

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY J. CUTLER ANDREWS
Pennsylvania College for Women

Empire in Pine, The Story of Lumbering in Wisconsin, 1830-1900. By Robert F. Fries. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951. Illustrated. Pp. viii, 285. \$4.00.)

If the prize awarded this book were not sufficient proof of its soundness as economic fact, the lists of references which crowd the bottom of almost every page would convince the most critical reader that every statement made by Mr. Fries can be fully substantiated. Indeed, to the less critical reader these references might seem to give the book an unduly leaden appearance, suggestive of an overladen craft bound to drag on the bottom. Fortunately, the plenitude of excellent pictures quite offsets this heavy effect, as it also makes the text meaningful and of lively significance to the historically-minded reader who is not interested in figures alone.

The average Pennsylvanian is likely to be such a reader. Involuntarily he will compare the story of lumbering in Wisconsin with the same story in his own commonwealth. The native of Lycoming County, not only the largest county in Pennsylvania but also the leader in the lumber industry, cannot avoid doing this. It is well that he cannot, because the contrasts and comparisons he is compelled to make, or that come into his mind unforced, are truly fascinating.

Old lumbermen here will tell you that the pioneer log fellers and sawyers came to Pennsylvania from the State of Maine, and that when their first work was done they moved on to Wisconsin. More accurately, as Mr. Fries points out, some of them went straight from Maine to the state about which he writes. But observe this paragraph:

"When the first territorial capitol was built at Belmont in 1836, the lumber needed for its construction had to be transported from a tributary of the Allegheny River in Pennsylvania down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to Galena, and from there by ox-team. In the same year a Methodist missionary tore down his two story house in Meadville, Pennsylvania, and shipped to Prairie du Chien, when he was transferred there."

Two of the eight most prominent lumbermen in the Green Bay district were born in Pennsylvania, the author says. A wry circumstance to University of Pennsylvania men is that Cornell University is or was maintained almost entirely by Wisconsin timberland. It was when Pennsylvania hills had been denuded of trees that the lumbermen went westward, letting their bare holdings be sold to the Commonwealth for back taxes. Gifford Pinchot warned the Western sawyers that the same thing would happen to them. They did not heed him, and it did.

Some figures must be matched. The peak year at Williamsport, Lycoming County, then the leading lumber city of the world, was 1873, when 30 great sawmills ripped up 1,582,460 logs into 318,342,712 board feet. The boom—from beam—which revolutionized the industry was invented at Williamsport by Major Perkins. It was a chain of logs stretched diagonally across the river to catch the floating timber.

The endless chain to carry logs from the mill pond to the saws was invented in Wisconsin. In that state, Chippewa Valley alone produced 400 million board feet in 1884; Black River, 62 million feet in 1878; Oshkosh, 100 million feet in 1874.

Because of a common parentage, the techniques of the lumber industry in both states, allowing for different natural conditions, were much the same. Perhaps the greatest difference was this, and it will surprise many readers: Wisconsin had lumberjacks, but no old Pennsylvania lumbermen would have recognized the name. Here we had woodsmen.

Jersey Shore, Pa.

JOSEPH COX

The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution. By Oliver M. Dickerson. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. Pp. xv, 344. \$6.00.)

If a precise definition is used, the term "Navigation Acts" means only those English laws pertaining to shipping which were enacted in 1650, 1651, and 1660-1661. Common usage, however, has extended the term to cover the whole British commercial system of the mercantilist era. Mr. Dickerson's use of the phrase tends toward the common definition, but it does not go far enough. He broadens it to include the extension of the principle of enumerated articles, the Staple Act of 1663, the Molasses Act, and the statutes which aimed to check the growth of manufacturing in the colonies. His brief comment on colonial money indicates that he believes that measures affecting currency come within the scope of the "Navigation Acts." If such a broad definition is to be used, should it not be inclusive enough to cover the whole scheme of British colonial policy? If so, several aspects not treated by Mr. Dickerson should be included. Such are British measures concerning land, immigration, investments, and the slave trade. Moreover, one should consider, in addition to parliamentary statutes, the policies that were asserted in instructions to governors and by the exercise of the royal disallowance. All affected the trade of the colonies and should therefore be considered in a survey of the effects of the British commercial and colonial system.

Mr. Dickerson's main thesis affirms that the "Navigation Acts" did not cause the American Revolution. His argument, which is elaborate, fails to convince. He omits evidence that refutes his hypothesis, and he uses as supporting data certain statements that may fairly be construed as contradictory of his view. Although a good bit of what he says does not bear directly on the subject, it is offered in such a way that at first glance it seems to reinforce his position.

His definition of the "Navigation Acts" must include the Sugar Act of 1764. In his survey of American opinion, 1763-1766, which would lead one to suppose that the colonists readily accepted the "Navigation Acts," he fails to consider the most important utterance: the resolves of the Stamp Act Congress. Resolve IX says: ". . . the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament . . . will be extremely burdensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie the payment of them absolutely impracticable."

Mr. Dickerson also cites several American writings of 1774-1776 as proof of his thesis. Some of these are from the pens of Tories and hence do not state the causes of the resistance, as viewed by its leaders. John Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson at this time rejected the authority of Parliament over the colonies. That conclusion demolished the legal bases of the "Navigation Acts," and yet Mr. Dickerson would have us think that it was not hostile to them. He does not mention James Wilson's "Considerations on the Authority of Parliament," which said bluntly that "the American colonies are not bound by the acts of the British parliament." The Declaration of the First Continental Congress made a decisive attack on parliamentary law—and yet Mr. Dickerson says that that statement "specifically approved the navigation and trade system in general. . . ." That the Declaration of Independence did not mention the "Navigation Acts" is immaterial, since it was a statement of reasons for renouncing allegiance to the king. It rejected Parliament's authority over the colonies and thereby denied the legality of the "Navigation Acts," as applied to America. Moreover, the Declaration indicted numerous executive actions which supplemented, extended, or sought to enforce the colonial system.

We are told that this system favored the colonies because the volume of their trade was increasing on the eve of the Revolution. But statistics of exports mean little by themselves. Prices, the costs of production, and invisible charges in trade must be taken into account if one is to determine whether American farmers were prospering. That farm output was high between 1920 and 1933 does not mean that American wheat and cotton growers were then prosperous.

Mr. Dickerson attempts to divorce the measures of 1763-1775 from the early acts that regulated the colonies. This view is totally unrealistic. One aim of the post-1763 policies was that of increasing the government's income from American trade. Surely a main objective of the colonial system, from its inception until 1763, was that of providing the crown with an abundant source of revenue.

Only one major example of the omission of evidence unfavorable to the author's view can be given. Professor Wertenbaker has shown that the Acts of 1661 and 1663 reduced the margin of profit in the tobacco industry and forced the planters to cut their production costs, which they did by acquiring slaves. This happened at the time when the English government established the Royal African Company. The rapid growth of the slave trade and the spread of slavery in the tobacco area were thus direct results of the "Navigation Acts." The crown then consistently supported the slave traffic, which was carried on in large measure by British traders. When the

tobacco colonies tried to curb the trade, they were defeated by the Crown. This conflict, growing out of the "Navigation Acts," was serious after 1763. Speaking in the Fairfax Resolves of the slavè traffic, George Washington and George Mason said in July, 1774: "We take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade."

Cornell University

CURTIS P. NETTELS

Socialism and American Life. Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., T. D. Seymour Bassett, bibliographer. 2 v. [*Princeton Studies in American Civilization, Number 4.*] (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952. Pp. xiv, 776; xiv, 575. V. 1 and 2 together, \$17.50; separately, \$10.00.)

These volumes, the first a collection of essays and the second a bibliography, grew out of the Program in American Civilization at Princeton University. They constitute a broad and well-balanced introduction to most aspects of American socialism, including not only historical accounts of nineteenth century communitarianism and Marxian political movements but essays on such topics as socialist philosophy, political theory, literature, and art.

After two brief but adequate background essays on European socialism by E. Harris Harbison and Harry W. Laidler, there are essays on Christian communitarianism by Stow Persons and on secular utopian socialists by T. D. Seymour Bassett. In the space available to them, twenty-five and fifty-seven pages respectively, they could not be as thorough as specialists might wish, but each essay is an excellent survey of its subject and is based largely on primary sources.

Daniel Bell's "The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the United States" is the longest chapter in the volume of essays, and since it is a narrative of the various Marxian political movements it is central to the volume's unity. Of the fourteen essays here, this contribution was the most disappointing to this reviewer. Mr. Bell, labor editor of *Fortune*, tries to cover the histories of the First International, the Socialist Labor Party, the Communist Party and its numerous splinter groups, and such farmer and labor political movements as the Henry George movement, the Non-Partisan League, the Farmer-Labor movements of the Northwest, and the 1924 and 1948 Progressives in a little under two hundred pages. The Socialist and Communist parties receive the major attention, and the author is, properly, primarily concerned with the question, why has not the American socialist movement been stronger than it has been in America's highly industrialized society. He rejects the usual explanations of socialist failure—this country's tremendous material wealth, immigration, wide suffrage, and the degree of class circulation offered by an almost constantly expanding economy—as "conditions" and not "causes." He then offers a "cause" couched in social psychological terms: "The socialist movement . . . could not relate itself to the specific problems of social action in the here-and-now, give-and-take political world. It was trapped by the unhappy

problem of living 'in but not of the world,' so it could only act . . . as the moral, but not political, man in immoral society. It could never resolve but only straddle the basic issue of either accepting capitalist society, and seeking to transform it from within . . . , or becoming the sworn enemy of that society. . ." (p. 217). In view of the activities of the Socialist Party in the labor movement, municipal reform, and in propaganda on "here-and-now" issues, one wonders just how real this "unhappy problem" was. Some of the evidence Mr. Bell cites to show socialist other-worldliness is dubious. For example, he quotes two sentences from an article by Debs to the effect that imperialism and the gold standard are "meaningless phrases," issues that do not concern the working class. The two sentences are quoted accurately, but the first several paragraphs of the article from which these sentences are extracted are an emotional attack upon imperialism. But granted that the idea has some validity even if it does not apply universally, it is questionable that this is why American socialism has been a relative failure. At least until 1914 the social democrats of Great Britain and the continent can be said to be as much "in but not of the world" as their American comrades, which may not actually be very much in either case, but the supposed dilemma did not prevent their assuming major political importance. It seems more likely that the "conditions" peculiar to America are the "causes."

Mr. Bell departs from his thesis enough to write in broad outline a good survey of radical political history. His sections on the relationship of the socialists to the labor movement are particularly good, and his comments on personalities in the Socialist movement in the 1930's, based on personal experience when he was managing editor of the *New Leader* and *Common Sense*, are fresh and interesting.

The main points of the shorter essays in the first volume may only be mentioned briefly. Albert T. Mollegen maintains in his chapter on "The Religious Basis of Western Socialism" that socialism in the West is derived from Christianity, as is almost every important movement for social reconstruction. David F. Bowers, whose death in 1945 prevented his being one of the editors of these volumes, finds some interesting parallels between the utopian and scientific socialists in their philosophies of history. Sidney Hook in his "The Philosophical Basis of Marxian Socialism in the United States" briefly surveys orthodox Marxian philosophy and very neatly summarizes the points of view of such social democratic revisionists as Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, William English Walling, Lewis Corey, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Paul Sweezy's lucid "The Influence of Marxian Economics on American Thought and Practice" concludes that Marxism, except as filtered through Thorstein Veblen, has had very little influence in the United States, thus disagreeing with some die-hard socialists who claim credit for such institutions as TVA and social security and with conservative major party politicians who see such institutions as manifestations of "creeping socialism." Will Herberg contributes an essay on "American Marxist Political Theory," Wilbert E. Moore discusses the sociological aspects of American socialism, and George W. Hartmann examines "The Philosophy of American Socialism."

Willard Thorp's emphasis in "American Writers on the Left" is upon the writers who were associated with communism in the 1920's and '30's. Donald Drew Egbert's long essay considers the relation of art to socialism in terms that laymen can easily understand. His essay is accompanied by sixty-one illustrations.

These fourteen essays are a major achievement, but the bibliography volume is the one that will receive the greater appreciation of scholars. The bibliography is not exhaustive—such an effort would run to many volumes—but it will offer useful leads to all but specialists in very narrow fields of socialist history. Each section of the bibliography begins with a brief essay on the nature and history of the pertinent aspect of socialism, and each bibliographical entry is described briefly. No scholar beginning work on any aspect of American radicalism can afford to miss this second volume, and any general reader looking for guidance in this field will find it here. The organization is logical and useful, and there is a thorough and accurate index.

Columbia University

DAVID A. SHANNON

Society and Thought in Modern America. By Harvey Wish. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952. Pp. xii, 618. \$5.00.)

This is the second and concluding volume in Professor Harvey Wish's ambitious attempt to bring the history of American society and thought into manageable compass. In some ways it is a remarkable achievement. Here is to be found a comprehensive account of American life since the Civil War—with politics and diplomacy left out. Using industrialism and urbanism to explain the massive changes that have taken place since 1865, Professor Wish brings together with patience and skill a vast amount of information on social and intellectual history. Here can be found condensed—but not always completely digested—most of the recent scholarship in these fields. No doubt this book will be widely adopted in the increasing number of college courses in American social thought.

The merit of *Society and Thought in Modern America* is its comprehensiveness. Every important social movement is treated and some mention made of its leading figure and, where appropriate, its significant documents. Although there is little new in the interpretation of these developments, the judgment of Professor Wish is informed and judicious. The first half of this volume is devoted largely to social history, and here the author is quite at home. The sections on immigration, technology, and urbanism are compact and thoughtful. The urban emphasis, in fact, is overdue, for Professor Wish's first volume lacked that dimension of ante bellum life.

In handling intellectual history the author is on less certain ground, and his comment is less rewarding. Perhaps this is because Professor Wish has tried to use the technique of the social historian in an area where it is not appropriate. The history of ideas does not lend itself to the narrative or descriptive approach. Whereas social history is best served by a skillful weaving together of a great many threads in the recreation of an epoch, intellectual history depends upon analysis, upon emphasis, even upon omission

for its enrichment of a period. An extended treatment of the Adams family, for example, can tell more about the period between 1865 and 1914 than a chronicle of a host of books that touched upon the great questions of that time. Yet Henry Adams receives here but a little more than a paragraph, while Brooks and Charles Francis Adams are scarcely mentioned. Morton White's *Social Thought in America*, to use another example, is not mentioned in the select bibliography, but his analysis of the revolt against formalism in the post-war epoch illumines the basic reorientation of American thinking in that crucial period. White uses only a few men; yet he conveys more of the drama and importance of the emergence of modern American thought than does Professor Wish in the last half of his encyclopedic volume. The very comprehensiveness of the author prevents a detailed excursion into an important book or idea that would better emphasize his contention.

Society and Thought in Modern America raises another important question for historians. That question is whether we can continue to exclude politics from social and intellectual history. Certainly the emergence of what is called intellectual history was the result of the excessive interest of historians in other aspects of human development. But it would be unfortunate if we should err now in the other direction and cultivate intellectual and social history to the exclusion of politics. This would be especially fatal in studying a democratic society like the United States which produces a culture that is essentially political. This false division of fields leads to the impoverishment of both. Hence Professor Wish gives only one line to Herbert Croly's *The Promise of American Life*, and no mention is made of such reformers as Frederick C. Howe or Brand Whitlock, whose writings properly fall within the scope of intellectual history. Richard Hofstadter's *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* has shown how intellectual history can be used to enrich political history.

Notwithstanding these weaknesses, Professor Wish has made an important contribution by bringing together a mass of material that has been the fruit of recent research. The volume is attractively printed and contains sixteen pages of illustrations as well as a critical bibliography for each of the twenty-four chapters.

University of Rochester

RICHARD C. WADE

History of Franklin and Marshall College, 1787-1948. By H. M. J. Klein.
(Lancaster: Franklin and Marshall College Alumni Association, 1952.
Pp. 357, illus., \$4.00.)

The founding of a college is never a task to be undertaken lightly, and in the early days of the Republic it was difficult indeed. Money was scarce, few people were interested in higher education, and there were neither millionaires nor foundations available for aid.

In his address at the inaugural exercises of Franklin College in 1787, Dr. Benjamin Rush referred to local problems when he expressed the hope that ". . . it will serve to unite the different sects of Christians among the Ger-

mans . . . the *English* language will be introduced . . . the German language will be preserved from extinction and corruption . . . the sons of the Germans will be qualified to shine in our legislature and . . . the professions of law, physic, and divinity."

Despite the favorable auspices at its birth, Franklin College soon fell on evil days. The Lutheran Church was too poor to support it, the Philadelphia trustees lost interest, and the ten thousand acres of land granted it by the legislature brought but two or three dollars apiece. Without the loyal support of a few Lancaster citizens, it could not have survived to merge with Marshall College in 1853.

Equally stormy is the history of Marshall College, which was established at Carlisle in 1825 as a theological seminary linked to Dickinson College, with Lewis Mayer and five students. Dissatisfied with their lack of preparation, Professor Mayer urged, and finally obtained, a "Classical Institute" to provide a "preliminary scientific education for theological students."

In 1832 the combined seminary and classical institute moved to York, and three years later to Mercersburg, whose citizens raised \$10,000 and donated land and buildings for its use. In the following year, it was incorporated as Marshall College. The legislature granted it an endowment of \$12,000 and an annual appropriation of \$1,000. The president's salary was \$800, the professor's \$600, and tuition was \$30 a year.

After some years of negotiation, in 1850 the legislature granted a charter to the combined institutions as Franklin and Marshall College, and three years later it opened its doors in Lancaster, with a board of trustees of whom two-thirds were to be members of the German Reformed Church.

With this merger arose a college which was destined to a distinguished career. It weathered the dark days of the Civil War, and under President Nevins the faculty was strengthened, new buildings were erected, and an era of increased usefulness began.

To educators and to alumni of the College the remainder of Professor Klein's interesting volume will be of especial importance, for it is a most impressive record of development under a succession of able leaders.

University of Pennsylvania Press

PHELPS SOULE

An Agricultural History of the Genesee Valley, 1790-1860. By Neil Adams McNall. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. Pp. xii, 276. \$5.00.)

The Genesee Valley comprises the five counties of Allegany, Wyoming, Genesee, Livingston, and Monroe, the drainage area of the Genesee River in western New York. The period covered in this survey is from the settlement of the area, about 1790, to the beginning of the Civil War.

This book has a peculiar interest to Pennsylvania readers. In pioneer days the fortunes of the Genesee Country were intimately associated with those of Pennsylvania. The Genesee River rises in Potter County, Pennsylvania. Parts of Allegany and Livingston counties, New York, lie within the drainage basins of the Susquehanna and Allegheny rivers. Many cattle

raised in the Genesee were driven to market at Philadelphia and Baltimore. Flatboats and arks laden with farm produce, lumber, and gypsum were floated down the Susquehanna and Allegheny to market. Like the northern tier of Pennsylvania counties, the Genesee Valley was settled almost exclusively by emigrants from southern New England. Rich limestone land, extending in two broad belts across the northern part of the valley, was the lodestone which drew the Yankees.

Like northwestern Pennsylvania, the Genesee Valley was controlled by land speculators, some of whom possessed several million acres by virtue of governmental favoritism and defective land laws. Chief of these were Robert Morris of Philadelphia, the Holland Land Company of unsavory reputation in Pennsylvania, and James Wadsworth, a resident land baron. The estates of the Wadsworth family in the valley at the present time comprise the largest tenancy in the northeastern states. Most settlers were not freeholders; they were tenants of land speculators.

The completion of Governor Clinton's "Big Ditch," the Erie Canal, in 1825, ushered in a brief period of great prosperity and marked the transition from self-sufficing to cash farming. It opened the markets of New York City, the West Indies, and Europe to Genesee wheat. Rochester, at the Falls of the Genesee, became the "Flour City" of the nation. The Genesee Canal through the Valley was completed in 1840. For a time, wheat was "King" but it was soon dethroned. As in Pennsylvania, competition from the West forced Genesee farmers to abandon exclusive wheat farming and to practice a diversified husbandry with a rotation of crops in which grass and clover were the great soil improvers. This made it possible to keep more livestock, especially the dairy cow. The introduction of labor-saving farm machinery, beginning about 1840, especially the mowing machine, reaper, and thresher, helped to revolutionize Genesee agriculture. The soil robbery of pioneer days was replaced with soil-building practices. No longer could a traveler see "vast accumulations of manure about the outbuildings and in the fields; they are regarded as encumbrances rather than as a source of fertility and profit."

After 1850 Genesee farmers began to feel the pinch of western competition keenly. The newly-built railroads were not an unmixed blessing. There was bitter complaint about discriminatory freight rates; in 1859 the rate on a barrel of flour from the Genesee Valley to New York City was sixty-five cents; from St. Louis to the same terminal it was sixty-two cents. The rural population of the valley began to decline, partly because of emigration of discouraged farmers westward and partly because of the fact that the use of labor-saving machinery reduced the number of men necessary to operate farms. A high degree of diversification and specialization developed, especially in dairying and fruit growing. These trends were accentuated in the years that followed.

The history of agriculture in the Genesee Valley is an epitome of the agricultural history of much of the Northeast, including Pennsylvania. This book is a notable and authoritative addition to the rather meager list of regional histories of American agriculture. It is cogently written and ex-

ceptionally well documented. The chapters on land tenure and land speculators are especially valuable.

State College, Pa.

STEVENSON W. FLETCHER

Rift in the Democracy. By James C. N. Paul. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. Pp. xiv, 200. \$4.00.)

The Civil War could not take place until the great national political parties, which had bound the country together for over half a century, broke up and disappeared from the scene. This process began in the generation before the war. The Democratic party, while remaining in name a national party, had become in fact a sectional party after the Free Soil bolt of 1848; the Whig party vanished altogether after 1852. But the first intimations of the split within the Democracy could be traced back even earlier than 1848. It was the southern success in 1844 in denying Martin Van Buren renomination which foreshadowed the defections of 1848; and it was the emergence of the Texas issue which enabled the south to score its initial success. As James Buchanan would later put it, when in 1849 he deplored the "fatal effects" of the dissensions which had risen in the Democratic party, "The Texas question was the Grecian horse that entered our camp." It is to this historical episode that Mr. Paul has addressed himself in his lucid and well-ordered book.

Mr. Paul seems to have searched assiduously in the relevant manuscript collections, as well as in the contemporary press; and, while he has not come up with much that will alter the usual picture of these events, he does present the events in clear and convenient arrangement. His story begins with the 1840 campaign and the problems of the Tyler administration; it follows out the ramifications of the Texas question (on Van Buren's visit to Ashland in 1842, Mr. Paul concludes, "Some concurrence [on Texas] must have been reached"); it observes the various attempts of Calhoun, of Tyler, of the Van Burenites to prepare for the 1844 convention; it recurs from time to time to the shrewd, self-contained figure of James K. Polk; and it comes to its dramatic climax at Baltimore in 1844, which, as Mr. Paul correctly says, was "the first *significant*—though not the first-party convention in this country."

There are occasional factual slips in the account. Thus Polk was something more than "an unsuccessful candidate for Tennessee's gubernatorial election of 1842" (p. 88); he had also been governor from 1839 to 1841. Salmon P. Chase entered the Liberty Party from the Whig, not the Democratic party (p. 77). John Niles of Connecticut can hardly be described as "an opponent of Van Buren's fiscal policies" (p. 50). And one occasionally gets the impression that Mr. Paul is less than generous in citing secondary works on which he seems to have in part relied. But, on the whole, this is a useful contribution to the political history of the troubled quarter-century before the Civil War.

Harvard University

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Refugees of Revolution: The Forty-Eighters in America. By Carl Wittke. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. Pp. ix, 384. \$6.00.)

This volume invites comparison with *The Forty-eighters* edited by A. E. Zucker and reviewed in PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY in October, 1950, pp. 343-344. The Zucker book treats the following aspects of the topic: European background, the American scene, adjustment to the United States, the Turner, the Forty-Eighters in politics, the radicals, the Forty-Eighters in the Civil War, and Carl Schurz. Wittke deals with the subject in more detail but covers much the same ground, as can be seen from his chapter headings, to wit: the German element before 1848, the revolution of 1848-49, the response from America, the great migration, uprooted lives, non-German Forty-Eighters (hardly consistent with the book's title), "German Fenianism," "Latin Farmers," freethinkers and personal liberty, the Turner, political radicalism, nativism, the slavery issue, the battle for the German vote, in defense of the Union, the politics of the post-war years, the journalists, the German social pattern, learning and letters, the rewards of labor in free America, Bismarck and German unity, and finally, the end of an era.

As could be expected, Professor Wittke has presented us with a work which is sound in scholarship, thorough in coverage, clear in organization. Previous contributions, like *We Who Built America*, *The Life of Karl Heinsen*, and *The Life of Wilhelm Weilling*, served as entrees into the subject. Much of the information comes from the German-American press, which flourished like the bay tree when the brilliant but opiated Forty-Eighters flocked to America. The book has an index of proper names but no bibliography. Footnotes appear at the end of each chapter. This practice is better than throwing them all together at the end of the volume but even at that the reader must be a flip-flapper: that is, you flip to read a footnote and then flap back to get at another sentence of the text. The excuse is probably the cost of printing: the Zucker work, appearing in 1950, sold for \$4.50, while the Wittke one, only five pages longer, is listed at \$6.00.

Of the many facets of the study which appealed to this reader, none struck him more emphatically than the subject of acculturation; in fact the treatise might well have been entitled "The Acculturation of the Forty-Eighters." Coming into the midst of the older Germans and other Americans, they caused admiration and criticism, love and hate. Their original intention was to prepare for the day when the homeland could be revolutionized ("German Fenianism"). Many were unfairly critical of America, a fact which helped to produce nativism; others domesticated themselves without too much trouble, but loved Germany still:

Kein Baum gehörte mir von deinen Wäldern,
 Mein war kein Halm auf deinen Roggenfeldern,
 Und schutzlos hast du mich hinausgetrieben,
 Weil ich in meiner Jugend nicht verstand
 Dich weniger und mehr mich selbst zu lieben,
 Und dennoch lieb ich dich, mein Vaterland! (p. 318)

By the time Wittke is through with them, they are almost completely mingled in the stream of American life, carrying out a hope expressed in a poem of 1851:

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
 Wie heisst sein theures Heimatland?
 Es heisst nun Amerika
 Des Deutschen Heimat ist jetzt da. (p. 41)

Those who thought of themselves as partly German until death, left descendants who knew Germany not at all.

In contrast there are the Irish. Equally patriotic to the United States they march on St. Patrick's Day and sing songs about the wonders of the Emerald Isle and their hope to die on the "Auld Sod." Of all the major immigrant strains, the Irish group would seem to be the only one which, having left the homeland in despair, built up a folklore of fond remembrance about it. The Germans were also seeking refuge in the 1840's from difficult conditions. Yet they have created no nostalgic memories that permeate song and poetry about the marvels of the Vaterland. There is no German holiday that equates with St. Patrick's. Maybe the difference is owing to the fact that the Irish were exiles from a homeland governed by a "foreign" conqueror; therefore they hated the conqueror but loved the land. Whatever the explanation, this book throws the contrast into bold relief.

Susquehanna University

WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR.

Rag, Tag and Bobtail, The Story of the Continental Army, 1775-1783. By Lynn Montross. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. Pp. 519. \$5.00).

Mr. Montross has produced another fine book in his history of the Continental Army. His history of the Continental Congress, entitled *The Reluctant Rebels*, has already established him as an authority on American history during the time of the War for American Independence. *Rag, Tag and Bobtail* would seem to be a natural outgrowth of the author's earlier work, and in both books Mr. Montross has set a very high standard of literary craftsmanship. In writing of the saga of the ragged little Continental Army, the author has managed to bring the events of 1775 or 1776 alive for us through a most skillful use of quotations from diaries of generals, privates, and civilian onlookers who were present at the battles, sieges, and marches of those days. Moreover, Mr. Montross has managed to avoid a narrowly partisan stand; he has studied the accounts written by the British, Hessians and Loyalists, as well as those written by the Continentals, and he has written with sympathy and understanding of the thoughts, emotions, triumphs, and failures of the British, as well as of those of the Americans. Few historians have managed to write about military campaigns with greater objectivity than Mr. Montross has succeeded in achieving in his study of the fortunes of the Continental Army.

The author has given us more than a history of the Continental Army; he has given us as well a very fine military history of the American Revolu-

tionary War. He has done a particularly good job in making the early campaigns of the war come to life for the reader. The numerous and well-chosen quotations enable us to visualize the Yankee farmer-soldiers digging redoubts in front of Boston or marching and freezing with Benedict Arnold during the Canadian adventure. However, the later campaigns of the war are not treated as fully as are the siege of Boston, the invasion of Canada, or the Trenton-Princeton campaign.

Mr. Montross has given us some very shrewd estimates of the abilities of a number of American and British generals. The reviewer finds himself in general agreement with the appraisals which the author has made of various leaders, but with two exceptions which require special mention. In the first place, the reviewer believes that Mr. Montross has underestimated the abilities of Charles, Lord Cornwallis; secondly, he believes that the author has been altogether too charitable in dealing with the conduct of Horatio Gates before, during, and just after the disaster at Camden, South Carolina, in August, 1780.

In general, the author's scholarship merits high praise. There are, however, some weak points in his use of published source materials. The reviewer finds it difficult, for example, to understand why Mr. Montross has drawn heavily upon the Jared Sparks edition of the writings of George Washington when the more recent Bicentennial Edition of Washington's writings, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, is readily available and is far more complete and more reliable. Despite such lapses as the one just referred to, *Rag, Tag and Bob-tail* is a very fine book. Mr. Montross is to be thanked for giving the reading public a scholarly, sympathetic, and readable account of the struggles, hardships, defeats, and triumphs of the army which fought for and won America's independence.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

Valley Forge: The Making of an Army. By Alfred Hoyt Bill. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. Pp. xii, 259. \$3.50.)

This volume, less than half of which deals specifically with either its main or its sub-title, adds little either to information or to interpretation of the period between the spring of 1777 and the autumn of 1779, but it tells a simple story smoothly and with charm. Synthesizing a complex problem well and analyzing excellently, although, as is inevitable, details are sometimes dreary, it whets the appetite. For those unfamiliar with the topic, it affords an admirable introduction; for those more expert, it refreshes memory.

The volume being frankly derivative, secondary sources, and those for the most part of recent issue, are relied upon, but the author has not infallibly chosen the best, nor has he always checked credibility. One wonders, for example, whether General Howe really worried much lest Washington bombard Philadelphia from the Camden shore or whether it is really true that Chester County was "Tory to a man." Was Wayne really, "after Washington, the wealthiest man in the country"—not the county—and is it really true that "he sought promotion as little as Knox did?" It may be

true that Washington celebrated the first birthday of the American nation by flying Betsy Ross's new flag over his headquarters, but why not give that flag, whoever may have stitched it, its baptism of fire at Cooch's Bridge? And, quite personally, I would like to start a small crusade to require that any one who quotes that alleged advertisement, calling for a girl, without character, to put her hand to anything, pin down the source exactly. I've come to doubt that it existed.

To pick flaws is unrewarding as well as impolite. Whether, then, there really were dogwoods in blossom on May Day, or ice half an inch thick on the Delaware November 10, or sentries standing in their hats—an acrobatic feat!—a village at Valley Forge for British to burn, or the two rhetorical shouts noted on page 68 are unimportant matters. So is the spelling of Derby and Chad's Ford, the town of New Salem in New Jersey, or the existence of a Philadelphia Commons.

More important, Mr. Bill has woven into the text and set in proper proportion Franklin's work at Paris and the Conway Cabal, the career of Wilkinson, although without mentioning that he was commander-in-chief, and, best of all, the Steuben service. This volume ought to be, and probably will become, a first-class book for extra-credit reading.

Philadelphia, Pa.

HARRY EMERSON WILDES

Boundary Monuments on the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries. By William H. Bayliff. (Annapolis, Maryland: Board of Natural Resources, State of Maryland, 1951. Pp. viii, 100. \$0.25.)

This study was authorized by a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Maryland in March 1950 which requested the Board of Natural Resources "to make a preliminary survey of the boundaries between the State of Maryland and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and between the State of Maryland and the State of Delaware to determine the necessity and the cost of restoring the monuments and reestablishing said boundaries." The first section reviews the complicated history of the long-drawn-out Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary controversy. Excellent maps make clear the establishment of the east-west middle point across the eastern shore from which the east-west and north-south boundaries between Maryland and Delaware were drawn, and the involved northeastern boundary of Maryland from which the east-west boundary with Pennsylvania was drawn. There is not sufficient discussion of the Maryland claim to the 40° parallel (which would have included Philadelphia) or of the Pennsylvania claim to the 39° line (which would have included Baltimore).

The resurveys since the basic Mason and Dixon lines were drawn, 1763-1767, are then described. Since the monument marking the northeastern corner of Maryland had disappeared, Lieut. Col. James D. Graham in 1849-1850 resurveyed the area of the juncture of the Maryland-Pennsylvania-Delaware boundaries. In 1885, C. H. Sinclair surveyed the east-west boundaries between Pennsylvania and West Virginia as far as the Mary-

land line. Between 1900 and 1903, a general resurvey of the boundaries with Pennsylvania and Delaware was made, and stone monuments for the first time were placed west of Sideling Hill on the Maryland-Pennsylvania line.

By 1950 some parts of the boundaries were no longer clearly marked, and "the obscurity of the boundary provided anglers and hunters of either State with an excuse for entering the jurisdiction of the other State without a proper license" (p. 33). Of the 102 monuments previously placed along the Maryland-Delaware border, all except six were found and photographed; of the 218 along the Maryland-Pennsylvania line, all except four were found and photographed. There are nine pages of plates of the different types of stones used. Three appendices describe the condition of each stone, especial note being made of stones badly broken, broken off, leaning badly, or out of the ground. This valuable report recommends that the Maryland legislature forbid "the removal, alteration or mutilation of any monument or marker established to indicate the position of the boundaries of Maryland or the boundaries of any Maryland county" (p. 41); that the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey be requested to resurvey the Maryland-Delaware boundaries; and that the Maryland Board of Natural Resources "request appropriate Pennsylvania agencies to assist in blazing or otherwise marking more clearly those parts of the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary where present markers are obscured by vegetation or rough terrain" (p. 42).

Hood College

JAMES B. RANCK

Powell of the Colorado. By William Culp Darrah. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. ix, 426. \$6.00.)

Powell of the Colorado is an important contribution to the literature of American culture. Major John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) was a man of talent and resourcefulness. He was a first-rate scientist in the fields of geology and paleontology. That he was neither a Willard Gibbs nor a Joseph Henry is beside the point. There was only one Darwin, but T. H. Huxley, Louis Agassiz, Asa Gray, and James Dwight Dana were scholars and thinkers in the front rank.

Powell put his skills to work. He used his scientific knowledge to become a noted explorer, and his explorations broadened his competence as a scientist. As a famed pathfinder in American history, he led an expedition into the Colorado canyon country. And the canyon country was the last remaining area of the American continent until then unexplored. But it is not because he was the first to chart the last unknown continental area that Powell achieved a niche in the annals of discovery. Rather it was because he was one of a whole procession of explorers from Columbus to Byrd whose courage and skill widened the scope of man's possibilities.

Powell dedicated his energy and his knowledge to the general welfare. He was an exemplary public servant. As one of the leaders in the formation and development of the United States Geological Survey, he contributed to the expansion of the role of science in government. He helped to redirect official attitudes toward the conservation of natural resources and toward a

more socially oriented land policy. Powell's official reports do not compare with J. Q. Adams' classic on weights and measures, but there is a significant parallel. They are the same in kind. Adams and Powell were both men of learning. They both applied their knowledge to public problems to the end that democracy might better accomplish its ends.

Darrah relates the story of Powell's triple career with balance and insight. But he also tells of Powell as a man which alone makes his personality understandable. Despite the critical exchange between two competent scholars (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIX, 163-164), Darrah has sought aid wherever he could find it. If the sources investigated are not complete, they are nevertheless impressive. Whether the records of the United States Geological Survey in the National Archives, not used by Darrah, will substantially alter the framework of the present interpretation, remains to be seen. Up to the moment, this is the best account yet written and one of the better examples of studies in this class. Darrah is fully entitled to the gratitude of scholars for his accomplishment.

The volume is important on another count as well. Publication of a full-length study on Powell represents a growing historiographical trend—the recognition by historians of the import of science and the impact of ideas. Darrah's book takes its place with Schuchert and Levene's *O. C. Marsh*; Donald Fleming's, *John William Draper*; and Thomas Coulson's *Joseph Henry*.

Sarah Lawrence College

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

The Forest Products History Foundation. By The Forest Products History Foundation. Second edition. (St. Paul: Forest Products History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1949. Pp. 19.)

Time in the Timber. By C. M. Oehler. (St. Paul: Forest Products History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1948. Pp. 56. \$1.00.)

Forest Conservation in Colonial Times. By Lillian M. Willson. (St. Paul: Forest Products History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1948. Pp. 32. \$.50.)

The Man Who Knew Trees, The Autobiography of James W. Girard. [Rodney C. Loehr, ed.] (St. Paul: Forest Products History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1949. Pp. 35. \$.50.)

It is always gratifying to learn that there are still individuals who, although not historians, are willing to give of their time, energy and money to further the preservation of the American historical heritage. In 1946, five such men founded the Forest Products History Foundation under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. The Foundation, which was made possible by the generous funds contributed by the Weyerhaeuser and the Denhmann families, set as its objective the gathering of information relative to the history of forest products and the preserving of such material.

During the first year of existence, the Foundation surveyed the work that had already been done in the study of the forest products industry. It

searched for gaps in the story and decided that manuscript material was lacking. Therefore, through the media of interviews, pictures, and correspondence, and by probing the memories of lumbermen, the Foundation set about the task of collecting the complete history of the national forest products industry. As stated on page 7, the Foundation did not in any way want to engage in rivalry with local, state, or regional collecting agencies, but rather sought to cooperate with them.

In the first publication, *The Forest Products History Foundation*, the story of the organization and the work of the Foundation, briefly related in the above paragraphs, is told in detail. In addition, the monograph contains a very general description of the American forests and the American people, an account which serves as an introduction to the lumber history of this country.

The second publication, a comprehensive account of personal experiences in a logging camp, is entitled *Time in the Timber* by C. M. Oehler. The monograph is divided into fifteen sections, each one recounting some aspect of this fascinating life. The author worked for the Virginia and Rainy Lake Lumber Company at Cusson, Minnesota, as a camp clerk and timekeeper during the summer of 1928. Because he was an exceptionally young man and worked with the company a relatively short time, his authority in the field raises a question of doubt. The editor states in the introduction, however, that other men "read the manuscript critically" and shared their rich knowledge of the lumber industry with the author. A map on page 4, prepared by one of these men, adds a great deal to the worth of the monograph.

Forest Conservation in Colonial Times by Lillian M. Willson is a more scholarly study. Mrs. Willson, research associate with the Forest Products History Foundation, has been a student of the colonial lumber industry since September, 1946, and presents a monograph that merits close study.

Many people hold to the belief that the colonial lumbermen had an entirely free hand in the cutting and the marketing of trees. This may appear to have been true, but, as Mrs. Willson so ably points out, the British government, the colonial governors, and the colonial legislatures passed laws regulating the use of the forests and imposing severe penalties on offenders. The monograph is well annotated, and on pages 30-32 a worthwhile bibliography is listed.

Publication No. 4, *The Man Who Knew Trees, The Autobiography of James W. Girard*, is an account of the life and work of a lumberman of national importance. An introduction by Rodney C. Loehr, Director Forest Products History Foundation, is based primarily on letters sent to Mr. Girard at the time of his retirement from the United States Forest Service, letters which reveal a great deal about the work and accomplishments of Girard. The second part of the monograph is Girard's own story as he dictated it to Loehr in the summer of 1948. Mr. Girard requested, however, that the published account be written in the third person, and with the exception of the last paragraph his wish was followed.

Girard's career as a lumberman started in 1892 and ended in 1945, a period of fifty-three years. His main contribution was made while in the

employment of the United States Forest Service, 1908-1945. Early in January, 1942, Girard was asked to go to Alaska to examine spruce wood to determine its suitability for use in aircraft. He found it of unusually good quality, and, as a result, about eighty-five million feet of it were logged before the end of the war (p. 30). In 1943, Girard was placed on the honor roll of government employes in recognition of his war services. He is a member of the American Forestry Association's advisory committee on forest resource appraisal and has been elected a Fellow of the Society of American Foresters.

All four of these monographs, in spite of their brevity, make a contribution to the literature in American economic history. A reader's background can undoubtedly be broadened and his understanding of the forest products industry increased by a study of these publications.

Clarion, Pennsylvania

SAMUEL A. WILHELM



◦ AMERICAN WHITE BIRCH ◦

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