
A reader of this review is likely to ask: why should anyone who is not a specialist in South Carolina history be interested in this book? The answer is that, although it tells us next to nothing about Pennsylvania, it does throw some light on the comparative development of the colonies.

South Carolina presents one of the most interesting examples of the American colonial experience, the triumph of local conditions over trans-Atlantic theories. Perhaps because the first settlers, coming from Barbados, were already experienced colonists, they showed an independent spirit from the very beginning. Finding the elaborate instructions for land grants drawn up by the proprietors to be impractical, the settlers proceeded to ignore them, and the proprietors were helpless to do more than complain. In spite of proprietary protests against the Indian slave trade, the colonists exported captive Indians to the West Indies until they discovered more profitable commodities.

Most significantly, South Carolinians almost from the first resisted external authority in defense of what they regarded as their constitutional rights. In 1690, just twenty years after the founding of the Colony, they staged a bloodless revolution to remove a governor who was trying to introduce some proprietary reforms, on the grounds that the proprietors had no right to change the government. When the proprietors in 1719 again attempted to reform the government, the colonists organized themselves into a convention, declared the proprietary government overthrown, and asked to be taken over by the crown; both the proprietors and the king meekly acquiesced. Under the crown South Carolinians continued their efforts to reduce external control over the colony. The popularly-elected lower house of the Assembly enlarged its rights so determinedly that the royally-appointed upper house was reduced to impotence. The final struggle against the last remnant of royal control, the governor, had begun by 1763. Regrettably, Dr. Sirmans died before he could carry the narrative to its logical conclusion of independence.

One reason South Carolina was so determined and successful in its fight for home rule seems to have been that it was dominated by a self-confident aristocracy. This aristocracy was, of course, based on slavery, for the Colony had slavery before it had settlers; Shaftesbury incorporated a guarantee of Negro slavery into the first draft of his Fundamental Constitutions. Unlike the other southern colonies, where slavery was introduced to fill
an economic need, South Carolina had to find an economic need for slavery. When, after some twenty years, rice was introduced to serve this purpose, the slave population increased rapidly, and the whites responded with the usual pattern of behavior; they enacted a slave code to prevent insurrections and placed a heavy duty on slave imports to hold down the number of Negroes. These measures had the usual results. The Negro insurrection at Stono in 1739 was nearly as serious as Virginia's Nat Turner affair, and, despite the high duties, planters bought slaves with such avidity that Negroes outnumbered whites by two to one.

In two other important respects South Carolina differed from the other plantation colonies. For some reason it failed to develop the customary agencies of local government. The original counties never served as anything more than electoral districts and lost even this function to the parishes after the Anglican Church was established in the colony. Except for the road commission, the parish was the only unit of local government which ever functioned; not even Charleston had a government of its own. South Carolina's other unique feature as a plantation colony was the dominance of an urban center over the rural areas. Although the merchant class did not completely control this center, commercial interests were more powerful in South Carolina than in any other southern colony.

The issue which most sharply divided the mercantile aristocracy from the planters was the paper money question, the one problem South Carolina shared with Pennsylvania. The Colony got into the paper money business in 1703 to pay for a war and resorted to various expedients to keep it in continuous circulation, in spite of repeated disapprovals by the authorities in England. It introduced the idea of a land bank in 1712, decades before Pennsylvania tried the same experiment. Although the Charleston merchants opposed each of these inflationary measures because of their disruptive effect on the export trade, they fought a losing battle; by 1763 South Carolina currency had depreciated to one-seventh of its face value in terms of sterling.

This book is heavy going for non-South Carolinians. In spite of the fact that the author has provided summaries at the beginning and end of each chapter, as well as at the beginning of each section of the book, the reader must pay very close attention to avoid getting lost in the thicket of detail. Attentiveness is made more difficult by the sober style, which is relieved by only a single flash of humor—and that, surprisingly, scatological. From the point of view of a person from another state, the book's most serious shortcoming is the author's concern with what happened rather than with why it happened. The comparatist, therefore, finds it difficult to obtain the answers to the questions he would ask about South Carolina's experience. He would like, for example, to know why South Carolina failed to develop local government or why the assembly sessions were so prolonged. The influence of the Charleston merchants may have been responsible, but we are not told. Nevertheless, the reader, with the help of the index, can find the facts from which he can form his own theories.

Norfolk Division, Virginia State College

MARVIN W. SCHLEGEL

A story all too common in the experience of historians is the tale of the tragic loss of important records in the American states. Essential historical material has disappeared beyond recall because of the inexperience of officials, lack of interest, failure to consider the future, carelessness, lack of definitely assigned responsibility, as well as the physical hazards of fire, flood, the attrition of war, and deterioration through neglect. All of us are familiar with the dreary catalogue of sins against Clio, but our knowledge is acquired piecemeal as we encounter our varying frustrations. For the first time a systematic study has been made of this problem by a man well qualified by experience and scholarly ability to analyze the destructive forces and assess their results. Dr. Jones writes of the state he knows best, but his study is useful to fellow scholars in the field of American history throughout our land because of the understanding it provides of the vicissitudes our documentary resources have undergone.

The picture revealed is not all dark for even in the earliest days, as the author recounts, there were "voices crying in the wilderness" beseeching repentance and preaching the importance and convenience of properly kept records. We learn that the number of voices increased and became more insistent as the years rolled on, until at last there was developed a public awareness of the desirability of preserving the documentation of our history that was eventually translated into government action. The strengths and weaknesses of the early advocates are carefully considered and each receives a measure of balanced praise for his contributions to North Carolina history.

This well-organized book presents aspects of the writing of the State's history in three parts. The Public Archives, 1663-1903, are first surveyed with a detailed accounting of record keeping in the proprietary and royal periods of the Colony with consideration of the special problems imposed by a peripatetic government. The dislocations of the Revolution and the final settlement of the permanent capital at Raleigh in 1794 are carefully treated in the next section. The effects of the Civil War and its aftermath, 1861-1888, receive special treatment; and, then, in the postwar period the steps that eventually lead to the establishment of the State's truly archival agency by broadening the authority of the Historical Commission in 1907 are presented in detail.

Still another section is assigned to the story of county and municipal records, 1794-1903. Exposed to the same hazards as state records, they suffered probably even greater neglect through the incapacity of minor officials. Because of the nature of county records their loss bore even more heavily on the citizenry than the loss of state records. The lessons to be drawn are obvious; central responsibility and eternal vigilance only will provide proper protection.

Part Two of the study is devoted to nineteenth-century North Carolina historians and the collection and publication of records. Only historians and
collectors who used original sources in the writing, or intended writing, of general state histories appear in these chapters. These were the men who struggled to make early records available in published form; who copied widely here and abroad; who collected private papers and public documents that were found in private hands; who organized historical societies; and who made demands on public officials. Their methods, their successes and failures are worth studying because they have in other states their prototypes who also deserve honor. The author does full justice to these leaders by relating their activities and the results of their devoted work.

The third part of the book discusses the formation of historical societies and the establishment of a state archival-historical agency, 1833-1907. The author points out that of the seven state-wide societies organized during this period only one survived by 1900. A few never got off the ground; others flourished for varying periods and made lasting contributions to the preservation and dissemination of historical knowledge but languished and died after the passing of enthusiastic leaders. Each one however testified to the desire of its leaders to make the people of North Carolina aware of their history. The story ends, substantially, with the passage in the legislature, without opposition, of a bill to establish a State Historical Commission in 1903. It is to be hoped that the story will be continued sometime to relate those developments that have lifted North Carolina to its present enviable position as a leader among the states in its concern for and its effective management of its documentary heritage.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

William H. Work


Despite the presumed familiarity of the XYZ Affair to students of American history, it has usually been seen as an isolated, though interesting episode during John Adams's presidency. The Quasi-War, of which it was a part, dominated the Adams administration, but, as Professor DeConde says in his preface, it is to most Americans "practically an unknown, or perhaps a forgotten, conflict." His book admirably restores the proper perspective by placing the entire conflict in its broader political and diplomatic setting. A sequel to the author's *Entangling Alliance,* published in 1958, this work carries the story of the French alliance from the crisis at the inauguration of John Adams to the first year of Jefferson's presidency. It explains the relationships between domestic politics and foreign policy as well as mutual interaction of our French and British policies. Based on a wide variety of sources, both American and foreign, and taking into account the results of recent scholarship, *The Quasi-War* is a sound narrative of the diplomatic history of the period. It fills out, rather than changes, the basic outline familiar to most historians.

John Adams emerges from this volume as more of a war hawk than he is wont to be portrayed. DeConde designates Adams as "The Truculent
President," contending that the President's warlike attitude is best revealed in his incendiary replies to the formal addresses of support sent him in 1798 by towns, societies, militia companies, and groups of merchants. "Since the addresses and their replies were published in newspapers over the country, Adams was able through this means to spread his views before the people more effectively than through any other channel. In his replies the President denounced the French, attacked the loyalty of Republicans, and stimulated demands for war."

But Adams had a change of heart sometime in late 1798, or early 1799. In attempting to explain this shift, the author emphasizes the effect of a conversation between the President and his younger son, Thomas Boylston Adams, who returned from Europe in January 1799 after acting as secretary to his brother, John Quincy, for five years. This talk convinced the elder Adams that the French peace overtures were sincere, and he thereupon sent the Senate his nomination of William Vans Murray as minister plenipotentiary to France.

The author accepts the traditional view that the cabinet members intrigued to prevent the sailing of Ellsworth and Davie in 1799, a view which has recently been questioned by Stephen G. Kurtz and others. That Timothy Pickering opposed the mission is clear, but it is also evident that the President had delayed ordering its departure for good reasons. DeConde quotes Benjamin Stoddert's letter to Adams which refers to "artful designing men" who are working to subvert his policy, but he does not quote the part which suggests that upon his return the President might obtain information "which would make some alteration in their instructions necessary; and possibly these events might be of a nature to require the suspension for a time of the mission." This statement implies that the issue of the departure of the mission was still open in September 1798 and not just a matter of cabinet intrigue. Kurtz, incidentally, argues that Adams delayed the departure of the peace mission until the United States had a fleet of ships to back up its demands.

A major contribution of this volume is its proper emphasis on the role of Haiti in the diplomacy of the Quasi-War. Professor DeConde points out that as long as the United States was pressing France to make peace they cooperated closely with Toussaint L'Ouverture. Once the Convention of Mortefontaine was signed, however, the Americans withdrew their support from the Negro general.

The Convention of Mortefontaine, according to the author, was but a part of Napoleon's larger policy of uniting the European nations in a league of armed neutrality. The Convention was designed to serve as a model for agreements among these powers, including as it did the liberal maritime principle of free ships, free goods. Even this purpose was subordinate to the First Consul's long-range objectives, which were "built on the theory that he could force Britain to submission and then proceed to consolidate his empire in North America." Napoleon all the while was angling for the retrocession of Louisiana, but failed to anticipate the hostility which this move would arouse in Americans of all political persuasions.
Delays in the negotiations were permitted by the French, partly in order to help the Republicans win the upcoming election of 1800, partly in order to scare the Spaniards into retroceding Louisiana. Adams understood the political consequences of such a delay, and in response half-seriously considered recommending a declaration of war in August, 1800. The French discovered, of course, that the Republicans in power differed little from the Federalists in foreign policy.

A few demurrers are in order. DeConde tends to oversimplify the differences between Adams and the High Federalists. Alexander Hamilton was not the High Federalist he is portrayed; the New Yorker differed with Pickering on policy questions at least as often as he did with the President. Also the portrayal of the Alien Acts as the earliest manifestation of nativism, though true, is wrong in its emphasis. In this connection, DeConde mentions in passing but does not give enough weight to the prevailing distrust between the two political parties and within the Federalist party at this time. The Federalist Era cannot be adequately explained without keeping continually in one's consciousness men's exaggerated fears of their opponents' motives. Finally, DeConde, along with most historians, fails to explain why Adams dismissed McHenry and Pickering but kept Wolcott in the cabinet shake-up of May 1800.

Nevertheless, despite these minor objections and a half-dozen typographical errors, this is an extremely useful and important work describing a period which until recently has been profoundly neglected by historians. Well-written and physically attractive, the text is capped by a chronological table and a parallel French-English text of the Convention of Morte-fontaine as well as numerous excellent illustrations and informative end papers. It should attract the interest of the lay reader as well as the scholar because of its clarity.

The appearance of this study is a reminder that the economic, administrative, and social aspects of the Adams administration in particular and the Federalist Era in general need study to round out the political and diplomatic histories. It is also somewhat comforting to find that, at the height of the war frenzy, "in Virginia college students at William and Mary burned the President in effigy as a protest against war."

Geneva College

H. Mattson-Boze


This excellent little book consists of three lectures which Miss Koch delivered at the bicentennial celebrations of the American Whig-Clio Society at Princeton University in 1965. Using Madison's 149-word "Advice to My Country"—his political testament—as her starting point, she emphasizes the elder statesman's political growth, his constant re-formulation of his political ideas in the decade from 1826 to 1836, when the country was being torn apart by sectional controversy, and Madison alone among the Founding Fathers still remained on the scene.
"Take care of me when dead," Jefferson had said shortly before he died, and this is what Madison did. He "not only withdrew the name of his friend, and his own, from the ranks of the Southern nullifiers and secessionists, but made it possible for the nation to preserve itself within the vital symbolism of its spirit and laws." To many southerners he became the "Enemy Within" during these years, and yet the wisdom of his old age was to be as inspiring as the brilliance of his youth.

Jeffersonian principles have always had to be interpreted "on the whole" or "in the spirit of," as Miss Koch points out, and "if we held Madison to a strict account, the vastly good final service he rendered his country was 'inconsistent' with positions he had advocated in the past." Since the questions were constantly changing, however, and Liberty, Justice, and Union had to be redefined in hard legal cases, how could the answers remain the same? No one understood the subtleties in interpreting the Constitution more clearly than Madison, or had a sharper ear for "the silent innovations of time on the meaning of words and phrasing." Much as he might have liked to avoid the more difficult issues, he continued to face them, and the burden of his last message, written when he was eighty-three, for posthumous publication, was this:

The advice nearest to my heart and deepest in my convictions is that the Union of the States be cherished and perpetuated. Let the open enemy to it be regarded as a Pandora with her box opened; and the disguised one, as the Serpent creeping with his deadly wiles into Paradise.

In discussing Liberty, Miss Koch concentrates on Madison's contributions to religious liberty, because in recent years the Supreme Court "has more and more come around to the Madisonian position." His views have often been misunderstood, and he had to combat a "lineup of luminaries," such as Patrick Henry, George Washington, John Marshall, and Richard Henry Lee. Speaking in a soft, almost inaudible voice, Madison's eloquence was no match for that of Patrick Henry, but we have John Marshall's word that if eloquence were to include the art of "persuasion by conviction, Mr. Madison was the most eloquent man I ever heard." Arguing for the principle that there should be "an entire abstinence of the government from interference in any way whatever, beyond the necessity of preserving public order and protecting each sect against trespasses on its legal rights by others," Madison nevertheless admitted that it would frequently be difficult to trace a line of separation between civil and religious authorities in disputed cases. He did not believe in absolutes.

Justice, to Madison, consisted of equality of persons with respect to moral and political affairs, as advocated by the leaders of the French Enlightenment. He did not, however, go all the way in the case of Negroes, and no one in his generation, apparently, thought of applying the principle to females. What Madison was concerned about was the abuse of power, and "wherever the preponderant power in society was lodged, there was the prime danger of abuse." He felt that "ambition must be made to counter-
act ambition.” Rival interests must be set up—checks and balances—geographical minorities must be enabled to defend themselves against majorities. Consistently, Madison worked for a federal republic as an ideal, and was willing to debate, negotiate, and compromise for the attainment of a working multiverse. Unlike Hamilton, he was no friend of centralization, nor was he enamored of executive energy.

Finally, Miss Koch deals with Union, and, as we have seen, Madison’s deepest conviction was that all other political benefits depended ultimately on “cherishing and perpetuating” the Union. Even in his early, states-rights phase, he refrained from “assuming that the state legislature could claim for itself judicial functions.” The word nullification was not included in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, as they were originally passed, but was “introduced at an after date,” and it is still not known who inserted it. On a later occasion, during the Webster-Hayne debates, when Madison’s support was sought by both sides, he chose the side of the Union without equivocation. Owning himself to be “almost in despair” on the subject of slavery, he continued in his old age to fight this battle, too, with reasonableness and charity, recognizing that the energy and political skill of another generation would have to be enlisted, and that everything hinged on the result.

Lafayette College

JOHN M. COLEMAN


As stated in her preface, Mrs. Miller has written “the history of a small town and its beginnings.” An attempt “to capture the heart-beat of its early life” while retelling “its fascinating tales and legends,” this little book is a commendable first effort by a capable amateur historian. Consisting of four chapters, a brief postscript, bibliography, index, and twenty-three illustrations, twenty-one of which are Margaret Zimmerman’s black-and-white prints, the book is attractively presented, well-illustrated, and delightfully written. A chronological narrative, it is primarily concerned with the development of the community of Lock Haven along the West Branch of the Susquehanna River during the years 1769 to 1845.

Mrs. Miller’s work is not so much the history of a small town as it is a collection of its tales, legends, and lore. As such, it is a useful presentation of the oft-told stories in the course of a community’s evolution from a frontier outpost, through the romantic heyday of the canals, to its emergence as a lumbering center in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The results of sound scholarship are placed alongside of local legendry with little differentiation. The discrimination is left to the reader. “Stories and Legends” (Chapter I, 37 pages) and the “irrepressible and indomitable” founder of Old Town, “Jeremiah Church” (Chapter III, 47 pages) make up the major portion of the narration. The picture of Jerry Church, both in Pennsylvania and Iowa, is drawn from his journals and from appraisals
by past historians of the West Branch Valley such as Meginness and Linn. The canal chapter (Chapter II, 21 pages) is particularly good, and in terms of the author's purpose seems to reflect a greater use of standard sources. The section on lumbering (Chapter IV, 26 pages) goes beyond the bounds of the prescribed time-period, carrying over to the twentieth century and even including a section on the ill-fated "Last Raft" of 1938.

The book contains a few errors, for example, "cheap emigrant labor" instead of "immigrant," and "Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission" rather than "Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission." The bibliography is incomplete but the index is so well done that it amounts to a bibliographical supplement.

Mrs. Miller has rendered a real service to her community and to the cause of local history. Writing with clarity, sensitivity, and a genuine enthusiasm for the area which is her home, she has captured the spirit of this interesting "Old Town" of Pennsylvania. Although not a scholarly presentation in the professional sense, this book does provide the guideposts for future scholarship. School children will love it and local residents will refer to it again and again to enliven their tales of old Lock Haven.

The Pennsylvania State University (Capitol Campus)  GEORGE D. WOLF


The second volume of Professor Sellers's biography of James K. Polk matches the excellence of its predecessor. With the publication of James K. Polk, Jacksonian, students of the Middle Period of American history recognized that a major biographical project was under way; James K. Polk, Continentalist assures them that in the proper hands the life-and-times biography remains a valuable instrument for historical understanding. It is Sellers's particular achievement to reveal Polk's personality by analyzing his politics and to describe the surprising correlation between the narrow-minded strength and mental rigidity of the man and the achievements and significance of his presidency.

The present volume begins with Polk's defeat in the Tennessee gubernatorial election of 1843; it ends with the conclusion of the first session of the Twenty-Ninth Congress and the commencement of the War with Mexico. It is a political success story with intimations of subsequent failure. Refusing to accept the political logic of his gubernatorial defeat, Polk rallies the divided Democracy of Tennessee, secures the presidential nomination of his party by means of prescient calculation and fortuitous circumstances, upsets the magnetic Clay in the election of 1844, gains a tenuous mastery over a Democratic party riven by increasing factionalism, and offers the Congress a combination of Republican orthodoxy and Continental vision in his message of December, 1845. Completing the annexation of Texas, he proceeds to settle the Oregon dispute, revise the tariff, reinstitute the Independent Treasury system, and incite Mexico to begin a war that will assure the United States possession of California as well as a boundary on
the Rio Grande. By August, 1846, Polk, though disliked by many of his countrymen and distrusted by nearly all, had seemingly triumphed—the goals inspired by the needs of personal ambition and national glory were either secured or soon to be fulfilled. In that same month, however, Congressman David Wilmot introduced his Proviso. It was dismissed by Polk as an irrelevant political trick, but it embodied the tragic self-contradiction of continentalism—its essential association with slavery and sectional division. If the greatness of Polk’s presidency rests on its diplomatic achievements, its failure lies in its inability to anticipate the conjunction of continental expansion and the antislavery crusade. That failure will presumably form the chief theme of Professor Sellers’s third and concluding volume.

This volume concentrates with justice upon the achievements of its subject. Sellers is not blind to Polk’s flaws of character, nor unmindful of the force of chance in the determination of his career, but his emphasis is on the success story—the presidential “accident” who worked his will against the giants of the day, Clay, Benton, Webster, and Calhoun, by dint of unrelieved determination, continuous labor, and the unselfconscious employment of duplicity. Sellers’s judgment that Polk displayed “a brand of presidential legislative leadership that the country would not see again until the time of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson” is subject perhaps to the charge of exaggeration, but there can be little doubt that he proves Polk to have been a bigger man than his contemporaries recognized and a man more personally responsible for the nature and achievements of his presidency than many historians of western expansion have allowed.

It is to the story of continental expansion that Sellers devotes most attention. His analyses of the declining relevance of the Jacksonian revolution, the issue of the tariff, and Polk’s role as political broker for a divided Democracy are able and persuasive, but it is in his description of Polk’s diplomacy of expansion that Sellers best illustrates the acquisitive dedication of the man and the administration.

With respect to Texas and the origins of the Mexican War, it would be fair to say that Sellers takes a middle position between the interpretations of Professors Stenberg and Bemis. He does not view Polk’s Mexican diplomacy as the product of a Machiavellian plot to assure attack and an excuse for war, but he does not ignore the fact that if Polk preferred negotiation to war, he gave a higher priority to California than to peace. That Polk was prepared to coerce Mexico is hardly news, but the value of Sellers’s account lies in the skill with which he relates the frequent fluctuations of tactics to Polk’s consistent strategy of continentalism and to the dominant place of California in his Mexican diplomacy. In contrast to his enemies, domestic and foreign, Polk knew what he wanted. And when “an excited Congress was presented with a war it had not authorized and did not want,” it was obliged to sanction a conflict that in a sense was more fundamental than his Whig opponents ever realized was indeed “Polk’s War.”

Prepared for a presumably easy war against the despised Mexicans, Polk did not desire war with the arrogant British. In perhaps his finest chapter,
Sellers describes Polk's bold game of bluff with the Peel Ministry over Oregon and its hairbreadth success. If the general outline of his account rests heavily on the research of such earlier scholars as Frederick Merk, John Galbraith, and James McCabe, Sellers offers the best summary available of the tactics and logic of Polk's brinkmanship. The Oregon Treaty was a triumph for Polk the diplomatist and a source of significant division for his party, and both aspects receive ample justice at the hands of Professor Sellers.

As with any work marked by independence of judgment, there are points where the reader remains unpersuaded. This reviewer is unconvinced by Sellers's depiction of the Walker Tariff as a dramatic reversal of Whiggish protectionism, would rate less highly the domestic accomplishments of the first session of the Twenty-Ninth Congress, and questions the originality of Polk's theory of presidential leadership. Champions of Webster and Calhoun can protest their depiction as self-seeking obstructionists, and others will believe that Polk's "disingenuousness" could occasionally be translated as a readiness to lie. The peevish may also fault the confusion of certain footnotes containing multiple citations, the absence of a map of Texas and its disputed boundaries, and an occasional homemade adjective that partakes more of Time than of clarity (Bentonian opposition; Calhounish Democrats; Cameronians; etc.).

This is a book more easy to admire, however, than to criticize. Clearly written, skillfully organized, and based on a wide selection of primary sources, it is a worthy addition to one of the most significant biographical projects of this generation. One finishes it with a reluctant respect for its protagonist and a renewed conviction of the importance of his triumphant and divisive presidency.

Lafayette College

Richard E. Welch, Jr.


John H. White, Associate Curator of Transportation of the Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution, has labored most painstakingly in an obscure area of railroadiana. The result is a superb monograph on a hitherto neglected phase of locomotive history. There is little doubt that he is dealing with a microcosm for the total production of Cincinnati firms amounted to only 218 units. By way of comparison Norris & Sons of Philadelphia, in a somewhat shorter period (1853-1868) built 1,190, while Amoskeag Manufacturing Company's brief essay into the field (1849-1856) resulted in 250. Eastern competition was to prove the eternal bête noire of Cincinnati.

A study of the appendices, which alone are worth the price of the book, discloses that Cincinnati's customers were mainly Ohio or Indiana railroads or those southern lines which connected with them. The Little Miami Rail Road was especially loyal, purchasing forty-five engines locally.
The industry was born out of necessity at a time when eastern locomotive builders were overwhelmed with orders, and conversely Ohio roads were experiencing a severe shortage of motive power. Anthony Harkness & Son led off in late 1845, but possessed of more will than skill, its first order was not completed until November 15, 1846. Under various corporate names this company was to become the dean of the trade. Known after 1853 as the Cincinnati Locomotive Works (more familiarly Moore & Richardson) it was the only firm in the area to continue with locomotives after the 1857 debacle. The panic took its toll, however, for the company never again attained its 1850-1853 average of fifteen units per year.

Niles & Company, which had been engaged in machine tool and sugar mill manufacturing since 1836, was lured into the railroad business by the seeming prosperity of the Harkness firm. This company was more conservative financially and voluntarily withdrew from locomotive building after 1857. It was a matter of remaining solvent and riverboat engines were proving more profitable. The choice was a wise one as Niles & Company exists today as a component of the Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Corporation.

Thanks to its chief designer John L. Whetstone, Niles built some of the most mechanically advanced locomotives of the day. His use of the radial valve gear, accepted in precision-minded Europe, was vindicated by its reintroduction on the first Mallet Compound locomotive built for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1904.

Mr. White devotes his longest chapter to George Escol Sellers and his grade-climbing locomotive. George and his brother Charles were the third generation of a Philadelphia family noted for its mechanical ability. Turning their attention westward, when the firm of Coleman Sellers & Sons failed in 1837, they set up the Globe Rolling Mills & Wire Works at Cincinnati. The Sellers locomotive was actually a conventional machine assisted on grades by toggles which gripped a center rail. Unfortunately it was a case of the wrong device for its time and purpose. It was patented in 1847, when Sellers envisaged a temporary railroad system to open up the vast American west in advance of a sustaining population. The cheaply built "Pioneer System" would surmount any grade at little cost. Eastern railroads would shortly be contemplating the Appalachian barrier, for they had the money to cross it in a proper engineering fashion. Our knowledge of this mechanical misfit is derived from patent and demonstration models, for Sellers never saw the finished product used for its intended purposes. The Fell System, patented by John B. Fell of England, in 1863, was virtually the same idea and still exists on the Snaefell Railway on the Isle of Man. Applied in its proper element, tourist mountain railways, the scheme proved successful.

As far as can be judged from the record, Cincinnati locomotive builders were technically the equal of their eastern competitors and could offer savings on transportation charges, locally, of about $800 per unit. How, then, did the easterners capture the western market? Mr. White offers two basic reasons. First, there was chauvinism. Most of the western railroads were
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

built with eastern capital and staffed by eastern men. Second, there was the problem of credit. Eastern builders could offer long-term sales contracts and were willing to take stock in payment. The Cincinnati firms could not call upon the resources of the larger banking houses; consequently, they were forced to turn to those products that could be sold for cash. Here is a case where David did not overcome Goliath, and we are indebted to Mr. White for uncovering the details of the battle.

Elcatherian Mills Historical Librarv


In their studies of the antislavery crusade, historians have paid relatively little attention to the decade and one-half before 1830. Merton Dillon has taken a step to fill this void through a "life-and-times" biography of Benjamin Lundy, the leading abolitionist of the 1820's. Dillon is not a newcomer to antislavery historiography, he has written a fine biography of Elijah P. Lovejoy and articles on various aspects of the abolitionist movement.

Dillon asserts that during the 1820's Lundy and his contemporaries planted abolitionist seeds that would blossom in later years. While the antislavery movement was languishing in New England, vigorous activity was taking place in the nonslaveholding upland South and the southern portion of the Old Northwest—Lundy's base of operation. Here Dillon enters the historiographical controversy regarding the origins of abolitionist thought. Dissenting from the conclusions of the western revivalism-Finney and the New England-Garrison schools, he maintains that Lundy and his associates formulated the basic principles upon which later abolitionists would build. Lundy through his newspaper, The Genius, contributed to William Lloyd Garrison's conversion to abolition. No doubt many historians of the aforementioned schools will not be convinced by this portion of the book.

Far more convincing is the description of the 1820's as a transitional period in antislavery thought from the Enlightenment to the Romantic era. Lundy and his contemporaries, while somewhat moralistic, were not attracted to the antislavery cause by the revivalistic religion or romanticism of the nineteenth century, but by the eighteenth-century belief in "an orderly universe run by natural law" and faith in the power of reason. In line with this philosophical commitment, Lundy adhered to a more gradualist and less doctrinaire approach to the abolition of slavery than those who followed. For him, there was no absolute tactic or quick solution to the end of slavery; it could be achieved only in stages. He held to the belief that abolition must proceed in an orderly manner "without serious disruption of the social order." The opponents of slavery must not be so rash as to arouse the anger and opposition of those persons who feared a large free Negro population. The power of reason in a stable environment, Lundy believed, alone could convince nonslaveholders as well as slaveholders that
they had nothing to fear from the eventual manumission of all slaves. Without southern support, he concluded that abolition was impossible.

To appease the fears of southern and northern whites and out of the belief that the Negro could not receive equal treatment in the North or South, Lundy supported colonization. It was a colonization free of the racism of the American Colonization Society. Although Lundy departed from his early support of the Society, he remained convinced that colonization could accelerate the end of slavery. Throughout his career he participated in various colonization schemes despite their failures.

As the abolitionists became less tolerant of colonization, Lundy found himself estranged from the mainstream of the movement. Even though he occasionally stayed from the rationalism of the Enlightenment and in its place substituted the moralism of Transcendentalism—which accounts at least in part for his transitional position between the two periods—the more moralistic-orientated abolitionists of the 1830's considered him an anachronism. Lundy's condemnation of slavery as economically unsound was also unacceptable to most opponents of slavery. Finally, when the abolitionists who came to dominate the crusade after 1830 censured the peculiar institution as a sin against God, displayed less concern for orderly change, and de-emphasized political action, Lundy was left behind.

Dillon has provided historians with many insights into the antislavery crusade of the 1820's and, by comparison, to the one that followed. He has opened doors that other historians now can enter.

Temple University

Seth M. Scheiner


Andrew E. Murray is well-prepared for the task he has chosen, apparently a labor of love. He earned his bachelor and doctor degrees in theology at the Presbyterian seminary in Princeton and has served on the staff of the predominantly Negro Lincoln University at Oxford, Pennsylvania, in several different positions as teacher and administrator. Until recently, Lincoln University was affiliated with the Presbyterian Church.

The book is based on a thorough knowledge of both Presbyterian and Negro history in the United States. It is informed by a keen consciousness of the failure of the church in its handling of slavery and race relations to live up to its professed ideals of human brotherhood. Dr. Murray freely admits that the church has been largely a captive of secular culture in this aspect of its history. "Late, late we come," said a Presbyterian leader in connection with the civil rights march on Washington in 1963.

The relation of the church to slavery up to the year 1818 is covered briefly in the first chapter. Presbyterians made few efforts to reach Negroes during the colonial period; an exception was the attempt of the evangelist Samuel Davies to convert Virginia slaves to Christianity. In the North some individual Presbyterians like Dr. Benjamin Rush (who later left this church) took part in the antislavery movement of the Revolutionary years.
In 1818 the Presbyterian General Assembly censured slavery in principle but left the matter of practical emancipation up to local congregations.

The next three chapters cover various aspects of the period from 1818 to 1861. The pattern of separate congregations for Negroes developed in the North during this time, the first Negro Presbyterian church being located in Philadelphia. Negro Presbyterians, it might be noted, have never been very numerous; the bulk of the Negroes became Baptists or Methodists. Biographical sketches are provided of some leading Negro Presbyterian ministers such as J. W. C. Pennington, Samuel Cornish, and Theodore Wright (the first Negro to graduate from Princeton Theological Seminary). In the pre-Civil War South slaves were admitted to the galleries of Presbyterian churches, but they were not allowed either to participate fully in Christian fellowship or to organize their own churches. Religion was used on both sides in the sectional controversy over slavery—some Presbyterians like Miller McKim of Carlisle and Albert Barnes of Philadelphia becoming abolitionists while others became proslavery apologists. For many the program of the American Colonization Society provided a compromise ground. Dr. Murray implies that slavery did not play an important part in the Old-New School split of 1837. The church did not divide on this issue until the eve of the Civil War.

Chapter Five bears the questionable title "From Equal to Separate (1861-1915)." It deals with Reconstruction and its aftermath. Among important Negro Presbyterians of this period were Hiram Revels (Senator from Mississippi), Jonathan Gibbs (who held state offices in Florida), and Francis L. Cardozo (active in South Carolina politics). As in our own time, the ministry supplied leadership in the civil rights movement of that period. Also covered is the reaction against equal rights which took place in both North and South in the wake of the Compromise of 1877. The church, like other social institutions, became segregated. Chapter Six treats the Presbyterian role in the freedmen's aid movement, chiefly a matter of supplying teachers, and the organization of separate Negro churches in the South. Chapter Seven discusses the consequences for the church of the great northward migration of Negroes in the twentieth century, while the last chapter presents briefly the impact of the Second Reconstruction in our own day.

The book is well-organized and competently written. The biographical data on Presbyterian leaders, both white and Negro, are of special interest. Missing, however, are descriptions of appearance and personality, which would have lent more color to the narrative. So also are lively anecdotes and dramatic episodes. For example, details on Eugene Carson Blake's participation in the Baltimore sit-in of 1963 would have been interesting. Information on the history of church-related colleges is disappointingly skimpy. The book is well-printed, and the footnotes are located where they belong. There is an extensive bibliography, though some important secondary works relating to the subject are missing: Swint's *Northern Teacher in the South*, for instance. There are some minor errors, such as the reference
to "Florence" instead of "Prudence" Crandall. All in all, the book is a valuable study of a subject of particular concern at the present time.

The Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

The Brandywine Home Front During the Civil War, 1861-1865. By Norman B. Wilkinson. (Wilmington, Del.: Kaumagraph Co., 1966. Pp. 171. $6.50.)

Civil War songs and sayings often pictured the Northern civilian as safe and snug enjoying the comforts of home, while away at the front the Boys in Blue valiantly battled the foe. Such touching scenes were very likely considered overdrawn by the 3,000 or more people who lived along a five-mile stretch of Brandywine Creek just above Wilmington, Delaware, "on top of a massive powder keg." Within this small area of diversified industry, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company concentrated most of its powder mills, and here it produced more than forty percent of all the gunpowder used by the Union armies. The location of such factories in a border state of divided loyalties increased their exposure to sabotage and enemy raids, and made working in them or living near them extremely hazardous. Although Confederate military forces never seriously threatened these mills, Norman B. Wilkinson in this book says that "the suspicion of occasional successful rebel sabotage still lingers," despite the lack of real evidence. Whatever the causes—and in only a few instances could they be determined—eleven major explosions in the war years took the lives of forty-two workmen, injured many others, and destroyed or seriously damaged thirty mills.

Wilkinson stresses the prominence of the du Ponts in the lower Brandywine community, where various members of this remarkable and versatile family contributed significantly to bringing the war to a successful conclusion for the Union. In 1863 the War Department officially thanked Henry du Pont, head of the company, for the concern's efficiency in producing gunpowder, so that there was no longer any need to import explosives. Henry, who was a graduate of West Point and an engineer, during the war held the rank of major general and commanded the Delaware militia, as well as running the company. His son, Henry A., graduated from the academy in 1861 and served as an officer in a regular army battery in the Shenandoah Valley. In the fall of 1861 one of the senior Henry's able nephews, Lammot du Pont, went on a secret mission to England for the United States government to secure desperately needed saltpeter, a basic ingredient of black gunpowder. Another member of the family, Samuel Francis du Pont, attained the rank of rear admiral in the United States Navy and served with distinction in the early years of the war.

Although Wilkinson centers his attention on the du Ponts, he thoroughly covers all aspects of the Brandywine home front and its economy. This community went through many of the same experiences as other industrial areas in the North. Business slumped badly before serious fighting began and then rapidly recovered as the pace of the conflict quickened. Early in
the summer of 1861 orders for ambulances, wagons, harness, leather knapsacks, shoes, army tents and poles, vessels of various types, and finally ironclads began pouring into the factories of the Wilmington area. Prices rose in response to the demands. For a time wages increased correspondingly, but by 1864 they had fallen behind the inflationary cost of living. The initial sufferers from this situation were the families of soldiers. Public-spirited citizens tried to relieve their needs, but these efforts were only partially successful and the state legislature refused aid. It is not surprising to find that this industrial community contributed more to the war effort in material goods than in manpower. At a time when labor was scarce employees were loath to enlist and their employers reluctant to see them go. Nevertheless, as the war continued the lengthening casualty lists contained many well-known family names.

This small volume of four parts or chapters, one for each year of the war, is packed with important information which the author has gleaned from the du Pont papers, other personal accounts, diaries, journals, newspapers, and reliable secondary sources. Such studies in depth about various home fronts should be encouraged; they sharpen our understanding and appreciation of the Civil War by bringing into focus significant details which have heretofore been blanks in the total picture. In this respect Wilkinson's book has made a real contribution.

*Lafayette College*

**EDWIN B. CODBINGTON**


There has been very little written about Mary Cassatt and almost no recent works devoted to her alone. For this reason Mr. Sweet's book is particularly valuable. In addition to which it is readable, pleasant, has a bibliography, and is illustrated. Although, it is not, however, from any point of view the ideal study of even a minor artist, it is a pleasant recitation of material concerned with a pleasant painter and a now vanished world.

*Miss Mary Cassatt* suggests that the author labored long and hard. The list of people, institutions, and works mentioned in the introduction is impressive. The list of unpublished letters appended to the text will undoubtedly be of value to any further study of Miss Cassatt. However, there is little of the best of scholarship visible in the book. For example, there are almost no footnotes to provide necessary and desirable documentation. Those which do appear are primarily anecdotal. Repeatedly Mr. Sweet makes statements which an undergraduate writing a term paper would be called upon to support with specific references, yet he leaves the reader unenlightened as to source. One of the most irritating examples of this occurs at the bottom of page 124: "The purchase of Beaufresne gave her a great sense of independence, as it was paid for entirely with money she earned from the sale of her work." This is a subject of both interest and importance to an art historian for it is one measure of the degree of public acceptance
of the artist. Mr. Sweet must have some foundation for this statement, but he does not suggest what it might be. Miss Cassatt herself was always quite interested in money. Mr. Sweet mentions that she reminded her nephew of the value ("$200,000 at least") of the paintings left him by her brother. She would probably have enjoyed and approved of a detailed analysis of her earnings.

Apparently the account of Mary Cassatt's reaction to being taken to an "evening" at Gertrude Stein's is derived from a letter from Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears who is referred to simply as Mrs. Sears. Closer identification is possible by looking up "Sears" in the index. The possibility of this information being found in one of her letters is suggested by discovering on page x of the Preface that "Mrs. Cameron Bradley (daughter of Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears)" had supplied Mr. Sweet with letters. Some of these might have been written by her mother. This does provide the reader with the chance to do a little bit of semi-scholarly work on his own, but it hardly provides the pertinent information behind Miss Cassatt's quoted comment on what she saw at Miss Stein's: "I have never in my life seen so many dreadful paintings in one place; I have never seen so many dreadful people gathered together and I want to be taken home at once."

This book is valuable as a presentation of a society and mode of life which has all but vanished.

Miss Cassatt lived comfortably in a well-staffed house, and yet for that day her retinue was modest according to those of big French houses or to those of her two brothers in Philadelphia. Mathilde did her hair every morning and helped her dress; Mathilde was also the general supervisor of the household, what the French call the "gouvernante." There were also a cook, a housemaid, a chambermaid, three gardeners, and the coachman, Pierre, who after 1906 became chauffeur.

Many such interesting details about the customs, manners, expenses, and pleasures of upper-class life in the period before the First World War are mentioned generally but fail to come to life. Countless recognizable names appear and disappear with little further comment. The book may be more than the Philadelphia Social Register written in full sentences, but there is certainly something of the catalogue present in the essentially undocumented factual information offered.

There are twenty-seven black-and-white illustrations and eight color plates in the book. They are small and not very good. The black-and-white are unduly gray and the color plates harsh and inaccurate. Several of the plates could have been larger if the designer had seen fit to turn them sideways and halfway around instead of leaving most of the page blank.

For one who is considering paying $7.95 for a book the colophon is reassuring: "The paper on which this book is printed bears the watermark of the University of Oklahoma Press and is designed for an effective life of at least three hundred years." Perhaps a better book on Mary Cassatt will be written within that time.

After editing this volume, Melville J. Boyer retired from the presidency and editorship of the Lehigh County Historical Society, having served many years as a most outstanding and talented historian, editor, and executive. Mr. Boyer has been a "local historian's historian," and his absence from the active ranks of county historical society officials will be missed.

This last labor is consistent with the standards of local history publications established long ago by the editor; indeed, if anything, Volume 26 is his crowning achievement. Readers of the preface may conclude that the editor has been laboring these many years under the spell cast by John W. Jordan some sixty years ago when that librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania instructed the Lehigh County Society in its duties and responsibilities. Jordan, of course, was a pioneer in the science of "higher criticism" of local history materials.

A contribution by Scott A. Trexler, II, and Lee A. Walck titled, "Rebel and Tory Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel William Allen, Jr.," reveals the family life of the Allens whose Tory inclinations during the Revolution were best personified by the youngest son of Judge Allen. The Allen family was wealthy, prominent, and socially important in provincial Pennsylvania. William Allen, Sr., Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Court, planned and laid out what is now Allentown in 1761. His four sons supported the colonial cause until the Declaration of Independence, at which time their sincere belief that the existing government was necessary for the protection of property and the enforcement of laws compelled their siding with the Tories. The Allens were trained in the law, and their conservative viewpoint was shared by many intelligent persons. Breaking the ties with England could only mean revolution, and revolution could only result in lawlessness, assumption of power by unpropertied radicals, and destruction of the judicial process. This was to be feared more than the annoyances of a myopic Whig Parliament. Although well written and amply documented, the article suffers from inconsistencies in style and form used in quoting.

Related to the Allen family adventures is the second article, a nicely illustrated piece on Trout Hall, a handsome stone mansion built by James Allen and now occupied by the Lehigh County Historical Society. The author, Carol Busck Wicklifer, adapted the article from her master's thesis, a somewhat rambling and extremely far-flung account of land sales by the Proprietary Government, operation of the Land Office, description of early settlers, the Allen family, erection of Trout Hall and its subsequent history, and Georgian architecture in Philadelphia, Germantown, Sellersville, Catasauqua, and Allentown. Possibly the main article, Trout Hall, should have been separated from the rather extensive treatment of Georgian architecture in general.

Four selections reprinted from Volume I of the Proceedings (1908) by John W. Jordan, Alfred F. Berlin, and Rev. F. J. F. Schantz are included for their timeless interest to students. These concern the Indians of Lehigh
Valley, and the description of the Allentown he knew in the 1840's by Dr. Schantz. David G. Williams presents his "Recollections: 1887-1894," and "Working Schedules and Labor Rates in the Slate Industry." Lehigh County historians have the undoubted advantage of a Ladies' Guild, founded in 1961. The short but very active history of the Guild concludes the historical essays. Society reports also are included.

*Lancaster County Historical Society*

JOHN WARD WILSON LOOSE