This slender volume deals briefly with a very complex and important subject—the purchase of land grants from the Iroquois, with all the attendant irregularities, frauds and controversy. It fairly states the problem—the land hunger of the colonials; the uncertainty of the Indians' title although their claims are acknowledged; the vast, vague and irresponsible deeds and claims of the purchasers, and the difficulty of making a survey or a fair settlement. Everyone recognizes that Indians were defrauded and that greedy speculators and officials took advantage of their innocence, their ignorance of the white man's idea of land ownership, and their willingness to sign papers for a small sum or bribe. The Walking Purchase of Pennsylvania is a good example of these circumstances. What is not so generally known is that the Indians frequently discovered how they were cheated and began a persistent campaign for the recovery of their rights. Realistic, if not altruistic officials, such as Cadwallader Colden, Thomas Pownall and Sir William Johnson, took up the Indians' cause in many of these disputes and carried them to the courts and to the Lords of Trade in England. But the existence of a grant for a period of years, which could then be transferred or devised to others, created a legalistic maze against which these protests seemed to have little chance. In many cases legal delays were effective in preventing any adjustment.

The author of this book recognizes the scope of the problem, and so restricts her treatment to the Iroquois, and takes but a few cases for detailed treatment. One chapter is devoted to the Kayaderosseras Grant of 800,000 acres in the Saratoga area. No payment was made by the original grantees, the boundaries were vague and no accurate survey was possible. It comprised some of the Indians' hunting ground which they never intended to part with, and they protested the fraud. Their part was taken by Sir William Johnson, and by successive governors, and finally a compromise agreement was made which seemed agreeable to both sides. Yet this fraud, indefensible at the start, was made to yield substantial gains for the claimants. The Philipse Patent, east of the Hudson River, was a clearly evident fraud which was expanded to include a large tract. The Wappingers (not Iroquois) who were thus deprived of their land, resorted to legal measures but without success. Too many important colonial fortunes and careers depended upon the outcome.

What complicates the problem of lands taken from the Indians, illegally and by fraud, is the relationship of such deals to politics and imperial
policy. Imperial land policy is summarized here in a brief final chapter. Yet behind colonial efforts and those of the ministry to correct abuses was the larger question of Indian relations. Indian alliances in war time, the neutralizing of hostile tribes, and the control of Indian trade might all be jeopardized if land grabbing and frauds were permitted. It was because Sir William Johnson was involved with the Indians on all levels, that he saw the larger issues and hence championed fair dealing with the natives. His own lands were extensive, but they were never gained at the expense of colonial policy, or of the Indian interest. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix, with its disputed boundary line, deserves far more attention than is given here. The issue of the Connecticut land grants in the Wyoming valley is also rather sketchily treated.

There are few serious errors of fact, although a misrepresentation may result from oversimplification. Governor William Cosby is cited only as one who tried to correct abuses, and there is no mention of his own acquisition of considerable lands, known as “Cosby's Manor,” a part of which became the Mohawk estate of Sir Peter Warren. The example of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck as a grant of a million acres in 1685 ignores the gradual accretion of the original patroonship through the Dutch period, of which the manor grant was but a recognition.

Illustrations include two sections from the Sauthier Map of 1779, a sketch of the Philips patent, Evans' sketch of the Walking Purchase, and Colden's of the Hudson River manorial grants. Most of these are so reduced as to be difficult to use. Guy Johnson's map of the Six Nations Country is also given, but a rough sketch of the Indian Country, based on Mitchell's map, is very inaccurate. Two full-page Indian portraits are shown—the Verelst "Emperor of the Six Nations," and an engraving of "Hendrick, Chief of the Mohawks"—with no indication that these are both the same person. Guy Johnson is incorrectly called "Sir Guy," a title he never obtained.

While this is in many respects a useful volume, it is of limited scope, and descriptive rather than analytical. A great deal still remains to be done in this field.

Glenmont, N. Y. Milton W. Hamilton


The voluminous literature on the American Indian includes a relatively small number of books written by experts and addressed to non-expert but intelligent, interested readers. The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca is Dr. Anthony F. C. Wallace's second contribution to this select list. (His first one was King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, published in 1949.) Not strictly a work of history, the present volume is one to be warmly recommended to students of history—in the present instance, to students of Pennsylvania history.

The heart of the present book is an account of the teachings, set forth
between 1799 and 1815, of a Seneca leader known as Handsome Lake (Ganeodiyo), which became a revitalizing force to the defeated Senecas and other Six Nations Indians. This account, Part III of the book, takes up the final one hundred pages of the text; the first 236 pages provide the background. Superficially, this may appear disproportionate, but the background material is relevant, necessary for an understanding and appraisement of Handsome Lake's work, and interesting in its own right.

Special Pennsylvania interest in the subject lies in the facts that Handsome Lake was a half-brother of Cornplanter, one of the best known Indians in Pennsylvania history; that his home at the time of his visions and early preaching was on a tract of land, often miscalled a reservation, given to Cornplanter by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and recently flooded by the Corps of Army Engineers; and that the reforms he advocated owed part of their success to the work of Pennsylvania Quakers.

Part I of the book is a selective description and analysis of early Seneca life and culture, with special attention to features, including warfare, the matriarchate, division of labor and responsibilities, traditional festivals, the role of dreams, that had special relevance to Handsome Lake's teachings. The account is sympathetic but realistic, well documented, and valid whether or not the reader agrees fully with the author's psychological interpretations. The date, "about 1450," offered for the founding of the Iroquois League is hypothetical.

Part II, more specifically historical, traces the Senecas' fortunes through the eighteenth century and is a story of political decline, military reverses, worsening economy, and weakening morale. That the Senecas in particular, and the Iroquois generally, survived at all is remarkable and is to be attributed in large part to their geographical position between British and French colonial spheres and to the use they made of this position. Militarily equal to neither European power, the tribes had enough potential for trouble to discourage wholesale attack by either. There is a possible danger here of reading too much into the attribution to the Iroquois of "a balance of power between the French and the British"; that the Iroquois actually could have determined the outcome of the Anglo-French struggle is at least open to question, and one may wonder if "power of balance" might better have described the Indians' position.

Although this part of the book covers the period during which Handsome Lake grew up, it tells almost nothing of the prophet himself prior to 1795. As the author points out, Handsome Lake (Ganeodiyo) is not a personal name but the designation of one of the eight Seneca chieftainships in the Iroquois Council. The few specific references to the prophet's early career derive from much later interviews with a relative. His relationship, if any, to the "Kaniertae" with whom Sir William Johnson negotiated in 1765 is unknown, though that Indian, too, was a Genesee Seneca and appears to have borne the same name or title.

Handsome Lake's revelations had their background in Seneca belief and usage relative to dreams or visions and in the work of previous Indian prophets, especially in that of a Delaware prophet of the 1760's, usually
referred to as anonymous but here identified, without explanation, as Neolin, "the Enlightened." Generally, the leaders of these nativist revivals re-wove old cultural materials into a new fabric; but unlike the teachings of the Delaware prophet, which advocated a wholesale rejection of white culture and a complete return to the ways of the imagined Indian past, Handsome Lake's teachings gave religious sanction to the very reforms essential for Seneca adjustment to a changed cultural environment, an adjustment that did some violence to the role of the Iroquois matriarchate and to the traditional division of labor (land and gardening were traditionally the women's concern).

The success of Handsome Lake's teachings, still vital among the Iroquois people and a strong factor in the perpetuation of their identity, owed something to an independent Quaker mission that provided much of the means and the training needed to establish new agricultural practices and crafts among the Indians. In spite of friction on some points—the Seneca belief in witchcraft, Quaker belief in schooling—white and red leaders collaborated surprisingly well in bringing about and assisting at the Seneca rebirth with which the story ends.

The publisher has produced a physically handsome book, though its apparent bulkiness contrasts with the actual length and the style of the text. Eight pages of illustrations, clearly reproduced, include a well-known portrait of Cornplanter and less familiar drawings by the Baroness Hyde de Neuville; Handsome Lake himself is unpictured. A few typographic errors are not serious but should be corrected in a future printing. It will be noted that the surname of Cornplanter's father (used also by the chief himself and by members of his family) appears as O'Bail throughout the text, but as Abeel in the picture captions. In general the author follows the ethnologist's practice of denying plural forms to the names of Indian groups (even when the names themselves are European), but on page 79 and once on page 162 he lapses into normal English usage.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission  
WILLIAM A. HUNTER


Professor Wolf presents the life and achievement of the Fair Play settlement on the upper Susquehanna at two levels. One level is methodological and the other, it seems, is ad captandum. In the first instance he describes via ethnographical techniques the political, economic and social features of the community, drawing for the most part upon conditions prevailing from 1773 to 1778. In the process he clarifies the boundaries of the settlement, makes a strong case that its entire extent west of Lycoming Creek to Great Island was illegal, and supports inclusively the local legend of a separate Fair Play Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. The description of the community is thorough and fresh despite reliance upon the
well-known published narratives by Linn and Meginness. Particularly noteworthy is the summary of procedures and policies implemented by the three-man Fair Play government. Popular sovereignty, political equality, and popular consultations underlay a system that persisted because it worked. His review and evaluation of the origins and operation of a two-class society of landowners and tenants more equal than not, and of the roles of family and religion, is of equal merit. Useful, too, is the survey of the self-reliant, agrarian economy. The several charts and the map assist the reader.

Professor Wolf's second approach to his topic is to place it within the theoretical framework of the Turner thesis. Although he catches the reader's attention by his attempt, his success is at best slight. He admittedly conceives the thesis in terms congenial to his attempt and modestly relates his method to that of Merle Curti in *The Making of an American Community*. These contrived efforts do not prevent a confusing analysis of the impact of the frontier. Often he illustrates the fact that the dominant Scotch-Irish population brought an individualistic culture with self-reliant values to the West Branch; yet simultaneously he places heavy emphasis upon the environmental origin of Fair Play politics and society. There is no doubt that the two sources complemented each other, as Professor Wolf forcefully recognizes in his concluding chapter. Why ask the reader to narrow his vision to the working out of the frontier hypothesis? With an apology to Shakespeare the reviewer laments in paraphrase of *Macbeth*, IV, 1, "Thou art too like the spirit of Turnerians; down! Thy crown does sear mine eye-balls."

The intrusion of Turner is unfortunate. The hypothesis does not clarify the brief life of the Fair Play settlement. Nor does Professor Wolf pretend to elaborate by his study upon the roles of the moving frontier in the march of American society. For example, the influences exerted by a somewhat exaggerated isolation and quite real Indian raids in 1778 seem to stay outside the scope of the Turner thesis as employed even though each had a marked impact upon the Fair Play settlers.

It is instead the ethnological approach which provides real satisfaction. Professor Wolf offers a perspective in depth as well as in distance that is absent in most historians of American communities. In this regard the sixth chapter is a case in point. It is an able analysis of the bases and functions of social leadership interwoven with a terse, clear statement of its singular as well as common features. *The Fair Play Settlers* is a first-rate encapsulation of a successful experiment in society-making and self-governing. Additionally, this small volume is well written; and a credit should go to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for its customary fine production. We can hope with Professor Wolf that other students of Pennsylvania's past will apply themselves to frontier ethnography, allowing the results to stand by themselves on proven merits of the method.

*Bloomsburg State College*  
*Craig Newton*

As was the case during the Civil War Centennial, the American public can expect a veritable deluge of new titles as we move into the Bicentennial of the Revolution. If Jack Coggins' latest effort proves to be any criterion then readers will not be disappointed in the quality of the literary contribution to the commemoration of the nation's birth.

The oft-quoted thought that "the Revolution was fought on land and won mainly on the water," serves as a convenient theme for the book. Thus, Coggins tells the story of the early warships, privateers, and seafaring men who helped shape events of the Revolutionary era. Indeed, the well-known feats of John Paul Jones, the action off the Virginia Capes in 1781, even the tale of David Bushnell's "Sub-Marine" vessel, Turtle, find their proper places in this account.

Nevertheless, if the major naval events of the Revolution seem all too familiar to us, Coggins also includes major notice of some other lesser known but equally important happenings. The political machinations involving nautical affairs in an emerging nation, the terrible treatment of prisoners aboard British prison hulks in New York harbor, the American disasters at Valcour Island, on the Penobscot, and the Delaware appear interspersed among the more glorious moments for American arms.

Especially useful is the chapter on the defense of the Delaware River in 1777. Ineptitude and poor management of inter-service cooperation by the Pennsylvania naval squadron under Commodore John Hazelwood may well have doomed the static land defenses of Forts Mifflin and Mercer. But such weakness did not overshadow the heroic effort to protect Philadelphia. Then too, the later story of the "battle of the kegs" provides a humorous note to the discussion. Mr. Coggins' treatment of the Fort Mifflin affair certainly will aid the small but dedicated band of individuals which currently seeks to resurrect the old fort from its forgotten site beside the Philadelphia International Airport.

Like Mr. Coggins' earlier work on arms and equipment of the Civil War, his newest effort proves to be as pleasing to the eye as his approach is stimulating to the mind. This is an oversize volume, extensively illustrated with the author's own artistic drawings to enhance the text. It is printed in a soft blue ink which draws attention to the nautical theme.

The book will prove useful for both specialists and laymen alike. It is a particularly convenient package of information on technical details of naval architecture, operation of a rather complicated weapons system (the eighteenth century warship), and a sharp picture of shipboard life in this period. More than 150 minutely detailed drawings, maps, plans, and diagrams show how battles progressed, what the different types of ships looked like with their wide variety of rigging, and how the gear and ordnance appeared and functioned aboard the vessels. Step-by-step sketches follow the construction of a warship from cultivation of special trees for naval timber to the finished vessel riding the Portsmouth tide. It is these things, rather than mere recital of events and people, which will appeal to modern readers.
Ships and Seamen quite properly accords a large place to Great Britain's Royal Navy. The volume similarly places the naval events of the Revolution in the context of a world struggle for power and empire. Despite lengthy appendices of ship listings and regulations for the Continental service, the reader will soon realize that it was not exactly American maritime might which wrested the colonies from Mother England.

Instead it was the ability of French and perhaps Spanish and Dutch ships, weapons, and seamen which usurped control of the sea in American waters from Britannia at a crucial moment in her attempted suppression of rebellious colonies. Coggins does not devote much time to the ships and seamen of France, Spain or the Netherlands. But taken from this larger perspective the American naval effort emerges as somewhat insignificant. Perhaps allied sea warfare more than American naval protection of her own shores facilitated the Franco-American land victory at Yorktown. It is a distinctly sobering thought in today's world where America, not Britannia, reputedly rules the waves.

PMC Colleges

B. Franklin Cooling

The Golden Voyage; The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752-1804.

William Bingham should be of interest to all Americans for he was an important figure in the generation that linked the colonial period with the first years of our nationality. Memory of the man lingers in Philadelphia, and social historians still invoke the name of his beautiful wife, Anne Willing, a woman of fine grace and distinction, first in the list of famous American hostesses. But such recollections of great wealth, a great house, and stylish living during an era when Philadelphia was the nation's capital demand a closer look to determine why this is so.

In 1953 this reviewer paused before the monument to Bingham in Bath Abbey, a handsome tribute amid those to notable Englishmen, and pondered as to what his history was and why he had ended his days in England. Those questions are fully answered in this excellent biography by Mr. Alberts.

Bingham deserves to be better known, to help us understand how we evolved as a nation. From the days of his early mercantile career, closely identified with Thomas Willing and Robert Morris, two of Philadelphia's leading business figures, the author unfolds the story of this man who was so strongly endowed with a talent for business and finance. With his services to the country vividly portrayed against a background including the struggle for American independence, the trials and vicissitudes of war, and the pitfalls attending our first ventures in diplomacy, the career of Bingham is related in a striking and arresting manner. Those portions which recount our efforts to achieve the French Alliance are among the author's best. It is never easy to succeed in projecting a secondary figure against such a panorama, yet Mr. Alberts has done it accurately and well.
Bingham possessed great business acumen, but he was also lucky. He took some great risks but never met the fate that befell Robert Morris. After the Revolution his fortune grew rapidly, translating itself from shipping and mercantile pursuits to large investments in land throughout Pennsylvania, New York, and Maine. Closely allied with these ventures was his participation in the emerging banking system. He had a leading part in patterning it and advised Alexander Hamilton on matters relating to national finance.

Riches brought him prestige. That William Bingham had made and not inherited such a great fortune called for admiration on the part of many, though some might argue that “influence” and politics were invoked to achieve it. The author infers this only to a degree, however, where he might have looked more closely beneath Pennsylvania politics. But delineation of Bingham as a titan is good. This image is accentuated by the author’s description of the husband and wife while on the Grand Tour and in the account of their life upon returning to America. Their Philadelphia mansion and the country seat of Lansdown House, named in honor of the noble lord who was their closest British friend, were renowned throughout the land. He stands as the prototype of later millionaries, while his elegant wife represents that of the social arbiter, both as types which are at the same time admired and derided in American thinking.

The notes and sources at the end of the volume indicate the extensive research on which it is premised. It is good to have such a biography by one who is not a professional historian. Ability to portray the man in words as striking as the portrait of him by Gilbert Stuart is an achievement of note. It proves that the life of a secondary figure can be a contribution to historiography and a delight to read.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

JOHN BEVERLEY RIGGS


This is an important book. As the title indicates it is concerned with a highly critical period in the relations of the United States with Great Britain after the signing of the Treaty of Peace by which the Thirteen North American Colonies were recognized as a new nation. It also comes on the heels of Professor Richard B. Morris's The Peacemakers, another excellent study concerned with the same period but placing its emphasis upon American rather than on British politics and policy.

Professor Ritcheson finds evidence that an article written by John Quincy Adams under title "British Colonial and Navigation System" and published in the American Quarterly Review (September, 1827) became the classic American interpretation of British policy reflected in most American writing on foreign affairs after that date concerned with the early years of our republic. Therefore, Ritcheson, while undertaking as a major task the outlining of British policy for the years immediately following the War for
American Independence, also critically scrutinizes the Adams thesis and offers a new perspective on Anglo-American relations. While the *Aftermath of Revolution* challenges the validity of much of the traditional American interpretation of these relations concerning the years 1783-1795, it is done in a welcome spirit of intellectual detachment. To this reviewer the author has amply fulfilled his purpose.

The book is divided into seven parts comprising fifteen chapters, with eleven useful appendices. The text and appendices are heavily annotated with footnotes. The chief depositories of manuscripts both in Great Britain and the United States have been drawn upon as well as printed sources and secondary material. The titles of the main parts of the book reflect its contents: Part I, The Basic Assumptions of British Policy; Part II, The Broken Treaty of Peace; Part III, Federal Measures and British Policy; Part IV, British Interest in an American Settlement, 1789-1791; Part V, The Hammond Mission; Party VI, The Anglo-French War: The Changing Context of Policy; Part VII, The Preservation of the Peace. The chief topics under discussion are American debts owing to British creditors before the outbreak of hostilities; the American demand for the return of slaves that fled to the British lines in the course of the war, and also the American demand that military posts in the Old Northwest held by British garrisons be turned over to Americans in keeping with the treaty of peace of 1783. The restoration of complete freedom of trade by American vessels with the British West Indies was very much on the American traders' minds and also of representatives of the United States government but without success. However, our vessels of up to seventy tons burden, under terms of the Jay Treaty of 1794, were admitted to these islands to trade, with certain specified restrictions. Each of these topics is worthy of a review article.

Before embarking on this challenging book the student may well to his advantage turn to a little volume of readings that appeared earlier this year under Ritcheson's editorship. It carries the title *The American Revolution: The Anglo-American Relation, 1763-1794* and is issued by the Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. as a volume in the *American History in Focus* series.

*Lehigh University*  
LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON


Here we have at once a happy combination of a biography of a Man, of a Family, and of an Age. The Man an imaginative, extraordinarily productive and lovable figure, almost a genius; the Family a large, versatile progeny all catching the rays from, and reflecting back a many faceted image of their sire; the Age that glorious half-a-hundred years following the birth of the Great Republic. This Age was, in a sense, fathered and nurtured by John Adams, six years older than Peale, and by Jefferson, a year younger, both of whom were survived by Peale by but a few months. The position awarded by history to Adams and Jefferson is familiar to all.
Now that Age is laid open to our inspection, as it were a whole new world, and Charles Willson Peale assumes his rightful place in it, as an amiable, ingenious jack-of-all-trades, army officer, talented portraitist, inventor, showman, naturalist and museum director, enthusiastic and tireless, bursting with a desire for the improvement of the physical and intellectual well-being of his countrymen. In this biography there is reaped the harvest of a field abounding in rich source material, carefully tilled and tended by a skilled biographer and historian, and presented in a handsome format, written in an easy, free-flowing style with sensitivity and affection.

While Adams and Jefferson, taking a lead in the declarations establishing the freedom of the Colonies and later in winning and maintaining the peace, could be said to have written the text or script for the great drama, Peale in his surprisingly varied career was not only a distinguished member of the cast, but a principal source of illustrations for the text.

Born in 1741, early apprenticed to a saddler, Peale soon discovered his desire and ability to paint. Friends financed three years in England, where he benefited as so many of his countrymen were to do, from the kindness and instruction of Benjamin West. He returned to America an accomplished portraitist and from thenceforth scarcely ever ceased painting. Yet his other activities would have been considered by many as a career in themselves. His brief military stint led him to take part in the Battle of Princeton, which furnished the background for perhaps his greatest portrait of Washington; and throughout the war he constantly painted portraits of fellow officers and other prominent figures with whom he came in contact, sometimes at his own instance, often on commission for others.

Thrice married, a kindly-affectioned and devoted husband and father, he tried his best, though not always with success, to be a good provider. Mr. Sellers now reveals Peale’s varied, useful and kaleidoscopic activity; and contributes charming vignettes of each of his children, many of whom became artists in their own right and whose separate careers were a constant source of interest, if worry, to their father.

The growth of his museum—“Peale’s Museum” is almost a byword—filled with archaeological discoveries, bones, skeletons, stuffed birds and animals, and a large collection of portraits of distinguished Americans, is a fascinating tale; proof, if any be needed, of what can be accomplished by talent and determination coupled with a cheerful optimism and a belief in the opportunities afforded by a serious study of Nature.

Peale’s and Adams’ paths crossed but briefly. Yet Adams succumbed to Peale’s charm and was for a moment caught up with envy of his collection of portraits, books and models. “I wish I had Leisure,” Adams wrote to his wife in 1776, “and Tranquility of Mind to amuse myself with these Elegant, and ingenious Arts. . . . But I have not.” Yet Peale had no leisure. The hard facts of life, the need to support an endless stream of children, seventeen in all (though not all survived childhood) gave him no respite. To his vast output of portraits he added taxidermy and invention—a steam bath, a portable wooden bridge, a nonspillable milk tub, medical prescriptions, sometimes quite startling, and even porcelain false
teeth. Few areas of intellectual, or even possibly rewarding commercial, enterprise escaped his notice.

Mr. Sellers gives us a broad perspective of life in America—life in Philadelphia—of the growth of the American experience during the score of years before and after the turn of the century. He writes with authority, and supplies us with his authorities in copious notes at the end of the volume, together with a genealogical three-generation-outline of the prolific Peale family, and a serviceable index. Excellent illustrations, 102 black and white and 31 in color, a veritable picture-book of Peale portraits, embellish the text.

As we approach the bicentennial, this volume will serve as a valuable guide, and as a visual introduction to the principal actors in the Revolution. Those to whose mind Philadelphia has called up first the name of Franklin, must now add that of Peale. This is a long book but it is one hard to put down, long but full of life, of a long life lived to its utmost. Only days before he died, Peale, his eyes dim but still bravely looking ahead, was on his way by steamer to try to win the hand of a fourth wife. The spirit was willing, but the trip could not be completed.

Of Mr. Sellers' forebear let it be said that this record discloses that Charles Willson Peale was an ancestor to be proud of. His biographer's debt to him is now paid in full in coin of the realm—as before thought of devaluation—coin of the purest gold, and we are made the beneficiaries.

New York City

ANDREW OLIVER


Jacob Eichholtz was born and died in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Apprenticed to a tinsmith, he soon discovered within himself a gift for painting portraits. It was a gift that could be capitalized, and for thirty-seven years, from 1805 to 1842, he produced a great many highly competent likenesses of his countrymen. As a young man he was apparently ambitious for fame, and for ten years he sought his fortune in Baltimore and Philadelphia. He seems to have enjoyed substantial success, for he was privileged to paint some of the great men of his time: Nicholas Biddle, James Buchanan, the Rev. G. H. E. Muhlenberg, and Thaddeus Stevens. Eventually he was able to return to Lancaster “with a decent competence” and to end his days surrounded by his family of thirteen children in a house on South Lime Street.

Eichholtz represents the tradition of the self-taught portraitist that gained prominence during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The sum total of his training appears to have been a meeting with Thomas Sully in 1808 and a trip to visit Gilbert Stuart in Boston in 1811. But unlike Stuart and Sully whose work reflects the elegance of their London training, Eichholtz was imbued with the direct, serious and unpretentious qualities of the Pennsylvania-German stock from which he was sprung.
That Jacob Eichholtz deserves a niche in the history of American portrait painting is amply documented by this handsome volume, the first book published on the artist. Mrs. Beal has performed an enormous labor. Her catalog lists 924 works by Eichholtz, and she has uncovered a remarkable amount of information concerning the paintings and their history. The text is illustrated with a section of more than two hundred reproductions. The author has provided a valuable chronology of the painter's life, and E. P. Richardson has contributed a short but useful essay making a case for Eichholtz as a "craftsman-artist."

The sponsor of this volume, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, deserves special commendation. In this plastic throw-away society which threatens to sink under its own debris, this volume, superbly bound and illustrated, is entirely worthy of the craftsman-artist it commemorates.

University of Delaware

CHARLES H. BOHNER


Exhibitions are for the public, and a reflection of public taste. Some years ago, as Francis Taylor of the Metropolitan Museum pointed out to this reviewer, an exhibition intended primarily for specialists would be considered a misapplication of time and money. Yet more and more, exhibitions have been taking on this character, with the spread of knowledgeable connoisseurship among collectors and the public at large. It is a trend which has brought us a succession of scholarly, well-printed and well-bound catalogs, each designed to bring out the exhibition's every point of interest and to give it a permanent place in the development of its subject. That is the character of this thorough and handsome volume.

It describes a traveling exhibition organized by the Museum of Graphic Art, New York, and to be shown at fourteen other institutions across the country—its central theme, the print in the United States from 1670 to 1821 as an historical influence in its own time and an historical document in ours. There is no subject limitation—war news, politics, the portrait, popular sentiment and excitement, all are here. It takes even wider scope than that. Many engravings include verbal descriptive matter, and a few broadsides, entirely verbal without illustration, are included to show that such a page can have the same impact. More private pieces, too, such as bookplates and paper money are included. While all relate to this country, there are British as well as native productions. Technical variations are brought in, with five variations of the famous Boston Massacre scene.

The book contains a brief preface by A. Hyatt Mayor, a foreword by Donald H. Karshan, and an introduction by J. William Middendorf, II, preceding Miss Wendy J. Shadwell's informative notes (with locations for other impressions) of the 115 items, all of which are illustrated. A "Selected Bibliography" and an index of engravers conclude the work.

This book recalls the Walpole Society's Prints Pertaining to America of 1963, brought out by Charles F. Montgomery and the Winterthur Fellows.
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

for an exhibition at the Henry F. duPont Winterthur Museum. Its introduction is by J. William Middendorf, II. *American Printmaking* is based almost wholly on Mr. Middendorf's own collection formed over the last fifteen years, and, for so young an enterprise, surprisingly rich in pieces of great rarity. Only ten, unique or unusually rare, have been borrowed. Both volumes, the Walpole's Society's and this, are foundation works whose very breadth points now to the need and the opportunities for further study, for a continuing and more cyclopedic coverage of prints and printmaking as factors in social and political history.

*Dickinson College*

CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS


*Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* is perhaps best defined in the words of the author: "It is an impressionistic introduction—an essay with which I have fussed for a year and a half in hopes of stimulating work in the area which has not received the study it needs." Glassie has correctly assessed the undeveloped state of object studies; folklorists, art historians, historians, anthropologists, etc., are fortunate, however, that men such as Glassie are willing to lead the way and break down the barriers which have surrounded the study of material culture for so long. Pilot works such as this one undoubtedly will stimulate study. The author makes some perceptive observations and raises some provocative questions.

In examining American material folk culture, Glassie is, in the field of American folklore, as much a fish-out-of-water as is the object-oriented historian. Culture, says Glassie, "is intellectual, rational, and abstract; it cannot be material, but material can be cultural and 'material culture' embraces those segments of human learning which provide a person with plans, methods and reasons for producing things which can be seen and touched." It is in these outward manifestations of culture that he attempts to find patterns. As he points out, traditionally the study of American folk culture has substantially been a study of the verbal arts and oral literature. The traditional American folklorist has been almost totally concerned with the "lore" half of his study, so much so that he has lagged behind his European counterparts whose concept of folklore already embraces material as well as oral manifestations of culture.

Glassie here attempts to put into patterns the material culture of a people, who unlike most European folk cultures which have been virtually immobile, are a people "where eight generations of industrialization and urbanization have transformed a heterogeneous population into a nonfolk mass." But it is in this "nonfolk mass" that he has found patterns.

His approach is straightforward and natural. It is regional rather than chronological. Here he includes an interesting section on the interaction of popular and folk culture. Whereas "popular" material culture might best
be studied by the historian for its objects are products of temporal fashion, folk culture is best studied by the cultural geographer or his counterpart. Its manifestations are spatial rather than temporal. He examines the life patterns of the United States by establishing three major divisions: (1) North, (2) Mid-Atlantic, and (3) South. Within these three major divisions there are multidivisible subregions. The North, as Glassie sees it, is the least complicated: it is English and its westward expansion is a logical projection of the Englishness of New England. Of the Mid-Atlantic area, Southern Pennsylvania, nearby New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland are in the author's words "the most influential" of the culture regions. Its character is both Continental and British, but consistent within its own region.

The South divides into two basic regions, Upland and Lowland, in which numerous subregions may be established. To Glassie, the Upland South reflects the culture of English Chesapeake Tidewater, and German, Scotch-Irish and English Pennsylvania elements. The Lowland South is primarily the culture of English Tidewater.

Without reprinting the author's entire thesis in review, it would be foolish to mention and difficult to explain his stratagem for arriving at these regions, subregions, etc. It suffices to say that the boundaries of these regions which pattern culture are not strictly drawn, and the reader is occasionally lost by the speed with which Glassie glides over a point or completely ignores logical questions which might be posed. Although he acknowledges in his introduction that he is dealing with an unordered subject field; in his enthusiasm and seeming haste, his sketchiness sometimes makes for murkiness. He occasionally fails to define his terms—particularly architectural terms. There are times in which he strains extremely hard to make a point, e.g., his discussion of the Georgian house type. Unfortunately, and probably not altogether the fault of the author, his illustrations do nothing to clarify his lack of definition for they are awkwardly spaced, and most often their captions fail to tie them into the text. This reader's major disappointment is the author's failure to completely develop his subject matter; he has only promised an essay to whet the interest. Admittedly, to thoroughly develop patterns in material culture for the entire eastern United States would be a monumental task. He has aroused interest in an area where development of subject matter is needed.

Comments on the mechanics of the book which have already briefly been touched upon when citing the poorly integrated and defined illustrations are few. An unfortunate oversight for any publication is the lack of an index. Glassie's bibliography is well-rounded and extensive, and his footnotes do a particularly good job of indicating his sources.

_Hagley Museum_  
_Maureen A. O'Brien_

The first half of this volume is a study of George Bourne as an anti-slavery spokesman, the second, a reprinting of Bourne's 1816 volume, The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable. George Bourne emigrated from England to the United States in 1804, settling first in Baltimore, where he was an editor and author of several popular books of history, including a life of John Wesley. None of these early works was antislavery in content, and it is highly probable that while in Baltimore Bourne owned two slaves who were sold from his newspaper office. The authors could only find mention of this transaction in a confidential statement Bourne made to a close friend. Lack of additional information is unfortunate, since such an experience must have had a searing effect on Bourne's conscience after he became involved in the heat of antislavery polemics.

Around 1810 Bourne moved to Virginia where he became a Presbyterian pastor. There he denounced slavery and refused to permit any slaveholder to be a member of the church he served. In 1815 he took his antislavery message to the Presbyterian General Assembly meeting in Philadelphia, indicting all slave owners as manstealers who should be put out of the church, and charging that some who called themselves Christians were guilty of treating their slaves cruelly. On his return Bourne faced trial by his Presbytery for his behavior at the General Assembly. In Virginia he was deprived of his ministerial rights but moved to Germantown, Pennsylvania, where he was warmly welcomed to head another church until the General Assembly in 1818 decided against him. Later he lived in Quebec and New York, again serving as editor, writer and minister. In New York he met and influenced William Lloyd Garrison.

The authors place considerable emphasis on Bourne's importance in promoting the idea of "immediacy" in abolition, and on his constant emphasis on slavery as sin and manstealing. They seem anxious to destroy Garrison's reputation as a major antislavery figure, and they effectively demonstrate Bourne's influence on him. Many of Garrison's quotations were borrowed from Bourne, and it is clear that The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable gave Garrison specific ideas and probably strengthened his antislavery position. Bourne frequently contributed items to the Liberator and acted as its temporary editor while Garrison was in Europe.

The fact remains, however, that Bourne never organized antislavery societies, never edited a major antislavery publication, never aroused the kind of controversy which Garrison created. Garrison was not important for the originality of his ideas but rather for the impact he had on his times as a symbol of the abolitionist agitator. Garrison helped create a climate of antislavery opinion and his contributions should not be discredited in order to call attention to such writers as George Bourne.

All students of antislavery are indebted to the authors for reprinting The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable. It is a significant and extremely rare
item. Bourne makes his point with scriptural passages and passion. It is depressing to reflect that its arguments were rejected by a majority of those Americans who considered themselves Christian. The sin was easy to identify. Effecting its eradication was much more difficult. Bourne's recommended solution was to enact a law to exclude slaveholders from every public office. This alone, he thought, would immediately destroy slavery. Besides *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable*, Bourne wrote two other antislavery books, several anti-Catholic works and a variety of other publications, all of which are listed in this book. Both parts of the work provide a useful addition to antislavery literature. Only the authors' severe and needless criticism of Garrison mar the work.

*Wilmington College*  

LARRY GARA

*Black Scare; The Racist Response to Emancipation and Reconstruction.*  


Forrest G. Wood has added an interesting and important facet to our knowledge of the Reconstruction Period and the core of racism in this country. It is a sad commentary on our times that much of the racist language and thoughts that reached their high point in 1868, according to Mr. Wood, and became the single most decisive factor in American political debate in that year, could surface once again and play such an important part one hundred years later in the 1964 and 1968 elections.

Mr. Wood has carefully chronicled the rise of racial prejudice in the nineteenth century beginning with what he calls "the Anglo-Saxon Self-Image." It is no surprise to find that most white Americans of that period considered themselves not only superior to blacks, but superior to most other white peoples of the earth, most certainly the southern and eastern Europeans. This feeling of superiority toward the Negro was not exclusive to the Southerner but was accepted by Northerners, many of whom disliked the idea of slavery and thought the Negro should be free. This humanitarian feeling ended there, however, for a great many Northerners joined with Southerners in claiming that though the black man should be free he was not and should not be considered equal and entitled to the vote. To support their prejudice supremacists turned to the Holy Bible and to scientific journals. Citations from the Bible could be found to support almost anything and Fundamentalists found many. Though European scientists of the period supported the idea of the "unity of mankind" and played down the differences between races American scientists were using scientific findings as a "rationale for racism." Harvard naturalist Louis Agassiz proclaimed repeatedly that according to his studies Negroes were "naturally inferior and could never attain the same level of accomplishment as the white man." Descriptions of life in Africa further intensified feelings of Negro inferiority.

Many of these "authoritative" arguments were used for political gain against Republicans who supported antislavery measures and were thus
labeled the friend of the Negro by their opponents. Mr. Wood has been quite fair to the Northern white by placing his prejudice in the context of the times. He stresses that though most Americans in the nineteenth century did not believe in equality between races, and have thus been described as racists, they were not "active" racists and did not consciously apply their prejudices in their everyday lives. There was actually only a small number of "active" racists who played up white supremacy as often as possible and tried to show racial implications in almost everything that happened. These extremists drew a great deal of unwarranted attention, much as they do today, and as a result made the nation appear to be more actively racist than it really was.

The author is at his best when he describes methods used by racists to arouse the public; methods that appealed to emotion rather than logic and emphasized topics that the listener could identify with such as the economic threat of Negroes taking over white workers' jobs and the violent nature of blacks.

What Mr. Wood has to say is important and he says it well. He has read and analyzed a great many journals and newspapers of the 1860's and 1870's, both North and South, and his bibliography should be very useful to anyone doing further research on the racial situation during the Reconstruction period. If there is any criticism of *Black Scare* it is that Mr. Wood has covered too much; he has researched material from most of the country for a period of several years and includes in the book much of what he found. There are many events chronicled by the author that the reader will want to know more about, however, but all too often the book neglects to go below the surface looking for motivation and sidesteps basic questions. Perhaps this is asking too much. Mr. Wood has given us a very fine survey of racism in an important period of American history. It is now up to future historians to delve into specific aspects of his survey.

*Hagley Museum*

**Faith K. Pizar**


When historians were "men of letters," history was a noble stage upon which the forces of life were handsomely arrayed. Titanic struggles produced dramatic, persuasive, and enduring myths. Now historians are professionals and history, like any technical subject, has become a sober and restrained body of knowledge intended for experts, a perfect instrument with which to puncture those myths. So mythbreaking has preoccupied American historians in the twentieth century as one wave of "revisionists" has succeeded another. But until recently one decade stood rock solid, the twenties. After all, its aesthetic unity was wonderfully impressive: bounded by the idealism of Wilson on one side and the humanitarianism of FDR on the other, the twenties seemed complacent, indulgent, and shallow, a kind of American version of the Biblical parable in which the seeking of
the golden calf inevitably resulted in disaster and remorse. It was a myth. For about a generation historians have been undermining it; now we are ready for its explosion. Robert K. Murray, in *The Harding Era*, has attempted just that, at least for half the decade.

Instead of a postwar America pervaded by hysteria and selfishness, Murray depicts a nation merely trying to right itself after the terrible dislocations and antagonisms of incessant reform and world war. To be sure, there were excesses, but by and large the return to "normalcy" was good-natured, practical, and successful. Murray has a genuine affection for the realistic accommodations and the increasingly relaxed atmosphere of the Harding years. He has a good deal more for Harding, who was neither bumbler nor scoundrel, but a "simple . . . friendly and engaging individual." Murray presents Harding as the embodiment of all that was best in Middle America, a "good fellow" who believed in the old-fashioned verities, who was eager to make friends and keep harmony, who observed the amenities and then trusted to goodwill and a little luck. Moreover, Harding was an effective political leader. Judged by his ability to negotiate among interest groups, to gauge the public mood and get his program through Congress, the President was an undoubted success. "Harding's personal contribution as an emollient and mediator was immense," Murray writes. The peace treaties, governmental economy (which promoted business recovery), aid to agriculture, the Washington Conference, were substantial achievements.

Murray's affection for Harding and his positive attitude toward the administration are grounded in excellent scholarship. No other author has so carefully combed the manuscript collections of the period or so masterfully synthesized the secondary literature. No other author has been so sensitive to the complexities of "normalcy" politics or so judicious in calculating their result. In the process, many favorite stereotypes and misconceptions are laid to rest. For example, Harding's nomination by a senatorial cabal, his indebtedness to oil and investment money, his domination by the cabinet are all severely battered. Yet, for all Murray's efforts, the Harding myth is not shattered.

Probably the book's tendentiousness, its very self-conscious revisionism will weigh most heavily against its complete acceptance. Harding is always viewed in the most charitable light by Murray. Whether in small things (Harding's prose) or large (his relative unconcern about labor, immigrants, and Negroes), Harding is seen as intelligent (the Budget Bureau), no more culpable than the rest (immigration restriction), or simply following a policy which avoids deadlock and defeat (the League of Nations). His opponents invariably are troublemakers (Borah), opportunists (LaFollette), and fools (Walsh). Harding's economic policies are sanely moderate; the progressives, however, "inadequately understood modern economic development; and they insisted on repeating the clichés and slogans of the late nineteenth century." If little was done for minorities and a lot for special interests, little could be done, given the constellation of political forces then. Perhaps, but there is a curious and revealing disparity between Murray's final estimate of the Harding administration and
the preceding 500 pages of narrative. In historical perspective, in terms of long-run achievement and creative leadership, Murray cannot give Harding high marks; in terms of specific situations Harding does much better—which prompts the reader to consider Murray's criteria. Are they too small-scale? Is political 'success' equivalent to historical success, as Murray implies? Certainly no one ever doubted Harding's popularity in the presidential office, but his stature is another matter. And that has always been the crucial issue in the Harding myth. The older historians sensed a lack of intelligence and conscience in the man which is not dispelled by this study. In any case, Murray's book is the most comprehensive, detailed, and clearest account of the Harding administration now available.

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