

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

Dutch Explorers, Traders, and Settlers in the Delaware Valley, 1609-1664.

By C. A. Weslager in collaboration with A. R. Dunlap. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961. Pp. 329. \$6.00.)

This is the first book to be devoted specifically to Dutch activities on the Delaware; in previous accounts they have been subordinated to the story either of New Sweden here, or of New Netherland on the Hudson. The authors are well known for their works on the archaeology and place names of the Delaware region. Their familiarity with its topography and cartography, as well as the written sources for its early history, gives them a special competence for a study of this kind, in which the evidence is fragmentary and its interpretation often necessarily conjectural.

It seems that the old story about the Dutch West India Company's archives being sold for waste paper is an exaggeration, and that the loss was confined mainly to the Company's papers for the years 1623-1636. But these, alas, are the years of pioneer Dutch settlement in North America, about which we know too little; and while it is pleasant to hope that missing records may still turn up, for the present the picture must be constructed from the pieces of the puzzle that are at hand. It is here that the authors exercise their talents at puzzle-solving, for over half of the book is devoted to this early period of trade and settlement in the Delaware Valley. The authors' careful analyses and shrewd interpretations are convincing, and seem likely to stand until, if ever, more material is found for this period. Among their conclusions are: at first the Dutch West Indies Company leaned toward the Delaware rather than the Hudson River as its center of colonization, and the Walloon emigrants of 1624 were originally established on an island in the Delaware River, identified as present Burlington Island, New Jersey, but they were later transferred to Manhattan; and subsequently, probably in 1626, a post for the Indian trade (Fort Nassau) was set up on the east side of the river, somewhere, probably, within the present limits of Gloucester, New Jersey.

When the Swedes came, they wisely, and intentionally, established themselves on the west side of the Delaware, first at Fort Christina (Wilmington), and later farther up at the mouth of the Schuylkill, where they could meet the Indians coming down from the interior. The Swedes remained a thorn in the side of the Dutch traders until New Sweden was finally conquered by the Dutch in 1655.

Chapter four is the fullest account yet published of the patroonship of Swanendael, the whaling colony at what is now Lewes, Delaware, which was wiped out by the Indians. The authors purposely omit a systematic

account of the later colony of New Amstel, which has been given in detail by Jeannette Eckman in *Crane Hook on the Delaware* (1958), but the English conquest of 1664 is fully covered in the concluding chapter. There are excellent chapters on building activities and architecture, and on Dutch maps and geographical names. Copious extracts from the sources, some hitherto unpublished or newly translated, are given in the text or in appendices. This is an important and useful book for early Delaware Valley history.

A few obvious typographical errors have been noted, such as Chapter 6 for Chapter 9 in the Foreword, and 1644 for 1664 in the chronology. Let us hope that there are no others lurking in the text to mislead the reader. Footnotes are at the bottoms of pages, where they belong, instead of in the back of the book. Three maps, not listed in the Table of Contents, may be found facing pages 60, 206, and 222.

University of Delaware

H. CLAY REED

The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770. By Dietmar Rothermund. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961. Pp. 202. \$5.00.)

This brilliant and provocative book offers a reinterpretation of the religious and political history of Pennsylvania in the generation from 1740 to 1770. It begins with the "layman's emancipation" at the time of the Great Awakening, and moves towards the "citizens' revolution" which followed the "shift from religious to political preoccupations."

The author was a German exchange scholar under the Fulbright-Smith-Mundt program; he obtained his doctorate in American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania and has now returned home. In his writing he is at his best in describing the various elements of the colonial German community, and the complicated relationships among the German- and English-speaking factions. Unlike most of the writers who have dealt with these subjects, he is not, apparently, committed to any one group, and can describe the venerated religious leaders of the period as objectively as if they were so many political bosses. At the same time he is clearly aware of the religious issues which concerned them and gave meaning to their lives.

The originality of the book lies not merely in the fact that it focuses on contemporary attitudes, as stated in the Preface, but even more in the objectivity, or impartiality, which enables the author to comprehend many contemporary attitudes simultaneously, and comment on them dispassionately. He suggests new interpretations of familiar subjects, and gives his own evaluation of the religious and folk heroes of the province without hesitation. Penn, Zinzendorf, Muhlenberg, Whitefield, and Franklin all appear in a new light—and from a somewhat German perspective. The strength of the British Empire, he points out, lay not in political farsightedness but in non-conformism, commercial enterprise, persevering dissent, and "the tolerance and mediocrity of its Kings." He reminds us also that the early Hanoverian kings of England were German Lutherans before they were Anglican.

Readers of PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY will be surprised to see no mention of

Dr. Rothermund's article, "Political Factions and the Great Awakening," which appeared in the October, 1959, issue of this magazine. Indeed, the first four chapters of the book constitute an expanded version of this article and are entitled, "Philadelphia and the World," "The Implications of the Great Awakening," "The New Denominational Consciousness," and "The Process of Secularization." There are four more chapters on "Pennsylvania's Political Problems," "Patterns of Leadership," "The Interaction of Groups," and "The Eve of the Revolution."

In addition, there is an Appendix containing some thirty-six excerpts from letters and documents, illustrating religious controversies and the complex relationships among the various leaders. The Appendix is fifty pages long, and is thus a quarter of the book. Whether this emphasis on documents is justified or not is an open question, especially since there are extensive quotations from primary sources in the footnotes, but the net effect is to carry conviction. Dr. Rothermund has a keen understanding of the dynamics of religion and politics, and this book contributes to a new and perhaps more balanced perspective on a familiar period of colonial history.

Lafayette College

JOHN M. COLEMAN

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 4, July 1, 1750, through June 30, 1753. Leonard W. Labaree, Editor, Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Associate Editor, Helen C. Boatfield and Helene H. Fineman, Assistant Editors. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961. Pp. 544. \$10.00.)

There is no substitute for a man's own papers. True, Benjamin Franklin has been most fortunate in having Carl Van Doren as a biographer; he and other specialists have kept Franklin's reputation secure despite the ravings of D. H. Lawrence, who called him a "Snuff-coloured little man." Yet Franklin's own papers establish his greatness more than any biography. Obviously, few Americans deserve to have all their papers printed, but those of Franklin are eminently publishable, for they are significant in content, varied in subject matter, always intelligent, frequently witty, and never dull.

The magnificently edited Volume 4 of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* affords ample evidence of Franklin's many sides. Franklin the scientist predominates. With most Europeans freely acknowledging his leadership, Franklin would have remained in the vanguard of scientists had he himself not taken seriously his admonition to his scientist friend from New York, Cadwallader Colden: "... let not your Love of Philosophical Amusements have more than its due Weight with you. Had Newton been Pilot but of a single common Ship, the finest of his Discoveries would scarce have excus'd, or atton'd for his abandoning the Helm One Hour in Time of Danger; how much less if she had carried the Fate of the Commonwealth." For Franklin public duty was more important than scientific pursuits. During these three years Franklin proposed an experiment to prove the identity of lightning and electricity, published his *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, and performed the kite experiment. He also nearly killed himself while electrocuting a ten-pound turkey ("... Birds kill'd in this Manner

eat uncommonly tender”), fired gunpowder with an electric spark, and advised New Jersey’s palsied Governor Jonathan Belcher on shock treatments to cure his affliction. Franklin’s scientific interests were not confined to electricity. He corresponded with Jared Eliot on agricultural matters, composed a magic square of squares and circle of circles, speculated on waterspouts and whirlwinds, discussed pokeweed juice as a cure for cancer, was responsible for the observation on Antigua of the transit of Mercury, and accurately predicted population growth in America in “Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind,” a work that influenced Thomas Malthus.

Even though Franklin the scientist dominates these pages, Franklin the public servant is also here. As a trustee of the Academy which evolved into the University of Pennsylvania, he procured books, instruments, and maps; and tried unsuccessfully to attract Samuel Johnson, who subsequently became the first president of Kings College, now Columbia University. Franklin also drew up a characteristically practical curriculum for the English school which was to rank equally with the classical department. During these years Franklin helped establish the Pennsylvania Hospital, proposed a scheme of fire insurance, and helped draw up regulations for town constables and watchmen. He also went to the Assembly in 1751 and helped prepare a number of reports relating particularly to Indian affairs and paper currency. His record of service until 1764 is included in this volume and made invaluable by the editorial notes.

Franklin was also a writer of great range. Volume 4 contains three examples of his annual potboiler, *Poor Richard Improved*, with its familiar sayings, such as “Time is Money” or “Haste makes Waste,” and its homely wisdom reflecting so accurately the Puritan virtues of the average American. Though narrow, Richard Saunders had more breadth than many suppose. In 1751 subscribers read an essay on the microscope, in 1752 an involved discussion of the calendar change made in that year, and in 1753 the first published description of the lightning rod and a complex set of calculations respecting the transit of Mercury. There was of course more to Franklin than *Poor Richard*. His delightful “Rules for Making Oneself a Disagreeable Companion” is Dale Carnegie in reverse. Franklin’s sarcastic wit is at its best in his comparison of “Felons and Rattlesnakes.” He suggests that the colonies transport rattlesnakes to Britain, hoping that a change of climate will alter their nature, since the British transported convicts to America on the same grounds.

This volume shows Franklin’s prejudices—some congenial to the twentieth century, some not. Zealots exasperated him. “As you have made a pretty considerable progress in the mysteries of electricity,” Evangelist George Whitefield admonished, “I would now humbly recommend to your diligent unprejudiced pursuit and study the mystery of the new-birth.” When used by Joseph Huey, this same approach provoked Franklin to emphasize good works over faith and to observe that in contrast to Christ, who called sinners to repentance and did not bother the good, “. . . now a days we have scarce a little Parson, that does not think it the Duty of every Man within his Reach to sit under his petty Ministrations, and that whoever omits them

offends God." New Englanders, Franklin complained, "are artful to get into Debt, and pay badly." He was hostile to Pennsylvania Germans. While recognizing their superior industry, frugality, and husbandry (stemming, he thought, from lack of poor relief in Germany), Franklin observed that Germans were not used to liberty and were unpatriotic. Their presence, he feared, would make it impossible to preserve either the English language or government in Pennsylvania.

To Editor Leonard W. Labaree, Associate Editor Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., and their Assistant Editors Helen C. Boatfield and Helene H. Fineman, all historians, especially Pennsylvania historians, owe a great debt. Their work has made this series invaluable. Their copious notes answer all possible questions for both laymen and specialists, and in many instances are as interesting as the letters themselves.

Pennsylvania State University

ARI HOOGENBOOM

The Triumphant Empire; Thunder-Clouds Gather in the West, 1763-1766.
[*The British Empire before the American Revolution*, X.] By Lawrence
Henry Gipson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961. Pp. 414. \$8.50.)

This book, the author notes in his preface, is one he set out to write almost forty years ago. But he found it necessary to dig deeper into the background of the First British Empire and to write nine other volumes before he could write this one. The result is one of the outstanding works of historical scholarship in the twentieth century. Seven of the previous volumes have won various prizes of the historical profession, and this, the tenth, has received the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1962.

In this volume Professor Gipson is at last able to consider the question that dominates eighteenth-century American history: the causes of the American Revolution. His answer places much of the responsibility upon the colonists. When the end of the Seven Years' War left Great Britain reeling under an enormous public debt, Americans flatly refused to help pay the added costs of newly acquired territories stretching westward to the Mississippi and northward throughout Canada. Essentially Professor Gipson defends the view of the British ministry, that the mother country had underwritten colonial defence and development and now that the colonies were mature, they should help their parent in difficulty. The colonial attitude, of course, was that Great Britain had left them largely to fend for themselves in the wilderness and profited enough already through control of their trade. It is this position that Professor Gipson devotes his book to refuting.

In four excellent chapters the author discusses the liquidation of colonial public debts incurred during the Seven Years' War. Here he assembles much useful information on colonial finances that is readily available nowhere else. By 1764, he concludes, British reimbursements in specie of approximately one-half the total colonial expenditures reduced public debts "to a point where they were but a small burden on the people" and by 1770 "non-existent or scarcely felt."

He then examines the growing restlessness under British rule manifested in the famous controversies over writs of assistance in Massachusetts and the Parsons' Cause in Virginia. He particularly underscores the increase in private indebtedness of Virginian planters to British merchants as a prime explanation of their disaffection. But here there appears to be a contradiction in his argument. Although public obligations may have declined, as he suggests, if private debts increased, Virginians were in no better position to pay British taxes. In addition, the tight money policy with which he credits the British may have contributed to that indebtedness. Professor Gipson especially pays little attention to the impact of the Currency Act of 1764 upon provincial economies chronically short of an adequate circulating medium. It is misleading also to conclude with George Mason's remark to Patrick Henry in 1783 that some said they fought the Revolution to escape their debts. Actually Mason was protesting this attitude and reported that his part of the country—Fairfax County, surely representative of the planter interest—was very uneasy over it.

In the last half of his book Professor Gipson turns to the political and constitutional side of the question: the drafting and passage of the Stamp Act, the opposition to it in the colonies, and its ultimate repeal. Again, his interpretation is that the colonists had no constitutional basis for their resistance and economic factors were at the root. He aligns himself, for example, with those scholars who hold that colonials distinguished between internal and external taxes during this period. Consequently, John Dickinson's denial of a difference when he attacked the Townshend Acts a few years later constituted a major shift in position and added evidence that the American arguments were completely opportunistic. On this point, Professor Gipson marshals evidence from Connecticut, New York, and Virginia to prove that there was such a distinction in 1764 and 1765. Yet confusingly he interlaces these citations with others from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and again New York, which indicate that the real distinction in the minds of some, at least, was between levies designed to regulate trade and those intended to raise a revenue, whatever the labels. Similarly, quotations in which John Adams and Daniel Dulany spoke of "taxes" resulting from British regulation of trade clearly referred to the monopolistic conditions involved and not to specific impositions.

This book is a classic statement of the imperialist interpretation of colonial history. It brings nearer completion an invaluable study that has led to greater understanding of the problems the British faced in ruling their empire in the mid-eighteenth century. It also is one of the few works written from this point of view that has treated the years after 1763 in detail. More than ever it must draw conclusions about the people the British ruled. But its emphasis upon overall administrative history precludes in a single volume the extensive excursions into the internal happenings of the colonies that alone can fully test these assumptions.

Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

JOHN E. SELBY

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 16. Edited by Julian P. Boyd, with Alfred L. Bush, Assistant Editor, and Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Consulting Editor. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. Pp. 675. \$12.50.)

Julian P. Boyd's fine edition of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* is no longer the solitary beacon it was a decade ago. Its success and excellence have brought forth a distinguished company: Franklin, the fantastic Adamses, Hamilton, Jay, and Madison are among the Founding Fathers now receiving their just if belated due. Even the absurdly neglected correspondence of John Dickinson is now receiving the worthy editorial attention of Leon deValinger. Clearly Jeffersonians are not the only beneficiaries of Dr. Boyd's achievement.

This sixteenth volume (we are less than a third of the way along toward the projected fifty) reminds us of the special character of the Jefferson project. A truly comprehensive accounting of Jefferson material demands an insight and manysidedness comparable to Jefferson himself. Jefferson's papers, for example, are not limited to those he wrote, or those formally addressed to him; this new volume opens with a letter from William Short to John Jay dated November 30, 1789. A first glance suggests this has little direct connection with Jefferson, but as Dr. Boyd has observed, "on assuming office as secretary of state, TJ reviewed all of Short's dispatches to Jay, thus becoming in effect their recipient." Accordingly we are furnished with a summary review of Short's preceding ten dispatches, and thus secure both an eyewitness account of revolutionary developments in France and an excellent idea of Jefferson's own perspective.

It is this kind of thoroughness which makes *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* so special. It also explains, in part, the fact that this six-hundred-and-seventy-five-page volume advances Jefferson's life by only seven months. In August, 1789, Jefferson, in France, had received word from John Jay that he could return for a visit to his native Virginia. By early October he was finally able to set sail for America. But meanwhile Jefferson had been nominated and confirmed in the office of secretary of state. Jefferson did not receive President Washington's letter to this effect until December 11; and it must be admitted that Jefferson did not respond to the appointment with any great alacrity. His immediate plans called for a return to his Paris post; his main object continued to be political retirement. Ultimately, of course, Jefferson did accept Washington's appointment, but only after "declinings and pressings on both sides."

It is in this context that Dr. Boyd makes one of his typical excursions. He supplies, in the form of a ten-page "editorial note" a scholarly essay on the significance of the "Address" with which citizens of Albemarle County welcomed home its most distinguished native son. In Dr. Boyd's view this ceremony of February 12, 1790, constituted part of a protracted campaign to persuade Jefferson to accept the cabinet appointment. Certainly there is some point to the county's remark that "America has still occasion for your services," along with the gentle reminder that Jefferson owed his political debut to Albemarle's initial support. And certainly Jefferson could only find pleasure

in such sentiments after his embittering experiences as governor of Virginia nine years earlier. Jefferson's response was statesmanlike and noncommittal. He would respect the will of his country. But two days later he was writing of his final decision to undertake the office to which he had been named. The friendly persuasion of his friends was thus rewarded: now it was time to dismiss his servants in Paris, sell his horses and carriage, and have William Short arrange for the dispatch of his precious books ("wrapping every one singly in paper").

Once in office, Jefferson lost little time in announcing his policy. As he told Lafayette, "I shall be sincere in my friendship to you and to your nation . . . nations are to be governed according to their own interest: but I am convinced that it is to their interest, in the long run, to be grateful, faithful to their engagements even in the worst of circumstances, and honorable and generous always." These views provided the foundation for the foreign policy debate with Hamilton, and for Jefferson's ill-fated experiment at economic persuasion seventeen years later. Being a rational being himself, Jefferson made the easy error of assuming that nations could be relied upon to behave in a rational manner. Eventually he came to realize that while nations *should* obey the dictates of their "interest," they rarely understood it as clearly as he did. But such discoveries had yet to be made. In 1790 Secretary Jefferson was engrossed in mastering the details of his new office, in seeking a fair hearing for the French—even, for a brief period, via Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*—in worrying over the debt funding proposals of Alexander Hamilton, and in drafting a report on weights and measures.

It is with this remarkable report that the present volume concludes. As Dr. Boyd notes in a fifteen-page editorial essay of singular brilliance, Jefferson's study of weights and measures reflects the eighteenth-century effort to unite science and government. Jefferson's search for an invariable and universal standard (he suggested the pendulum) owed much to the confidence created by Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, and "the aim of constructing a system of weights and measures 'bringing the principal affairs of life within the arithmetic of every man who can multiply and divide plain numbers' was fully in accord with both reason and the rights of man." For all the obvious merits of Jefferson's plan, it foundered on the rock of political indifference. Jefferson can surely be pardoned for his conclusion that such matters should not be left "to the tardy will of governments, who are always.

the days of their disgrace during the War of 1812 and the "opening of a new era" when "men tutored in the tenets of Federalism had moved into the top leadership of both the Jacksonian party and the new National Republican party." The attempt is made with reference chiefly to Federalists in New England and the Middle Atlantic States and by concentrating on the vital factors of office seeking and job distribution, rather than on an analysis of socio-economic factors and issues. But fundamental to the entire discussion is Livermore's brief but important commentary on the meaning of Federalism. In his summary (a model for all writers of studies of this type) he says much when he states that "... because Federalism *was* far more than a political party, it hung on grimly through a series of devastating political defeats and the seizure and adoption of most of its cherished policies."

The slow decline of Federalism after 1800, the fatal impact of the Hartford Convention, the Treaty of Ghent, and New Orleans, are all reviewed. As Republicans borrowed generously from their program, Federalists sought to reassert themselves by seeking office, but in the years after 1815 they generally experienced proscription at the hands of the Republicans. Nevertheless, the desire for office caused them gradually to "re-enter the mainstream of American political life." Monroe's administration (revealing "the image of a syrupy overlay that covered endless frustrations and deepening hostilities") was not violently opposed by the Federalists, although they fought in the states to return to power.

Few concrete gains came from the agitation over Missouri (indeed efforts were made to make scapegoats of the Federalists) but the election of 1824 presented real opportunities, marked as it was "by incredible deviousness, countless recriminations, and anguished soul-searching." Federalist support was related to the ambitions of all the candidates. The kingmaker, according to Livermore, was Daniel Webster, who obtained crucial votes in the New York and Maryland Congressional delegations. But the Webster "pledge" boomeranged, and while by no means Federalist, the administration of John Quincy Adams "suffered terribly from the stamp of Federalism and its votaries." Interestingly, too, during these years more Federalists seem to have joined the Jacksonian than the administration forces.

This study shows clearly both the continuity and the complexity of our political history and how Federalist influence persisted. It possesses genuine merit in emphasizing the simple but basic importance of winning elections and getting offices. In the history of Federalism these were fundamental considerations for, as the author writes: "To an extent not heretofore widely appreciated, proscription was the rock upon which Federalist thought and action was shaped during these years." Furthermore, the study shows balance. The author is aware of both national and state situations and he tries constantly to make clear their constant interaction. Attention here might also be called to his discussion of that old staple, the Missouri Compromise, which is presented not so much as part of a situation involving a Federalist-Clintonian plot, but as one on which Federalists naturally seized in the normal course of political maneuvering.

Some points in this volume need amplification and clarification, perhaps

in the form of future studies. Were the Federalists as far behind the Republicans in political know-how as Livermore suggests? Just what was the patronage policy of the Monroe and Adams administrations? Also, do we not need to know more about Western and Southern Federalists, even admitting their relative unimportance in the political calculations of that day? How otherwise can we test such an observation as that which claims that following the election of 1824-1825 "Southern Federalists . . . went over to the Jackson camp almost *en masse*"? Again, what about Webster's role in this election? Is it accurate to say that he executed the "beautifully wrought maneuver [which] put John Quincy Adams in the White House," a maneuver analyzed in a chapter arrestingly entitled "Mr. Webster's Coup"? Admitting that Livermore is concentrating on Federalist behavior, and admitting that the famous Adams-Webster interview concerning Maryland's vote took place *after* discussions affecting other key delegations, was it not then still true, as Livermore states, that: "No one knew exactly what would happen on the morning of February 9, when the House would begin to ballot for president"? In fact, there were several critical states, not excepting Illinois and Louisiana. These two, along with Maryland, had given a majority of their electoral votes to Jackson, but in the House they voted for Adams. Webster's role was important, but so were those of other leaders.

This is a solid book. It is another significant addition to our re-examination of the critical quarter of a century after 1815. This was the period of American political adolescence, and modern political behavior was significantly affected by what happened then. The fate of the Federalists after 1815 is thus properly the concern of every student of the history of American politics.

Muhlenberg College

JOHN J. REED

President James Buchanan, A Biography. By Philip Shriver Klein. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962. Pp. 506. \$7.50.)

Buchanan's career shows what could happen to an American boy if he was careful. Born in a log cabin beside a pass through the Allegheny Mountains, he was the son of an Ulsterman who, having been orphaned in infancy, came to America as a young man determined to make good, and did. His increasing means provided his oldest son with an education at Mercersburg, at Carlisle, and finally at Lancaster, where the boy settled down to accumulate a fortune of his own and therewith the means to indulge his passion for politics. Laborious industry and capacity for business were the characteristics of James Buchanan that most impressed his editor, John Bassett Moore, and these qualities, with three others Moore noted, tact, diplomacy, and personal integrity, plus keeping his eye everlastingly on the main chance, carried him finally to the presidency, the position he longed to fill.

Any biographer of Buchanan faces two major problems. One is to master the details of political activity during a career of almost half a century. The other is the temptation to belittle Buchanan, forgetting his accomplishments, or to eulogize Buchanan, forgetting his follies. (These are problems for any

biographer of a politician, but particularly for a biographer of Buchanan.) Professor Klein succeeds admirably on both scores. He long ago demonstrated clearly his knowledge of the politics of Pennsylvania, which was always Buchanan's power base, and he now exhibits an equal understanding of national politics. And he rejects the temptation Clio offers every biographer with the apple of understanding, the temptation to become a special pleader.

It is honesty, I think, along with clarity and competence, that distinguishes this biography. A reader can feel that this author is committed to no point of view about Buchanan except the truth. Certainly there are opportunities enough to disparage Buchanan. The youth was expelled from Dickinson College and then, after readmission, passed over for the honor of being valedictorian. His early appearance in politics was as a Federalist calling for more presidential vigor in the face of war emergencies. His only military adventure, when he was a volunteer in the relief of Baltimore, made him into an involuntary horse thief. (In the ensuing debacle of their party, there was a lot of political mileage for several Middle States Federalists from the fact that they had marched to Baltimore's defense in 1814.)

In Congress young Buchanan flirted with the Calhoun cause, but marched, just in time, to the defense of Jackson, though he was long made uncomfortable by the Old Hero's distrust of him—a distrust which arose out of Buchanan's meddling attempt to bring Henry Clay and his followers to Jackson's support in 1824-1825. Midway through his career Buchanan played a lone hand in the Polk cabinet, seeking to enhance his own presidential prospects as much as to achieve the diplomatic goals set by the president. And near the end of his career Buchanan is observed in petty follies—in acts of such inquisitiveness that his niece had her letters smuggled into the White House in a butter kettle, of such caution that he hesitated to permit federal troops to parade in the capital on Washington's Birthday, 1861.

While Buchanan's follies are here to be observed, his wisdom is also exhibited. Though "untroubled by the distractions of poverty or parenthood," Buchanan steadily enlarged his estate by his investments and gradually assumed financial and quasi-paternal authority for what seems a host of nephews and nieces. In Pennsylvania politics he was a wise political manager who could bear defeat with grace and without despair. Defending himself against Jackson's charge of seeking a post for Clay, he dared deny all charges of a corrupt bargain, wherever lodged. By his strong advocacy of a minority report in Congress in 1830, he preserved the national jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and in 1836 he successfully opposed Calhoun's attempt to extend the gag rule to the Senate. In other words, his distinction in Congress, where he was chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary and of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, was won on his merits. And although Buchanan, at 67, had lost his former vigor and resilience by the time he became president, Professor Klein makes a strong case for the position he took on the Lecompton constitution for Kansas, despite the opposition of Stephen Douglas and Robert Walker.

The author's determination to present this biography concisely in only one volume was probably a wise decision, and so was his allocation of almost half

of the pages to the years after 1852. The events of the year preceding Lincoln's inauguration properly receive the most attention—five of the thirty chapters. Yet since Buchanan was sixty in 1851, the account of his earlier career is necessarily much abridged, to the mild disappointment of the reader who realizes Professor Klein knows ever so much more than he has space to set down.

All in all, the one-volume work is probably of most use to most people. Immediately it supersedes the old "authorized" two-volume biography by George Ticknor Curtis and becomes one of the major biographical studies of what used to be called the middle period. Though the writing is often vivid, real drama is lacking until the winter of the secession crisis is reached. But what else could be expected in the life of a man who confessed that he never passed a night in sleepless anxiety until he was fifty—and only then because of a banking bill. Poor "Buck" was always a shade too comfortable.

University of Delaware

JOHN A. MUNROE

Canals and American Economic Development. By Carter Goodrich, Julius Rubin, H. Jerome Cranmer, and Harvey H. Segal; edited by Carter Goodrich. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. Pp. 303. \$7.50.)

That studies of economic projects and business ventures are enjoying a sustained (and deserved) popularity is evidenced by the fact that substantial books by capable scholars pour from the presses in endless procession. *Canals and American Economic Development* is the first publication of Columbia University's Graduate Workshop on the Economic Development of Industrial Countries. The volume, edited by Carter Goodrich, an outstanding leader in the economic history field, is the outgrowth of three doctoral dissertations at Columbia.

The intention of the editor and of the authors is not to present a history of canal development. The purposes are, first, to study the processes by which decisions to construct certain specified canals were reached, and, second, to examine and analyze the influence of canals in general on the growth of the American economy. The first two studies (the Erie Canal in New York and the Pennsylvania Mainline Canal in Pennsylvania, chapters one and two) were written by Julius Rubin and the third (the Delaware and Ruritan and the Morris Canals in New Jersey, chapter three) by H. Jerome Cranmer. Chapters four and five, concerning cycles of canal construction and the canals and economic development, were done by Harvey H. Segal. Professor Goodrich wrote the introduction and summed up the findings at the end.

Professor Goodrich in his introductory chapter pictures the setting at the beginning of America's canal age, relates the experiences of European builders, presents the problems that the spreading American terrain posed, and asks some of the questions that the succeeding chapters attempt to answer. To most readers perhaps the three excellent chapters on "The Political Decisions" involved in the construction of the canals will prove the most

interesting and instructive part of the volume. In them the decisive conflicts between ideas and the vigorous disagreements among individuals and among groups are carefully and fully set forth. Canal building is presented not as a "Canal Fever" but as human projects in a bustling nation eager to tap its economic resources and to tie various production sections together in an effective transportation system. The story is not of the digging foot by foot of the great ditches, but how the questions concerning raising money, fixing the route of the canal, determining sponsorship as between private enterprise and state ventures, and deciding between water and rail transportation in a society that determined its course largely through political measures, were resolved. Though there were common problems in all the projects, each presented its own distinct difficulties. It is surprising to note that Pennsylvania expected that the canal would "eventually entirely support the state government and educate every child in the commonwealth."

The economic impact of the new water transportation on the nation—the concern of Harvey H. Segal in chapters four and five (general in nature and encompassing the entire canal structure to 1860)—is determined with difficulty. The impact was measurable both in the actual profits of the waterways and in the general benefits to the nation. Many challenging questions are asked, but sometimes, after much belaboring, no answers are offered. It is probably only a reflection on this reviewer when he admits that some of the belaborings seem to smack of academic tiddlywinks. Perhaps it is proper for the author to point out that "Canals were long the province of the tow-path antiquarian, the retired engineer, and the local historian," yet it may be that little that is new emerges from these two chapters. The assumption that the canals were significant both in economic savings and in national development is of long standing.

Whatever the quibbles, however, the volume is an outstanding contribution to the story of our inland waterways. All students of transportation will long be indebted to the editor and to the authors for their careful work, and Pennsylvanians in particular will find much of interest in the chapter on "The Pennsylvania Mainline."

Temple University

JAMES A. BARNES

Antislavery, The Crusade for Freedom in America. By Dwight Lowell Dumond. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961. Pp. 422. \$20.00.)

This long, handsomely printed, copiously illustrated volume is the culmination of a lifetime of research by Dwight L. Dumond, Professor of History at the University of Michigan. Dumond's reputation in the field of antislavery was well established by his *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States*, published in 1939, his edition of the *Letters of James G. Birney*, and (with Gilbert H. Barnes) his *Letters of Theodore Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sara Grimké*. *Antislavery* is a fitting, and in some respects a curious, climax to a productive, scholarly career.

Antislavery consists of forty-five brief chapters on the subject, including accounts of the origins of the slave trade, the impact of the American Revolution, the relationship between slavery and the Constitution, the role of free Negroes, the place of the colonization movement, the influence of Protestant evangelism, the rise of the American Anti-Slavery Society, fugitive slaves, the role of political parties, and the coming of the Civil War. The book begins on the African coast and ends on the eve of the Emancipation Proclamation. Rich in detail, far-ranging in coverage, this volume explores almost every aspect of abolitionism. Dumond succeeds in personifying his account with deft pen portraits of the major figures in the movement from John Woolman and Benjamin Rush to Theodore Weld and James G. Birney. Some lesser-known individuals, such as Elias Boudinot, David Rice, James Thome, Joshua Leavitt and Henry H. Garnet, are given due credit for their contributions to antislavery. Dumond details the early Quaker public condemnation of slavery, describes the paths taken by Northern states in abolishing slavery, and gives intensive examination to the various antislavery tracts and pamphlets which enriched nineteenth-century polemic literature. He gives appropriate recognition to the influence of the Finneyite revivals and minimizes Garrison's importance.

Dumond gives the reader ample opportunity to learn his thesis. He asserts that our past has been primarily a struggle between slavery and freedom, that slavery in America as an institution unfortunately survived the impact of Christianity and the Revolution, and that the three-fifths rule in our Constitution was "the most fateful blunder of the Convention," because of the political control it gave to the South. He believes that the early years of the republic were black years of "retrogression for the cause of human freedom," that slavery became more sinister year by year, that it was a "diabolically and debasing" institution, and that the idea that the South "was turned away from emancipation, and toward a defense of slavery by the abolition movement of the North is a monstrous fiction." He deprecates Southern antislavery sentiment. He declares that antislavery both as a political and religious movement was "the greatest concentration of moral and intellectual power ever assembled in support of any cause before or since."

Important to his interpretation is Dumond's definition of the antislavery movement. He calls it "an intellectual and moral crusade for social reform and common decency in human relationships, initiated and carried through at great personal sacrifice by men of property and high position in religious and educational institutions, in public life, and in the professions."

Equally important for an understanding of his thesis is his picture of slavery. Dumond treats of "the peculiar institution" as an economic and social system and as a political power. He asserts that "aggression was inherent in the slave system." It was the slave system which brought the evils which beset Americans before the Civil War. Indeed, he asserts, "It would have been better for the lands to have remained in the hands of the hardy pioneers and for the world to have gone naked, for the cotton gin created the Black Belt and the Black Belt became and remained the curse of the nation—birthplace of state rights, secession, and Civil War, stronghold of

slavery and race prejudices, center of exploitation of the soil and of human life."

Serious flaws unfortunately mar the excellence of this work. The reader never encounters a good slaveholder, nor an imperfect abolitionist or Negro. Dumond's style, somewhat reminiscent of the nineteenth-century abolitionists of whom he writes, is repetitious. He too frequently uses infelicitous words and phrases. He accepts too unquestioningly the statistics found in the abolitionists' pamphlets. He idealizes the movement. There is an oversimplification of President Polk's policies. Some of the 150 illustrations, many of which are taken from antislavery tracts, have poor captions. The book ends abruptly.

There are also serious omissions. There is no mention of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, although there is one picture of Harriet Beecher Stowe. There is no mention of John Brown, of Thomas Shipley of Philadelphia, of the George Latimer case, of Thoreau, or of Emerson's essay on the fugitive slave law. Although John G. Whittier's activities figure briefly, his antislavery poems are ignored. Dumond overlooks Charles Finney's contribution to the higher law doctrine. The account of Lovejoy's death is incomplete. There is little evidence that Dumond profited from Leon F. Litwack's *North of Slavery* or Larry Gara's *The Liberty Line*. Although there are many useful footnotes, they are placed at the end of the book. There is no bibliography because of Dumond's companion volume, *A Bibliography of Antislavery in America*.

This will be a controversial book for many years. It contains much that is valuable to the understanding of the antislavery movement. It is rich in detail, extensive in scope. However, it lacks the objectivity, detachment and balanced interpretation that are the hallmarks of outstanding historical writing. Dumond is to be commended for giving us so many interesting details about the men and movements associated with the crusade to abolish slavery. However, that his book is so uneven in its presentation, so inflammatory in its interpretation, and so intemperate in its preachments is to be deplored.

Lafayette College

CHARLES C. COLE, JR.

North of Slavery, The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. By Leon F. Litwack. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. Pp. 318. \$6.00.)

In *North of Slavery* Leon Litwack proves most convincingly that Northerners in the pre-Civil War period were prejudiced against Negroes. The residents of Northern states, basing their actions on the belief in the racial inferiority of the Negro, forced them into the position of second-class citizens. Drawing from many studies of particular aspects of race relations in the North and using a variety of original sources (both of which the author describes in an excellent critical bibliography), Mr. Litwack has produced a book that will interest both specialist and general reader.

After establishing the existence of race prejudice in the North and indicating that state manumission of slaves should not be interpreted to mean the end of prejudice, the author describes the legal condition of the free Negro. Mr. Litwack points out that "Since the Constitution made no mention

of race or color, the states and the federal government separately defined the legal status of free Negroes." The state governments, without exception, marked the freedman for special treatment which made him legally inferior. The national government, for its part, questioned whether the Negro was an American citizen.

Legal discrimination reflected public opinion on the question of Negro rights. The Northern politician, acutely aware of that opinion, imposed new legal restrictions on non-whites and constantly sought ways to keep Negroes from acquiring rights and privileges granted to whites. With almost all free Negroes deprived of the right to vote, and so prevented from wielding the power that that right carries with it, the freedman was unable to improve his legal condition. As for the seeming paradox of a society moving toward extended suffrage under the doctrine of democracy while denying some of its citizens all basic legal rights, Litwack says: "To most Northerners segregation constituted not a departure from democratic principles, . . . but simply the working out of natural laws, the inevitable consequence of the racial inferiority of the Negro."

Northern society displayed its prejudice against Negroes in many ways. All states practiced school segregation. Attempts at integration and, in some instances, even efforts to provide segregated education for Negroes, were violently resisted. The author describes how new western states were opposed to any education for Negroes, their residents being fearful that Negro schools would attract the freedmen to their states. In New England some Negro schools were established, but the facilities and instruction were so bad that this education offered few advantages.

Segregation was also the policy in church seating and public transportation, but more important was the practice of what Litwack calls "the economics of repression." Like political, economic opportunities grew, but, as in politics, the Negro faced increasing restrictions on his freedom. The colored worker had to compete with native American and recent immigrant labor for jobs. Northern belief that racial inferiority made him competent to hold only jobs involving unskilled labor put the freedman at a special disadvantage. Northerners tried to bar the Negro from skilled trades or professions and then cited his absence from those occupations as proof of his racially caused deficiencies.

Since the Negro was hindered in his efforts to meliorate his condition by economic and political restrictions, he had to look to whites to help him. Free Negroes naturally turned to the Northern abolitionists to help them win equal rights. However, many abolitionists either shared with their fellow Northerners the belief in Negro inferiority or, faced with the prospect of encountering strong resistance if they pressed the cause of the free Negro as well as slave, the antislavery men felt it impolitic to press both aims. Mr. Litwack notes that, though some abolitionists did call for Negro rights, the freedmen got little help from that quarter and, though by the 1850's the antislavery cause had grown stronger, the condition of free Negroes had not similarly improved.

Mr. Litwack has done his job well, but unfortunately he has defined that

job too narrowly. Establishing the existence of race prejudice is only a first step in the study of race relations in the North before the Civil War. Recognizing that Northerners were race prejudiced, why did that prejudice wax and wane? Why, for example, did the anti-Negro attitude become manifest in the form of violence at certain times? Sociologists point out that latent prejudice becomes manifest when a society is under extreme tension. Does the action of Northern society of this period prove that point? Most important, what in general can the study of race relations tell us about Northern white society?

While *North of Slavery* fails to provide us with an imaginative approach to the subject of race relations in the ante bellum North, it does make available a quantity of material clearly presented upon which those who may wish to pursue the subject further can build. Mr. Litwack has performed a valuable service.

Hunter College

LORMAN RATNER