

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

Journey to Pennsylvania by Gottlieb Mittelberger. Edited and Translated by Oscar Handlin and John Clive. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. 102. \$3.00.)

In 1750 Gottlieb Mittelberger left his birthplace, Enzweihingen in the Duchy of Württemberg, for Heilbronn where an organ was awaiting for him, ready to be shipped to Pennsylvania. With this organ, the "first" to be brought "into the country," he sailed from Rotterdam for Cowes, England, and thence to Philadelphia. Four years later the organist and schoolmaster of New Providence returned to his native place, disappointed, unhappy, homesick. He then wrote a descriptive narrative of the hazards of the voyage, of life in the colony, and of its flora and fauna. Published in 1756, his keen observations served to warn and enlighten others who contemplated emigration to Pennsylvania.

A review of Mittelberger's unique travel account is not necessary here. The editors have provided that in their Introduction, noting the simple and lively style, its charm, and the author's shrewd common sense, his humor, and love of nature.

An appraisal of the editors' translation leads us to discount their claim that the Carl Eben translation, published in Philadelphia in 1898, "was inadequate in its rendition of the eighteenth century German and lost much of the tone of the original." We read the entire Eben version into a recorder and then played it for comparison with their version. We noted minor improvements and corrections on their part, but fail to concur that Eben's "fatherland" is inadequate by comparison with their "native land"; or that the former's "Captain Von Diemer, who always had a kind and tender regard for Germans," was improved in tone by "Captain von Diemer, who always showed great and laudable concern for Germans." Their use of "sectaries" (archaic form), page 44, for "sectarians" (Eben, page 58) may be unintentional.

They prefer "merchant," to "shopkeeper"; hair "trimmed," to "frizzed"; "thrown into the ocean," for "cast into the sea"; "negotiate," for "bargain"; "telescope," for "field-glass." While these comparisons may be trivial, they, however, do not substantiate their claim that the earlier rendition was "inadequate." What the editors have provided, far more important than their language, is a re-publication in English of Mittelberger's valuable account, long unavailable for colonial, and especially Pennsylvania German, scholars and the general public. We predict a great demand for this little volume. The insertion of a contemporary German map is commendable but we wish the editors had reprinted the "Stuttgard," 1756, title-page, from Eben's book.

The Lehigh County Historical Society, Allentown

MELVILLE J. BOYER

They Came to Emmaus. A History Compiled by Preston A. Barba. (Published by the Borough of Emmaus on the Occasion of its Centenary, 1959. Pp. 378. \$5.00.)

Emmaus is fortunate in many ways: it has a rich heritage, it has a record of its early history in old documents in German script, and it rightfully claims Professor Preston A. Barba as a faithful resident of long standing. These and other elements combine to produce more than the customary history of a borough.

What makes the book unusual is the first few hundred pages devoted to the early life of the settlers before the incorporation of the borough in 1859. Here you will see a fascinating and authentic picture of eighteenth century life in the Pennsylvania town of "Maguntsche," later called Emmäus by Bishop Spangenberg in 1761—not unlike any other Moravian *Gemein-Ort* (congregational village). The early history of Emmaus is largely the history of the Moravians (*Unitas Fratrum*) and pietism. Barba states: "To reveal more clearly to posterity its unique and distinctive eighteenth century origins, long embedded in a mass of German manuscripts, has been the main purpose of this book." That goal he has beautifully achieved.

And these origins were "embedded in a mass of German manuscripts" (pastoral diaries, minutes of the community council, congregational records, and memorabilia) in the Archives of the Moravian Church in Emmaus. Only those who have worked on faint old documents know the tremendous task involved in deciphering their contents for the first time. Hidden in these records were biography, economics, sociology, the practice of medicine, customs, and beliefs. Interesting details about various aspects of early life in Pennsylvania come to light through the efforts of Dr. Barba, who has long lived in an early Moravian house built on Lot No. 1 of the 32 lots surveyed for the Moravian Brethren in 1758. The reader learns the long forgotten fact that Emmaus had hospital quarters for soldiers during the Revolutionary War; that Christopher Weiser, a brother of Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian agent, lived in Emmaus and lies buried in its *Gottesacker*.

Here are a few samples of Barba's translation from the early sources:

November 28, 1762 (p. 93): Our brethren are to guard against making unnecessary debts and especially with "outside" people, so that they may not have occasion to speak scornfully of us. . . . It is desirable to have a well-ordered household and that no one stretch himself beyond the length of his cover.

July 3, 1763 (p. 94): It was announced that the Statutes had been read to all the inhabitants of Emaus [*sic*]. Council admonishes against any intermingling of the sexes, both adults and children, that might cause gossip before the world; namely, if it should happen that a sister is on her way to the *Gemeinhaus* and a brother should come out of his house on his way there also, they should avoid walking thither together, as that might be considered indecent.

January 6, 1765 (p. 99): Snow today—at most places three feet deep. The brethren are busy opening roads, also to our house and to the *Grück* (creek).

January 27, 1765 (p. 96): The stewards called attention to the need of wood. Some of the brethren have not yet delivered their share.—It is agreed that every Sunday one person is to act as sentry in the village and around the *Genemehaus* during services.

According to Barba, one could wish that "the successive diarists [the pastors] had kept their gaze less steadily fixed on Heaven and more on earth." Although they sometimes almost ignored American history beyond their area, Dr. Barba provides historical perspective by giving the reader the essential background. The reproduction of original charts, plans, and sketches add to the fascination of the book.

The part which deals with the Emmaus of the recent past and of today is essential to preserve the record of local history, and it is a task requiring careful collection and compilation. The reviewer read these parts with a deep nostalgia. *They Came to Emmaus* is the result of several years of hard work. It is a rewarding book for all concerned.

Susquehanna University

RUSSELL W. GILBERT

Edward Randolph and the American Colonies, 1676-1703. By Michael G. Hall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1960. Pp. 241. \$5.00.)

Professor Hall has written an excellent account of the administrative career of a crown official who played a major role in England's colonial ventures in North America during a twenty-five year period which began in 1676. Professor Hall has undertaken research in archives and libraries in England and America and has discovered some manuscript material hitherto overlooked. Thanks to careful sifting of manuscripts, he is able to give us a more complete account of Edward Randolph's activities and administrative methods than was available previously.

Randolph is best known for his clash with the leaders of Puritan Massachusetts. He found that the merchants of Massachusetts were flouting the navigation acts openly, and he made war upon the smugglers by bringing legal action against the owners of thirty-six ships. The owners of thirty-four of the ships were acquitted, however, and Randolph found that his efforts to enforce the navigation laws were blocked at every turn by the combined efforts of merchants, juries, and magistrates.

Frustrated by the opposition which he had encountered in Massachusetts, Randolph came to the conclusion that the province's charter should be voided; accordingly, he recommended to his superiors in the Committee for Trade and Plantations that a writ of *quo warranto* should be issued. His advice was accepted, and, on October 23, 1684, the charter was vacated. The loss of the charter meant that the government of Massachusetts was legally dissolved, and the way had been cleared for the formation of a new one. The charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island were vacated in their turn, and the Dominion of New England was formed, under the direction of Governor Sir Edmund Andros.

Some writers have blamed Randolph, as well as Andros, for the failure

of the Dominion of New England. According to Professor Hall, Randolph had no hand in shaping the new Dominion. Andros, an aristocratic military man, played a lone hand and paid but scant heed to Randolph's advice. Andros conducted an arbitrary government and quickly alienated almost all the people of New England. The New Englanders were presented with an opportunity to strike back, however, and they overthrew and imprisoned Andros and all his minions in April, 1689. Andros and Randolph languished in jail for several months and were finally shipped to England in February, 1690.

Randolph was exonerated of the charges made against him by Massachusetts, and was given a commission in 1691 as surveyor general of customs in America. He sailed to Virginia early in the following year and began a tour of inspection which took him to Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts. He worked relentlessly to enforce the navigation laws and to apprehend smugglers and crown officials who were corrupt or careless. He succeeded in bringing about the removal from office of a number of such officials. In fact, two colonial governors, Samuel Day of Bermuda and William Markham of Pennsylvania, were deprived of their posts as result of Randolph's testimony against them.

William Penn found himself upon the defensive in 1701 when Randolph succeeded in convincing the Board of Trade that the charters of the proprietary colonies should be revoked. Pennsylvania would have become a royal colony if Randolph had had his way, but the bill which had been drawn up to void the charters of proprietary colonies failed to pass through Parliament.

Randolph's personality can be seen but dimly through the evidence available to the modern researcher. He was evidently an able, dedicated, and hard-working official, but he was arrogant and officious. Whatever his faults, however, Professor Hall believes that he had become England's best-informed colonial expert by 1695.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution. By Carl Ubbelohde. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1960. Pp. 242. \$6.00.)

Although overshadowed by the current interest in the Civil War, the Revolutionary struggle continues to have its devotees. The approaching bicentennial of the independence movement has been heralded by the publication of a number of studies about the political break with Great Britain. Of these, Mr. Ubbelohde's is one of the more recent and one of the best.

Like the Civil War, the American Revolution still poses problems relative to its origins. While the contributing factors are rather well established, the matter of where the emphasis should be placed continues to divide historians. Accordingly, when studies appear that add new dimensions to the attendant factors, they often compel a re-examination of accepted views. Mr. Ubbelohde's volume is in this category, for he has accumulated new evidence about a

facet of the pre-Revolutionary years that has puzzled students of the controversy.

For a long time it has been known that the administration of the vice-admiralty courts in the American colonies was the source of local irritation. Some students have been inclined to regard these difficulties as a major cause of the deterioration in colonial-imperial relationships following the French and Indian War. The lack of certitude in this matter stems primarily from the scarcity of official records from which conclusions can be drawn. With few exceptions, the court records for the years from 1763 to 1776 have been lost. Hurried away to England with the outbreak of the fighting, they have never again been seen.

In spite of the handicap imposed by the dearth of court records, Mr. Ubbelohde has produced a study that sheds much light upon the role of the vice-admiralty courts in the years after 1763. By a judicious use of newspapers, letterbooks, journals, and diaries, he has skillfully pieced together the story of the administration of admiralty law. In so doing, he has swept away many half-truths and misconceptions concerning royal justice that have persisted down to the present.

The present study makes it reasonably clear that the vice-admiralty courts did not provoke the type of opposition that greeted the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts; that they were not a major influence in stimulating revolt. Indeed, the author suggests that colonial complaints against the courts were directed not so much against the courts themselves as against the laws they were expected to enforce. Thus the courts were more an image than a reality of oppression. For example, prominent among colonial complaints was the charge that the ancient right of trial by jury was denied by reason of the fact the vice-admiralty courts adjudicated violations of the trade laws without juries, the judges deciding questions of fact as well as of law. Such charges failed to acknowledge that by statute the vice-admiralty courts were not granted exclusive jurisdiction, but simply concurrent authority with the common-law courts. Furthermore, the complaints never mentioned that experience had shown that colonial courts employing local juries seldom returned convictions for the Crown. In truth, the colonials, observant as they were of British imperial practices, could not have failed to realize that little change had taken place either in the status or in the jurisdiction of the courts during the preceding seventy years. The real issue was the Crown's enforcement after 1763 of legislation that was regarded by the Americans as inimical to their special interests.

In an interesting postscript to his discussion of the role of the vice-admiralty courts, the author describes the experience of the states with their own admiralty courts, established after the breach with England. As expected, the new tribunals were provided with panels of jurors to interpret the facts of the cases. Within a relatively short time, however, it became clear that maritime procedures were too complex for the ordinary juror to grasp. Beginning with Pennsylvania in 1780, a number of states abandoned jury trial in these matters and resorted to decision by judges, the practice they had heretofore so loudly condemned.

Mr. Ubbelohde has performed an unusually difficult task of research in an imposing manner. He has presented his findings in clear, concise language and has provided us with a revealing study of an important aspect of the background of the American Revolution.

Muhlenberg College

VICTOR L. JOHNSON

Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century. By Allen W. Trelease. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960. Pp. 379. \$6.75.)

Historical accounts of New York's Indian affairs in the colonial period have usually emphasized the eighteenth century. By that time patterns of relations had been formed, authority had been somewhat determined, and the crises of intercolonial wars brought issues to the fore. Thus the seventeenth century, the scope of the present work, was a formative period. Since no previous book has attempted a similar survey, it is a pioneering work. In spite of this fact it is based almost entirely on printed sources, although the author lists some manuscript collections. The publication of the *Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723*, in *PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY*, January, 1956, was the last valuable addition to the printed sources. Thus the work is thoroughly documented and may become a standard work of reference.

In view of the above, one could wish that the story had more unity, more personal interest, and some theme or thesis. It tends to become a pedestrian relation of Indian contacts with white settlers through most of the period, the inept efforts of governors and other officials to deal with a pestiferous and serious problem without realizing what issues or principles were involved. The episodes of the Dutch period were local clashes between Indians and whites—murders and reprisals, raids and punitive wars, and sometimes a truce or treaty. The fur trade, later to become an international problem, was then a matter of regulation for the ends of commerce. Sales of liquor and arms were also judged for their effect on trade and morals. The Dutch at first showed little interest in converting the natives to the Christian religion and little regard for the native culture. Study of the language and the emergence of interpreters, even in the Dutch period, gave some hope of wiser policy. The author in his strictures on the arms traffic generally loses sight of the fact that Indians had become dependent on the white man's weapons for their very survival.

In the latter half of the century, in the English period, certain lines of policy were worked out. Catholic though he was, Governor Thomas Dongan recognized the menace of the French in Canada with Jesuit missionaries extending their influence over the Iroquois. Indian wars for dominance and survival were linked with the control of the fur trade, and the English tied their policy to the Five Nations Confederacy. They began to use the Iroquois to fight their battles with the French, when the natural hostility of New York and Canada received the sanction of declared wars abroad. The protection of the English king for his Indian subjects became an avowed policy which could be played upon with varying success—by the Indians for gifts

and arms, by the English for cessions of land, for defensive forts, and for military aid in time of struggle. Viewing the Jesuits as strong allies of French policy, the English called for Protestant missionaries to reside among the tribes, but were unable to get them before the turn of the century.

The illicit fur trade of the Albany Dutch with the traders of Montreal has often been noted. The efforts of the New York governors to capture the western trade by intercepting the lakes and St. Lawrence routes are less well known. They even advocated a corps of "bushlopers" to offset the French *coureurs de bois*. With the decline of the fur trade, governmental subsidies and gifts to the Indian tribes became larger and more frequent. Dongan's successors were less skillful in Indian diplomacy, but there was an increasing number of Indian experts—interpreters, guides, and negotiators—who had a grasp of the situation and who won the respect of the Indians: Van Curler, who gave his name in the Indian "Corlaer" to the governors of New York; Peter Schuyler, whom they called "Quider"; and the greedy and ambitious Robert Livingston who made the office of Indian Secretary a royal appointment.

From these developments was to come the later Indian policy of New York, and thereby that of the colonies as a whole in the eighteenth century. For New York was already the field of combat and the center for Indian negotiations. Albany was insisting on its significance as a meeting place for peacemakers, even as the Iroquois held out for their capital at Onondaga. The sway of the Five Nations over neighboring tribes was being recognized. And the strategy of the later wars was indicated by raiding parties from Montreal to Schenectady, from Fort Frontenac to Oswego and Onondaga, and over the lake to Niagara. Other colonies were making small monetary contributions to the New York defense—although Penn and the Quakers withheld that of Pennsylvania. This was the situation when the Treaty of 1701 brought a temporary truce, and the conclusion of this study.

Mr. Trelease has given a very competent survey which is a real contribution to the literature of colonial Indian policy. He has not written a popular book, nor has he developed any startling thesis or interpretation. One misses a concluding estimate or forecast, which is left to the reader. This may well commend it as a base for other studies on the graduate level.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

New York Division of Archives and History, Albany

Forgotten Mills of Early New Jersey. By Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Weiss. (Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1960. Pp. 94.)

Starting with a *History of Applejack*, in 1954, Mr. Weiss, either alone or jointly with various associates, has produced a monograph a year on some phase of early rural industries in New Jersey. The next to latest volume in the series was reviewed in PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY in April, 1960, but because others may have missed that review, as I did, it is well to mention here the subjects already covered: charcoal-burning, gristmills, fulling mills, the woolen industry, and tanning and currying.

The forgotten mills of the present title are oil mills (linseed and castor); plaster of Paris mills (for agricultural and building purposes); bark, indigo, and fanning (winnowing) mills; and tilt, rolling, and slitting mills (the last three for iron). There is also a chapter on nails and screws and their manufacture.

Each chapter is introduced by a short account of the techniques involved in supplying and using a particular type of mill. This is followed by a compendium of miscellaneous information about mills, products, and people. The scores of paragraphs gleaned from newspapers bespeak admirable diligence, and the paragraphs are of the sort that are so valuable in Gottesman's *Arts and Crafts in New York*, a reference used by the authors.

This series of monographs apparently is the result of an apprehension that the "stuff" of history is rapidly being scattered and destroyed, and a conviction that the story of these early industries should not be lost. This apprehension certainly is justified so far as physical survivals are concerned; but these are not treated in the present volume. Printed materials, on the other hand, are likely to be with us for a long time. However, source materials have a way of sinking from view, and it is good to be reminded frequently of their existence. This, it seems to me, is the particular contribution of the authors of this work.

The looseness of organization and rambling style will hardly invite casual reading, nor are the descriptions of techniques likely to satisfy the serious reader, based as they are upon modern secondary works. However, the searcher after scraps and bits and pieces of information will be grateful for the bibliography and illustrations. He will, however, wish for an adequate index, and would hope that attention will be given in similar works of the future to actual physical survivals.

The authors might have enhanced the usefulness of this work by correlating figures, explaining discrepancies, and by making critical and analytical comments. However, the series as it stands will inevitably suggest to students sources, illustrations, and ideas for further work. In encouraging such work, the authors will have accomplished what they set out to do.

Smithsonian Institution

EUGENE S. FERGUSON

Letters of Francis Parkman. Edited by Wilbur R. Jacobs. 2 v. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press in cooperation with The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1960. Pp. 204; 286. \$12.50.)

These handsome volumes of Francis Parkman's letters represent a true labor of love. For a number of years Professor Jacobs has been collecting material for a Parkman biography and this work contains more than four hundred of the approximately seven hundred Parkman letters he has found. About two-thirds of the letters had never been published before and many of the others had been carelessly copied by earlier editors. For the first time these documents are readily available in a carefully edited publication.

By publishing the most significant of the letters, the editor also hoped to present a kind of autobiography through Parkman's correspondence, and the

letters do reveal much about the historian's personality, his ideas, and methods of work. As in earlier studies, Parkman comes through as a determined, almost compulsively painstaking scholar with a peculiar neurosis that was manifested in various physical symptoms including severe headaches and near-blindness. He personalized the malady as the "enemy" and he often referred to it in his correspondence. In its most serious form the "enemy" could almost literally prostrate Parkman, but there were also long periods of time when it seemed to be completely defeated.

Historical matters form the major theme of the letters. Parkman exchanged ideas and information with Lyman Copeland Draper, George Bancroft, Brantz Mayer, Pierre Margry, Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain and other members of the historical fraternity. Part of this correspondence is routine, but some of Parkman's letters reveal his attitudes towards his work and the work of others, and some explain how he arrived at certain of his conclusions. His defense of the British deportation of the Acadians led him into a lengthy argument with the Canadian historian, Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain. He wrote a number of letters urging influential politicians to support the plan to have the United States government publish the historical documents collected by Pierre Margry. Sometimes he gave just the advice which his fellow historians needed, as when he cautioned Lyman C. Draper, "don't trust too much to oral traditions or the stories of old men" (II: 147). Unlike many historians, Parkman enjoyed writing more than he enjoyed research. Occasionally he expressed thoughts which have crossed the minds of all writers. "I assure you," he told Charles Eliot Norton in 1851, "proof reading is the climax of bores" (I: 84).

Although Parkman's first allegiance was to Clio, his letters reveal a man who had several other strong interests as well. There are travel accounts describing people and places in the United States and abroad, including seven newly-discovered letters which Parkman wrote to his parents from the West during his *Oregon Trail* trip of 1846. The Civil War inspired him to publish a series of war propaganda letters in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, and later he publicly crossed pens with those reformers who were advocating woman suffrage. There is also a lengthy autobiographical letter of 1864. Some of the correspondence concerns Parkman's horticultural activity which led him to a professorship at Harvard and to develop a hybrid lily (*Lilium Parkmanii*) of which he was very proud. Personal and family matters also make up a portion of the published Parkman correspondence.

The editor has arranged Parkman's letters chronologically with five subdivisions. The letters in the various divisions tend to fall into categories of subject matter although there is some overlapping. The editor has identified persons and places in explanatory notes which are most conveniently placed after each letter. If anything, the letters are over-edited. For example, it would seem unnecessary to identify Millard Fillmore especially when Parkman's letter already referred to him as an ex-president of the United States (II: 69). But the notes are extremely useful and sometimes include a part or all of the letter which prompted Parkman to write, or the other person to answer him. Convenient, too, is the separate index for each volume.

Besides a general introduction Professor Jacobs added brief introductions to each of his five sections. Together these comprise a short account of Parkman's life. Another historian covering the same field might have found more to criticize in Parkman and his work. The editor made no attempt to hide his admiration for his subject. A more critical editor might also have further pruned the correspondence. Some of the purely family letters and routine notes of thanks or query might have been omitted without impairing the usefulness of the final product. However, those seeking information about Parkman or the various matters he discussed with his correspondents will be grateful to Professor Jacobs and the University of Oklahoma Press for making this body of source material available. Twenty-eight pertinent illustrations add an appropriate supplement to the text.

Grove City College

LARRY GARA

Pine Knots and Bark Peelers: The Story of Five Generations of American Lumbermen. By W. Reginald Wheeler. (La Jolla, California: 1960. Pp. 252. \$6.00.)

In the days "when timber was king" in Pennsylvania, the Wheeler and Dusenbury Lumber Company (1834-1939) was one of the leaders of the industry on the upper Allegheny River. Under the Hon. Nelson P. Wheeler (1841-1920), the managing partner, it came to a peak of efficiency. This book by his son, W. Reginald Wheeler, is a tribute to Nelson Wheeler, to the men he inspired, and to the company he headed.

Readers of PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY may take a special interest in *Pine Knots and Bark Peelers* because two of its chapters were first printed in the October, 1952, issue (devoted to lumbering) of this magazine: Chapter 9, "N. P. Wheeler: Lumberman, Congressman, Christian"; and Chapter 14, "The Wheeler and Dusenbury Lumber Company" (by Samuel A. Wilhelm).

"Rex" Wheeler, the author, is well qualified to handle the unusual theme of the book. He grew up on Hickory Creek in Forest County, in the model company town named Endeavor (after the Christian Endeavor Society) in which his father conducted his social and religious experiments. Nelson Wheeler wanted to see if he could turn a section of the rough lumber woods into a good-living Christian community, and he succeeded. He was strict in religious observance. Wheeler and Dusenbury rafts did not run on Sunday. But he was generous, imaginative, and resourceful—qualities that enabled him to keep the enthusiastic loyalty both of his workmen and of the stockholders. The latter were pleased because he turned an original investment of sixty thousand dollars in Forest County timber lands into millions of dollars in dividends. That the workmen were loyal is seen in the fact that during the company's 105 years of operation there was never a strike.

A foreword by former U. S. Senator Edward Martin draws attention to the contrast between the rough and tumble commonly associated with lumbering, and the lives of such men as Nelson P. Wheeler "who brought their deep and abiding Christian faith into the wooded wilderness." Nelson Wheeler

had strong qualities of leadership. He gathered about him, not transients, not migrant labor, but home-loving men who wanted security for their families and found it at Endeavor. Wages were good. The company sold or rented good houses to the workers at reasonable rates. The rents, indeed, were almost unbelievably low: five dollars a month for a five-roomed, two-story house, with light and water thrown in, a large lawn in front and a garden at the back. Eight-roomed houses rented for eight dollars. Only three houses in town rented as high as ten dollars a month. Nelson Wheeler had advanced views on workmen's compensation. A company nurse looked after the families. Pensions were given for those who at retirement age had twenty-five years of service, as many of them had.

A somewhat heterogeneous collection of materials has gone into the making of *Pine Knots and Bark Peelers*. Besides the history of the company there are also biographical sketches of members of the family. Among these is one concerning the author's twin brother, Major Alexander R. Wheeler, former member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, remembered as one of the sponsors of the "Pinchot Roads" that "brought the farmer out of the mud." There are descriptions of rafting, railroading, camping in the woods, and icebreaks in the Allegheny River. There is an exciting description of wild bee hunting in the woods, reprinted from an article contributed by Mr. Wheeler's twin brother to the *Yale Literary Magazine* in 1908. Anecdotes illuminate the life at Endeavor, such as Jerry Grove's memorable duel fought with Roman candles. There are good photographs of five generations of the Wheelers and their associates, together with scenes from the woods in the vicinity of Endeavor. All in all, it is a beautiful family book, written as a work of love and carrying a message to our time.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission PAUL A. W. WALLACE

The War for the Union: War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863. By Allan Nevins. Volume II. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960. Pp. 543. \$7.50.)

Allan Nevins continues to astound professional historians and the lay public alike with the breadth, depth, and prodigality of his output in the field of American history. No other writer in this, and few in previous generations, has offered us so ambitious an undertaking as his multi-volume survey of the Civil War years. In this sixth volume of a series which picks up the story in 1846, the author reviews the events of the sectional struggle as they transpired during the eighteen months preceding the Gettysburg and Vicksburg campaigns.

Two general themes run through this eminently readable narrative. The first of these is that the Union war machine, after its faltering start, was by 1862 gaining momentum and effectiveness. Mr. Nevins writes:

On every side, by the date of Chancellorsville, observers could see evidence that improvised war was giving away to large-scale organized war. . . . Northerners everywhere were learning entirely new lessons of resourcefulness, initiative, and organization. . . . Most important of all were the lessons learned in organization.

The second theme concerns the veritable revolution transforming American society. "When Americans in 1863 looked back a short three years," the author observes, "they saw that they were separated from their former world by a stormy ocean, and that an impassable chasm shut them off from their earlier history." While it is doubtful that the rank and file took cognizance of this, the fact remained that the war ushered in (in the Beardian sense) "the second American revolution."

Unlike the preceding volume covering 1861, Professor Nevins here devotes considerable space to the ebb and flow of union military fortunes. He sees Grant before Forts Henry and Donelson, having not yet made his reputation, but already evincing qualities of "integrity, singleness of purpose, hard common sense, industry, and above all an instinct for the enemy's jugular." At Shiloh, "Grant and Sherman and others were learning their trade" but at the expense of "many a brave Illinois and Ohio youth [who] died that spring Sunday because generals learn by trial and error." Nevins traces the events of the futile Peninsular Campaign of 1862, a campaign destined to failure through McClellan's "chronic indecision . . . the atrocious weather," and Robert E. Lee's "remarkable capacity for judging his antagonists." In desperation, Lincoln turns to that "swaggering, muddleheaded egotist," John Pope, whose grave miscalculations culminated in a betrayal of the Union soldier's valor at Second Manassas.

In mid-September, 1862, Lee launched his first sortie north of the Potomac. Because, as he said, "we must use what tools we have," Lincoln summoned McClellan to command once more. Following the bloody standoff at Antietam Creek, McClellan failed to pursue the crippled Confederate army, a fact which Nevins terms "inexcusable." At about the same time Bragg and Buell were engaged in an inconclusive sparring contest along the Tennessee-Kentucky border, terminating in an "important conclusion" at Perryville in October. "In a real sense," Nevins suggests, "the double invasion by Lee and Bragg represented the high tide of the Confederate cause." Never again would the Southerners have so good a chance of victory.

McClellan's faults left Lincoln no choice but to replace him, but the selection of Burnside, the most promising subordinate at the time, proved a great misfortune. In the carnage at Fredericksburg "an improvised general fought an improvised battle." When less than two weeks later Sherman's abortive expedition against Vicksburg was repulsed with equally disastrous results, Northern morale reached its nadir. Union spirits revived somewhat in April, 1863, as word arrived of Grant's brilliant campaign in central Mississippi against this Confederate river bastion, and the press reported the appointment of "Fighting Joe" Hooker to command in the East. Hooker's incredible performance at Chancellorsville in May, when with victory at hand he permitted Jackson's long flanking march and attack to snatch it from his grasp, brings the author's story of strategy and tactics to a close.

Nevins does not allow his readers to be wholly distracted by the events at the war front. The turbulent political currents on the home front receive equal space. Lincoln's struggle to keep the home fires burning in the loyal states, his unrelenting effort to gain support in Congress and in the border

states for compensatory emancipation, his successful resistance to the inroads of Republican radicalism (the intrigues of which infested the Congress and reached even into his own Cabinet), his courageous decision to expand the presidential powers in the emergency, and his bold proclamation of freedom for the slaves, are all given due weight.

Lincoln emerges from the pages of this book as the central figure and the hero of the tale. Yet, Nevins admits that he had much to learn. "He had no taste for administration, not the slightest experience in it, and little aptitude; he did not organize even his own office very well." Nor did he make the best use of the collection of *prima donnas* that made up his Cabinet. Not until the famous Cabinet "crisis" of December, 1862, did Lincoln discover that "he had neglected details which, each trifling, amounted in the aggregate to something important." But these were relatively minor faults, and on the whole "Lincoln was better equipped than most other leaders to understand both the good and bad aspects of the great changes accelerated by the war."

The breadth of *The War for the Union* is further demonstrated by the variety of the topics which the author introduces. It is a novel experience to find in a book on the Civil War nearly four pages devoted to the history of steamboat development and Mississippi River traffic. Nevertheless, Nevins makes a good case for this insertion, cogently observing that Union military success on the great river artery can be traced to Yankee skill and ingenuity in this respect. He also lucidly summarizes the critical relations with England and France, made even more critical by the uncertain prospects of military success throughout 1862. In addition, it would be difficult to find anywhere a more concise and yet illuminating summary of the efforts of the home front to supply the Union armies and navy with the tools of war. In his final chapter, the author points to the slowly emerging forces that were to change permanently the status of the Negro in American life and contribute importantly to the revolutionary aspects of the great sectional contest.

This reviewer hesitates to pick out errors in a work of such significance and excellence. There are not many. It is probably a typographical slip to have Jackson capturing Harper's Ferry on September 13th (p. 219), but hardly one which substitutes "wheatfield" for the bloody cornfield at Antietam (p. 225). Nevins seems unduly severe on Fitz-John Porter's behavior at Second Manassas (p. 183). Most of the fourteen maps reproduced have little value for the reader interested in following the military operations.

A word concerning the bibliography. It would appear that there remains scarcely any primary or secondary source relevant to the subject which Mr. Nevins has not consulted. The bibliographical listing alone is worth the price of the book.

Gettysburg College

ROBERT L. BLOOM

Gifford Pinchot: Forester-Politician. By M. Nelson McGeary. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960. Pp. 481. \$8.50.)

It is not often that a person who sets out to write a scholarly biography of an outstanding man has at hand a first rate autobiography that covers in

elaborate detail a portion of the career of that man. Professor McGeary has this advantage, or possible disadvantage, for it was not easy for him to provide new information or attach new significance to Gifford Pinchot's activities as founder of forestry, creator of the national forest policy and of the remarkable *esprit de corps* that has ever since characterized the officials of the National Forest Service. Though McGeary has drawn heavily on Pinchot's diary and extensive correspondence, his account of Pinchot's leadership before 1908 offers little that is new or significant that is not covered in greater detail and with more professional understanding in *Breaking New Ground*. Perhaps the fact of Pinchot's own superb treatment of the period of his life that included his most significant contributions to American development persuaded McGeary to devote less than half of his space to this period. It is in his account of the highly charged political controversies between Pinchot and Richard Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, that McGeary shows the balanced judgment, the skillful treatment that succeeds in being fair to all antagonists, Taft, Ballinger, and Pinchot. This is no mean achievement.

Pinchot's career after 1912 is less well known, hence the treatment becomes fresher. From forestry, conservation, and government control of waterpower sites to assure the prevention of monopoly in the generation and distribution of electricity, Pinchot is shown moving toward firmer regulation of the utilities, the elimination of their political influence, and the establishment of fairer prices for their services. Indeed, as governor he appears to have concentrated upon the power question and to have somewhat neglected state forestry, as was later charged by H. H. Chapman.

It was in his second term that Pinchot's broad humanitarianism, his concern for the unemployed, for the low wages prevailing in the coal mining industry, his efforts to halt the use of local and state police to break strikes, as had been so commonly done in the past, stand out in the record of a truly great administration. The Governor showed much the same sensitivity to depression problems and willingness to shake off an outworn economic philosophy that Franklin D. Roosevelt displayed at the same time in New York, but he had a less responsive legislature. The most outstanding achievement of the second term was the improvement of many thousands of miles of rural roads to take the "farmers out of the mud." As a resident of rural Pennsylvania at the time I heard many scoffing remarks about the lasting quality of these "Pinchot roads" but they did contribute greatly to improve the position of the farmers in the years of their worst distress.

Pinchot's part in calling attention to the dangers of destructive forest cutting and wasteful mineral use, of monopoly in power generation and distribution, and the impetus he gave to the conservation movement, his leadership in improving the civil service, in weakening the corrupt power of the spoils-men who had so long dominated his party, and the successes of his two administrations all deserve the author's intensive examination. Professor McGeary has done justice to a great Pennsylvanian in a work of high merit.

Cornell University

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