
Students of colonial history are indebted to the generosity and care of Mr. Hamilton who, having acquired two manuscript journals of the Braddock campaign, has been prompt to make them available in a volume which for good measure includes also the text of an orderly book previously known but until now unpublished.

Of the two journals, the first probably was kept by a servant of Captain Robert Cholmley, one of the British officers killed in the defeat. Written apparently day by day, its generally terse entries cover the period from the troops' landing on March 10 to August 8, 1755, a month after the battle. The second account, by an unidentified British officer, is less rigidly contemporary but fuller in detail and covers the period from June 10 to July 17. Captain Cholmley was with the advance party which left Fort Cumberland on May 29 and arrived at the Little Meadows on June 5; the unidentified officer was with the main force, which left Fort Cumberland on June 10 and overtook the advance party at the Little Meadows six days later. Halkett's orderly book, the third document in this volume, spans the dates March 27-July 22, but unsurprisingly contains no entries for July 9-11.

These documents approximately double the quantity of published sources of this nature. Captain Orme's journal and the "Seamen's Journal," published by Sargent in 1855, both relate to the march of Braddock's main force. Braddock's orderly books, edited by Lowdermilk in 1878, extend from February 26 only to June 17, though it should be observed that many subsequent orders are paraphrased in Orme's journal. Mrs. Browne, the relevant portion of whose diary was printed in 1924 in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, was a nurse who did not go beyond Fort Cumberland.

In view of the title given Mr. Hamilton's book, it perhaps should be stressed that the subject of his documents is the wider one of Braddock's march and not merely the climactic defeat on July 9. The servant's account of this last event is the direct, unvarnished report of a participant; the officer's journal is less personal but more inclusive, and contains a report on the British officers engaged; the orderly book, as has been noted, includes nothing on the battle itself, so that the volume contains two eyewitness accounts of the defeat, and not three as stated on the jacket.

The essential factor in a publication of this kind is the accuracy of the transcription, which in the present case appears to have been made with scrupulous care. Emendations other than those details noted in the Introduc-
tion are clearly bracketed, and a facsimile of one page from the servant’s journal permits the reader to check the editor’s procedure.

The editor sensibly has not undertaken any exhaustive annotation and enters into detail only with the list of officers on pages 54-58. One might suggest the possibility that “Mawhawking,” page 50, represents *tomahawking* rather than *Mohawking*; and the statement on page 26 about the Indian names Monacatootha and Skirooniatta is inexact. Rather, Monacatootha was a Shawnee equivalent of the Iroquois name Scarroyady (“side of the sky”), and Virginia and Pennsylvania records use both versions of the name, variously spelled.

It may be noted also that French records shed further light on some matters here dealt with. A letter of June 21, 1755, from Captain Contrecoeur, commander at Fort Duquesne, to Governor Vaudreuil (printed by Grenier in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 364-367) lists French parties sent out to reconnoiter and worry the advancing English; and one may note in particular De Normanville’s party of eleven cadets and eighty-seven Indians which set out from Fort Duquesne about June 7 and returned on June 21. This party, which included Contrecoeur’s son Pécaudy—probably the “Picaudy” of the officer’s journal, page 45—was that which on June 19 captured Monacatootha (Monacatootha in the officer’s journal, page 43; translated as *côtié ducicôle* by Contrecoeur).

Aside from the facsimile page of the servant’s journal, the illustrations are slightly related to the text and are not of the same scholarly value. Of the portraits of Braddock, Beaujeu, and Washington, the last at least is familiar from frequent publication, and the vignettes borrowed from the works of Lossing and other nineteenth-century writers contribute little. Those on pages 13, 46, and 126 have some relevance, and the one on page 128 is at least an apt illustration, but that on page 43 seems to represent a later time, and those on pages 21, 64, and 80, portraying the teepees of Plains Indians, are quite incongruous. The map reproduced on page 11 is inadequate, and the editor and the publisher might have placed the reader further in their debt had they found it possible to reproduce one or more of the contemporary maps of Braddock’s route.

The publisher is to be complimented on having issued these significant documents in a volume so legibly printed and so well and attractively bound.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*  
*William A. Hunter*


Born in 1803 in Upper Silesia to a Jewish family of moderate means, Julius Friedlander became a Christian while attending the University of Leipzig. Relatives who had been supporting him until this conversion now cut off his income, and he was forced to leave the university and take a position as a tutor. For several years he tutored the sons of the Prince of Fürstenberg, in Baden, and there he met Franz Müller.

Müller, sponsored by the Prince of Fürstenberg, founded a school for
the blind in the nearby town of Mariahof, and in 1828 Friedlander joined Müller in this project. Müller, who had studied under Johann Wilhelm Klein in Vienna, wanted to learn more about the education of the blind in Paris, and sent Friedlander to make a study for them both. Friedlander spent many months in Paris, and later had an opportunity to visit the London Institute for the Blind. Müller's school, which had now been taken over by the state of Baden and moved to Bruchsal, provided an excellent opportunity for Friedlander to put into practice all that he had learned. However, as a Prussian citizen, Friedlander was considered an alien in Baden, and was never officially employed or paid by the state. Friedlander decided that his only hope for advancement in this new field was in America.

He learned that there were philanthropic persons in Philadelphia who wanted to start a school for the blind, and he determined to come to Philadelphia and lead such an effort. Outfitted by his old patron, the Prince of Fürstenberg, and armed with many letters of introduction, Friedlander set sail in the summer of 1832. He had little difficulty in convincing leading figures in Philadelphia that he was competent to head such a project, and the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind was founded in 1833, in a building on Twelfth Street above Race.

The school made rapid progress in teaching the blind. At the same time, public exhibitions by the students attracted a large measure of support. In 1836 the school was able to move into new and larger quarters at Twentieth and Race streets, and in 1837 it received a large legacy which allowed considerable expansion of facilities. Friedlander worked feverishly to accomplish as much as possible in a short time, for he knew he was dying of tuberculosis, a disease which had plagued him for a decade. Despite efforts to check the ravages of the disease, he died early in 1839, before his thirty-sixth birthday.

Although this is a brief biography, it is far more complete than any written before, for the author, a collateral descendant of Friedlander, inherited a bundle of the letters which the educator had written to his brother back in Silesia. In addition, she visited the various places in Germany where he lived as a young man, and did research in European archives. While this is an uncritical biographical sketch, it serves a useful purpose in throwing new light on the man who is primarily responsible for the present Overbrook School for the Blind. There are several interesting illustrations in the book, but there is no index.

Temple University


Legend has it that the mountain men were persons whose contacts with savages and an unfriendly environment had made more like beasts than men. When food was scarce they ate raw horsemeat. Human life was cheap and they delighted in killing and scalping Indians. Refined sentiment was no longer a part of their make-up. If there is a germ of truth in such legend, then Zenas Leonard was certainly an outstanding exception to the rule.
His narrative reveals him as a person of refinement and peculiarly human characteristics. He appreciated the admirable qualities of the Indians but at the same time was shocked by some of their more barbaric customs. When he nearly starved to death during a fierce western blizzard he became homesick for Pennsylvania.

Leonard’s narrative covers the years 1831 to 1835 when he was working as a fur trader and explorer in the Far West and the Rocky Mountain region. He had been born and raised on a farm near Clearfield, Pennsylvania, and had left home when he was twenty-one. After working a short time as a clerk for his uncle who was a Pittsburgh merchant, he went to St. Louis where he became a clerk for the fur trading firm of Gantt and Blackwell. He spent one very difficult winter trapping for them on the Laramie River. After that firm broke up, Leonard worked as an independent trapper and then joined Joseph Reddeford Walker’s expedition to the Pacific. Later he spent a year hunting and trapping for Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville.

In its present form Zenas Leonard’s narrative is a rich and highly readable historical source. He made careful observations of the terrain and the animals he encountered. He described the Indians and their customs. His accounts of the Crow methods of hunting and warfare are especially valuable. He penned a vivid account of the battle of Pierre’s Hole of July, 1832, in which a force of a hundred and fifty mountain men fought a large number of Gros Ventres Indians. He wrote an accurate and detailed account of Joseph Reddeford Walker’s journey, which was the first American expedition to travel westward to the Pacific across the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The material on Walker’s expedition, which comprises half of Leonard’s narrative, relates the discovery of the Yosemite Valley and the giant redwoods and contains excellent descriptions of the Spanish settlements and their inhabitants.

Zenas Leonard kept a journal as he traveled, but Indians stole part of it and he reconstructed much of his narrative from memory at a later date. In valuable footnotes, clear but not pedantic, the editor of the present edition has called attention to Leonard’s occasional errors. The narrative was first published in his home-town paper, The Clearfield Republican, and then reprinted in 1839 by the editor of that newspaper. Limited editions of the book appeared in 1903 and 1934. The current edition again makes available one of the better narratives of the mountain trappers. It is volume twenty-eight in The American Exploration and Travel Series of the University of Oklahoma Press. Like the others in the series, it is a handsome book. A map and sixteen illustrations add to its usefulness.

Grove City College

Larry Gara


Dr. Hubertis M. Cummings is known to PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY readers for several articles on Pennsylvania’s canals and railroads. Working for the
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the Department of Internal Affairs, he has produced a valuable guide to both public and private Pennsylvania transportation history.

This descriptive index efficiently steers a researcher through the maze of canal and allied records held mainly in the Bureau of Land Records in Harrisburg. For each of three canal-paper groupings he provides a summary, and for most volumes in each group a brief resumé. Further, this index by covering private operation of the "Main Line" and the Susquehanna Canals after 1857, carries the Pennsylvania canal system to its close in 1901.

After an introduction to the voluminous holdings, 315 board records and papers of 1825-1859 period are listed on 150 pages. Terming them the hub of all activity for the period, Dr. Cummings has correlated the 1825-1859 House Journals and Executive Documents with the Canal Commissioners' Minute Books. This listing not only enables the researcher to avoid reading script at Harrisburg but may allow him to read these official publications at his home-town library or through an inter-library loan.

The identification of existing indexes is another time-saving accomplishment. Each call group in the Department of Internal Affairs generally is a separate canal or railroad section. W2d, for instance, covers the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad. With Dr. Cummings' work in hand a systematic research program can be planned at home, and partially carried out in most large libraries.

The second grouping presents "the official day by day, month by month, year by year archival account" of Pennsylvania's transportation venture. After listing 329 files (in 81 boxes), explaining and noting missing portions of the Superintendency Papers, Dr. Cummings again whets the canal enthusiasts' appetite by giving examples from thirteen files. Neither time nor space allowed him to cite many other interesting facts such as the 1860 Reading Company operation over the Columbia Bridge and the proposed 1791 route of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal into downtown Philadelphia.

In his third grouping, the compiler, in reporting on the surviving fifty-two groups of maps and map books, and calling attention to misnomers or the accuracy of titles, notes a marked limitation. Few maps or sets of maps represent a division or lines of a railroad or canal as completely built and operated. Despite this limitation, the preserved map books, in Dr. Cummings' words, "have two distinct archival values: representation of the best map making in Pennsylvania during the second quarter of the 19th century, and the numerous drawings afford an insight into the physical structure and routine canal operation."

The index continues by listing five supplementary volumes belonging to the Canal Commissioners, and concludes by listing allied records in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. These cover not only the State Works but also early private canals and railroads as well. Among them are the Schuylkill Navigation papers, and the large and comprehensive collection of the Blair County Historical Society at Hollidaysburg. Examples of Commission holdings are a photograph collection of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, the 1835-1895 Susquehanna Canal
records, and the already-mentioned Pennsylvania Railroad records of the
1857-1901 operation of the Main Line.

To Dr. Cummings' notes about the Union Canal it is pertinent to add that
both the Delaware and Schuylkill and the Schuylkill and Susquehanna
Canal materials are in the large Union Canal collection at the Historical
Society of Berks County. Included as well are some papers on the Delaware
Division Canal. Further, many minute books of these early companies are
at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and a Delaware and Schuylkill
waste book is at the Historical Society of Montgomery County.

This index works well. Without advance notification (or good planning),
the writer visited the Educational Building, the Department of Internal
Affairs, and the State Museum in Harrisburg. At each location all material
requested was promptly made available. However, this was the "hard way"
to discover that the 500 series of offices in the North Capitol Wing are not
on the fifth but on E floor.

One hopes that Dr. Cummings' excellent work will be continued so that
in time a bibliography will develop on Pennsylvania canal and river im-
provements comparable to that available to New York students. Whitford's
two-volume History of New York Canals (Albany, 1906) contains a printed
bibliography of 187 pages. How much do we know about pre-Revolutionary
improvements on the Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, and Juniata
rivers? Or about Hopkins' $120,000 post-1813 canal at Falmouth, Lan-
caster County?

Hopewell Village National Historic Monument

Earl J. Heydinger

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume I, 1801-1817. Edited by Robert L.
Meriwether. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the
South Caroliniana Society, 1959. Pp. 469. $10.00.)

This first volume of a projected series of the papers of John C. Calhoun
covers his career through 1817. It contains 159 selections, 22 of them from
his youth, including the period at Yale College and the law school at Litch-
field; 22 covering his service in the South Carolina legislature; and the
bulk of them, 115, relevant to his career in the House of Representatives.
Of these 159 papers, 8 are letters to Calhoun, 71 are letters from Calhoun,
64 are speeches and remarks, and 16 are legislative bills, reports, and notices.
This does not comprise all of the Calhoun papers for the period, but it is a
selection of the more valuable and interesting of them, with an attempt to
eliminate duplication. A calendar lists about one hundred other Calhoun
papers, with less significant items and duplications, for Calhoun had the com-
mon habit of writing essentially the same letter to several correspondents.

These selections cover the early nationalistic phase of Calhoun's career—
or as Margaret L. Coit prefers to describe it, the period when Calhoun
spoke for a majority. Calhoun favored protection, federal aid for internal
improvements, a strong military and naval establishment, and a central
bank. He was the chairman of the House Committee on a Uniform Currency
and, with Secretary of the Treasury Dallas, was largely responsible for
writing the charter for the Second Bank of the United States. Some of these
sentiments were to haunt him in later years. On the tariff, for example: "High duties have no pernicious effects; and are consistent with the genius of the people and the institutions of the country." In a speech of February 4, 1817, on internal improvements he presented an able argument favoring a loose interpretation of the Constitution because of Congress' power to appropriate money for whatever purpose it chose. In debates with such strict constructionists as John Randolph he argued effectively for broad national powers.

This nationalism was most evident in Calhoun's speeches and writings on the War of 1812, when he was a "war hawk" leader and chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, and the administration's floor leader in Congress. He believed wholeheartedly in the righteousness of the war, and defended the administration's conduct of the war with vigor and ability, even though privately he had occasional doubts. "We are literally borne down under the effects of errors and mismanagement," he wrote to Dr. James Macbride on December 25, 1812. "I do believe the Executive will have to make a disgraceful peace." Yet he was able to defend the Treaty of Ghent with great conviction.

The volume is ably edited by the late Professor Robert L. Meriwether of the University of South Carolina. The selections which he has included are well chosen; he has subjected doubtful portions of the text to a searching scrutiny, and where a doubt exists, such as the conflicting accounts of speeches in the Annals of Congress and the National Intelligencer, he has attempted to settle the matter definitively. Each paper has an explanatory note placing it in its historical setting, and the notes explaining Calhoun's speeches and reports in Congress are masterful for the manner in which they clarify the jumbled maze of diplomacy and financial history. Indeed, the notes by themselves constitute an excellent survey of the diplomatic history of the War of 1812.

Professor Meriwether has written a brief, cogent introduction reviewing this early phase of Calhoun's career; he has added a chronology and a genealogical table, and a bibliography covering these years. The volume contains a very complete and usable index. Finally, a calendar is included, summarizing the other Calhoun papers for the period that are not included in this volume.

The first volume of a project such as this makes comparisons inevitable, coming as it does at the same time as the first volumes of the Benjamin Franklin papers and the Henry Clay papers make their appearance. The Calhoun papers, judging from this first volume, will appeal primarily to scholars. Unlike the Jefferson and Franklin papers, and to a much lesser extent the Clay papers, the Calhoun papers will not appeal to the general reader. There are no discussions of literature, philosophy, religion, or science, and no abstract speculation or humor. With an occasional rare exception—advice on weaning his son from the breast, for example, or a moving letter describing the death of his daughter, or a comment on the destiny of middle class Americans—these papers are strictly business.

Calhoun's major concern, both in his speeches, where it is to be expected, and in his private correspondence is with politics and statecraft. Even his
discussions of political theory smack of the practical, hard-headed realism which characterized his approach to government. To the layman this may not prove interesting, but to the scholar the volumes will be instructive. Nevertheless, the material in this first volume does not basically change the interpretations of Calhoun already presented in the studies of Charles M. Wiltse or Margaret L. Coit. Especially enlightening in this first volume, dealing with Calhoun's maturing years, is the development of his rather effective literary style, gradually changing from a florid to a direct, forceful, hard-hitting presentation. By 1817 Calhoun was a master at this.

Professor Meriwether's aim has been to make available a definitive edition of these papers "for a thorough study of his forty years of intense activity in the public service. . . . During half of this period Calhoun was one of the major figures in the political organization which controlled the government, and a full record of these years is essential." This task had been inaugurated with great ability. Scholars will hope that Professor Meriwether's successors will maintain equally high standards of scholarship for the remaining volumes.

The Pennsylvania State University

JAMES L. CROUTHAMEL


In this, the fifth volume of his Ordeal of the Union, Professor Nevins reaches the "dark and bloody ground" of the Civil War, some two years in advance of the opening of the Civil War Centennial. This volume carries forward the story of sectional conflict from the date of President Abraham Lincoln's inauguration in March, 1861, through the first nine months of the war, concluding with the retirement of Secretary of War Simon Cameron.

Professor Nevins is retracing in The Improvised War ground that has already been well worked over by James Ford Rhodes, Douglas Freeman, Kenneth Williams, and many another Civil War specialist. Writing from what might be characterized as a nationalist point of view, Nevins gives proportionately less attention to military matters than most writers have done, in a work, which, as he himself explains, is primarily devoted to "political, administrative, economic, and social history." The thesis of this volume and the volumes that are to follow is that the war largely transformed an "inchoate" nation, individualistic in temper and addicted to improvisation, into a disciplined one that had become increasingly aware of the necessity for plan and control.

Only the beginnings of this process were in evidence during 1861. Lincoln could find no Baruch or Knudsen to take over the production management of the war effort and provide reliable estimates of the number of men and the amount of war supplies needed in a nation that possessed only the most elementary knowledge of managerial techniques and that lacked trustworthy statistical data. These hard facts go far toward explaining the blundering efforts of the War Department and the other Executive Departments during the early months of the "Improvised War."

It may seem surprising that in a volume of this size, actually 55 pages
shorter than its predecessor in the series, Professor Nevins manages to shed as much new light as he does on the history of this memorable year. Among the themes to which his treatment gives meaningful coverage are the controversial Sumter crisis, resulting in what was already in the author's opinion an irrepressible conflict; border politics and warfare in Missouri and elsewhere; and the vitally important role of army ordnance coming to a head in the matter of the fire power of infantry weapons. Nevins is as fully alive to Lincoln's administrative shortcomings as he is to the latter's undeniably great talents in other aspects of his wartime tasks. In the opinion of this reviewer, he provides the most satisfactory interpretation of Major General George B. McClellan that has yet appeared in Civil War literature. As an interpretation of an important war personality it compares favorably with the same author's masterly profile of Grant in his biography of Hamilton Fish.

Readers having a special interest in Pennsylvania history will want to give attention to Nevins' portrayal of such leading Pennsylvanians of the period as Secretary Cameron, Governor Andrew G. Curtin, Assistant Secretary of War Thomas A. Scott, and the various Pennsylvania generals other than McClellan who figured in the military operations of the first year of the war. Only bare mention is made of Pittsburgh's Major General James S. Negley, whom Professor Nevins fails to place on his list of the more able civilian generals. In the author's opinion, "Incompetent Cameron was; corrupt he was not, save in the sense that he kept a keen eye out for political profit." Never having liked Cameron, who had essentially been foisted upon him, Lincoln encouraged his Secretary to resign at a point when an irreparable breach touching a sensitive point of national policy came between them.

In treating a subject as controversial as this most fascinating of modern wars, Professor Nevins could hardly fail to raise almost as many questions as he answers. Excellent though his interpretation of McClellan is, it omits any reference to the baneful influence of Jominian ideas on McClellan's strategic concepts. Also the carping critic may justifiably ask whether the sweeping judgment that the northern blockade was "one of the greatest naval undertakings of all history" can be justified, and whether it is realistic to think that McClellan could or would have marched his victorious army from the battlefield of Rich Mountain to the aid of General Patterson, if he had been instructed to do so. Furthermore, some readers will question the author's relatively favorable view of the record of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War in the light of earlier criticisms by a number of leading writers, among them James G. Randall and Bernard De Voto.

These are minor blemishes, however, in a historical work of major importance based on an impressive amount of research in manuscript materials and other primary sources. Professional historians and Civil War "buffs" alike will await with eagerness the appearance of succeeding volumes in this great series on what many regard as America's "Trojan War."

Chatham College

J. Cutler Andrews

Background factors leading to the Confederate decision to carry the war into the North and a statement on the advance knowledge of the Maryland and Pennsylvania countryside, provided by the Jed Hotchkiss map and the personal knowledge of General Isaac Trimble, form the opening theme of this most recent volume on the Gettysburg campaign and battle. A readable and essentially sound account, the book then deals with the final stages of the northward march of the two armies and their converging at Gettysburg.

It should be pointed out that a major portion of the book is a restatement of material that has been covered time and again. The story is well told, however, and even the thorough student of the battle will feel the urge to read it through. An interesting feature is the use at appropriate points, in the march and on the battlefield, of local color episodes—incidents which add a roundness to the total story. A curious lack of reference notes, however, closes the door to the reader who may want to examine the full account of an incident reported, or to inquire into its authenticity. Again, only the person already well read on Gettysburg will recognize the source of the several quoted passages.

Unfortunately, erratic statements appear in the story. It is noted, for instance, that "Cemetery Ridge, time and again, has been likened to a fishhook." This notable landmark is a ridge extending in a line southward from Cemetery Hill, and is only a part of the fishhook-shaped Union battle line, the right of which was at Spangler's Spring, not at Culp's Hill as stated. The march of McLaws' and Hood's divisions is confusing. Far from being scattered along the Chambersburg Pike from Marsh Creek to Greenwood on the morning of July 2, McLaws had encamped at Marsh Creek at 9 p.m., July 1, and Hood encamped to his rear at midnight. It was from the Marsh Creek encampments that the divisions marched to the assembly point early on July 2. Again, the only Maryland Confederate regiment at Gettysburg was the 2nd Regiment, not the 1st. This regiment was not in a position to "blaze away" at "Lockwood's Marylanders," whose front during the battle of July 3 faced Confederate units 300 yards to the north. The remark of General Hunt to Captain Smith at Devil's Den that "you will probably lose your battery" is later credited to General Warren.

The author attempts what he regards as an unusual approach—to present both sides of the battle story. While this is a commendable purpose it can hardly be considered unique. One of the outstanding contributions to the story of Gettysburg still remains the Comte de Paris' elaborate account in his *History of the Civil War in America*, Volume III (1886), which treats impartially both contending forces. Surely Glenn Tucker's *High Tide at Gettysburg* and E. J. Stackpole's *They Met at Gettysburg*, to mention recent publications, offer fair consideration to both sides.

A fine complement to the book is the reproduction of the three John B. Bachelder maps of the battlefield. First published in 1876 to show in detail the participating units, the location indications, with occasional unimportant exceptions, are reliable.

Gettysburg

Frederick Tilberg

This is the best biography of Stevens ever written and should be the standard work on the Reconstruction leader for a considerable time to come. Although Stevens left no diary and surviving letters are sparse, Mrs. Brodie ingeniously exploits a wide variety of sources including some that previous biographers had overlooked (there are extensive notes and a bibliography). The book's skillful organization shows complete mastery of this material; in addition, Mrs. Brodie reaches a judicious balance in her estimate of Stevens. Her judgments of his defects are never mere gestures to give an impression of objectivity; yet she is sensitive and thoughtful in her appreciation of his virtues, which seem heightened when placed within the larger context of the great American dilemma. Altogether, this book is easily as impressive as the author's brilliant biography of Joseph Smith and clearly places her in the front rank of American biographers.

Mrs. Brodie widens our knowledge of Stevens' youth (he had a good record at Dartmouth College and was never expelled, though the myth has been repeated in recent biographies), of his authoritarian relationship with two nephews, and of his damaging implication in the death of a colored girl at Gettysburg. She convincingly argues that he was closer to Lincoln than most historians have assumed, and provides an excellent analysis of his political and economic ideals. Conservative in his attitude toward property and his belief in human depravity, Stevens appears foresighted in his desire for a national banking system and government regulation of railroad rates. Mrs. Brodie effectively dissociates Stevens from the conservative business element of the Republican party and destroys the myth that Stevens' Reconstruction policies were merely an instrument for achieving economic power.

One could wish for more detail on precisely how Stevens exerted power within his party and Congress. Since the evidence is so fragmentary, Mrs. Brodie seems too harsh on Stevens for his treatment of his housekeeper, Lydia Smith. But these are petty criticisms. Pro-southern historians may take issue with the author's view that Radical Reconstruction was largely a reaction to Johnson's self-defeating blunders, the implications of the Milligan case, the South's obstinacy, and the slaughter of Negroes and Radicals at Memphis and New Orleans. Yet many will agree with Mrs. Brodie that recent history has placed the Republican Radicals in a somewhat more favorable light.

The book combines superb historical narrative with a psychological interpretation of Stevens that is neither intrusive nor dogmatic. The author's treatment of Stevens' mind is deft and subtle, possibly too subtle at times, and cannot be summarized without distortion. For her the crucial facts in Stevens' life were his father's failure and desertion, and the physical deformity or "branding" which Thaddeus blamed upon his father. Encouraged by his working mother to seek education and success, Stevens became fanatically ambitious, yet his drive for power was harnessed to an overwhelming need to combat evil and abolish injustice. Like Captain Ahab
(who curiously is never mentioned), Stevens was consumed by a hatred and longing that could never be satisfied; all that the whiteness of the whale meant to Ahab, Stevens was ultimately to find in the blackness of slavery. As Ignatius Donnelly put it: "He seemed to feel that every wrong inflicted upon the human race was a blow struck at himself."

Stevens could never forgive those in authority who deserted their rightful obligations or sought to brand a portion of mankind with a stigma of inferiority. According to Mrs. Brodie, his deepest need lay in humbling the proud, "in equalizing the status of the cripple and the whole man, in raising the black to the exalted level of the white." But if Stevens' warped soul found outlets in fanaticism, hatred, and aggression, it also gave him, in this portrait, the rather austere nobility and heroism of an Ahab. The intensity of Stevens' obsessions repels and frightens those who associate the advance of democracy exclusively with moderation, rationality, and good-natured tolerance. As a bigoted Anti-Mason he violated basic democratic principles; as a Congressional leader he struck viciously at the authority and independence of the President and Supreme Court; as an architect of Reconstruction he let his desire to punish the South override any solution to the South's economic problem other than confiscation of land. But Mrs. Brodie suggests that a warped man can sometimes see more clearly than his well-adjusted contemporaries, whose vision may be dimmed by convenient rationalizations. Stevens knew that the Negro could never be truly emancipated until he was guaranteed not only civil rights, but education and economic opportunity as well. He also realized that a drastic reform of Southern institutions could succeed only if imposed by force immediately after the war.

Mrs. Brodie reminds us that the suffering and corruption of "thorough" Reconstruction must be measured against the much worse evils of slavery, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the appalling New Orleans massacre, and the wholesale murder of freedmen. The problems of Reconstruction were of such magnitude as to require radical thinking and unprecedented methods. If Stevens' policy was ultimately a failure, the fault lay mostly with the conservative members of his own party and with the northern Democrats. For Mrs. Brodie his personal failure, though perhaps inevitable, was not the result of aims but of an unquenchable hatred that distorted his methods. Even so, his unwavering devotion to principle led to solid achievements in public education and the Fourteenth Amendment. Mrs. Brodie suggests that in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments he helped fashion instruments that may eventually achieve his desired goals. "It is sobering and disquieting," she concludes, "to realize that if he had truly possessed both love and hope, the Negro might well have had no such champion."

Cornell University

Covered Bridges of the Middle Atlantic States. By Richard Sanders Allen. Illustrated by George Daly. (Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Green Press, 1959. Pp. 120. $6.50.)

This book is attractively presented in a dust cover showing a rare and
unusual photograph of the twin covered bridges in Columbia County near Stillwater, East of Forks, over the Huntington Creek.

The text of 104 pages begins with an account of the building of the first covered wooden bridge in America, the Permanent Bridge over the Schuylkill River at Philadelphia, built by Timothy Palmer of Massachusetts, and continues to recount the works and accomplishments of numerous famous bridge builders—Lewis Wernwag, builder of the Colossus; Jonathan Wallcott, who built the longest covered wooden bridge in the world; Theodore Burr, the greatest bridge builder, who built 45 bridges in 18 years; Ithiel Town, inventor of the Lattice Truss; James Moore, builder of the second bridge at Columbia and also one of the founders of Bucknell University; Colonel Stephen Long, famous for his cheap and easily erected railroad covered bridges; Moncure Robinson, who introduced the Town Lattice Truss into Virginia with his 2,844 ft. railroad covered bridge at Richmond; Daniel McCallum, inventor of the famous McCallum inflexible arched truss; Lemuel Chenoweth, builder of the famous Philippi covered wooden bridge which stood through the Civil War; and others who made history in bridge building more than a century ago in the states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

The author presents a rare collection of photographs, old prints, cartoons, and sketches obtained through extensive research into historical records and profuse contributions of hobbyists. The story of these pioneer bridge builders dating back to 1804 is presented in a readable style, lightened with anecdotes and cartoons. Included is a most informative run-down of the covered wooden bridges in the watersheds of the Delaware, Susquehanna and Potomac rivers, Lake Erie, and the Ohio River. Of the states referred to in this book, Pennsylvania has 345 covered wooden bridges; more than Ohio, her closest national competitor; with West Virginia next having 50 such bridges; Virginia 9; Maryland 8; and Delaware 4. The District of Columbia has none. Over 400 covered wooden bridges remain in this region, all that are left of a heritage which once numbered thousands. Pennsylvania, the keystone of American bridge building, is not only the home of the first-known covered bridge, but also has some of the latest to be erected, which Mr. Allen carefully describes.

Appendices I and II contain comprehensive descriptions of the various types of trusses used in pioneer bridge building and the author's tabulation of existing covered wooden bridges in the above states, with locations by town and townships, not route numbers which would be very helpful in locating them. Listings are complete in most instances, and any variance can be attributed to the changing fortunes of these bridges which may be here today, but gone tomorrow. The printer has erroneously placed Adams County, Pennsylvania, under the Maryland heading.

The bibliography contains valuable references for further reading. The hobbyist as well as the novice will find many uses for the glossary when studying bridge construction. The index is a handy reference to bridges and their builders. The book is a fascinating and entertaining account, unreservedly recommended to all students of Americana.

Harrisburg

Vera H. Wagner

The role of labor, from the itinerant craftsman moving from farm to farm with his small bag of tools and bargaining for a night's lodging, to the colossus of the AFL-CIO speaking and bargaining for 16 millions, is the task which Professor Rayback of Pennsylvania State University has undertaken in this volume on the History of American Labor. Though I have the impression that his heart is with labor, this does not in any manner prevent him from presenting a judicious and well-balanced account of labor's part in the development of American social, political, and economic institutions.

His interpretations of the colonial and Revolutionary period are traditional. Ignoring some of the more recent studies with provocative claims as to the extent of the voting privilege, Professor Rayback contends that property qualifications restricted and virtually denied labor an effective political role in colonial America. And in the Revolutionary crisis he leans toward the earlier class conflict thesis. On labor's attitude in the critical years immediately preceding the outbreak of war he writes: "They (labor) had discovered once again that they could influence political affairs; they had learned that there was a definite conflict in principle between the merchants' concept of the controversy and their own; that the merchant class had its eyes fixed on the profit-and-loss column of its accounting ledgers and not on colonial liberty; and that their organization was still not a thoroughgoing one."

In the crucial developments of American democracy in the Age of Jackson, he takes sharp issue with the suggestions growing out of some recent investigations, mine included, that labor might not have been so closely wedded to Jackson and the Democratic party as tradition has it. His arguments are plausible, and I for one would readily agree that the final word on labor's role in the development of Jacksonian democracy and its relationship to the Democratic party is yet to be written.

With considerable skill Professor Rayback analyzes the groping efforts of labor to meet the challenges of the new industrialism which was transforming the American economy and society in the first half of the nineteenth century. Labor's futile search for appropriate organization in the 1830's; its flirtations with the Utopians in the 1840's; and the adoption of "pure and simple" trade unionism in the 1850's are incorporated neatly into the general story of American development during these decades.

His treatment of the Molly Maguires is refreshingly different. He questions the validity of the traditional view found in Commons, History of Labor in the United States, and most other general works; that is, that the Molly Maguires were a body of desperate men dedicated to violence and depredation with little or no concern for life, or property, and no respect for law. Professor Rayback suggests that the Molly Maguires were as much sinned against as sinners.

Labor's role, as it emerges from Professor Rayback's study, has been one of continuous struggle, carried on on many fronts and with a variety of
weapons, often against a hostile public, almost always against an antagonistic employer, and usually against an unsympathetic government. Its aim has been to enlarge the area of democracy and to give to labor a respectable position in American society. Whether under the aegis of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, or the American Federation of Labor, or the supposedly revolutionary I.W.W., or now under the banner of the AFL-CIO, the broad objectives have been strikingly similar.

Professor Rayback's study of labor's role in the growth of American democracy is a story well told and well worth telling.

San Fernando State College, Northridge, California

William A. Sullivan
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