
The rich old wine of Tyler's study of the literature of the American Revolution is now available in new bottles, bottles strong enough to stand the wear and tear of the reserved shelf in a college library, and handsome enough to grace the shelves of the scholar who had despaired of ever owning a copy of the original edition of 1897. It is the sixth of the Facsimile Library's reprints of the minor classics of American history, taking its place beside Schlesinger's Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, Beard's Supreme Court and the Constitution, Randolph Adams' Political Ideas of the American Revolution, William Bartram's Travels, and Ferrara's study of the diplomacy of the War with Spain. These books have long been out of print, and all are indispensable to a working library of American history. For they are books which, although they never achieved the popularity, and the re-printings, of the great interpretations of American history, such as those of Bancroft, Parkman, or Bryce, they have shaped the thinking of scholars and students for more than a generation. The Revolutionary volumes in particular are prime sources for a proper understanding of the times.

Tyler's work is a landmark in itself. He was the first to approach the Revolution as a student of the inner rather than the outer aspects of that great change in men's hearts and loyalties. He had already reviewed the literature of the colonial period, and, being an enthusiast in the study of the culture of our people in its broader rather than its narrowly political phases, he was well fitted to study the great "race feud," as he called it, in essay and in satire, in song and in ballad. Around the framework of taxes and protests, of suppression and rebellion, Tyler built the house-divided which was inhabited by Whig and Tory during the critical years from the expulsion of France to the final victory over England.

For analysis of the weaknesses and omissions of Tyler's work, the modern reader should turn to the reviews by his great contemporary in the study of the Revolution, Paul Leicester Ford. Ford's comments in the American Historical Review (II, 738-740; III, 375-377), were no friendly press notices, for they contained only three sentences of unqualified praise. One of these is true enough still to bear repeating. Basing his judgment on the first volume alone, before the second one had appeared, Ford called it, "far and away the best treatment of the literature of those years of turmoil yet written, so careful and accurate, so full and discriminating, that it must stand apart from all previous attempts."
As to Ford's less favorable remarks, he retracted some of them after reading the second volume, in which Tyler's plan for including certain distinguished writers such as Hutchinson and Franklin appeared. Some of the other criticisms seem trivial today, while some remain pertinent, though they are largely inherent in the limits set on the work by Tyler himself. He did not include the writings of Americans living in England; he did not make a full survey of newspaper articles, except as they were important enough to receive pamphlet publication later; he slighted orations as a class, funeral and otherwise; he skipped over the diaries of certain Loyalists; and he neglected to mention the histories of Jeremiah Belknap and George Chalmers.

Granting all this, we may come back with Ford to the view that Professor Tyler's "literary mosaic" gives not only a vivid picture of the literature of the period, but of the very minds of Americans in revolution. It was, as Albert Bushnell Hart wrote in a personal letter to Tyler, "a standard piece of literary work which need never be done over again—perennius vere."

Perhaps Tyler's greatest service was to rescue from the obloquy of a century of Fourth of July orations the reputations and writings of the American Loyalists. With great sympathy for these men whose convictions turned them sadly to Britain when the stroke for independence was made, yet with full realization of the weakness of their position at the time and since, Tyler told of their literary struggles to obtain reform within the empire, and, failing that, to aid in saving it if they could. Melancholy and prophetic indeed, in the light of present events, is the assertion by Loyalist and Patriot writers alike, of the conviction that America had at length reached her maturity, and that England should accept rather than hinder the inevitable transfer of the weight of British power to her great dominion overseas. How curious is the prophecy of the anonymous "Citizen of Philadelphia," in *A Few Political Reflections Submitted to the Consideration of the British Colonies in 1774*, that, just as the Georges had transferred the seat of their realm from Hanover to England, so, if they should "wear the British diadem to a number ranking with the Louises of France, many a goodly prince of that royal line will have mingled his ashes with American dust; and not many generations may pass away, before one of the first monarchs of the world, ascending his throne, shall declare with exulting joy,—'Born and educated amongst you, I glory in the name of American!'"

Moses Coit Tyler, who loved both England and America, would both weep and rejoice at the union of the American and European branches of the British race which is being forged in the fiery furnace of the present war.

*Haverford College*

THOMAS E. DRAKE

*Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York.* By FRANK J. KLINGBERG. (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1940. xii, 295 p. $3.00.)

The arguments for the study of American religious history for an understanding of the American character and of the processes of Americanization
were never more ably stated than by the late Dr. J. Franklin Jameson in his presidential address, "The American Acta Sanctorum," before the American Historical Association and published in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1908. This was thirty-three years ago, and professional historians have been astonishingly slow in responding to Dr. Jameson's plea. But Professor Klingberg has found religious history a rich field. Already an authority on the history of English humanitarianism, this study of it in relation to the colony of New York is another notable contribution to the subject.

Chapter I is devoted to an analysis of the "Leading Ideas in the Annual S.P.G. Sermons" for a period of eighty years and is an illuminating study in the development of humanitarian opinion. Distinguished leaders of the Church preached these sermons and, "like the Government's speech from the throne on the state of the nation, the sermon was a survey of the state of the Church at home and abroad." Since the sermon was printed and broadcast throughout Great Britain and the colonies, it was a powerful weapon in the spread and planting of ideas. In Book Two, three of the more influential sermons are given in full. The first by William Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1711, was a plea for humanitarianism for the Negro; the second by Thomas Secker, Bishop of Oxford, in 1741, and later Archbishop of Canterbury, is an argument for the Christianization of Whites, Negroes, and Indians as sound imperial policy; the third by William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, in 1766, is a statement of British "manifest destiny," and is a slashing attack on slavery.

The heart of the volume is found in the two chapters devoted to the Society's labors in educating and Christianizing the Indian in colonial New York. "What has been called the final and Attic tragedy of the North American Indian is here revealed in miniature by the S.P.G. missionary" in the eighteenth century, namely, the inability of the Indian to adapt himself to the white man's world.

However, the chapter on the S.P.G. program for the Negroes is, I think, the most important in the book: first, because the contents are almost entirely new to most readers, this particular phase of New York history never having been presented before; second, because the Society's work with the Negro was permanently fruitful. Professor Klingberg believes that it provided the first impetus to the surge of humanitarianism which resulted in the emancipation and Christianization of the thirteen million Negroes in the United States. It is to be noted that in the British Empire slavery was abolished without a civil war, and some credit for this goes to the S.P.G. and its sound program. The Negro, in contrast to the Indian, was able and willing to adapt himself to the white man's civilization and eventually to make signal contributions to it.

The book is supplied with voluminous and valuable footnotes, a comprehensive bibliography, and an excellent index.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Jameson's plea of a generation ago will produce
John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolutionary Period. 
By KENNETH GARDINER HAMILTON. (Bethlehem, Penna.: Times Publishing Co., 1940. 345 p. $2.50.)

This book is the story of a church and a man, and their part in making a new nation.

The church is that small and yet great one called the Unity of the Brethren or Moravian Church, which from a small seed in a harsh environment, grew into a flourishing tree, weathering the stormy transit from a foreign enclave to a truly American society.

The man is John Ettwein, who cherished a secret ambition to become a martyr and became a great administrator. To him, in large measure, was due the success of the transition. Converted as a young man by Pietist influence, he became part of that broad stream of reforming influence which from Germany flowed over Christendom in the middle of the eighteenth century. Residence in London, 1750-54, when Methodism was reforming English religious life, helped to fit him for a fruitful career in America. There he rose to a leading position in the church, becoming head of its work in North Carolina in 1763, assistant bishop at Bethlehem in 1766, bishop in 1784. Very soon his influence permeated every phase of Moravian life in America, but his greatest contributions were in work for children, guiding the church's policy in tortuous channels of Revolutionary politics, his adjustment of church life to new conditions, and his humane missionary policy.

Ettwein's real abilities were discovered in the Revolutionary crisis, when he handled difficult negotiations with civil authorities to protect the church's property, and many of its members from persecution as pacifists. His forceful character won the support of national leaders, whose influence curbed the zeal of petty local officials. Few religious leaders of the century enjoyed greater respect.

His position made him an interpreter between the emerging nation and the exclusive and rather exotic church. One of the first to see that it must become native to survive, he declared that from his coming to Bethlehem he became "a true American." At the same time, as official correspondent of the church in America for more than thirty years, he labored to make European leaders perceive the need of making concessions to an environment where exclusiveness was hopeless and young people drifted away. That he was not more successful was due to a strong conservative vein in himself, which held him back from rapid change and prevented timely measures for an adequate ministry.

His greatest gift to American religion was a realistic missionary policy, which stressed the dignity of the Indian and his natural longing for a native ministry. To him, the unevangelized were not damned and were people with
a culture of their own. This is the intelligent missionary policy of today. Naturally such a viewpoint inspired him and his followers to make priceless contributions to our knowledge of Indian culture and religious lore.

John Ettwein was a strong-minded man who clashed with other leaders but did not cherish long grudges; whose zeal set high standards and demanded fearlessness; whose honesty expressed itself in blunt letters. He was not a great preacher, not a profound scholar, but a great leader of his church in difficulties. His care for historical records leaves his adopted country in debt to him for all time.

Not the least service of this book is its revealing a mine of riches in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, which generally have been ignored by secular and ecclesiastical historians alike. From this volume, as from the life of Ettwein and his church in America, comes the rediscovery of a forgotten philosophy of history, in which Ettwein believed and which never was more needed than now: that God overrules all events.

West Hartford, Conn. Nelson R. Burr

*The Shaker Adventure*. By Marguerite Fellows Melcher. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. 319 p. $3.00.)

The communal religious groups of the early American scene afford rich and interesting material for the historical writer. And the various Shaker groups were no exception, for they were typically American institutions, possible only in a land cut off from Old World patterns and personalities. And in *The Shaker Adventure* Mrs. Melcher has presented an adequate account of an interesting movement, entirely typical of early American religious radicalism.

*The Shaker Adventure* describes the beginnings, growth, and the final significance of the nineteen Shaker communities in Maine, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana. Beginning in England as an offshoot of the prophetism which had originated in the Camisard movement, the Shakers came to America and carried on here their unusual experiments in religious living, creating patterns of life and articles for use in their communities which have aroused the interest of many people.

Mrs. Melcher's book is concerned mainly with the outward events and the tangible products of the Shaker movement. She has little to say about the religious motivation behind this outward life. And, being a religious movement, Shakerism, like several of our Pennsylvania German sects, must have made a significant religious contribution as well. It is very well to write "popular" interpretations of religious movements, but this should be done without distortion. The Shakers themselves cared little for the outward facts and artifacts of life—a point often made in this book—but their interest in religion is not adequately described.

Yet in spite of this attempt to describe a religious adventure in secular
categories, *The Shaker Adventure* is still a readable book, full of interesting facts about the outward life of a significant people.

*Allentown, Pennsylvania*

**JOHN JOSEPH STOUDT**


Professor Wertenbaker has turned to one of the more significant chapters of early American history and made of it an uncommonly good story. From the opening pages, in which he effectively uses an imaginary character, Peter Bottom, to reveal the grievances of the small farmer of Bacon's day, the narrative holds a sustained interest. The author has, of course, a thorough acquaintance with the somewhat incomplete documentary record of the rebellion. More than that, he is fully at home on the stage where this tragic bit of the American folk-drama was acted out, and he has drawn upon his unrivalled knowledge of the minutiae of life in seventeenth-century Virginia to reconstruct for us the setting of that stage. The feeling and imagination with which scenes of by-gone days are called to life, and a more sharply defined portrait of Bacon himself, lend distinction to the book.

Nathaniel Bacon, despite Mr. Wertenbaker's measurable contribution to an understanding of his life, remains one of the enigmatic figures of American history. Son of a Suffolk gentleman, relative of Sir Francis Bacon, heir to the not unimpressive family seat of Friston and to several other manors and tenements, he was entered at St. Catherine's, Cambridge, as a fellow-commoner in 1660. Withdrawn by his father after two and a half years because of certain "extravagances," he was placed under the private tutelage of John Ray, who became one of the ranking botanists of his day. With him he made the grand tour of the continent, where from 1663 to 1666 serious scientific observations were added to the usual routine. Back in England, he took the M.A. at Cambridge in 1668. For a time thereafter he was in residence at Gray's Inn, thus completing the training appropriate for a country squire of means and standing. Up to this time there is nothing in the record to suggest the prospect of any other life than that common to the English landed gentry. In 1670 he was married to the daughter of a neighboring squire, Sir Edward Duke, an apparently natural alliance, but one so strongly disapproved by Sir Edward that the young lady was disinherited. Four years after, with £1800 from his father, Bacon and his wife reached Virginia. There had been litigation about an unsavory deal, but Bacon's part in it is not too clear. Had he been a younger son there would be no problem, but such a move by an only son and heir suggests a strange turn of affairs.

In Virginia he was aided by his kinsman, Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., a man of wealth and rank. He bought a plantation on the upper James, and took a seat on the governor's council. He had arrived just in time for one of those periodic clashes with the Indians that unhappily marked the advance of Eng-
lish settlement. Twenty-nine, impetuous, dark featured, of slender build and medium height, a convincing talker, he was quickly identified with the frontier’s demand for more energetic action against the Indians than the old and ill-tempered Sir William Berkeley was willing to provide. In his insistence, Bacon was led step by step to the point of rebellion, and in his opposition to the governor was found a focal point for a wide variety of grievances against the government. In the narrative of the rebellion Mr. Wertenbaker expands upon an earlier account in *Virginia under the Stuarts*.

Historians are by no means in agreement on the interpretation of Bacon’s Rebellion. One distinguished and able group, of which Mr. Wertenbaker is the chief, see in it a forerunner of the Revolution. Another, no less able or distinguished, are disposed to regard the evidence as inconclusive and the attempt to establish the connection as proceeding from a normal tendency to read the issues of one day into the disputes of another. The two, in fact, are not so far apart as this brief statement would suggest. The American Revolution was a two-sided movement in which men sought first, in Carl Becker’s phrase, home rule, and secondly, to determine who should rule at home. If this generally accepted view of the Revolution be used as a rule to measure the distance between these two groups of historians, it will be found that the one makes no attempt to maintain that the Virginians of 1676 were prepared to entertain thoughts of independence, while the other does not deny that some of the issues then raised were to be raised again in 1776. It becomes, therefore, a question of emphasis on which men may honestly disagree. Both groups will welcome the stronger light in which Mr. Wertenbaker has managed to place Nathaniel Bacon.

New York University

WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN


One of the problems connected with the American Revolution has special interest today: how a group of determined men who in many communities were a minority were able with comparative ease to gain control of the government. Mr. Hancock throws light on the problem as it existed in Delaware.

He concludes that approximately one half the population was opposed to independence, largely because “Delaware was peculiarly isolated from other provinces by geography. There were few schools, few travellers over the bad roads, no newspaper. The mass of the inhabitants were small farmers. Uneducated, uninformed as to what was taking place in the outside world, and poor. They naturally cherished tradition and the established order.” Obviously they were not men who could easily be reached by propaganda nor were they likely to display great initiative. One can, however, think of other similarly isolated communities where the revolutionary spirit ran high. How-
ever, the conservatives were lacking in leaders; Mr. Hancock points out that since Delaware was a proprietary province of the weakest type there were few government officials, a class which formed the backbone of the Loyalist party in many of the colonies; and with the inevitable exception of the Anglican clergy there were few loyalists among the comparatively small professional and wealthy group. Another well-known reason for the Loyalists' lack of success was the failure of the British government to back up their efforts; the fact that British warships were frequently stationed in the Chesapeake must have made this neglect particularly discouraging to the supporters of the King in Delaware.

Mr. Hancock emphasizes the importance in the early crucial days of the struggle for prompt and effective organization: it was by the aggressive and extra-legal agencies of the committees of correspondence and of safety that the legal government in Delaware, although supported by many people, was comparatively easily superseded. Apparently the defenders of the status quo did not make a real effort to organize their forces, and their reliance on legal methods was a handicap. For instance in Sussex, where Mr. Hancock concludes the Loyalists had the advantage of possessing the support of four-fifths of the population, they adopted as their singularly ineffective weapon against the adoption of a required oath of allegiance to the new government the threat of bringing suit if the measure were passed.

Mr. Hancock has consulted a wide variety of sources, including the manuscript proceedings of the Kent County Committee of Correspondence and the records for the Court of Oyer and Terminer held in that county in 1778. One wonders whether other local records still exist which might throw further light on the subject.

Baldwin School

JOSEPHINE FISHER

The Background of the Revolution in Maryland. By CHARLES ALBRO BARKER. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. xi, 419 p. $3.50.)

In the Public Archives of Maryland, in the library of the State Historical Society and in the county court house files and in many other libraries are to be found rare old manuscripts and accounts of the past history of the province and state of Maryland. Charles Albro Barker, Assistant Professor of History in Stanford University, has made a long and careful study of these records and gained an insight into the social, economic and political events of Maryland in the years preceding the American Revolution. The fruits of his research are contained in his volume, entitled The Background of the Revolution in Maryland.

The book is divided into ten chapters. In the first three chapters, the chief emphasis is on the social, intellectual and economic interests of the province. This is followed by a thorough study of the political system of government under the late proprietorial system. The gradual changes are then described which led to the growth of an antagonistic feeling toward the Mother Coun-
try's system of imperial and economic regulations and which brought about the crisis known as the American Revolution.

This is the sort of book to which anyone interested in Maryland history will turn again and again. It cannot be lightly perused for every page is packed full of interesting facts. In addition to the careful compilation of carefully authenticated facts, the annotated bibliography, the appendix and excellent index will assist many a historian in his research into a previously little touched field of colonial history.

Washington College

ESTHER M. DOLE

General Washington's Correspondence Concerning The Society of the Cincinnati. By Colonel EDGAR ERSKINE HUME, U.S.A. Medical Corps, Vice President General of the Society of the Cincinnati, and President of said society in Virginia. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. xlv, 472 p. 8 Illustrations. $4.50.)

So much has already been written of General Washington that students of our early history may feel there is little to be given to the public about our greatest American and our first President. But Colonel Hume, although having already written nine books and over thirty magazine articles on the subject of the Society of the Cincinnati, has brought out in this volume many letters to and from Washington which are probably unknown to readers of American history. After years of research, he has collected from all available sources over three hundred letters to and from Washington pertaining solely to the Society of the Cincinnati, its foundation and its members. There are likewise many extracts from Washington's diary on this particular subject, as well as many letters from junior officers of the French forces, who seemed to feel they were entitled to recognition for their services to the Americans during their War for Independence, and wished to be admitted into the Society and allowed to wear the "Eagle of the Cincinnati." Many of these requests —unfortunately for them—were disallowed, as they had never obtained the necessary rank in either the military or naval forces of France assisting our colonists to obtain their Independence.

The Society of the Cincinnati was formed at the Verplank Mansion at Fishkill, New York, on May 13, 1783, by those officers of the Army—not below the rank of Colonel—who had been in service for three years, or who were in the service at the close of the War for Independence. Later similar ranking officers of the Continental Navy were admitted, as were the officers of the French Army and Navy of similar rank. A separate French society was allowed. All officers, upon signing the Institution, were required to contribute one month's pay to maintain the Society and aid those who later became in need of pecuniary assistance.

At first there was much public opposition to such an organization, one of the chief objectors being Thomas Jefferson, who felt it entirely undemocratic, and attacked it on every occasion. This, however, did not prevent Jefferson from appealing to the Virginia State Society of the Cincinnati to
donate their funds to his "brain-child, the University of Virginia." Needless to say the president of that Society, Judge Taliaferro turned down the request in plain and forceable words.

One of the most valuable features of Colonel Hume's work is the Biographical Supplement wherein he gives a most complete sketch of the life of each of Washington's correspondents regarding the Cincinnati—one hundred and twelve in all. This of itself makes the book a valuable reference work, and must have taken a great deal of research on the writer's part.

The work is further supplemented with an extensive index, of both names and subjects. The typography and format make this a most worthwhile publication and the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, under whose auspices the book was published, are to be congratulated upon their official souvenir of the General Meeting of the Cincinnati, held at Richmond on May 15-17, 1941.

Germantown, Philadelphia

HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM


One often notes that musicians search out and attempt to popularize in the concert hall the forgotten works of both well-known and half-forgotten composers; but one seldom finds scholars or publishers very eager to republish some literary work which the world has heretofore rejected. This may, perhaps, be fortunate so far as the world of letters is concerned, but to the historian it is, at times, the most annoying of misfortunes.

In a subject which seems to be attracting more and more attention—that of the influence of American thought and culture upon Europe—Professor Chinard and his associates have filled at least one gap in the historian's shelf of source material. They have called attention once more to a forgotten drama which displays unusual evidence of French interest in the American Revolution and its heroes.

The editors of this volume do not claim that Sauvigny possessed startling genius or that his plays offer great poetic or dramatic reward (in fact, it is pointed out that plot is almost nonexistent), but they believe that it shows once more the prestige which surrounded the name of Washington in France during the first years of the French Revolution.

The play was produced at the *Comédie Française* on July 13, 14, and 15, 1791, and though successful, was withdrawn because of the possible repercussions of its republican sentiments on a fast-dying monarchy. Although the noble speeches on the glories of the republican form of government and the tyranny of monarchies were placed in the mouths of Washington and his friends, all four acts were but thinly veiled pleas to the French to listen and to follow the American example.
One proof of this, the editors believe, is to be found in Sauvigny's almost complete failure to introduce into the play any local American color and his placing of American figures in French settings. The scene devoted to the deliberations of Congress shows a hall copied after that of the National Assembly and orators mounting the tribune to speak in the manner of French deputies; and the celebration on the champ de la fédération on the banks of the Delaware was more certainly the celebration of the Champ de Mars of 1790 on the banks of the Seine.

It is not to be questioned that this beautifully printed and illustrated volume is of considerable value to the social scientist; but it should be pointed out that it may have great value, also, for the literary historian. The editors suggest that, in Sauvigny's use of masses of people as an integral part of the action, "he forecasts certain aspects of the romantic drama and in particular of Victor Hugo's Cromwell."

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

The Articles of Confederation: An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution, 1774-1781. By Merrill Jensen. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. viii, 270 p. $3.00.)

Beginning with that outstanding work of Professor Nevins, The American States During and After the Revolution, there has been a whole new approach to the problems of the Revolutionary period; and with this new approach there has come a new understanding of some of the social and economic forces which were at work in the colonies during the political revolution and separation from England.

To say that this monograph is merely another study of this sort is to minimize the importance of Professor Jensen's contribution to the literature of the period. In his introduction, Professor Jensen states that he made the "effort to consider the Articles of Confederation in their proper relation to the revolutionary movement in the individual colonies, a movement that was unified in the revealing though seldom considered struggles between party and party in the two continental congresses. It is an attempt to describe the Articles of Confederation in terms of the concrete issues that Americans faced in 1776, rather than in terms of the unwarranted assumption that they are important only because their weakness made necessary the Constitution of 1787." To this purpose he holds true throughout the book.

The American Revolution was far more than a political revolt against England. It was a struggle between those who enjoyed political privilege and those who did not. After Independence was declared it was possible for the first time for the more radical groups to gain control of the states' governments for a brief period. The result of this temporary ascendancy was the attempt to write radical democratic ideals and theories of government into the laws and constitutions of the newly formed state governments. In the national scene the fruition of this contest was the Articles of Confederation.
Since the history of the framing of the Articles of Confederation is the history of the struggle between these groups in the second Continental Congress, one of the most valuable contributions which Professor Jensen has made is the account he gives of the movement in Congress to change the Dickinson Draft, which represented the views of the conservatives, into the document which gave expression to the philosophy of the Revolution. Professor Jensen believes that this change of philosophy embodies the basic importance of the Articles of Confederation as a scheme of government.

The author includes in his account a very concise analysis of the part played by the western lands and speculators in the political contest. These chapters contain a good summary of the more recent material on the problem of the West and the landless states. The book is adequately indexed, and the absence of a bibliography is counter-balanced by the full notes.

Philadelphia

C. Gregg Singer

Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: a Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795. By Randolph C. Downes. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940. xii, 367 p. Maps. $3.00.)

This study was begun while Dr. Downes, author of Frontier Ohio, held a fellowship from the Social Science Research Council; it was completed under the auspices of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey. The book is well written, utilizes intelligently the work of previous scholars in the field, and, through the use of contemporary sources, pushes out the frontiers of historical knowledge here and there beyond those previously reached. It is one of the best surveys of Indian affairs on the upper Ohio during the eighteenth century available at present.

The opening pages, a bit idealistic and nostalgic, assert that the Indian "civilization" was neither better nor worse than that of the white man, but was distinctive and considered worth defending by the Indian. The publisher's announcement states that the volume is unique in that it presents especially the point of view of the Indian. This is true only in chapter one where this theme is skilfully developed, but all later chapters follow the same pattern that has been presented by such writers as Louise P. Kellogg, James A. James, and Clarence C. Carter. This does not mean, however, that the point of view of the Indian has not been presented in the rest of the chapters. The volume is strongest when the political and military strands of the story are followed. The economic aspects of the Indian trade are not quite as well treated, and any discussion of Indian affairs in the history of the United States must emphasize land as well as trade. The impact of the irresistible westward moving tide of settlers on the Indians and the consequent speculations in land of Johnson, Croghan, Wharton, Franklin, Washington, and others is not as fully presented as desirable. One looks in vain in the index for "Indiana Company," or "Vandalia," for example.

The story of the death struggle of the Indian with the white man in the
quiet, forested valleys of the Ohio region is a dramatic one. Dr. Downes begins it with a clear description of the migration of the Shawnee into Pennsylvania about 1700, and then traces their settling, along with the Delaware and Mingo tribes, in the Ohio country. At first, the colony of Pennsylvania was interested chiefly in the trade with these Indians. Soon the aggressive French appeared, and, with the aid of the Indians, challenged Anglo-Saxon dominion on the Ohio. After the final elimination of the French in 1763 the Indians adjusted themselves to the new muddling policies of the British, and, after Pontiac lost his struggle for Indian self-determination, they were drawn into the British orbit. The Indians' wrath at rum-selling traders who cheated them and at settlers with a terrible land hunger was directed during the Revolution against the Americans. The latter suffered grievously in the upper Ohio country until "Mad" Anthony Wayne broke the power of the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey has sponsored excellent work in the history of the Pittsburgh area for the period of the French and Indian War and the Revolution. A richer harvest, however, will be possible as it transfers its major attention to the rising industrial epoch of the nineteenth century, a field that has not been tilled by a Parkman nor explored by many later scholars.

*Council Fires on the Ohio* is a beautiful example of book-making and a credit to the University of Pittsburgh Press. In the construction of a title page, however, it is difficult to justify giving the same recognition to the one who draws the chapter headpieces, excellent though they be, as is given to the author.

*Ohio University*

A. T. Volwiler


This book, as the subtitle states, is a study in "commerce and politics" of the five states of the Old Northwest during the first half century of their existence as sovereign states. In other words it is a very careful and thorough account of the means of transportation, the exit and entrance of the commodities that were sent out and brought in to this section of the Union, during the years before the outbreak of the Civil War. Professor Kohlmeier first examines the gateways of this region; and finds three of fundamental importance—the Northeast, the East and the Southwest gateways. The first of these is via the Great Lakes, and the canal routes of Canada and New York. The eastern gateway is via the Ohio River towards its source where it connected with the several routes through Pennsylvania, and the first railways of the United States. The southwestern gateway is the Mississippi River, into which flowed the Ohio River exits and the Illinois, Rock and Wisconsin rivers.

The author takes each five years' exports, which indicate the rate of settle-
ment, the excess of the principal products and the imports, which also enter by the three gateways. He shows the efforts of the politicians of the Northeast and the Southeast to gain control of the gateways of the Northwest, and the final ill success of the latter when Calhoun traded the outlets to the southern ports for east and west lines from the Mississippi to the coast.

So far as the reviewer knows there has been no such careful and detailed study as this put forth, on the relation of commerce and politics and on the failure of the South before 1860 to make vital connections with the Old Northwest. When New York and Pennsylvania succeeded in their plans for east and west traffic lines, despite the natural exit via the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Southwest, the doom of the Old South was sealed.

This study of Professor Kohlmeier shows in a graphic way, the growth of settlement in the Old Northwest, the several sections made by the affiliations of commerce, the part that canals played, especially in Ohio, in attracting settlement, and then commerce. He also gives us a glimpse of international politics in his study of the Oregon dispute with Great Britain and the effect of free trade and the Oregon Compromise on the politics of the Old Northwest.

Only through such careful, graphic and thorough studies can we come to know the history of our nation, the position it holds today among the democracies of the world and the need, we believe, of a system of defense that may preserve our type of commerce and government for the future of North America, perhaps even of the World.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG


This subjective biography tells the appealing life story of "Uncle" John Brashear, millworker, builder of precision instruments, and lover of his fellow men. Born of sturdy American stock in a river town near Pittsburgh, John Brashear attended school for only four brief winters. Then followed a shifting about from factory to factory until at thirty-one he had settled down at a twelve-hour job in a Pittsburgh steel mill. The story of his ambition to make his own telescope—of the broken lens after three years of effort, and the final success—will not be forgotten. This small beginning brought a little recognition, and he started up the long hill of success. In a city that measured achievement in terms of tonnage, John Brashear became one of the world's most distinguished makers of astronomical instruments.

However, he will be remembered not for scientific accomplishment, which was relatively meagre, but for his humaneness and his civic virtues. Brashear was the St. Francis of scientists. Humble and forever poor, eager to share his knowledge with the common man, he was equally happy as a friend of the Carnegies and the Fricks. Little wonder that in his older days most of his efforts were devoted to public affairs, to the nurture of the Allegheny Observatory, the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Institute. Finally, in the
fulness of years, he won approval as "Pennsylvania's most distinguished citizen."

This book is competently and carefully done. It merits reading not only for its delineation of an able and lovable man, but also for the picture it gives of the Pittsburgh of seventy years ago, a city which seethed with energy. Although it had few libraries or cultural institutions, here and there it showed promise of finer distinction.

*University of Pittsburgh*

Oswald Blackwood


This study of the Civil War career of a great railway executive is a doctor's dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. The author, in a brief but illuminating chapter entitled simply "Tom Scott," presents Scott as a self-made man against backdrops of a Pennsylvania landscape, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Pennsylvania power politics. Then follow in chronological succession six long, weighty, but significant chapters on the war period. There is a brief chapter of conclusions.

When the Civil War broke upon the country Thomas A. Scott was Vice President and virtual director of public relations of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company. He was also a business associate and political ally of Simon Cameron. It was indeed the close relation he bore to Simon Cameron that made him early a national figure. In April, 1861, he went to Washington in the role of transportation expert on leave from his corporation. He served first as superintendent of the emergency military railroad between Annapolis and Washington, then as general manager of military railroads and telegraphs for the War Department, and finally as assistant secretary of war, a position created, one may believe, with his elevation chiefly in mind.

Although Scott enjoyed only a brief government connection, his record is impressive. He kept troops rolling over the military railway into the national capital when other life lines were closed; across the Long Bridge at Washington he built the line which connected the Baltimore and Ohio and the Virginia railroads; in 1862 he supervised the embarkation of McClellan's force at Alexandria and its landing at Fortress Monroe; he constructed railroads and telegraph lines for Buell in Kentucky and Tennessee; he helped Pope before and after Island No. 10; and he served as adjuster between the government and the transportation agencies. In the broader field he did yeoman service as a roving assistant secretary of war. He had a hand in suppressing corruption in the commissary department in the West, in co-ordinating the work of civilian and military authorities, and, with less success, in urging unity of plan and a measure of co-operation between military commanders. On June 1, 1862, Scott returned to his railroad post from which he was twice to be called before the war ended, once to aid Governor Curtin during the dark
days before Gettysburg, again to assist Secretary Stanton speed relief to Rosecrans in beleaguered Chattanooga.

Truly cautious in style and orthodox in format, this book easily betrays its origin. Sheaf upon sheaf of footnotes, an extensive bibliography, orderliness of arrangement, and careful attention to detail endow it with that academic stiffness too commonly found in monographic studies. In his quest for materials the author has to all appearance examined every available probable source, printed and unprinted. Not satisfied with the rich content of the *Official Records* for example, he has spent long hours in the War Department files laboriously extracting those fugitive items which escaped the compilers of that monumental work. The result is a straightforward, objective study rich in detail but lacking in interpretation. The author adopts the method of letting facts speak for themselves. There is some inferential praise and perhaps some unintended whitewash. The work is not, however, without discordant note: there is a wealth of connotation in the recurring use of "rebel" and "rebels," and some typographical errors have crept into the book.

*West Virginia University*

_Festus P. Summers_

*Ambassador Dodd's Diary.* Edited by William E. Dodd, Jr. and Martha Dodd. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941. xvi, 464 p. $3.50.)

Ambassador Dodd's *Diary* has been a best seller for months. This is natural. The book is full of sensational revelations. Moreover, the insane decade of the 'thirties is seen in all its horror through the eyes of this uncompromising, passionate democrat. It is easy to see why the book is read. It is hard to understand why it was published. Dr. Dodd was a great scholar; he was not a great ambassador. More important, it is much too soon for a diary such as this to be published for all the world to read.

Suppose, in the most tense days of the New Deal, the German ambassador had ostentatiously avoided contact with the leading members of our government; suppose that he had pointed out, repeatedly and explicitly, to officials of the State Department and to others just how the administration was wrecking the country; suppose he had associated almost exclusively with enemies of the government; suppose that he had joyously flaunted the rules of diplomatic etiquette; suppose that he had made speeches before bodies such as the American Association of Manufacturers, speeches which criticized not too subtly what was being done in this country and which extolled by contrast the Nazi way of doing things—imagine this situation if you can, and then decide if that ambassador was following a wise course. Well, this is a substantially accurate parallel to Dr. Dodd's record as American Ambassador to Germany.

Suppose further that our mythical German ambassador viewed most of his fellow diplomats with suspicious disdain, and made no secret of his dislike for the traditions and personnel of the diplomatic service of his own country. How much, then, could he expect in the way of cooperation or confidence? Here again is a good parallel. Dr. Dodd's comments on the American foreign
service, individually and collectively, were vitriolic: "a clique of kinsfolk connected with certain rich families are bent upon exploiting the Foreign Service for their set, many of them Harvard graduates who are not even well informed." And, in his opinion, foreign diplomats were little better, even though they were not handicapped by four years at Harvard.

Suppose finally that our mythical German ambassador wrote down in his diary more or less accurate accounts of what his visitors told him in confidence, together with more or less accurate descriptions of their political convictions; suppose then that his diary was published while the issues discussed were still of burning interest, and while the careers and even the lives of his confidants could be jeopardized by revelation of their confidential remarks—what would you think of such an action? Again, we have a parallel in the publication of Ambassador Dodd's diary. Take one example out of many which might be cited. On May 24, 1934, Dr. Dodd lunched with Dr. Dieckhoff, "a liberal German," who expressed the hope and the belief that "Hitler would be overthrown soon," a hope so intense that he feared an economic revival lest it defer the overturn. As Dr. Dodd wrote, Dieckhoff risked his life by these statements, which are now published. Conversely, the diary suggests that a remarkable array of men were fascists, or sympathetic to fascism: William Bullitt, Sol Bloom, William Randolph Hearst, Ivy Lee, Sir Eric Phipps, Stanley Baldwin, Anthony Eden, Lord Lothian, Sir Nevile Henderson, a senator whose name is thinly disguised, American and British capitalists indiscriminately, and "nearly all of our diplomatic service people here."

The damage wrought by the publication of a book such as this does not end with the damage to individual reputations. Our diplomatic service, admittedly far from perfect, can function only if members of the service can take for granted the complete discretion of their colleagues. Our diplomatic representatives can secure the information essential for the formulation of policy only if their informants can count on complete discretion. Surely, after reading these revelations published only three years after the completion of Dr. Dodd's diplomatic service, anyone would hesitate to confide in an American diplomat.

All American historical students, whether they had the good fortune to know him personally or not, remember Dr. Dodd as a brilliant teacher, a distinguished scholar, and an altogether admirable colleague. It is no ground for just criticism that, called unwillingly and at an advanced age into diplomatic service, he was not able to master a difficult art. In the heat of the present international crisis, the publication of his diary has been applauded, because it has propaganda value. Actually, however, this book is a poor tribute to the memory of a great historian.

University of California

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

It is refreshing to encounter a new approach to an old subject, and one turns with no small interest to an attempt to present the Navigation Acts as an experiment in "social engineering." We have, says Professor Harper, many "social planners" who tell us what is to be done, but few or no "social engineers" to explain how it is to be accomplished. In this connection the historian should be able to make a real contribution.

In attempting to appraise the results of the Navigation Acts as an experiment in social engineering, Professor Harper emphasizes the point that they were a means to an end and that we are concerned with the efficacy of the means rather than the value of the end. He discounts the factor of retaliation, regulations of commerce being so common that no English model was necessary to teach others the trick. The chief aim of the acts was to increase England's naval strength, yet success in naval operations was affected by too many other factors to cast any very clear light upon the influence of the acts.

Surveying the situation regionally, Professor Harper's conclusions are roughly as follows. The acts had no great effect upon the trade with India, nor upon the African trade. As for America, the author examines two arguments commonly raised to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of the acts: first, that England was in any case the natural entrepôt for American goods; second, that the acts were so generally evaded that they were of little effect. He demonstrates without difficulty that the acts at times interfered quite seriously with the natural flow of commerce, as for example in the case of enumerated commodities ultimately destined for continental European markets. As to the matter of illegal trade, the author handles the heterogeneous and necessarily indirect evidence bearing upon this most difficult problem with the touch of a master. The result is an analysis, as fascinating as a good detective story, which points to the conclusion that illicit trade represented a small fraction of the total commerce of the colonies. It should perhaps be mentioned, however, that the Molasses Act does not come within the scope of the present study.

But it was perhaps in the intra-European trade, for which the Dutch fly-boats were well suited, that the Navigation Acts exercised their greatest influence. British shipping could not without protection hold its own even in the coastwise coal trade between Newcastle and London, though in the Levant trade, thanks to the value of the cargoes and the danger from pirates, the better built and heavier armed English ships were at a premium. The acts had a real effect in limiting the activities of the Dutch as third-party carriers, and gave English ships a material advantage in the direct trade between England and Holland. They tended to stimulate the commercial activities of other countries, and thus to divide competition, while the requirement that English ships and the ships of other countries entitled to bring certain enumerated commodities to England be locally built, hit directly at Holland's shipbuilding and indirectly at her timber trade. It is true that Eng-
land did not succeed in capturing any considerable part of the trade with the timber lands to the eastward, but this, asserts Professor Harper, was in spite of the acts, rather than because of them, as some contemporaries asserted. It was due primarily to the fact that this was a “poor” trade, which could not afford the relatively expensive English shipping.

Deforested England, dependent upon other lands for her naval stores, was at a disadvantage in shipbuilding so long as ships were made of wood. English-built ships were apparently sturdier, more heavily armed, and more durable than their competitors. Yet the cheaper-built foreign ships obtained the bulk of the trade wherever the laws permitted them to compete. The shift to iron and steel ships, which followed upon the heels of the repeal of the Navigation Acts in mid-nineteenth century, reversed the situation, and Britain’s advantage in recent decades has tended to obscure her earlier difficulties. Whether, without parliamentary protection, British commerce would have flourished as it did, and whether without this earlier flourishing Britain’s merchant marine of the age of steam would ever have been a reality are two of the intriguing questions which Professor Harper raises in this thought-provoking study.

University of Pennsylvania

Leonidas Dodson

Thomas Spalding of Sapelo. By E. Merton Coulter. Southern Biography Series. (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. xii, 334 p. Illustrations, map. $3.00.)

Faced with the task of writing a biography from meager primary data, Professor E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia has denied himself the temptation of producing a “life and times” account of a character whose chief contribution to Southern ante-bellum history was that of banker, large landholder, and sea-island agricultural experimenter. The literature upon the societal structure of the South Atlantic tidewater region is so meager, despite the sound historical work of such authors as Phillips and Gray and the more romantic treatment of such authors as Caroline C. Lovell and Charles Spalding Wylly, that a mature analysis woven about the life of one of its leading characters might have been both an entertaining account and a contribution to the history of the region.

A Democrat, although many of his fellow planters were Whigs, Spalding never figured largely either in state or national politics, but he seems constantly to have been involved in local affairs and through them in the manipulation of state politics. Like many another Southerner of the period, Spalding saw his region and his state gradually suffering at the expense of the rapidly expanding industrial North and agricultural West. He would erect Southern industries, diversify Southern crops, build transportation lines to link the back country of Georgia and indeed the entire basin of the Gulf of Mexico with the Georgia coast so that the state might enjoy a direct trade with European markets and thus grow fat.

Both his banking effort and his promotion of a railroad extended through
the years and both came to an unsatisfactory end. After twenty-three years his Bank of Darien closed its doors and the railroad which he sought to build was never completed.

Spalding carried on his chief agricultural experiments at his plantation on Sapelo Island. Most of his writings were concerned with reports on these experiments and with advice on crop rotation and management. He advocated the culture of the silk worm, of grapes, of various grasses, and of fruits, but the innovation which concerned him most and which seems to have been followed for a time by some of his neighbors was that of sugar cane. He not only experimented with the propagation of ratoon and the culture of the crop, but also with the manufacture of the finished products and with economy in processing. For example, he at first used oxen or mules to produce the power which ran the sugar mills, but by 1830 he had developed a plan whereby he harnessed the tide for this purpose.

It is only occasionally that the motivations and personality of Spalding the man flash through the narrative. The reader, for example, looks in vain for an adequate explanation of why Spalding, the regionalist, was also Spalding, the nationalist; whereas Calhoun, the nationalist, rapidly became Calhoun, the regionalist. For a more satisfactory analysis of conditioning factors, one must turn to such a study as Richard H. Shryock's *Georgia and the Union in 1850*.

Professor Coulter's biography of Spalding shows unmistakable signs of haste and the interpretation suffers for lack of comparative data. When measured by the standard of his other biographical study, *William G. Brownlow*, or his writings on Kentucky, *Thomas Spalding* seems fragmentary and inadequate. The book contains a critical bibliographical essay and a satisfactory index.

*Chapel Hill, N. C.*

GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON

**Felix Grundy, Champion of Democracy.** By JOSEPH HOWARD PARK. 
(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. ix, 368 p. Illustrations. $3.00.)

Though not a major figure in American history, Felix Grundy is an unusually significant character in the story of the development of our older West. Born in Berkeley County on the Virginia frontier during the hectic year of 1777, his family migrated to Jefferson County, Kentucky, while he was still an infant. One of his brothers was killed by Indians before the family quitted Virginia, and two more suffered the same fate after the mother had become a widow in Kentucky. Only Felix survived, and though his mother had lost all her property in the Indian raids, she was able to send him to study under Dr. James Priestly at the Bardstown Academy. Later he read law under George Nicholas, but Grundy never took much interest in intellectual matters even when they related to his profession.

He made his political debut as a member of the Kentucky Constitutional Convention of 1799. Here he championed the cause of the democratic “South
Country" against the aristocracy of the "Bluegrass Region," and later he broke several lances with Henry Clay in the same struggle. After becoming Chief Justice of Kentucky's highest court, he resigned his place and moved to Tennessee in 1807. In 1811 he was sent to Congress and figured as one of the "War Hawks" during the stirring debates of 1812. In 1814 he resigned his seat and retired to private life, but in 1819 took a seat in the Tennessee legislature in order to lead the fight for the relief of debtors who had been caught in the financial debacle of that year.

Hardly any figure in our history stands out more clearly as a champion of the poor against the rich, yet no one could call him a crusader or even an idealist, and his biographer makes no such claims for him. He was a handsome man, a persuasive speaker, and a generous opponent. He fought his battles without acrimony and seems never to have wished to take undue advantage of his fellow man for his own benefit. But it was hardly for love of the cause that he strove in the interest of the poor.

While championing relief for debtors, he opposed the granting of pre-emption rights to the landless as well as donations of public lands for purposes of education. A bitter opponent of the Kentucky Insurance Company because it engaged in banking business, he favored the chartering of a national bank in 1814 but later sided with Andrew Jackson in his fight against the Second Bank of the United States. A kinsman of John C. Calhoun and originally inclined toward nullification, he turned against both when Jackson issued his nullification proclamation. Originally sympathetic toward Clay's candidacy for the Presidency, he joined the Jackson forces when it became clear that the General would seek that high office, and thereafter he remained a faithful aide in the Jackson camp.

While he was not an idealist, Grundy was certainly something more than a demagogue. His attitude toward politics seems to have been that of a lawyer toward his clients. He would undertake any cause that appeared to be a decent and profitable one; and he would do his best to carry it to a successful conclusion by legal means, but with no very great concern over such theoretical matters as political consistency or abstract justice.

Professor Parks has apparently exhausted the materials pertinent to his subject, and he has presented them with clarity and precision. As far as a biographer can be detached in his treatment, the author has been so and one reads his work with a feeling of confidence. The volume is not enlivened by any discussion of the private life of the subject, but there was a paucity of material on which to base such a study. It is not likely that a better biography of Grundy will ever be written.

*University of Virginia*  
**Thomas Perkins Abernethy**