
Students who are interested in the Delaware Valley are indebted to C. A. Weslager for a series of volumes exploring its archaeology, ethnology, and history. For his contributions to regional history the American Association for State and Local History deservedly presented him with its Award of Merit. For some years he was editor of the publications of the Archaeological Society of Delaware, and he has also served as President of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation.

His latest volume is a companion study to his Dutch Explorers, Traders and Settlers in the Delaware Valley published in 1961. Beginning with the arrival of Captain Argall in the Discovery in Delaware Bay in 1610, he tells of the explorations and interest of the English in the area and their clashes with the Dutch and Swedes until they captured it in 1664. Temporarily the Dutch regained it in 1673, but by the peace settlement the English resumed control. In 1682 William Penn became the proprietor of most of the disputed area.

The main outlines of this story are familiar to American historians, but Weslager has added from a variety of sources details and facts previously unknown or neglected. He tells how James I created a buffer zone of the Delaware drainage system and how this affected the colonizing efforts of Lord Baltimore, Sir Edmund Plowden, the Duke of York, and the Puritans of New Haven. On one occasion the settlers at New Haven thought seriously of moving the seat of their government to the shores of the Delaware River. Massachusetts merchants attempted to reach the mythical Lake Laconia by way of the Delaware River, but were checked by the combined efforts of the Dutch and Swedes.

In the appendix he includes some documents published for the first time, such as a letter of Governor William Berkeley to Governor Johann Printz in 1642, and instructions to the Dutch squadron in 1672 prior to the re-capture of New Netherlands from the English.

Where the author is dealing with events that are not well known or that have been neglected, he quotes frequently at length. While the casual reader may bypass such extracts, the historian appreciates the carefulness of the documentation. Libraries in this country as well as in Sweden provided much of the material for his history. Perhaps he might have profited from a visit to English archives, but even here he received some assistance from others.

This is the first time that a historian has told separately and in detail
the history of the English on the Delaware, and the story is worth telling. Colonial and regional historians will be grateful for his contribution to the history of the Delaware Valley. His hard work and diligence have added an eleventh volume to his publications. He should be encouraged to continue his study of the English in the Delaware Valley in the later colonial period.

Otterbein College

Harold B. Hancock


Professor Barrow's study of the British customs service in America can best be characterized as a corrective rather than a revisionist account. He tells a familiar story: too little, too late. This is not to minimize the worth of the book; it is well written, consistently interesting, and is based on extensive research both in England and in the United States. The book is one of a growing number of studies which focus upon the practical concerns of those charged with executing British imperial policy. Rather than attempt to damn or justify American opposition to imperial policy, Barrow, like Jack Sosin in his Agents and Merchants; British Colonial Policy and the Origins of the American Revolution, 1763-1775 (1965), recognizes the importance of civil servants and lesser officials in making the Empire work. One comes away from the book with the impression that Barrow recognizes their importance much more clearly than did their superiors in London.

In his short introduction Barrow sets out the themes he is to develop. He assumes that the "Old Colonial System" was no system at all, but a "patchwork mosaic of measures adopted through expediency or accident," a structure without uniformity. Mercantilism, of course, was the bedrock upon which the mosaic lay. The parts of the patchwork most apparent to the colonials were the various Navigation Acts. It is the reality of these Acts and the effectiveness of their enforcement that concern Barrow. In this concern Barrow departs from the interpretations of George L. Beer and Oliver Dickerson. Unlike Beer and Dickerson, Barrow does not believe that the Navigation Acts worked. For the system to be successful either the colonials would have to cooperate voluntarily, or the English government would have to be able "to impose its wishes in spite of opposition." Barrow has found little evidence of colonial cooperation and even less of the English ability to enforce the Acts.

Professor Barrow recognizes four periods in the history of the customs service in America. The first begins with the appointment of the first customs officer in 1671 and lasts until the definition of a new policy in the comprehensive 1696 Act. To this first period he devotes two chapters in which he makes several interesting points. He advances a novel interpretation of the Act of 1673. He argues that the Act, which gave Parliamentary approval to the extension of the customs service to America, was directed against the New England colonists who had enjoyed duty-free importation of English goods. In view of the fact that England in 1673 was engaged in
the third Dutch War and was clearly trying to curb the ubiquitous Dutch traders in the Chesapeake colonies, Barrow's interpretation seems open to question, especially since the first customs officers were posted to the Chesapeake colonies rather than to New England.

More convincing is Professor Barrow's treatment of the experiences of these first customs officers who quickly became embroiled in local colonial politics. He assumes that the Americans resisted enforcement from the beginning, a resistance that compelled many customs officers to rely upon one or another local faction to bolster their rather limited power. The examples of Nathaniel Blakiston in Maryland and Edward Randolph in Massachusetts illustrate this quite well.

The second period begins with the Act of 1696 and extends to the beginning of the War with Spain in 1739. Barrow's analysis of the 1696 statute is impressive. He views the act as the product of the frustration of colonial customs officers, especially Edward Randolph. Nevertheless, the system that took shape under the new Act did not produce the desired results. Customs officers still found resistance and still became involved in local politics.

Barrow devotes two chapters to the relationship between the men in the field and their superiors in England. In one, "Reports from the Field," he shows that complaints that had begun with Randolph became more vociferous during the eighteenth century as colonial opposition to enforcement persisted. However, instead of strengthening the position of their American agents, the Treasury reduced the size of the American establishment. Barrow's picture of the English scene is one of "inefficiency in departmental organization, indifference to reform, and misuse of the power of the patronage." These two chapters establish the background necessary for Barrow's interpretation of the third period, 1739-1763, which he characterizes as the "Fallow Years." He disputes Dickerson's assertion that most trade was law-abiding during this period. He argues that the evidence suggests a "nearly total breakdown of authority," a breakdown that occurred because the establishment was inadequate for the job it had to perform.

The concluding section of the book, dealing with the period 1763-1775, documents these inadequacies, despite English efforts at reform. Even the appointment of twenty-five new customs officers between 1764 and 1766 failed to answer the need. Barrow concludes that the ministries of Grenville and Townshend "had ignited a conflagration at a time when the colonial administrative authorities were ill-equipped to uphold the imperial policies." In sum, Barrow's story is a simple one: Americans never liked taxation or regulation. They were able to avoid them because the men in the field were unable to enforce them. Thus, although long in coming, the conflict between England and America was inevitable.

On balance, the parts of Professor Barrow's argument seem to be more impressive than the whole. I believe that he assumes too readily a persistent colonial opposition. One wonders whether he has not been too willing to take the complaints of the men in the field at face value. However, this possible shortcoming in no way detracts from his lucid reading of the various Navigation Acts, or from his careful account of the experiences of
the men who had to administer them. As an administrative history of the
customs service the book is a welcome addition to the literature on the

Skidmore College

PETER J. PARKER

Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God. By Alfred Owen Aldridge. (Durham,

Professor Aldridge has already written two books on Franklin, a general
biography and a study of his French contemporaries. The present volume is
an exhaustive review of Franklin's religious ideas and of his relationships
with various religious denominations.

One can find in Franklin's voluminous writings expressions of a variety
of religious views, but Professor Aldridge accepts the well-known letter to
Ezra Stiles shortly before Franklin's death as his "most comprehensive
single statement on the subject and also his most authoritative." In this
letter Franklin expressed his belief in "one God, Creator of the Universe,"
which was governed by His providence. He also felt that God should be
worshipped but that the most acceptable service which men could render
to Him was in doing good to His other children. Furthermore Franklin
declared his belief that the soul of man is immortal and will be "treated
with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this." As to Jesus of
Nazareth, he had some doubts of His divinity but thought that His system
of morals was the best the world had ever seen. This statement of prin-
ciples would appear to represent a moderate form of Deism.

Unlike Tom Paine and other more radical Deists, Franklin was able to
work with the Christian churches in a common goal of social welfare.
His upbringing was in the orthodox Congregationalist tradition. Even after
he became a Deist, he maintained extensive and generally cordial associa-
tions with a variety of churches and ministers. For a while he was asso-
ciated with a Presbyterian church in Philadelphia. He supported White-
field's revivals and thus promoted the growth of Methodism. He was a
close friend of eminent Quakers. He printed hymnbooks for the Seventh-
Day Baptists of Ephrata and theological works written by Count Zinzen-
dorf, the Moravian. His good friend and fellow scientist Ebenezer Kin-
ersley was a Baptist minister. His longest and most continuous association
was with the Anglican Christ Church in Philadelphia. He figured in the
history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in connection with the ordina-
tion of bishops and the preparation of a revised Book of Common Prayer.
He contributed to a Jewish synagogue. He was closely associated for a
while with English Unitarians like Theophilus Lindsey and Joseph Priestley.
In France he worked with Roman Catholics and carried on discussions
with a papal representative in Paris which led to the appointment of John
Carroll as the first American Catholic bishop.

These and other topics are all developed at considerable length, with
extensive quotations and numerous footnotes. The style and composition,
however, are lacking in distinction. The book was well researched and has
been attractively produced. It will probably remain the definitive treatment of the subject.

The Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN


In this attractive biography Dr. Binger has presented the controversial Dr. Benjamin Rush as a man of catholic interests, extraordinary energy, and steadfast convictions. These are among the traits which make the biographer's task both pleasant and complex; pleasant because a varied life lends itself readily to colorful descriptions and meaningful interpretations, complex because of the difficulty of mastering the many facets of the subject. The author, in this his first venture into what might be called historical microcosm, has succeeded admirably in walking that thin line between the writing of a psychograph, in which the subject seems to float as in a vacuum, and a "life and times" biography where background and surroundings are all-important.

As any good biographer should, the author relates the highlights of Rush's life. Born near Philadelphia of sturdy yeoman stock, Benjamin obtained his B.A. degree from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) in 1760. Expecting to embark upon the study of the law, the not-quite fifteen-year-old visited his former schoolmaster at West Nottingham Academy in northern Maryland and while there was persuaded to consider the medical profession. Armed with a recommendation from Dr. Samuel Davies, president of the College of New Jersey, young Rush began his medical training in Philadelphia under the tutelage of the well-known and universally respected Dr. John Redman, to whom he was apprenticed for five years. Especially interesting, since it is a description of the best medical school then in existence, is Dr. Binger's sketch of the University of Edinburgh where Benjamin Rush received his M.D. degree in 1768. The somewhat primitive nature of medical knowledge and practices of the late eighteenth century are treated here and one begins to realize the severe handicaps under which Rush and his medical colleagues were forced to practice.

Returning to Philadelphia in 1769 he began the practice of medicine in earnest. Soon he had developed a sizable practice and became in fact one of the busiest physicians in the Quaker metropolis. Throughout his productive years, Rush was able to combine his abiding interest in medical education and research with his desire to serve his fellow man. While maintaining a large, but not always lucrative practice, because he was one of the few doctors who did not hesitate to minister to the poor, Rush held chairs at both the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania in medical theory and practice.

Rush's political activities alone were such as to gain for him an honored place among our "Founding Fathers." As a member of the Second Continental Congress, he signed our country's "birth certificate"—the Declaration of Independence. In addition Rush, with the help of the brilliant Phila-
Philadelphia lawyer James Wilson, was instrumental in securing ratification of the Constitution of 1787 in Pennsylvania against the determined opposition of the well-entrenched and ably led antifederalists.

However, it is for his pioneering efforts in psychosomatic medicine that Rush is best remembered today. In 1812 he published his most famous and most influential tract—Medical Inquiries and Observations Upon Diseases of the Mind. Although modern psychiatrists, psychologists, and physicians alike would certainly find fault with Rush’s oft-repeated assertion that all diseases—physical as well as mental—are caused by “convulsive” excitement of the blood vessels, they would also heartily agree that his treatment of the mentally deranged was a step forward from that accorded them from time immemorial. Rush was perhaps the first in America to see the benefits of what would later be called occupational therapy. Moreover, he along with several European contemporaries, most notably the Quaker William Tuke in England, Reil and Muller in Germany, and Philippe Pinel in France, was a pioneer in the so-called moral treatment of insanity. This was based on the promise that lunacy could sometimes result from shock or extreme emotional stress. Moral treatment consisted of making the patients comfortable, keeping them clean, and generally instilling in them a sense of self-respect. “This was,” Binger points out with a touch of understatement, “a relatively new departure.” For his attempts to interject a scientific and humanitarian approach to the care of the insane, Rush has rightly earned the title “Father of American Psychiatry.”

The author is well equipped to write this biography of Benjamin Rush, the first substantial biography published since Nathan G. Goodman’s Benjamin Rush: Physician and Citizen (1934). As past president of both the Psychoanalytic Medical Association and the American Psychosomatic Society, and as a practicing psychiatrist, he has the necessary technical background. Rather surprisingly Binger’s expected forays into psychoanalysis are rare indeed and even they are free of the jargon which can make them so incomprehensible and unintelligible to the average reader.

On balance, the author has presented a well-written, lucid, and informative portrait of a great American patriot, humanist, and medical pioneer. With enviable dexterity he combines literary excellence with technical competence to produce a biography worthy of its illustrious subject. A rather extensive bibliography of primary works, a shorter list of secondary sources, an adequate index, and footnotes (lamentably placed at the back of the book), all enhance the book’s value as the nearest thing we now have to a definitive biography of Benjamin Rush. Thus Dr. Binger joins the ever-increasing number of non-historians now producing good, readable history.

Waynesburg College

Justice C. Morton


The folklorist opening a book entitled Pennsylvania German Folk Art would expect to find a typology of traditional material aesthetic expression
with a discussion of regional variations and geographic origins. The art historian would expect to find an identification of individuals and schools—if not by name, then by area or some idiosyncrasy of style—and a discussion of techniques and temporal variation. Dr. Stoudt's book fulfills neither expectation.

_Pennsylvania German Folk Art_ is the third edition of a book first published in 1937 as _Consider the Lilies, How They Grow_ in the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society series, and next published in 1948 with the same name it now bears. In it Dr. Stoudt presents many quotations from German and Pennsylvania German pietistic literature in which a flower, heart, bird, a gem, deer, lion, star or sun appears as a metaphor for God or Christ. His thesis, which he offers repetitiously, even in the same words, is that these images "escape[d] from words to form," from poetry to painted chests and to incised pottery. There is, he says, no way to actually prove this, for the Pennsylvania German culture out of which the art was produced is dead; accordingly, interviews would be fruitless. And, while he perfectly contradicts himself on this point, he seems to think that if a Pennsylvania German folk artist could be found he would be of little value because he would not be aware that he was utilizing sacred imagery. In a few pages, he also disposes of the possibilities of an origin for Pennsylvania artistic motifs in European folk art. The only way that the meaning of Pennsylvania German art may be understood, then, is through the author's own logic.

Criticisms may be easily leveled at his conclusions. There are still people in southeastern Pennsylvania who traditionally employ these motifs in making cookie cutters and painting barn signs. When Dr. Stoudt began his work a few fraktur and sgraffito artists were still alive. In folk cultural studies it is the interview, not the document, which is the primary source; only interviewing could have proved his hypothesis. Also, a comparison of Pennsylvania German motifs with those of Central European folk art reveals remarkable similarities. Some of these motifs date to pre-Christian times, so that, while the pietistic writers might have interpreted them as Dr. Stoudt does, the motifs could not have originated in response to pietistic writings, and there is no proof that the artists regarded them as religious symbols. Further, much of Pennsylvania German folk belief is Catholic in background, rather than Protestant, and it is as reasonable to read Catholic as pietistic interpretations into Pennsylvania folk art—the rose which Dr. Stoudt maintains as a symbol for Christ could as well stand for the Virgin. A folk artistic motif, in short, may be interpreted in many ways; it may mean very different things to different people at the same time, and it can accumulate a variety of meanings in its passage through time and space.

In the author's defense it should be stated that the ancient motifs of European art could have acquired a pietistic interpretation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and that since then this meaning could have been lost. He makes no long step toward proving this however, because he has followed an old line of scholarship, dwelling on causation at the expense of description and the recognition of patterns; he presents his
conclusions but not the steps which led to them. The reader who knows Pennsylvania folk art is not surprised at the motifs which Dr. Stoudt isolated for presentation (they are, indeed, common ones), but no data are provided on how typical they are, and if one leafs through the lengthy pictorial section at the back of the book he finds many which are not discussed. Nor does Dr. Stoudt show how common in the literature were the images he assumes to have been the sources for the art. Had he shown that the major images of German pietistic literature were also the major images of Pennsylvania folk art by making some kind of statistical correlation between the two, his logic would be more plausible. As it is, his book boils down to an anthology of excerpts from certain types of religious literature dealing with motifs which can be found in Pennsylvania German folk art. It also provides some data on the art of Ephrata and many pictures of the material culture of southeastern Pennsylvania.

_Pennsylvania German Folk Art_ is the last in the series of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society which has recently merged with the Pennsylvania German Society. It is a fitting farewell, for it is typical of many of the other books in the series. It is written in a rhetorical, occasionally neo-King James style; it contains an excessive number of typographical errors and a self-conscious section on Pennsylvania German contributions to the American mainstream, necessary, perhaps, in Teddy Roosevelt's day, but embarrassing in 1966. Its scholarship is tired; in 241 footnotes not a single work published in the last twenty years is cited. The author ascribes to unconscious, communal theories of folk expression which were old hat when he was in graduate school, and often he vaults, _Golden Bough_ style, across eons and oceans, exposing himself as one who is unaware of twentieth-century social science. Like others in the series, this book is heavily illustrated, bound in a textured cloth cover, and illuminated with Ephrata type letters in red.

It is with some regret that one notes the end of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society series (it contained some excellent works, such as Shelley's work on fraktur and Dornbusch's on barns), but perhaps the merger can bring new strength and modern methods to the study of the Pennsylvania Dutch folk culture.

_Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission_  
HENRY GLASSIE


In his study of Pennsylvania politics from 1872 to 1877, Frank B. Evans describes Republican party success and Democratic party failure in a state which received the irresponsible leadership it deserved. There is no indication that other states fared better, and every indication that no state could have done worse. By 1872 Senator Simon Cameron had refined the Republican machine to secure control of the state against his erstwhile Republican competitor, Andrew G. Curtin. Five years later, in 1877, Cameron trans-
ferred that machine intact to his son, Don, who was not carried over from the Grant to the Hayes cabinet.

In the intervening years, with one exception, Pennsylvania rewarded the political party that had preserved the Union, that unqualifiedly advocated a protective tariff, and that excelled in subverting reform. In 1872 Democrats fused with the Liberal Republicans and failed; in 1873 Democrats turned to attack state Republican corruption but, unable to prove their charges, met defeat again. Even after the Democratic party enticed enough reform-minded Republican voters to join in the establishment of a new state constitution in 1873, the Republican leaders, wise and wily in the ways of legislative techniques, easily circumvented the specific constitutional restrictions imposed by the majority of the voting populace.

In 1874, however, Democrats unexpectedly won the state and congressional elections. The party could thank those reform Republicans—disgruntled with political corruption in local, state and national government and sensitive to the economic depression following the Panic of 1873—who either stayed away from the polls or joined municipal reform movements in the two highly populated, traditionally Republican counties of Allegheny and Philadelphia. Yet, swept backwards into office by the political purging broom, Democratic managers in victory quickly demonstrated the same lack of leadership as in past defeat. In the past, discredited and disorganized, unable to develop either effective principles or a unifying leadership, the Democratic party had even failed in its function as a loyal opposition, despite the fact that only several percentage points separated it and the Republican party at the polls. In victory, with more at stake, the party voluntarily abdicated its gains when it split into two open, well-publicized factions—one led by William A. Wallace, the other by Samuel J. Randall. There followed a long intraparty feud that in its immediate effects deprived the party of its majority in the next election, Randall of the speakership in the House of Representatives, and Wallace of control of the state delegation in the 1876 Democratic National Convention. The Republican party meanwhile, aided by the issues of the Bloody Shirt and the protective tariff, a well-organized machine, and a defaulting Democratic party, continued its traditional, irresponsible leadership.

*Pennsylvania Politics* is no exception to the general level of state political studies. It bears the mark of much hard work. It is descriptive and full of data. And while it is quite frequently and naturally parochial, sections throughout the study bear an importance that ranges beyond the borders of Pennsylvania. There are drawbacks to some of these characteristics. Too long on description, too full of only certain kinds of data, this conceptually traditional study provides too little analysis and lacks synthesis of facts that despite their quantity leave crucial questions unanswered. Parochialism too often verges on mere antiquarianism; at one point the author lists, and for the most part identifies, seventeen of the twenty-five men who sought one Democratic gubernatorial nomination, most of whom are otherwise unmentioned.

There are other problems of balance, omission, and relevance. Because
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

of relative Republican party unity, Evans devotes much more attention to the Democrats; but Simon Cameron who led the Republican party is mentioned so infrequently that his political activities have to be noted in the conclusion of the book. The reader learns little new about the Republican political machine, its operation, techniques, and above all its connection with individual businessmen and industries in the state. An entire chapter is devoted to the Prohibition party—it reaches its high water mark in 1875 with 2.2 percent of the total vote. In one of the better chapters of the book, the author breaks new ground in showing the part that Congressman Samuel J. Randall played in the 1877 electoral controversy, which is significant, but not in a study of state politics. And more important, Evans conceives of politics as centered primarily not in political issue nor in legislative dispute but in the noise and wrangle of the political convention and campaign. This pulls the study out of proportion.

Some of these problems arise from the state of historical materials relevant to Pennsylvania politics in this period. For these years the Cameron manuscripts are quite thin, so Evans by necessity relies heavily on the Randall papers. Yet the Jeremiah S. Black manuscripts, which he uses to advantage in the later years, are not employed for 1873 when they were equally relevant. And it is surprising that the papers of more nonofficeholders, such as Henry C. Carey, were not found to be pertinent to the subject. Evans makes extensive use of newspapers, again partially from necessity, yet with many of the nineteenth century newspapers controlled, if not owned by politicians, a judicious summary of their positions would have been more effective than spacious quotation. Finally, it is only a partial commentary on the state of historical research to point out that the author's bibliography contains only one article and no book or dissertation written later than 1959.

University of Maryland

Fred Nicklason


No individuals in American song and story have outcorrupted New York City's Tweed Ring. Alexander Callow has enhanced its reputation. He has provided portraits of Ring leaders, described the sources of their strength, and detailed the utilization of their power. Readers will be fascinated by the strong-arm toughs who were vital to the Ring at election time as 'bruisers and 'repeaters'; the "quieter, more troubled, more confused" immigrant who became Tweed's "most important bulwark"; the ward captains who were the "backbone" of the Tammany organization; the "venal judges, the underworld, the police, and shyster lawyers" that provided "the legal obstructions to obscure public plunder"; the bipartisan Black Horse Cavalry of the state legislature that sold its votes to the highest bidder; and the obliging contractors who padded their bills and kicked back as much as 65 percent to the Ring. Callow, furthermore, enlightens as well as entertains with his discussions of New York City's government, Democratic party
organization, Tweed's use of patronage, the techniques of grafting, and the overthrow of the ring by reformers who "felt a distinct loss of status."

Not all of the 59 to 80 million dollars stolen fattened the "personal fortunes of the Tweed Ring. Vast amounts of political booty had to be plowed back into the Ring's organization, for its overhead was enormous. Indeed, graft became the crude gas that ran the Ring's political machine: elections had to be financed, state and city legislators had to be rewarded for voting correctly; loans were made to ensure friendship; raffles, picnics, and Tammany balls had to be financed."

Callow is pro-reformer and anti-ring. His sources are the "best sources" written by the "best people"; they tend to exaggerate—as if that were necessary—the evils perpetrated by the Ring. Callow is particularly indebted to the New York Times, to cartoonist Thomas Nast of Harper's Weekly, and to articles in the North American Review by James Parton and Charles Wingate.

Although recognizing that reformers belonged to a displaced class, Callow argues that their "most powerful stimulus to reform . . . was the fear that civil liberties were in danger." Contradictorily he recognizes the "irony that those who felt their civil liberties in danger should seek to curtail the liberties of others" by restricting suffrage. Obviously, reformers were concerned with what they conceived to be their civil liberties, not with the civil liberties of poor, uneducated immigrants. It would seem on the basis of Callow's evidence that loss of status, not civil liberties, sparked the crusade against Tweed.

Though Callow demonstrates that the Ring harmed New York City, his heroes—the honest, conservative reformers—in a sense harmed it even more. Seymour J. Mandelbaum argues in Boss Tweed's New York that Tweed used corruption to co-ordinate the fragmented city and to attack its manifold problems, and that his program would have, in the New York Tribune's words, "stolen the city rich." Economy-minded reformers, however, rejected the "pay-off" and refused to develop an expensive communications network sufficient to co-ordinate the city, thus rendering it a "giant without direction." It was New York's double misfortune that Tweed set such an exorbitant price upon his solution and that reformers offered no program to deal with New York's problems.

Careless editing is evidenced in occasional repetition, a few errors in footnoting and the almost unaccountable failure to properly caption the cartoon on page 30 in which Nast depicts John T. Hoffman, who is in Tweed's shadow, not Tweed himself, as the Ring's candidate for the presidency. Despite these criticisms, Callow has written a useful and an interesting book that both lay and professional historians may read with pleasure and profit.

Pennsylvania State University


Covering the early career of a significant American social reformer in
greater detail than has previously been available, this brief volume fills a number of gaps existing in the first five chapters of Josephine Goldmark's well-known biography of the same figure, *Impatient Crusader: Florence Kelley's Life Story* (1953). In so doing it makes a useful contribution, for Florence Kelley represents an interesting blend of American and European, as well as emotional and intellectual, reform impulses which produced in her case an intriguing combination of day-to-day pragmatism undergirded by a deeper type of ideological commitment than was common among many of her associates in the varied movements to which she devoted her great talents and energies.

Born in Philadelphia within a few miles of Independence Hall in 1859, Florence Kelley gained many of her reform interests and aspirations through family inheritance. From her father, the famous protectionist Congressman William D. ("Pig Iron") Kelley, she acquired both a seemingly boundless drive and a deep concern about American social and industrial problems; through the adopted family of her mother, who had been orphaned at an early age, she received a rich strain of Quaker humanitarian zeal. To this American heritage was added a European component when as a graduate student in law at the University of Zurich she was converted to socialism, and thus obtained a theoretical and intellectual perspective which thereafter underlay her work in a number of reform causes. Nor was this aspect of her early career without emotional overtones, for it was accompanied by her marriage to a young Russian emigre, Lazare Wischnewetzky, who shared her socialist convictions. Although it ended in divorce some years later, this union resulted in three children and thus intensified strong maternal instincts whose influence was evident in the struggle for which Florence Kelley became particularly well known, her crusade against child labor.

It is one of the merits of Mrs. Blumberg's book that we now have much more material than before in light of which to analyze these various influences which gave Florence Kelley's contribution to the American reform tradition its own distinctive quality and texture. Especially valuable in this regard is the author's utilization of correspondence between Mrs. Kelley-Wischnewetzky and Friedrich Engels, some of whose works the American reformer translated for publication in English. Along with other materials which Mrs. Blumberg has searched out, these letters show how genuine was Florence Kelley's inner commitment to socialist doctrine, including its emphasis on class struggle and the ultimate inevitability of revolution. They also illustrate her acceptance of large-scale, heavily mechanized industry as a necessary feature of modern economic development, which undoubtedly played a part, along with other motives, in her dramatic fight against sweatshop techniques of production, when she served as Chief Factory Inspector of Illinois during the Altgeld administration. And they document her realization of a phenomenon which perplexed her as well as others who shared her beliefs: the fact that interest in socialism was much stronger among middle- and even upper-class groups in America than it was among the workers themselves, who typically re-
garded socialist orators as "bores, nuisances, and professional promoters of discord."

In addition to the Engels correspondence, made available to her on microfilm by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, Mrs. Blumberg has also made effective use of the Richard T. Ely and Henry Demarest Lloyd papers at the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and has benefited from the as yet unpublished researches of Professor Louis Athey of Franklin and Marshall College in the early history of the National Consumers League, which Florence Kelley helped to establish and served for many years as General Secretary. In short, the author's spadework has been thorough, and the result is a welcome, if sometimes awkwardly presented, addition to our understanding of the ways in which reform activity during the turbulent final decades of the nineteenth century laid the background for the more dramatic accomplishments to follow in the Progressive Era and beyond.

At the risk of ending a favorable notice on a seemingly captious note, my Cornell University background will not let me pass over the fact that the two lower illustrations facing page 23 are mislabeled: Ezra Cornell is on the left and Andrew D. White is on the right, not vice versa. And although some of the other illustrations are of excellent quality, I wonder if his enemies themselves could have produced a more unflattering likeness of John Peter Altgeld than the one facing page 144!

State University of New York at Buffalo

W. DAVID LEWIS


Labor and Liberty is an important book. In an era where historians have focused on economic problems and politics, Jerold Auerbach explores the extension of civil liberties. His primary concern is with "those constitutional guarantees, particularly in the First Amendment, that touch on freedom of expression and belief," In this area, one important advance came as a by-product of New Deal efforts to strengthen organized labor as a counterweight to unbridled business power.

Between 1936 and 1940 a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor headed by Senator Robert La Follette, Jr., probed the problem of labor rights and civil liberties. Originally civil libertarians regarded government as the primary threat to civil liberties, but with the passage of the Wagner Act guaranteeing the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) recognized the potential of government as a defender and expander of liberties.

Clergymen and ACLU members played an important role in the creation of the La Follette Committee, but the dramatic events of 1935-1936, including the violent action of Arkansas planters to destroy a nascent sharecroppers' union, served as the catalyst. La Follette recruited an energetic staff, which included some Communists. The staff gave the Committee an
anti-business bias, but it also ferreted out massive evidence of the denial of civil liberties by the business community.

In the first phase of its investigations (1936-1937), the Committee exposed labor espionage by management spies, brutal strikebreaking, and management purchases of munitions in preparation for labor warfare. Committee revelations helped mobilize public opinion behind the Wagner Act at a time when business had the Act under heavy attack in the public forum and courts. Committee exposures also aided CIO organizing drives in the steel, coal and automobile industries.

Following the 1937 Supreme Court validation of the Wagner Act, the second phase of the Committee's work centered on the anti-union philosophy of management. An investigation into "Little Steel" demonstrated how management exploited public opinion and community groups to break unions and deny worker liberties. Fear of Communism, appeals to law and order, Christianity and harmony, characterized management propaganda.

In 1938 a third phase of the La Follette Committee probe corresponded to the attack by the Roosevelt Administration on the "economic royalists." The Committee and its staff pictured the American industrialist as "an armed practitioner of class violence" not much altered from the Communist stereotype. Roosevelt used the Committee as a foil against the newly created and hostile Dies Committee on un-American activities.

During its fourth phase of activity in 1939, the La Follette Committee investigated the organizational drive of agricultural workers in the Imperial Valley of California. However, by 1940 world and domestic conditions spelled the termination of the Committee without enactment of its legislative proposals.

For Auerbach this is a first book based on his Columbia University doctoral dissertation. Previously, parts of his research have appeared in his Pelzer Award winning article in the Journal of American History and in articles in Current History, Labor History and the Wisconsin Magazine of History. Auerbach has based his study on extensive manuscript sources including those of the La Follette Committee, and organizations, agencies and individuals vitally concerned with Committee activities. He also draws widely from published sources and from interviews in the Columbia Oral History Project. The author would have enhanced his excellent bibliography by more annotation.

While Auerbach lays an historical foundation for the work of the La Follette Committee, his foundation is weakened by omission and cursory treatment of important early advances in the struggle to secure civil liberties for labor. He mentions the pre-World War I Industrial Commission and thefirebase investigation of the early 1920's, but neglects the publicity given the problem by special state investigations and state industrial commissions during the Progressive Era. Auerbach discusses the impact of the anti-trust laws and Supreme Court decisions, but the 1926 Railway Labor Act, the Norris-La Guardia Act, and Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act receive too limited treatment. Consequently, the La Follette Committee contribution appears unduly original.
Minor criticisms aside, Auerbach has written a tightly organized, analytical and lively book. He captures personalities, events, and the spirit of the times with clarity. The significant twentieth-century theme that human freedom is closely connected to economic rights and that government can advance both is well developed in this excellent study.

TOMAS J. KERR


This curiously hybridized book—a scholarly mixture of historical narrative, language analysis, source material, and literary criticism—is perhaps best judged in the light of its purposes. Written by a distinguished Pennsylvania German, and published as the Pennsylvania German Society's Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Volume, we are told that its first objective is "To show, chiefly in chronological arrangement, what the Pennsylvania Germans have accomplished in the years 1891-1965 . . ., and how . . . they have changed during the same three-quarters of a century." This main objective is well realized; the bulk of the book is devoted to the accomplishments, contributions, and acculturation of the Pennsylvania German group during the lifetime of the Society.

Feeling some obligations to earlier times, Dr. Rosenberger uses the first two chapters to describe developments up to 1891; in the third chapter he shows how the Society itself was created in that year by prominent Pennsylvanians meeting in the city of Lancaster. Then, in the next nine chapters, he discusses a multitude of scholarly activities engaged in by these people, how World War I and the Agricultural Revolution affected them, and how, during the period 1920-1965, a mounting wave of interest in the Pennsylvania Germans heartened the scholar even as he was saddened by its commercialization at folk festivals and at roadside stands and restaurants.

The analysis of this mounting wave of interest constitutes the author's second stated purpose. While he hails the founding of museums, such as the Farm Museum at Landis Valley, the rise of very popular radio dialect programs such as "Die Wummernaas," and the dialect newspaper columns so well represented by "Der Busch Knibbel," Dr. Rosenberger castigates tourist-bait pamphlets and says that the play "Papa Is All" is a ludicrous shadow needlessly cast over the Pennsylvania Germans. The works of Russell W. Gilbert, Arthur D. Graeff, Paul A. W. Wallace and Fredric Klees receive generous praise, but The Pennsylvania Germans, edited by Ralph Wood, is called "perhaps the most useful one-volume work" on the subject.

That the present volume should be useful is Dr. Rosenberger's third stated purpose—useful to the general reader and to the student of the Pennsylvania Germans. While the book does not quite achieve the easy, interesting style found in Klees' The Pennsylvania Dutch, its subject matter and its 133 excellent illustrations should attract a considerable popular audience. And the student of the Pennsylvania Germans will find it a
veritable mine of information and suggestions for further research. Full of source material, with documentary details woven into the text to avoid distracting the general reader with innumerable footnotes, and adequately indexed, this book will undoubtedly be a "must" for future historians.

Indeed, a concern for the future is seen in the fourth main purpose of this work—"To provide a bench mark from which some competent historian 75 years hence can begin a comparable appraisal. . . ." To make the job easier in the year 2040 a lengthy bibliography is included in a section on the Amish; and a very extensive bibliography, arranged chronologically in ten-year periods from 1891 to 1965, is included in a chapter analyzing the literature on the Pennsylvania Germans produced during this time.

A few faults lurk among all these virtues. In spite of the book's insistence that a true Pennsylvania German is one whose Germanic ancestors settled in Pennsylvania before 1808, such later Germans as Carl Schurz, Francis Lieber, John Jacob Bausch and Henry Lomb are praised for their contributions to American life. And, when the definition is adhered to, it is used to claim too much. Thus, in an effort to show how Pennsylvania Germans profoundly influenced American development, Jane Addams, Pearl Buck, Herbert Hoover, John J. McCloy, George Ade and John J. Pershing are claimed as true members of the clan. Does one Pennsylvania German great-great grandparent (or even two) make one a Pennsylvania German, particularly if one's life was spent in a vastly different cultural setting? And how about all those other ancestors in the family tree—the English, the Irish, the Scotch-Irish, etc.? Don't they have some ethnocentric claim? This whole business of genealogy reminds one of the Nazi definition of a Jew, as well as of the Old South's definition of a Negro. Similarly, in a section called "The Current Scene," the author tries to show how the dialect persists in certain areas, using Kutztown as a case study. While we can go along with his assertion that clerks and customers in Kutztown stores converse in Pennsylvania German (although much less so than formerly), some familiarity with Kutztown State College leads one to question whether "a considerable number of the 3,000 students converse" in this patois. A very small number of the students may drop a "Dutch" phrase or two now and then, and a larger percentage find their English weighted by the "Dutch" accent, but very, very few are now able to converse in this tongue.

As Dr. Rosenberger rather ruefully admits, modern American conditions make it very difficult to preserve dialects and subcultures within the nation. But he thinks the Pennsylvania Germans have produced elements worth preserving, and his last chapter suggests ways of doing this. He cautions that the shallow and popular "versammlinge" and festivals may undercut a true appreciation of Pennsylvania German culture and damage the image of these people; he suggests, among other items, that a more "dignified preservation" may be achieved through recordings of the dialect, through well-run museums, and through the scholarly work of Pennsylvania German societies.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Albert J. Wahl