

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

Benjamin Franklin and Italy. By Antonio Pace. [*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, XLVII.] (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1958. Pp. 450. \$5.00.)

The American impact on foreign lands, about which we hear so much today, is by no means a new phenomenon, as this volume makes amply clear. Antonio Pace of the Romance Language Department at Syracuse University has made a more substantial contribution to our knowledge of the American image abroad than the modest title of this volume suggests.

While the uninitiated might consider the subject "Benjamin Franklin and Italy" a rather unpromising one, and while the author himself admits that some of the evidence on which he must rely for certain aspects of the story is not entirely satisfactory, the total effect of the work is quite impressive. The book encompasses the impact of Franklin the man, and Franklin the image, on a variety of political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of Italian history from the eighteenth century to the present time.

The first chapter deals briefly with Italian influences on Franklin, which were not great compared with Franklin's eventual impact on Italy. Although he never visited Italy, he acquired a knowledge of the Italian language at an early date and was interested in many phases of Italian life and culture. Several chapters are based on his correspondence with Giambattista Beccaria, professor of physics at the University of Turin, who introduced his electrical theory in Italy. Beccaria's *Artificial and Natural Electricity* (1753) was published shortly after Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* (1751). Beccaria borrowed substantially from Franklin's work and defended the latter's conclusions from attack by other contemporary scientists like the French Abbé Jean Antoine Nollet. Franklin's relationship with Volta is also discussed. The rapid adoption of the lightning rod in Italy and the influence of some of Franklin's lesser inventions are developed at some length. In the eighteenth century Franklin was known to Italians primarily as a scientist.

The influence of Franklin the statesman is introduced in a chapter on his dealings with the various Italian ambassadors in Paris during the American Revolution. While reluctant to extend official recognition to the colonies, these diplomats followed Franklin's activities with interest, and some of them were friendly to him. It was through Franklin's influence that Father John Carroll was made head of the American Catholic hierarchy. In 1783 Franklin sponsored a translation into French of the new American state constitutions, which "became a sort of breviary of eighteenth-century libertarian principles, over which Franklin hovered as the major apostle of New World reform" (p. 142). The Pennsylvania constitution was copied

to some extent by the Venetian republic set up in 1797. Italian liberals were also interested in the federal constitution of 1787. Franklin corresponded with Gaetano Filangieri, author of *The Science of Legislation* and leader of the Enlightenment in Naples. America in general, and Philadelphia in particular, were commonly pictured in Utopian terms by Italians of the period, and a new city arising out of earthquakes in southern Italy in 1783 was named "Filadelfia" in honor of the Pennsylvania metropolis. In the early nineteenth century Italian historians and publicists used the American example to foster the movement for Italian independence and unification. Histories of the American Revolution were surprisingly numerous and popular in Italy.

Franklin's influence on Italian printers and publishers, such as Gaspero Barbèra of Florence, provides the theme for another chapter. His reputation as a moralist and educator, which tended gradually to replace his fame as a scientist and statesman, is also developed at some length. Franklin's writings, especially *The Way to Wealth* and his *Autobiography*, were frequently reprinted in nineteenth-century Italy, where Professor Pace thinks they were important forces in the promotion of bourgeois ideals. Franklin's example was hailed as a standard of achievement, both personal and national, for those who were willing to cultivate the virtues of industry and thrift.

Franklin's literary impact on Italy is illustrated by his contacts, personal and epistolary, with writers of his time, by the large number of Italian writings in both poetry and prose touching on his life and personality, and by the influence of his writings as models of popular literature. Cesare Cantù, "the Italian McGuffey," for example, was profoundly indebted to Franklin's writings. Almanacs modeled on *Poor Richard's* were immensely popular in Italy. Another chapter develops a connection between Franklin and Italian music, with special reference to the vogue of his "armonica" (musical glasses). Franklin's popularity as a subject for Italian paintings, engravings, and sculpture is also discussed, and the book is illustrated with nine handsome plates reproducing the best of these artistic efforts. The study concludes with an assessment of Franklin's role in the Italian culture of the twentieth century—a role considerably less extensive than in earlier periods. This was especially true under Fascist rule.

This book is the product of massive scholarship, carried on for many years. Some may question whether the subject is worth the vast labor which has obviously gone into it. It is based almost entirely on primary sources, many of them in manuscript form. The text is supplemented by fifty pages of footnotes, but unfortunately they are placed at the back of the book and cast in a style which makes them difficult to use. The bibliography is also awkward; it consists of a chronological list of Italian Franklinitiana, arranged by decades. An appendix of documents and an index of personal names round out this substantial piece of work, which should be of interest to scholars in a variety of fields. It is not only international but interdisciplinary in its point of view. A knowledge of the Italian language and of Italian history, while not essential, would greatly enhance one's appreciation of the book. Both its content and its literary style are rather demanding, and

despite the significant contribution it makes, it will probably not have as wide a reading as it deserves.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, Volume I, April 1744-June 1768.

Edited by Thomas W. Copeland. (Cambridge and Chicago: Cambridge University Press and The University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. 377. \$8.00.)

Students of American colonial history in thinking of the great orator, Edmund Burke, will always, and very properly, associate his name with the valiant efforts that he made in the 1770's to bring about a reconciliation between Great Britain and the North American colonies. He was also for a period the accredited agent in London of the New York Assembly. His deep interest in the eighteenth-century British Empire is likewise indicated by his advocacy of reform measures for the government of Ireland as well as for that of British India. As further evidence of this interest was his sustained attack over a period of years against the conduct of the Governor General of the latter, Warren Hastings. Never a radical, he also gained added fame in attacking excesses of the French revolutionaries.

The volume of *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke* under review is the first of a projected series of ten volumes which will embody not only all the known letters of Burke but the more important ones addressed to him. These letters begin with the earliest that have been found, when, as a youth of fifteen years of age, Burke was about to enter Trinity College, Dublin. They end—in the present volume—when, at the age of forty and now settled in England and a member of the British House of Commons, he had attained the position of intellectual leadership of the so-called Rockingham Whigs. His most noteworthy activities, nevertheless, were still to come.

Born in Ireland, with a father who was a Dublin lawyer and a member of the established Church of Ireland—the Anglican Church—and a mother who was a Roman Catholic, all of whose relatives were closely identified with the land and rural life, Burke was always conscious of the delicacy of his position in the face of the prevailing deep religious prejudices. Although by profession and conviction an Anglican, and therefore freed from the many legal disabilities under which his mother's kinsmen labored, he had to face charges by enemies that he was a Jesuit in disguise. To his great credit he always remained devoted to these Catholic relatives, kept in touch with them and, as a Protestant, was in a position to help some of them circumvent the restrictions on the leasing of lands to Irish Catholics. What is more, in 1757 he married Jane Nugent, whose mother was a Roman Catholic and who was presumably brought up in that faith. It appears, however, that she regularly accompanied her husband to Anglican services.

When in 1750 Burke, after receiving his degree from Trinity College, left Ireland for England to study law at the Middle Temple, he never sought to re-establish himself permanently in his native country. It is true that he spent portions of some years there in the employ of the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and he also went there from time to time to look after

private business interests and to visit relatives and friends. In fact, with his growing importance in public life in England, he acquired an estate in the country there which remained his residence for the rest of his life.

The summer of 1765 marks the turning point in Burke's career. Up to that time he had had strong literary leanings and had given rein to his ambitions to establish a reputation as a writer. Now, as the newly appointed secretary of the Marquess of Rockingham, the new chief minister of the King, he was led to throw himself body and soul into British politics. In December of that year he was elected to a seat in Parliament and early the following year made, by all reports, two of his great speeches, both of them in support of the Declaratory Bill and the repeal of the Stamp Act. Although never fully reported, they won the praise of Pitt and others.

As an orator Burke's reputation was built upon his massive attacks against particular measures and systems of government. He never had the responsibility of holding office nor did he seek it. His strength lay in opposition. Scholars and other commentators have held divergent opinions respecting the stature of Burke as a statesman. There is, however, general agreement that his views on public affairs were spacious and elevated and that when he failed to carry others with him it was frequently because he was in advance of his time. That he was a very great man can hardly be doubted. The sustained interest of the scholarly public in his life certainly supports the view of the importance of his role in eighteenth-century affairs. It is therefore most appropriate that at last a complete edition of his letters should be in the process of publication.

It has been well over a century since Charles William, Earl Fitzwilliam, and Richard Bourke issued the first edition of the *Burke Correspondence* in 1844 in four volumes. Far from complete, this edition has been supplemented since then by the printing of additional correspondence. By far the most important body of new letters appeared in 1956 when, under the editorship of Professor Ross J. S. Hoffman, there was published by the American Philosophical Society *Edmund Burke, New York Agent, with his letters to the New York Assembly and Intimate Correspondence with Charles O'Hara, 1761-1776*.

The editing of Volume I of *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke* is everything that could be desired by the scholar. A number of letters that have never previously been printed have been added, and so diligent has been the search for others still in manuscript that students may look forward in confidence, with the appearance of the volumes to come, to something very closely approaching a definitive edition of Burke's correspondence. Professor Copeland, both as general editor of the series and specific editor of Volume I deserves to be heartily congratulated on this impressive first installment.

Lehigh University

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder. Edited by Paul A. W. Wallace. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958. Pp. 474. \$7.50.)

John Heckewelder's thirty thousand miles of travel back and forth across

the Allegheny Mountains from the Ohio River valley to the eastern seaboard in the service of the Moravian Church between 1754 and 1813 were miles fraught with significance. Heckewelder was an intelligent observer, he recorded his observations, and they cover in detail the two most important wars ever fought by the American colonies.

Heckewelder's scattered travel journals, printed and manuscript, in German and in English, have here been transcribed, translated, edited, and brought together for the first time. They have not been printed separately but woven into a coherent narrative on the basis of strict chronology. This method has its dangers, and there will be some who will mistrust an editor confident enough to serve as literary executor as well as recording secretary, but indications are that Dr. Wallace has succeeded in his task.

Here is the tragic story, repeated in each century and in every part of the American continent, of the Indians who accepted with disastrous results Christian professions of brotherly love and respect. Perhaps it happened this way because, though individual whites accepted Christian principles, the mass of the people in times of crisis did not. Such a crisis occurred during the American Revolution when the British and their Indian allies on the frontier fought the colonists. The peaceful Indian groups converted by the German Moravian missionaries were caught between the two opposing sides. The result was an uneasy existence, culminating in the massacre of ninety trusting and unarmed Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum, March 8, 1782, by American militia under Colonel David Williamson, an event which gave a death blow to the Moravians' hopes and plans for the future.

The non-Christian "cousins" of these murdered Delawares had been better advisors and clearer theologians than the Moravians who unwittingly prepared their charges as sacrificial victims. Pachgantschihilas, head war chief of the Delaware nation, had warned the Christian Indians on May 6, 1781, to withdraw from their villages on the Muskingum River, citing the massacre of the peaceful and innocent Christian Conestoga Indians in 1763 during another war, as an example of what might happen to them. "The long knives [the Americans] will in their usual way, speak fine words to you, and at the same time murder you!" he warned.

The Wyandot Half King gave a similar warning, with theological overtones. It was true, he noted, that their cousins the Christian Indians knew everything that was good, but it was also true that they were ignorant of what was bad. They should harken to the word of those who knew both what was good and what was bad and depart their towns for safer areas.

It is a tribute to the non-Christian Indian leadership that they always treated the Christian Indians with respect even though the Moravian settlements were a source of intelligence and occasionally supply for American forces fighting them. On the other hand, it is tragic to consider that the American forces betrayed those who had given them support and were innocent of the wild things charged to justify their extermination. The behavior of Indians and whites in this situation provides one of the tests by which the customs and character of a people are revealed. The so-called wild Indians, or "savages" (it is interesting to note that Heckewelder's

word "Indians" in his manuscript narrative entitled "Captivity and Murder" becomes "savages" in the printed *Narrative*, "no doubt," as Dr. Wallace writes, "in compliance with the popular taste of a later time") seem to have taken greater pains to distinguish the innocent from the guilty among their enemies than did the whites. This is one of the historical facts which, multiplied by other examples, throws doubt on the theory that "civilized" white men of necessity sank to a "savage" level in order to combat barbarous foes.

Heckewelder's travel journals have been skillfully edited. First among the skills which the editor brings to his task is a knowledge of contemporary Indian society and its historical past. Second is a sympathetic understanding of the Moravian missionaries through whose eyes, hearts, and minds comes the picture of a now dissolved eighteenth-century Indian society. The excellent thirty-two page introduction on the Moravians aptly demonstrates this understanding. Third is a critical editorial hand which has isolated Heckewelder's contemporary observations, as expressed in his travel journals, from his theorizations. As Dr. Wallace puts it, "Heckewelder was a better reporter than expositor." The editor has also kept footnotes to a minimum, interpolating occasional explanations or references into the text, while leaving the bulk of the scholarly apparatus in the form of a "Biographical and Geographical Glossary" at the end of the book.

The result is an important contribution to a more precise knowledge of a large group of eighteenth-century Indians, and of the Americans whose malevolence or benevolence affected them. Wallace wisely has isolated the raw "facts" of the period, as recorded by an intelligent observer, and presented them in a coherent, chronological form, which he modestly calls a "travelogue." It is not the ethnological treatise, biography, or mission study that he considered writing, but it is certainly more valid historically, considering the evidence available, than any of these other forms might have been.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the American Philosophical Society are to be commended for sponsoring such a valuable source book.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by Julian P. Boyd, with William H. Gaines, Jr., and Joseph H. Harrison, Jr., Associate Editors. Vol. XIV. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. 709. \$10.00.) *Ibid.* Edited by Julian P. Boyd, with William H. Gaines, Jr., Associate Editor. Vol. XV. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959. Pp. 677. \$10.00.)

Comment

The changing masthead of these reviews of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* suggests that few things in this life are really stable. Julian Boyd has, in the course of producing fifteen volumes, lost the services of three excellent editorial colleagues, Lyman Butterfield, Mina Bryan, and now Joseph Harrison, Jr. The only unchanging landmarks in this enormous project would seem to be Dr. Boyd and the lofty level of the editorial scholarship for which

he continues to be responsible. With an estimated thirty-nine volumes yet to come, one can only hope that both Julian Boyd and his monumental undertaking may long jointly continue to delight admirers of unusually fine historical craftsmanship.

The difficulties confronting reviewers of large multi-volume projects of this sort do not derive so much from the responsibility for keeping abreast of shifting editorial personnel as from the task of maintaining a sensibly consistent viewpoint over an extended period of time. Editors have enough headaches without facing reviewers who attack extensive editorial discussion in one volume, and praise the same feature in a later installment. Yet over the years, Dr. Boyd has been afforded an unusual opportunity to convert his critics; not only has he been armed with time, but he has employed his superior scholarship and excellence of presentation to such fine effect that earlier reservations have been largely extinguished.

For several years reviewers of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* have mingled admiration with regret; there has been enthusiasm for the superlative standards of editorial scholarship, but mounting dismay over longer and longer introductions and annotations. Too frequently, it seemed, Dr. Boyd was burdening his material and slowing his progress with editorial excursions which, while learned and fascinating, were hardly normal editorial functions; indeed, it seemed that he was undertaking historical chores that should be bequeathed to other scholars and specialists. But in practice Dr. Boyd was demonstrating the limitations of past editors and the narrowness of their editorial viewpoints; hereafter definitive editions must assume broader responsibilities than previously expected. In presenting Jefferson's papers, Dr. Boyd has not contented himself with textual accuracy, but has investigated the circumstances and the impact of his documents on modern historiography.

Obviously this courageous approach has meant delaying the progress of editing, and in turn has exasperated many impatient Jefferson scholars. But it seems to this reviewer that with fifteen volumes now available, some re-evaluation of the whole project is called for, a reappraisal perhaps more agonizing to this writer than to anyone else. For the inescapable conclusion must be that Dr. Boyd has shown a greater wisdom than many of his critics. He has grasped from the outset that this is not just a fresh edition of Jefferson's writings, but rather a major opportunity to glimpse—with unprecedented detail and color—one of the most truly critical periods in American history.

Thomas Jefferson was indeed remarkable for his intellectual gifts and achievements, remarkable for his innate curiosity and his shrewd political and diplomatic realism. Endowed with as enduring a physical frame as we all wish for Dr. Boyd, Jefferson enjoyed an enormously long life, spanning the last thirty-five years of colonial America, and the first fifty years of the struggling new United States. In Jefferson's papers are some of the most vital and unique sources for all American history, and their context as well as content have tremendous significance for present and future generations. Jefferson was indeed a many-sided man, one of America's most distinguished, hard-headed, and at the same time human of eggheads, whose ideas and

ideals remain an enduring and eloquent testimonial to an enlightened realism and a flattering yet accurate evaluation of the potential of his fellow man.

Thus, any truly definitive edition of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* would pose an alarming challenge to a truly conscientious editor, a challenge to capture the real quality of the Jeffersonian mind and the final measure of the Jeffersonian contribution. For Dr. Boyd, more was involved. His undertaking was the first of the much needed new collections of the papers of our founders. His editorial accomplishment would naturally affect the fortunes of similar projects as well as influence their character, once launched. In many senses, Dr. Boyd faced a unique responsibility when he presented to the scholarly world the first volume of Jefferson's *Papers* nine years ago, and the pending publication of newly assembled editions of Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, and Madison *Papers* owes much to the brilliance and the patience of Julian Boyd. With nearly a decade of hindsight it is possible to appraise the measure of his achievement, and to conclude that present and future historians will be under a lasting obligation for source material both brilliantly edited and elegantly presented. In addition, the contributions of the *New York Times* and the Trustees of Princeton University should not be overlooked. The *Times* provided the initial subvention that made the entire project possible, and Princeton has nobly undertaken to maintain one of the most protracted and costly of publication responsibilities.

Review

The fourteenth and fifteenth volumes of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, which are the occasion for the preceding remarks, actually cover little more than a year in Jefferson's political career. In October, 1788, he was about to enter his final year as Minister to France; by November, 1789, he had been appointed to the Secretaryship of the Department of State, and had returned to the United States. Like the preceding years, this one was filled with diplomatic business. There was, for example, the protracted consular negotiation concluded in November, 1788, with the French government; since the documents pertaining to this affair alone run to some ninety pages, it can be seen that these volumes have much to offer students of American diplomacy. The editors venture their opinion that John Jay's record as a negotiator is marred by evasiveness and apathy; what diplomatic gains were secured came from the combination of French readiness to make concessions, and a Jeffersonian eagerness to secure them.

But there is much more. Deeply concerned with American prestige, Jefferson developed his own plan for funding his country's finances—if not for resolving his own personal money troubles. However, in the last hundred pages of volume fifteen are appended supplementary papers discovered too late for earlier volumes, and included is a whole section devoted to the circumstances of Jefferson's debt to Messrs. Farell and Jones. These papers reveal that Jefferson inherited almost forty-five hundred pounds worth of obligations from his father-in-law, John Wayles, a debt ironically incurred over a cargo of Negro slaves. Actually the original debt was only twelve

hundred pounds, and the later total resulted from compounded interest; but Jefferson scorned the easy way out, and honorably acknowledged this distressing and embarrassing legacy from which he was never to extricate himself.

Jefferson's sojourn in France paralleled the early stages of the French Revolution, a development he greeted with much satisfaction, and the turbulence of which he consistently minimized. He could hardly avoid personal involvement, either. There was the Mirabeau affair, in which Jefferson allegedly offered American grain to Finance Minister Necker, only to have the offer declined. The editors show that in reality Necker asked Jefferson to arrange additional shipments from America to meet the anticipated shortage in France, but Jefferson's response was rather off-hand, to say the least.

France was also the setting for Jefferson's famous philosophical discussion of how "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living," a view first announced to James Madison in a letter written (but not immediately sent) in September, 1789. In this case the editors have explored the background of Jefferson's contemplation, noting a week's illness during which he was treated by Dr. Richard Gem, who supplied the original thesis that "the earth and all things whatever can only be conceived to belong to the living." Thus, while Jefferson's intellectual greatness need not be contested, his originality sometimes can be.

However, Jefferson's attentions were hardly confined to mere problems of diplomacy, debt, and philosophy: his interest in such items as art and, inevitably, books is also amply demonstrated. There are requests to John Trumbull to search out pictures of heroes like John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden. There is evidence of persistent purchases of books, so that when Jefferson came to pack for the voyage home in 1789, his baggage list included two large boxes for his current library. He was also acting as an agent for friends. A small box sufficed for books bought for George Washington, but Benjamin Franklin's requests filled almost as much space as Jefferson's acquisitions for himself.

Nor was he out of touch with domestic American politics. Madison kept him posted, with candid comments on the possibility of either John Hancock or John Adams' becoming Vice President, a development that horrified Madison, and Jefferson reciprocated with criticisms of the federal bill of rights, which he thought too vague for comfort or security. From England, John Brown Cutting continued to supply Jefferson with disturbing but expected details of British hatred for America—"an envious malignant disposition," Cutting called it. And Jefferson's other correspondence covered a wide range of topics, from problems of whale oil and the manufacture of macaroni to James Rumsey's "experiment for steam navigation."

There was continued correspondence with Maria Cosway, although the *affaire* was now maintained in an altogether dilatory fashion by Jefferson. To Maria's blithe suggestion that he take her with him to the new world, Jefferson made no reply, gallant or otherwise, and when Maria next referred to America it was as the land where "perhaps all your heart and sentiments are." When he finally sailed for home via the Isle of Wight, the best he could offer Maria was "a short but affectionate Adieu." Clearly Jefferson's

earlier injunction, "let us be together in spirit," was now as close a union as he cared to contemplate.

But enough has been said to indicate that these two volumes are among the most rewarding of an excellent series. Reading *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* is without doubt the most fruitful and the most stimulating way to study and enjoy the life of an amazingly practical politician, a man who could also display a disarming modesty that was no less effective when purposeful. To John Paradise in July 1789, Jefferson wrote to "concur with my friends in congratulations on the anniversary return of the independence and happiness of our country." Then he continued: "My little transactions are not made for public detail. They are best in the shade. . . . To glide unnoticed thro' a silent execution of duty, is the only ambition which becomes me, and it is the sincere desire of my heart."

There has never been the remotest likelihood of this pious wish's being granted, but Julian Boyd and his colleagues have demonstrated magnificently just how much poorer we would have been without our Jeffersonian legacy.

The Pennsylvania State University H. TREVOR COLBOURN

The Jacksonian Heritage: Pennsylvania Politics, 1833-1848. By Charles McCool Snyder. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1958. Pp. 256. \$3.50.)

Another outstanding volume has been added to the growing list of specialized chronological studies in Pennsylvania politics. Dr. Charles McC. Snyder's monograph follows Sanford W. Higginbotham's work on Pennsylvania politics in the Jeffersonian era (1800-1816) and Philip S. Klein's study of the transition into the early Jacksonian period (1817-1832). Snyder covers Pennsylvania politics from President Jackson's second term through the presidential administrations of Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, Tyler, and Polk.

In the opening chapter, "The Setting," Snyder succinctly ties together the sectional, social, economic, and governmental background of the era whose political history he details in later chapters. Another admirable interpretive passage is the first two paragraphs of Chapter VI, "The Constitution of 1838." Here are described the groups which favored and opposed constitutional revision at that time. The lineup in 1837-1838 was in many ways similar to present-day divisions over proposed constitutional change in Pennsylvania, and for that matter in some neighboring states.

Dr. Snyder recognizes both sectional, and economic or class antagonisms as determining factors in Pennsylvania politics. Although in 1830 half the people of Pennsylvania lived in the twelve southeastern counties, the numerical advantage enjoyed by this section was often frittered away by internecine political and economic quarrels. Thus most parties had to cultivate voters in such secondary population centers as the Pittsburgh area, the upper Susquehanna region, the southern border counties, and the northern tier counties.

With regard to the game of politics, Snyder describes the factional and party bickering during the administrations of Governors Wolf, Ritner,

Porter, and Shunk. At the beginning of this period one finds reflected in Pennsylvania political life the coalescence of Adams and Jackson followers into rudimentary parties, the National Republicans (later the Whigs), and the Jackson Democrats. The Anti-Masons, whose candidate Joseph Ritner was elected governor in 1835, receive more kindly treatment from Snyder than is customarily their fate; he points out that the Anti-Masonic Party was rooted more in "abolitionism, temperance, perfectionism, evangelism, and democracy" (p. 27) than in political mass hysteria. Democrats generally maintained ascendancy over their Whig rivals in Pennsylvania from 1838 to 1848, cashing in on the prestige of Jackson, the rise of political democracy, and the predominantly agricultural nature of the Commonwealth.

The growth of capitalism and the desire for government aid to transportation, banking, and industry, played into the hands of the Whigs, who often disagreed politically but knew what they wanted economically. The Democrats, torn in allegiance between agrarianism and capitalism, were seldom able to present a united front on internal improvements, the Bank of the United States, or the tariff. The growing power of the South in national Democratic circles also tended to alienate "Pennsylvania interests"—particularly industrial interests which considered themselves threatened by the low-duty Walker Tariff of the Polk administration.

Pennsylvanians did not fare well in the quest for national political power from 1833 to 1848. The Whigs placed no one in the United States Senate or in the cabinet. The fortunes of Thaddeus Stevens, then an Anti-Mason, sank with those of his party. Simon Cameron, nominally a Democrat, went to the United States Senate, but only with Whig and Native American support; by 1848 he had little in common with the Democrats. Only James Buchanan and George M. Dallas held positions of power nationally; this they accomplished by carefully aligning themselves with the Democratic presidential administrations of the time.

Dr. Snyder's study is based on solid research. His bibliography indicates that he has visited nine manuscript depositories and has used thirty-nine newspapers, representing thirteen towns or cities. He also includes a good bibliographical selection of primary and secondary printed works. A particularly useful feature of the book is the appendix, consisting mostly of tables of votes, by counties, for governor and for presidential electors in Pennsylvania from 1835 through 1848.

Like Higginbotham and Klein, Snyder writes not only from wide knowledge of his chosen political era but also with critical integrity. Although he is not a professional debunker, he exposes the dirty "politicking" of Thaddeus Stevens and Simon Cameron and the pussyfooting of James Buchanan. Not only are there no heroes in this monograph; there are few politicians worthy of respect, except possibly David Wilmot and the Free Soilers, and an occasional left-wing Jackson or Van Buren Democrat. The economic motive may not be the determining factor in history, but it is nonetheless instructive to observe Pennsylvania Democrats sacrificing party principles when their constituents' interests in the Bank of the United States or the tariff were at stake. Local politicians of almost any faith could do an about-face when an

extension of the public works through their territory was in the offing. Snyder does not hesitate to describe the growth of anti-Negro emotion in pre-Civil War Pennsylvania, which resulted in the disfranchisement of colored voters in the Constitution of 1838 (p. 105). One of the most disturbing aspects of historical writing today is the contrast between accurate monographs of the type Snyder has written and the nationalistic and filiopietistic slanting found in so many textbooks.

West Virginia University

WILLIAM D. BARNES

Toward Gettysburg: A Biography of General John F. Reynolds. By Edward J. Nichols. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1958. Pp. 276. \$6.00.)

General Reynolds has long deserved a full-length biography, even though he never attained the distinction of an independent command during the Civil War. The most casual students of the Gettysburg campaign know of him as the first general officer who happened to be killed, on the first day of the decisive battle, which many think occurred by chance. Few, however, including the specialist, have asked how Reynolds happened to be where he was, and why it was he and not somebody else. In this biography Nichols has answered these questions by his thorough study of the development of Reynolds as a man and a general—noting that his life was not predestined to end on McPherson's Ridge. Reynolds, it seems, had a choice even on the morning of July 1.

Reynolds came from a large Lancaster family of moderate means. He had the advantage of good schooling at Lititz and at Baltimore prior to admission to West Point. He possessed robust health, an even temperament, considerable self-confidence, and a love of the out-of-doors and of horseback riding, so he was particularly well suited for military life. Ambitious to improve himself and his reputation, Reynolds constantly sought the chance to do so while serving as an officer in the Mexican War under Taylor and in the Mormon campaign. During the Civil War his eagerness to assume greater responsibilities and to get into the thick of battle became even more evident. Nichols makes clear that in his drive for military glory Reynolds did not stoop to belittle his companions in arms, nor did he curry favor with a political faction in the Republican party nor seek popularity among his men. Quiet and reserved in manner, he kept his own counsel. Although a strict disciplinarian, he had a reputation for supervising the care of his men in camp and on the march, and for personally leading them into battle. Always the professional and hard-fighting soldier, Reynolds nevertheless had a softer side to his nature. He never married, yet he had a deep affection for all members of his family and kept in close touch with them, especially with his youngest sister.

The greater portion of this book concentrates on Reynolds' Civil War career. His first command, which he assumed in September, 1861, was the 1st Brigade of the famous Pennsylvania Reserves, a division of the Army of the Potomac. He became commander of the whole division in time to lead it in McClellan's Peninsular Campaign of 1862. In the heavy fighting at

Mechanicsville and Gaines' Mill he distinguished himself before being captured. Exchanged in time for the second battle of Bull Run, he played a key role in saving Pope's army from annihilation. The Antietam campaign, to which he looked forward with keen anticipation, proved a frustrating experience. Governor Andrew Curtin induced the War Department to assign Reynolds the impossible task of organizing an emergency force of raw militia to repel the threatened invasion of Pennsylvania. The opportunity of again leading his division into battle was now given to his friend and rival, General George Meade. Reynolds fought in the battle of Fredericksburg in December, 1862, as a major general in command of the 1st Corps. Although his men had some initial success, in the end they shared in the bitter defeat suffered by the whole army. Chancellorsville was just as disappointing, for his corps saw little action.

Reynolds' dissatisfaction with his war record was not shared by his contemporaries and the authorities in Washington. Hooker rated him his "ablest officer" at Chancellorsville, and in the movements preliminary to the Gettysburg campaign he temporarily assigned Reynolds to command the right wing of the army. Nichols is pretty well convinced that the War Department's offer of the command of the Army of the Potomac to Reynolds at this time was not just rumor, but fact. Furthermore, he believes that Reynolds' rejection did not result from a lack of faith in himself, as some historians have intimated, but from the refusal of Washington to agree to his terms, a hands-off policy in the operation of the army. The last-minute appointment of Meade to succeed Hooker pleased Reynolds, for now he felt the army would hit the enemy hard and throw them out of Pennsylvania. Nichols stresses the feeling of respect and friendship Reynolds and Meade had for each other in spite of their rivalry. It is easy to understand why Meade placed three infantry corps and a cavalry division under Reynolds' direction and ordered a reconnaissance in force towards Gettysburg.

Nichols' account of events leading up to and including the first day of the battle differs in emphasis and details from commonly accepted versions. He does not refer to the clash of the two armies at Gettysburg as an accident. Instead he relates how Reynolds and Meade knew that Lee was concentrating within the area of the town, that early in the morning of July 1 Reynolds marched as planned toward Gettysburg, and that when he learned from Buford that Confederates had been "pouring down" from Cashtown since daybreak, he decided to commit all of his forces to a general engagement just outside of town. It proved to be a fateful decision for both armies. As for the death of Reynolds, Nichols concludes that it occurred, just when the Iron Brigade of the 1st Corps got into action, as the result of a "stray bullet," and not the aim of a marksman.

Too much praise cannot be given to Reynolds, the man and the general; yet his biographer shows proper restraint in writing about him. Nichols had full access to the unpublished papers of the general, which he put to good use. The book as a whole represents careful and intelligent scholarship. The appraisal of Reynolds is sympathetic, but fair and judicious.

Lafayette College

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

My Partner, The River. The White Pine Story on the Susquehanna. By R. Dudley Tonkin. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958. Pp. 276. \$6.00.)

R. Dudley Tonkin, a veteran of the lumber days on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, learned the lumber business from his father. He narrates in detail all phases of the operation, from the time a tree is felled until it is delivered by rafts to the Susquehanna Boom at Williamsport and thence to market. The focal point and nerve center of the entire procedure is of course the long, crooked river, as the Indians called the Susquehanna. The loggers, swampers, rafters, boom rats, floaters, pilots, lobby hogs, mill men, and timber buyers, are all here depicted in pure and unadulterated accounts drawn from Mr. Tonkin's personal knowledge, actual conversations with old-timers, or the records of the lumber companies. Every detail of the daily life in the woods is recounted—what the men ate, how they slept, their hours of labor—and it all makes interesting reading.

The Pennsylvania General Assembly early recognized the importance of the waterways by declaring certain streams to be public highways—Kettle Creek, Larrys Creek, Lycoming Creek, Loyalsock Creek, Muncy Creek, Sinnemahoning, Tomb's Run, Trout Run, Wallis Run, and White Deer Hole Creek, to mention only a few. However, this policy did not prevent individual owners along other streams, not declared to be public highways, from bottling up the timber at the mouth of a small stream. This led the legislature to enact a law, which was approved by Governor Geary on March 28, 1871, assuring the timber owner on the headwaters of a small stream of an outlet for his logs. It likewise protected one who improved the stream or built dams, and provided him with compensation for his work.

The Susquehanna Boom at Williamsport, the realization of a dream of a New Hampshire Yankee, Major James H. Perkins, is discussed at length. It had its beginnings in the Act of May 26, 1846, P. L. 190, in which a charter for a boom company was granted to John Leighton and his associates. Details are given about the "branding" of logs with log marks, and although familiar with the use of such marks, this reviewer did not know it was customary to mark each log six times at both ends. Many such log marks are on record in the Prothonotary's office at Williamsport.

Conservationist concern is introduced by a letter from Anthony Hile of Curwensville, who wrote as follows (p. 67): "I often think about the timber which was originally here, if never cut (barring natural decay) and still standing, it would be a very rich part of Penns Woods. When I contemplate what has been done in the past one hundred and fifty years, with timber, coal and clay, I come to the conclusion we have consumed our natural resources, have only made a gesture toward restoring timber, and nothing for coal and clay. We can't, only God can work miracles. Do we, as a people, live in a fool's paradise?"

The book contains excellent photographs as well as diagrams and drawings of various items of equipment used in the lumber trade. There are two appendices, one giving the names of the raft pilots, and the other important rafting points on the Susquehanna. The reader is provided with a

glossary of the peculiar argot or jargon of the lumber boys, and lastly, the book contains what this reviewer considers most essential, an index.

Mr. Tonkin's fear that ". . . history will not correctly evaluate the part the river, the timber and the men of the Susquehanna Valley played in this great movement between 1865 and 1890 . . ." should trouble us no longer. His account of one of Pennsylvania's most important early industries is well worth the time and attention of every one interested in her history.

Williamsport, Pa.

MARSHALL R. ANSPACH

A Picture of the Pennsylvania Germans. By Russell Wieder Gilbert. [Pennsylvania Historical Studies, No. 1. Revised Edition.] (Gettysburg: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1958. Pp. 68. \$.50.)

Professor Gilbert's *Picture of the Pennsylvania Germans* appeared in 1947 as the first of a series of three pamphlets published by The Pennsylvania Historical Association. The purpose was to make available at low cost subject matter pertinent to the history of Pennsylvania. It was to be presented in a popular way for the easy use of teachers and students. The first pamphlet was devoted to the Pennsylvania Germans and their place in the history of our state; the second to the Quakers; and the third to the Scotch Irish.

The Committee on Publications of The Pennsylvania Historical Association was indeed fortunate in their choice of Dr. Gilbert as the one to prepare the first of these pamphlets. As both Germanist and historian he was eminently fitted for this task. The pamphlet filled a distinct need and was widely used. Out of print for several years, the Association did well to make it once more available.

In the new edition there is little change in scope. The type has been reset and the pages are more pleasing to the eye. The text has been carefully revised and there are changes in the sequence of the material. This is especially notable in the text under the sub-title "Difficulties in a New Home." Here one unexpectedly comes upon a paragraph about Jacob Albright, founder of the Evangelical Church, which was omitted in the first edition. The author has frequent occasion to refer incidentally to the activities of the churches and sects, but perhaps so manifold a religious manifestation, peculiar to Pennsylvania, deserves special treatment as a separate chapter, however brief. The selected bibliography appended to the text offers the researcher new in the field an excellent working apparatus. It has been revised, some items have been deleted, and others that have appeared since 1947 have been added.

This reviewer may be allowed to repeat what he said of the first edition: this pamphlet contains within the compass of its 68 pages more information, carefully weighed and sifted, about the Pennsylvania Germans than can be found in any other one place within the same space. In a brief and concise manner the author answers the questions that any thoughtful, interested person might ask about the Pennsylvania Germans: Who are they? Where did they come from? Why did they come? Who came? The pamphlet considers their role in war and in peace, their folklore, their folk art, their contributions to our national life.

We cannot agree with a recent reviewer who is of the opinion that the author sees the Pennsylvania Germans as inhabiting a cultural island set in a sea of Anglo-Saxons, rather than as an indigenous and developing part of American life. We see no effort on the part of the author to leave the Pennsylvania Germans stranded on the island of their own culture. Between Anglo-Saxon and German there was from the beginning a give and take, a gradual integration of the two cultures, a process still going on, but to trace it would require a larger canvas than this picture affords. It would seem no frailty to have traced and made visible for the unpracticed eye some of the threads that have gone into the making of the intricate patterns of American civilization.

Inevitably the cultural aspects of the Pennsylvania Germans have become submerged in an a-racial American civilization. But as long as summer tourists from New England, from the South, from the West, continue to invade our pleasant landscapes in order to see the matchless farms, their ancient stone houses, and red-painted, decorated barns; as long as they enjoy our nationally famous cuisine and do not hesitate to dunk shoo-fly pie with the rest of us, one might just as well continue yet a while to paint pictures of those *sui generis* Americans known in common parlance as the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Muhlenberg College

PRESTON A. BARBA

American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939. By Robert Moats Miller. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. Pp. 385. \$6.00.)

Dr. Miller has done an unusually good job with a subject difficult to research. The long-time regular reader of church papers knows there is a lot that is interesting in our denominational and interdenominational journals, and much of it is of a high order of literary excellence. But to wade through it all, and to understand and to interpret with clarity what is written therein, is no small undertaking. To read the publications of the multitude of Protestant churches, and to read them as they appeared during twenty years in which there was an absence of that eager desire for regimentation which has overtaken my own denomination since 1939, is not only a tremendous task but sometimes a little dreary. As for me, if I must read the journalistic efforts of twenty years, give me *True Detective Mysteries* or even PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY.

Dr. Miller has assembled factual evidence that the voice of American Protestantism through the period of 1919-1939 spoke courageously for human rights and for human betterment. In doing so he was obliged to make his way through a veritable labyrinth of road blocks. One is in the very nature of Protestantism itself. The *sine qua non* of Protestantism is the right of private judgment. This, let me explain, is much the same as that ancient pearl of great price called "rugged individualism." One is in the field of religion and the other in the field of economics and industry. There are those of us who believe that both are priceless and both are of the essence of Americanism.

Because Protestantism postulates the right of every man to think for himself and to speak out, it speaks with many voices. Not all the speakers are as intelligent or as thoughtful as they ought to be. Some of them are coldly intelligent and shrewd about their coldness. Some are inclined to be emotional and to permit their emotions to determine their thinking and especially their talking. But even these do-gooders have something good about them. For example, I was delighted to learn that there was something really worthwhile about the great lamented Inter-Church World Movement of the early 1920's. I have always thought that it was a splendid, grandiose plan of our crackpots to imitate big business under the notion that the important thing about "big business" was the word "big." Dr. Miller deals kindly with the Inter-Church World Movement. It is far, far better for America to listen to a multitude of courageous voices, some of which express ideas which are obviously impractical, than it is to live under an intellectual or spiritual dictatorship. America has gladly paid and is still willing to pay the price for freedom.

Dr. Miller refutes the charge that the churches of the 'twenties were "corpulent and contented." "The frequency and intensity of the attack upon the church for meddling in secular affairs," he writes, "implies that Social Christianity was not dead in the 'twenties." He discusses the election of 1928 and points out that prohibition was itself a vital issue and not a mask for anti-Catholicism. The depression of the 1930's was not attended by the religious revival which had characterized almost every other period of economic stringency in American history. While there was indeed a tendency towards the Right in theology, there was a move towards the Left in social problems. The bulk of the clergy probably remained near and even to the right of center.

Contrary to the vociferous claim that the churches and church leaders did no thinking of their own and never spoke out, Protestant preachers as a class have never been afraid to speak out. On issues involving civil liberties, the rights of accused condemned by prejudice, war and peace, labor and strikes, and all manner of race problems "the churches have played a role somewhat more gallant than is generally believed."

The conclusion that any reader of this book must reach is that although there have been some Protestant leaders, or rather speakers, who might be characterized as exhibiting as did the great Edward Irving "a prodigious want of common sense," the characterization cannot be regarded as universally valid. One lays down this book repeating

"Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain."

Presbyterian Ministers' Fund, Philadelphia

ALEXANDER MACKIE

Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones. By Elizabeth Gray Vining. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. Pp. 347. \$6.00.)

Pennsylvanians understandably have long had a special interest and even pride in anything concerning the Quakers. This small denomination played

a role in America out of all proportion to its size, from the colonial period right up to the Civil War, though there is a tendency for it to vanish from the history books once the slavery struggle was resolved. The twentieth century has seen a considerable revival of interest in the Friends, especially among liberal intellectuals who have been attracted by their simplicity of creed and their record of practical social service. Of the Quaker leaders whose examples helped spark this revival, certainly one of the best known and most deeply respected was that adopted Pennsylvanian, Rufus M. Jones. This biography by Elizabeth Gray Vining, already celebrated for her book describing her experiences as tutor to the Crown Prince of Japan, is obviously a labor of love by a person who knew him well and greatly admired him.

From the personal angle, what will impress many people is the series of tragedies that beset Rufus Jones in his younger days (particularly the deaths in rapid succession of his first wife, his fiancée, and the only child by his first marriage), and how he nevertheless surmounted them. Others will find it consoling that even so outwardly composed an individual suffered from various recurrent ailments that seem strikingly psychosomatic in nature, suggesting that his great self-discipline had not been easily acquired. It is also startling to realize how long orthodox Quakers in Philadelphia regarded the ex-Maine farm boy as a radical outsider—at least until the time when his second marriage to a Cadbury allayed the deepest apprehensions.

Though the life of Rufus Jones would have been significant for its personal example alone, he influenced far greater numbers through his prolific writings. While these efforts could all be comprehended under the general heading of religious thought, they include both his work as a historian of Quakerism and as a student of mysticism. However, he sometimes combined these by examining the historical precursors of Quaker mysticism. Despite considerable research abroad, he seems always to have remained primarily a popularizer in the best sense of the word. As a result, there are hints that much of the work that he did in each area has been superseded, yet Mrs. Vining recounts his views, especially on mysticism, in faithful detail.

Actually Rufus Jones, it develops, in many respects was not a mystic of the type which the term usually brings to mind. He did not find the more ecstatic forms of mysticism congenial, since he always had an uneasy feeling that they reflected abnormal hysterical behavior. Neither did this energetic, highly activist individual, who exemplified how pragmatic even philosophers are in America, care for "negative mysticism," the ascetic variety which withdrew from the world completely. Mysticism to Rufus Jones was something more positive, which inspired him to the life of service that made him so widely known and admired.

Probably the long sections on Jones' interpretation of mysticism which Mrs. Vining feels obliged to include will seem rather specialized to many readers, who may prefer reading about the other aspects of his career. Some will relish the glimpses into the history of Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges for over half a century, and particularly how this astute gentleman

handled the formidable M. Carey Thomas. Many more will be interested in the story of the American Friends Service Committee, of which Jones was a founder and long-time chairman. Others will find vicarious enjoyment in the accounts of his trips all over the world. The most dramatic episodes are a prickly association with Herbert Hoover in the post-World War I feeding program in Russia, an interview with Gandhi in India, and a mission to Nazi Germany in 1938 to see whether the Quakers could do anything to help the Jews.

Important though all this material is, one misses some indications of Jones' views on other questions which are equally significant, especially in view of the suspicion that there are often sharp limitations to Quaker liberalism once one gets outside of the areas of theology and a respect for the worth of the individual, and into political and economic issues. The career of Rufus Jones spanned a long period. How did he feel about turn-of-the-century imperialism, the Progressive Movement, the careers of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations, Prohibition, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the Great Depression, the New Deal? There is no discussion of which political party or candidates he favored. His associations suggest that he may have been quite conservative on most of these matters, but one would like to know more precisely.

Although the publishers try to conceal the fact in the text, Mrs. Vining's study is thoroughly documented, being based upon a wide variety of source materials in the form of Jones' own numerous writings, an extensive collection of letters to and from him, and interviews with many relatives, friends, and colleagues. It is frankly an admiring account, with scarcely an even mildly critical remark. Perhaps because Mrs. Vining is somewhat overawed by her subject, the book is not nearly so well written as one would expect. Certainly she makes it clear that Rufus Jones was a great personality, but her book also demonstrates how the charm and effectiveness of such individuals depend upon an ephemeral personal magnetism which cannot be completely recaptured on the printed page.

University of Pennsylvania

WALLACE EVAN DAVIES