

BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

EDITED BY NORMAN B. WILKINSON

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Edited by Leonard W. Labaree. Volume 8: April 1, 1758, through December 31, 1759. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965. Pp. 489. \$10.00.)

This volume in Professor Labaree's masterful edition finds Benjamin Franklin in England as the agent for the Pennsylvania Assembly. The most important documents are connected with his campaign at the Colonial Office and in the public press against Proprietor Thomas Penn for his maladministration of the province. Most of these documents have been printed before, in widely scattered places. The John Bigelow (1887) edition of Franklin's writings devotes a mere twenty-eight pages to these twenty-one months, and the Albert Henry Smyth (1905) edition has only forty-eight pages. Obviously Editor Labaree is more comprehensive!

The only caveat this reviewer would offer is that he is rather too comprehensive, for Franklin during 1758 and 1759 was bogged down in relatively negative and fruitless pursuits which scarcely seem to deserve such exhaustive editorial attention. Compared with the vital, charming essays and letters in the first four or five volumes of the Yale edition, the content of Volume 8 is depressingly second-rate. The exuberance of the 1730's and 1740's is gone. Some of Benjamin's pet Philadelphia projects from those days, such as the Academy and College, and the Junto, are now captured by his proprietary enemies. *Poor Richard's Almanac* is finished (the final issue appeared in Volume 7). The great period of electrical experimentation is over.

On the other hand, Franklin has not yet entered into his role of the 1760's and 1770's as America's advocate and ambassador to the British and French. Volume 8 finds Franklin in England at the climax of the Seven Years' War, an active participant in London scientific life, a busy social figure and no doubt a keen observer of English politics—yet his surviving papers give disappointingly little sense of the London atmosphere, less clue as to his daily routine, and hardly a hint of his mind in action.

Chiefly we get a picture here of Benjamin Franklin as a frustrated provincial politician. Before leaving Pennsylvania in 1757 he had already entered very fully into the poisonous factional squabbling between Assembly and Proprietor. On coming to England and presenting Thomas Penn with the Assembly's Heads of Complaints, he grew if anything more partisan. Personal contact convinced him that Thomas Penn had all the vision and honor of a petty horse trader. Franklin concluded that the Proprietor had absolutely no interest in the province beyond personal profit. Penn, for his part, soon refused to deal with the Assembly agent. Whenever the Pro-

prietor catches sight of him, Franklin reported home in 1759, "there appears in his wretched Countenance a strange Mixture of Hatred, Anger, Fear and Vexation."

If Franklin despised Penn, he came close to loathing Penn's mouthpiece, Provost William Smith of the College of Philadelphia. He felt horribly betrayed by Smith, who had started the college under his patronage, but was now Pennsylvania's loudest champion of Anglicanism and the Proprietor, and a most scurrilous critic of Quakerism and the Assembly. Franklin's best darts in Volume 8 are directed against Smith. In 1758 the provost had been thrown into jail by the Assembly, and shortly after his release he arrived in England. Franklin was nettled when Oxford bestowed a doctorate of divinity on Smith in 1759, which took much of the shine off the doctorate of laws which Franklin had just received from St. Andrews. Smith was trying to procure an English benefice, Franklin reported, and "it is not unlikely he will desert poor Philadelphia and by removing his Candlestick leave the Academy in the dark."

But this was wishful thinking. Smith was actually trying to obtain a cargo of books from a London dealer, telling him that the only Philadelphia bookseller was Franklin's partner, David Hall, and if Smith set up a shop he could easily take away Hall's business. Unhappily for Smith, the dealer asked Franklin about his credit rating. Franklin replied, "I believ'd my Townsmen who were Smith's Creditors would be glad to see him come back with a Cargo of any kind, as they might have some Chance of being paid out of it." So ended the provost's merchandising venture.

After Franklin despaired of reaching an accommodation with Penn, he took to harassing the Proprietor with representations to the Board of Trade, complaining of proprietary Indian and tax policies. He also arranged the London publication of two anti-proprietary books, Charles Thomson's *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians*, and Richard Jackson's *Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania*, both issued in 1759. If Franklin really believed what he told his correspondents, that these two books would resolve the Pennsylvania dispute by destroying the proprietary position and converting the ministry to the Assembly's way of thinking, he surely had a naive faith in the power of the printed word. It was in this period that Franklin first proposed to his allies back home, Norris, Pemberton and Galloway, that the Assembly petition the crown for a royal governor—the policy he took up in earnest in the mid-1760's.

But he also advised Norris and Pemberton that the ministry was at least as anxious to curtail the people's privileges as to curb proprietary power, hence to exchange a proprietary for a royal governor might be leaping from the frying pan into the fire. In truth, agent Franklin seems to have had no consistent policy beyond needling Penn. He certainly accomplished little at the Colonial Office in 1758 and 1759, mostly perhaps because he did not try very hard, but also because his arguments had no weight with prerogative-minded ministers like Granville and Halifax. He never met Mr. Secretary Pitt during these war years. However important Franklin was

in Philadelphia, he was certainly inconsequential at Whitehall.

Through the pages of this volume there are many reminders of Franklin's multirarious interests. He discusses fireplace dampers, smallpox inoculation, a design for a three-wheeled clock, and of course he keeps an interest in electrical experimentation. He visits the ancestral Franklin village of Ecton in Northamptonshire, and engrosses himself in family genealogy. He travels extensively through England and Scotland, though he has almost nothing to say about these travels beyond his interest in the machine shops of Birmingham. He seems to be content with the life of gentleman agent, and seldom talks of coming home. One feels a bit sorry for wife Deborah as Benjamin jots off an epistle answering *twelve* of her letters to him. When his friend Richard Jackson proposes that Franklin enter Parliament, which Jackson seems to think can easily be arranged, Franklin declines. "I am too old," he says, "to think of changing Countries, I am almost weary of Business, and languish after Repose and my America." In point of fact, the best half of his career still lies ahead.

University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD S. DUNN

Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts. By John Joseph Stoudt. (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, Inc., 1965. Pp. 364. \$20.00.)

The path of literary criticism is full of pitfalls. Of these probably the most insidious is overpraise. An equally dangerous trap is the impairment of judicious calm when in utter disagreement with the presentation. While one may disregard stylistic tendencies, one may not refrain from castigating a book based on unsubstantiated statements and unsupported assertions.

In recent years the market has been flooded with books of historical and cultural interest, some too rambling to be useful, some repeating misconceptions and unproven statements. It appears that such publications usually satisfy the general public if they are amply and well illustrated, with an easily digestible text. The more scholarly book, by its very nature, lacks this public appeal and cannot undo what the sloppily contrived book has wrought.

Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts caters to a specialized sphere of interest and to the tastes of an even more specialized circle of readers. It has an uncommonly attractive cover jacket, and nineteen eye-catching color plates promise delights of hitherto unpublished illustrations and a well-substantiated text.

After the color plates one discovers that about one-half of the black and white illustrations are the same snapshots, often fuzzy and indistinct, that one did not admire in the author's previous books. Nor is one entranced by a poorly scaled picture of a delicate pie crust crimper masquerading as a Roman battering ram, or an ill-positioned one of an exquisite door hinge in the menacing attitude of an African throwing knife. There are others.

Positioning of pictures is a responsibility shared with the publisher, as is proofreading. There is a disturbing abundance of typographical errors, coupled with an appalling tendency to misspell names, frequently at variance

with each other on different pages and in the index. Erroneous captions and illustrations of objects other than those referred to in the text are strictly the author's responsibility.

While the scholar may be astonished by many statements, there is no bibliography through which the veracity of such statements could be established; the student and general reader, under the spell of the authoritative-looking tome, are certain to be misinformed.

Quoting at random: "The pent roof was not Germanic. . . ." Neither was it exclusively English as the author indicates. Known in certain areas of England, it was equally well known in the southwestern areas of Germany from which many, if not the majority, of Pennsylvania Germans originated. "The fertile interior valleys were first settled by Germans who had entered America through New York where they had lived in the Schoharie region. . . . By 1720, the main interior valleys were settled, not by Germans overflowing from the City, but by rugged pioneers who had come down from New York, attracted by the fertility of Pennsylvania." Actually the Germans who came from New York, from the Schoharie region, did not come until 1723. Moreover, they came, not primarily because they were attracted by the fertility of Pennsylvania soil, but to escape the patrol system of New York.

From the section "The Frontiersman's Friend": "Gunsmithing was not a recognized European trade," and "Pennsylvania gunsmiths from one point of view, were merely assemblers who took parts made elsewhere. . . ." There were those, of course. But why confine such a disdainful statement to one particular craft when many, if not most, other crafts employed such assembly methods to an even greater extent? The Philadelphia cabinet-makers, rightly praised by the author, employed such methods on a large scale. They used hinges, locks, pulls, screws, and nails, all made elsewhere. Their application of turnings and carvings, made elsewhere, on their masterpieces must align them from another point of view, with the "mere assemblers."

"The firing mechanism of the Kentucky rifle was made here before it was known in Europe." It is hard to believe that Europe's fashioners of projectile weapons had not advanced in their craft since Crécy. Many a *carved* powderhorn has passed through this reviewer's hands but never an "etched" one; nor has anyone, to my knowledge, shared the author's discovery that pewter is a medium "especially easy to work" and "almost indestructible."

Wasn't it the *prairie schooner* and not the Conestoga wagon that "carried America to the Pacific"?

So much for random quotations.

Interpreting in his fashion is the privilege of an author. One should defend that privilege even when romanticism supersedes scholarly or historically established facts. But only in belletristic writing. A scholarly book must refrain from taking liberties permissible in belles-lettres; nor are such capricious captions legitimate as "My beloved is Mine, He feeds amongst the Lilies" for a sgraffito plate, when the only food in evidence are tulips and a pomegranate. Application of scriptural quotations to folk or decorative

art should never be arbitrary. Decorative expressions of folk art are, at best, secondarily scriptural unless they are pointedly devotional.

Symbols and motifs antedate theism and scriptures by millenia. Collected in bestiaries in historical times, they evolved independently amongst peoples who were removed from contact with other associates until comparatively recent times. They were not and never were in all instances expressions of faith and beliefs. Mindful of this, one can hardly agree with many symbolic interpretations in this book unless one's imagination is strong enough to visualize a potter, a blacksmith, or a carver, turning his wheel, smiting his anvil, or wielding his carver's knife with one hand while his other hand turns the leaves of the scriptures in search of a scriptural motif.

The book implies strongly that Pennsylvania was almost exclusively settled by pietists and sectarians who in many instances abhorred the expressions of the decorative arts and that theirs was a twenty-four-hour-a-day, seven-day-a-week piety. While not so stated, the implication is ever present in the book.

It behooves us to study the worldly, at times profane, expressions of Pennsylvania arts and crafts, to interpret properly the wealth of Pennsylvania's folklore and folksongs, not in their castrated schooltext translations, but in their originals. Such study gives ample evidence that Pennsylvania's settlers, farmers and artisans, "Tidewater" or "Piedmont," were, by and large, lusty and often quite earthy creatures whose inclinations spiritual and predilections temporal can be summed up in Goethe's: "Two souls, alas, dwell in my breast."

Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts was started with greater ambitions than it has achieved. The story of Pennsylvania's arts and crafts has yet to be told.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

ERIC DE JONGE

The Case for Liberty. By Helen Hill Miller. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Pp. 254. \$5.95.)

Nine propositions now embodied in the American Bill of Rights—religion, press, bearing arms, quartering troops, search and seizure, due process, trial in the vicinage, trial by jury, excessive bail—are illustrated in respective chapters of this book by an account of pre-Revolutionary events which possibly contributed to, or at least strikingly illustrated the evils meant to be prohibited by, the enactment of the respective constitutional safeguards under discussion.

The cases described are: the Parson's case and imprisonment of Baptist dissenters in Virginia; the Bradford and Zenger cases; Bacon's rebellion (the connection of which with the right to bear arms apparently is that without arms it is difficult to fight Indians); the trial of Alexander MacDougall for writing an anonymous attack on the DeLancey faction in New York when it voted funds in 1769 to quarter troops; the Massachusetts opposition to writs of assistance that immortalized James Otis; the release on habeas corpus of Thomas Powell when confined by order of the South

Carolina governor's council for printing a protest made by two members of the council (this case turned on the question whether the council was merely a body of advisers to the governor or was an independent upper legislative chamber like the House of Lords, although the court's opinion does mention the due process provision of Magna Charta); the *Gaspéc* incident in Rhode Island; the New York assault and battery case of *Forsey v. Cunningham*, involving the controversy between Acting Governor Cadwallader Colden and Chief Justice Daniel Horsmanden over the power of the governor in council to review the case on appeal with trial *de novo* rather than on writ of error limited to matters of law); and the punishment of the "Regulators" in North Carolina.

The principal grievance of the Regulators was that officials such as Edmund Fanning, the register or county clerk of Orange County, extorted fees in excess of those allowed by law for his services. It seems somewhat farfetched to regard extortion under color of office as the equivalent of judicial exaction of excessive bail or imposition of cruel and unusual punishment. It seems more probable that the American provision regarding bail and punishment was inherited from English experience, embodied in the English Bill of Rights of 1689, than that it was based upon remembered instances of arbitrary judicial action occurring in the colonies. Perhaps further research will reveal colonial examples of excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment which outraged American public sentiment. Mrs. Miller's selection of the Regulators seems a poor choice to illustrate this constitutional principle. Bacon's rebellion and the Powell case in South Carolina also seem somewhat far afield. Her other cases do illustrate the points for which they are cited.

It may not be amiss to point out also that besides the nine constitutional rights which Mrs. Miller illustrates by colonial cases, there are ten such rights for which no such cases are given: assembly and petition for redress of grievances; indictment by grand jury; double jeopardy; self-incrimination; just compensation; speedy and public trial; nature of charge; confrontation by witnesses; right to subpoena witnesses for defense; right to counsel. I do not say that it would be possible to find colorful colonial cases on these topics; I only say that her omission of these topics supports the view that weight must be given to the heritage of English experience in determining the origin of particular provisions in the American Bill of Rights. I do not think that they are all traceable to specific cases occurring in the colonies, as Mrs. Miller's New York lawyer friend, whose queries led her to write the book, seems to think.

It should also be noted that the author's list of sources does not mention Joseph H. Smith's magistral discussion of *Appeals to the Privy Council from the American Plantations* (New York, 1950), which would have been quite pertinent to Chapter VIII on the Colden-Horsmanden conflict.

The numerous illustrations and the end papers are quite interesting. There are perhaps more typographical errors than one would expect. The author's style has no identifiable defects other than a certain diffuseness, perhaps, and one would say that the book is well written. Nevertheless the

fact remains that, while under a pledge to read this book, the reviewer could not resist first finishing instead *The Letters of Frederic William Maitland* which lay on the table at the same time, although there was no obligation to read the Maitland volume. But in such a test, who could win?
Uniontown, Pennsylvania EDWARD DUMBAULD

Colonials and Patriots. Historic Places Commemorating our Forebears 1700-1783. By Frank B. Sarles, Jr., and Charles E. Shedd. Edited by John Porter Bloom and Robert M. Utley [The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, VI.] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964. Pp. 286. \$2.75.)

Historians and archaeologists of the National Park Service have been privileged to work primarily in a "third dimension" of this country's history, the dimension of space, observes Chief of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings John O. Littleton, in introducing this "guidebook into history." Written history, essential though it may be, is confined to the length and breadth of the printed page. "Standing in" the room and "walking on" the ground where events have taken place convey a singular impression to "one's mind and spirit," Mr. Littleton has discovered. His associates now communicate the findings of their survey of places exemplifying aspects of America's history between 1700 and 1783, through the medium of the printed page.

This is the second published volume of a series one may hope in time will run through the full set of themes or periods set forth in the little-known National Survey. The authors and editors explain the Survey, its use of thematic studies, and criteria for selection following a narrative which compresses eighty-three years of immigration, expansion, colonial wars, and the American Revolution, into a short fifty pages. As a first step in the guiding process they have referenced by page numbers in this first part sites and buildings given detailed consideration in the second. On balance both sections favor the Revolutionary period, the number and character of the sites devoted to that period predominating. Military and naval operations alone claim fifteen of the fifty pages budgeted to the first part. That it be lean and direct is intended.

In the second part *Colonials and Patriots* hits its stride. How expressive of a vernacular architecture is the cavalcade of gracious homes, proud public buildings, halls of learning, churches, lesser houses, and taverns shown here. And how expressive of a century coming from war or entering war are the battlefields and forts. The reality and activity of eighteenth-century life appear in market house and colonial iron works. The many illustrations, though uneven in quality and thus effect, are essential to the success of this second part.

There are some surprising entries, surprising that is until the Survey's criteria are applied. Here you will find a Lake Champlain gunboat on the same list with a fort on a great river, once an outpost of empire, now in a great city. Those who would quarrel with one or another of the selections are assured that there will be a second look in five years.

Pennsylvania has received a full share of attention from the Survey. Buildings and sites in this Commonwealth are listed in all six categories of recognition, even "Historic Districts," where one finds old Philadelphia's Elfreth's Alley.

The book is directed to "travelers, historians, students and preservation groups." As a handbook it will be particularly valued by specialists in the last three groups. Nor are the evaluative aspects of the Survey to be regarded as reserved for them alone. In the opinion of this reviewer, its most far-reaching and enduring influence may in time be found to reside in an interested and informed public.

Independence National Historic Park

JOHN D. R. PLATT

Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862. By Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965. Pp. 186. \$6.00.)

Salvation and the Savage, the outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation presented to Cornell University, is a study of an important aspect of the relations of Indians and white men in the United States between 1787 and 1862. Both the period and the subject are important. The period was one of national expansion, a time when the American people, confronted by an Indian problem of growing urgency, were acquiring a strong sense of national mission. It also was a time in the history of the relations between Indians and white men in the United States when, as our author affirms, "the missionary seemed to spearhead the drive for acculturation"; and, emphatically, it was a time in which Protestant Christians, in Britain and in America, were engaged in a great enterprise having for its object the conversion of the world to Protestant Christianity. Accordingly, the period was one in which the condition of the Indians within the jurisdiction of the government of the United States became a matter of particular concern to American Christians engaged in the foreign missionary enterprise.

To the study of this subject the author of *Salvation and the Savage* has brought the training of both historian and anthropologist. He has studied comparatively, "as to aims, organization, and geography of endeavor," the efforts of American Protestant groups that were engaged during this period in the enterprise of Christianizing the Indians. He has discovered that their efforts brought on a conflict of cultures—a conflict in which Western civilization, of which Christianity is an important part, made a frontal attack upon the total culture of the Indians. Because of such an attack, it fell out that conversion to Christianity came to mean to the Indian the abandonment of his culture and the acceptance *in toto* of the civilization of the white man. Such, of course, was the expectation of those who were engaged in the missionary enterprise—the expectation of men and women who "sought nothing less than a revolution" in the way of life of the Indian. Such persons were intent upon "making over" the Indian in the image of the white man, and, in their efforts to do so, they produced discord and division within Indian tribes—discord and division which did not make easy the way of the

Indians who were converted to Christianity. From the standpoint of the "managers and patrons" of the missionary enterprise, the result of eight decades of such efforts among American Indians was, as our author affirms, rightly or wrongly, lack of success. The hoped-for harvest was left "un-reaped."

The author of this book has pointed out, not surprisingly, that the Protestant denominations engaged in the work of Christianizing the American Indians were, despite their agreement about "the grand object" of all such labors, in competition with one another. He also has shown that, in respect to many matters, including that of "Indian removal" in the administration of President Jackson, they were not in accord with one another. And, finally, he has shown that, in their dislike of Roman Catholicism and in their opposition to the efforts of Roman Catholic missionaries, they were, again not surprisingly, in complete agreement with one another.

This book, based upon thorough research in original sources and upon extensive study of secondary writings, is fully annotated; and it embodies a bibliographical essay showing that the author has a commendable understanding of the literature of the subject upon which he has written. Two minor misstatements of fact, however, should be pointed out. Samuel Parker was not among the Nez Percé Indians in 1837, and Dr. Marcus Whitman was not an ordained minister.

But, despite its merits, this book is not an easy one to read. Its text has perhaps been over-compressed, and the composition of the book has certainly not been up to the standard of the research upon which the book is based. Here and there words and phrases have been ineptly chosen (for example, the expression "Sioux missionary" does not mean "missionary to the Sioux"), and here and there a sentence of faulty construction has led to an ambiguity that should have been avoided. Scholarly works should be distinguished by clarity of expression as well as by thoroughness in investigation.

Salem, Oregon

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

Early Engineering Reminiscences (1815-40) of George Escol Sellers. Edited by Eugene S. Ferguson. [*United States National Museum, Bulletin* 238.] Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1965. Pp. 203. \$2.50.)

This is a source, of rare value, upon the character of early American technology. Mechanics and engineers are notoriously spare diarists and much less likely than politicians and generals to write out their versions of the critical events in which they participated. Therefore, our dependence upon those memoirs we do have is heightened. It is further increased in this case both because of the importance of the period covered in the transition to machine production and because of the specific, personal information the author possessed on a large number of engineering fields. Moreover, it has only now been made generally accessible.

George Escol Sellers, himself an inventive mechanic, manufactured a variety of machinery, including papermaking machinery, mint machinery, steam locomotives, and lead pipe, in Philadelphia and the Ohio region. He

was a keen observer with a prodigious memory and a knack for story telling. He put together these *Reminiscences* when he was in his seventies and eighties; not surprisingly, they are fragmentary and anecdotal. They possess no clear thread of organization, and despite the best efforts of the editor they have little sequential relationship. Most of the chapters were published originally in the *American Machinist* and they retain their episodic character. Yet, the description of mechanics is remarkably precise and generally accurate; the vignettes of leading figures reveal facets of their life and work that do not at all appear in the formal record.

Perhaps even more important than his views of men and processes are the insights he offers, often unconsciously, of the attitudes and currents among that community of men which is responsible for the critical achievements of American technology in these years. He reveals first that there was a community of manufacturers and mechanics, that there was an intricate web of human interrelationships. He moved easily from leather fire hose and cards to screw cutting machines and new slide rests, and on to coining presses and steam engines—and many of those whose lives he touched took similar journeys. Further, the community he knew extended across the Atlantic. Sellers went to England as had Joseph Saxton, Joshua Gilpin, and many others, to draw fresh drafts of British technology. They found transplanted Americans, such as Jacob Perkins, who welcomed them, and they found many Englishmen who spoke the same mechanics' language. Especially refreshing is Sellers's abounding confidence in the American capacity to take anything the English did and do it better—more efficiently, with more ingenuity, and with greater reliance upon mechanical operations. His conversations even reveal the continuing pull of American wages, profit potential, and freedom, upon the English members of the mechanical community.

The innate value of these memoirs is greatly enhanced by the quality of the editing Ferguson has given them. The editor accompanies Sellers on his many journeys, not merely understanding him but sympathizing with him and correcting him whenever his memory slips. In order to accomplish this, Ferguson has become intimately acquainted with a large body of materials in many different fields—as a bonus, this work emerges as a guide to a significant cross-section of American technology. He has been especially successful in finding and presenting a remarkable number of illustrations of the objects, concepts, and people discussed in the *Reminiscences*. The result is a work that can be mined for many purposes and can be dipped into at any point for pleasure alone.

New York University

BROOKE HINDLE

The Old Land and the New: The Journals of Two Swiss Families in America in the 1820's. Edited and translated by Robert H. Billigmeier and Fred A. Picard. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965. Pp. 281. \$5.75.)

Switzerland, in the years between the exile of Napoleon Bonaparte and

the accession of Louis Phillipe, suffered serious internal troubles. To the postwar economic disequilibrium were added factional forces with deep religious and political roots. Thoughts of quitting the land of their birth must have occurred to many. During the colonial period Pennsylvania had served as a principal vent for the Swiss, who became an element in the "Dutch" population, but later in the eighteenth century a pattern of migration to southern Russia was formed which established this region as an important rival attraction.

Although the local causes were naturally much the same in each case, the attitudes of the receiving countries were interestingly different. Initiated by the German-speaking Catherine II, the eastern emigration was handsomely sponsored by the Russian government. Agents actively recruited in various European states, including Switzerland, and contracts were made with groups of emigrants which guaranteed them initial grants of land and such delights as freedom from taxation and military service. By comparison, the United States stoically expected its own worth to outshine these concocted inducements.

The writers of the two journals, Johannes Schweizer and Jakob Rüttlinger, apparently did not consider the Russian alternative for themselves but were aware of its pull for many of their countrymen. Schweizer came to America in 1820, and Rüttlinger, having been a subscriber to the publication of his neighbor's journal in 1823, followed later in that year. After another interval of three years his own account was published by the same printer. The two narratives complement one another while reflecting different tastes and interests. The bulk of Schweizer's journal is devoted to his journey through Europe and across the Atlantic; that of Rüttlinger is more evenly divided between events before and after his arrival in the United States. Each wrote his account partly as a diary and partly in the form of letters to relatives and friends at home, maintaining an easy conversational style with many lapses into dialect. Happily, the present editors have maintained this authentic flavor and resisted the temptation to fashion artificial literary gems.

Both men were probing and talented commentators with an unusual range of interests. They pursued their quest for detailed information with solid good sense and warm human understanding. They enlivened their fresh and perceptive observations with wit and humor. Pennsylvania readers will particularly enjoy the descriptions of the Delaware Valley, Lancaster, and Philadelphia, the accounts of home and farm life, and comments on a host of topics ranging from a gun factory to pig raising. They may even learn a thing or two about brandy distilling! But these narratives are of more than local interest. Their writers had much to say on such general American subjects as technical ingenuity, the gospel of cleanliness, the frequency of wastefulness, the practice of freedom and equality (except for Negroes), and the bountiful hospitality. They found a range of both American faults and virtues as they patiently adjusted their dreams to democracy.

Professors Billigmeier and Picard have translated, introduced, and edited

the two journals with sound and sympathetic scholarship and made a lively and valuable contribution toward removing two weaknesses which, unfortunately, continue to occur in the writing of immigration history. Their work has shown the essential affinities between the "travel" and the "immigrant" literature (so often kept in separate compartments) and, in addition, they have pointed up the need to consider the ramifications of the impact of the migration upon the society left behind as well as the country to which the immigrants came. Thanks to Schweizer and Rüttlinger, and their modern editors, our attention is properly directed to the old land as well as to the new.

McGill University

GERAINT N. D. EVANS

An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association.
By Donald L. Kinzer. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964.
Pp. 342. \$6.50.)

This book is a kind of companion volume to Ray Billington's well-known *Protestant Crusade*, which covers nativism and anti-Catholicism in the pre-Civil War years. It is not as interesting a book, however. The wave of bigotry associated with the A. P. A. in the 1890's did not produce anyone so notorious as Maria Monk, no convents were burned, the riots did not amount to much, and the movement produced no new political party.

The story of the A. P. A. is a difficult one to summarize, and the book is hard to review. Part of the problem lies in defining just what the American Protective Association was. Was it simply the secret lodge bearing that name? Was it the whole constellation of patriotic orders with similar purposes? Was it the entire anti-Catholic movement of the late nineteenth century? Professor Kinzer treats the A. P. A. in all three of these contexts, and the resulting narrative is rather complex, diffuse, and repetitive. The treatment is basically chronological. Within his chosen time periods the author refers to developments within particular states and localities where the movement was prominent. Only incidental reference is made to its history in Pennsylvania.

The first chapter deals with the background of anti-Catholicism from the Civil War to the founding of the A. P. A. in 1887. Emphasis is placed on the debates of that period over the question of using public funds for parochial schools. The recent debates in the Pennsylvania legislature over the issue of public transportation for parochial school pupils are a reminder of the continuing vitality of this controversy. The same problem is involved in the question of federal aid to education.

Chapter Two covers the founding and early years of the organization which soon gave its name to the whole anti-Catholic movement. The founder was Henry Francis Bowers (1837-1911), the son of a German Lutheran father and a New England Methodist mother, an Iowa lawyer and small-town politician as well as an amateur geologist and painter. The order was started in Clinton, Iowa, on March 13, 1887, with a nucleus of seven members. Its principles featured opposition to the election of Catholics to public

office, to the employment of Catholics as public school teachers, and to public support for any sectarian school or institution.

The next several chapters trace the rise of the order to national prominence and leadership of the anti-Catholic movement. The A. P. A. established a kind of federation of numerous fraternal patriotic orders. About a hundred newspapers were published at one time or another in the interests of this cause. A list of these is included as an appendix to Kinzer's book; seven were published in Pennsylvania. At its peak in 1895 the A. P. A. claimed a membership of two and a half million. Its chief strength was in the Middle West, but there was a large membership in the East, including 165,000 in Pennsylvania. Its president in the years of its greatest influence was William James Henry Traynor, publisher of the *Detroit Patriotic American*.

The A. P. A. and its affiliates took an active role in numerous elections at federal, state, and local levels. They struggled with the third-party question but generally worked within the Republican party. They pressed a number of legislative proposals, particularly the cutting off of federal aid for Indian schools operated by religious groups. They supported certain reform movements, most notably woman suffrage. They conducted an extensive anti-Catholic propaganda campaign through lectures and their assorted publications. They were associated with three or four riots. They aroused strong opposition, not only from Catholics but from liberal Protestants such as Washington Gladden and Lyman Abbott, as well as from labor leaders who felt that the religious issue had a divisive effect on unions.

The last two chapters trace briefly the decline and dissolution of the order. The general effect of the book is to indicate that, even construed in its broadest sense, the A. P. A.'s importance has been overrated. The study is based chiefly on files of periodicals published in the interests of the cause, as well as other newspapers and magazines of the period, for no organizational records of the A. P. A. have been discovered.

The Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

Railroads and Regulations, 1877-1916. By Gabriel Kolko. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965. Pp. 273. \$5.00.)

As a manuscript this book won the Transportation Prize of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. An earlier version was presented as the author's doctoral dissertation at Harvard. It is a book with a thesis. Professor Kolko seeks to show that government regulation of the railroads, from the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887 to the end of the Progressive Era in 1916, was in response to the needs and desires of the railroads rather than to popular democratic reform. Traditional interpretations of the Progressive Era have failed, according to the author, to recognize that the railroads actually sought a political solution to their economic problems by means of federal regulation. The movement to regulate the railroads, in his words, "was not an effort to democratize the economy via political means, but a movement to establish stability and

control within the railroad industry so that the railroads could prosper without the fearful consequences of cutthroat competition."

To prove such a thesis the author should have first established that the Act of 1887 was the result of this "movement to establish stability" in the railroad industry. Certainly the atmosphere of the Congressional debate on the measure, and the general dismay of the railroad world over the long haul-short haul and anti-pooling clauses, contradict any such assertion. Dr. Kolko almost totally neglects the influence of the Granger movement upon subsequent railroad regulation on the federal level. It is from a study of the role of the railroads, he informs us, "that something new can be learned." In this pursuit the author tries to show how Congress, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the succession of Presidents from Cleveland to Wilson responded to the needs and desires of the railroads expressed by the leading spokesmen of the industry.

From the "hitherto closed vaults and archives" of the I.C.C. came the principal new material used for this study. For the most part this material is used to illustrate copiously that a generally solicitous and cooperative relationship was maintained by the I.C.C. with the railroads—with perhaps only occasional time off for politics. On the other hand the author does not attempt to explain the railroad problems with which the commissioners were trying to cope. He concentrates upon the atmosphere in which the coping took place. The reader will have to plow through Isaiah L. Sharfman's multi-volume study, *The Interstate Commerce Commission (1931-1937)*, to discover the issues and the methods the I.C.C. devised to deal with them.

Nor does the author give his reader a clear idea of the nature of the railroad world which the I.C.C., Congress, and the Presidents were expected to stabilize. Lee Benson, in his *Merchants, Farmers & Railroads, 1850-1887* (1955), made an earnest and largely successful effort to describe the complex background of railroad reform in New York State. He described the railroad impact on the state's economy, the competitive problem, the various business groups reacting to the situation, and the key figures among the railroad leaders. Personalities in Dr. Kolko's book emerge from a misty business conflict neatly labelled, but without adequate introduction or explanation.

One seeks in vain to discover how such figures as Thomas M. Cooley or Joseph Nimmo, Jr., came to play such influential roles in the movement for railroad regulation. The reader is never informed, for example, that "standpatter" Orville Platt was extremely well informed on railroad matters. Platt's remarks about railroad matters were usually consistent with the expert opinions of his day. Labels of this kind are simply not appropriate to so substantive a debate as that which took place over railroad regulation, especially after 1887 when the problem had been delegated to a federal commission. The author never clearly shows in what direction the true interest of the American people or the most viable economic solution lay. His concern is not with the substance of the regulation problem, but with the "pro-business" or "pro-railroad" orientation of those who set about writing the laws and administering them.

It is most important for the reader to keep in mind that once federal regulatory legislation had been passed the railroads were forced to use political means to look after their own welfare. When looked at from this viewpoint, Kolko's endless examples of railroad interest in and influence upon regulatory legislation are not really convincing evidence that the railroads welcomed the situation. It is true that the railroads were gratified that the Act of 1887 established a commission instead of being limited to declaratory law. But the idea that the railroads were not disappointed with federal regulation between 1887 and 1916 is patently absurd. Making a virtue of necessity is not to be confused with enthusiasm. Railroad leaders were frankly appalled at the prospect of placing their problems before the tender mercies of politicians at the federal or at any other level of government, correspondence with the Interstate Commerce Commissioners notwithstanding. That they were forced to do so after 1887 and in consequence formed a close working relationship with the I.C.C. is well known.

Kolko might have explored profitably his assertion that the "consumer" was left entirely helpless in a situation where the I.C.C. arbitrated differences between the railroads and their large shippers. But he finds himself more at home analyzing the broad implications of Theodore Roosevelt's correspondence with business leaders than discussing the necessary conditions for equity between railroad, shipper, and consumer.

One cannot help feeling throughout this book that the author is registering his surprise and dismay that the underlying consensus in American politics during the Progressive Era was not deeply tinged with radical reformism and strong anti-business sentiment. Perhaps it is the genius of the American political system that strong feelings and emotional language do accompany middle-of-the-road reform movements. It was Robert M. LaFollette, after all, who declared during the debate on the Interstate Commerce Act, "The prosperity of this country and of the railroads are interdependent."

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

DAVID T. GILCHRIST

Lockout: The Story of the Homestead Strike of 1892: A Study of Violence, Unions, and the Carnegie Steel Empire. By Leon Wolff. (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1965. Pp. 297. \$5.95.)

Homestead, Pennsylvania, was the dateline for thousands of words of newspaper copy regarding a sensational clash between striking steelworkers and armed Pinkerton men in July, 1892. Except for the New York *Tribune's*, the contemporary accounts, in the author's view, were unfair and inaccurate. Disinterested historical accounts such as Bemis's and David's "contradict each other in matters of fact"; Frick's biographies are "hopelessly biased"; Hendrick "admires his man too ardently to be entirely reliable"; Carnegie's autobiography is "self-serving and of minor value"; and Stowell and Burgoyne, still in the author's view, take the strikers' side "unfailingly." While his criticisms are probably otherwise correct, this reviewer believes that the author's criticism of Hendrick is unjustified.

Leon Wolff in the latest account of the Homestead Strike attempts to

preserve the immediacy of contemporary newspaper reporting and to avoid the pitfalls of misinformation and bias. By describing the heat, smoke, and sweat of steel-mill employment, the blood, tears, and anguish of battle, the exhilaration of victory, and the bitterness of defeat, Wolff maintains the sensation and flavor of the strike in what is essentially a popular treatment of the subject. By casting stones at all participants and pronouncing a pox on all their houses, he believes he has avoided bias and prejudice, but this approach is essentially a form of negativism and no proper substitute for judgment.

The author is so intent on preserving a popular image for his book and maintaining the flow of the narrative that he adopts a novel method of documentation. There are no footnote numbers in the text, but there are nineteen pages of "references" in the back of the book which are keyed to the text by chapter, page, topic, or first words of a quotation. Although one has then to refer to the five-page bibliography to obtain the precise citation, the system is remarkably easy to follow, but ever so much more cumbersome than the image-shattering footnote at the bottom of the page.

In his impartial way, Wolff "left no tern unstoned." He is just as critical of the managers as of the strikers. Andrew Carnegie, whose public utterances and writing led people to consider him a friend of labor and trade unions, sat out the strike in Scotland. Many Americans thought a word from him could have prevented the bloody ordeal to crush the union, and his silence led them, as well as Wolff, to criticize Carnegie for his inconsistency. Henry Clay Frick, manager of the steel mills, was Carnegie's man on the scene. He hired the Pinkertons, took measures leading to the bloody encounter of July 6, evicted strikers from their rented houses, used permanent strike breakers, refused to negotiate, spurned the union's capitulation on wages in mid-July, and insisted on crushing the union to impose an open shop. Wolff faults the State of Pennsylvania for calling in militiamen *after* the riots and during a period of relative calm, not to restore order but to break the strike by escorting "scabs" across picket lines, and for bringing indictments of murder and treason against union officials to destroy their leadership. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers comes in for its share of criticism too. The author believes that the union's membership policies were too restrictive, and, as a result, its attempts to exert leadership over the whole body of strikers was less effective in maintaining order and solidarity of purpose than the situation required. Other labor unions were quick with advice and encouragement but slow to offer financial support to the workers.

An extraordinarily strong business bent on destroying the union, a labor organization financially weak and ineffectually led, a state government willing to use troops only to protect corporations, and a public spirit unaroused and unconcerned with labor's plight foredoomed the strike and the strikers' cause. The tragedy of Homestead was not only the thirty-five dead from gunfire, drowning, and imprisonment, and the four hundred other casualties, but the intimidation and demise of the steelworkers' union. This casualty prevented steelworkers from benefiting from changes in labor con-

ditions which began to occur after the turn of the century. Not until the 1930's when the C.I.O. organized the steelworkers and converted the industry into virtually a closed shop did the iron and steel workers enjoy the benefits of American industrial society. This was the real tragedy of Homestead.

The Hagley Museum

GEORGE H. GIBSON

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