BOOK REVIEWS

Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania. By GUY SOUILLARD KLETT. (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. $3.00.)

Mr. Klett has written a praiseworthy book. His investigations exhibit a commendable mastery of the sources; the work has been thoughtfully planned and organized; the flow of the book is less jerky than one would expect from a deep excursion into the manuscript sources; the style is straightforward and enhanced by the manner in which the author has used his illustrative materials; and finally, by accident or design, there are answered precisely those questions which the social historian has been raising concerning the dominance of religion in the culture pattern of early American life. One glimpses in reading the pages of this work a sincere purpose, an abiding interest, and the exercise of discrimination; not an act of faith artificially conjured, nor a rank weed of the commemorative variety so likely to plague us henceforth and forevermore.

In the early portion of the book the author sketches the religious and other disabilities under which the Calvinists labored in the Netherlands, the Palatinate, France, and Great Britain. The situation of the Scots-Irish in Ulster is given special treatment because these people from 1720 on were the backbone of Presbyterianism in the colonies. Turning to the New World, the author discusses the status of the Presbyterian establishment before the Ulster exodus, tracing particularly the formation of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. At this point one notes the increasing use of manuscript sources heretofore unexploited. The author then traces the extension of the Presbyterian domain from the Delaware River counties, through old Berks and Lancaster, into the country west of the Susquehanna, and ultimately to the Fort Pitt area. The broader outlines of this expansion are familiar but the author's detailed presentation and his reliance upon irrefutable sources such as the session records, the minutes of the presbyteries, and the proceedings of the synod have made it a singularly valuable contribution.

The problems confronting those engaged in transplanting the Westminster Confession of Faith were legion. The establishment of a uniform service, the difficulty of granting supplies, the efforts of congregations to meet the charges of supporting a minister, the maintenance of order by congregations in communities where the civil arm was woefully inadequate, the responsibilities thrust upon the presbyteries as a result of a tumultuous expansion from the Delaware to the Ohio in sixty years, the stirring of ideas consequent upon the Great Awakening and its repercussions upon a young and forceful ministry, the turmoil and schism threatening the very existence of the Church, are representative in character. In this part of the book, too, the author discusses the various activities of the organized church: the relief of the poor, a serious matter among an emigrant people; missionary endeavors in isolated parts of the province, where a valiant ministry strained to keep pace with a far-flung brotherhood; the struggle to maintain an educated ministry in an environment
where formal education literally had to be created. In the founding of classical academies—a subject to which Mr. Klett does justice—one witnesses not only the refusal of a determined group of men to yield their standards to the wilderness, but incidentally the only systematic effort to preserve higher learning in the Middle Colonies.

Finally the author discusses the outward relations of the Presbyterians; their short-lived affiliations with the Baptists and the German Calvinists, their wariness of the Anglicans and the Quakers, their relations with the Indians, and their entry into provincial politics. Contrary to popular opinion the Church did not condone acts of thievery and violence on the part of its restless brood; in fact the Church had the heavy burden of attempting to maintain order where the provincial machinery had penetrated in name only, and furthermore Mr. Klett advances case after case where the ministry cooperated with the civil authority in removing trespassers from proprietary and Indian lands. It might well be argued that had the Church not accompanied the Scots-Irish advance, the Pennsylvania frontier would have been plunged into a condition of anarchy and untold violence.

Every student of Pennsylvania history and of religious and social history is well advised to read this volume. Here as in many other connections historically, Pennsylvania was the keystone. It was the hub of the Quaker republic as it was the seat of the Presbyterian democracy. One regrets, of course, that the author did not extend his history to one of the Church in the Middle Colonies, for with a broader perspective and little additional work the significance of the Pennsylvania establishment would appear in sharper focus. The Church was physically weaker in New York and New Jersey; indeed the New Brunswick Presbytery and the Synod of New York attained prominence only when the spirit of revolt was stalking in Pennsylvania. Such a treatment, for example, would serve the purpose of placing the founding of Princeton in a less provincial setting.

With the fruition of the work of Professor Andrews, the most recent of a distinguished group upon the subject, the main political currents within the colonies and the imperial relation have been given a merited treatment. The political framework of the colonial period is ours, but there remains the large task of examining, in broad, the culture of the many decades that preceded the establishment of the American Republic. Certain attitudes, certain ways of life, that are regarded as truly American, are the heritage of the colonial period. Many of them cannot be detected in the official and administrative documents, but are to be gleaned from a search into more homely types of sources. Because of their continuity, and, too, because of their close relation to the communities, the records of the organized churches constitute our richest single source. In Mr. Klett's writing lies ample evidence of the truth of these observations.

Vanderbilt University

JOHN E. POMFRET
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938. 371 p. $3.50.)

In 1852 someone suggested in the New York Herald that a history of the New York Packet service should be written. With many men still living who had seen it begin and had followed its development, none came forward to analyze it and record it correctly. Little, however, has been lost by waiting these eighty-six years; certainly two things have been gained. For one, a proper perspective of the importance of the packet service to America’s, particularly New York’s, commercial growth; second, the proper man to present it. No volume of American maritime history has yet been published as thorough in its gathering of primary materials; as sound in their interpretation; as clear and concise in presentation as Dr. Albion’s study of the New York packets.

For most persons “packet ship” probably has very little meaning. Reduced to its simplest term, a packet was one of a number of vessels under centralized control which, fair weather or foul, full hold or empty, sailed at an appointed time from one fixed terminus to another. A packet was distinguished functionally from other vessels precisely as we today distinguish a liner sailing on a definite schedule between definite ports from a tramp which departs when it gets a cargo to any port for which it can get a cargo.

Prior to the war of 1812 regularity of water transport was unknown save for the official British post office brigs. It is therefore easy to imagine the difficulties of the shipper or traveler attempting first to find a vessel bound for his destination; then, upon finding it, waiting until sufficient freight came along to fill her lading. With this trying situation in mind five New Yorkers in October, 1817, announced that the following January, four ships would begin a monthly schedule of sailings between New York and Liverpool. These vessels offered accommodations for passengers, for mail, and for freight.

The waterfront wisemen, and some of their betters as well, probably scoffed at the idea, doom it to quick failure through lack of volume of merchandise and passengers. But they had not noticed that the growing population of the country, until then confined to little more than the seaboard states, was expanding to the westward. The stay-at-homes in the East were becoming prosperous and demanding luxury goods which came only from abroad. On the other side of the Atlantic the mills and factories were clamoring for our raw materials, particularly our cotton. And just as insistent were their calls for a spot to unload their finished goods. New York, thanks to its auction laws, had become the emporium of America; it was the ideal place where all these factors found their focus. The packet line, therefore, not only succeeded in living through its birth, but the infant grew lustily and soon doubled its size. Others came into being to compete on the same route, and still others to make London, Havre, and our own cities up and down the coast their termini. Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore copied the scheme, but never so successfully because New York by its energy and foresight established a system of coastal packets which gave on the one hand a distributing artery for westbound products and on the other a gathering means for eastbound raw materials. Granted New York
warped the trade from its rightful channels—raw cotton could have gone from New Orleans to Liverpool direct and finished cloth be brought back to its ultimate destination without the by-pass through Sandy Hook. But by this acumen New York, with little or nothing of its own to offer, demonstrated that it was to be the dominant factor in American commercial life. Behind it all were its packets.

At first they carried the cream of the traffic; the mails, the finest freight, the celebrities who visited our shores. With the coming of steam, the packets took over the cheaper passenger trade and the second grade freight. When the steamers multiplied and their rates became cheaper, the sailing lines had only the immigrant trade and the low grade bulk cargoes. Each of these stages in the development is traced carefully from facts derived chiefly from a day by day study of the maritime news during the life of the lines (1817-1882).

In addition to the trade itself and the cargoes Dr. Albion has studied the men who manned the ships and noted how the sharp-witted New England Yankee dominated it. The land organization in New York and Liverpool which found the freights and passengers; the methods of financing and management; the trade routes—all are considered with just sufficient detail to enable a thorough understanding. But with this there is not the countless repetition of italicised ship names which becomes so tiresome in many maritime histories; nor is there the endless citation of speedy passages which has reduced some books to the level of the Daily Racing Form. All materials of this nature, essential to be sure yet when included in the text a detraction from its continuity, have been gathered into a series of appendices.

In just one phase does Dr. Albion not seem to be entirely happy and sure of himself—the descriptions of the vessels and how they developed architecturally. In fact, he is forced to refer his readers to illustrations which, unfortunately, have not been well reproduced in all instances. Beyond a doubt this chapter is lacking in high quality only because there is no reliable history of the American sailing ship by which he could orient himself on such highly technical matters.

Because this book is one of a series which Dr. Albion is writing on the port of New York, there is not a comprehensive bibliography of the entire period covered. There is, however, an intensive, critical list of sources on the packet ships and a good, though in one spot jumbled, index.

Hitherto unrecognized as one of the three or four major factors which made the city of New York pre-eminent in commerce as well as population, the packet ships have at last been given their place in our expanding panorama. Both the general student of American history and the specialist in maritime history will find that Dr. Albion’s book definitively fills a gap.

Philadelphia

MARION V. BREWINGTON

Winfield Scott. The Soldier and the Man. By CHARLES WINSLOW ELLIOTT.

(New York: Macmillan, 1937. xxii, 817 p. $5.00.)

There was a period in American History when the people were prone to glorify military heroes by electing them to public office. Beginning with General George Washington and coming down to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt
there has been a series of military officers who have achieved high offices. So it became quite normal for generals to have presidential ambitions. The combination of military and political careers has produced many interesting pages in national history.

An outstanding example of this type was Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, the "Giant of Three Wars." He served actively in the War of 1812, the Florida War, and the Mexican War and played a not unimportant part in the Civil War in spite of his great age. His political ambitions almost reached fulfillment when the Whigs nominated him for President in 1852, but he ran only to be badly outdistanced by a lesser in military renown, Brigadier-General Franklin Pierce.

The events alone in his long career are of great interest but he himself is even more attractive. He had a peculiar personality, his ego was as exaggerated as his height. Proud and vainglorious he sought to be the center of attention. He decked out his huge figure in uniforms of blazing splendor and he wrote letters at any excuse in his peculiarly unfortunate style. Wherever he went, there was bound to be a quarrel. He had difficulties with practically all of his fellow generals and he and the secretaries of war could not generally live happily in the same city. His quarrels with Jefferson Davis when the latter was secretary were so intense and bitter as to be actually ludicrous.

Nevertheless he was an able man. He rendered his country excellent service not only on the field of battle but also on two occasions as a diplomat. Lincoln leaned heavily on him at critical times in the early part of the Civil War. He was such a combination of the great and the assinine that a proper balancing of his strength and weakness is difficult. Despite the difficulty of the task his biographer has done a thorough and eminently just piece of work. He has searched widely and weighed wisely the material, much of it smeared with controversy, and the result is a definitive biography. General Scott is before the reader in his true light, no undue sympathy or veiled dislike mar the portrait and it is intensely interesting to those who prefer the truth to romantic hero worship.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS


Despite the fact that autobiography has an almost universal appeal, men of the first rank in American history have been notably reticent about telling their own stories. Pennsylvania can boast of an unusual number of good autobiographies by men of lesser rank, such as Alexander Graydon, Charles Biddle, John Binns, Samuel Breck, Benjamin Rush, Peter S. DuPonceau—even Philip Tome. But the Washingtons and the Lincolns were apparently too preoccupied with making history to write it. Franklin, of course, is the notable exception;
but his autobiography ends almost at the point that his great public career begins.

This little volume almost makes John Marshall an exception—almost, because it was not written to be published as autobiography but, cast in the form of a letter to a friend, was intended as an outline of the jurist's career to be used by Story for a particular purpose. Marshall wrote two other letters containing autobiographical data—one in 1818 to Joseph Delaplaine for use in the *Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished American Characters* and one in 1835 to James K. Paulding for use in his *Life of Washington*. All three letters were written upon request, and they comprise all that Marshall is known to have written concerning his career, save a journal kept in 1797-1798 while he was envoy to France.

The most important and the most complete of these autobiographical documents is the letter to Story now published for the first time. This manuscript only came to light in Italy in 1932. It was written in 1827 for use by Joseph Story in preparing a review of Marshall's *History of the Colonies* for the *North American Review*. On this and two subsequent occasions Story made extensive use of Marshall's letter of 1827, following the text carefully and at times quoting directly from "a letter to a friend." Beveridge in preparing his monumental work on Marshall did not have access to the document here published. He did know that Story in one of his three articles made use of information received directly from Marshall, but he cast doubt upon Story's account in several particulars. The sketch by Marshall, now that the full text is available, serves chiefly to confirm Story as a faithful narrator. It adds little to our knowledge of Marshall's career but we now have the jurist's own words for his appointment to the Supreme Court:

When I waited on the President with Mr. Jay's letter declining the appointment he said thoughtfully 'who shall I nominate now'? I replied that I could not tell. . . . After a moment's hesitation he said 'I believe I must nominate you.' I had never before heard myself named for the office and had not even thought of it. I was pleased as well as surprised, and bowed in silence.

Beveridge fell into the error of supposing that Adams had made the appointment without previous warning.

Mr. Adams' scholarly editing of this interesting manuscript is worthy of his subject and of the best traditions of the old Philadelphia bar, which included such scholars as Sergeant, Wharton, DuPonceau, and Wallace. The whole presentation, both critically and typographically, is made with great dignity, befitting the autobiography of a chief justice. The volume closes with a letter from Marshall to Story, December 30, 1827, which has, in part, a timely interest:

I begin to doubt whether it will be long practicable peaceably to elect a chief Magistrate possessing the powers which the Constitution confers on the President of the United States, or such powers as are necessary for the government of this great Country with a due regard to its essential interests. I begin to fear that our Constitution is not doomed to be so long lived as its real friends have hoped.

Julian P. Boyd
Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanerturns: Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe. BY HEINZ KLOSS. (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1937. 328 p. Rm. 10.00.)

This is a history of the efforts to unify the German emigrants in the United States. It is a history which combines both the recent tendency of stressing background and influences and the somewhat older manner of enumerating facts and figures. Generally speaking, the work consists of two parts: the first dealing with the setting or the background with a fairly detailed consideration of actual attempts at unification. The second part is further divided into a consideration of the efforts of organized religion and in the efforts of secular organizations. A possible third part, that of present conditions and outlook for the future, the author leaves to a later work.

Mr. Kloss estimates that no less than 6,000,000 German nationals have come to this country since the first emigrants arrived here in colonial times, and that in 1930 there may have been some 6,500,000 German emigrants or descendants of emigrants not yet entirely assimilated with the Anglo-Saxon element. He also mentions the more or less proverbial 6,000 German organizations in this country and estimates that about 2,000,000 Germans belong to these organizations. The one fact which seems to emerge from Mr. Kloss’s study is that while the German may be considered a lusty joiner, he is also at the same time an intensely individualistic person. If he happens to be a Baptist, he is more than likely to be a conservative Baptist; if, on the other hand, he should be a freethinker, he would be among the most radical. In short, Mr. Kloss believes that the influence of the German element in the United States is not to be looked for in any one particular direction but rather as an intensifying force in several. The German-American would appear to be the direct antithesis of the humanistic tradition of poise and restraint and a more or less typical exponent of the romantic attitude in private and political life.

Notwithstanding the many efforts at unification, the German emigrant has remained comparatively cool to them all. The religious influence is comparatively strong, but efforts at church unity have not been successful. The tendency has been rather towards disintegration than otherwise. Ideological interests have proved in general less strong or, at any rate, more diverse than economic interests and it is for this reason that today the most active groups are perhaps those which are organized on economic lines: workers’ clubs, mutual aid societies and the like. The middle class pursues the course least conditioned by ideological and economic considerations. It has its lodges and fraternal orders and societies to promote gemütlichkeit among members of like origin: the Bavarians have their Bayernvereine, etc. The trouble appears to be that the emigrant in this country does not have to remain so any longer than he himself wishes to be. The transitionary stage is shorter here, perhaps, than anywhere else and so there would seem to be no valid grounds for prolonging the process by willful aloofness on nationalistic grounds.

The author aptly describes his work by calling it the “history of an unfinished national group.” In our opinion neither the German nor any other national group in the United States will ever be anything but “unfinished.”
As Theodore Roosevelt so aptly phrased it, we have no need for hyphenated Americans and it seems that, except for a few unreconcilables, foreign-born Americans realize this within a few years of their arrival.

_Gallant John Barry, 1745-1803. The Story of a Naval Hero of Two Wars._

By William Bell Clark. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. xiii, 530 p. Illustrated. $3.50.)

This is much more than an excellent biography of one of the two most distinguished and capable captains of the Continental Navy. It is an important contribution to the naval history of the Revolution, written by probably the best informed living person on that subject, who has had the further advantage of recent access to a large number of contemporary documents that have not heretofore been accessible to historians. Any review of this splendid and highly interesting book should recognize the public-spirited kindness of Mr. Barry Hayes Hepburn in making his family papers available to these ends.

The book should set at rest the perennial controversy which has so unfortunately raged for many years between ardent supporters of Commodores John Barry and John Paul Jones. As the author points out, high mutual respect and admiration existed between these two exceptionally able and gallant officers in the midst of the grueling trials and hazards of the war. No excuse can possibly remain now in this distant generation for biased admirers of either one to belittle the deeds or besmirch the fame of the other. There is glory enough for both—ample room for both on the pinnacle—and with full knowledge of Jones' astonishing accomplishments Mr. Clark very justly places Barry on a par with him.

That this conclusion contains none of the elements of special pleading is wholly evident from the very careful, scholarly, and thorough presentation of complete facts by the biographer. With the advantage of new source material Mr. Clark records and analyzes with due emphasis striking episodes of Barry's career upon which history has previously been largely silent. They amount to historical discoveries which rate high in importance from the viewpoint of naval history in general, apart from their personal connection with Barry himself.

The outfitting of the first Continental Fleet is a case in point. Such a task is hard at best, even with a regular organization of personnel and facilities. Yet having no such advantages, Barry faced the burdensome difficulties and responsibilities and through his great energy, technical knowledge, and administrative ability was able effectively to prepare Hopkins' fleet for its rigorous cruise to the Bahamas where indispensable munitions were obtained for the Continental Army in 1776.

Another striking example of historical facts brought to light by Mr. Clark is Barry's second brilliant cruise in the Continental Brig _Lexington._ For the first time we have a connected, detailed account of these difficult operations to keep open Philadelphia's access to the sea in the face of the British blockade.
Here Barry shows a high order of skill, boldness, courage, and leadership. The account of the hazardous defense of the supply ship Nancy with her precious cargo of powder is particularly stirring.

Throughout the book the biographer brings to light new details of events previously known only in outline, and with an accuracy based on years of painstaking research that is positively refreshing. Heretofore, especially with regard to the Revolution, naval history has been too much the football of fiction and the victim of inadequate research. None can quarrel with Mr. Clark on this score, and if he has exposed some of the previous overstatements as to Barry he has also brought accuracy to bear at other points to prove Barry a greater man than the exaggerations could have made him.

Naval men may differ with Mr. Clark in some of his technical judgments. He seems rather harsh on Commodore Hopkins who is undeserving of censure for exercising the discretion permitted in his instructions as to operating in the Chesapeake. Hopkins' decision to divert the Squadron to Nassau in quest of powder was scarcely "disobedience" of orders and was all the more forgivable from the fact of its being a more important mission in view of the then existing acute shortage of indispensable munitions with which to conduct the war. Then also there were many extenuating circumstances bearing on Hopkins' failure to capture the Glasgow.

The facts that Mr. Clark presents with reference to Barry's remarkably fine work in outfitting the first Continental Fleet authorized by Congress certainly strengthens the contention as to the distinguished Commodore being the "Father" of the Navy. And this view is further supported by Barry's conspicuous part in re-founding the Navy, after the adoption of the Constitution. This latter part of Barry's career is well done in the book, and fully for the first time. Yet we should not forget that one fleet was fitted out and operated on Continental service in the year before the one first specifically authorized by Congress. Nor should it be overlooked that a Navy can be "fathered" in many ways and that a large group of men, including John Adams, George Washington, Paul Jones, Hopkins and Arnold have good claims for sharing the honor of such an enviable appellation.

In addition to the biographer's highly commendable accuracy he makes his book very interesting. The reader finds himself transported back to the sea warfare of the Revolution and living among those stirring and heart-gripping events. Barry once more becomes a character of flesh and blood—an enterprising and inspiring leader, a capable seaman, a daring, resourceful, and determined fighter—as well as a person of the highest integrity and patriotism.

Captain, United States Navy

DUDLEY W. KNOX

The Discovery and Exploitation of the Minnesota Iron Lands. By FREMONT P. WORTH. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1937. 247 p.)

This interesting and valuable study of the development of Minnesota's iron ore resources and their relative position in the iron ore industry in the United States strikingly exemplifies the lines of Samuel Butler:
Ah me, what perils do environ
The man who meddles with cold iron!

The existence of iron in Minnesota was known long before the first corporate attempt—that of the Minnesota Iron Company in 1863—was made to develop it. Twelve years later, in 1875, Charlemagne Tower of Philadelphia, whose benefactions to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania are well known, became interested in Minnesota iron mines, and in the same year the Pillsbury family began their long series of contacts therewith. It was not long before John M. Longyear and James J. Hill followed suit, while from 1892 onward both John D. Rockefeller, Senior, and the United States Steel Corporation became more and more the dominant factors in Minnesota's rapidly developing iron industry, which produced 59% of all the iron ore in the United States in 1920. According to the United States Census Bureau in 1919, the operators of iron owned less than one-fourth of the Minnesota iron ore land which they controlled. Professor Worth points out that many of the corporations which have prospered from such investments acquired their iron lands for less than a hundredth part of their value.

It is unfortunate that Professor Worth did not more closely correlate his information on the historical background of his subject, which would have obviated the repetitions on pages 33 and 220-21. Two unfortunate errors occur on page 76—William M. Vilas was not Secretary of the Interior on January 28, 1891, nor did John W. Noble hold that office on February 18, 1899. It is to be regretted that Professor Worth did not add some information on the international position of Minnesota's iron resources and the relation of their development to that of the export trade of the United States in iron and steel products.

In the writer's personal autograph collection is an interesting letter from Gouverneur Kemble to Joel Roberts Poinsett, written in March, 1841, in which Kemble proposes to go to what is now Minnesota to develop the mineral resources of that part of the country. Since Kemble was at that time one of the largest iron founders in the United States, his letter would appear to indicate that there was at least some knowledge among Eastern capitalists of these resources at that time.

Philadelphia

Charles Lyon Chandler


This work should have interest to the descendants of the subject and to residents of middle Tennessee, but it adds nothing of importance to the formal history of the region and in fact is based almost altogether upon well-known Tennessee historical volumes. It is diffuse, uncritical, and cluttered with long lists of names. Chapter II deals with the Swanson ancestors who owned the land on which Penn laid out Philadelphia.

University of Pittsburgh Press

Leland D. Baldwin

The Natchez region has long borne a reputation as the seat of one of the pleasantest and most distinctive phases of antebellum Southern culture. Professor Sydnor's work can therefore be welcomed as a case study of one man's share in the creation of this local culture and of his attitudes toward it. While the subject seems as far from the modern ken as the perfume of Natchez' Pride of China trees from Pennsylvania nostrils, yet it has a valuable rôle in delineating the antecedents of the present day South. The loving care with which the work is done, the careful footnoting, and the elaborate bibliography are outstanding. It is nothing against the present volume for the reviewer to wish that the author had seen fit to take a larger canvas and a more imaginative brush and paint a bolder and more definitive picture of the great day of the Natchez region.

University of Pittsburgh Press

Leland D. Baldwin