Contemporary historians generally view the American Revolution as essentially the outgrowth of conflicting political concepts and practices rather than in terms of economic and social issues. Writers like Caroline Robbins, William Nelson, and more recently Bernard Bailyn have traced the central thread of Revolutionary intellectual thought to that variety of English radicalism first expounded by writers during the English Civil War and Commonwealth era. Within this same interpretive framework, H. Trevor Colbourn, after more than ten years of research, analyzes the role that history played in the thoughts of the founding fathers.

Two interpretations of English history were held in the middle of the eighteenth century: the Whig interpretation, which supported Parliamentary claims upon the royal prerogative through the development of customs from the era of the Anglo-Saxons; and the Tory, which denied any ancient source for Parliamentary claims. The Whig tradition first flourished among the middle-class antiquarians of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century such writers as Edward Coke, William Petyt, William Atwood, Thomas Gordon, and Walter Moyle supported the Whig view as they watched the struggle between the forces of liberty and power vie for supremacy. By the middle of the eighteenth century James Burgh, Catherine Macaulay, and John Cartwright had perfected the Whig interpretation as they discussed current English policies, especially in respect to the colonies. Americans became well schooled in the tenets of Whig history through books either published in Europe and brought to the New World, or through editions printed by American publishers. Lists of the holdings of colonial college libraries, private libraries, subscription libraries, or American book dealers indicate the availability of histories, and particularly Whig history books, to the colonists.

After discussing the English Whig historical tradition, Colbourn then analyzes in depth the writings of various colonial patriots to show how each molded the Whig concept of history to fit his individual inclinations. The clergy, lawyers, and educated politicians form the framework for the discussion in “The New England Historical Conscience.” The cleric as exemplified by Jonathan Mayhew and Isaac Skillman denounced the defiled conditions in England and the misrule of the government. They urged their followers not to “Consent to be Slaves.” The sometimes erratic James Otis brought a well-trained legal mind to bear on the problems of protecting constitutional rights and privileges of all English subjects against un-
wanted authority. Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., were firmly committed to "true old English liberty," although Quincy had the sounder historical training. Since both of these men actively engaged in politics, they made their views widely known throughout New England.

Three Pennsylvanians—John Dickinson, James Wilson, and Benjamin Franklin—made extensive use of Whig history in their political writing. Although in political method Dickinson advocated a caution bordering on conservatism, in his political beliefs he firmly suggested that the colonists, as Englishmen, had inherited certain rights upon which Parliament could not infringe. This strong sense of legal rights never wavered even when more liberal colonial leaders called Dickinson a Loyalist. The lawyer James Wilson also voiced dismay at the manner in which the Parliament and finally the King had overcome the constitutional limitations on their power. Franklin, on the other hand, stressed the principle of the colonists' freedom to emigrate and still keep their English rights. Closely allied was Franklin's dislike of "unrepresentative" Parliament's attempts to usurp the rights of the monarch.

The writings of such Southern political leaders as Charles Carroll, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and George Washington closely paralleled those of the New Englanders and Pennsylvanians with the exception that the Southerners emphasized the legal aspects of property rights. Believing that the past as seen in the "happy system" of the Anglo-Saxons could be adapted to the future, Thomas Jefferson, throughout his life, tried to unshackle the bonds of tyranny which severely handicapped the American in his pursuit of political and economic liberty. Jefferson's reading habits and writings reflect this utilitarian concern for understanding his cultural environment. Because he valued the knowledge of the past so highly for its practical aspects, education of the citizen in the Whig interpretation became, for Jefferson, the foundation of a working democratic society.

John Adams, the well-educated and well-read politician, turned from the Anglo-Saxon arguments of constitutional freedom to look more closely at the English constitutional precedents of the preceding two hundred years. Thus in his analysis of liberty and the resulting need for the separation of powers, Adams drew from the recent histories by Rapin, Burgh, and Macaulay. Throughout his lifetime Adams used his interpretation of history to undergird his political theory. He wrote: "Without wishing to damp the ardor of curiosity, or influence the freedom of inquiry, I will hazard a prediction, that, after the most industrious and impartial researches, the longest liver of you all will find no principles, institutions, or systems of education more fit, in general, to be transmitted to your posterity, than those you received from your ancestors."

By carefully stating that the reading habits of the colonists did not supply their motivation for political action, Colbourn avoids the tendency of overextending his thesis. He does suggest that the books which the patriots read and used in their writings do furnish provocative insights into the American political thought of the Revolutionary era. This helps
to explain the subsequent actions of the colonial leaders as they strove to protect their liberty against what to them were a tyrannical Parliament and monarch.

After reading this book, one still finds unanswered the question of the influence of the Tory interpretation of history in colonial thought. Since the works of such writers as Thomas Hutchinson and William Smith withstand more successfully the standards of modern historiography, perhaps Colbourn should now study the Tory historians to determine their effect upon the makers of American history as well as upon the writers of history. By doing this, he would further strengthen the contention, implied in his book, that the colonial leaders used history, in part, to teach by example. He also could supply a more balanced picture of the role of history in mid-eighteenth-century America.

*The Lamp of Experience* is a joy to read if for no other reason than to observe the author's ability to interweave narration with detailed analysis without becoming weighted down with trivia. In addition to eighteenth-century publications, Colbourn makes good use of diaries, personal correspondence, newspapers, and legislative records to support his thesis. The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press have done an excellent job with the technical aspects of publishing this book.

Hayley Museum

Lucius F. Ellsworth


The object of this book, according to the preface, is "to examine colonial society from the vantage point of its dominant member, the colonial businessman." The authors express surprise that so few historians have treated the past in terms of Calvin Coolidge's famous dictum, "the business of America is business," for in their opinion it is business that has made the country great. The urban, commercial, and "industrial" development of the colonies in their view supplied the underpinnings of the American Revolution. By the middle of the eighteenth century a maturing economy and an intercolonial market brought forth a new nation, and a commitment to free enterprise and the profit system set pitfalls into which the British stumbled in an effort to regulate the empire more tightly.

The kernel of this idea is not new despite the author's insistence to the contrary. Others have examined the importance of the rise of cities and of colonial capitalism, and have done it more judiciously. In contrast, the present authors are afflicted with a penchant for hyperbole, evident in these passages:

As population grew and trade expanded there took place a gradual transition from a village to a town economy. The new system subordinated many villages to one supreme town... [The towns'] shops were unsurpassed for variety and excellence of merchandize. Their ships ranged the far corners of the globe,
and the credit of their merchants was honored everywhere . . .
(p. 109).

Later:

The city was the child of commerce, and therefore a wayward one. It was a whore, offering pleasure to all who had coin. It was a money grubbing mistress, charging what the traffic would bear. It was a pitiless, degraded bitch, laughing raucously amid debauchery and wretchedness (p. 122).

And finally:

A century and a half had gone by since the word was translated into deed, and all that Hakluyt promised had come to pass. A new civilization, had arisen, in the image of the old, with sprawling industries and a thriving commerce (p. 165).

As the authors concede, their emphasis upon the growth of a business community almost completely excludes from discussion the colonial South and the agricultural economy in general, though admittedly nine-tenths of early America was rural. Repeated analogies to modern business and political methods are anachronistic in tone: "state-financed roads" (p. 60), "bank lobby" (p. 94), "loss leaders" (p. 100), "government planners" (p. 166). In the realm of economic thought the authors concentrate upon ideas that were a prelude to Adam Smith and suggest that these epitomize the attitudes of colonial Americans. Mercantilistic thought appears only as a foil, and the Physicrats, who popularized the notion of laissez-faire, find their way only into a footnote (p. 178). No account is taken of the evidence uncovered by Oscar Handlin and Louis Hartz in their economic histories of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania that mercantilistic ideas lingered long into the next century.

The dust jacket indicates that with this book the authors are returning to colonial history after working in other fields for some time. This may explain the surprising gaps in their bibliography, particularly of works published in the last decade: Bernard Bailyn on the New England merchant, Jack Sosin on British land policy, Daniel Boorstin on the American character, and James Ferguson on colonial finance. In addition they prefer Worthington C. Ford's edition of the Jefferson papers to Julian Boyd's; H. J. Eckenrode's old history of Virginia in the Revolution to David Mays's Edmund Pendleton for details of the Robinson affair; and a truly ancient biography of Stephen Hopkins to the studies of David Lovejoy and Mack Thompson for the Ward-Hopkins controversy.

Few students of British history, moreover, count among the first Duke of Newcastle's sins a reluctance "to be bothered with trivial details" (p. 146), and George Grenville's predecessor as the head of the ministry was the Earl of Bute not William Pitt (p. 153). The crowd that threatened George Mercer outside a Williamsburg tavern when he arrived to be stamp distributor hardly supports the assertion that mobs played no part in the opposition in Virginia to the British (p. 161). And it is quite debatable whether it was a hesitancy to fight the French that led to anti-
British feeling during the French and Indian War (p. 148). In short, neither the presentation nor the research recommends this work to the general reader or to the specialist.

Colonial Williamsburg

JOHN E. SELBY


Readers who pursue Mr. Rankin’s study of the colonial theater to its end are likely to feel that his title promises a good deal more than he has been able to deliver. He has, of course, an excellent subject. The stage is glamorous by definition, and its history, the abstract and brief chronicles of the time, has much to tell us about the society which produces it. Indeed, since the drama is of necessity a communal art—a precarious collaboration of playwright, director, and actors dependent for its success upon the immediate and manifest approval of its audience—the theater is our most sensitive gauge of cultural style.

Mr. Rankin has searched diligently among widely scattered and fragmentary records, and his book has some novel and interesting information to impart. While he has not significantly altered the broad outlines of the story of the colonial theater, he has turned up many details which fill gaps in our knowledge. He has followed in newspaper files the peregrinations of theatrical companies, and he demonstrates conclusively that the players were considerably more active than has been heretofore assumed. If the heroes of this provincial drama—Murray and Kean, Lewis Hallam, Sr., David Douglass, William Verling, Robert Upton—remain, like the roles they played, walking shadows, they were evidently men of force and energy who deserve our applause for their vigorous efforts in behalf of culture in colonial America.

The author has much to say about what it meant to be a member of an acting company in the eighteenth century in a society often intolerant of the theater or incapable of appreciating it. Mr. Rankin is able to give us a lively sense of the handicaps under which the actors worked: productions mounted in sail lofts, audiences scalded by tallow dripping from pendant chandeliers, interruptions from gay blades leaving their seats to wander backstage while a performance was in progress. His observations on the intolerance of the North and the enthusiasm of the South, while scarcely new, are based on much new evidence. Details of this sort give the book much of its interest and attractiveness.

These details, however, pile up but they fail to add up. The reader is given a great many dates and names of individual performances but very little commentary and interpretation. What of the plays themselves? Mr. Rankin has almost nothing to say about this matter. Why were certain plays favorites and others flops? One’s confidence in Mr. Rankin on this subject is shaken when he speaks of Oliver Goldsmith’s “latest” comedy, or refers to Lear as a “supporting character.” And what of the quality of these performances? Mr. Rankin cites many newspaper accounts and
PENNISYLVANIA HISTORY

notices, but the rhetoric of these quotations suggests a much higher level of
taste and accomplishment than these small and provincial companies could
probably achieve. Finally, the reader's task would have been considerably
lightened if the manuscript had been given a close reading for gram-
matical lapses and solecisms which seriously mar and impede the narrative.

University of Delaware

CHARLES H. BOHNER

Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the

One of the results of the Seven Years War was the stationing of a
British army in America. Ostensibly to protect the fruits of a costly victory
over the French and their Indian allies, the army was also to aid in the
regulation of Indian affairs, and could put "some teeth in the imperial
system." Experiences of the war had exhibited the inability of the Amer-
icans to defend themselves, and thus a substantial force of regulars on the
North American mainland marked a change in American military policy.
The many ramifications of this policy change are considered by Professor
John Shy in this book.

A British standing army in peacetime colonial America did not cause
the Revolution, but its presence helped aggravate the basic issues that did.
The measures to raise money for the partial support of these forces through
taxation initiated fundamental questions of constitutionality and the limits
of Parliamentary and royal sovereignty. The tenuous nature of eighteenth-
century politics with its need to create issues to justify factionalism, the
slowness of communications, the army's tradition-bound system of admin-
istration, and the inability or the lack of interest of British politicians to
come to grips with colonial problems, helped greatly to fog the issues when
it came to the making of policy concerning America.

The story of the British army in America from 1760 to the Revolution
helps bolster the thesis that the Anglo-American military tradition was
qualified and shaped by military experiences in colonial America. Besides
helping to raise basic issues, the army was the source of other problems
which had developed out of the war. The retention of the wartime post of
commander-in-chief in North America helped complicate the already fuzzy
lines of imperial authority. While this independent command was a modern
innovation, according to Shy, it was impractical and unworkable within the
realms of the American military tradition and the political situation. By
the end of the war, the royal governors had been compelled to share with
their councils their authority to ask for military assistance. The existence
of the independent commander-in-chief made it even harder for royal
governors to obtain military assistance to quell internal disturbances. In
England, where the citizenry was farther removed from the medieval militia
tradition, magistrates were not reluctant to ask for troops "when rioters
threatened peace or property." According to Americans, however, the only
"constitutional" military force which could be used during peacetime was
the militia which was formed by the citizens themselves.
When used to uphold imperial authority in America, the British army
represented a sort of sinister, alien force which could react against the
interests of the colonials. But by the same token, the reluctance of the gov-
ernors and the politicians to use military force against the citizens helped
weaken the army's position. The British politicians could neither decide
what to do with the army nor could they come to a decision to remove it
from the older mainland colonies. As Shy writes: "Great Britain had been
so careless as to win a war decisively." The temptation to keep a regular
army in America for imperial defense was too much to forego.

Thoroughly steeped in a wealth of primary and secondary sources, Pro-
fessor Shy has written the first continuous history of military affairs in
America from 1760 to the Revolution. To chart the course of the British
army in America during this time is no mean accomplishment. But a
study of this scope is not without its drawbacks. Although the author does
not bring out any radically new interpretations, nevertheless he shines a
rather strong light on the administration of the British army in America.
In doing so, he seems to place much more emphasis on the workings of
British politics (as seen through the handling of the army problem) and
much less stress on the Americans and their part in the coming of the
Revolution. Although Professor Shy has forewarned his readers of his
intentions in the preface, it is very essential that this absence of stress
on American participation be kept in mind. The reader must remember
the Americans were flaunting imperial authority, disregarding the naviga-
tion acts, harassing royal officials, and damaging royal property, while at
the same time (until almost the very end) expressing their loyalty and
standing on what they believed to be their rights as English citizens.

Toward Lexington is a gold mine of detail and analysis of the workings
of the British army in America and its role within British society and
politics. The abundance of detail supporting many of the generalizations
at times distracts the reader from the subject at hand. But this distrac-
tion is never complete because of the free-flowing style with which the
author has handled his material. In the final analysis, this is a well-written
and researched contribution to the history of the Anglo-American military
tradition, the part played by the British army in the coming of the Revoln-
tion, and to the constantly growing history of military affairs in America.

Southeast Missouri State College

SAMUEL BRIGHT

The Arts in Early American History: Needs and Opportunities for Study.
Edited by Walter Muir Whitehill. Bibliography by Wendell D. and
Jane N. Garrett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press
170. $4.50.)

Designed to suggest areas of exploration and provoke new ideas in the
study of American art, this little volume succeeds admirably. Mr. Whitehill's
thesis is, perhaps, controversial, running counter to the current concept of focusing on the work of art \textit{per se}. It is his contention that much can be learned from works of art if they are considered not merely for esthetic value but as "creations of members of a particular society, whose requirements the artists have had to meet." He would have the art historian adopt a broad approach, enlisting the methods and aid of general historians, archeologists, and archivists. Thus the work of art is placed in context, examined for what it can tell about the cultural milieu in which it was produced. He quotes a provocative idea from Edgar P. Richardson, citing what the latter calls the "frontier fallacy"; essentially this states that modern criticism, centering on originality, is too prone to confuse creativity with novelty, and therefore to find only the frontiersman an American, forgetting that borrowings from Europe are an integral part of our culture. This view recognizes the approach that some American studies programs have adopted but all need to keep in mind, that American culture must be studied against its heritage, the whole history of Western civilization.

Concretely this means that the student of art will extend his research materials to include such documents as wills, deeds, and estate inventories. Also it implies that he will consider works not necessarily of the highest esthetic value but significant in their own time and place. Artifacts become important also, and the kind of work being done by Eric Sloane in recording the history of tools and barns might have been mentioned as a good illustration. In making specific suggestions, Whitehill does a remarkable job of covering a wide range including the valuable work of the Readex Corporation, the Archives of American Art, and the Historic American Buildings Survey. Perhaps there is a certain imbalance in all of this if we are not yet ready to reject the qualitative value of works of art; nevertheless, here is a side of the argument which, to this reviewer at least, needed to be made to swing the pendulum. Too long has art history walled itself off from enrichment which related fields can offer.

One can hardly quarrel with the bibliography painstakingly developed by the Garretts. Its sins of omission are frankly admitted in the headnote statement that it is "not intended to be complete in scope nor definitive in depth." Whitehill comments that "its silences automatically indicate needs and opportunities for study." One is not quite prepared to buy this wholesale, but certainly the silences will suggest to the student areas which bear looking into. Despite the stated limitations, the Garretts have covered so much ground that only a group of experts could assess the total effect. The individual reviewer can honestly do no more than check sections in his own field of competence. Singling out one typical illustration, the observations on Dunlap's \textit{History of the Arts of Design} are most pertinent; a new edition issued by Benjamin Blom in 1965 may meet the objections.

On the whole, the book does an excellent job of what it sets out to do. It justifies fully the support of its impressive sponsors and is heartily recommended for arousing the imagination of all students of American studies.

\textit{Lafayette College} \\
\textit{George P. Winston}

Fisher Ames, the Massachusetts Federalist who served in the first four Congresses and acted more or less as a floor leader for the financial program of Alexander Hamilton during that time, has never before been the subject of a full-length biography. There are many reasons for this, perhaps the most obvious being the limited and scattered nature of Ames's papers. His active political career lasted only from the time of the Massachusetts Ratification Convention to the conclusion of the Fourth Congress, less than a decade. Nonetheless he was highly regarded in his own time by both friend and foe, and it is curious that up to now material concerning him was limited to a few articles, the most outstanding of which were contributed by Samuel Eliot Morison in the 1920's.

Always excepting John Adams, Ames was the most talented of the Massachusetts Federalists. A successful lawyer, his oratorical abilities in the Massachusetts Ratification Convention in 1788 won him recognition which resulted in his nomination and election to Congress a year later although he was only thirty-one. In New York and Philadelphia he emerged as the chief Congressional rival to James Madison as he successfully turned back the attacks of opponents of Federalist foreign and domestic policy. He reached the high point of his career shortly before he retired from Congress when he defended the unpopular Jay Treaty in a memorable speech credited by observers with swaying crucial votes to support of the administration. Persistent ill-health forced his retirement in 1797 and led to his death at the age of fifty.

In the last decade of his life Ames fell back upon his legal practice as well as shipping investments for his income, while he lent his voice and pen to those who bewailed the decline of the Republic and the policy of the Jeffersonians. When the Federalists split over the foreign policy of President Adams, Ames was among those friendly to the Hamiltonians. He sympathized with the attempts to replace Adams with C. C. Pinckney as the Federalist nominee in 1800. After Jefferson's election, he sympathized with, but did not support, the plot of Timothy Pickering and others to foment the secession of New England and New York with the help of Aaron Burr. Like all Federalists in the 1790's, Ames constantly invoked the virtues of national unity and strong central government, yet he was clearly a sectionalist at heart. He continued his denunciations of the democratic course of events, and died in 1808. His pessimism about the fate of the American experiment made him a symbol of the dilemma of the reactionary caught in an alien world for such disparate observers as Louis Hartz, Vernon Louis Parrington, and John Quincy Adams.

Though a biography of Ames was undoubtedly needed, this attempt is less than a success. For one thing, considering the brevity of Ames's career, it is too long. To compensate for this the author introduces a great deal of trivia which might better have been left out in the interest of a more tightly knit work. Much of the history of the political battles of
Washington's administration is recounted, with copious, and it would seem unnecessary, footnotes. For example, in establishing the well-known fact that certain Federalists were dissatisfied with John Adams as early as 1792, the author finds it necessary to buttress the point with citations including Malone, Freemen, Cunningham, Gibbs, Stanwood, and Schachner, in addition to primary sources. These and other references might have been eliminated in the interest of conciseness and economy. Although the work won the 1963 Manuscript Award from the Institute of Early American History and Culture, it has stylistic deficiencies. The method of quotation is fragmentary and awkward. The prose is tedious, and occasionally unthinking, e.g., "Ames was saddened by the physical and mental decline of [his wife's] father at the end of the century."

Ames was an intellectual leader of New England Federalism as well as a partisan, but little of this is brought out. The philosophical base of his anti-democratic essays written after 1800 is only lightly dealt with. The author did not think it necessary to analyze Ames's position within the Federalist spectrum or within the American political tradition generally. The fascinating relationship between Ames and his Jeffersonian brother Nathaniel might have received more attention. There is, in other words, a shortage of critical analysis. Chronology is not biography.

The book is disappointing because the author seems to have done a thorough job of research in the area of New England Federalism in the 1790's, yet he has not provided us with anything approaching a new understanding of either Ames or the political, intellectual, or social circles in which he moved.

Wayne State University


On the dust jacket of Professor Reimers's book we are told that "although" its approach is historical "it is clearly a timely subject for all churches, Roman Catholic or Protestant, conservative or liberal," and that "It should contribute to an understanding of the church's historic role in dealing with America's most nagging social problems." Indeed the subject is timely. But it is precisely because the approach to it must be historical that the subject is timely. Time past and time present are both perhaps contained in time future, as T. S. Eliot said, and as every historian in his bones knows, and so Time itself may be unredeemable. But if "what might have been" is not to remain always an abstraction, merely a perpetual possibility—as the poet said, and Eliot wrote from a religious commitment—then the historian must take us down the corridors of Time and up to the doors we never opened. And we may yet redeem promises. We have to know what was and is before we can act wisely for what ought to be. The abstractions about the relations of the races in America must be converted back to their original concrete states of reality.

Mr. Reimers's book in large measure accomplishes this with respect to
the Protestant churches' role in "dealing" (non- or undealing as E. E. Cummings might more accurately have put it) with Negroes. He makes, as he must, frequent references to antebellum conditions, rightly concluding that "the greatest contribution of religion to the antislavery impulse was not the work of the churches as institutions but rather the religious motivation behind many individuals' attacks on slavery." But his chief emphasis and concern is with the record since 1865, and in each of his last four chapters (there are seven in all) he pursues it into the 1960's. He has made a thorough canvassing of the church press and of the published proceedings, the Journals and Reports and Minutes, of local and national church conventions, and he had access to the files of several church and secular groups concerned with race relations. It is here, in his use of these sources, in the repetitious recital of the year-to-year equivocation, acquiescence to, and approval of segregation within the churches themselves, and therefore in society at large, that the chief value of his work lies.

It is a dismal, dreary tale. This is especially true, of course, of his account of the relations between the churches and their Negro members down through the 1940's, during which period concern for church unity in every denomination overrode all other considerations, and Northern Protestantism steadily compromised with Southern churchmen's demands. "Indeed," Mr. Reimers writes, "the evidence suggests that white southern Protestantism helped prepare the white South for the full capitulation to racism," and when racism triumphed in the South in the latter nineteenth century, "the northern churches condoned it." In this tragic surrender, "the voice of moral protest was silenced." Nor is the tale made less dismal when Mr. Reimers recites later events, during and after the 1940's when churches began to advocate an end to segregating Negroes in religious life. If striking advances were made in the higher realms of church councils, the local autonomy of most Protestant churches effectively kept practice far removed from the preaching. "'Whites Only' was never carved over the doors of any white Protestant church in America; it was understood. For the local church was the most segregated major institution in American life."

Mr. Reimers tries to be fair and to render a balanced judgment in his conclusions, reminding us, for instance, that churches are, after all, social institutions shaped by the culture they exist in and therefore "Protestantism's treatment of the Negro was no better and no worse than that of American society as a whole." But this, of course, is the damming touch, as it is every time elsewhere in his book he remarks that the churches were simply in the mainstream of American life, both when they were condoning segregation and finally when they commenced to attack it. He is also trying to be fair, in his conclusions, when he seeks to emphasize the distinction between the social institution and the many Protestant individuals who, over the years, were ahead of institutionalized religion.

Unfortunately, I don't find his text giving much support to this distinction. Hundreds of individuals are named, all too often only briefly identified, but Mr. Reimers's story remains essentially a faceless one. It is here I must murmur, regretfully, about the book's weakness. Much of the con-
creteness I would wish for gets softened under his emphasis upon the de-
cisions and actions of councils and synods, gets lost, even, behind the
reiterated device of saying “Many” did this or felt that, while “Some” did
or felt the opposite. This device, plus a good deal of repetition from chapter
to chapter as the book goes over the same ground for one Protestant
denomination after the other, makes for dreary reading of an already dismal
tale. Still, Mr. Reimers’s conclusions are worth looking at and pondering,
especially his final underplayed irony, that “Negro churchmen [may] yet
teach the white Protestant churches the full meaning of the gospel of the
brotherhood of man. . . .”

Lafayette College

J. R. Vitelli

The Inner Civil War; Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union.

This study seeks to trace the impact of the Civil War on the ideas of a
limited number of scholars, authors, and members of the aristocratic elite
in the Northern states from the 1840’s to the end of the nineteenth century.
It analyzes the basic ideas of certain intellectuals and shows how the course
of American thought was deflected by the traumatic experience of the civil
conflict. George Fredrickson’s theme is that the war brought “significant
adjustments in ideology and social thought” and “promoted a sudden and
dramatic change in the intellectual landscape.”

The book begins with a brief description of the optimistic, perfectionistic
atmosphere of antebellum America. Against this background the author, who
is an instructor at Harvard, provides a critique of the ideas of Emerson,
Moncure Conway, Garrison, and Horace Bushnell, among others. He shows
how the impending crisis changed the contemplative creed of many thinkers
into a more activist stance and how even the most cloistered scholars were
captured by the public excitement over the abolition issue. He amply
documents his assertion that “even the most cautious and conservative intel-
lectuals were ready by 1860 to welcome a great national catastrophe.”

The middle, and major, part of his book deals with the Civil War itself
as an idea and experience. With liberal quotations from letters and pub-
lished works of thinkers, such as Henry W. Bellows, Orestes Brownson,
Thomas W. Higginson, Oliver W. Holmes, Jr., Francis Lieber, James
Russell Lowell, Wendell Phillips, and Walt Whitman, the author paints a
dramatic picture of the intellectuals’ response to suffering, their ideas on
the Emancipation Proclamation, and their attitudes toward nationalism, the
Negro, and military life.

He devotes an entire chapter to what he calls “the organized response
to suffering” and shows how the Sanitary Commission and its leaders
welcomed the discipline that came from suffering. He asserts that the war
led to an increased impersonal efficiency and a decreased humanitarianism.
The war, he believes, demoralized the abolitionists who were ultimately
forced to deny their own reform philosophies. He uses the ideal of Bushnell
aid Charles J. Stillé to examine the development of a doctrine of loyalty to the American nation.

The last section of the book deals with the decline of humanitarianism after the war and with the beginnings of Social Darwinism. He shows how perplexing the Reconstruction era was for intellectuals. The book concludes with an account of William James's 1910 essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War," in which James defended the individualist or anti-institutional attitude. Since at the beginning of his study the author makes much of Emerson's early anti-institutionalism, he seems to come full-circle at the end.

What Fredrickson has attempted is most challenging. He writes well and weaves the many quotations into his text in a seemingly effortless fashion. However, he only partially succeeds in devising a model on which to hang his interpretations of intellectual history. He has based his writing on a particular historiographical assumption, namely, "to center on a relatively few individuals rather than constantly and systematically sampling a very wide range of Northern opinion." Although this is a defensible approach, he skirts hazardous pitfalls in some of his generalizations.

What is more serious, however, is his failure adequately to define the term intellectual and to deal with the question of how much or little influence ideas may have had in the shaping of events in the United States. What he has focused on rather is how events, such as the Civil War, influenced the ideas of certain Northerners who were among the North's best thinkers and elite.

The book has a few minor flaws. For example, the full title of Horace Bushnell's first work was *Vicces of Christian Nurture*, and it was published in 1847, not 1846. To say that Bushnell "sulked in silence" during a period in which he had fourteen publications seems somewhat unkind. Fredrickson uses too many of Henry Bellows's quotations in terms of his influence. There is not enough attention to the intellectuals' attitude toward the Negro. His chapter on "Science and the New Intellectuals" is not correctly titled. It is unfortunate that he presumably could not have used Edward Kirkland's biography of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and James McPherson's study, *The Struggle for Equality, Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Unfortunately, the footnotes are in the back of the book and there is no bibliography.

Nevertheless, this is a useful addition to the literature on American intellectuals.

*Lafayette College*  
CHARLES C. COLE, JR.

*Canal Boats to Tidewater; The Story of the Delaware and Hudson Canal.*


This most informative and readable book is not a complete history. Nowhere will you find statistics showing 1828-1899 coal tonnage, or dividends averaging over ten percent for many years, or that New York State loaned a half million dollars to aid construction. Rather, it is the history of canal
structures, the pioneering rail feeders, locks, and viaducts, and where they survive. Since the book is beautifully illustrated with many old and current photographs (of the same locations), the reader can trace the railroad and canal routes by car, or in his imagination, and find every surviving structure from Carbondale, Pennsylvania, to Kingston on the Hudson. Structures no longer extant are shown on maps or in old photos. In addition, the author includes many of his own fine drawings.

While there is no formal index, a map index and end-sheet maps serve as locators for any canal or railroad point. A series of diagrams explain thoroughly how canal structures were built and operated. For instance, those on pages forty-one and forty-two show clearly how a lock passed a canal boat.

Structurally, eleven chapters organize the company (surviving today as the Delaware and Hudson Railroad), build and enlarge the canal to the Hudson, as well as construct and operate the first locomotive of the pioneering railroad across the mountain from the port of Honesdale to the mines at Carbondale in 1828. Chapter three explains the canal, its locks and boats, and succeeding chapters present the descending canal sections to the Delaware.

The many old and current photographs are keyed, and the keying system is explained by arrows on the nearby sectional maps. This method enables the reader to visualize their locations easily. Chapter eleven relates the decline and closing of this most successful canal. The work is footnoted. Omissions are minor. It is regrettable that the author did not include a table of tonnage hauled and dividends paid. The accurate end-sheet maps, however, do not locate the many reservoirs above Honesdale similar to those shown on the New York Summit. Another minute omission is in the presentation of the 1829 locomotive names on page nine. Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletins 52 and 53 indicate Pride of Newcastle and Rondout as likely names.

As stated by Carl Carmer in his foreword, this book is a major achievement in writing on early canals. Author Wakefield has reasoned, written, and illustrated a readable and beautiful book. His format is worth copying by other authors.

Hopewell Village National Historic Site

EARL J. HEYDINGER


"'Snuffing is through a tube, one end placed over the powdered leaf, and the other in the nose, and so drawn up it purges them very much,' wrote Ramon Pané, a Franciscan monk, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to America. What he meant was that not only did the American Indians smoke tobacco and use it ceremonially, but they pulverized the leaf into a fine powder and sniffed it up their nostrils as medicine"; so begins Mr. Weslager's latest book.

It might occur, to the unwary or to the user of tobacco, that here is one
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

more book on the evils of the plant, Nicotiana. Timely yes, frightening yes, but distinctly not wanted if one surveys the increase of tobacco sales. However, after a short introduction, Mr. Weslager concentrates on a far more serious evil that afflicts mankind.

This is a book that chronicles the pursuit of money by those who did not earn it. That tobacco was the source of the Garrett fortune seems to this reader only to be incidental to the tale the author unfolds. The Garrett snuff mills were at Yorklyn, Delaware, on Red Clay Creek, a short distance below the Pennsylvania boundary.

The author recites the genealogy of the Garrett family and the genealogy of a fortune in his opening chapters to set the stage for one of the most complicated and astonishing testamentary conflicts that our judicial system has produced.

"Henrietta Edwardina Garrett, widow of Walter Garrett, was worth $17,000,000 when she died early Sunday morning, November 16, 1930. Childless at eighty-one, she had outlived her parents, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and her devoted husband." Her death set off one of the greatest treasure hunts in human history. She unwittingly accomplished this by refusing to make a will, and by dying without issue.

Thus began a "Philadelphia gold rush." The claimants came to the number of four thousand, and they were represented by six hundred Philadelphia lawyers, nine hundred lawyers from other parts of the United States, and seven hundred and fifty lawyers from foreign countries.

There was the persistent Mrs. Anna Gadle, unrepresented by counsel, of whom one of the judges wrote, "The claimant is obviously suffering from an obsession with respect to her alleged relationship with Henrietta E. Garrett, the decedent. She has written to the President of the United States, Governor Fine, the Attorney General of the United States, the late Chief Justice Maxey, the late Judge, etc. These letters are rambling and confused and suggest she is being deprived of her rightful inheritance in this case."

There were many, many more who took part in this incredible madness. There were sons denying mothers, mothers denying children, all part of their effort to give sanction to their claim as the illegitimate or legitimate offspring of Henrietta Garrett. We find the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the United States government joining in as claimants to the Garrett estate.

Finally, in 1951, three heirs were adjudged to be the lawful claimants to the Garrett estate. Oddly enough, one of the three was the United States government. This came about because one of the heirs was a German national. As America had been at war with Germany, there had been a law passed entitled, "Trading with the Enemy Act." The provisions of this law included the confiscation by the United States government of properties and other assets in America owned by German nationals. Johann P. Christian Schäfer was one of the legal heirs, but because of the "Trading with the Enemy Act" the American people fell heir to his share.

Mr. Weslager has written many articles and books on the history of the
Delaware Valley. His current book is up to his usual high standards, but its theme will recommend it to more than a regional audience.

*As We Were; The Story of Old Elizabethtown.* By Theodore Thayer. (Newark, N. J.: The New Jersey Historical Society, 1964. Pp. 280. $10.00.)

This is a very comprehensive and readable chronicle of the first English settlement in New Jersey, now one of the state’s major cities. Few books are blessed with a more perceptive introduction by another writer: “... I am now happy that Professor Thayer has carried out my forty year old plan of telling the story of the people who lived, worked and loved in Elizabeth. They did so without furnaces, gas, electricity, water mains, paving, snow plows, railroads, buses, washing machines, inside plumbing and other modern improvements. But by working eighty hours or more a week, frequently under hardships, they did their part to make America great. They laid a foundation for a country that is still the best land to work and to live in; it still offers the greatest opportunity for all young, regardless of race, regardless of background. This, I think, is the central theme of the story to follow.”

In these days, this is reason enough for a book. As nations go, America is young. Its past is very close and very inspiring. We had better not forget the lessons inherent in this pioneering past. It is easy to shrug off the responsibilities implied in such lessons with the specious plea that times are changing, but there are things which do not change—things of the spirit. Devotion to personal liberty, courage, justice, industry, are still fundamental elements of our progress. They run like a golden thread through the story of old Elizabethtown.

Contemporary residents of New Jersey will find this book especially interesting and valuable; it adds a distinguished and little known chapter to the historical literature of their state. Others will see in it many parallels to the history of their own communities. It will help us all to understand better the rich heritage we enjoy.

In the early settlement of America, each colony, each village, possessed its own individuality, within a common framework. The character of Elizabethtown, after the earliest pioneer days, is painted as essentially aristocratic, a beautiful village of spacious homes and gardens, which retained its rural charm, little changed, through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The author has documented the long struggle between the Proprietors and the land rights of the settlers, in which they “learned to battle vested interests and to keep alive what they considered to be their rights and privileges as freeborn Englishmen.” Thus schooled, “Elizabethans were bold in upholding the principles of liberty during the American Revolution.” Their resistance to quitrents, that survival of medievalism which gave William Penn so much trouble a little later in his neighboring province, and their militant insistence upon town rights, are entertainingly described.
The contest between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, the establishment of schools, the change from individual craftsmen to shops and factories with a definite impact upon the appearance of the town, the hotels and old inns, the important military figures who resided there, the stirring events of the Revolution, politics and the strength of Federalism in the new nation. These and countless other facets of the story are not only mentioned, they are given with chapter and verse. Obviously, Professor Thayer has been an avid researcher, intent upon the significance of that which he read, alert to humanistic factors, and not averse to interpretation.

It is this interpretation which sets the book apart, and makes it entertaining and readable. Only toward the end of the book, where the effects of industrialization are recorded, does this reader seem to sense a slight weariness and almost imperceptible change in the warm preceding account.

Many years ago, at a dinner meeting in Princeton of the American Association for State and Local History, this reviewer was seated beside the association's president, an important figure in history circles. Our conversation turned to historical writing and he observed that there are two kinds of historians, the professionals, who document with care, avoiding all interpretation, and nobody reads their output, and the journalistic writers. The latter borrow heavily from the former, are careless about facts, but are readable, and everybody reads their books and articles.

Dr. Thayer is a competent and dedicated historian who, in a work of excellent style, has given Elizabeth a place in history.

Gwynedd Valley, Pa.

G. Edwin Brumbaugh
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