In a field in which both books and periodical articles abound, Dr. Tatum's work represents a valuable addition to both the scholar's and the interested layman's library. By presenting the reader with an all-inclusive genealogy of Philadelphia's distinguished architectural lineage, Penn's Great Town fills a void previously filled by works dealing only with segments of the city's rich architectural past.

The volume's format is a handsome one, a fine quality of paper has been used, the type is easy to read, and the photographic reproduction of the plates is excellent. The book's arrangement, following well established precedent, is a division into three major sections—text, notes to the plates, and plates.

The text is informative and well written, and although it is naturally concerned mainly with Philadelphia architecture, its author does not hesitate to go further afield to discuss briefly outstanding non-Philadelphia examples of architectural styles also represented in the city. This practice increases the value of the book, and prevents the feeling of floating in a vacuum which is too often obtained from the reading of a work of a local or regional nature.

A problem, perhaps the principal problem, faced by the author of a work in the field of American architectural history is one of semantics—the selection of a satisfactory series of phrases or titles to characterize the various architectural periods covered. Dr. Tatum chooses to break his text down into seven sections which he entitles: "The Early Years (1682-c. 1725)," "The Golden Age (c. 1682-1775)," "The Federal Period (c. 1775-1810)," "Romantic Eclecticism (c. 1810-c. 1860)," "Victorian Eclecticism (c. 1890-c. 1920)," "Creative Eclecticism (c. 1890-1920)," and "Modern Philadelphia (c. 1920-1960)."

At first glance, perhaps only two of these titles will not raise the eyebrows of a number of architectural historians, "The Early Years" and "The Federal Period." The years 1682-1725 are undeniably early, and the period 1775-1810 is referred to by its traditional term. The choice of the remaining five titles would seem to be more questionable. In light of the subsequent architectural contributions of Philadelphia, for example, it seems rather narrow-minded—despite Dr. Tatum's reasoning that this was the period at which Philadelphia's "political and cultural leadership seem clearly, without peer or rival"—to assign to the years 1725-1775 the
Periclean title of "The Golden Age." On the other hand, Tatum's explanations for the usages of romantic, Victorian, and creative eclecticism to describe the architectural periods of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are thoughtful and satisfying.

Under the over-all title of "Romantic Eclecticism" the traditionalist will find sections devoted to the Greek and Roman revivals, the Gothic revival, the Italian styles, and the minor stylistic trends prevalent during the period. In discussing the Roman revival, Tatum states cogent reasons for dating that style in the first half of the nineteenth century, and thereby seemingly excluding Blodgett's Bank and Jefferson's designs. Later, in his discussion distinguishing between the periods of the Victorian and the creative eclecticism, Tatum defines his term "creative" in such a precise manner that even the staunchest Victorian scholar should not object to his nomenclature. The section "Victorian Eclecticism" also affords the author an opportunity to follow the current trend among architectural historians of praising Frank Furness for his originality and as a precursor of the spirit of Louis Sullivan.

Moving to modern times, the period c. 1920-1960, the author credits Philadelphia with having created two outstanding pace-setters, the PSFS Building by Howe and Lescaze, and Kahn's Alfred Newton Richards Medical Research Building. In "Modern Philadelphia," Tatum also takes the opportunity to discuss historical redevelopment—a field in which the Quaker City leads the nation.

The notes which are supplied to the plates make up a valuable section of the volume in that they provide full information about both the individual buildings and the sources of illustrations.

The volume is illustrated with prints, drawings, and paintings reproduced in black and white. This technique has the advantage of presenting a unified set of illustrations, but it also can have the major disadvantage, strangely enough exhibited in Louis Kahn's own drawing of his research towers, of not portraying a building with a sufficient precision. Kahn's drawing does not strongly delineate the building's radical lines, but then it is no doubt the best graphic representation of this structure available.

This last, however, is a question of personal preference, and does not in any way detract from the fact that Dr. Tatum has presented us with a well-balanced first class scholarly work which deserves the earnest consideration of those interested in American architectural history.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Irwin Richman


This book is one of six projected volumes in "The American Epochs Series," to be written under the editorship of Frank Freidel. The series is described on the book jacket as being one "devoted to pivotal periods in American history as revealed in the writings of the men and women who participated in the shaping of those periods."
Professor Miller has provided a skillfully written and helpful introduction of more than thirty pages in which he presents the background for the forty-two selections which follow. The selections themselves are arranged under the headings of Arrivals, Daily Life, God and the Devil, The Indians, The South, Literature, and Four Colonial Views. There are excerpts from the writings of John Smith, William Bradford, John Winthrop, Roger Williams, Anne Bradstreet, Michael Wigglesworth, Samuel Sewall, Cotton Mather, William Byrd, Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, John Woolman, and others. Most of the selections have been used before and have become the standard ones for an anthology such as this. Many of them are only a few pages in length. A number, such as Mary Rowlandson’s account of her capture by the Indians, and William Byrd’s story of the Virginia-North Carolina boundary line, run to more than thirty pages.

The selections succeed in vivifying a wide range of colonial sentiments: the ultimate skepticism of Samuel Sewall about the justice of the witchcraft trials, the courage and deep faith of Mary Rowlandson during a long period of Indian captivity, the vigorous earthiness (if not at times bawdiness) of William Byrd, the aplomb of Cotton Mather in turning aside an unsuitable wooer, the stubbornness of the same gentleman in defending the notion of inoculation for smallpox, and the growing conviction of John Woolman that slavery was morally wrong.

There is also here a strong sense of the contrasts in colonial life. Roger Williams and Nathaniel Ward take opposing ground on the question of religious tolerance. Jonathan Edwards and Dr. Alexander Hamilton see man’s religious duties in quite different ways. If Cotton Mather seems at times to be in another world, Benjamin Franklin gives the impression of having both feet firmly planted in this world. William Bradford and Thomas Morton are poles apart on the virtues of Merrymount, as are William Byrd and Anne Bradstreet on the virtues of marriage.

The careful reader of this book will certainly carry away from it many vivid mental pictures, but the question can be raised: Will they sum up to the colonial image? For one thing, there is too little thought of politics, economics, education, and of religions other than Puritanism. Also, there is very little for the period after 1730, a period which may well have been left for one of the other volumes in the series. Finally, most of the selections were written by New Englanders. Although both God and the Devil occasionally must have wandered west and south of the Hudson, all eight of the selections under that heading emanated from New England. Colonial culture in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies is represented almost entirely by John Smith, William Byrd, Robert Beverley, Benjamin Franklin, and John Woolman. Perhaps there is no one colonial image, or perhaps one is possible of attainment only within the covers of a book much longer than 500 pages.

What we have in this book are impressions, formed from intelligently chosen selections and attractively presented.

Gettysburg College

Charles H. Glatfelter

Some years ago the members of the American Historical Association were warned by Irving Brant that the gentlemen at Mount Rushmore had better move over and make room for James Madison. The excellent six-volume biography of Madison recently completed by Mr. Brant has made such a sculptural renovation increasingly admissible, and now the publication of the first two volumes of what promises to be the definitive collection of The Papers of James Madison bids fare to achieve it.

The large and valuable task that Professor Hutchinson and Mr. Rachal have set themselves assumes its full significance only when related to various other editorial projects now in progress. In many ways the volumes under discussion are comparable in excellence to the pioneer effort of Julian Boyd's Jefferson Papers and to the initial volumes of the papers of Franklin, Hamilton, and Adams. Surely there can be no doubt that Messrs. Hutchinson and Rachal have shown painstaking care in their editorial labors. They have discovered lost letters, they have faithfully followed the original appearance and form of the letter or document in its transposition to the printed page, and they have annotated all names and places in meticulous, indeed possibly overabundant, fashion. Lengthy headnotes are provided, the cross-referencing is elaborate, the repository of all documents clearly identified, and a carefully subdivided index provided for each volume.

By the criteria of editorial care and competence, then, these volumes invite comparison with the first volumes of the papers of Jefferson, Franklin, Hamilton, and Adams. On the score of inherent interest, literary style, and what might be called personal flavor, this equality is less certain. It is obviously not the fault of the editors that for the years 1751-1781 there survive relatively few letters from Madison which afford the reader any sense of immediate communication. One is assured that some rather sorry anti-Tory doggerel penned by Madison at Princeton gives the lie to "the widely held opinion" that Madison was "never really young in spirit," but taken as a whole these two volumes would seem to support just such an opinion. One is impressed by Madison's early concern with matters literary and philosophical, convinced of the sincerity of his increasing interest in political events and issues after the Boston Tea Party, and pleased by his gradual release from the religious insularity of the Princeton faculty, but it is the Political Man who is seen to develop. Madison himself remains largely hidden from view. The contrast here with the self-revealing character of the early volumes of the Franklin Papers is especially marked.

These volumes, however, initiating as they do a major historical publication, deserve description in their own right. The editors have drawn material from a wide variety of sources. Faced with a relative paucity of personal correspondence for Madison's first thirty years, they have supplemented Madison's letters with bills, minutes, petitions, and other documentary materials that help to illustrate his labors as a member of the
Orange County Committee of Safety, the General Assembly at Williamsburg, the Virginia Council of State, and, particularly, as a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1780-1781. All letters and other papers addressed to Madison which received any appreciable attention on his part are included. There can be little doubt that when completed this edition will easily supersede and surely dwarf the nine-volume effort by Gaillard Hunt.

Though the present two volumes are but an introduction to the larger project, they can be judged not only as products of editorial craftsmanship and diligence, but for the light they shed both on young Madison and on the Revolutionary period of American history. On the latter score, they would appear to offer little that is new. One is reminded, for example, of the rather chaotic affairs of the Continental Congress' Board of Admiralty, of the confused dimensions of the Vermont tangle, and of the acute sensitivity of Maryland respecting the western lands, but relatively little is added to the information available in Burnett's Journals. Some insight is gained on the score of congressional indecision respecting the relative importance of an alliance with Spain and the right to free navigation of the Mississippi, and affirmation given that in 1780 it was certain of the Southern states— not those of New England—that favored a compromise with Spain. Some additional details are added to the time-worn story of the difficulties of American military supply and financing during the Revolutionary War, especially as respects the diverse views and solutions bandied about in Madison's Virginia.

But these volumes are more valuable for the light they shed on the evolving political concerns and career of Madison. The young man who in 1772 wrote that only the "Science of Morals" was of true benefit to men of sense and taste, and who in 1773 found it necessary to apologize for mentioning so mundane a subject as "Polities," was by June of 1775 ready to cast aspersions on the patriotism of Benjamin Franklin, and by October, 1780 to suggest a plan for the raising of needed military supplies in Virginia by means of a new type of "non-negotiable, interest-bearing certificate."

It would not appear that Madison was particularly instrumental either at Williamsburg or Philadelphia in fathering any particular bill or program, but rather that the issues and problems of the Revolutionary period helped determine his permanent commitment to the world of politics. At certain points, of course, his contemporary opinions were of influence—as when his amendment to the Virginia Bill of Rights encouraged a policy of greater religious freedom in Virginia. One gains the impression, however, that Madison's efforts of these years had as their chief result their influence on the evolving political philosophy of James Madison: his developing appreciation of the national scope and significance of such concerns as military defense, financial sanity, and human liberty.

That evolution was of marked importance for the early history of the Republic. The edition of Madison's Papers that can describe that evolution and illustrate that importance will deserve the commendation of all students of American history. Its publication has now begun. The inability of the reader to feel particularly at home with the rather cheerless style
and analytical temperament of Mr. Madison himself will be of little consequence. One can always turn for variety to the hearty anger of John Adams or the disarming candor of Benjamin Franklin.

Lafayette College

RICHARD E. WELCH, JR.


This inclusive work is a labor of love. The term inclusive is used since not only the Main Line but also every public branch and private canal in Pennsylvania is briefly but well presented. In the Introduction the authors state that their book is an attempt to organize the large and disorganized canal literature and tradition. They have achieved that goal. An example is Chapter Ten, “Main Line Travel,” which consists of thirteen pages of contemporary descriptions of the trip from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. While without footnotes, this chapter is an example of source insertions—at least seventeen—into the text, a practice followed through most of the book.

Twelve chapters trace the rise, boom, and decline of Pennsylvania public, branch, and private canal transportation. It is pointed out that private initiative on the Schuylkill, Lehigh, and upper Delaware Rivers was contemporary with New York’s 1817 efforts, while work on the Main Line did not begin until well after the 1824 Erie Canal opening. The authors note an initial financial mistake—not copying the New York tax against land along the right of way which benefited from construction. The account builds, opens, and enumerates the benefits and shortcomings and describes public operations; it discusses the sale, private (PRR) operation, and final abandonment. New York’s nature-favored route serves as a comparison and its advantages are emphasized. Neither public nor private operation was able to overcome the Erie’s ability to carry freight profitably at half Pennsylvania’s rate, mainly because of boat capacity—200 versus 60 tons. Naturally, the Portage Railroad, a true engineering “child of its time,” was the real capacity bottleneck, with its transshipments from boat to car to boat.

Actually, deluded by the success of the anthracite canals, Pennsylvania failed to build an all-rail line with the millions that the public canals cost. The engineers sent to England to investigate both types recommended a railroad, far more suitable for the unfavored-by-nature Pennsylvania canal route.

The book includes discussion of freight, packet and section-boat operation. Actual location of 1962 remnants of the Line installations and discussion of the current lack of zeal for transportation history reflect the authors’ own intense interest. Their discussion of canal troubles states that the Pennsylvania Railroad was a “serious competitor to the Main Line more because of its regularity than because of either speed or advantageous rates.”
While the failure of the Pennsylvania Tonnage Tax is discussed, the English and New York success with this canal-saving legal device is not mentioned. The financial success of the eastern railroad section is not stressed. That the canal and railroad age were practically one in America—as compared with wide separation in England—is only hinted. The book has several missing, displaced and duplicating lines on pages 6, 44, 68, 95 and 123. Perhaps an unintentional omission is the lack of a Juniata locks listing, similar to those given for the Susquehanna and Western canal sections.

The *Pennsylvania Main Line Canal* is an important addition to Pennsylvania canal literature, but the final account remains to be written.

*Hopewell Village National Historic Site*  
*EARL J. HEYDINGER*


This is a readable account of the uphill fight to build the Erie Canal. As stated in its Foreword, some “considerations . . . will annoy the historian but delight the reading public. . . . Neither fact nor fiction [the book is] an unusual and cleverly interwoven combination of knowledge and surmise.”

It opens in 1783 with a vivid description of Mohawk keelboating—poling through a rapid, fifteen-year-old Jonas Platt picks up the account and is the focal point of the story up to July 4, 1817, when Governor DeWitt Clinton breaks ground at Rome. The experience of Platt as a pioneering country lawyer, politician and government official presents central New York state history, with stress on transportation problems.

Tracing the unsuccessful results from the 1795 Western Inland Navigation Canal (contemporary with Pennsylvania’s Delaware and Schuylkill, Susquehanna and Schuylkill, and Conewago canals, all with William Weston as engineer), a route via Wood Creek to Lake Ontario, the need for an “inland” canal to Lake Erie soon became evident. The 1810 Canal Commission’s uncomfortable Tour of Investigation told of New York lumber floating to Quebec and of salt en route to Ohio. From Oswego, the group ascended the Seneca River to Geneva, head of bateau navigation, and proceeded overland to Niagara—there was then no town of Buffalo.

The fall of the Federalist party, the War of 1812, New York and national politics, a New York vice-president of the United States—all delayed action on canal planning and construction. This section of state politics, involving the rise, partial eclipse and recovery of DeWitt Clinton, a near alcoholic, according to the author, makes interesting reading. The final tricks and political maneuvers in securing the passage of the 1817 Canal Act through the Legislature and Council of Revision make absorbing reading.

However, the crux of the book is suggested in its Foreword. What is fact? What is surmise and what is fiction? Those well acquainted with
New York history may know, but the average reader does not. The author does not always make the distinction, and for this he is subject to the historian's criticism. For example, the final paragraph relates Clinton's thoughts as he breaks ground at Rome with a mule named "Daniel Tompkins" after a governor of New York who had opposed the canal and had resigned to become vice-president of the United States.

While the Grider sketches of the 1890's are appropriate, the inclusion of a "View of Boats and Manner of Navigating on the Mohawk River," as in Dunbar's History of Travel in America, would have been a fitting addition. Do photos of the 1791 locks exist? This reviewer expected brief accounts of the Mohawk fur trade and of the Ellice portage rights at Little Falls, mentioned in American Railroad Journal, 1833. He questions the route of glass shipments from Pittsburgh via the Ohio, Muskingum, and Cuyahoga Rivers. Was not the French Creek route in Pennsylvania more direct?

This is an entertaining account but hardly history.

Hopewell Village National Historic Site

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961. Pp. 254. $5.00.)

In the three decades following 1827, when the Industrial Revolution first made an impact upon the United States, Schuylkill County produced more than one-half of the nation's total anthracite tonnage. But Schuylkill, unlike Pennsylvania's four other anthracite counties, chose to organize her industry around individual proprietors, partners, and an occasional unchartered company. At a time when anthracite's organizational form commonly was the large corporation, Schuylkill's landowners and mine operators preferred individual enterprise. To them, this choice represented both an expression of faith in a characteristic American institution and a conviction that their best hope for profit could be so realized. Professor Yearley has developed an interesting, incisive evaluation of these endeavors, and has candidly pointed up the reasons for their eventual failure.

To the owners of the land—most of whom were men of limited means, although there were speculative companies, local families of wealth, and prominent investors from outside the county involved—the immediate consideration was profit once the anthracite was located; to them, this goal could best be achieved by individual enterprise. Also, when the Commonwealth permitted the Schuylkill Navigation Company only carrying rights, the mine owners and operators did not have to fear domination from the carrier; this, of course, contrasted with the virtual total control over Lehigh coal given to the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company through both its mining and carrying privileges.

Among the mine operators, who frequently were inexperienced speculators and whose operations were often wasteful and inefficient (to the extent that less than one-half survived the first year), there was the same attitude
that the independent, individual entrepreneur was "the model of what the ordinary man aspired to be." But, as the author points out, when about $10,000 was needed for the construction of a first-class colliery, many had only $1,000—a sum sufficient for a beginning but hardly enough to sustain the rising costs of deeper mines, especially those in which the coal was located below the water level. Yet most operators, with so much high-quality anthracite easily available, and with control vested in a relatively few local persons, expressed themselves repeatedly in opposition to corporate mining companies, or "monopolies," as a desirable alternative. The capacity of the individual to serve himself best was reasserted, to the extent that the ideal became a hardened dogma in opposition to changing economic and social conditions.

Had the mine operators been more alert to the expanding nineteenth-century knowledge of geology and mining technology they could possibly have lessened the consequences of their ideological position. Despite the wealth of geologic information that was accumulating (from the Sillimans, Agassiz, and LeConte, among others) there was a wide chasm between this knowledge and the way anthracite mining was conducted. More often than not in the search for coal, chance rather than the careful selection of sites was employed, and the erroneous belief that anthracite existed only above water level restricted operations for better than a decade. Extravagant estimates of the number and quality of beds led to rampant speculations and excessive wastes of time, energy, and money. At the same time, the technology of underground mining remained unintelligent and uneconomical, again despite significant advances elsewhere. Test borings were seldom made, water was left standing because inefficient pumps were used, mine ventilation was neglected, and much machinery was permitted to become obsolescent. In fact, the method of mining underground was so primitive throughout the period that English collierymen of a century previous would have had no trouble in recognizing it. Loss and waste became the norm—to the detriment of both the mine operator and his country.

The mine operators, not unaware of their financial plight, turned to a variety of techniques for possible solutions. Some recognized that the inadequacy of individual capital made it difficult to cope with recurring trade uncertainties and therefore advocated "moderate incorporations." But most of their colleagues repeatedly judged corporations as "fraudulent, monopolistic, and overproductive" and rejected them. Others called for changes in Pennsylvania's laws respecting mining investments and property; they wanted more liberal terms of incorporation, easier means for transferring stock, and guarantees of limited liability. But no such law was enacted until 1874, and by then the Reading Railroad had all but gained virtual control of Schuylkill's resources. Some sought reductions in canal and railroad transportation charges, but actually the operators suffered no great burden from these levies prior to the seventies. Finally, many worked to manipulate the price of their coal upward by limiting production, knowing that their best red ash anthracite was capturing larger
domestic and industrial markets. But, in all these efforts, the operators failed, in part due to disunity, irresolution, and lack of organization, but more because they persisted in their deep-seated belief that individual enterprise was preferable.

In a provocative chapter that will be read with interest by students of labor history and labor-management relations, Professor Yearley believes that the coal miners' ignorance, bigotry, carelessness, superstition, and contempt of discipline and their union's conservatism contributed markedly to the difficulties of Schuylkill's operators. John Siney and his Workingmen's Benevolent Association are carefully studied, and the moderation of both, looking to arbitration and agreements rather than violence to solve the miners' problems, identified them with their employers' interests. Their belief (1869) that a reduction in the supply of coal on the market and their steps to limit production so as to stabilize prices and increase wages fitted comfortably with the employers' outlook. But best, since the union took the lead in advocating suspensions of work and restrictions on production, they could also take the blame for the consequences. Finally, operators and union tended to agree that Schuylkill's problems came from external forces—monopolies were assailed and the middleman condemned by both. Labor's participation in these areas "became manifest in the continuing losses and instability that stigmatized the trade."

At this point (1870), with the mine operators and labor having failed to provide order and profit, and government "neither a willing nor efficient actor," Franklin P. Gowen and the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company moved to absorb most of the county's coal lands and put the railroad into the business of mining anthracite. While some looked on this as grand aggression, others recognized that the only apparent alternative was the extinction of the region's trade. Despite some heartening results that came out of this arrangement, wasteful and inefficient operational techniques persisted, the "basis-system" of wages did not produce the worker income anticipated, and the demoralization and defeat of a segment of organized labor occurred. Individual entrepreneurship had been replaced by the corporation, which subsequently passed into receivership.

A very useful compilation of notes and bibliography is appended, the maps are adequate, and the Introduction and Epilogue set off the highlights of the work. Just one observation—it is the Edward Carey Gardiner papers (p. 32 and throughout the notes) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania rather than Gardner to which the author has reference.

West Chester State College

ROBERT E. CARLSON

Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character.


In his introduction Professor Taylor writes that "by 1860 most Americans had come to look upon their society and culture as divided between a North and a South, a democratic, commercial civilization and an aristo-
It was believed that each section of the country had its own ethic, its own historical traditions, and even a distinctive racial heritage. According to a theory popular at the time, the North had been settled by Puritan Roundheads and the South by English Cavaliers.

Professor Taylor's purpose in this study has been to show how the idea of a divided culture grew and developed during the first half of the nineteenth century. In carrying out this purpose, he has considered the social problems, such as slavery and the status of women, which produced the need for this kind of historical rationalization and also the worries and anxieties that attended its development, such as the fear of a divided South and the anxiety about the alienation of the West as the crisis between the North and the South increased in intensity.

The author's concern has been principally with the South as seen by the Northerners and by the Southerners themselves, and his sources have been mainly literary, including works by both obscure and well-known American writers. In the literature of the first half of the nineteenth century devoted to an examination of the national character, he has traced the traits considered characteristically Northern or Southern which permitted the creation of the legendary Yankee and the equally legendary New World aristocrat, the Southern planter. As Professor Taylor points out, he has been most interested in "the mythmaking frame of mind, the social imagination of the mythmakers and the circumstances which have molded their lives."

_Cavalier and Yankee_ shows clearly how the strident materialism of the aggressive Yankee first aroused in Americans definite longings for some form of aristocracy. By the 1830's this need seemed to be filled by the legendary Southern planter with his large estates, his impressive style of life, his Cavalier ancestry, and his reputed indifference to money matters. By 1850 the Southern planter had become in the popular imagination the symbolic representative of the agrarian South as the acquisitive Yankee, the man on the make, had become the symbolic representative of the mercenary North.

The Southern legend grew especially well in the North, where some writers tried to counterpoint the limitations of the Yankee ethos by presenting the legendary Southern gentleman, who seemed to have all the qualities which the Yankee lacked. One of the chief Northern eulogists of the social system in the South was Sarah Josepha Hale, author of _Northwood_ and for many years editor of _Godey's Lady's Book_. (The account of Sarah Hale forms one of the best sections in Professor Taylor's book.) Another Northern admirer of the Cavaliers was James Kirke Paulding. For him, as for Sarah Hale, the South was an antipode to life in the North. Like some other Northern crusaders for the Cavalier cause, however, Paulding actually seems to have been less attracted to the South than repelled by his own region of the country.

The most active period of Southern mythmaking began in the 1830's, but the plantation legend was foreshadowed in some patriotic writing, such as William Wirt's biography of Patrick Henry, which appeared soon after
the War of 1812. In the 1830's and after, such Southern writers as John Pendleton Kennedy, William Alexander Caruthers, and William Gilmore Simms contributed to the growing rash of plantation literature. By that time both the North and the South were ready for the plantation legend, which involved a set of popular beliefs about the Southern planter, the plantation family, and (what was assumed to be) the aristocratic social system in the South. Yet Professor Taylor concludes that "few, if any, Southerners, no matter what they said, really believed in the Cavalier—only in the need for him." The Cavalier was created to ease the tensions and frustrations felt by those who had long battled for the Lost Cause of the South.

While admitting that literary historians may quarrel with his tendency to interpret works of fiction as social fantasy, Professor Taylor believes they will concede that the fiction he has used as source material embodies "a considerable quantity of troubled speculation about the historical predicament of the South within the nation." The fiction he has examined (sometimes to the point of tediousness) in his study of the Old South and American national character bears out his contention. *Cavalier and Yankee* is an important contribution to our understanding of the development of American culture.

*University of Delaware*  

*Ernest J. Moyne*


This is the most recent of a long and growing list of anthologies of Civil War literature, with the added feature in this case of some attention to the period of Reconstruction as well. Altogether the work contains forty-five contemporary accounts (nine of them relating to the period after the war), together with a twenty-one page Introduction by Professor Hesseltine, which for Civil War specialists probably constitutes the most valuable portion of the volume.

In his comprehensive Introduction, the author quotes staggering figures about the human and financial cost of the War; indorses the view that a new economic régime and social order were the results of the War's transformation, yet concedes that there was little in the America of 1880 that had not been foreshadowed in 1850. He repudiates the idea of separate nationhood on the part of North and South; dismisses the conception that the Civil War was a struggle arraying freedom against aristocracy and slavery as a product of wartime propaganda; and concludes that this was a war against the States rather than between the States. As for Reconstruction, the term is a misnomer. There was instead a "new construction," a "new nation," comprising North as well as South. One of the principal strands of what is commonly called "Reconstruction," Professor Hesseltine contends, was the determination of Congress to assert its control after Lincoln had ignored Congress or "bent it to his will." The end of the experiment came when the North finally became aware that subjugation of
the South was costing more than it was worth—hence the Compromise of 1877, more lasting than any of the sectional compromises that had preceded it.

Elsewhere in his Introduction, Professor Hesseltine takes direct issue with his former student, Professor T. Harry Williams, in his assertion that President Lincoln was “no military genius.” And whereas the Robert E. Lee of Douglas Freeman’s judgment was “less renowned as a tactician than as a strategist,” in Hesseltine’s opinion Lee was “a supreme tactician, sadly deficient in the concepts of strategy.” Curiously enough, after pronouncing the regular army of that day practically useless to the Northern war effort, Hesseltine expounds the Jominian principles characteristic of most Civil War generals with West Point training when he asserts that “the war was not a war against the armies. . . . The war was, in fact, a war against places. . . .” Since Lincoln emphatically did not believe this, perhaps Lincoln’s disbelief is one of the reasons why Lincoln receives his low military rating in the Hesseltine scale. For those like this reviewer who incline to agree with the Allan Nevins-Kenneth Williams interpretation of McClellan’s generalship, Hesseltine’s conjecture that “perhaps McClellan was right” in his controversy with Lincoln and Stanton during the Peninsular Campaign, will not carry a very strong note of conviction.

The main purpose of The Tragic Conflict appears to be to place in the hands of teachers and other interested readers of American history from 1861 to 1877 a compact selection of original sources not otherwise readily available in small libraries. Represented among the authors are journalists like Horace White, Edward A. Pollard, William H. Russell, and Horace Greeley; prominent public men of the period such as Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, Thomas Hart Benton, and Hugh McCulloch; generals and soldiers, lawyers and physicians, army chaplains, historians, poets, and even a humorist (Bill Arp). Not more than one fourth of the writers included in this collection are of Southern origin, although aid and comfort is lent to the Southern cause by sympathetic Northern Democrats like Indiana Congressman Daniel Vorhees and the editor of the Columbus (Ohio) Crisis. The only Pennsylvanian in the group is a Jefferson Democrat from Lancaster named Alexander Harris, who expresses a Copperhead view of Northern consolidation. No doubt other writers were considered and rejected because of space limitations and other reasons. However, there are some rather obvious omissions, including the writings of the United States War President, the great diaries of Welles, Chase, Browning, and Bates, and the superlative war narrative of the Confederate Lieutenant General Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction. Since only one woman (Susan Dabney Smedes) has the opportunity to speak for her sex, the point of view expressed in this anthology is essentially masculine.

Highlights of the volume are Murat Halstead’s animated description of the Republican National Convention of 1860, during which “on nearly every ballot Pennsylvania was not in readiness when her name was called, and her retirements for consultation became a joke”; the soldier narratives of George W. Pepper, who accompanied Sherman on his march through
Georgia and the Carolinas, and of Confederate private John Will Dyer, returning home from the War amid scenes of devastation; Edward Pollard's perceptive analysis of the decline of Southern morale in the closing months of the War; Henry S. Olcott's indignant portrayal of the wartime corruption that he helped to ferret out; and the Confederate General Basil Duke's sympathetic interpretation of the Negro character.

In certain respects the editing of this volume is open to criticism. Most of the numerous contributors are only briefly identified, and in at least a half dozen instances no biographical information whatever is provided. Only those readers having more than a surface knowledge of the period would be likely to know that the E. E. Hale whose article "Northern Missions" is reprinted from the Atlantic Monthly is the Edward Everett Hale whose short story "The Man Without a Country" became a minor classic. Also little or no attempt is made to correct misstatements of fact or obscure statements on the part of contributors, and in some cases inaccurate transcriptions from the sources occur, although the text is generally accurate.

Within these limitations, this is a useful, readable, and at times exciting history of Civil War and Reconstruction as told by contemporaries that deserves, and doubtless will receive, a wide readership.

Chatham College

J. CUTLER ANDREWS


The American brewing industry is a wider subject than usually falls to the lot of the writer in the field of business history. To begin with, the industry as it exists today has largely been transplanted from Germany and is one of the best examples of the conquest of the United States by a foreign taste. Originally, Americans drank the same ales and porters as their kin across the ocean in Britain. Then, about the mid-nineteenth century, the number of German immigrants had become numerous enough to constitute a market for lager beer. Once established, the taste for the new beer rapidly spread. There is an earlier parallel in the way in which changes in the pattern of overseas trade after the Revolution and the movement of Scotch-Irish pioneers into Kentucky combined to make Americans into whiskey rather than rum drinkers. German dominance of the industry is further illustrated by the fact that when the United States Brewers Association came into existence in 1864, the proceedings were carried on exclusively in German for some years. Again, the title of the periodical published by the National Union of the Brewers, formed in 1886, was the Brauer Zeitung, which is sufficient evidence that workers in the industry were in the main German speaking.

The big names of the brewing industry were all established by the 1850's. During the Civil War, taxation worked to the advantage of the larger firms at the expense of the smaller, and also stimulated a comparatively early development of a trade association. The steady postwar growth of the industry developed a tendency towards concentration, as
in other American industries, and a small number of national brewers came
to dominate the market. The industry was also responsible for some tech-
nological advances of importance. These were not merely improvements in
brewing practice, although the work of Louis Pasteur and Emil Christian
Hansen enabled close control to be established over the nature and quality
of the product and guaranteed that there would be no subsequent failure
of the beer. The American industry was also a pioneer in the field of
refrigeration; lager takes its name from the fact that the beer must be 'lagered' or stored at low temperature for several months after produc-
tion. The invention of the crown bottle cap in 1892 was immediately taken
up by the brewers and led to the rise of the bottling industry in this
country.

The American temperance movement was even older than the modern
brewing industry, but the brewers were ill-prepared for the disaster of
Prohibition when it came. They had refused to take common ground with
the distillers in the mistaken belief that public opinion would distinguish
between liquor and beer. Such proved not to be the case, and under the
Volstead Act an outside limit of half of one per cent of alcohol was im-
posed. The brewers attempted to produce a beverage which would comply
with the law but found it difficult to make much headway against the
competition of soft drinks on the one hand, and bootleggers on the other.

All this information and a great deal more can be extracted from the
pages of Mr. Baron's book, but unfortunately it is not possible to recom-
nend it to the serious student. In his favor, it is clear that a diligent
search was made for materials; there is a bibliography of some seventeen
pages which includes a respectable number of manuscript sources. However,
without the training of either historian or economist, the author has little
idea of what all his material adds up to or how it should be presented.
The book is also badly arranged and proportioned. There can be no
justification for devoting nearly half the volume to the largely domestic
brewing industry of colonial and early national times. Also, there are
chapters on brewing in various sections of the country which amount to
little more than a list of places and individual firms. Nor is the story of
the rise of the temperance movement and the development of the demand
for Prohibition at all skillfully woven into the fabric of the book.

Such a book as this has a moral for historians. There is no indication
that the book was sponsored by the brewing industry, but it is highly
probable that the project enjoyed its interest and support. Obviously Mr.
Baron had no technical qualifications for writing a history of brewing,
but he is a novelist. Clearly, the presumed ability to write well and clearly
outweighs the advantages of professional competence. Let historians look
to their writing then. They have no professional jargon of their own to
stand between them and a wider public which can be reached through the
cultivation of a vivid and effective style. So often professional historians
assume that popular writing means a lowering of scholarly standards when
it might just as well mean a raising of literary quality.

The *Day of the Mugwump* is a book which every mugwump should read. In fact, any thoughtful citizen could profit by reading it, particularly if he is one of multitudinous urban dwellers imperiled by the decay of some of our cities. The author sees the mugwump as the natural leader equipped to spearhead metropolitan rejuvenation.

Having taken a careful look at the history of reform elements in twenty major cities, the author concludes that the motive force behind all major urban movements has been a type of human being of the *genus* mugwump. The species vary from city to city, but they are all the same breed. The mugwump respects no political party lines. He acquired his title most conspicuously as a reform-minded maverick in the presidential campaigns of 1872 and 1884. He is a persistent character whose guiding principle is morality in politics. Impervious to defeats, he plods on, undertakes research, informs the public, makes influential contacts, and hopes for a slip by the opposition which will allow fortuitous scandals to fall into his hands. He is an optimistic pragmatist who does not grow weary and does not faint.

This book examines the first phase of mugwump activity as it attacked graft and corruption in American cities. The mugwump could be seen clashing with utilities executives in New York or with railway executives controlling Los Angeles. Notwithstanding this assault on the captains of industry, most mugwumps prove to be businessmen, insurance and banking executives, lawyers—any administrator high enough in his professional hierarchy to allow detachment for civic duties during working hours. His tools are municipal research bureaus, investigating commissions, city charters, civil service, decentralized purchasing, proportional representation on city councils, city-county consolidation, and city managers. With the first revolution having matured, the author senses the advent of the "second revolution," in which the mugwump will have a guiding hand in determining whether the cities will be "permitted to degenerate into a huge blanket slum of factories and deserted store fronts, inhabited only by the poor and the criminal." In the "second revolution" the mugwump must first create the image of the rejuvenated city. He must translate the image into particular plans and legislation. He must promote within each city an alliance of propertied men, public officials, labor and Negro leaders, and others. As in the days preceding the American Revolution, these activists must create something akin to "committees of correspondence" to keep in touch with their counterparts in all the major cities of the nation, in order that they might coordinate their assaults on the state and federal treasuries.

The author's faith in the resourcefulness of the mugwump derives from his close look at reformers in twenty major cities. In each case study it is possible to identify one or more of four basic types of mugwump organization at work: research bureaus, citizens' leagues, municipal parties, and top brass committees. The book shows anti-Tammany forces supporting Robert Wagner and Luther Gulick in New York. In Philadelphia Joseph
Clark and Richardson Dilworth continue reform efforts after successfully routing the corrupt Samuel machine. In Chicago such mugwumps as Charles Merriam meet with frustration, but later reformers exhibit some optimism when mayors Kennelly and Daley prove unexpectedly responsive to reform. The author's prized example of the science of mugwumpery is Pittsburgh, a smoke-enveloped monstrosity undergoing a miraculous change. Here a "top brass" committee including Mayor David Lawrence, Richard Mellon, and other influential millionaries and executives performed astonishing feats recovering a wasteland.

In the concluding "prognosis," the author describes the present mugwump as an expansionist dedicated to expensive projects designed to rescue ailing cities. However, the author's major thesis is largely undefended. He asserts that the mugwump can succeed in transforming urban America if he can just establish institutionalized and informal contacts in other beleaguered cities so as to lobby effectively in state and federal capitals. Mugwumps, unite! A sceptical reader is justified in wondering whether urban spokesmen will be able to articulate with one voice. The troubled cities are naturally competitors for limited federal and state resources. Although the author suggests that the reapportionment of state legislatures will bring a long-awaited reform, one dares suspect that such reapportionment may yield frustration and impasse as cities fight one another for available revenues.

This book is the result of three years of travel, interviewing, and research. It relies upon data provided by municipal leagues and other mugwump organizations. Most useful are the interview and observation notes which form an essential basis of the narrative. The author is a skilled newsman with great perceptiveness and writing skill. The California legislature has relied on his studies. Lorin Peterson has made a very valuable contribution to the understanding of reform movements in American urban politics. It provides a hopeful picture of dedicated human resources.

Otterbein College

JOHN H. LAUBACH