
On Doing Good is neither a brief history of Quakerism nor an account of the work of the American Friends Service Committee, though much of its contents revolves around some activities of the AFSC. The book grew out of a series of New Yorker articles and is aimed, therefore, at a more general reading audience than would be a strictly scholarly account. It has the strengths and weaknesses of such a work.

The book is divided into three sections: "Roots," "Cases," and "Community." In "Roots" the author provides a capsule summary of basic Quaker theology and practices along with a highly selective historical sketch of Quakerism in the colonial period, with emphasis on William Penn's Holy Experiment. It is a sympathetic account and treats the conflict between Quaker ideals and governmental practice as more a matter of the failure of the administrators involved than a failure of the peace principles which Penn and the early Quakers espoused.

Mr. Jonas tends to highlight each of his sections with illustrative biographical material. In the first section the people chosen for special attention are William Penn, the idealist-promoter of a religious community, James Logan, the conniving administrator and "operator," and John Woolman, combination of saint and practical person who clearly saw that the "inordinate desire after wealth" was closely bound to the cause of war.

The second section, "Cases," highlights the work of the American Friends Service Committee's unsuccessful efforts to rebuild the East Garfield Park ghetto in Chicago. The people who dominate this part of the book are Tony Henry, who shifted from an emphasis on creating cultural contacts between blacks and whites in the Chicago area to one of encouraging self-awareness in the black community, and Kale Williams, the executive secretary of the Chicago office of the AFSC. There is also an excellent discussion of the factors involved in attempting to improve housing for blacks in the inner city and of nonviolence as a method for achieving social justice.

The final section, "Community," deals mostly with the Quaker peace testimony and the way in which the Service Committee has related to it. The personalities are Stewart Meacham, peace secretary of the AFSC, Rick Boardman, young Quaker draft resister whose opposition to the war in Vietnam resulted in imprisonment, Ben Seaver, peace education secretary for the San Francisco region, and Barbara Moffett, secretary of the Committee's Community Relations Division. Two issues which provoked
deep and intense opposition both inside the ranks of the AFSC and among its supporters are civil disobedience in relation to the war and the draft, and demands of black staff members for self-determination of their efforts. This, then, is a “popular” and highly selective account of the American Friends Service Committee, including some history and material on Quakerism in the wider sense. None of the material is documented and there is no index. The author has attempted to avoid oversimplification. Considering the severe space limitations he has done very well, presenting his findings in the readable manner one would expect from a writer for the New Yorker.

Wilmington College

LARRY GARA


To many the history of political parties in colonial New York has seemed a maze of personal and factional disputes with little pattern or principle. Carl Becker in his History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776 (1909) brought a kind of classic order to the last period of provincial history, but oversimplified it in the eyes of recent critics. His oft-repeated dichotomy of the issue as “home rule” versus “who should rule at home” may have been too pat. A number of studies have been published dealing with various phases of New York’s colonial politics, and there are several unpublished theses, which the author of the present work has used effectively.

In its survey of the earlier period of New York’s colonial history, the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth, the present work does not depart far from the accepted view. The landed aristocracy and the rising merchant class, the fur trade with its special economic interest, and the Albany Dutch versus the growing influence of the English have been well treated. Leisler’s Rebellion and the Zenger Trial depend upon the studies of Jerome Reich and Stanley Katz. The contemporary histories of Cadwallader Colden and William Smith were of course colored by partisanship. But the view of the landed interest opposing the merchant interest is shown to be not always true. Too often writers have glibly generalized about the manors of New York. It is shown here that some of the manors were broken up early and their lands sold to individuals, so that they kept the name only; and that others failed to function like the English prototype. Even the much publicized conflicts between the tenants and the manor lords, as in the outbreaks of 1766, were complicated by New England-Yorker boundary disputes. In this latter affair the issue was title and control rather than any oppression of the tenants.

A closer examination of the division on issues, the votes in the assembly, and the part played by the aristocracy shows a surprising lack of unity in the so-called parties. When the Livingstons had a number of the family in the assembly they did not always vote alike, and the merchant group sometimes tied up with a leader of the landed gentry. A strong character like James De Lancey could weld a party of his own, but it broke up
after his sudden death. Religious disputes, like the struggle over King's College between Anglicans and Dissenters, and the highly emotional division over the Anglican Episcopate, served to befog more substantive issues.

The chapter on "New York's Land System" seems to this reviewer the most solid contribution. This is concerned chiefly with the Hudson Valley, however, and there still is no adequate treatment for the colonial period of the complex land problems of the Mohawk Valley and the regions north of Albany.

Several appendices—genealogies of five leading families, and tables listing colonial governors and lieutenant governors, membership in the council and in the assembly—all prove useful. The bibliography is very complete, and the placing of references as footnotes at the bottom of the page, although they are often lengthy, is to be commended. The reviewer found that the massing of all references in one long paragraph was confusing; he could not tell which were documentation for statements and which were recommended for perusal, or were merely a display of erudition. There are few errors and the volume may be highly recommended.

Glenmont, N. Y.

MILTON W. HAMILTON


Francis Makemie (c. 1658-1708) is known as the father of American Presbyterianism. In the spring of 1706 he and six other Presbyterian ministers met in Philadelphia and agreed "to meet yearly, and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measures, for advancing religion, and propagating Christianity, in our Various Stations, and to mention Such a Correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our Ministerial ability by prescribing Texts to be preached on by two of our number at every meeting, which performance is Subjected to the censure of our brethren; . . . ." Thus Makemie wrote to Benjamin Colman, Philadelphia, March 28, 1707.

Born in Donegal County, Ireland, of Scotch parentage, Francis Makemie emigrated to Maryland in 1683. He was a minister of the gospel to congregations of dissenters in Virginia, Maryland, and Barbados, and preached as an itinerant in several other colonies—North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New York. He was also successful in trade after inheriting the business and estate of his father-in-law in Accomac County, Virginia. His main thrust in the religious life of the colonies was to secure the rights of non-conformists. It was for this purpose that the presbytery was formed. Of more critical significance at the time, however, was perhaps his imprisonment in the colony of New York by order of the governor, Lord Cornbury, for preaching without a license. The governor complained to the Lord Commissioners of Trade that "he [is] a Jack of all Trades; is a Preacher; a Doctor of Physick, a capital merchant and Attorney, or Counsellor at Law, and, which is worst of all, a Disturber of Governments."
Although acquitted by the jury after six weeks in jail, he was charged with the costs of the trial. This he protested so eloquently, printing the sermon which caused his arrest and publishing an account of the proceedings, that Lord Cornbury was recalled and the colonial legislature passed measures making such impositions impossible in the future.

The work by Schlenther contains a short biography of less than twenty pages and all of the known writings of Francis Makemie collected together here for the first time. The book contains, in addition to the contentious sermon, "A Good Conversation," and the narrative of the imprisonment and trial, "A Narrative of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment," two other theological tracts, and one on commerce. The first theological writing is "An Answer to George Keith's Libel," a rebuttal to an attack by a Quaker on a catechism that Makemie had written that adhered to the Westminster Confession. In addition to a defense of his own Calvinistic position, he, in turn, attacked in this "Answer" the basic tenets of the Quaker faith. There also is an Ecumenical Appeal, "TRUTHS In a true LIGHT. OR, A Pastoral LETTER, to the Reformed Protestants IN BARBADOS," which calls for Protestant unity against Roman Catholicism.

The commercial tract is "A Plain and Friendly Persuasive," an article encouraging the formation of towns as commercial centers and foci of community effort in Virginia and Maryland. Additionally, there are seven letters known to have been written by Makemie—four to Increase Mather, one to Benjamin Colman and two to Robert Halsey. The third section of the book includes what references have been found to Makemie in letters and official church and public records.

The virtue of this book is the collection of these materials. They are useful as indications of the difficulties of non-conformists in the colonies, the flavor of religious attitudes and controversies at the time, and business in the early colonies, particularly when conducted by an ordained minister. The book is Volume XI of the Presbyterian Historical Society Publication Series.

Lafayette College

Published by the Editorial Board of the Central Pennsylvania Annual Conference, The United Methodist Church. (Lebanon: Sowers Printing Company, 1971. Pp. 384. $4.00.)

The purpose of this book is to recount the major events in the development of Methodism in central Pennsylvania from its very beginnings to 1969. The significance of the year 1771 in the title is that it was in or close to that year when the first Methodist circuit rider preached within the territory, in what is now Adams County. On December 31, 1969, the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church ceased to exist, its place being taken by a new judicatory with the same name formed by the newly organized United Methodist Church.

This book has been written from a variety of sources. Perhaps first in importance among them was the collection of materials gathered and
accounts written by the late Rev. Dr. Charles F. Berkheimer, a member of the editorial board under whose authority the work was undertaken and completed. The author also made wide use of the minutes of the central Pennsylvania and other conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In addition, he drew from Methodist periodicals, general histories, and from unpublished manuscript accounts in the Berkheimer Memorial Library at Lycoming College. Many of these latter sources describe such conference agencies and affiliates as homes for the aged, homes for children, and educational institutions.

Dr. Maser's work is not a history of the Methodist congregations in central Pennsylvania, nor is it a treatise on doctrine and how it developed in a particular geographical area over an eventful two centuries. Rather, it is an account of the planting of a new branch of Protestantism and of how, aided by circuit riders, camp meetings, devout laymen, and a strong organization, that branch became firmly established as one of the strongest churches in central Pennsylvania. By 1800 there were Methodist circuits in all parts of this territory. Gains were achieved only with considerable effort and some difficulty. The circuit rider was not going to minister to a constituency which was already Methodist, if only by tradition. He had to seek his flock among those willing to be proselytized and among the wholly unchurched.

Dr. Maser recounts how, once established, Methodists participated in most of those efforts by means of which Protestants in general tried to reach and meet the needs of increasing numbers of people. These efforts included Sunday schools, missionary societies, Bible societies, youth organizations, ladies aid societies, home and foreign missions, and support of higher education. Later, they also encompassed such activities as camping programs, campus ministry, leadership training efforts, and homes for the aged and for children.

The author relates the development of Methodism in central Pennsylvania to the main currents of American life from the Revolution to the present day. He gives attention to the role of the layman and the laywoman in the church. He traces its growing concern with both social and political questions, as, for example, when it spoke out strongly against slavery, or in favor of temperance, when it urged the United States to ratify the Washington treaties of 1921-1922, and to adhere to the World Court. In 1966 the conference urged the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Finally, the author raises the interesting question whether today the Methodist church in central Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, has become so overwhelmingly a middle class church, and an upper middle class church at that, as to have lost many of those strengths of a century and a half ago which enabled it to minister to the spiritual needs of such a wide and diverse company of men and women. "By becoming a Church for one class," he writes, "Methodism not only limits its influence but also endangers its life."

Dr. Maser's book is well organized and generally well written. It attempts to compress a large story into a limited space. The result is that there are many instances where he can give little more than a name or
the bare statement of an event. This reviewer would like to have seen
more attention devoted to the life of the Methodist laity over the years,
so that one would have more information with which to deal with the
issues arising from the transformation of the Methodist church of two
centuries ago into the church that it is today.

One might question a number of points. For example, did George White-
field preach in the vicinity of what is now Harrisburg in the 1740s?
Conditions in what is now Adams County were not quite as primitive
when the first circuit rider came through as the author describes them.
People had been living in the neighborhood for about thirty years and
there was an Anglican church not far away from where he preached.
Finally, it might be more accurate to describe Stevenson W. Fletcher as
a historian of Pennsylvania agriculture and country life than as a historian
of Pennsylvania.

Gettysburg College

CHARLES H. GLATFELTER

Universalism in America: A Documentary History. Edited by Ernest Cassara.
(Boston: Beacon Press, 1971. Pp. 290. $10.00.)

At the very least, Universalism in America: A Documentary History
edited by Ernest Cassara, succeeds in providing Universalism with a his-
torical and a theological life of its own—a life apart from that of
Unitarianism, its long time theological “neighbor” and, since their 1961
merger, “brother.” Ask the average student of American religious history
about Unitarianism and you will almost certainly receive some acknowl-
edgement of its importance in the prolonged and multifaceted reaction
against Puritanism and evangelicalism in nineteenth century America. Ask
the same student about Universalism and, if you receive more than a
blank stare, you will be fortunate indeed. For Universalism has generally
been relegated to the fringes of history, to the section reserved for those
innumerable “sects” and “cults” historians so often treat fleetingly, if at
all. What little has been written or taught about Universalism, I would
wager, has usually repeated only what Winthrop Hudson (who does say
a bit more) states in his popular Religion in America: “Unitarianism, on the
whole, was the faith of well-to-do, urban New Englanders who rejected
the notion of human depravity. Universalism was its counterpart among
less urbane rural folk who were repelled by the idea of eternal damnation
and thus led to affirm the doctrine of universal salvation.”

Universalism in America should make any excuses for future indifference
lame indeed. Not only has Cassara skillfully edited a series of representative
and illuminating documents, but he has also included an excellent forty-
five page introduction summarizing the history of Universalism from 1741
till 1961. To be sure, the editor admits that “the Universalist movement
in America cannot be said to have begun before the landing of John
Murray in 1770 and his subsequent missionary and organizational activity.”
Nevertheless, several of the basic beliefs later crystallizing in Universalism
have their antecedents in older creeds, which is why Cassara begins his
story as early as he does.
Anglicanism, Congregationalism, and some of the German pietist groups, for example, all evinced "universalist tendencies," but none made universal salvation the keystone of their faith, as did Universalism. "Universal salvation," of course, is a sticky term, and so Cassara takes pains to make clear precisely what it meant. Both Unitarianism and Universalism saw God as infinitely more benevolent than did most other contemporary religions, but where Unitarianism offered each man a choice between salvation and damnation—thereby preaching an extraordinary degree of free will—Universalism “insisted all men must be saved.” As one wit put it, “The one [Universalism] thinks God is too good to damn them forever, the other [Unitarianism] thinks they are too good to be damned forever.”

Cassara attributes these subtle theological differences, and others too, to material factors—in particular, to the differing degrees of prosperity and influence enjoyed by each faith. He contends that just because the Unitarians were more prosperous than the Universalists, they placed a greater responsibility upon man to achieve his own salvation than did the Universalists, whose experiences left them somewhat less confident of their abilities in these matters. Such causal connections between action and thought, while certainly intriguing and quite possibly accurate, nevertheless remain unsubstantiated here.

If, as Cassara admits, the limitations imposed upon him precluded consideration of several significant figures, so the restrictions of this review preclude more than a mere listing of the more important persons he does treat. These include George De Benneville (1703-1793), an Englishman of French Huguenot extraction who, rebelling against his church, spent over fifty years in the Philadelphia area preaching to Indians and whites alike a mystical, pietist faith which contributed to Universalism’s belief in salvation (though not to its belief in reason); John Murray (1741-1815), a sometime Calvinist and Methodist who, though not an original thinker, nevertheless organized the Universalist movement in America; Elhanan Winchester (1751-97), a Massachusetts Baptist who provided the early theological underpinnings for the new faith; and Hosea Ballou (1771-1852), a New Engander whose Treatise on Atonement (1805) created the intellectual synthesis upon which modern Universalism largely rests.

Cassara, however, is concerned with ideas and institutions as well as with individuals, as is reflected in the amount of attention he gives to the many doctrines, disputes, associations, and schisms which shaped the present creed. The documents nicely complement the general introduction and are enhanced by briefer introductions to each primary source. Universalism in America, then, fills an important gap in American religious history and does so with finesse.

Princeton University

HOWARD SEGAL


Benjamin Rush was a controversial figure while he lived and he re-
mained controversial after he died. He has received extravagant praise and also sharp condemnation. Recently, Richard H. Shryock (Bull. Hist. Med. 45:507-552, 1971) described the erratic course that evaluations of Rush have pursued during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In view of the sharp disagreements we might be tempted to ask, Wherein lies the true Rush? To this question we can furnish no answer. The biographer or historian has at his disposal enormous masses of source material out of which he must make a selection. And different biographers will select and emphasize in accordance with their own bias. Furthermore, the reader, especially if he has some knowledge of the subject, will tend to accept those evaluations which accord with his own bias, and tend to question whatever runs counter thereto. The reader of this book will thus see Rush only through Mr. Hawke’s eyes, and the reader of this review will see the book only through the reviewer’s eyes. But this is the nature of history—and of critical evaluation.

Mr. Hawke’s book holds the reader’s interest throughout. He has carefully studied the primary sources, both published and unpublished, relying rather heavily on Rush’s letters which are often quite revealing. For background of Rush’s many activities Hawke has covered the secondary sources with commendable thoroughness. He is completely at home in the era and the book reflects this assurance and competence.

Rush emerges as a paradox—a man of great talent and industry, with a severely flawed personality. He was progressive or even radical in some views, reactionary in others; often clear thinking, but often surprisingly obtuse; frequently far sighted and much ahead of his contemporaries, sometimes amazingly oblivious to concrete realities. Honest and fearless according to his lights, he sometimes showed strange powers of self-deception. We glimpse the intense driving ambition, the brilliant intellect, coupled with an overwhelming self-righteousness, the inner need to dominate whatever he undertook.

It is tempting but not quite correct to attribute to him a messianic complex. Much better is the comparison with the prophet Jeremiah—the man of strife. Controversy followed him like a shadow. Indeed, we might even say that controversy was part of the substance and not merely the shadow.

Hawke has successfully avoided any temptation to psychoanalyze Rush or to offer tenuous psychiatric explanations why Rush had the personality he did. Instead we have a vivid picture, three dimensional, detailed, and substantial, that almost pulls the reader right into the frame of reference. Hawke lets the picture speak for itself.

The scope of the book also compels our admiration. Hawke carries his story up to the year 1790, when Rush was 44 years of age. He had done much—and realized it, but was unhappy nevertheless. Rush had received an excellent education, quickly rose to prominence at an early age, became not only the outstanding physician in America but one of its most prominent educators. He signed the Declaration of Independence, served his country at the time of its greatest crisis, and exerted considerable influence in local and national politics. At the same
time he had a strong social conscience which compelled him to support many reforms. His failure to bring about others, despite his struggles, is discreditable more to society than to himself. He was a prolific author who quickly acquired an international reputation. Yet by the time he reached his early 40s, he felt rejected—and not without reason. Antagonistic and self-righteous, he was rejected.

Up until that time his practice of medicine had been a means of earning a living—and a very good one, too. Hawke brings the story to a close when Rush, disappointed at his complete rejection at the political level, embraced medicine as his ruling passion, and for the remainder of his life devoted his energies to his own medical endeavors. The great troubles into which he subsequently plunged form a totally separate story.

The year 1790 suggests an inner crisis—and makes a good place for a biographer to stop; for the subsequent life, devoted to medicine and medical concepts, needs the hand of a medically trained historian who does not need to take the concepts at second hand. Hawke was wise indeed to stop the biography where he did.

The book is well written, reads smoothly and convincingly. Occasionally the author lets drop an idiomatic expression that grates a little discordantly, but these lapses are fortunately rare. A somewhat more serious fault concerns the level of background knowledge that the author presupposes. Particularly when he describes political situations, he may deal minutely with Rush's activities, but neglect the overall picture. There are many places where the insertion of a few judicious expository sentences could render the specific details much more meaningful. A biographer should not be so devoted to trees, branches, and leaves that he loses sight of the forest.

But any adverse criticism must be minor indeed. The author has done a splendid job. He has provided a detailed and well balanced account of a contentious figure who lived in difficult times. He makes us see a living human being, with many talents, many virtues, and many faults. And at the same time he throws a great deal of light on the social, political, and medical environment. This is biography at its best.

American Medical Association, Chicago

Lester S. King


The Susquehannah Company Papers bears out Langlois's dictum that "there is no substitute for documents; no documents, no history." No mere archival series restricted to company records, the project, devoted to all germane material relating to the claims of Connecticut to the Wyoming Valley region of northeastern Pennsylvania, tells the story of one of the most remarkable—and most controversial—episodes of western expansion and settlement in American history. The massive editorial project, inaugurated in 1928, terminated abruptly after the appearance of four
volumes (covering the years 1750-1772) edited by Julian P. Boyd because of the Depression and the loss of materials in the great Susquehanna River flood of 1936. Boyd subsequently assumed direction of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; the Susquehanna project was held in abeyance until the 1960s when Robert J. Taylor took on the task of editing, and Cornell University Press of publishing, the seven volumes necessary to complete the series.

Volume X deals with the twelve years of intricate legislative and legal maneuvering from 1789 to 1800 as Connecticut and Pennsylvania interests sought, respectively, to circumvent or consolidate the Trenton Decree of 1782 whereby a Congressional committee granted jurisdiction of the disputed territory to the Keystone State. The documents focus on four items: the repeal in 1790 of the controversial Confirming Act, which provided for the granting of land titles to Connecticut settlers and public lands elsewhere in the state to rival Pennsylvania claimants; the celebrated case of Van Homre's Lessee vs. Dorrance (1795), which tested the validity of the repeal statute; enactment of the unenforceable Intrusion Act of 1794 designed to prevent territorial encroachment by company half-share men after the Trenton decision; and passage of the Compromise Act of 1799, which required Yankees to purchase land titles and awarded Pennamites interest-bearing certificates as compensation.

Most readers will find this volume tedious and anticlimactic compared to the earlier volumes. But its importance—and that of the series as a whole—extends far beyond the struggle between Yankees and Pennamites over real estate. In addition to considerable information about social, economic, and political matters, we have here a useful corrective to the traditional textbook portrayal of American history during the Federalist era. During the 1790s the people who parade through the pages of this compendium were concerned not with the familiar national considerations emphasized by historians—e.g., the Constitution, Hamiltonian finance, diplomatic negotiations, party development—but with immediate, local, and personal issues. Then, too, the protracted legal battles and sporadic shooting wars of two states involving the locus of sovereignty at both the local and federal levels reminds us of the very real threats to the stability of the new republic that existed during its formative years.

This volume exhibits the same standards of editorial excellence that have distinguished the entire series. The introduction not only effectively sets the stage for the documents that follow but also constitutes a masterful historical essay; the lucid summation of Van Home's Lessee, a most complicated court case, is superb. The index is first-rate; the annotations are concise and relevant. Only one typographical error must be mentioned: lines two and three of the second paragraph on page xvi are transposed.

Despite the excellence of the Papers, one cannot help wondering if the time, talent, and money expended on the project has been justified. It has been a major, even audacious, undertaking for a local historical society and a university press, not to mention the commitments of two distinguished historians. But to what end? The rationale implicit in all
editorial projects of this genre is the collection, collation, and dissemination of an integrated body of documentary material for use by scholars and interested laymen. Perhaps a project as narrow in scope as the Papers might better have served the interests of all concerned in the form of a well-indexed, calendared, microfilm edition instead of a letter press format which, while convenient, is time-consuming to prepare and expensive to produce. Be that as it may, The Susquehanna Company Papers is an example of historical editing at its finest; editors, sponsor, and publisher are to be commended for a job well done.

University of Utah

LARRY R. GERLACH


This comparative study by Professor Ernest R. Sandeen of Macalester College is an ambitious attempt to trace an important aspect of comparative religious history on both sides of the Atlantic. The author has the further intention of formulating "a new definition" of Fundamentalism that takes into account its entirely respectable intellectual antecedents, which he finds in the Princeton Theology of the later nineteenth century and in the series of prophetic and Bible conferences that met in the East during the same period. The most striking aspect of Sandeen's thesis is that what in the twentieth century has been called Fundamentalism was in fact a transformation of "the millenarian movement" of the nineteenth. Sandeen contends that the millenarian thread survived, but that with the deaths of the men who had given the millenarian-conservative coalition its distinction and intellectual vigor, Fundamentalism in the 1920s suffered a decline into sterile obstructionism.

The author includes a bibliographical essay that begins, "The fate of Fundamentalism in historiography has been worse than its lot in history." He has some kind words for Cole's History of Fundamentalism and C. Norman Kraus's Dispensationalism in America, but in general he finds that the studies of the movement have been unsatisfactory. He is particularly distressed that Norman Furniss's The Fundamentalist Controversy has come to be the standard work, since in Sandeen's view it is an inferior and misleading book that caricatures the Fundamentalists as ignorant zealots.

As Sandeen admits at one point, his own book runs the danger of overstating the opposite case. He refers throughout to "the millenarian movement," but in fact he is interested in only one facet of that movement: the branch represented by Calvinistic theologians like John Nelson Darby, founder of the Plymouth Brethren, and by the Princeton Theology. Millenarianism was far more widespread than that in the nineteenth century, but Sandeen mentions John Humphrey Noyes, the Shakers, and the Mormons only in passing, and English millenarian movements like the Southcottians and the "sacred socialists" not at all. It is very questionable whether John Nelson Darby was as influential as Sandeen argues; and it
is probable that the influence of Edward Irving in England and William Miller in the United States was more pervasive and longer lasting than Sandeen suggests. The author is clearly more familiar with the American materials than he is with the English.

The thesis of The Roots of Fundamentalism is a provocative and stimulating one, and even if it cannot be said that Sandeen has entirely proved his case, he is to be commended for attempting the kind of comparative historical approach that is so very much needed.

Dickinson College

CLARKE GARRETT


Allan Nevins and Lawrence Henry Gipson both are gone, and they were nearly the last American historians still writing spacious, multi-volume works in the grand style of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century pioneers of the historical discipline in the United States. For the most part, only the monographers remain. History is the worse for it. History is distinguished from the social sciences largely by its concern with the study of men and society as they change with the passing of time, and the long vision of a Nevins or a Gipson in their massive works gave a depth to these historians' perceptions of historical change that usually is lacking in the small slices of the past isolated in ordinary historical monographs. For all the advantages to be gained by historians' efforts to achieve the precision of the social sciences, a precision scarcely compatible with the sweeping multi-volume work, history has lost something of its distinctive value with the departure of the Nevinses and the Gipsons, and the loss touches the very heart of history: the ability to comprehend sequence and change.

Not that Nevins and Gipson were so much alike, except in the scope of their projects. Gipson's British Empire was built upon an unparalleled mastery of the relevant archival sources; it stands directly upon the documents, and for all its massive scope it bears something of the nature of a large collection of monographs, strung together. Nevins's eight-volume Ordeal of the Union, completed by the present volume, is less a work of original research—though reference to the primary sources is by no means lacking—than a synthesis of Civil War history as it has developed since the time of Nevins's predecessor and model for the writing of Ordeal of the Union, James Ford Rhodes. As contrasted with Gipson's work, Nevins's is more a synthesis in its total form as well as in its use of sources. Nevins's work contrasts with Gipson's also in its reinvoking of the literary mastery of some of the pioneer American historians. It is sometimes remarked about Gipson, however unfairly, that everyone honors him but no one reads through his British Empire volumes, not even specialists in the field. No one could offer such an accusation against Nevins. He has produced an immense history, ponderous in sheer physical weight, but appealing to an almost popular audience as well as to his-
torians. His literary mastery endured to the last. To read his word-picture of Sherman sitting on his horse on a hill outside Atlanta as the vanguard of his 60,000 veterans strode past hurrahing and singing to begin the march to the sea is to feel again the quickening of the blood that has made the history of the Civil War a passion for so many of us.

The perils of essaying history in so grand a manner did sometimes ensnare Nevins. It continues to be true in this final volume, though perhaps slightly less so than in the one immediately preceding it, that the size and complexity of his project, and perhaps age and haste, tripped Nevins into too many small errors for comfort. One example especially likely to disconcert the reader concerns Major General William Farrar "Baldy" Smith, who on pages 8-9 is "the tall impressive" Smith, but who by page 48 is "the short, portly, roundheaded officer." (The latter description is based on Theodore Lyman's and seems to be the correct one.) Trying to encompass so much, Nevins sometimes made judgments that were merely conventional. He says of U. S. Grant, for example, that his principal gift was strength of character—a left-handed compliment—and that "Intellectually, he must be ranked below the major strategists of the war; below Joe Johnston, Sherman, and Thomas—far below Stonewall Jackson and Lee." To write thus seems to this reviewer to be merely to echo again a part of the romantic legend of the South to which we have all been exposed so long that it is difficult not to believe it, but which the Civil War historian ought to overcome; it is only seductive Southern legend that makes Lee appear a better strategist than Grant, and anyone reading the surviving products of the pens of Grant and Lee should have no doubt which was the superior intellectually, and that it was Grant.

The subtitle of the present volume suggests again the theme that Nevins set forth in the first volume of *The War for the Union*: "The improvised war of 1861-62 became the organized war of 1863-64.... The resultant alteration in the national character was one of the central results of the gigantic struggle." And Nevins still concludes in this final volume: "Probably the greatest single change in American civilization in the war period, directly connected with the conflict, was the replacement of an unorganized nation by a highly organized society—organized, that is, on a national scale." Nevertheless, in this as in the immediately preceding volume, Nevins elsewhere qualifies this conclusion, to argue not so much that the nation emerged from the Civil War an organized society as that the nation turned a decisive corner towards eventual organization. The qualification of the theme fits better both the facts of a Union still far from being thoroughly organized in pursuit of the war effort in 1864-1865, and recent interpretations of the post-Civil War era and the early twentieth century which present a search for national order as the continuing crucial problem of postwar American history.

Nevins's approving emphasis on the tendency towards national organization accords with another aspect of his work, the increasingly nationalist tone which has developed through his volumes. Thomas J. Pressly commented in *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* on the ambiguity with which Nevins seemed to stand somewhere between the "needless
war" revisionist historians of the coming of the Civil War and the post-
World War II neo-nationalist writers who affirmed the necessity of the
Civil War to eliminate slavery and complete the solidification of the
Union. Beginning with his expression of disapproval of the parochial char-
acter of R. E. Lee's decision to go with Virginia, Nevins in his volumes
on the war years became steadily firmer in his embrace of nationalist
interpretations of the significance of the Civil War. By the end, the
continually changing climate of historical opinion had made his un-
abashed patriotism another somewhat old-fashioned quality of his work
—but one that he shares with some of the greatest of those earlier
historians beside whom the completion of Ordeal of the Union assures
Allan Nevins his place.

Temple University


Membership in the United States Senate, like being governor of New
York or born in Ohio, has long marked men as potential Presidents. In
all, fifteen Senators have made it to the White House. At least twelve
others have been nominated by a major party or significant third party,
and two score or more at one time or another have been regarded as
serious contenders for nomination. That some prominent Senators were not
chosen is only to be regretted, especially when their qualifications are set
against those of the mediocrities who were nominated and in a few
instances elected. But that most failed of nomination was probably no loss
to either party or nation. Roscoe Conkling of New York, Congressman
(1859-1867), Senator (1867-1881), and a leading contender for the
Republican nomination in 1876, belongs in this category.

An eloquent speaker and skillful political manipulator, Conkling quickly
acquired influence in Congress and with President Grant. His years in
office were filled with challenging issues: Reconstruction, impeachment of
a President, the race problem, monetary questions, the tariff, depression,
agrarian and labor unrest, and the growing concentration of power of
railroads and other corporations. According to his most recent biographer,
David M. Jordan, the handsome New Yorker devoted himself little to
such matters. Although a leader of the Committee of Fifteen, Conkling's
part in shaping Reconstruction legislation "often seemed peripheral." At
Johnson's impeachment trial, Conkling did not speak, supported Chief
Justice Chase's rulings on evidence, and then voted for removal from
office. His interest in blacks was to secure equality for them at Southern
ballot boxes where their votes would dilute Democratic majorities. Four-
square against inflationary schemes in 1874, Conkling "curiously" failed
to assume command of the opposition to the Bland-Allison Bill in 1877.

As for the tariff, Conkling worried more about customs house patronage
than revenues collected. Orthodox in economics, he expected the depression
to right itself and hesitated to tinker. Besides, Jordan tells us, "his own
matters of interest . . . took primacy over the business interests of the
country." Generally Conkling supported business interests and opposed measures desired by farmers and laborers. On two traditional Republican issues he was cautious, neither championing nor vigorously opposing land grants for railroads or pensions for veterans.

Instead, Conkling devoted himself to oiling and repairing the political machine that he had constructed in New York. Since patronage was its chief lubricant, he opposed all civil service reforms. In the process Conkling gave historians the snide aphorisms that have adorned lectures on the subject ever since: "snivel service," "when Dr. Johnson defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, he was unconscious of the then undeveloped capabilities and uses of the word reform," and "parties are not built up by deportment, or by ladies' magazines, or gush..." Conkling's efforts threw him into conflict with Presidents Hayes and Garfield. Since both belonged to Conkling's party (though not to his faction), the Senator's backers came to see that party in-fighting could ultimately be more harmful than the loss of control over patronage. Conkling, who had no stomach for protracted struggles, preferred hit and run tactics. When Garfield finally bested him in the matter of the New York Customs House, Conkling, already weary of the battle, resigned his Senate seat. Whether he sincerely meant to withdraw from public life, or cynically expected the legislature to vindicate him by immediate re-election, or mistakenly allowed desperate followers to persuade him to seek re-election, is not entirely clear. In the grinding battle that followed, however, Conkling failed, saw his machine smashed, and by refusing to surrender gracefully, destroyed whatever influence he might still have had within the Republican party. Retiring to private practice until his death in 1888, Conkling prospered by serving such clients as the crafty Jay Gould and the less-than-scrupulous Collis P. Huntington. Jordan's concluding evaluation of Conkling is most apt:

He was a man of exceptional talents, of remarkable ability. Both his political and legal careers showed it. But his personality was sadly flawed. He attained a position of great prominence and power, but he let himself be caught up in inconsequential. Conkling's was not a case of the man whose talents are wasted because he never reaches a place where he can put them to use. His story is far more distressing; it is that of the man of great ability, placed in a position of authority, who still somehow fritters away his opportunities...

Probably because Conkling kept no diary or revealing cache of letters, the inner man (as opposed to the public figure) rarely shines through. Jordan has also allowed too strict an adherence to chronology to make a few chapters choppy and lacking in theme. Although Jordan is a lawyer writing about a lawyer, he gives the reader no more legal insights into such matters as the San Mateo case than any historian might provide. In fact, he hesitates to provide more than the barest background for any of the issues that Conkling faced as a legislator. From Jordan's footnotes and selected bibliography, it appears that he felt no need to probe deeply into recent scholarly studies of Reconstruction, the formulation of the
Fourteenth Amendment, civil service reform, or the monetary problem. Although Jordan has researched widely in manuscript collections, he makes no references to the Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Carl Schurz, or George William Curtis papers, relying instead on published letters and diaries or biographies of these men who were central to his story.

These criticisms aside, Jordan's book is readable and well-balanced. Its treatment of Conkling is judicious, avoiding the pitfalls of hero worship or cynicism. It will surely supersede the previous biographies—the 1889 life and letters written by the Senator's nephew, Alfred R. Conkling, and the entertaining but often flippant 1935 study by Donald B. Chidsey, The Gentleman From New York.

The Pennsylvania State University

Gerald G. Egbert


Some autobiographies describe the impact of an individual upon his times while others describe and interpret the times, and narrative about the individual is incidental. The thrust of this volume is somewhere between. It is an account of personal experiences, covering a span of 63 years (1908-1971) and written in that style particularly appropriate for family archives. As such it holds significant passages that are expected of an author who has been an avid historian of his native Pennsylvania, references to and reflections upon a chronology of history as it bore on one person during six decades of this century, and a faith in and idealism for institutions and people that came so naturally from his generation.

The ancestry of this Pennsylvania Dutchman lay in Montgomery County, populous with Mennonites who are recognized and respected for their religious habits, frugality, and integrity. Religious customs and rural life of the Pennsylvania Germans have been dealt with by many writers. A portion of this volume warmly describes their partnership with the customs, tradition, and heritage. Local references should make its first 100 pages delightful reading for many, since names like Rosenberger, Markley, Meschter, and Hottenstein still abound in Montgomery County.

Personal reflections on significant historical happenings and social attitudes are valuable tools for the historian, if only to enable one to grasp the mood of the moment. This volume has many of these. The first impact on one whose religious heritage did not condone war came when "The automobile became a part of the American scene and the United States became embroiled in a world war." Too infrequently in the volume does the author make the personal evaluations on matters of public policy and social justice for which his family custom and professional experience particularly qualify him. As an example, his views were somewhat modified when he was wont "to remember Mother telling me about Andrew Carnegie, the steel king and donor of Carnegie Libraries, at the time he died. The little man with the bearded face and the smile seemed like a saint. In that era of material wealth at any price, he was."
Quite rightly the central portion of the volume is consumed by two chapters that carry the writer through one of the critical periods of the entire span of years—the great depression. When his undergraduate and graduate studies were completed, the national economy had collapsed and employment was not to be found. For nearly three years he lived alone in a cottage in the mountains of Clinton County, Pennsylvania. This solitary life had rich rewards.

"While staying at the Camp Ground I followed a schedule almost like that of Henry David Thoreau, 1817-1862, at his Walden Pond, Massachusetts, except that after the first few weeks I spent quite a bit of effort to obtain a job. At Pine Camp I lived by myself, in the woods, and did my own cooking. There was abundant time to read and think, and to hike through the forest, and to commune with nature and The Creator when millions of people across the country were unemployed and in despair because of the difficult depression days. I had had sort of an inherited faith in God. Now it was becoming more real."

His inquiries into and presentations about local history, building friendships with the mountain folk, walking and exploring the mountains, researching and writing for local consumption were, for such a time, pursuits of an uncommon man. The chapter about the Mystery Man of Pine Mountain describes how one man found gains at a time of economic collapse while others were wallowing in defeat. For here "on the high ground he planted cabbage."

Twenty-seven days after Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated President, the United States Civilian Conservation Corps was created by Congress. Between 1935 and 1937 Dr. Rosenberger was Educational Advisor in three Pennsylvania CCC Camps and subsequently directed the nationwide educational program for the Corps out of the Office of Education. This was his introduction to the performance of the educational function by agencies within government. Page 359 records statistically the contributions the CCC made to restoration of national parks and the preservation of national resources. But it did more than that. It nurtured the aspirations of three million young men through programs of study and action which in some ways became prototypes for the author's lifetime in government service.

It must be presumed that the use of the word "Philosophy" in the title to this book has particular reference to a life style and social attitudes conditioned by heritage and environment. There is, however, an undeclared goal of government as pursued by him that bears precisely upon its participation in the educational function. This is philosophical, too. It was not only to the best interests of forests and waters that CCC Camps had Educational Advisors. Government's primary interest was in human beings. As the author moved to the Bureau of Prisons in the Department of Justice, and then the Bureau of Public Roads in the United States Department of Commerce, he carried with him an interest and purpose that easily became models for the improvement of performance by government workers and a philosophical underpinning to in-service education for government agencies.
Throughout this prodigious writing one becomes impressed by the extent to which the author’s life and activities were conditioned by “After Hours Crusades.” Constantly he was addressing himself to topics of history—mostly Pennsylvania—but always relevant to the program at hand or the organization of consuming interest. This is probably the chief reason for including a review of his Autobiography in Pennsylvania History. Its historical references pertain to many topics and hence do not represent an in-depth study of any in particular. This, of course, is the nature of an autobiography. It is unfortunate that the volume does not include judgments and evaluations of national policy with respect to prisons and people because Dr. Rosenberger’s experience here was both extensive and intensive. Such material would serve a wider readership and stimulate the intellectual curiosity of readers who have a philosophical interest in the performance of certain functions of government more so than copies of family correspondence and outlines of training programs. But that’s why the volume is titled Autobiography.

Yet, a Dutchman’s philosophy is particularly noticeable in the extensive but not undeserved adulation given professors, libraries, and the educational establishment of Cornell University. Dr. Rosenberger belonged to and believed in any enterprise of his association. This is representative of many who share his Pennsylvania Dutch heritage. Respect for elders and that which they built is for many a not uncommon pattern of life.

Still, the most amazing part of this large volume is its infinite detail. This, of course, makes it good reading for some but laborious for many others. It is for this reason that it should be available on genealogical shelves, Commonwealth and county historical libraries, and the archives of many governmental agencies. Of course, his grandchildren, if there are any, will, as he hoped in its writing, be the most curiously interested.

Temple University

Millard E. Gladfelter


The editor notes that “This forty-seventh volume of the Records . . . is an experiment, toward more frequent publication. The volume covers a two-year period of the Society’s activity. Each of the four volumes immediately preceding it covered a three-year period. . . .” The remarkable activity of the society would merit an annual volume, judging by the current volume content: twenty-five papers, one hundred seventy-three full-page illustrations, and about one hundred pages larger than the 1966-1968 volume.

It is a privilege to review a publication of the cultural and historical magnitude of this latest edition. The sequence of papers is conducive to read on and on; one package of subject matter leads into the next. The paper, “Nicholas King: First Surveyor of the City of Washington, 1803-1812,” follows the paper, “Benjamin Banneker and the Survey of the District of Columbia, 1791.” Six papers by distinguished authors deal
with the Capitol, its architecture, its furniture, and its art. Three papers
deal with rare library holdings of the area; four cover the subject of art,
Leutze, the Freer Gallery, the National Gallery, and the works of H. O.
Tanner; and there are the many fine individual papers covering “Resi-
dence Patterns of Negroes in the District of Columbia,” the history of
“Christ Church, Washington Parish,” “Poets in Washington; The Consultants
in Poetry to the Library of Congress,” and others.

Since most of the papers are profusely illustrated we question editorial
liberality since repetition is noted in many instances. The paper on Christ
Church has twenty-two illustrations, twelve of them showing the exterior
of the building. However, one should certainly not find fault with the
excellent illustrations accompanying the paper dealing with the Folger
Shakespeare Library, six of which are early seventeenth century title-page
reproductions. Despite hints of a “ghostly budget,” we must compliment
the editor and officers of the society for a valuable volume of Records.

The Lehigh County Historical Society

Melville J. Boyer

* * *

Essays on American Social History. By John Lankford and David Reimers.

The editors of this volume in Holt, Rinehart and Winston’s Essays in
American History Series deserve the thanks of all who are concerned with
American social history for their pioneering effort to provide shape and
focus to an as yet amorphous discipline. The book is intended to be used
primarily as collateral readings in college-level social history courses. It
is divided into two major sections, one labeled “Early American,” and
the other, “Modern”; within these major categories are sub-headings such
as “The Social Order,” “Mobility,” and “Race and Nationality.” The edi-
tors have provided a brief introduction and short bibliography to accom-
pany each essay.

Lankford and Reimers have chosen their material from a wide variety
of books and periodicals and have especially developed the theme of
mobility in its geographic, ethnic, and economic contexts. The selections
include a discussion of main themes in social history: education, the role
of women, religion, and social values. While most of the essays are de-
scriptive in nature, a few works based on close analysis of statistical data
appear, including a short section from Stephen Thernstrom’s Poverty and
Progress. Generally speaking, however, the editors are not at pains to
illuminate the variety of methodological techniques available to the social
historian.

The task of selecting the best interpretative essays in the broad field
of American social history is formidable. For a country that produced the
proverbial man in the gray flannel suit, the United States has undergone
a uniquely varied social development. The value of this anthology will
ultimately be measured by its impact in demonstrating both the problems
and potential of social history today.

Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation

Carol E. Hoffecker

This volume is a collection of historical, carefully documented essays on a variety of topics related to public speaking in Pennsylvania. The nineteen essays range from colonial to modern times. There are chapters on William Penn, the Quakers, the debates in the constitutional conventions, the women's rights movement, nineteenth century political figures, preaching, legal speaking, business and labor spokesmen in the state.

This collection of specialized studies of oratory in Pennsylvania is the first of its kind. Useful information is presented about a number of prominent Pennsylvania leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, David Wilmot, Gifford Pinchot and John Wanamaker. However, the authors are narrowly selective in their analyses and quotations and because of space limitations most of the authors must assume that their readers have a certain minimum knowledge of the events about which they write.

The major area of emphasis in the book is on political oratory. There are good essays on David Wilmot and the rise of the Republican party, on organized politics and on the career of Pinchot. A. K. McClure probably deserves more attention than he receives and the treatment of Thaddeus Stevens is not sufficiently critical.

Two chapters that deserve special mention are "Spokesman for Business in Pennsylvania" by William S. Tacey, and "A History of the Speech of Labor in Pennsylvania" by Thomas A. Hopkins. Both essays deal with complex subjects over an extended period of time and suggest something of the variety that exists in business and labor oratorical styles.

The essays are uneven in style, interpretation and historical value. Some cover too great a period of time and the result is superficiality. The seventeen-page essay on preaching in Pennsylvania, for instance, starts with Henry Muhlenberg in 1742 and concludes with Clarence Macartney in 1927, but there is no mention of Francis Asbury, and insufficient attention is devoted to Russell Conwell.

A more serious oversight is the fact that in none of these essays is there any attention given to Abraham Lincoln's Independence Hall speech on his way to taking the oath of office, or to his Gettysburg Address.

There are few common themes running through these essays. Robert Oliver, in a brief opening chapter, suggests that one conclusion emerging from these studies is that the people's welfare has suffered heavily from the failure of its leaders to take them into their confidence. He also believes that the people of Pennsylvania have neglected to value sufficiently public discussion of matters affecting their welfare. Little evidence is offered to support either thesis.

As Oliver points out, speech helps to make history as well as record it. The authors of this collection would have done us a service if they had devoted more analytical attention to the role of speech in contributing to history, to the decision-making process, and to the changing of the
course of events. To what extent does the rhetoric of the politician or the labor leader provide a rationalization of what is decided by larger political, social or economic forces, and to what extent does the persuasiveness of the preacher or the lawyer shape the direction of events by virtue of what they say or how they say it?

Despite the fact that the printing process used for these volumes permitted no galley or page proof there are very few typographical errors. Bibliographical references are contained in footnotes at the end of each chapter and there is a brief index.

This volume is a useful supplement to histories of Pennsylvania and to those few studies of public speaking with a sound historical orientation. If similar studies in other areas are contemplated, perhaps they should be regional, rather than state-wide, in their scope.

Wilson College

Charles C. Cole, Jr.
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