
In spite of special studies by Chinard, Faÿ, Jones and others, this volume is the first scholarly attempt in recent years to bring the rich subject matter of this decade within the compass of a single volume. The arrival of this great group of refugees on our shores at a formative period in our national history is a topic inadequately assayed as yet by the average historian. Miss Childs' monograph, midway in scope between Murray's account of Revolutionary refugees on the Susquehanna (1917), and Rosen-garten's concise little handbook, French Colonists and Exiles in the United States (1907), which covers Huguenot, Napoleonic and Revolutionary exiles along with early colonists, meets a long-felt want.

This new study centers on the French refugees from the slave uprising in San Domingo precipitated by over-zealous apostles of liberty. Discussion of the economic and political problems raised by the sudden influx at Wilmington and Philadelphia of thousands of these exiles, many of them desti-tute, occupies the greater portion of the text. Curiously, the introduction of yellow fever epidemics by the San Domingan planters and their house-holds, with their sequent problems, is ignored, though the author has obviously made diligent use of many sources. The refugee press, and the political embroglios in which the islanders became involved are, however, given detailed treatment. The latter followed the simultaneous arrival in Philadelphia of aristocratic exiles who had aided us in establishing our liberties, and importunate emissaries of the bloodthirsty Jacobin regime of the hour from Paris—a crisis not without modern parallels.

The land colonies and real estate ventures organized to meet in part the refugee problem are somewhat inadequately handled. The source material is, however, scattered, and the ways of early realtors intricate. Actually, almost the entire north central border of Pennsylvania was developed by European capital in flight from revolution and Napoleonic dictatorship. The development of transportation—turnpikes, canals, railroads, as well as in-dustries—was to feel for several generations the stimulus of French ideas and enterprise through French stock assimilated with native-born. But this chapter of Pennsylvania history is yet unwritten.

The picturesque biographical material opened up by L. W. Murray's earlier study of the habitués of the Azilum colony on the Susquehanna and their circle of friends—Talon, Noailles, Du Petit-Thouars, Liancourt, Talleyrand, the Orleans brothers, the Countess de La Tour du Pin, Moreau
de St. Méry—is accorded a chapter by itself. There are notable additions to the dramatis personae, and fuller treatment of Hyde de Neuville, the Du Ponts and others. The use of source material is at times uncritical, e.g. the journals of the acrid Pontgibaud and the sprightly La Tour du Pin are taken for the most part at face value. Both unquestionably tricked out their narratives with an eye to a wider audience. Memoirs were the accepted method of filling a depleted refugee purse. Nor should the likening of America to a Noah's Ark for sinking Europe be credited to the Comte de Moré. It was Edmund Burke's simile.

Sponsored by the department of history of Columbia University, and published under the auspices of the Institut Français de Washington, the volume is well written and copiously annotated. A comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources, including a number of private collections tapped by the author, is appended. There is an adequate index, and a minimum of typographical error. Special acknowledgment is made to the editor of the Institut series, Gilbert Chinard, from whose numerous Franco-American studies bearing on Jefferson, Volney, Du Pont, Chateaubriand, La Pérouse, the author has drawn inspiration. No serious student of the cultural beginnings of Pennsylvania, or of our early political crises, can afford to pass this volume by.

Tioga Point Museum.

Elsie Murray.


This story of Pennsylvania politics is meticulously told with skill and discernment and it is what its title indicates, but it has a mine of information for the student of political history of the United States. The author has not only blazed the trail in a new field in Pennsylvania history, but he has traveled thoroughly the maze of entangled political history heretofore an enigma to the outsider. He has accepted the challenge of Professor P. Orman Ray who proposed such a study over a quarter of a century ago.

One of the author's most valuable contributions is found in his first chapter on social and economic life in the state between 1800 and 1817. He writes easily and to the point. In describing the part played by the different nationalities he writes: "The Germans were never very effective practical politicians outside their own ranks. They were frequently nominated to state office in order to secure the German vote for a general party ticket, but were more often political figureheads or honest, plodding, non-partisan administrators than political organizers and party leaders. They were extremely jealous of their political liberties, however, which they regularly demonstrated by heavy attendance at the polls." The Germans had numbers and settled about ten counties (Lancaster, York, Berks, Lebanon, Lehigh, Northampton, Schuylkill, Dauphin, Columbia and Union)—"the garden spot of the state." Another powerful group, the Scotch-Irish were traditionally in the mountain and western counties. They lived
far out on the frontier where poverty forced them to seek political assistance in obtaining transportation to markets. "Even without such extra stimuli, the character of the Scotch-Irishman would have made him a success in politics. Audacious, quick-witted, a good organizer and a two-fisted fighter for whatever cause he adopted yet genial, dryly humorous and fond of companionship, the Scotch-Irishman possessed the qualities most needed in practical politics. It is in this period . . . that the Scotch-Irish for the first time began to take over political control of Pennsylvania, a control that has scarcely been relaxed since."

Characterizations of people in the important cities, description of frontier life and biography add color to what would otherwise be a drab story. Interpretation runs throughout but it is carefully weighed. The entire story brings together a lot of information gleaned painstakingly from a mass of correspondence, newspapers, public documents, biography and other sources. There are some biographies to which no reference is made, that might have added to the story of Ingham or Buchanan or Duane, but the main theme is likely to stand as the author has presented it. There is interest and information in each of the twelve chapters for Pennsylvanians. For those elsewhere the chapters detailing the complexities of state politics out of which came Buchanan and Dallas and into which Calhoun, Crawford and Jackson flung themselves have real meat. No reader could close this volume after a careful reading without an understanding of why Pennsylvania failed to contribute a Clay or a Webster to the nation. The failure of the voters to coordinate their needs on such pertinent subjects as the tariff and internal improvements with their national leaders is clearly set forth. They shouted and voted for Jackson who politically killed their cherished leaders and refused them internal improvements, the tariff they wanted, and their United States Bank. They were jealous of the leadership of Virginia and New York, but the peculiarly scattered areas and various nationalities prevented them from grasping that leadership. No man could emerge from the governorship without being so besmirched by state factions that he was dead politically for national politics. They could not rise above factions and reach the high plane of party cohesion.

The author states his objectives in the preface and hews to the line throughout. In his final chapter he summarizes and draws his conclusions so that the gist of his story may be had from them.

Copious footnotes are often more than mere citations and a useful appendix of maps and electoral data follow the extended bibliography references in which are classified for convenient use. There is a good index.

There are a few of the usual typographical errors such as "causus," p. 57, and an extra "the" on p. 144.

Miami University

WM. E. SMITH.
(University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. vi, 187. $2.00.)

This interesting and informing volume, the second of the series entitled Pennsylvania Lives, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Press, deals with two of early America's outstanding scientists. The Bartrams, father and son, were among the first to make systematic studies of the flora and other naturalistic elements of the eastern half of the present United States. Of Quaker ancestry, both were men of talent and prodigious workers, and their travels, research, writings and wide acquaintance gained for them international reputation. They were, as Professor Earnest aptly states, "interesting persons in their own right."

After a brief foreword by Dr. Conway Zirkle which gives setting for the volume, and an almost equally brief introduction, seven of the sixteen chapters are devoted primarily to John Bartram. Born in 1699 at Darby, John received little formal schooling. In spite of this drawback he soon became a person of consequence in his community. Though farming took much of his time and energy he early manifested an interest in nature and particularly in plants, and with passing years this interest became for him a passion. Without waftage of words, Professor Earnest shows how profoundly the elder Bartram was influenced not only by his immediate environment, but by such outstanding personages as James Logan, Christopher Witt, Joseph Brientnall, Benjamin Franklin and Cadwallader Colden. Peter Collinson, rich Quaker merchant of London, and himself a leading botanist, was one of Bartram's warmest admirers. In 1729 John Bartram purchased land along the banks of the Schuylkill River near Philadelphia and planted there the first botanical garden in the United States. Incidentally, this garden still exists as a part of the Philadelphia park system. Brief accounts are given of his journeys in the Alleghenies, Catskills, the Great Lakes, the Carolinas and Florida in search of new plants for his garden. He sent many plants to European correspondents among whom were numbered nearly all the great botanists of the day. The shipment of American plants to Europe, Professor Earnest shows, proved to be profitable economically as well as scientifically for Bartram.

Though lacking in formal schooling the elder Bartram was not without literary talents. As a scientist he certainly helped make eighteenth-century Philadelphia the scientific capital of colonial America, and Professor Earnest is quite correct in his statement that Bartram's European reputation as a scientist antedated that of Franklin. The volume under review indicates beyond doubt that John Bartram, though friendly and gentle in demeanor, feared and disliked the Indians and favored their extermination. On the other hand he disliked slavery and believed in the doctrine of freedom for them. As one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society, it is not surprising to find the senior Bartram a non-conformist theologically and religiously. Indeed, he departed so much from the teachings of the Friends that he was formally disowned by the Darby Meeting because of his "dark notions" and "opinions." Chapter Seven is a succinct assessment of John Bartram's place in the world.
John Bartram was the father of a large family. In 1739 his wife bore him twins who were named William and Elizabeth. William's early environment and schooling were markedly different from those of his father, as Professor Earnest makes clear in Chapter Eight. Indeed, few boys today are favored with better training than was young Bartram. At fourteen he was a promising young botanist. His drawings were already winning the acclaim of European critics and his study of birds was soon to make him one of the first American authorities on this subject. After an unsuccessful business venture he joined his father in 1766, and together they explored the St. Johns River in Florida. From 1773 to 1777 William traveled throughout the Carolinas, Georgia, the Floridas and the Indian country to the west, gathering specimens and seeds for John Fothergill, famous English physician. These journeyings were recorded in his *Travels* which appeared in 1791. This fascinating work so neglected, as Professor Earnest avers, by our own historians and literary critics was quickly re-published in London and Dublin and translated into German, Dutch and French. Carlyle declared that it has "a wonderful kind of floundering eloquence in it," while Coleridge, whose *Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Kahn* were influenced by it, spoke of it in glowing terms. In the volume under review the literary, historical, scientific and philosophic influence of the *Travels* is carefully assessed. In this connection Chapter Fourteen is especially valuable.

William's assistance in caring for the botanical gardens established by his father, his drawings for Benjamin S. Barton's *Elements of Botany*, his contribution to Barton's *Toward a Materia Medica* and his collaboration with Alexander Wilson in the preparation of the latter's *American Ornithology* are adequately treated. The book is remarkably free from errors of either fact or topography although it is not quite correct to refer to New York as a state in 1744 (p. 48). The liberal use of excerpts and quotations from source material together with the inclusion of a brief biographical note serve adequately to satisfy the demands of exacting scholarship.

**Columbia University**

**HARRY J. CARMAN.**


*The Path I Trod* should be read by everyone interested in the social history of the Commonwealth. Powderly lived at Scranton; the headquarters of the Knights of Labor were in Philadelphia; and industrial Pennsylvania was a stronghold of the order.

The work, true to its subtitle, is an autobiography. It is not a history of the Knights of Labor, but the story of a man struggling to imbue his fellow workers with the philosophy that "an injustice to one is the concern of all." Powderly stands out as the most important figure in the order,
not excepting Stephens, its founder; for the man from Scranton headed the Knights of Labor during fourteen years of its existence.

The value of *The Path I Trod* (usually strewn with thorns) is enhanced by Powderly’s ability to tell a good story, a trait he perhaps inherited from Irish parents. A boy’s practical jokes, the every-day working life of a young mechanic, Scranton’s local politics, and the first stumbling steps of the Knights inform and entertain the reader in the early pages. Then comes a portrayal of important industrial conflicts, the telegraphers’ strike, difficulties with the owners of stockyards, Jay Gould and others. He fights for the underdog, supporting the Irish in their struggle for freedom or showing the iniquity of the “Reading Combine.”

Powderly was a prominent Catholic, but not always an obedient one. He was a friend of McKinley always; of Roosevelt, only at times. He took time out to conduct a priest on a visit to Hell (a coal mining community). Upon retirement he left the Knights of Labor to an unfriendly and not too altruistic Executive Board, whose record still needs some explanation, and instead of opening a saloon like many other ex-labor leaders, he studied and practiced law. He spent the twilight hours of his life filling responsible positions in the Bureau of Immigration.

Many co-workers felt that Powderly was not practical in his unionism because he preached idealism instead of building up the trade assemblies in their struggle with employers. Significantly, he devotes only one short chapter of seven pages to collective bargaining. His work did not compete with that of Samuel Gompers; it was complementary.

What was Powderly’s reward for a life-time devotion to humanity? Certainly it was not in dollars and cents, for he was a poor man, but rather in the satisfaction of having lived a useful life. Powderly tries to answer the question in the chapter: “Part of my Reward,” which must be read closely to be appreciated.

The editors have made a nice selection of material. The reviewer understands that they are now studying some 75,000 letters of Mr. Powderly with the view of publishing at least one volume of them and thereby throwing more light on the history of the Knights of Labor, which by the way, is yet to be written.

PAUL W. PRITCHARD.

*Stephen C. Foster at Athens: His First Composition.* By Elsie Murray.

(Tioga Point Museum and Historical Society. Pp. 40. $.75.)

In north-central Pennsylvania the name Murray suggests to the mind of the historian the Indians of Tioga Point and their artifacts, the Connecticut claims, the Pennamite Wars, the Sullivan expedition and Azilum, romantic refuge of French nobility. First, Louise Welles Murray, then her daughter, Dr. Elsie Murray, have contributed important studies to the history of their community, which is in fact the broadened history of the families from which they descend.

To find Dr. Murray writing about Stephen Foster is puzzling until we learn that fourteen-year-old Stephen lived for several years with his
brother William at Towanda, attended the Athens Academy, and there composed and played at a school entertainment the "Tioga Waltz," which is undoubtedly his first composition.

It is the story of young Stephen and his residence in Athens which Dr. Murray presents as fully as it can be presented today. It is a simpler history than her *Asilum*, but it is related with similar richness of content, both in text and illustration. Reading, one can forget the artificial background provided by a recent motion picture in a vision of beautiful Athens with its broad street whose gardens ran to the Chemung River on one side, the Susquehanna on the other.

Dr. Murray's mother was a cousin of the Frances Welles to whom the waltz was dedicated; she, and afterwards her daughter Jessie were curators of the Tioga Point Museum, a gift to Athens from a schoolmate of Stephen's. Dr. Murray herself has succeeded to its curatorship. We rejoice to know of this period in Stephen's life, happy until one of the moods which were the bane of his existence took him back to Pittsburgh.

Gettysburg, Pa.

Elsie Singmaster.