

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

Hannah Penn and the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania. By Sophie Hutchinson Drinker. (Philadelphia: Privately printed under the auspices of The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1958. Pp. 207. \$4.50.)

Hannah Callowhill Penn was a fine woman, and William Penn was extremely fortunate to have a wife of her ability and character. Her life as a Penn was not easy nor always happy, but she faced her problems and troubles in a forthright fashion, and there is no indication that she complained about her lot.

Her marriage to William Penn stirred up some doubts in 1696, perhaps because other Quakers felt he should have waited longer after the death of his first wife, Gulielma Springett Penn, although there was a two-year interval. She may have lost one child before sailing to Pennsylvania with her husband in 1699, and certainly lost three other children in infancy or childhood. Four of her children lived to maturity. When the Penns returned to England in 1701, the Ford family was waiting with accusations and documents which eventually led to the imprisonment of Penn for indebtedness. Shortly after Penn's release, he began to suffer a series of strokes which eventually reduced him to a childlike condition in which he lingered for six years before dying in 1718. During those years at Ruscombe, Hannah Penn not only looked after her husband and her small children, but she was also saddled with the wife and children of her husband's eldest son, William Penn, Jr. While William Penn was incapacitated, and after his death, for the remaining years of her life, Hannah Penn managed the affairs of the Penn family, both in England and across the seas in Pennsylvania. This book deals particularly with her management of Pennsylvania.

Hannah Penn was faced with a good deal of opposition as she attempted to manage the Proprietary affairs, but she also received valuable assistance. During Penn's lifetime her right to conduct affairs in the name of the Proprietor was always questioned. After his death, his eldest son, William Penn, Jr., who was bequeathed the Irish estates, but denied any share of Pennsylvania, challenged his father's will in the courts, and litigation dragged on for many years. Various persons in Pennsylvania challenged Hannah's authority, notably Lieutenant Governor Sir William Keith, who attempted to align the provincial assembly on his side against the Proprietary family. Some powerful individuals in England attempted to take advantage of the fact that she was a woman. Hannah Penn not only had assistance from James Logan in Pennsylvania, but also from Henry Goldney, a London

merchant, her uncle, Simon Clement, and others who felt an obligation to help her cope with trying circumstances.

The most important features of the book are fifty-eight of Hannah Penn's letters, along with extended quotations from letters of other persons to her. These letters have been modernized to make them easier to read. There is a narrative thread woven around these letters to explain them, and to place them in their proper perspective. Frequently the explanations are repetitious.

The format of the book is unusual. There are lettered footnotes which identify persons mentioned in the text, at the foot of each page, and numbered footnotes, identifying sources, at the end of each chapter. In addition, at the end of each chapter is a list of "Undated Extracts From Letters." The bibliography does not include the sources mentioned in the list of Hannah Penn documents, such as the papers of the Public Record Office in London, documents at Haverford College, and such printed sources as *Acts of Privy Council*, *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, *Calendar of State Papers*, and others. There is no indication in the bibliography that the author used Winfred T. Root's *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765*, or Charles P. Keith's two-volume study, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania . . . 1688-1748*, two very useful studies of the period.

While this book will serve a purpose in illuminating one aspect of Proprietary relations in colonial Pennsylvania, it is unfortunate that there is not enough material available for a full-length biography of the unusual woman who sometimes shines through these pages.

Temple University

EDWIN B. BRONNER

The War for Independence: A Military History. By Howard H. Peckham.
(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. 227. \$3.50.)

The co-operative work entitled the *Chicago History of American Civilization* consists of two groups of volumes—a chronological group and a topical group. The latest volume of this series, *The War for Independence*, is obviously of the latter group. It is—as it was intended to be—a work on military history, and like the other volumes of this series it is intended for the general reader, who no doubt will find it a satisfying narrative.

Despite limited space, the author has covered his subject. He has not developed the story of campaigning in the Northeast, in the Middle Atlantic region, and in the Southeast at the expense of the story of the frontiers, the St. Lawrence Valley, and the high seas. He has produced a balanced narrative. Naturally he has been much concerned with the question which every student of this subject will ask: why did Great Britain, the greatest power at that time, fail in her effort to suppress the rebellion? The answer is not easy to come by. The author makes abundantly clear the fact that there was British incompetence in London as there was British bumbling in America. But, as he points out, the American cause also suffered from crippling weaknesses—lack of unity, lack of a strong central government, and lack of experienced officers. He thinks that these weaknesses may have offset those of the British.

Assuming such to be the case, he is unwilling, nevertheless, to say that the French, who openly intervened in 1778, won the war in America for the Americans. Without belittling the importance of French aid, he puts aside as "one of those imponderables of history" the question of whether the Americans could have won without such aid, and he looks for an answer to the main question in intangibles such as the perseverance of a few American leaders, a "hard core" of soldiers of high morale in the American army, and finally, to the superb leadership of General Washington. His argument is intriguing, but his conclusion will probably not be accepted as definitive.

The author gives us some arresting statements about the attitude of Americans towards the War for Independence, about American participation in the war, and about American fatalities resulting therefrom. Contrary to views that have been widely held, he thinks that half of the white population—not one-third—favored the Revolution; that of these not more than 100,000 actually bore arms; and that American fatalities can be conservatively estimated at 10,000 to 12,000. These conclusions will be more readily accepted than his conclusion that Jay's contribution to the making of the Treaty of 1783 is not worth mentioning, or his conclusion that George Rogers Clark's exploits in the Northwest "insured" that the vast area north of the Ohio River would be given to the United States by the treaty of peace.

It is regrettable that a book as good as this should reveal moments of careless composition. If the final draft had been done more carefully, the book would not tell us that Congress made the decision for independence on July 4, or that Gibraltar is an island. Nor would it contain various faulty expressions such as the assertion that Rochambeau was "genuinely admiring of Washington."

Bucknell University

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen, 1780-1783. Translated and edited by Evelyn M. Acomb. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. Pp. 392. \$7.50.)

The art of editing historical materials has reached a high level of achievement in America within the past twenty or thirty years. Monumental editions of correspondence, highlighted by Fitzpatrick's *Washington* and Boyd's *Jefferson*, are of course outstanding in point of excellence and quantity, but there have been other, less extensive works which afford excellent examples of this rigorous and demanding craft. Miss Acomb's work on Von Closen's *Revolutionary Journal* is one of them. In two salient requirements, painstaking research and meticulous attention to detail, it wins high marks indeed.

That her task was by no means easy is made clear in the Introduction. The transcript from which she worked was not a simple diary or journal, but an informal history of Von Closen's experiences with the French army in America from its embarkation at Brest in the spring of 1780 until its

return to France in June, 1783. Probably written about 1823, it was based on his own journals and those of others, plus notes, documents and newspaper clippings. These various sources included the Engineer's Journal, the *Annual Register*, the Rochambeau Papers and Letter Books, and the unsigned Journal attributed to Baron Cromot du Bourg, a fellow campaigner and companion. The identification of these various items required a nice exercise in criticism, a task in which the editor acquits herself well.

She is also assiduous in correcting factual errors, rather numerous in a work which includes rumors, speculations, and hastily written reports relating to far-flung theaters of the war on both land and sea. These are cited in editorial footnotes and rectified with the best obtainable information drawn from scholarly secondary works. Unfortunately, Von Closen's original Journal was destroyed by fire in 1921, along with a large body of related documents. By the greatest good fortune, however, the Journal had been copied by the Library of Congress when it was on display in this country in 1905. This transcript of the French original is, so far as is known, the only extant copy.

When Captain Von Closen disembarked at Newport with the Royal Deux Ponts regiment in July, 1780, he was in his late twenties, with almost eleven years of military service behind him. Immediately after his arrival he was appointed as aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau. In this position the young baron, energetic, alert and enthusiastic, was able to indulge his curiosity about America and its people. Not only did he accompany the French army in its major marches, but as a special messenger for the commanding general he made many additional trips along the Atlantic coast. During these journeys he noted the face of the countryside, the condition of roads (which were almost always bad), and the customs and activities of the people. With few exceptions he liked the Americans he met. He was impressed by their energy and optimism, and for the American soldier he had a great deal of respect and admiration. As a personable young nobleman he naturally had access to the highest levels of society, and most of his observations are devoted to that social area. When native manners and deportment differed from the European style, as they inevitably and often did, Von Closen noted the deviations with tolerance and understanding, never with distaste or patronage.

Although his comments reveal his good nature and kindness, they are generally superficial, uninformed by any real historical or economic knowledge which could lend them depth and penetration. He met many important Americans, but he adds little to our knowledge of most of them. When writing of Washington, though, for whom his admiration was great, he throws in little asides that alleviate the stern sobriety noted in so many descriptions of the General. Von Closen's Washington stands on the banks of the Delaware and joyfully waves his hat and handkerchief over the news that De Grasse had arrived in Chesapeake Bay with his fleet. At another time he good-naturedly slaps Von Closen on the back. For the ladies the young baron has an appreciative eye and an abiding interest. He is most impressed with the girls in New England, particularly those in Boston, where they are more beautiful than in Philadelphia and livelier than in

either Philadelphia or Williamsburg. For the lack of female sprightliness in these towns he suggests the influence of a serious Congress in one and the climate of the other.

Von Closen's literary style is not remarkable for verve or polish, but his comments are generally interesting and informative. Many of them, supplemented by Miss Acomb's notes, should be of considerable value to military and social historians.

Temple University

HARRY M. TINKCOM

Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography. By Nicholas B. Wainwright. (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1958. Pp. 261. 110 illustrations. \$15.00.)

Samuel Eliot Morison, in his essay "History as a Literary Art," complained with justice of the habit of American historians of investigating the past with great thoroughness, "heaping up the pay dirt for others" and leaving the extraction of the gold to journalists, novelists, and free-lance writers. The picture books avidly devoured today by American readers, or perhaps more accurately observers, are often hacked together by journalists. Professor Frank Freidel's *The Splendid Little War*, recently published by Little, Brown and Company, shows how superior the medium can become when the pictures are selected and the text written by a distinguished scholar rather than by an amateur.

Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography carries this desirable process one step further. It is the serious work of a recognized scholar, and it makes a contribution to an unstudied field in the graphic arts—the history of lithography in Philadelphia during the first half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, it contains a detailed catalog, valuable for reference, of 480 lithographic views of Philadelphia, made by Philadelphia firms between 1828 and 1866, based on the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Free Library of Philadelphia, and the Atwater Kent Museum. Handled in an unimaginative way this might well have proved a "saleless wonder." The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, however, by means of good typography and the use of numerous and excellent illustrations, produced a handsome small folio volume of such attractive appearance that the edition of 1500 copies was exhausted soon after publication.

Mr. Wainwright had the dual purpose of outlining the history of early lithography in Philadelphia, and making a contribution toward an iconography of the city. Earlier lists of Philadelphia views, by P. Lee Phillips (1926), and Boies Penrose (1942), which contained prints in all mediums, included fewer entries than Mr. Wainwright has given for lithographs made in Philadelphia during the thirty-seven years to which he has limited his study. Although he makes no claim to completeness, he has clearly enlarged the resources of Philadelphia iconography. In addition to the bibliographical description of each print, he supplies descriptive notes containing a considerable amount of historical information. The 110 admirable illustrations, made by the Winchell Company, reproduce nearly one-fourth of the

lithographs described. In them one sees the appearance of the city in remarkable detail. Since many of the lithographs were made for advertising purposes, there is naturally a fine range of shops, hotels, and industrial establishments. There are also a variety of public buildings and churches, and genre scenes of interest. Shad fishing on the Delaware, skating on it during the winter of 1856, "the coldest winter on record," and harness racing at the United States Agricultural Society's Fair in 1856 give a vivid reminder of occupations and amusements a century ago. In one lithograph an itinerant oysterman serves a gentleman from the rear of his wagon outside a park. In another, men of considerably less gentlemanly aspect are guzzling oysters in a subterranean saloon.

Such a series of reproductions would attract anyone interested in Philadelphia, or indeed in broader phases of nineteenth-century American history. The narrative chapters, however, give a good account of early lithography on Philadelphia, of P. S. Duval and J. T. Bowen, the principal practitioners, and of the artists and printers involved.

Mr. Wainwright is to be congratulated upon an excellent piece of work, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania commended for having proved that a venerable research institution can successfully publish a singularly handsome volume of wide popular appeal without deviating from its high scholarly standards.

Boston Athenaeum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

The Long Haul West: The Great Canal Era, 1817-1850. By Madeline Sadler Waggoner. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958. Pp. 320. \$5.75.)

The author of *The Long Haul West* undertakes her thesis with verve, pursues it with spirit, and concludes it with a passionate enthusiasm for pioneers. She produces accordingly a brisk, vigorous, warm, and often jaunty narrative. Graphic sentences, paragraphs animate to the last syllable, and rugged chapters slip from her pen with a cheery power to captivate any "canawler."

Mrs. Waggoner's readers move through her pages with responsive hearts. They fall for both men and events. Now they witness the anxious labors and the triumph of Governor DeWitt Clinton, famed proponent of the Erie Canal in New York State. Now they admire the capabilities of those two judges-turned-engineers, Benjamin Wright and James Geddes, leading builders of that same great waterway. Now they thrill to the "Westward ho!" of pioneers thronging by canal boat into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and never abating in their "Big Push" fervor until they had first filled those midwest states with farmsteads, and then connected their productivity by canalage with the Great Lakes, with Pennsylvania, with New York, and with the harbors of eastern seaports.

Here, indeed, is richness for him who would glow to the primacy of the common man in opening up the abundance of a country. The richness is here despite the author's ever-recurring apprehensions on the bankruptcies of states (except for New York) which followed on their surrender to the

"Canawl Fever" of 1825-1850! Here, too, is much of solid substance, as in the chapter "On Running a Canawl," where Mrs. Waggoner traces the evolution of the early riverman's square-cornered, flat-bottomed, one-ton scow into the round-end Durham boat, the ark or keel boat, the keel-bottomed barge, the shanty boat, and so on; or where she elaborates on the modes and facilities of canal travel.

But even at points where her book is most competent and illuminating she is not above error. Perhaps she may be forgiven for misleading the casual reader to believing that Charles Dickens was traveling on the Erie Canal at the time when he set down in his *American Notes* his comic description of sleeping accommodations on a packet boat—a description, in fact, directly connected with his journey on the Pennsylvania Canal between Harrisburg and Hollidaysburg. Yet she is not lightly to be pardoned for two such gross mistakes in her otherwise striking end-paper maps as showing the North Branch Division of the Pennsylvania Canal (not finished until 1856) as completed in 1850, and showing as uncompleted the Erie Extension Canal (which had been operating successfully since 1844).

However thorough her bibliography and however admirable her story of the Erie Canal and of canals in the Midwest, Mrs. Waggoner comes far short of exactitude in her treatment of canals in the Keystone State. Magniloquently she calls the Commonwealth's correctly-to-be-named Main Line of Public Works, from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's "Grand Canal," a soubriquet which it never bore. She leaves her readers altogether uninformed concerning Moncure Robinson, original planner of that important division of the Pennsylvania Canal, the Allegheny Portage Railroad, and proponent of its use of inclined planes, and then credits for the ingenuity of that famous portage route the less eminent, former Erie Canal engineer, Canvass White, who, however brilliant his achievements in Pennsylvania on the Union and the Lehigh canals, had nothing at all to do with the designing of the unique transmontane railway which linked two great parts of Pennsylvania's Main Line Canal. Nor is it enough, as she draws on Dickens for comment on the operation of the portage, or enlarges on its horse-drawn rolling stock, that she never once mentions the locomotive engines which were put into service on its levels in 1835, within the first year after the completion of its tracks.

It is to be regretted also that, riding her thesis that the canals came from the urge of common folk to push west, Mrs. Waggoner underplays or omits the demand of western towns and industrial centers to get their products to eastern markets. Certainly, so far as Pennsylvania is concerned, it is likewise a prime error that she reveals no knowledge of the Philadelphia Improvement Society, or of the forward-looking citizens in that organization who, in 1825, sent the architect and engineer William Strickland to England to study the advancements there in canal and railroad building. She does not mention the Society's publication in early 1826 of Strickland's *Reports*, although they constituted the finest manual on canal building ever published in America, and gave just the necessary impetus to the legislators and statesmen of the Commonwealth to begin building their canalways in the spring of that year.

Indeed, it is quite too bad that such a captivating and delightfully readable book as *The Long Haul West* should so often reveal ignorance of technical or historical facts. One might also wonder whether its author, vivacious as she proves to be in the lingo of "canawlers," could pass the test among old canal boatmen talking of "winding bridges," "night hawks," "hair pounders," "mule skimmers," "lemon-squeezers," and the like.

Camp Hill, Pa.

HUBERTIS M. CUMMINGS

The American Clyde—A History of Iron and Steel Shipbuilding on the Delaware From 1840 to World War I. By David B. Tyler. (New York: Associated College Presses, 1958. Pp. 132. \$5.00.)

Within the limitations of his sources and of the chronological framework in which he places his findings, David B. Tyler has written a most useful introduction to an important industry. From 1840 until well after 1900, a relatively few yards on the Delaware River—Harlan & Hollingsworth and Pusey & Jones in Wilmington, John Roach at Chester, William Cramp & Sons, and Neafie, Levy & Company at Philadelphia, and a late comer, the New York Shipbuilding Company at Camden—turned out the largest share of America's iron and steel ships. This study concentrates on describing the activities of these few firms and of an occasional less successful competitor.

In telling his story Tyler has relied on local newspapers, supplemented by some government reports, a number of articles from professional, literary, and commercial journals, and secondary works. He has used no business records and, except for the papers of one Secretary of the Navy, William E. Chandler, no manuscript collections. Such inside information is necessary for a full and accurate analysis of any business. It might, for example, have shown why John Roach, unlike the other shipbuilders, purchased rolling mills to make his own plates and beams; why such a policy of vertical integration, which proved successful in the industry after 1900, failed in the 1880's. Even more important, such records could provide essential data on costs, profits, and losses, and so give firmer answers to the constantly debated question as to why American shipbuilders needed subsidies to compete with England. Perhaps such basic source materials were just not available, so that outside reports of inside activities are all that any historian has to go on.

If so, the story could still have been told more effectively. Tyler's failure to make the best use of his data results largely from a reliance on a purely chronological framework. Each chapter carries the story of the major yards for a period of five or ten years, describing the ships built and presenting a few anecdotes about the companies' experiences. Useful interpretations or generalizations are occasionally suggested but are hidden away in the descriptive material.

Take the chapter entitled "Comparative Costs." Most of it is spent in describing the different ships made by Harlan & Hollingsworth, Cramp, and Roach in the years immediately following the depression of the 1870's. Finally, after describing Roach's Long Island side-wheeler, *Puritan*, with its five iron masts, 550 gas jets for illumination, and 300 staterooms, there begins without any transition a report of the debate on the subsidy question

in Congress. Then comes a statement by J. Taylor Gause to the effect that the Wilmington shipbuilders can produce as cheaply as those of Scotland's Clyde. Tyler concludes the chapter by saying that the American ships still cost more than the British "but the difference was slight and much less than it had once been." Little more than a newspaper debate supports even this vague statement.

Description and chronology are not enough for an understanding of an industry's history. Instead of merely cataloging the activities of the different companies, the chapters should have analyzed the changes in the markets, technology, financing, recruitment of managers and workers, and entrepreneurial techniques and activities. These changes, especially in marketing and technology, were profound, and a specific discussion of them would reveal much about the changing nature of the rapidly industrializing American economy. Such analyses might have been accompanied by statistics on the numbers and types of ships built in the Delaware Valley and throughout the country, the number and types of buyers, and so forth.

Tyler has made a good start on an important subject. His book provides a much needed introduction. Possibly he is planning to make a more complete study based on more solid data and using a more analytical approach. Such a work would indeed be a valuable contribution to the understanding of America's economic past.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ALFRED D. CHANDLER

The Guns at Gettysburg. By Fairfax Downey. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1958. Pp. 290. \$5.00.)

The events associated with the American Civil War have an enduring attraction for those who write books on American history and for those who read them. The best-sellers among these volumes are those dealing with the military campaigns, and it is an interesting fact that peace-loving Americans continue to be fascinated by the blow-by-blow accounts of the major battles and by biographies of the principal military personages.

Of all the engagements in this struggle the clash at Gettysburg is by all odds the most often described and thus the best known. It would seem as if little more needed to be written concerning the bloody give-and-take in and around this sleepy little crossroads town. Nevertheless, Fairfax Downey offers us a well-written and always interesting narrative which, although containing no really new material, presents a "reappraising and retelling the battle from the artilleryman's point of view."

Most accounts of Gettysburg feature the saga of the foot soldier—the savage infantry thrusts of Hill's divisions against Buford, Reynolds, and Howard on the first day; Longstreet's belated yet magnificent assault on Sickles' unfortunate Third Corps in the Peach Orchard and Wheatfield; the desperate moonlight defense from the crest of Cemetery and Culp's Hills against the attacks of Early's and Johnson's gray-clad Southerners; and finally Pickett's spectacular advance across open fields against the Union center on the climactic third day. In Mr. Downey's book these infantry operations, while not minimized, are incidental to the story of the artillery.

The significant part played by the cannoneer at Gettysburg is highlighted by the individual role of General Henry Jackson Hunt, Chief of Artillery of the Army of the Potomac. Hunt's "organizing and commanding genius," the author insists, was largely responsible for the Confederate failure to crush Meade's army on this battlefield. This reviewer agrees that Hunt has wrongly been denied his right to rank with Hancock, Warren, and other Union heroes at Gettysburg. His notable foresight in arranging adequate reserve batteries, in wisely conserving ammunition, in placing his guns at tactically sound locations, and in his close attention to detail, have not had the proper emphasis. Downey quotes with approval the comment of Secretary of War Proctor at the time of Hunt's death in 1889: "It is needless to recite his deeds; the army today knows them; the army of the future will find them in history."

But this gallant officer shares the greater credit in this book with individual batteries. In their stories are tales of unmatched courage, desperate endurance, grim determination, together with expert marksmanship on the part of officers and men. Here is Calef's Battery A, 2nd U. S. Artillery, holding on with Buford's outnumbered cavalymen throughout the morning of July 1st. One admires the competent gunnery of Dilger's Battery I, 1st Ohio Artillery, as it covers the retreat of the Eleventh Corps in the afternoon. There is the dramatic story of Bigelow's 9th Massachusetts Artillery following its "dark, heroic destiny" to virtual destruction in the Wheatfield, but only after it had stalled Longstreet's fierce drive. And few tales of valor under fire exceed that recorded by Hazlett's Battery D, 5th U. S. Artillery, in helping repulse Hood's Texans amid the boulders of Little Round Top.

Confederate artillery also had its moments of glory at Gettysburg. The "admirable shooting" of Milledge's Georgia Regulars raked the Eleventh Corps positions preceding Pickett's charge. Colonel E. P. Alexander's whole battalion of twenty-four guns in support of McLaw's dash against Sickles "swung around in the beautiful maneuver of action front" to send "a long sheet of smoke and crimson flame" at the bluecoats along the Emmitsburg Road. The effectiveness of Confederate cannon, however, suffered from a lack of capable direction. General William N. Pendleton, nominally in command, displayed little idea of maneuver, and on the shoulders of Colonel Alexander, "a reliable and self-reliant officer," too much responsibility was placed on the fateful third day. "The Long Arm of Lee," as a Southern writer has termed Confederate artillery, failed in the test at Gettysburg.

Sins of omission cost Lee's infantry the assistance of the fire-power vital to the success of Pickett's advance on July 3rd. In contrast, Hunt left nothing to chance, and "the part played by artillery in the Battle of Gettysburg was one of the most notable ones in the annals of the army." Well could Confederate General Daniel Harvey Hill declare years later that with Southern infantry and Northern artillery "I'll whip the world!" At Gettysburg not only did Meade have a numerical superiority of pieces, a greater weight of metal, an advantage in both quantity and quality of ammunition, but also superior handling on the part of his chief artillery officers.

Although *The Guns at Gettysburg* is designed for the Civil War buff,

and the layman may falter before some of the technical terminology, the book contains valuable material in its appendices. The "Manual of the Piece" is especially instructive. The official reports of both General Hunt and General Pendleton will be useful for documentation. Still, a more complete glossary of terms would have been helpful.

Mr. Downey's book is relatively free of error, although this reviewer would put the Baltimore Pike southeast of Gettysburg rather than southwest (p. 8). Nor is there undisputed evidence that "a lack of shoes dictated the battleground" (p. 18). Longstreet's men peering from the west must have been able to observe whether Little Round Top was empty or occupied (p. 67). But these are minor slips and hardly detract from the contribution which this book makes toward rescuing the Blue and Gray cannoners at Gettysburg from the shadow of the infantry.

Gettysburg College

ROBERT L. BLOOM

European Origin of the Brethren: A Source Book on the Beginnings of the Brethren in the Early Eighteenth Century. Compiled and Translated by Donald F. Durnbaugh. (Elgin, Ill.: The Brethren Press, 1958. Pp. 463. \$4.75.)

The Two-hundred-fiftieth Anniversary Committee of the Church of the Brethren, an organization understandably proud of its heritage, has recently been carrying on a project the object of which has been to present the historical background of the Brethren Church. Now completed, this work has been presented to the public in the form of a source book by Donald F. Durnbaugh.

A collection of documents translated from German, Dutch, and French, Durnbaugh's discussion covers the history of the Early Brethren Brotherhood in the beginning of the eighteenth century (1706-1750). It deals with that portion of the church's history involving its separation from other, already existing Protestant churches and its exodus from the old world to the new. This period of activity is discussed under brief but suggestive chapter headings—"Separation," "Formation," "Expansion," "Suppression," "Immigration."

Reading the documents, mostly official records and personal letters of the Brothers, the reader gets a fairly good insight into the fearlessness and selflessness of the Brethren and other pietists of the time. It should be stated, however, that their attitude was not an exclusive Brethren attitude. Existing in most churches, as well as in political and social movements when they are very young, it is fairly common. When a new sect or social movement fails to achieve the ends for which it has been designed, its adherents wish to create a new organization. Such a development, of course, frequently gives rise to intolerance, conflict, separation, suppression, and a new form of equilibrium—the maturing elements, in short, which Durnbaugh identifies in his discussion of Brethren church history.

The main purpose of this publication according to the author, is to "stimulate the preparation of numerous studies—theological, sociological,

and others—which will sharpen awareness of what the Brethren were, what they are, and what they should be.” This statement is not a scientific one because science does not include the moralistic or ethical *should be*, quite strongly felt in Durnbaugh’s book. The Committee, on the other hand, is somewhat more realistic than the author when it explains the purpose of the book as a present to the members of the Brethren church “in the prayerful hope that it may quicken our love for our church and advance among us the cause of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ.” This description seems the more appropriate of the two. Moreover, the scholar, especially the historian, should always consider original documents, not translations, when he is analyzing a specific historical subject.

In view of this principle, it perhaps is not unreasonable to suggest that Durnbaugh has overemphasized the importance of translation. A general comment on the translations he has used is that they do not follow English structure and the translation of specific terms sometimes fails to describe the real content of particular passages. We think here of Tonnies’ terms *Gesellschaft* (*Gemeinschaft*), and the term *Gemeinde*. Durnbaugh describes them fairly well; however, being neither sociologist nor historian, he does not give the simplest description of the primary and secondary social relationship which is included in the content of the terms. The term *church* can be interpreted as an association, speaking sociologically, and of course can be understood as a *Gesellschaft*, especially when a church becomes large and is legally and socially accepted. However, when we know the theological content of the church, we cannot translate *Gesellschaft* as *church*. A further illustration of this imprecision is Durnbaugh’s translation of *Gemeinde* as *church fellowship*. It would be better to describe *Gemeinde* as a congregation or brotherhood. At the very beginning the Brethren were legally not accepted as a church but seen as heretics—what today we call a sect. The sect has what sociologists name the “primary contact” and builds up its congregation in the form of a brotherhood where personal contact is more real than it is in large churches, where personal contact is lost. It would therefore be better to translate *Gemeinde* as *brotherhood* or *congregation* and not as *church fellowship*. At that time the Brethren were not a church.

Not having the originals, we cannot go further into textual analysis, but it should be noted that the name of Hedda Raschka (Mrs. Durnbaugh) should be placed on the title page of the book because, according to the acknowledgment of the author and also of the Anniversary Committee, most of the present work was done by her. Making a simple acknowledgment of this fact does not seem adequate.

Despite this negative comment, it should be clearly stated that the source book will have a good effect. Because of it the Brethren will have a better understanding of the early days of their heritage, and the book may create an increasing appreciation of their ancestors. The Durnbaugh team has fulfilled the expectations of the Anniversary Committee. And even if the historian should go back to original sources, scholars in other fields, such as theology, or sociology, or religion should be able to read the Durnbaughs’ contribution with interest and comprehension and gain insight into the

manner in which the Brethren came to be what they are today—an organized church.

Dickinson College

ERNEST M. GAJÁRY KUHINKA

The Trail of the Black Walnut. By G. Elmore Reaman. (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1957. First edition, second printing. Pp. 256. \$5.00.)

The role of the United Empire Loyalists has always been a fascinating part of the history of Canadian development. But in *The Trail of the Black Walnut* the reader will find for the first time a complete and absorbing account of what happened to one group of these Loyalists—the thousands of men and women known as the Pennsylvania Dutch who toiled through a trackless wilderness in search of rich limestone soil and the black walnut. These were the people who were to lay the foundations of a great Canadian province today known as Ontario.

These sentences, taken from a statement by Leonard M. Klinck, president emeritus of the University of British Columbia, are found on the dust jacket of the book. Klinck's words produce at least two reactions in this reviewer. First, the title of the volume is unfortunate. Such a title might be excused in a novel in which the author is trying to win readers by attempting to create curiosity; for a factual book, however, the title is bibliographically defective in that a potential reader or researcher is given no inkling about the contents, except the wrong hint that possibly the study has to do with the lumber business. Why reduce the use of a book by hiding its contents behind a confusing title? Second, the author himself admits that the early settlers of Ontario were not only Pennsylvania Germans, but English Quakers and French Huguenots.

A study of the first settlers of Ontario is needed, and if carried out properly could be valuable. This book, however, lacks focus. A reader never knows whether the theme is the Pennsylvania German colonizers of Ontario, or all the groups who went there. In addition, the material is not well integrated, and much of the information is irrelevant.

The work is divided into six sections or chapters. Section I, "Backgrounds in Europe," covers the history and beliefs of the sects who later came to America. There is little of value here, and too much that is doubtful. In Section II, "Migration to and Settlement in America," we read again the well-known story of the coming of the above-mentioned religious groups to Pennsylvania and the other colonies. One finds nothing new therein, but the reader is subjected both to bad writing and to repetition. For example, after arriving in Pennsylvania, on page 28, the Schwenkfelders arrive again on page 32; Moravians are praised as missionaries on page 27, and practically the same words are repeated on page 32; the Scotch-Irish and Germans swung the balance for independence on page 32 and do it again on page 34; Sauer published the first German Bible in America on page 24 and published it again on page 38; and so on. The first two sections might well have been omitted.

In Section III, entitled "Migration to and Settlement in Upper Canada," the author includes what could be valuable historical and genealogical in-

formation for the people of Ontario. This section should have been expanded into a book itself. County by county and township by township the early settlers are listed and discussed. Although such an item as the following is meaningless to Pennsylvanians, it could be important to Canadians: "John Lyons, coming to Canada from New York State in 1794, after living for a while in York, settled on Lot 32, Concession 1, in Markham. He later brought [bought?] Lot 36, Concession 1, Vaughan, on which he built a saw mill" (p. 98). The facts in Sections IV and V, covering agricultural and cultural contributions—mainly of the Pennsylvania Germans—might be interesting to Ontarians, but are twice-told tales to Pennsylvanians. Section VI is entitled "Some Conclusions." There are several appendices of genealogical material.

I hate myself for not being more impressed by this work, which clearly is a labor of love. I wish the Book Review Editor had assigned it to someone else. What alternative is there to doing a "hatchet" job? Upon checking through the footnotes—which serve also as a bibliography—the reader observes numerous doubtful and questionable items. Footnote 90, page 230, for instance, refers to an article I know well. In it the name of the journal is wrong; the title of the article is wrong; the volume number of the journal is wrong, and the paging is wrong. Despite flagrant mistakes of this kind on page after page, both T. B. Costain and Arthur D. Graeff praise the book. I too would like to be generous. By making such egregious errors, however, the author does not give a reviewer an even chance to be generous.

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WILLIAM A. RUSS, Jr.

German Culture in America—Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600-1900. By Henry A. Pochmann, with the assistance of Arthur R. Schultz and others. (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. Pp 865. \$7.50.)

One contemplates this volume with a sense of awe, which is inspired not only by its size (492 double-column pages in relatively small type, supplemented by 304 pages of notes in even smaller type, and an alphabetical index of 62 pages), but also by the prodigious amount of material that was collected, sifted, and digested, and finally presented in such an attractive and pleasantly readable form. Professor Pochmann, the chief author, has devoted some twenty-five years to this study, earlier by-products of which are his too-little-known book on *New England Transcendentalism and St. Louis Hegelianism* (Philadelphia, 1948), and that indispensable reference book, and companion piece of the present volume, *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* (Madison, Wis., 1953), the latter in collaboration with Arthur R. Schultz. In this reviewer's opinion no such comprehensive study in Americana Germanica has appeared since A. B. Faust's two-volume *The German Element in the United States*, almost half a century ago. While Faust's second volume devotes some attention to the German impact upon education, religion, and the arts, it is in no sense definitive, as the present work aims to be, in the fields of philosophy and literature, on the basis of research completed to about a decade ago.

The stout volume is broken down into two "books," the first and larger dealing with "German Thought in America" from the time of the New Englanders of the seventeenth century, whose interests were mainly theological—as were those of the Mathers and Jonathan Edwards in the eighteenth—to the Concord School of Philosophy in the nineteenth. A chapter on the teaching of German philosophy in American colleges is appended. The second "book" deals with "German Literary Influence" and this was more difficult to break down into periods and movements, the main concern being, and rightly so, with the impact on individual authors from Charles Brockden Brown and James Fenimore Cooper to Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, with a brief concluding chapter on "American Literary Criticism." In his preface the author confesses that this *magnum opus* of his was subjected to two drastic exercises in condensation and elimination. Omitted were three chapters: on (1) German educational influences in the widest sense, (2) German-American radicalism in the Midwest, and (3) German-American writings (in German). This material is, however, on deposit for research purposes in manuscript form in the University of Wisconsin Library.

Americans did not, on the whole, remain ignorant of the German language and German scholarship until the early nineteenth century, to have their eyes first opened by Mme. de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (American edition, 1814) and the Harvard Göttingen men of the 'twenties, as was long erroneously believed. Professor Harold Jantz made short shrift of this myth with his pioneer survey of "German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820" (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLI, January, 1942). Educated New Englanders such as John Winthrop, Jr. (1606-76) carried on transatlantic correspondence with German scholars and incorporated many German books into their libraries; indeed, books printed in Germany in Latin or in the vernacular were next most numerous after those in English. Coming to the eighteenth century and the great wave of German immigration, the author regrets the fact that we know so little of the influence of Pastorius, Kelpius, the Ephrata Seventh-Day Baptists, and the Moravians and Schwenkfelders upon their Quaker surroundings in Pennsylvania. One hopes that the researches of scholars like Harold Jantz and John Joseph Stoudt will in time shed further light on many such unexplored problems in the Middle Atlantic region, which appears to have suffered from neglect as compared with New England.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the author points out, English Wesleyanism and the German pietism of Spener, Francke, and the Moravians joined to produce the "Great Awakening" and a liberation from the formalistic Calvinism of New England. In disseminating interest in German arts and sciences the learned pastor of Salem, William Bentley (1759-1812), proved to be a valuable catalytic agent, acquainted as he was with scores of the most distinguished men of his day at home and abroad. Among these none is more fascinating than the geographer, Christoph Daniel Ebeling (1741-1817), who undertook, without ever having visited America, a vast encyclopaedic survey of this country which treated the states from New Hampshire to Virginia in seven volumes, including two on Pennsylvania.

The advent of the nineteenth century brings us to more familiar ground. With an awareness of Kant came a realization of the many distinctive cultural achievements of Germany. By the early 'twenties the "German craze" was radiating from Harvard and Boston. Göttingen became the most popular German university for Americans, but we are told that by 1850 there was no German university that did not have an American colony. The oft-times circuitous and elusive "avenues of transmission," with Carlyle and especially Coleridge as the main purveyors of German thought represented by Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, de Wette, and Strauss, are carefully traced. Fascinating is the relationship between New England Transcendentalism under the leadership of Emerson, and St. Louis Hegelianism under William Torrey Harris, H. C. Brokmeyer, and D. J. Snider, and, somewhat later, the interaction between the latter and Alcott's Concord School of Philosophy. The section on Emerson alone, covering 54 pages (compared to 14 on Washington Irving, 20 on Poe, 16 on Longfellow, 13 on Walt Whitman), is a masterly treatment and a contribution of the first order.

Among the many stimulating suggestions for further investigation is an examination as to whether the American short story is really in its origin distinctively American or is connected with the German tale. German material and motifs are traced in the writings of Irving, Hawthorne, and Poe. Longfellow is represented as the outstanding representative of German letters in his generation, while Margaret Fuller rescued Goethe from Puritan abuse and brought him within the ken of the Transcendentalists. After the hiatus of the Civil War, interest in Goethe, Schiller, and Jean Paul gave way to the less exacting standards in literature represented by the "Genteel Tradition" of Charles T. Brooks and Bayard Taylor.

Dr. Pochmann, although thoroughly versed in the history of German literature and the philosophy of German idealism, writes as a Professor of American Literature intent upon a straightforward analysis of an important phase of the developing American culture. One senses everywhere genuine scholarly objectivity. He has no axe to grind, manifests no false pathos, and shows no resentment against those who looked askance at, say, Goethe's "morality," or regarded persons and things German in general with a jaundiced eye. It is difficult in an almost encyclopaedic work of this kind always to determine whether a judgment expresses the author's own opinion or is based upon earlier sources, but the documentation in the notes is scrupulous and amazingly extensive. The printing of the book was done in Holland and there are very few typographical errors.

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HARRY W. PFUND

THE
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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