelers, men of letters, and the reflections of the religious who speak of the first encounters with the sons of Africa. Biblical influences and their preconceived interpretations of the descendants of Ham moulded English attitudes of the heathen black man. The African was cast in an anthropoid role, imputed to have a remarkable sexual propensity and cursed by the color of his skin. The image of a beast, which has taken centuries to efface, was necessary before enslavement was possible. Then the fate of the African was slowly sealed by centuries of degradation and debasement. Long before Comte de Gobineau appealed to the French, or Houston Stewart Chamberlain inoculated the Germans with the doctrine of racial superiority, the English articulated a philosophy of color which was ambivalent and qualm-ridden.

These attitudes which spread with the colonization of the new world and the securing of slavery are examined with minute care. Materials and sources of the most diverse nature are laid open with the art of a dissecting anatomist. The same care which Jordan shows in developing the attitudes of the sixteenth century he displays for the following two centuries. Little, if anything, has escaped his attention in presenting the dramatic reaction to skin color. A reaction which released forces of distrust, fear, superiority, hostility, and, what is ironical and important, the compassion to undo the system of slavery.

The color line, which the late W. E. B. Dubois forewarned as the problem of the twentieth century, was first drawn in the mid-sixteenth century as Professor Jordan so convincingly shows. Jordan has raised Negro history from its knees and planted it on its feet, and in doing so has elevated historiography to a new plane. The ideas which he projects on race and racism will have a lasting influence on American social history.

Philadelphia

MAXWELL WHITEMAN

The Musket and the Cross: The Struggle of France and England for North America. By WALTER D. EDMONDS. (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1968. xiii, 514 p. Maps, index. \$10.00.)

The newest book of Walter D. Edmonds, a novelist perhaps best known for his *Drums Along the Mohawk*, is an historical narrative called *The Musket*

and the Cross. This sweeping narrative encompasses the French, British, Dutch, and Swedish colonial experience during the seventeenth century and the beginning struggle between these people for control of North America. Although he uses important historical works of a myriad of historians including Francis Parkman, Edmonds makes no pretense at formal scholarship. The result is a loose narrative focusing on particular stories concerning priests, soldiers, and explorers as well as Indian difficulties, the growth of colonial institutions, and conflicts between various groups. His style flows well and the visual pictures he paints with words are realistic. Throughout the book, the author diverges on stories which apparently intrigue him on such diverse topics as the continuation of the manorial system in New York to the 1840's, the courage of the Jesuits, Indian battles, and methods of Indian torture. By these stories, the author illuminates the central theme which is that the English overcame the wilderness while the French lived with it. The author concludes his narrative at the beginning of the military struggle between France and England near the end of the seventeenth century.

Since Edmonds established limits for his work, he cannot be faulted for the book he did not write. Still, several criticisms stand out. Though a narrative usually implies some type of orderly development, the book does not have adequate continuity. The component stories of the book are interesting and well written, but the total effect of the book when all of the components are assembled is one of disorganization, looseness of transition, and meandering paragraphs which carry the reader across several hundred years in a few pages.

Second, while Edmonds appears strong on his French history, his coverage of the English colonies seems spotty and too simple. To say that the budding oligarchy in Massachusetts ended in 1632, is an oversimplification of a complex political development. And third, there are a few factual errors of which the most glaring is the reference to the leader of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia as Francis rather than Nathaniel Bacon. In another instance, the author is mistaken on the geographic limits of the royal grants to the London and Plymouth companies. If the author had not shied away from the paraphernalia of formal scholarship, the book would have been sounder.

In short, this book is best when one considers each of the stories as a separate entity. Then the text flows well and the topic is interesting. But when all of the stories are put together within the same cover, they lack an over-all continuity. Edmonds does demonstrate his considerable ability for the narrative style of writing; but when the historian-reader lays down the book, he is prone to wish that the author had devoted his talents to another historical novel of the caliber of *Drums Along the Mohawk*.

University of Georgia

JAMES LAVERNE ANDERSON

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Volumes 10-11 (January, 1762-December, 1764). LEONARD W. LABAREE, Editor. HELEN C. BOATFIELD, HELENE H. FINEMAN, and JAMES H. HUTSON, Assistant Editors. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966-1967. xxix, 459 p.; xxix, 593 p. Illustrations, indexes. Each \$12.50.)

Everybody knows that Benjamin Franklin was a man of many talents and that he was active in nearly every phase of colonial American life. If anyone should be doubtful, all he needs to do is to look at these two volumes of the Franklin Papers. For here, cheek by jowl, between 1762 and 1764 is Franklin the inventor, Franklin the scientist, Franklin the businessman, Franklin the colonial agent, Franklin the legislator, Franklin the Deputy Postmaster General, Franklin the humorist, Franklin the writer, Franklin the anti-Proprietary politician, and nearly every other Franklin that schoolchildren know about. He had some pretty notable correspondents, among them David Hume the philosopher, Francis Dalibard the French scientist, Peter Collinson and Dr. John Fothergill the two distinguished English Quakers, Giambattista Beccaria the Italian physicist, to name only some of the Europeans. Since these volumes contain, where accessible, both sides of the correspondence, there is a good deal of variety here, in case anyone can, though this seems unlikely, become tired of Franklin.

The task of reading all the existing papers of Benjamin Franklin (5147 pages so far) may strike you as an onerous job for the reviewer. Please don't waste your sympathy, for this reviewer, at least, enjoys every word. Reading Franklin is always a treat, and many of his correspondents wrote well too, and even when they didn't their letters make Franklin more meaningful. One is sometimes a little surprised by the Franklin one finds here. We know him as an optimist about human nature. Yet here he is, asking Dr. Fothergill on March 14, 1764, whether he thinks he is doing good by saving lives.

You are mistaken [he writes], Half the Lives you save are not worth saving, as being useless; and almost the other Half ought not to be sav'd, as being mischievous. . . . Disease was intended as the Punishment of Intemperance, Sloth, and other Vices. . . . But here you step in officiously with your Art, disappoint those wise Intentions of Nature, and make men safe in their Excesses. . . . Only think of the Consequences (XI, 101)!

Here is a weary Franklin at fifty-eight, saying "Bustling is for younger men" (XI, 189), when he was to bustle about for twenty-six more years. And here is a Franklin who had perpetrated several clever hoaxes being taken in by the fraudulent account of a certain "Admiral de Fonte" (probably James Petiver an English apothecary) who claimed to have found a Northwest Passage (X, 85-100).

Yet here is a Franklin who for five thousand pages and undoubtedly for many more to come has been and will be a man of good sense, of political responsibility, of scientific ingenuity, and of wit, rewarding and entertaining, no matter on what subject he writes. By the time Volume XI commences in January, 1762, Franklin is no longer just a Philadelphian: he has become a figure of intercolonial and international importance. Volume X opens with him in London as official Agent of Pennsylvania and, as Carl van Doren once said, "the unofficial voice of America." Volume XI closes with him in London again for his second stint as Agent. When back in Pennsylvania, he opposes the murderous march of the Paxton Boys and serves as spokesman in the Assembly's effort to persuade the King to take the province away from the Proprietors. (It is amusing that, a dozen years before the Declaration of Independence, Franklin should sign a paper that pleaded for Crown control in the interest of preserving Pennsylvania's civil and religious liberties!) He fought against the Stamp Act and the Sugar Act. Whatever else he was, he was surely one of the very first Americans.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

The Susquehannah Company Papers, Volume 5, 1772-1774; Volume 6, 1774-1775. Edited by ROBERT J. TAYLOR. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, for the Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, 1968. lii, 419 p; xii, 453 p. Illustrations, maps, indexes. \$25.00 the set.)

Publication of *The Susquehannah Company Papers*, inaugurated in 1928, was—and still is—a remarkable undertaking for a county historical society. Edited by Julian P. Boyd, the first four volumes, covering the years 1750-1772, appeared in 1930, and the fifth volume was well on the way to publication when the project was brought to a halt by depression and flood. About sixty sets of the first volumes had been distributed when the flood of 1936 destroyed the remaining stock and left only a set of corrected proofs of the fifth volume.

Recently, however, the undertaking has been happily renewed, and in 1962 the Cornell University Press put the first four volumes back in print, reproducing them by offset from the 1930 originals and, by reducing the margins, providing more compact and convenient books, attractively bound in green cloth. Dr. Robert J. Taylor, of Tufts University, accepted the editorial position previously held by Dr. Boyd, and the present two volumes are the first issued under his direction. As planned, six more volumes will follow. When the series is complete, students should have an inclusive and unequalled reference work on a significant episode in Connecticut and Pennsylvania history.

The present volumes provide the first addition to the original 1930 publication and are in that sense new. Editorially they represent a transition: the body of Volume 5 is reproduced by offset from the proofs saved from the

1936 flood, but the introduction, the index, and six additional documents are supplied by the present editor; Volume 6 is entirely new.

In content, Volume 5 covers the years 1772–1774, and Volume 6, 1774–1775. These are years in which the Connecticut settlements attained appreciable stability and civil organization. Within the Connecticut government, opposition to the Susquehannah Company had died down. After earlier vicissitudes—a massacre by Indians in 1763, eviction by Pennsylvanians in 1769 and 1770—the Wyoming colony seemed well established and in 1775 was able to repel a Pennsylvania posse. In fact, the Connecticut colonists made attempts (unsuccessful, however) to extend their settlements to the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Early in 1774 Connecticut formally incorporated the Wyoming settlements into the Town of Westmoreland, officially a part of Litchfield County.

The edited documents are preceded by a historical introduction; Volumes 5 and 6 are published as a unit, with a single introduction for both volumes, which, however, are separately paged and indexed. The series title is not to be understood in the strict archival sense, for the series is not limited to the official records of the Susquehannah Company; rather, these are augmented by including additional documents relevant to its history, including adverse Pennsylvania items. While the archivist may frown on this definition of contents, it is not likely that the research student will find fault with the procedure.

Such discrepancies as this reviewer has noted are of no great historical significance and are consequences of the mishaps and procedures of publication. Visually, there is the problem of the original type face, which could not be matched, so that Volume 6 does not match the first four, and Volume 5 shows a mixture of types. In general, the documents in this volume (except the last six) are in the older type face, the editorial material in the new; however, lines of type in the documents had to be reset here and there, in some instances to insert footnote references, and the proofs from which the text is reproduced appear to have been less heavily inked in later pages. This produces an obvious break on page 374, but the over-all results are better than might be expected and any awkwardness is forgivable.

The lapse of time is also reflected in the need to reidentify or relocate some of the sources. The present editor notes two examples in Volume 5, page xx; another that should be added is that cited on page 7 of this volume as “P. S. L., Prov. Papers.” Since 1945 these manuscripts have been in the custody of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission rather than of the Pennsylvania State Library; and components of the assemblage once designated Provincial Papers have been identified and separated. Items relevant to the present publication are now identified, as on Volume 6, page 260, as “P. H. M. C., Division of Archives and MSS, Record Group 21, Records of the Proprietary Government.”

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

George Washington in the American Revolution (1775-1783). By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (Boston & Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1968. xvii, 599 p. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, index. \$10.00.)

"God save great Washington: God damn the King," sang Americans during the War for Independence. Through the years, Americans have echoed these sentiments, blessing the republican George, damning the royal George, and weaving fictitious characterizations of both.

Historians and biographers have come a long way since the days of Parson Weems, but their critical sophistication concerning Washington legends does not guarantee greater insight into Washington's character or a better balanced evaluation of his historical significance. Reverence for the great man, the demands of patriotism, and a paucity of historical sources are not the fundamental problems today. Several other difficulties remain, some of which have been overcome and some of which have not in this second of a projected three-volume biography of Washington.

The length and character of Douglas S. Freeman's massive scholarly study, leaves Flexner's work as perhaps the best recent biography of Washington for general readers. It is well written, dramatically presented, and reasonably accurate. Flexner brings Washington to life, attempts fair judgments of his military ability and leadership, and skillfully relates his portrait to the general picture of the war years. This large book, double the size of Flexner's first volume, follows Washington's career from his appointment as commander-in-chief in 1775 to the laying down of his commission and return to Mount Vernon on Christmas Eve, 1783.

Unlike earlier biographers, modern students of Washington are faced with a very large body of printed and manuscript material on late eighteenth-century history. Mr. Flexner has examined Washington's own correspondence and such printed collections as the letters of members of the Continental Congress and Peter Force's *American Archives*. The contemporary evidence, however, is more widely scattered, and the author has not made extensive use of other private papers, newspapers, and the records of the Continental Congress. While he has doubtless read extensively in the secondary literature on Washington, his reading has had less influence upon his thought than it deserves.

Flexner traces Washington's development as a general, making clear his common sense and ability to learn from experience, and seems to feel that Washington was the ablest general on either side during the American Revolution. Whether dealing with military or political affairs, Flexner's volume belongs with what might be called the "Poor George" school of biographies. Such studies, without necessarily being pietistic, develop an extraordinary sympathy for Washington, battling the treason and intrigues of lesser men, exhibiting superhuman patience with an inept Congress, and suffering privation for eight long years. In building up Washington, Flexner's book, like others of this genre, is very hard indeed on Gates, Mifflin, Reed, Rocham-

beau, Conway, Congress, and nearly everyone else except such flatterers as Lafayette. Thus, by a somewhat different route, these biographies come to much the same thing as Weems—George Washington was no mere mortal and, while the virtues attributed differ somewhat, his character and intelligence almost single-handedly saved the patriot cause.

Years ago Bernhard Knollenberg explained that such judgments stem partly from the need to dramatize Washington's position and partly from evaluating his letters and opinions by different criteria from those used in judging Richard Henry Lee and others. Flexner's heavy dependence upon Washington's papers has led him to somewhat questionable conclusions. A more respectful reading of Knollenberg's own work—which he dismisses as iconoclastic—might have resulted in more balanced judgments. There is little that is new in Flexner's Washington. But every generation needs a new biography of America's first president, and this three-volume work should serve the 1960's well. However, with its decorum, respect for strong leadership, and old-fashioned patriotism, it will appeal more to the older generation that reads *Atlantic Monthly* than to the younger one that reads *Ramparts*.

Cleveland State University

JOHN CARY

The Book of the Continental Soldier being a complete account of the uniforms, weapons, and equipment with which he lived and fought. By HAROLD L. PETERSON. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1968. 287 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

When the Chief Curator of the U. S. National Park Service and all of the national historic sites, an internationally known expert and adviser in the field of firearms, edged weapons, and armor, a winner of the U. S. Department of the Interior Distinguished Service Medal for outstanding contributions in historical research and museum planning, and a Fellow of the Company of Military Historians sits down to write his twentieth book, it would appear that his readers have the right to expect something special. They will not be disappointed with *The Book of The Continental Soldier*, for author Harold L. Peterson has indeed produced a masterpiece, revealing in meticulous detail and accuracy many little-known, misunderstood, or neglected aspects of the daily life in camp or on the battlefield, and the weapons, of soldiers of the American Revolution.

By no means an easy task, for not infrequently professional military and naval historians in their understandable desire to produce a work which is scholastically acceptable, become so bogged down with statistics and citations that the end product suffers acutely from academic dryrot to the degree it is far from readable. Author Peterson has surmounted this pitfall admirably, for *The Book of The Continental Soldier* is not only eminently respectable, but is also presented in a lively, forceful, and moving style

which makes it a pleasure to read. With technical assistance of two outstanding historians and librarians, Detmar H. Finke and Marko Zlatich, coupled with the superb artistry of H. Charles McBarron, Jr., Clyde A. Risley, and Peter Copeland, especially commissioned to execute the accompanying paintings and drawings, it comes as no surprise that Mr. Peterson's authentic revelation of the seldom seen, personal side of the American Revolution has been "recommended as a standard reference work in American military history," sponsored by The Company of Military Historians.

Perhaps *The Book of The Continental Soldier* might best be described by its subsidiary title: *being a compleat account of the uniforms, weapons, and equipment with which he lived and fought*. Aside from a thorough investigation, evaluation, and technical description of all of the weapons of war—from artillery, engineering equipment, and horse furniture to hand and shoulder firearms, swords, bayonets, and pikes—topics include such diverse fields as the soldier's cooking and eating utensils, his tentage, musical instruments, his clothing, uniforms, insignia, and decorations. Nor have the medical and surgical categories been slighted, gruesome though some of the account may be, and rather startling some of the accepted treatments then in vogue.

Above and beyond this comprehensive accounting of the military hardware and technology of the time, much of it admirably illustrated by photographs of the author's personal collection, are those observations pertaining to the broader fields of strategy and tactics. We are informed, for example that, contrary to popular opinion, the musket, not the rifle, was the workhorse of the American Revolution, for the former could be fitted with a bayonet, whereas the rifleman, once he had squeezed the trigger, was helpless on the receiving end of an enemy charge and quite powerless to charge himself. Similarly, the author has stressed that the major pitched battles of the Revolution were decided by steady lines of infantry, drawn up in two ranks, firing volleys wherein rapidity of fire was rated more important than accuracy, in true European fashion. Consequently, the notion that the Revolution was fought largely by American partisans shooting from behind trees and walls against British troops in tight formations has been deemed inaccurate, with such exceptions as the meeting engagements at Concord and Lexington and the winter raid against Quebec. For neither Baron von Steuben, the drillmaster of the Continental Army, nor General Washington, its Commander-in-Chief, championed "backwoods warfare," but rather strongly favored the bayonet as the deciding factor.

To the seasoned professional historian, this volume should provide a storehouse of military information, carefully footnoted and elaborately indexed. To the amateur or to the "Revolutionary Buff" the book will have equal appeal primarily because of completeness of the coverage and the large number and variety of the illustrations. But to all parties, regard-

less of their reason or degree of interest, Harold Peterson's new, intimate study of the first American soldier and the world about him should prove a rewarding and fascinating experience.

Princeton, N. J.

ROGER WILLOCK

Most Uncommon Jacksonians: the Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement. By EDWARD PESSEN. (Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York Press, 1967. ix. 208 p. Index. \$7.00.)

It is some years since the author completed his doctorate in labor in the Jacksonian era. Time has served his project well. He has matured his thoughts in the field, and given marked attention to style. His book reads well in a field confined to a relatively few academic specialists only moderately concerned with presentation. The author suggests human qualities implicit in his subject, and even, more or less indirectly, its relevance to our own times.

The key question involves the character of the labor movement of the early nineteenth century. The author cites Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s, thesis, in *The Age of Jackson* (1945), that the Working Men's Movement disappeared because it "engaged in kindhearted activity on the periphery of the [social] problem" (p. 31). Workers, the thesis declared, deserted their own movement to support Jackson as their leader in his Bank crusade, the vital center. Subsequently, a number of authors, Mr. Pessen included, contributed to a critique intended to prove that Jackson was, among other things, a strikebreaker, that "labor leaders" were in fact businessmen, and that workers did not vote for Jackson.

Mr. Pessen no longer presses these points. He sketches the rise of the labor movement in the late 1820's, its wide appeal to worker elements, and the reformers and trade unionists who helped clarify goals for labor. He draws an interesting series of portraits of agitators, journalists, and laborites who became more or less conspicuous in the era; men like the well-known Robert Dale Owen and George Henry Evans, others like the utopian Thomas Skidmore, and such varied trade union leaders as Seth Luther, Ely Moore, and John Commerford. Their successes in articulating labor demands are examined, as are their failures, deriving from an unwillingness of laborers to commit themselves to labor status. Somewhere between the Pied Piper of western lands and the depression of 1837, the apparently promising labor movement expired.

But before it did, its leaders had shown themselves to be fecund thinkers, "children of the enlightenment," anti-Mathusians, and harbingers of the good society. The author sees them as more radical than they have been credited with being, and anything but catspaws of Jacksonianism.

It seems unlikely that these interesting writers and activists will ever command anything like the kind of attention the Jacksonians receive from

time to time. Americans, radicals included, find it hard to resist good times and success, and so weaken the force of their rhetoric. No Thoreaus, they; though they may entertain millenarian dreams when hungry, they give them up fast enough when dinner is served. Nevertheless, scholars should find Mr. Pessen's judicious phrasings enlightening, and ever reassuring. As he says, at least about their predecessors, "[t]hey loved stability, even as they talked up turbulence" (p. 198).

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

New Jersey and the Negro: A Bibliography, 1715-1966. Compiled by the BIBLIOGRAPHY COMMITTEE OF THE NEW JERSEY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. (Trenton: The New Jersey Library Association, Care of Trenton Free Public Library, 1967. 196 p. Index. \$6.75.)

In view of the crises of the past year, this bibliography could not be more timely. In the light of the emphasis given the subject in reports and studies of the past fifty years and more, it is surprising to find the bibliography almost unique. Although there have been an increasing number of guides to works on the Negro in the United States, only Earl Spangler's *Bibliography of Negro History* (Minneapolis, 1963) attempts a detailed listing of material on the Negro in one of our states, in that instance Minnesota. The present work had its origin in Donald A. Sinclair's *The Negro and New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1965), a checklist of the holdings of the library of Rutgers University, and it was he who designed the book, and was "largely responsible for the form of entry, the general arrangement of the bibliography, and the evaluation of all the items submitted." The form of entry is excellent, with references given to the major collections in which copies of the books, pamphlets, broadsides, mimeographed material, and rarer newspapers and periodicals can be found. The bibliography makes clear by its inclusion of unpublished monographs, doctoral dissertations and masters' essays how much our knowledge of the current aspects of the subject at the local level is dependent on these and reports of governmental and private agencies. The arrangement of the divisions of the list, from "History and Biography (General)" to "Civil Rights: Education," is basically chronological, and this useful arrangement is furthered on occasion by subdivision between historical studies and contemporary works. Although no attempt has been made to include all works written by Negroes resident in New Jersey, or pertinent but general state documents, the standards of inclusion have been very broad. Descriptive notes have been added where the titles or the nature of the materials call for them, and the whole work concludes with an excellent index. It stands as a model of the way in which librarians can contribute to the solution of a major contemporary problem.

The Free Library of Philadelphia

HOWELL J. HEANEY

A Bibliography: The Civil War and New Jersey. By DONALD A. SINCLAIR. (New Brunswick: Published by the Friends of the Rutgers University Library for the New Jersey Civil War Centennial Commission, 1968. 186 p. Index. \$6.50.)

Thomas W. Streeter in his "Notes on North American Regional Bibliographies," read before the Bibliographical Society of America in 1942 and published in its *Papers* (Vol. 36, pages 171-186), suggested that "the period dealt with by an inclusive regional bibliography should have unity and significance," and that "in modern periods lacking such unity and significance a subject bibliography of an interesting phase of a region should replace inclusive bibliographies of all phases of a region." The present work is a fine application of that second principle. Just as period should give way to subject in considering the later history of a region, so a regional approach to a large subject is helpful. The earliest massive bibliography of the Civil War, John Russell Bartlett's *Literature of the Rebellion* (Boston, 1866), with its entries listed in a single alphabet was almost unworkable for the material produced during the war itself, and little lies between it and *Civil War Books: A Critical Bibliography* (Baton Rouge, 1967-) now appearing under the editorship of Allan Nevins and his associates, in which classification and selection are brought to bear to solve the problem presented by the accumulation of a century. At the mid-point between the two, the third edition of the War Department's *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War, 1861-1866* (Washington, 1913) included major divisions by state and general subdivisions by form and subject in its listing. But much has been published in the past fifty years, and it would be misleading to suggest that the work under review is an expansion of the New Jersey section of the War Department's list of 1913. Although all but minor references to the war in county histories listed there are included here, the war is approached with a wider concept of its place in history and the simple divisions of the earlier list replaced by significant subdivisions of the subject in its general, military, political, and moral aspects. Appendixes are added covering the pre-war and post-war periods. All the useful elements of entry and format to be found in *New Jersey and the Negro*, designed by Mr. Sinclair, are to be found here, including running heads which tell the reader just where he is in the book with reference to subject and entry.

Although he has consulted the earlier bibliographies, Mr. Sinclair has wisely concentrated on the examination of the collections of fifty libraries, including those at Rutgers where he is Curator of Special Collections. The fact that he has handled all but a few of the 1,359 items entered has resulted in full titles and collations, and in useful notes to those which need explanation. Only Wisconsin has been served by a separately published bibliography of this subject, Isaac S. Bradley's *Bibliography of Wisconsin's Participation in the War Between the States*, and that was published in 1911

and runs to but forty-two pages. W. L. Burton's *Descriptive Bibliography of Civil War Manuscripts in Illinois* (Evanston, 1966) falls, of course, in a different class from the present work. Despite his modest call for corrections and additions, the quality of Mr. Sinclair's work is such that it seems unlikely that many will be turned up. He has wisely omitted an analysis of newspapers here, but his energy suggests he might be persuaded to undertake a list of New Jersey's manuscripts on the Civil War. The result would certainly be worth waiting for.

The Free Library of Philadelphia

HOWELL J. HEANEY

Union Pamphlets of the Civil War, 1861-1865. Volumes 1-2. Edited by FRANK FREIDEL. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967. x, 564 p.; vii, 565-1233 p. Illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

No President of the United States has been faced with as many hard choices as was Abraham Lincoln. Problems presented by mobilization, war production and supply, finance, military ineptitude, conscription, horrendous casualty lists, and the threat of European intervention were often baffling, leading public officials, military commanders, diplomats, soldiers and private citizens to the edge of despair. Yet, as great as these problems were, the political and ideological divisions that divided the North during the war constituted equally as great a threat to the success of Union arms.

Some of the pamphlets included in this collection focus attention on such questions as finance, European problems, and the illegality of secession. Most center on "the objects of the war" itself. Radicals and Conservatives occupied polar positions on such questions as slavery, equality, civil liberties, confiscation, conscription, the war powers of the President—indeed, on the very nature of American society and government itself.

While all fifty-two pamphlets in this collection merit attention, the most striking entries, in this reviewer's opinion, include those by Lewis Tappan, John Pendleton Kennedy, Henry Whitney Bellows, Horace Binney, Orestes Brownson, John H. Hopkins, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Samuel F. B. Morse, Robert C. Winthrop, George B. McClellan, Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt, and Charles Astor Bristed.

Kennedy's *Appeal* mirrors the plight of border state Unionists in 1861; Binney and Ingersoll clash sharply over Lincoln's right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*; Tappan's plea for immediate emancipation is countered by a Biblical justification of slavery from the pen of Hopkins, Methodist-Episcopal Bishop of Vermont! The Radical views of Bellows, Phillips, Sumner and Brownson on the nature and conduct of the war, Holt's sensational "treason" exposés, and Bristed's attack on the Democratic platform of 1864 are contrasted by the attacks of Morse, Ingersoll, Winthrop, McClellan and Vallandigham on the war policies of the Lincoln Administration.

Professor Freidel is to be commended for bringing together an outstanding collection of representative pamphlets. The promise and the tragedy of the war, of Reconstruction, and, indirectly, of the contemporary racial crisis can be found in these pages. One criticism: one regrets that Freidel did not write a more detailed introduction, placing ideological divisions and political charges and countercharges during the Civil War in a clearer, or perhaps more comprehensive, perspective as regards the totality of the American political experience. Nevertheless, those inclined to look at history through a materialistic lens ought to include Freidel's *Union Pamphlets* along with the works of Perry Miller, Bernard Bailyn, Alan Heimert, John L. Thomas and many others as an antidote to oversimplistic views of the nature of American politics.

University of Connecticut

RICHARD O. CURRY

The World of Andrew Carnegie: 1865-1901. By LOUIS M. HACKER. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1968. xxxvii, 473 p. Selected bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

Dr. Hacker's title is accurate but perhaps misleading. Less than one quarter of this lengthy book relates directly to Carnegie. Utilizing William Graham Sumner's idea of the mores (attitudes, ways of life) and Joseph Schumpeter's theory of entrepreneurship, the author seeks "to explain why this country, a young developing nation at the outbreak of the Civil War, became the mightiest industrial power in the world in less than forty years." He wishes also to contribute to the contemporary search for the principles which change traditional into developing societies. In contrast to the theoretical models being constructed by many economists, he hopes through an analysis of the American experience to offer a model based more on institutional than on purely economic factors.

Hacker sets forth his broad frame of reference in the Introduction, which will probably be the chapter of greatest interest to the historian. He argues that—leaving aside considerations of climate, physiography, and natural resources—there have been two chief reasons why the entrepreneurs of the Gilded Age were so successful in transforming America into an industrial nation: first, the attitudes of the period were such that neither government nor the American people placed many restraints on private enterprise; and second, these favorable mores were reflected in the structural character of the American economy and polity. Hacker believes that he has stood theory on its head in arguing "that the creation of the American economic structure, in all its manifold aspects, had to be preceded by the appearance and acceptance of those mores in which the processes of capitalism could flourish and expand." More specifically, he argues that the real "take-off" in America's industrialization occurred after the Union defeat of the slave South.

After the Civil War, in the author's view, "the mores of the nation, for good or ill, had radically changed."

Most historians would agree that mores favorable to capitalism were important in the growth of American industrialism. But one wonders on what evidence Dr. Hacker confidently asserts a radical change in American attitudes after the war. Focusing almost exclusively on the post-war decades, he makes no extended comparisons designed to illustrate the shift in mores. If there was such a sharp change (which seems doubtful), Hacker suggests no clear explanation of *why* it took place. In view of the importance of this alleged shift to the argument, he devotes surprisingly little effort to establishing its reality.

The body of the study is divided into four sections. Part One discusses the role of government and its policies. Part Two considers those writers, economists, clergymen and labor organizers who helped to create an intellectual climate in which capitalism could flourish. Part Three, the longest section of the book, deals with the structure of American capitalism, and has a chapter each on agriculture, the railroads, money and banking, education, and urbanization. These chapters offer careful, well-synthesized summaries based on recent monographs. While a scholar of Hacker's distinction always offers valuable insights, much of this material will strike the specialist as standard, even dull. The chapters on labor, railroads, and education, for example, are much like those in the better college text books.

The final section examines Carnegie's business career as a case study in entrepreneurship. Again, Hacker provides a competent analysis based on a study of the Carnegie Papers in the Library of Congress but adds little to what has already been said by Burton J. Hendrick and, more recently, by Peter Temin in *Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century America* (1964). Unfortunately for any would-be student of Carnegie's business career, the records of the Carnegie corporations have been either destroyed or misplaced, and the Carnegie Papers offer only fragmentary, tantalizing glimpses of business dealings.

It is difficult to be sure for what audience Hacker is writing. He calls his study an essay, not formal history, and dispenses with footnotes. *The World of Andrew Carnegie* may prove of interest to some economists, to the general reader (though most will probably find it too scholarly and detailed), and especially to the advanced college student. In a less expensive edition, it could become a useful and popular text.

California State College at Long Beach

JOHN E. HIGGINS

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Volume 4, 1885. ARTHUR S. LINK, Editor. JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON and DAVID W. HIRST, Associate Editors. T. H. VAIL MOTTER, Consulting Editor. JOHN E. LITTLE and WILLIAM M. LEARY, JR., Assistant Editors. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. xvi. 758 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

This volume of the Wilson Papers opens with *Congressional Government*, a series of critical essays on the actual operation of the Federal Government, which helped win the author a Fellowship for his second year at Johns Hopkins, served as his thesis for the Ph.D. awarded him there by special dispensation after he had taught for a year at Bryn Mawr, and made his reputation as a political scientist. Indeed, so sudden was his rise to fame in his chosen field that he was instantly approached with several more attractive offers than the one he had already accepted at Bryn Mawr, including a possible opening at the University of Michigan, which he promptly discouraged for the sake of his conscience.

As Wilson wrote the book during the final year of Chester A. Arthur's administration, and sent it off to the publisher on the eve of Grover Cleveland's election, he felt justified in downgrading the Presidency in light of current practice, as it then operated. But forgetful of the giants of the past—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln—Wilson went much too far in depicting the President as little more than a mere administrative officer carrying out the mandates of Congress, with only his power of veto to distinguish him from being simply the agent of the legislative branch. His main thesis was that the "literary theory" of the Constitution as a balance of sovereignty between the states and the Federal Government had disappeared with the Civil War, and that the checks and balances by which the executive, legislative, and judicial functions were neatly allocated had been destroyed by the steady encroachment of Congress. To make matters worse, Congress as a whole had abdicated its own leadership to the chairmen of some forty-seven standing committees in the House and twenty-nine in the Senate. Moreover, underlying Wilson's devastating argument was his frank belief in the superiority of the British system, which provided effective party leadership and direct responsibility because of the fusion of real executive and legislative power in the House of Commons.

Congressional Government was hailed at once by most reviewers as marking a new and constructive approach to the study of American political institutions. It was perhaps the first serious attempt to apply scientific methods of investigation to the study of the Federal Government in action. In the eyes of one highly sympathetic reviewer and close friend of Wilson's at Johns Hopkins—Albert Shaw, afterward the distinguished editor of the *Review of Reviews*—the author had succeeded in removing the subject "from the superstitious and legal subtleties of the jurists," like Marshall, Webster, Kent, and Story, and also from "the metaphysical dissertations of the political mystics," like John C. Calhoun. Instead, the book "deals altogether with objective facts, and ushers in the new and rational constitutional criticism." This favorable judgment was confirmed by Gamaliel Bradford, the well-known publicist and civil service reformer from Boston, whose proposal to give Cabinet members seats in Congress had strongly influenced Wilson in his earlier writings. Wilson was overjoyed to learn that Bradford was to review his book in the *Nation*, at that time probably the most influential jour-

nal of opinion in the United States. He was naturally highly flattered when Bradford began by declaring "We have no hesitation in saying that this is one of the most important books, dealing with political subjects, which have ever issued from the American press." But Wilson was disappointed when Bradford went on to complain at his failure to suggest a remedy for the deplorable situation that he had so brilliantly diagnosed. For Wilson had intended to confine his critique to the present government in action, hoping this would prove of permanent value, while he feared that advocacy of any particular reforms would be regarded as merely a tract for the times, like his unpublished *Government by Debate*.

Yet by no means all the critics were favorably inclined. It is noteworthy that Wilson, though living for more than a year in Baltimore while engaged in writing the book, never visited Washington to observe Congress in session. Nor does he appear to have consulted a single practical politician in the course of his investigation. As one caustic reviewer in the *New York Tribune* complained with some justification: "Mr. Wilson apparently does not see that his plan (to make the majority party in Congress absolute in its control of all legislation, as well as in the administration of the laws) would mean the complete obliteration of the federal principle, which is the characteristic note of the American system, and the principle which has been most signally vindicated by our century of successful experiment." For in avowedly taking Bagehot's brilliant treatise on *The English Constitution* as his model, Wilson fell into the trap of borrowing a set of concepts that had been developed to describe a structure of government suited to a society with a very different historical background. Moreover, Bagehot had never visited America, had only a superficial knowledge of our social structure and of the way in which our institutions worked, and simply used the presidential system as a foil for what he believed to be the far greater virtues of the Parliamentary system. In contrasting the allegedly faulty working of our Federal Government with a somewhat idealized picture of the British Parliamentary system as practiced in the twenty-year period preceding the Reform Act of 1867 (but not since then), when parties were either rather disorganized or almost equally balanced, Wilson followed Bagehot in overlooking the fact that, with the notable exception of the Civil War, the American system had actually served its purpose admirably for the United States.

Although Wilson was primarily interested in politics, he also made a thorough study of economics while at Johns Hopkins. His mentor, Dr. Richard T. Ely, was one of the founders of the new economics in the United States. Ely persuaded Wilson and Davis R. Dewey, afterward a noted economist and for many years editor of the *American Economic Review*, to collaborate with him in writing a brief textbook on the history of American economic thought. Wilson finished his third of the volume on economists since Mathew Carey, but the book was never published because Ely never completed his share of the work. Wilson's contribution, together with his research notebook and his report on the subject to the Hopkins Historical Seminary, are published here for the first time. They reveal a sound knowl-

edge not only of the classical English school but also of the newer German economists. Although he admired Adam Smith, he showed a certain contempt for such classical economic theorists as Malthus and Ricardo, as well as disdain for all theory *per se*, and clearly displayed a preference for inductive methods and for the historical approach. He was contemptuous of the traditional academic alliance between economics and theology, an alliance that stemmed from the usual custom in nineteenth-century American colleges of allowing some worthy minister to teach political economy as practically a branch of moral philosophy. Of the seven economists Wilson discussed, he much preferred Francis Walker, whom he described as "the most rationally inductive writer our economic literature has yet produced." He applauded Walker for distinguishing between services and commodities and insisting that human labor must not be treated as a mere commodity, and that employees need legislative protection from being exploited unmercifully by their employers.

Yet interesting as the present volume may be in revealing the development of Wilson's point of view toward politics and economics, an equal fascination lies in the growth of his love for Ellen Axson, and of the growing intensity of her love for him. They wrote each other almost every day, and fortunately their letters have been preserved. They vied in attempting to disclose the depth of their feeling for each other, and both tried to lay bare the innermost secrets of their hearts. But one cannot fail to be struck by the Victorian reticence on both sides, especially in his case, a man, after all, who was approaching thirty. Only three weeks before their wedding day, after an engagement that had lasted twenty months, he expressed surprise at being told that she was fond of being petted! She refused to be convinced that he was so naive. "How wonderfully patient, uncomplaining, self-denying, you must have thought me," she exclaimed, "to submit with such good grace to what I did not like; and what an adept at concealing my true sentiments!" This volume concludes with their marriage in her grandfather's manse at Savannah in June, 1885.

Professor Link and his staff deserve the greatest credit for producing another volume in a series that gives every promise of being one of the most noteworthy contributions to American historical scholarship in this generation.

Princeton, N. J.

C. PARDEE FOULKE

The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister. By G. EDWARD WHITE. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. 238 p. Bibliography, index. \$6.75.)

This book is concerned with the Far Western hinterland and its impact on the nation at the close of the nineteenth century. The trans-Mississippi

West, as yet untouched by the new industrialism, was a magnet for a number who were not comfortable with the new industrial power structure that was slowly imposing itself upon the Eastern establishment. Mr. White draws upon the experiences of three unusual men who forsook the East in early manhood to partake of the Western environment: Remington, who became the nation's leading illustrator; Wister, the most widely read fiction writer; and Roosevelt, the leader of the American people. These men were chosen because, for a brief decade, they were to influence American political thinking.

Roosevelt, Remington, and Wister left the East between 1881 and 1885. Each had forsaken the East partly because of ill fortune and each was seeking a personal reassessment in a unique environment. Each became deeply imbued with the pattern of Western life. The West that these men translated to the public was far from that of a region verging on barbarism—the older view—but, by contrast, “an extraordinary phase of social progress,” or “a true America.” Later all were to insist that this disappearing phase of American history must be chronicled by historians.

Mr. White has thoroughly combed the records and writings of his trio. His chapters on their Western experiences are the most interesting, though perhaps not the most significant portion of the book. Roosevelt of the Dakota “Maltee” brand cattle ranch, after many oft-repeated adventures, returned East in 1887; Remington, an indifferent Kansas sheep rancher, in 1886; and Wister, the Wyoming observer, within the year 1885. All revisited the West many times before 1895. All identified the West as a region of vast loneliness, “iron desolation,” and physical danger. But those able to meet its harsh challenge became endowed with manliness, self-reliance, and a love of freedom. In his discursive *Winning of the West* Roosevelt bestowed upon his heroes these “true American” virtues. Roosevelt in 1898 through his Rough Riders succeeded in kindling throughout the country a reawakened patriotism based upon the exploits of an American élite composed of Western cowboys and Eastern college athletes. This stance helped him win the governorship of New York and led to greater things. Remington, too, saw nature as an oppressive force and the inhabitants brutalized. Only the Anglo-Saxon responded with self-reliance and courage. Wister, the highly nurtured Philadelphian, felt the loneliness of the West, but reveled in its freedom from the monotony of business and the trappings of society.

The consensus of a balance of East and West in American life, inspired by these three image makers, was accepted not only by the public, but in high places also. Roosevelt's newly aroused patriotism was only the forerunner of a renewed national unity. As president, he undertook to achieve a balance between industrial and rural America. An activist Federal Government working through an élite corps of agency heads and through commissions manned by experts would do the job. Thus began the conservation and reclamation movements which dealt with the uses of Western lands and other national resources. Moreover, Roosevelt preached that the welfare of all the

inhabitants was as important as the creation of a great industrial state. Monopoly should be restrained. The industrial city must not grow at the expense of the American yeoman farmer. The rural way of life must be preserved. Above all, the Federal Government must be a great moral force seeking not only to balance the city and the country, but the East and the West. Mr. White's treatment of the emergence of the "period of consensus" is fresh and praiseworthy.

Carmel, Calif.

JOHN E. POMFRET

Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900. By ROBERT L. BEISNER. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968. xvi, 310 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

In 1898, culminating a decade of restlessness and boisterous nationalism, the United States succeeded in provoking a war that in retrospect seems to have been almost inevitable. The price of defeat for Spain was the relinquishment of most of what remained of its once vast empire. The United States took possession of the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico, and arranged for Cuba a status that was independent in name only. Almost without thought for the deeper implications of what they were doing, Americans turned from their traditional policy of anticolonialism and noninvolvement to become themselves the colonizers of others.

If what occurred suggests a people intoxicated by easy victory and a sense of their national destiny, it is also true that some among them remained sober. A significant minority insisted, often in the face of considerable abuse, that America would violate its own deepest principles by joining the race for empire, and that, simply as a practical matter, colonies rarely contribute to the security or prosperity of those who control them. Twelve who so argued—six Mugwumps and six dissident Republicans—are the subjects of Professor Beisner's excellent study.

Although it is hardly new to read that individuals like Carl Schurz, Edwin Godkin, and Charles Francis Adams among the Mugwumps, and George Hoar, Andrew Carnegie, and Thomas Reed among the Republicans, opposed McKinley's expansionist policy, many of the author's insights and judgments are new. Buttressing his arguments with impeccable scholarship, he points out that the anti-imperialists were hardly the monolithic group that many historians make them out to be. Some opposed the war itself; others only opposed seizing the fruits of victory. Some came to a position of dissent out of deep despair at the way industrialization and immigration were changing the country; others were adaptable to change, and optimistic about its implications, questioning only the wisdom of a particular policy. Some were anti-imperialist because they denied the right of one nation to dominate another; others because they felt—probably correctly—that

domination could be achieved more effectively through economic means. They could not even agree on how to respond to McKinley in the election of 1900. The strategies ranged from party regularity in the case of Carnegie and Hoar to involuted, and contradictory, schemes for retaliation on the part of the Mugwumps.

Professor Beisner is particularly impressive in his critique of the anti-imperialists. As he points out, they were in many ways figures of rare idealism and nobility, men who achieved much even in defeat. "Their primary accomplishment was to lodge a protest, to demand answers to moral questions that were hard and perhaps impossible to answer, to reassert traditional American ideals. [They] are still a reminder of the value of conservative dissent. . . ." But they were not paragons. The Mugwumps' pomposity and easy assumption of superiority make them as unappealing to the modern reader as they were to their own generation. They had the unfortunate capacity, even when they were right, of being so usually for the wrong reasons. Nor were the dissident Republicans any more admirable. The author's deft character sketches portray courage, but also hypocrisy, expediency, ineffectualness. As Champ Clark remarked, Reed, whose overweening egotism hurt the cause he supported, was "a self-made man who worships his Maker." Perhaps most telling, they were each of them old men—the average age of the twelve in 1900 was 69—increasingly out of touch with the new America.

This is a well-researched, well-written, and attractively produced book. (My only grievance is that the footnotes are bunched at the back.) It contributes significantly to our understanding of the American past, and marks the author as a man to watch.

Indiana University

GEORGE JUERGENS

Charity and Correction in New Jersey: A History of State Welfare Institutions.
By JAMES LEIBY. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967. xii, 500 p. Illustrations, note on sources, index. \$17.50.)

In this book the author describes the history of the services and institutions for the "dependent, defective and delinquent classes" in the state of New Jersey. After several opening chapters devoted to the origins of the state's welfare institutions generally before World War I, he deals in equal detail, in remaining chapters, with institutions for the mentally ill and the feeble-minded, for juvenile delinquents and adult offenders, the transition from charity to public welfare, the mental hygiene movement, the central state administration of institutions, etc. The note on sources that closes the book is evidence of an exhaustive use of available public documents and other publications; furthermore, the author interviewed numerous persons, many of whom had played, or are still playing, leading roles in the planning, creation, or administration of the agencies described.

The result of the research is a work which has no exact counterpart. Historians, even though rarely, have written the story of hospitals, of charities or of correctional institutions in this or that state, but none has done for a state what Dr. Leiby has achieved. Since 1918 New Jersey has had a state department for the administration of all such agencies and institutions. The author has examined all of them, their interrelationships, problems and changes, within chronological periods ending with the Civil War, World War I, the end of World War II, and a period of transition beginning in 1955 and closing with a notable official commission report of 1959 that recommended major changes in departmental organization and policies. Any one who, like the undersigned, has followed the history of corrections, especially in New Jersey during the last half century, and has personally known the leading protagonists of reform in that field can only commend the author for the wealth of information he has provided and for the objectivity he displays in his evaluations and characterizations. The problems of how to achieve—or fail to achieve—improvement in any field of public administration in a state, where politics, vested interests, an apathetic public, and the need for increased appropriations all combine to frustrate able public servants, are well exposed in this excellent history.

University of Pennsylvania

THORSTEN SELLIN

From Sacred to Profane America: The Role of Religion in American History.
By WILLIAM A. CLEBSCH. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968.
xi, 242 p. Index. \$5.95.)

From Sacred to Profane America presents an original and provocative theory of historical dynamics. As the subtitle indicates, Professor Clebsch is particularly interested in the "City of God" in America, but he sees in addition several other "cities" or configurations of cultural emphases coexisting and interacting with religion in American life since its colonial beginning. Analyzing the content of "the American dream," Clebsch studies six major clusters of theory and practice: education, pluralism, social amelioration and personal morality, novelty, participation of diverse peoples in an open society, and nationality. His thesis is that each of these has demonstrated the same cyclical pattern of growth. To use his metaphor, the American dream began in the temple but came true outside the sacred precincts. In each of the six areas considered, the original inspiration was rooted in "sacred," or religious, concern and the first action toward the achievement of the ideal was taken by organized religion, but in every case development was gradually taken over by "profane," or secular, forces and the ultimate fruition constituted a secular victory. Thereupon, with equal regularity in consequence, organized religion attacked and ultimately disowned its own progeny.

Clebsch questions the currently popular conviction that American society has become permanently secularized, with religion now and in the future to be allowed at best only a small, tangential role in national affairs. This idea paradoxically is reinforced by religion's attacks upon its own successes. The triumphs of universal education, cultural pluralism, social welfare movements, democratic participation in self-government, pragmatic innovation, and national cohesiveness, all were born of religious idealism and were sustained at least through adolescence by organized religion. Extending the biological analogy, Clebsch notes, however, that eventually each of them "became a man and put away childish things, including its mother." But "Mother" is still alive. The question Clebsch leaves unanswered is whether she is capable of further child-bearing, though he strongly suspects that she is.

He admits blemishes on the record of American religion. He remarks, for example, that Jefferson "knew earlier than most that religion impeded the free flow of intelligence." He regrets that religion has too often been content simply to conserve old values when ever-changing conditions of life demand constant reassessment and redirection of human activity. He suggests that religion bought its privileged position in American society at the price of racist exclusiveness. He blames Sunday Schools for "much of the educational infantilism of American Protestant churches." He believes American religion today tends to settle for good manners instead of morality, equating etiquette with ethics.

Geography, demography, and technology interact in the creation of the social matrix. Clebsch implicitly denies, however, that technology acting upon natural environment may be the only truly independent variable in historical dynamics. As he sees it, in the beginning was the religious ideal, from which all else followed. In a world which has increasingly yielded to the irresponsible creed of materialistic determinism it is a pleasant change to return to the earlier and personally more challenging orientation to reality offered by Professor Clebsch.

Certain stylistic qualities of this book stretch the reader's intellectual capacities. Clebsch tends at times to pile abstraction upon abstraction, without definition sufficiently explicit to convince the reader that he fully understands the sense in which the terms are being used. This reader has never before seen "tradition" used as a verb, nor "plurifying," "archaizing," and "lustration" as Clebsch employs them. He definitely speaks to the fully anointed. Yet the book has its lighter moments. One of its most delightful is the description of "Professional religionists in America, most notably among Methodists," who, until very recently, "lived like butterflies. One lit upon a congregation, adorned it for a year or two, perhaps pollenated it with spiritual fervor or theological rectitude, then fluttered off to the 'larger field of labor.'"

From Sacred to Profane America will be welcomed by all who relish the paradoxical quality of human existence. Organized religion in America

sowed the seeds of its own frustration. Its successes produced its defeats. Yet pluralism and dynamism characterize American society today, at least partly because of its religious heritage, and because they exist, religion continues to play a role in American life.

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

Monumental Washington: The Planning and Development of the Capital Center. By JOHN W. REPS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967. xv, 221 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Washington from its beginning has been a planned city. Fortunate in the choice of those who had a hand in establishing the Capital City, particularly Pierre L'Enfant and the Senate Park Commission, which was set up under the McMillan plan of 1902, Washington has had a somewhat unique growth. John Reps has undertaken to tell the story of the development of the Capital City since 1791 and in this he has succeeded admirably.

Although the central theme of his book is the fate of the McMillan plan of 1902 and its proposals, Reps has given us virtually an encyclopedic treatment of the growth of the Capital since 1791. One cannot, in a brief review, trace the work of the Senate Park Commission, the Fine Arts Commission, and other bodies organized to manage planning for Washington, but Reps covers adequately and brilliantly their activities.

He has brought together all known plans for Central Washington and discussed succinctly the strength and weakness of each. Pictures and diagrams are abundant; unfortunately, some diagrams are so small that it is virtually impossible to read the descriptive legend without the use of a heavy reading glass. Controversies over interpretations of the provisions of each plan after its acceptance are summarized.

The first three chapters deal with the city's establishment and growth from 1791 to 1900 and with proposals made for improvement both in the city center and for all of Washington. With the approach of Washington's centennial in 1900, various groups began planning possible celebrations. One result was the appointment of a professional commission to consider improvements to the city. Reps delineates the origin of the McMillan plan tracing the careful preparations by that professional commission which secured acceptance of the plan for the long-term growth of Washington. The formation and work of the commission constitute a fascinating story, beginning with the first meeting of the group at Washington in April, 1901, through a study tour of Europe by commission members and the resulting recommendations for Washington's growth. Reps unfolds the story by concise characterizations of the members of the commission and by careful analysis of the work of each individual.

So successful was the commission that Reps writes that "they [the members] could hardly have foreseen the years of controversy and the attempts

to subvert their plan that lay ahead." With these difficulties the remainder of his study is concerned.

The plan was one of the most notable compositions of its type in the world and even today stands as a landmark in city planning. Reps analyzes the weaknesses of the plan in detail, pointing out that successes and failures in planning for the Capital Center could well serve as a "do and don't" guide for city planners.

As one looks back over more than a half century, the enormous significance of the McMillan plan can be appreciated. Not everything recommended by that group of designers who finalized that plan has been realized, but virtually all programs that have been carried out have been in accord with their recommendations. In a large sense the Senate Park Commission has followed L'Enfant's grand design so that essentially central Washington's growth has one hundred eighty years of planning behind it. Often the path has not been easy, the problems have been complex, opposition has been fierce and unrelenting, but through all vicissitudes the essential outlines of the grand design have been followed.

Extensively documented, with exceptional illustrative materials, Reps has written a valuable study of planning in Washington. Perhaps there is too much emphasis on the significance of Washington for urban planning. One drawback is the odd size of the volume.

Columbia Historical Society

ELDEN E. BILLINGS

Landmark Architecture of Allegheny County Pennsylvania. By JAMES D. VAN TRUMP and ARTHUR P. ZIEGLER, JR. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, 1967. viii, 294p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

"Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set," counselled the author of Proverbs. His injunction, quoted in the Foreword, provided a suitable motto for this work of Pittsburgh's architectural historians. Fortunately for history, the authors of *Landmark Architecture* and their associates have defined "ancient" in a liberal fashion to cover protectively day-before-yesterday structures such as the Frank-Anderson-Morell house, designed by Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer in 1939 as well as the log houses of Pittsburgh's early days.

Landmark Architecture is the end product of a county-wide survey made under a grant from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust. The authors have followed the standard prescription for such a survey, recording for each building listed: the date of construction, and of subsequent alterations; the names of the architects, when known; the size of the building and the materials of its construction; and a note on the significance of the structure. Photographs are included in a majority

of cases. All of the records assembled for this architectural review of Allegheny County have been deposited in the Pennsylvania Room of the Carnegie Library for the use of the public. With the publication of their report, Messrs. Van Trump and Ziegler have again conformed to the best tradition, putting their discoveries and recommendations into print where they will be ready to hand for touring historians, resident city planners, highway engineers and, ultimately, the Keeper of the National Register.

In preparing their material, field surveys were undertaken for the entire county. To the information these produced was added that contained in earlier reports on Pittsburgh's architecture and all that could be found from a study of maps and local histories. Distinguished buildings and interesting neighborhoods turned up. So did ugly streets, poorly designed structures, and river fronts made inaccessible by a "jumble of industry, railroads and highways"—a condition by no means unique to Pittsburgh. But if the local preservationist sees much to deplore, the outlander is moved to admire the extent and richness of the city's architecture. There are forts and other military structures; a monumental court house; a notable post office; dwellings of all kinds from workmen's cottages to neo-Georgian mansions; churches; markets; the superb rotunda of the Pennsylvania Railroad Station by Daniel Burnham; Bauhaus inspired edifices; and a wealth of vernacular architecture. Contemplating the ensemble, this reviewer was tempted to remark: "You name it. Pittsburgh has it."

A Philadelphia reader will find familiar looking structures as he proceeds through the book. The bull's head decorating the South Side Market (opened in 1893) is reminiscent of Germantown's Bull's Head Market House (1859). The Allegheny Arsenal not unnaturally had architectural similarities to the Schuylkill Arsenal (1799-1806), now demolished, and to the still operating Frankford Arsenal (1816-1823). The Shadyside railway station could have sheltered patrons of the Pennsylvania Railroad's Chestnut Hill line as well as their Pittsburgh counterparts. Philadelphia firms, including Wilson Brothers and Eyre and McIlvaine, executed commissions in Pittsburgh and added to the homogenizing effects of fashion, money, and periodicals like Eyre's *House and Garden*.

There is so much that is good about *Landmark Architecture* and the sound philosophy underlying this Pittsburgh survey that the flaws of presentation are especially regrettable. The lack of identifying captions for all the maps and most of the photographs leaves the reader in a state of more than occasional uncertainty. For example, do the photographs of mantels, hall, stairway, and stained glass panel shown on pages 139 and 140 come from the same house? And which house? The photographs are very uneven in quality throughout the book. Some are fine; others have the fuzziness of an amateur's snapshots. The bibliography, although extensive, is without any arrangement except a simple alphabetical one. This made things easy for the compiler but presents the reader with an unnecessarily difficult situation. Maps, atlases, scrapbooks, manuscripts, monographs,

periodicals, guides, bibliographies, ephemera follow one another helter-skelter from A to Z. The reader who wishes to know what maps of the County are available, for instance, must wade through the entire bibliography and cull them for himself. The index, too, is unsatisfactory. Neither the headings for log houses or for row houses list all pertinent material included in the book, to mention but two cases in point. I should also have been happier had the authors used a more conventional vocabulary to describe the architectural styles of the buildings listed. In spite of these technical insufficiencies, disturbing in a much consulted work of reference as *Landmark Architecture of Allegheny County* will be, the authors can take great pride in having provided Pittsburgh with a tool of tremendous value for the preservation of "the ancient landmarks which [its] . . . fathers have set."

Philadelphia Historical Commission

MARGARET B. TINKCOM

Americans from Wales. By EDWARD GEORGE HARTMANN. (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1967. 291 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

The Welsh in this country undoubtedly are one of the most significant of the ethnic groups comprising the British immigration here. This book is advertised as "A treasure chest of information for people interested in their Welsh heritage," and the author has attempted to fulfill the jacket advertisement. He has been at a disadvantage in that he has had to depend upon the bare evidence of surnames for the early periods of American history, and much of the data cited for the seventeenth century has of this necessity been speculative and, indeed, the author at one point says "Probably all of these people merged quickly into the great body of their English-speaking neighbors so that only the existence of Welsh surnames gives a clue to their proper identity." Dr. Hartmann also indicates that the study of Welsh migration may also be distorted by the impossibility of estimating which of the emigrants were, in fact, English in all but name. For generations, of course, the Welsh had intermingled with the English, particularly in the Marches, and great stimulation had been given this process by the accession of the Tudors in the immediate pre-colonial period.

Many readers of the book will be disappointed upon finding that the treatment of the colonial Welsh settlement here occupies less than nineteen pages of this book. This will indicate that the study is designed for those wishing a general survey; persons desiring specific and local details will not find them here. Again, the treatment of the colonial period is marred by the author's reiteration of the Madoc legend and the story of the "Welsh Indians," which should have been accorded a page or two, rather than an entire chapter. The author's survey of the Welsh emigration, settlement,

and adjustment in this country from the nineteenth century onward is more detailed if less interesting. Frequently, the method adopted for this period consists of the listing of settlements, with date, and occasionally a sentence describing the reason for such settlement. This is particularly noticeable in the mention made of western settlements in the nineteenth century. The author here has made frequent and valid use of census statistics and enables the reader to form quite a good picture of the relative numbers of the Welsh, and the posture in which they may have stood in their respective communities.

The historian and the genealogist will find that the chief value of this book to their work lies in its last half. On page 169 begins an appendix listing colonial churches founded by Welsh immigrants, all extant as of 1967. The listing is by denominations, with dates of founding and locations given. This is followed by a most comprehensive listing of churches founded by the Welsh in the post-colonial period; here the listing is geographical, first by state, then by county and post office. A listing of existing Welsh societies, and of "Distinguished Welsh Americans," the latter compiled from such sources as the *Dictionary of American Biography*, will be found of less interest.

To this reviewer, the chief interest of this book and the most valuable contribution of the author is the truly distinguished bibliography, chiefly of secondary sources, which occupies forty-two pages. It is evident from this that the author's research has indeed been exhaustive, and for a researcher of whatever interest the bibliography will open up a world of information, much of which would lie unsuspected in journals and periodicals of many sorts. The bibliography is constructed within the terms of the author's own chapter headings, "Welsh Indian Legend" and so forth, and, since neither the authors nor the titles appear in the book's index, it must be carefully scrutinized. The contribution, however, is an important one. Nearly all the listed books and articles are in English, although the author gives evidence of having investigated some sources in Welsh as well.

The book contains an adequate index, with the exception mentioned above. The lack of maps to illustrate the localities mentioned in Wales is particularly felt.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

Rittenhouse Square. A Novel by ARTHUR R. G. SOLMSEN. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968. 313 p. \$5.95.)

There is no reason to assume that, because the scene of a novel is obviously laid in Philadelphia, it is a "Philadelphia novel" and should give as full and accurate a picture of this complex city as does the *Guide to Philadelphia*. Actually Mr. Solmssen's story is about a theme closely associated

with the life of the city, the practice of law, and it is accurate in detail as far as it goes in its treatment of scenes and kinds of people, but it could take place almost anywhere that the law is practiced by huge firms devoted mainly to the protection of corporation financing and that has a police court where trials of the indigent are conducted by organized volunteer lawyers appointed by the Court. Perhaps this particular combination of functions is peculiar to Philadelphia; if so, this is peculiarly a "Philadelphia novel" in this respect, but in all others it presents a very superficial and specialized picture of what the total life of the city is like.

It is the story of a young bachelor, just out of law school, who joins one of these sprawling law firms and then finds that its concern with sponsoring stock and bond issues gives him no chance to practice the law of the courts for which he finds he has a special gift. The moral issue centers on his choice of a career, and it is developed carefully and with so much conviction that even the routine or the sordid details of daily life in a law office or in the police courts of City Hall are interesting, even to a nonlawyer. One becomes involved in the Horatio Alger type progress of Ben Butler to the point of feeling a twinge of disappointment when this very likeable hero decides for security in the Establishment rather than the more adventurous career of a criminal lawyer; but the reader-involvement is too shallow to allow the disappointment to last very long.

What Mr. Solmssen has written is a cleverly plotted novel of social action with its normal quotas of Scotch-on-the-rocks, sex, mystery and futility, in a clear and swiftly moving style suggestive of O'Hara that fully occupies the time given to its reading. But in so doing he fails to reveal much that would promise (if he can be identified with his hero) a career in fiction as an alternative to the law-office and country-club life in which he will obviously be a success. Mr. Solmssen can tell a good story and he raises some vital questions about urban and suburban life, but, in the end, the reader's reward lies in entertainment rather than in new wisdom.

University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT E. SPILLER

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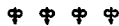
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