BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY MICHAEL P. WEBER


When Europeans first contacted American Indians, they found an effective native medicinal tradition which paralleled that of Europe. It is not easy for a modern reader to appreciate this fact. Recollection that Harvey's work on blood circulation was first published in 1616 helps put the matter in perspective. Weslager's book, which is a popular account of Indian curing, both herbal and nonherbal (with emphasis on medicinal ethno-botany), places Indian medicine in its proper context. Weslager, for example, quotes a 1698 statement that the Indians were "as able Doctors and Surgeons as any in Europe." The Indians Weslager deals with are primarily Delawares (both the early historical Delawares and their descendants in Oklahoma and Ontario). He also touches on the Nanticokes and "Moors," and the New Jersey "Sand Hill Indians."

Some of Weslager's material has appeared in his previous publications. But the sections on the Oklahoma and Ontario Delawares, the most valuable portions of the book, are largely new. The sections on the Delaware, although a contribution to the literature, present a number of problems, primarily regarding the nature of the similarities and differences in Weslager's account and the accounts of earlier works.

In 1930 James Weber, an Oklahoma Delaware herbalist, worked "some months" with Gladys Tantaquidgeon to record Delaware medicinal ethno-botany. Plant specimens were gathered in the greater Philadelphia area (where Weber had moved in 1928) and supplemented with specimens from Oklahoma. Weber provided an account of how each plant was prepared and used. The scientific identity of these plants was established by botanists. Tantaquidgeon's _A Study of Delaware Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs_ (based primarily on Weber, but with comparative material from the Canadian Delawares and Nanticokes) was published by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission in 1942 and has recently been reprinted.

The differences between Tantaquidgeon's and Weslager's accounts include the kinds of plants utilized and the preparation of these plants. Tantaquidgeon divided Delaware herbal remedies into simple remedies (where "one, two, or three different plant parts are mixed together") and the complex remedies (which might include "from seven to twenty vegetal substances."). In her table of Oklahoma Delaware plants (giving 133 plants, including over 30 used only for food), she mentioned almost one-half the medicinal plants as being used in compound remedies. Weslager lists almost 40 Oklahoma Delaware medicinal plants, 11 of which were not mentioned.
by Tantaquidgeon as being used in medicines. Few, if any, of the remedies reported by Weslager could be termed compound.

There are a number of remarkable similarities in the reports of Weslager and Tantaquidgeon. For example, in discussing flannel or great mullein:

"Leaves are heated and applied to body and joints to give relief from rheumatic pains, and also to reduce swellings" (Weslager, p. 70).

"The leaves are heated and applied to the joints and body to allay rheumatism pain and reduce swelling" (Tantaquidgeon, 1942, p. 30).

Another parallel is found in the discussion of horsemint:

"A tea made from leaves can be taken to reduce fever; also a solution of leaves in cold water can be used to bathe the patient's face" (Weslager, p. 71).

"A tea made from the plant for fever, and to bathe face of patient" (Tantaquidgeon, 1942, p. 29).

On the basis of the information provided by Tantaquidgeon and Weslager, it is difficult to assess the competence of their respective informants. If both informants represent the best Delaware medical knowledge of their respective times, there can be little doubt as to the great decline in Delaware medicine over the last forty years. Further, there are some questions as to precisely what Weslager himself obtained from his informant. Perhaps the decline in medicinal knowledge is even more marked than a cursory perusal of the two works would suggest. On the other hand, cultural factors, such as affiliation with different Delaware groups, as well as temporal factors might also be involved in the reported variation in Delaware medicine. Further work will be necessary to answer these problems.

One final note should be added. Weslager does not mention the collection of plants, nor their identification by botanists; and some of his scientific plant identifications are open to question. The most blatant of these is in his statement: "Of all the American herbs none attained the popularity of the tobacco plant (Nicotiana tabacum), which was cultivated by most, if not all of the tribes of the eastern woodlands." The native tobacco, called "true tobacco" by the Delaware, Iroquois, and other eastern Indians was N. rustica.

University of Maryland,  
MELBURN D. THURMAN  
College Park


From its earliest beginnings North Carolina faced hard luck. Five attempts at settlement failed before the middle of the 1660s, and the colony's
troubles did not cease when permanent settlements were made. In 1677 Culpeper's Rebellion drove out one governor, and twelve years later another was deposed and banished. Pirates infested the coast for decades. Even as they were tamed, angry Tuscarora Indians attacked the Albemarle country in 1711 and two rival governors fought a civil war in the south. After 1760 came more Indian raids, Regulator violence, and in 1771 a pitched battle against the government. No sooner had this dispute ended than the royal government was toppled, and the bloody and bitter civil war of Patriot against Loyalist began.

Despite these calamities detailed by the experienced and well-qualified authors of *Colonial North Carolina*, the province grew. After a slow start North Carolina's “take-off” stage began in the 1750s. Population, which took a century to reach 45,000 in 1750, more than sextupled to 300,000 by the Revolution. Tobacco exports inched upward to 100,000 pounds in 1753, then skyrocketed to 1,500,000 pounds by 1772. The colony was still far behind some others but was obviously catching up in the late colonial period.

This book is effectively organized and concisely written, with little repetition or backtracking. The first two chapters examine the unsuccessful early attempts at colonization and the shaky beginning under the Proprietors. The next two show settlement expanding from Albemarle down the Atlantic coast and then, after the Crown took over in 1729, up the Cape Fear River and west into the Piedmont. Non-English groups participated heavily in this movement, which was punctuated by the savage Tuscarora war and by many later frontier raids.

Chapters five and six detail the assembly's political struggles with successive royal governors over quitrents, courts, and quorum requirements and discuss North Carolina's participation in mid-century colonial wars from the West Indies to Canada. Two chapters on economic and social conditions follow. These chapters emphasize that although tobacco, naval stores, and lumber were all sizeable exports, poor transportation facilities kept North Carolina dominated by small self-sufficient farms.

Chapter nine examines the role of religion in North Carolina, showing how early religious laxness gave way to a tax-supported Anglican establishment after 1700. By mid-century, however, the numerous Presbyterians, Baptists, and other dissenters practiced without much hindrance. The Church of England's great dependence upon SPG aid is clearly demonstrated.

Chapter ten covers the rise of sectionalism after 1750, as the fast-growing west's demands for more democratic government escalated into armed conflict between Regulators and militia. Finally, the last two chapters describe North Carolina's resistance to Great Britain after 1763.

The book is well-produced and remarkably free of typographical errors. The absence of footnotes is not a fault considering the intended audience and the thorough bibliography of secondary and printed primary sources. The authors wisely make use of several recent dissertations covering subjects not yet adequately treated in print. They might, however, replace the 1739 and 1779 maps with two well-drawn modern maps showing social, economic, and political developments.
There is a certain vagueness in the discussion of legislative politics throughout the book. The authors mention the antiproprietary or popular party. But they never define the membership, issues, continuity, or class and geographical distribution of political factions. Did North Carolina have the long-lasting factions of some colonies, or were her political divisions temporary and shifting ones? This is a point of some importance for the development of North Carolina politics, and a brief analysis of legislative voting patterns could have supplied at least a tentative answer.

In view of recent demographic work on the New England colonies, the authors' generalities about marriage age, family size, and life-span in North Carolina (taken apparently from travel accounts rather than statistical investigation) are open to question. It might well be that the pattern of small to moderate-sized families, marriage in the mid-twenties, rather low infant death rates, long life expectancy, and few remarriages is peculiar to New England. On the other hand, impressionistic diary and travel accounts may be as misleading for North Carolina as they have been shown to be further north.

These comments are intended more as suggestions for further research than as criticisms of this particular book. There is obviously a limit to what a general survey covering more than a century can do, and Colonial North Carolina should certainly appeal to the intelligent general audience for which it is intended. It will be useful as well to scholars by supplying a long-needed introduction to the history of this rather neglected colony.

Southwest Texas State University

JAMES H. BROUSSARD


There were many varieties of revolutionary experience in America, and that of Maryland is certainly one of the more interesting. A proprietary colony, Maryland on the eve of the Revolution was known for its oligarchical conservation. Yet the oligarchy itself was deeply split over which faction would rule and thereby enjoy the lucrative perquisites of power. On one side stood Governor Daniel Dulany, his relatives, and a host of placemen. On the other, a coalition of forces from Baltimore and Annapolis, including Samuel Chase and William Paca, began to coalesce in the assembly around the Carroll family. The latter group, identified by Professor Hoffman as the popular party, gained strength in the early 1770s as a result of economic problems in the colony and inept political machinations by the proprietary government. During these years the struggle of the popular party to gain control of the government became inextricably bound up with the growing imperial conflict. From political necessity the popular party extended at least tepid support for the revolutionary movement. The real values of this group were revealed in 1774 when they desperately tried to prevent the destruction of the vessel Peggy Stewart for violating the non-importation agreement. As men of property, they deplored attacks on property.

In 1775 the revolutionary Maryland Convention and its executive com-
mittee, the Council of Safety, took over control of Maryland. Both bodies were dominated by the popular party which finally achieved its goal of seizing local power. But the new rulers quickly discovered that the price of power could be very great indeed. The revolutionary crisis and its accompanying dislocations unleashed long repressed social pressures in Maryland. The new government faced mutiny among the militia, outright rebellion in the lower eastern shore counties, and disturbing incidents of discontent among the slaves. To prevent further deterioration of the situation and to re-establish social order, the new rulers first tried to halt the movement toward separation of the colonies from England by registering their opposition to independence. Faced with the inevitability of a final break with the mother country, the Maryland authorities gave their assent with the greatest reluctance on June 28, 1776.

Following independence the leadership consolidated its hold on Maryland's politics by forcing through an extremely conservative constitution. High property qualifications and other antidemocratic devices in the instrument effectively kept power in the hands of the rich and the wellborn. To contain internal revolution, the government decreed harsh penalties for treason, riot, and rebellion. Hoffman contends, however, that the government would probably have been overthrown if it had not improved its image and popularity among the lower classes of Maryland by instituting a radical fiscal program. In adopting a more equitable tax system and decreeing that paper money must be accepted as legal tender, the leadership harmed its own economic interests. But the ambition to rule outweighed the financial sacrifice. In 1778 the British withdrew their forces from the Chesapeake, and the Maryland government restored order on the eastern shore and throughout the state. Those who had opposed the Annapolis leaders were brought to trial. The government, however, administered light punishments out of fear that anything harsher would revive discontent. Thus, by the end of the revolutionary period the new oligarchical rulers had solidified their positions of authority and suppressed the radical opposition.

Professor Hoffman's book is well written, soundly argued, and based on thorough research. He has relied on primary materials for his sources, particularly the letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and other leaders of the period. In addition, he has brought together a remarkable body of material relating to economic conditions in Maryland. Of particular interest is his description of lower-class Toryism on the eastern shore. From his study of court records, letters, and newspapers, Hoffman concludes that Toryism in these areas was a matter of radical democratic protest against oligarchical rule rather than a preference for Great Britain.

This volume is the first monograph to be published in the Maryland Bicentennial Studies series. It is handsomely presented, although for some unaccountable reason the bibliography was omitted. It is to be hoped that other volumes in this series will measure up to the high standard set by Professor Hoffman.

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

FRANK A. CASSELL
A while ago it was widely believed that in 1776 the people had risen in arms against a king and declared their independence. The people, of course, did not count for a considerable proportion of Loyalists. Today few historians, uneasily aware of America's "legacy of suppression," ignore the losers. For that new awareness historians will cite many sound reasons; one that laymen cite most often, however, is the publication a generation ago of Kenneth Roberts's *Oliver Wiswell*. *Wiswell* was a novel, but it convinced many that hot tar and riding on a rail had been neither a fair test of one's sense of humor nor a legitimate method of political persuasion.

Of course a novelist could portray best what was typical and localized; it was left to others to disclose the variety. Rising successfully to the implicit challenge, Catherine S. Crary has selected from published and unpublished sources some two hundred documents or excerpts to serve as "a sampling of Loyalist experiences." The accounts are "limited almost entirely to their own written records." In an introduction of ten pages Dr. Crary ably generalizes the Loyalists' history from 1773 to the end of the century, providing brief but well-formulated introductory narratives at appropriate points to link the individual documents as well as the chapters. She also supplies a bibliography of the sources used and, what many anthologies unfortunately lack, a full index.

The task of selecting two hundred appropriate documents was formidable: within the British, Canadian, and American archives it would have been easier to choose thousands. The selections actually made were on the whole judicious, seeking human interest and some degree of balance among the well-known cases and the unfamiliar; among whites, Indians, and blacks; among men and women; among clergymen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, and farmers; among soldiers, guerrillas, and civilians; and among former residents of the thirteen colonies.

Flora MacDonald, queen of gothic romance, was in North Carolina and was presumably a Loyalist, whose contemporaries had very little to say on the subject and her own letters are poor material, but there she is. Benedict Arnold, least typical of the Loyalists but villain of the revolutionary melodrama, is perforce included. In addition there are other colorful personalities less commonly remembered. Loyal and courageous Captain John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, for example, who attempted to make his fortune by fraud, applying for British compensation for imaginary estates forfeited by reason of his loyalty; James Matra, a New Yorker who tried unsuccessfully to have Australia opened to Loyalist settlers and Sarah McGinn, a white interpreter to the Iroquois, who was revered by them as their counsellor and therefore proved invaluable to the British.

Certain weaknesses are evident. Notably, the subtitle seems to indicate some infirmity of purpose: the documents were not actually chosen as writings for literary or intellectual value. A number of them, though concerned with Loyalists, are actually Whig documents; and in the case of some Loyalists only partisan Whig testimony is presented. The argument with
parallel columns that alleges significant analogies between a letter of William Smith, Jr., and the Olive Branch Petition, for example, is not very persuasive. The bibliography lumps manuscripts and books indiscriminately, and both there and in the citations the problems created are compounded because italics are used capriciously for the titles of manuscripts and books, sometimes even for the name of the author. The names of repositories are likewise reported with a careless informality that may baffle the novice and sometimes the expert.

Despite such flaws in the product, Dr. Crary has performed an important service: she alone has brought together a wide variety of unique documentation of the mettle of the losers. Such works as hers are prerequisite to better understanding of the American revolutionary tradition.

Dickinson College

HENRY J. YOUNG


This handsome book is based on Volumes 1-19 of The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, edited by Harold C. Syrett and published by Columbia University Press. It contains some 300 illustrations—woodcuts, engravings, sketches, and pages from historic documents—and three picture portfolios in full color, depicting Hamilton's youth in the Caribbean, his military career, and his years of public service. The publishers are evidently counting on a wide bicentennial distribution, or they would never have been able to put it out for a mere $15, considering the elaborate visual feast they have provided for the reader.

All this is the more remarkable in view of the fact that the subject is Alexander Hamilton, whose work was technical and tedious, and whose private life verged on the sordid. Nevertheless, he was articulate, if nothing else, and his life story is well told in his own words, though one must not expect delicacy of feeling. He was not noted for emotional subtlety. His letter of condolence to Martha Washington, on the death of her husband, is a vivid example of his awkwardness in the face of genuine emotion, and his inability to suppress his own ego: "No one better than myself, knows the greatness of your loss, or how much your excellent heart is formed to feel it in all its extent. Satisfied that you cannot receive consolation, I will attempt to offer none. Resignation to the will of Heaven, which the practice of your life ensures, can alone alleviate the sufferings of so heart-rending an affliction. There can be few who, equally with me participate in the loss you deplore."

Hamilton's public life was always more important to him than his private life. He was at pains to explain that he had not misappropriated public funds; he had merely paid hush money to suppress the story of his illicit liaison with Maria Reynolds. The anguish that this revelation would cause to his wife and children was as nothing to the disgrace he might suffer as a public official. His real crime, he had not hesitated to admit, was an "amorous connection" with the "privity and connivance" of both Mrs. Reynolds and her husband who shared a "design to extort money . . . ."
As a cabinet officer, Hamilton was primarily concerned with the energy and direction of the Washington administration. The term executive privilege had not yet come in vogue, but Hamilton’s position as to the right of Congress to inquire into executive affairs has a contemporary ring to it. Washington was urged not to “charge his memory” with the details of negotiations with foreign powers:

A right in the House of Representatives, to demand and have as a matter of course, and without specification of any object of all communications respecting a negotiation with a foreign power cannot be admitted without danger of much inconvenience. A discretion in the Executive Department how far and where to comply in such cases is essential to the due conduct of foreign negotiations and is essential to preserve the limits between the Legislative and Executive Departments. The present call is altogether indefinite and without any declared purpose. The Executive . . . cannot therefore without forming a very dangerous precedent comply.

It is hard to realize that Hamilton was dead at forty-nine. The tragic duel with Aaron Burr at Weehawken is fully documented, as is the final scene after his mortal wound. Only a short time before, his oldest son, Philip, age twenty, had been killed in a duel in a similar manner. His untimely death seemed almost predestined. Meanwhile no one, except Washington himself, had done more than Hamilton to strengthen the American government and secure a prosperous future for his countrymen. But it was not done easily or without anxiety. Reading Hamilton’s actual words, we learn that he thought he was “labouring to prop the frail and worthless fabric [of the new government]” and that “Every day proves to me more and more that this American world was not made for me . . . .”

Lafayette College

John M. Coleman


To commemorate the bicentennial of the American Revolution, Newsweek Publishers have created a series entitled The Founding Fathers. James Madison is the fifth published work in the series. Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson are additional subjects. Through the use of published correspondence, Merrill Peterson presents Madison in his own words from his student years at Princeton University to his retirement at Montpelier in 1817. His career—as constitutional delegate, political theorist, party leader, secretary of state, and president—attest to a lifelong desire to make self-government a reality in “our beloved Country.”

To political philosophers, Madison is probably the best known for his essay on factions (The Federalist, No. 10). Here he argued that the “most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property . . . . The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and in-
volves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government." Using selections from Madison's "Debates in the Federal Convention," Peterson ably demonstrates that "Madison had come to believe that the salvation of the Republic lay in enlarging the sphere of government so as to embrace a greater number of interests and factions." Herein lies the connection between Madison's concern with factions and his support for the doctrine of national supremacy. In 1787 Madison was firmly committed to proposals that would "enlarge the sphere of government." To achieve this objective, he worked hard to promote a strong national government.

Madison's vacillating commitment to a strong national government and national supremacy is an interesting facet of his lengthy political career. The correspondence in this volume demonstrates changes in position. Working closely with Robert Morris, Madison was a leading nationalist in the Continental Congress in 1781. And in important letters in February and April, 1787, months before the Constitutional Convention, he sketched the essentials of the Virginia Plan—a radical plan (Peterson calls it), repudiating the earlier emphasis upon decentralization and state autonomy: here Madison is explicit in his use of the term "national supremacy" with regard to the executive, legislature, and judiciary.

During the Washington administration, Madison and Hamilton, fellow essayists in The Federalist, grew apart on the national bank issue. Madison preferred a strict interpretation of the enumerated powers granted to the national government and, more specifically, to Congress. Hamilton supported the constitutionality of the bank through the implied powers of the national government. "Why Madison chose to take such a strict view of federal powers is not easily explained," Peterson states. The editor's explanation is much the same as that of Ralph Ketcham, Madison's principal biographer: "Madison's motivations in formulating the attitudes soon to be the program of the Jeffersonian party, plus the strong commercial opposition to the national bank, in the North as well as in the South, reveal this interpretation to be an important though incomplete insight." [James Madison: A Biography (New York, 1971), 322]. Influenced by the "seductions of Virginia politics," Madison went on to build the intellectual nucleus of the Republican party.

In his "State of the Union" message in 1815—a message which Peterson says "'out-Federalized' Federalism"—Madison returned to the ardent nationalism of the 1780s. "Madison believed that the political experiment had proved itself and that the Union could sustain a program of national improvement and consolidation." He proposed national programs that went far beyond the suggestions of Hamilton in 1791. Even though with apparent inconsistency, he continued his position against latitudinarian construction of the Constitution, as exemplified by the opinions of Chief Justice John Marshall. As Peterson says, his political career ended "on a somewhat ambiguous note."

The editor has used correspondence and writings expertly, and the explanations which tie together Madison's words and passages offer the reader much important historical interpretation. The letters themselves reveal little of the private life of Madison, except for some correspondence during his
college career and for a few letters to his wife, Dolly. In public matters, Madison was careful to save everything for its potential archival value. For the latter, we are most indebted, for Madison himself can provide us with important insight into the development of our federal system.

In conclusion, one cannot help but admire the graphic beauty of this volume. The editor has made extensive use of etchings, drawings, and maps. Two color picture portfolios, "Man from Montpelier" and "Mr. Madison's War," make this an attractive, and certainly well edited, commemorative publication.

Allegheny College

ROBERT G. SEDDIG


Two decades ago, John A. Munroe, presently H. Rodney Sharp Professor at the University of Delaware, published his Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815. This piece of model scholarship contributed greatly to the revision of our former understanding of the origin, nature, and configuration of the young Republic's political system. Now, Professor Munroe has combined his outstanding research skills, fine writing style, and unusual knowledge of American political, diplomatic, and economic history to produce an excellent biography of Louis McLane (1786-1857), the Delaware politician and Baltimore businessman. This long and detailed study doubtlessly will remain the definitive biography for years to come if not forever.

Basically, it is the story of an intelligent, energetic, ambitious, humorless, self-centered politician who sought to scale the heights of power without a political base. In the end McLane became a technician willing to undertake tasks for those whose economic and political principles were antithetical to his own in the hope of advancement. More than once, McLane harbored the illusion that the presidency itself might pass to him if greater men failed to grasp the prize. It was McLane, however, who was generally used by others. Ironically, it was not as a politician but as an administrator that he made his name. "He had an excellent reputation as a man of affairs, as one who got things done, whether in congressional committees, in a London legation, or in a cabinet ministry." Perhaps his greatest achievements were the administrative reforms that he instituted in the Department of State and the physical growth and financial reorganization of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that took place when he was head of the line.

Professor Munroe outlines his subject's public life as follows:

The career of Louis McLane was multifaceted, involving many aspects of politics, diplomacy, finance, and business. Appearing first on the national scene as a Congressman representing a small state and a weak minority party, McLane rose by his talents and industry to the chairmanship of the most important committee in the House of Representatives, despite the steadfast Federalism that won him six consecutive elections from 1816 through 1826. After a brief service in the Senate he was sent to the United States' most important diplomatic post abroad, as minister to London.
Returning triumphant, he served brief but important terms in Jackson's cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State, and for a very short period he was the dominant figure in that cabinet. After retreating to private life, he moved to New York on accepting the presidency of the Morris Canal and Banking Company, which was then more interested in its Jersey City bank, with a Wall Street branch, than in its canal. From New York McLane moved to Maryland as president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company. And there in Maryland McLane remained until his death twenty years later, except for a brief return to diplomacy when he undertook a critical second mission to England in 1845.

Professor Munroe is best when discussing and analyzing secondary level Jacksonian politics. His approach and style here is reminiscent of the early work of his professor, Roy Franklin Nichols. We learn of McLane's rivalry with Roger Taney and his growing disenchantment with his mentor Martin Van Buren. Jackson himself is painted sympathetically as a man capable of recognizing McLane's abilities even when the Delawarean's position on the Bank of the United States ran counter to that of the balance of the administration. One feels that the president was rather drawn to McLane because of his political brashness. The truth is that McLane could be tolerated and used because he had no political clout whatsoever. He was an excellent administrator, and when in charge of a project he did well. However, politics require tact and the talent for compromise in addition to the possession of power. Louis McLane enjoyed none of these three requisites.

Professor Munroe's description of McLane's role in the growth and development of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is both interesting and valuable. Here was a challenge to all of McLane's experience, influence, and skills. He succeeded admirably, but his orientation was so political that it appears that he neither valued the presidency of the line nor his important achievements to any considerable degree.

Where Professor Munroe falls is in his characterization of Louis McLane. To this reviewer, there are few lifelike qualities in the portrait the author attempts to paint. We learn that he was handsome, "often meanly suspicious," ambitious, stern, and possessed a mercurial temperament. Somehow, McLane does not come alive. Perhaps the source materials that Professor Munroe utilized determined the end results. Still one wishes the author could have given us a better profile of this man's personality, a more profound insight into his desires. The illustrations lack imagination, and some are poorly reproduced; the book is overpriced at $22.50.

Despite these criticisms, Professor Munroe has given us a superior piece of scholarship.

The Catholic University of America

Edward C. Carter II

The Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the South. By Parke Rouse, Jr.

The most disappointing and misleading aspect of this book is its title. Of the twenty-eight chapters, plus prologue and epilogue, not more than nine
are seriously concerned with the Great Wagon Road at all. The remaining twenty-one constitute a rambling, uneven patchwork of essays on various subjects that have little discernible relevance to the advertised central theme. As it says on the jacket, "his [Mr. Rouse's] writing reflects a lifetime of living in Virginia." Indeed it does. Although the volume is allegedly concerned with at least five states, a third of the titles in the bibliography concentrate on Virginia. In all fairness, there is a good bit about Pennsylvania as well as the Old Dominion, but the rest of the states traversed by the Great Road are left to shift pretty much for themselves. And except for a few wild and unsupported generalizations (e.g.: "The chronicle of the Wagon Road is the chronicle of infant America from 1607 until the age of the railway," and: "The story of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road is the story of German and Scotch-Irish settlement in America."), the national importance or impact of the road simply does not emerge from this strangely diffuse account.

Consider first the chapters that have more or less to do with the road. For one thing they are scattered through the book so that there is nothing approaching a systematic, cohesive story of the growth and changes that must have taken place on this fabled highway. When, for example, did the road (as distinct from the Indian trail) come into general use? What were the successive physical aspects of the road: its length, width, surface, bridges, and so forth? How much traffic flowed over the road—people and goods—at such times as measurements were feasible? What sorts of people and goods were hauled over the road, and in what direction? Who (i.e., what public or private agencies) maintained the road? Garrulous as this volume is, there are only a few, scattered asides on these and other basic matters. For example, on the next to last page of the book we are told: "Along much of its early 800 miles, the . . . Road is now obscured by a modern highway." Just what does "early 800 miles" mean? Should "early" be "nearly"? Whereas Mr. Rouse need not emulate the excesses of the cliometricians, he might do well to base his story on a reliable, clearly-understood quantitative foundation if he wishes to produce professional transportation history. If he boggles at statistics, let him use graphs or charts; at a glance these reveal such elementary factors as growth, change, comparisons, and the like. And they provide the structure on which to build the qualitative considerations that give life and meaning to the story as a whole. One more comment on the road chapters: nowhere in the book is there a clear guide as to where the road went and when. The only map in the volume is the frontispiece, so ineptly bound that considerable parts are out of sight. More unforgivable: the map is not dated (even inclusively), there is no scale, and there are puzzling omissions—such as Columbia, South Carolina. Actually, like any historical atlas (or any workmanlike transportation history, for that matter) this book should have several maps showing the road at different stages in its development. Their omission here is serious and surprising in a series of this calibre.

If the chapters that refer most frequently to the road leave so much to be desired, what do the non-road chapters have to offer? In all candor, not much. They are chatty, genteel, harmless essays. About the only thing they
have in common is their setting in the wide territory between Pennsylvania and Georgia. In this huge area the forlorn Great Road unfailingly gets lost in the endless preoccupation with passing the time of day. Why, for example, should a closing chapter with the serious and promising title "A Road is Reunited" turn out to be primarily a sickeningly sentimental eulogy to the three Wade Hamptons? A chapter like this adds not one cubit to the tale of the Great Road, to the role of that road in the transportation complex of the country, or, for that matter, to the volume's claim for inclusion in the American Trails Series.

Limitations of space permit only a sampling of the all too many outright errors of fact. The Conestoga wagon, for example, which rightly plays a major role in the tale, is incorrectly described. If Mr. Rouse had consulted such classic sources as Seymour Dunbar's A History of Travel in America or John Rae's The Road and the Car in American Life, he might have gotten the matter straight. Braddock's march westward was in 1755, not 1758. The Proclamation of 1763 was in that year, not after 1764; amusingly enough, the correct date appears on p. 105. The Lancaster Pike was opened in 1794, not 1795; here again Rae or George R. Taylor in his The Transportation Revolution (also bypassed by Rouse) would have given the correct information. And so it goes, hardly a performance to inspire confidence.

Unfortunately the technical aspects of this book are as disappointing as the contents. The cut-and-paste technique is carried beyond all reason; twenty-six pages (just 10 percent of the total) have more lines of quotation than of text, and as many more approach that proportion. Many of the quotations are simply from secondary sources; a score or more are not documented at all. The bibliography and notes are confused and incomplete. Aside from omitting such key works as Dunbar, Rae, and Taylor, the author does not include the logical starting place for a study of this sort, Caroline MacGill's History of Transportation in the United States before 1860, whose bibliography alone would have been indispensable. The notes are frail reeds indeed. There are, for example, none for chapters thirteen and seventeen despite a dozen quotations therein. Several notes are incomplete in one way or another, while fourteen books or articles cited in the notes failed to find their way into the bibliography. To cap the climax, in my copy, pages 203-234 are tucked in between pages 170 and 171, one error for which, it should be said, the author cannot be held responsible.

This is a careless piece of work both in concept and execution. Hopefully the Great Wagon Road will someday attract the sort of professional treatment it deserves.

Manchester Depot, Vermont

Richard C. Overton


Sixty-eight years is a long time to await a man's biography, but there are extenuating circumstances when one is dealing with Herman Haupt. A writer is faced with that monumental piece of arrogance Reminiscences, an
autobiography. James Lord met the situation head-on and set the record straight regarding Haupt's war services. Professor Ward devotes only three chapters to this period, concentrating rather on his subject's role in the development of American engineering. His treatment is balanced. This he promises in the introduction, and this he faithfully carries out. Is it not possible, however, that Haupt's continuous intransigence is responsible for the title *That Man Haupt?* Even a biographer is entitled to a certain amount of exasperation.

The ethnic background is Pennsylvania-German, but by the time of Herman Haupt's birth, March 26, 1817, in Philadelphia, the family was urbanized and spoke only English within the household. A rural interlude during 1827-28, brought about by his father's failing eyesight, is the only episode in the book that seems to need clarification. Jacob Haupt conducted a general store at Woodville, New Jersey (no such community is listed in contemporary gazetteers) while ten-year old Herman worked the farm. This is a bit hard to believe. The former's death prompted a return to the city where a Pennsylvania appointment to the Military Academy, in 1831, directed Herman into a path from which there would be very little deviation. At fourteen he was the youngest person ever to enter West Point.

Graduation in 1835 coincided with the first American railway boom, and Haupt lost no time in resigning from the army and attaching himself to Henry R. Campbell, the eminent locomotive designer and chief engineer for several projected railroads in eastern Pennsylvania. Haupt's first assignment as a draftsman, involving locomotive plans, ultimately added a second string to his bow. In later life he would prove to be both a civil and mechanical engineer.

Excellent survey work on the Norristown, Berks & Lehigh Railroad and the Norristown & Valley Railroad resulted in his being loaned to the State of Pennsylvania for a similar task on the Gettysburg Railroad. This move eventually provided Haupt with a wife, a professorship at Gettysburg College, and more importantly a base from which to weather the engineering depression after 1837. His magnum opus, *General Theory of Bridge Construction*, published in 1851, was a product of this, the calmest period in an otherwise unsettled career.

This reviewer believes that Haupt's finest hours was his decade of service with the new Pennsylvania Railroad from 1847 to 1856. As J. Edgar Thomson's protégé, he covered everything from completely resurveying the original Harrisburg to Lewistown section to supervising the construction of the first Susquehanna River bridge at Rockville. Such talent did not go unrewarded, and Haupt soon found himself general superintendent with complete responsibility for operational matters. His ability as an administrator matched that in engineering, but the fatal flaw in his make-up appeared for the first time. He could not resist in interfering beyond the limits of authority. At the time of his first resignation, 1851, he was at odds with the commissioners of the Pennsylvania State Public Works, a portion of his own board of directors, and sundry other departments of the railroad, all at the same time.

A short southern interregnum brought him back to a contrite Pennsylvania Railroad that was undergoing growing pains, and he was unanimously
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elected its chief engineer in April, 1853. The ease with which Haupt solved the Pennsylvania’s problems and the eventual lack of challenge was to lead him down the primrose path, into the abyss (as Professor Ward aptly entitles a chapter) of the Hoosac Tunnel. When the firm of Serrell, Haupt & Co. was formed January 7, 1856, Herman Haupt was worth one-half million dollars, and there were no visible clouds on the horizon. From here it would be all downhill.

The fiasco of the next five years was a complicated game ably explained by the author. The Hoosac Tunnel, in essence, ruined Haupt. It would ruin others in the future, equally good men, who could not find their way out of the political morass.

The sixteen-month stint of General Herman Haupt as head of the Bureau of Military Railroads will remain as his monument. His work was magnificent, and the record speaks for itself. Unfortunately self-aggrandizement has blown this up out of all proportion. Professor Ward carefully omits any opinions that might favor either Haupt or the bureaucracy.

Haupt survived the Civil War by forty years, but they were anticlimactic years. He became a key figure in Tom Scott’s invasion of southern railroads and later general manager of the Northern Pacific Railroad during Villard’s regime, both well-paying positions. His financial position, however, remained unhealthy for the balance of his life. Land speculation and attempts to operate a resort hotel were unsuccessful, and there was an increasing tendency to become involved in questionable corporations based on unproved inventions.

Haupt had a blind spot when it came to electricity. The Hardie Compressed Air Motor would make the new electric streetcar obsolete. Further, he believed, there was no future for long distance electrical power transmission. This too would be accomplished with compressed air. The end of the line was the National Nutrient Company, which absorbed the last of his liquid capital, a scheme to corner the powdered and condensed milk business. Herman Haupt was engaged in a futile attempt to windup the affairs of this company when he died on a Jersey City—Philadelphia train on December 13, 1905.

Professor Ward has worked basically from two main sources, the family’s own holdings and the Chapman Collection of Haupt Papers at Yale University. The latter was invaluable in explaining the Hoosac Tunnel controversy. This result is a well researched, eminently readable story of a star-crossed genius. It is still only a beginning. I sincerely hope that Professor Ward will further develop his source material and some day give us the Macaulay-sized treatment that belongs to Herman Haupt.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

HUGH R. GIBB


Although Civil War historians have understood that President Lincoln did not have the North’s full support prior to the bombardment of Fort Sumter,
they have never fully examined the extent of pro-secessionist sentiment outside of the Confederacy. In this book William C. Wright, associate director of the New Jersey Historical Commission, attempts to fill a portion of that historical need by detailing the secession movement in the Middle Atlantic states of Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. The author concentrates on those individuals who supported the South after the election of Lincoln and prior to the firing on Fort Sumter.

In these five states Wright has found three kinds of secessionists: those citizens who favored joining the Confederacy; individuals who wanted to join with other border states and form a central confederacy, thus dividing the Union into three separate nations; and finally, the people who worked for a peaceful compromise between the sections and, when that failed, preferred to let the South secede in peace rather than utilize force to save the Union. Proceeding state by state in his narrative, Wright carefully identifies a substantial and influential number of secessionists including politicians, newspaper editors, and members of the business community. According to him, the secession movement understandably tended to be centered in those areas with the strongest economic, cultural, and social ties with the South. Politically, the most intense secessionist activity emanated from Democratic districts which had supported Stephen Douglas or John Breckinridge in the election of 1860.

The author attributes the ultimate failure of the secession movement in these states to a variety of factors. In addition to the lack of an effective leadership, the movement was without "a vehicle for legal expression of opinion." The secessionists did not control any of the state governments. Nor were they able to generate forceful pro-secession opinion in the region. Moreover, the movement lacked internal unity. The "existence of various and fragmented forms of secession" forced the secessionists to divide their energies and fight against one another as well as against the Unionists. But ultimately the most critical factor in the defeat of the movement was the outbreak of war following the attack on Fort Sumter. Once hostilities commenced, secession would have made the Middle Atlantic states "the natural theaters of war. . . ." In addition, the Southern attack on Fort Sumter raised a "northern outcry against this direct act of aggression" which "eliminated any hope of northern support for the South. Men who had consistently supported the South's right to go in peace now openly advocated defense of the Union. . . ."

The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States, originally a doctoral dissertation, is the product of extensive research in manuscript and newspaper collections. It carefully summarizes the positions of the leading Middle Atlantic secessionists and includes five appendices which divide individual newspapers according to their views on secession. Unfortunately the book is flawed by the inclusion of literally hundreds of indented quotations. As a result, the narrative is continuously interrupted as the reader is confronted by an endless procession of unintegrated quotations. Lacking is a sustained assessment and analysis of the substantial material presented.

In addition, historians will question Wright's assumption that these five states formed a coherent geographic or political region. The basic dif-
ferences between these states were certainly much greater than their common characteristics. New York, for example, was closer in character to the New England states than to the slave states of Maryland and Delaware. In spite of its weaknesses, however, this book should be useful to historians as a source for material on the secessionist movement in these five Middle Atlantic states.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

JOHN H. SCHROEDER


Despite the existence of a substantial minor publishing industry devoted to American Judaica in its various manifestations, a good, single volume, succinct account of the experience of Jews in America is always welcome. Unfortunately the work of Zielonka and Wechman is in many ways inadequate as an exploration of the American Jewish past.

Zielonka, a rabbi at Elmira College in New York, and Wechman, a professor of history at Hartwick College in Oneonta, New York, endeavored to present this account as a survey of the interaction between Jewish religious culture and Americanization over the three hundred years that Jews have resided in America. They also included some mention of the European background and culture for the various time periods covered. The chronological organization of the text is somewhat artificially arranged into the Sephardic, German, East European, and American periods, indicating the various types of Jewish immigrants coming to America during different decades. The last American period marks the end of large-scale arrivals of Jews to the United States. There is of course considerable overlapping of types in the different periods, and the authors, once bound by the divisions, seem at times to have had difficulty in coherently adhering to the various groupings. The authors also make no mention of the relatively small yet significant influx of Israelis into the United States since the founding of the Jewish state.

A work including fewer than seventy pages of actual text excluding footnotes, bibliography, and blank, though numbered pages, can of course be easily faulted on the grounds of incompleteness, but even so there are major areas of omission that bear mention. The period since the end of World War II is badly slighted in the narrative, with little attention paid to Jewish involvement in various industries including entertainment, liquor, department stores, and the stock exchange. Refugees from Nazism, including large numbers of persons of Jewish origin, are scantily noticed, even insofar as their tremendous impact on American academic and intellectual life is concerned. The involvement in American foreign policy, especially in the case of the background leading to the formation of the state of Israel, receives nowhere near the attention that it deserves.

The authors' approach to their materials is basically uncritical and even
ethnocentric as witness their rhapsodic view of the intellectual life of the Jewish community on the lower East Side of Manhattan during the early years of this century. The failure to fully discuss Jewish involvement in radical groups such as the anarchists and the various Marxist organizations provides a lack of dimension in the text which if it had been analyzed might have aided somewhat in the authors’ effort to explain anti-Semitism in America since the 1920s.

The serious reservations concerning the text’s analysis and scope coupled with a poor index and scanty bibliography seriously diminish the value of the authors’ work either as a research tool or as a survey of the American Jewish experience for the general reader.

*Camden County College*  
Norman Lederer


In this extremely valuable study of the key immigrant group to nineteenth-century Philadelphia, Dennis Clark has undertaken to document the transformation of a rural folk, alienated from the land by economics, politics, and persecution, into a sophisticated urban people inextricably woven into the fabric of industrial America. Although his subtitle “Ten Generations of Urban Experience” is somewhat misleading, he concentrates on the middle of the nineteenth century with only glances, however telling, at earlier and later periods. The author has succeeded in exploring the major forces in that transformation within the perimeters of the nation’s foremost industrial city in the period of major emphasis. In addition, Dr. Clark has once again demonstrated the value of local history to the generalist by consistently drawing attention to contrasts between developments among Philadelphia’s Irish and those in other urban areas, most notably Boston, usually to the advantage of Philadelphia.

Of particular significance is the evidence that the large geographic size of the city of Brotherly Love, in contrast to that of Boston and New York, served to make the integration or absorption of her Irish easier, particularly when coupled with the emergence of credit generating institutions in the immigrant community, the development of a complex urban transport system, and the row house. All of these factors opened property ownership very rapidly to the Irish worker, thereby contributing to the stabilization of the community.

Dr. Clark shares the conviction of Stephen Thernstrom, enunciated in his study of Newburyport, Massachusetts, that the outward and upward mobility among Irishmen kept the city from developing a degraded proletariat with fixed membership. But he stresses that it was the size of the city and its tremendous prosperity in the nineteenth century which afforded the needed opportunity for social movement and destroyed the continuity of membership in the proletarian class.

Job mobility and small businesses, made possible by the ever expanding prosperity of the city at mid-century, offered the route away from the la-
boring class to a far larger measure than in other urban areas. In short, this study demonstrates that the experience of the Irish immigrant, with the consequent effect that it had on the direction of the new homeland, differed from locale to locale and that the differences lie outside the immigrants themselves. It is Philadelphia which lent itself most readily to the absorption of the newcomers, not some special trait of those who came to that city.

Dr. Clark effectively demonstrates that generally speaking Philadelphia was not a hostile environment for the Irish. Social mobility was real. The rate differed according to a number of variables such as aspiration, talent, economic climate, education, and even chance. But the opportunity was there. He also shows that the Irish possessed the capacity to effectively adjust in their residential, occupational, and organizational lives; they were able to cope with waves of social change generated by urban conditions. Finally, he very convincingly proves that the transition from the old identity to the new was partial, ambivalent and uneven; assimilation far from complete, and the process of social adjustment subtle and protacted. For this, the ten generation perspective is essential.

The chief defect of Dr. Clark’s effort is also its real challenge. He is cognizant of the problem, for he quite correctly points out in his preface that his effort is deficient in relation to labor history, church history, and the analysis of significant aspects of social adjustment. For example, Dr. Clark examines the growth and development of church and school and concludes his study by stating that the work of constructing a school and organizational system parallel to the general community’s facilities had profound long-range effects on the city “among which were the creation of the city’s first full-fledged ghetto complex and the ratification of a growing urban pluralism.” There is, however, no exploration of these long-range effects on the community beyond the Irish ghetto; no study of the Irish response to the incursion on these institutions by coreligionists of other ethnic origins; no attention to the impact of these institutions, particularly the development of Philadelphia’s huge Catholic high school system in another generation, which transcended neighborhoods and parishes, on the creation and preservation of cultural isolation and perhaps even racism.

In short, The Irish in Philadelphia is a provocative study, an overview of the experience of an important immigrant group in one city, an immigrant group which has more completely than any other Americanized itself, which sets the stage for a whole series of in depth monographs dealing with the Irish in Philadelphia, not to mention Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, or Seattle. Dr. Clark’s work is a telling contribution to ethnic history as well as to the history of Philadelphia in particular and urban America in general.

State University College at Buffalo

Nuala M. Drescher


All American presidential elections have appeared crucial to those who participated actively in them. So obviously our politics seemed to have
turned on the axis of the dramatic quadrennial contest. Why some presidential elections should be viewed by historians as more crucial than others is an intriguing question, to which this slim volume provides no satisfactory answer. We remain in doubt as to whether the key factor is the greatness of the issues involved, the closeness of the outcome, the evidence that a massive realignment has taken place within the electorate, or, as in 1860, the fateful consequences that ensued.

Shortly after the 1972 election five distinguished historians—Merrill D. Peterson, Joel H. Silbey, Don E. Fehrenbacher, Gilbert C. Fite, and Donald R. McCoy—discussed the elections of 1800, 1836, 1860, 1896, and 1936 in brief papers presented at a symposium of the American Philosophical Society. Because of the requirements of the occasion, their essays were necessarily general in scope and popular in tone. The scholarship on which they were based is above reproach, but it is quite familiar to specialists, for whom the volume will hold no surprises.

General readers will find the book readable and informative, but serious scholars will wish that these able historians had devoted their talents to an exploration in depth of the concept of a crucial election. Was the election of 1836 more crucial than those of 1812 or 1844? Was the 1896 election more crucial than those that occurred in the states in the years 1893 to 1895? What criteria should one apply in identifying crucial elections? One suspects that the term is not very apt as it has been used. There is a need for more explicit definitions, such as those advanced by V. O. Key, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., and Gerald Pomper. What we have here, then, are vignettes of interesting elections that do not serve to enhance our understanding of how the electoral process is to be conceptualized within the political process.

Rutgers University

Richard P. McCormick


From 1954 to 1962 the author of this volume was the city economist of Philadelphia. In this position he observed and participated in an era widely referred to as the Philadelphia renaissance, the reform administrations of mayors Joseph Clark and Richardson Dilworth. This book attempts to delineate some of the main features of this exciting reform movement, particularly the developmental policies and programs which the reformers espoused and which the city adopted.

Professor Petshek traces the genesis of the reform movement to the growing post-World War II involvement of a large number of civic groups, such as the Greater Philadelphia Movement (founded in 1949), with the obvious need to improve the government, the industrial climate, and the working and housing conditions of the metropolis. This civic concern led to the adoption of a new home rule charter in 1951 and to the election that fall of Clark as mayor and Dilworth as district attorney. With widespread civic involvement and dynamic political leadership, the reform movement oc-
cupied center stage in Philadelphia for over a decade, establishing priorities, developing programs, and overseeing projects.

The author identifies and discusses certain themes which he feels were distinctive or peculiar to the Quaker City reform movement, such as bringing many professionals into city agencies and staff positions within civic organizations. Petshek maintains that these professionals were responsible for many of the innovations and accomplishments of the Philadelphia renaissance. He also stresses the frequent joint public-private decisions reached between the city administration and private citizens in business groups and civic organizations, involving such projects as the Food Distribution Center, the University City Science Center, and the Center City and Society Hill redevelopment. This public-private consensus reached its zenith with the nonprofit corporation, a frequently utilized device which meshed governmental powers and private capital in an attempt to promote and carry out developmental programs.

A solid contribution of this work is its exploration of the intimate inter-relationships between the civic, business, and political forces during the reform era. Petshek's close association with key political figures, his official access to important minutes, documents, and reports, and his lengthy personal interviews with civic and business leaders enabled him to analyze the various policy-making methods, the political infighting, and the problems in coordination which effected the specific goals and projects of the reform movement.

The primary focus and strength of this study accounts for one of its major limitations. In his almost complete emphasis on the reform's developmental programs and the political and civic leadership that promoted such programs, Petshek dismisses the contributions of many grass roots organizations and neglects the role of ethnic minorities in the achievements of the Philadelphia renaissance. Dennis Clark's The Irish in Philadelphia has convincingly demonstrated that the efforts of the Irish were important in providing the political support that made possible the reforms of the 1950s. To conclude that the reform movement was solely the result of patrician leadership and middle-class backing is to ignore the enthusiastic manner in which thousands of lower-class Philadelphians sustained the Clark-Dilworth administrations at the polls.

Another major difficulty with this work lies in the cumbersome structural arrangement. Part I includes the substance of the reform movement. Part II focuses on specific developmental programs. The final part evaluates the movement and offers some comments on the more recent events in the city's history. Unfortunately this arrangement either compels the author to repeat information already discussed or forces the reader to revert back to earlier portions of the book. A chronological analysis of the Clark and Dilworth administrations, stressing similarities and discontinuities, might have avoided this confusing approach.

In response to the question of what happened to the reform movement, Petshek concedes that the reformers were unable to construct a lasting political organization, partly because their battles against the machine led them to believe that any kind of purely partisan structure was detrimental to
the public interest. Nevertheless, he asserts that the broad, long range progress envisaged by the reformers and their consequent shifting of the city's priorities resulted in gains that "might prove irreversible by subsequent administrations." Given the current political climate in Philadelphia, such a conclusion is certainly questionable.

Despite these criticisms, Petshek's book is a valuable contribution to the field of public policy and urban administration. And, although by no means a definitive history of the reform era, it will serve as a useful resource tool to the historian attempting to write such a volume.

Rider College

JOSEPH M. GOWASKIE