

BOOK REVIEWS

The Development of Frederick Jackson Turner as a Historical Thinker. By FULMER MOOD (Boston: reprinted from the *Transactions of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, xxxiv, 283-352).

The essential fact of the situation is that Frederick Jackson Turner was born with the capacity to be a great teacher. The fact of next importance is that he grew up in a rising western community. Here he was educated and here he taught in a vigorous young institution ambitious of intellectual achievement. His capacities developed under the stimulus. Therefore he was bound to draw young people to him and it was natural for him to have "a message" for them. The nature of the teacher's message is a subject of controversy and Fulmer Mood has undertaken to show more clearly its character by seeking its origins. He has examined the records of Turner's education and his early, forgotten writings to find the clues. He has found many.

Turner lived in a town whose very name and whose history displayed a pattern which was to be basic in Turner's thinking. He lived in Portage, Wisconsin. He went to the University of Wisconsin and fell under the sway of dynamic teachers who could expound the theories of social evolution. None was more influential than his history teacher, William F. Allen. Allen "interested himself in tracing the development of society and institutions . . . under the influence of the fertilizing concept of evolution." He was insistent upon map work and believed in research to supplement undergraduate textbook study. Turner likewise had a poet's zeal and the orator's enthusiasm. As an undergraduate he wished to be American democracy's interpreter. A book which both Allen and Turner used, John A. Doyle's *History of America*, emphasized the interests which were to dominate Turner, i.e., westward extension and sectional differences. He graduated in 1884 and immediately started to work for the M.A., teaching part of the time. He showed the direction of his interest by writing an M.A. thesis on the influences of the fur trade in Wisconsin which he treated by describing the evolutionary stages of this traffic. Also he wrote an article on Wisconsin for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which showed a distinct sociological interpretation. He had thus early developed "a fundamental, unifying concept—that of evolution applied to social phenomena."

Immediately upon the completion of his Master's work in 1888 he went to Johns Hopkins for the Ph.D. There he learned from Richard T. Ely, Herbert B. Adams and others. There he came into contact with the theories of Frederick List and Francis A. Walker. From them he became familiar with the idea of tracing social evolution through successive economic stages and with the importance of the economics of land and rent. From these sources, Turner drew the inspiration to study geographical data such as

Gannett and Hewes *Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the United States* (1885), which contained numerous notes and essays, and the bulletins of the census bureau. From these teachers and from these and like materials he drew his famous hypothesis. Most of its points had been made already, he put them together effectively, announced them dramatically and proceeded to inspire several generations of students with the wide sweep of his vision.

Not only the frontier but also the other physiographic sections of the nation fascinated him. He organized his thinking and the work of his department around this sectional concept. He believed that national development could be best understood by studying society in its varying physiographic settings. These frames of reference naturally influenced his scattered writings as well as his teaching.

Mr. Mood has three interesting objectives. The first is to show the sources of Turner's ideas, demonstrating that they were derived from other people rather than original with him. The second is to prove that Turner was not provincial and the third is to explain and justify Turner's lack of definitive writing. Mr. Mood succeeds admirably in his first point and has produced revealing data that make it possible for the first time probably, to understand Turner's thought and methods. In defending Turner from the charge of provincialism, he makes an interesting case. However, one is still left with the suspicion that had Turner been brought up in the East he would not have had his interest in the frontier and the sections so close to him. These interpretations instinctively or otherwise were his chosen weapons in the conflict which this newer society had to wage for recognition in the older cultural centers. The author's explanations of why Turner did not produce more are not convincing. Despite Mr. Mood's argument to the contrary, Turner's plans were not more difficult of execution than those of others who have written more. The reasons for the lack of definitive writing are to be found in an inhibiting combination made up of the complexity of university demands, the move from Madison to Cambridge, and the intricacies of Turner's own personality. Mr. Mood undoubtedly can shed more light on these than any other scholar.

As Mr. Mood has written it, this story of Turner's career is fascinating and inspiring. Would that all teachers and writers of history might read it! It is to be hoped that nothing will prevent a full-length biography of Turner from flowing from this gifted pen.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

The Conquest of Epidemic Disease. A Chapter in the History of Ideas. By CHARLES-EDWARD AMORY WINSLOW. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1943. xiv, 411 p. \$4.50.)

What have human beings believed about epidemic diseases and how have they attempted to control them? To these questions Professor Winslow has

turned an open and alert mind and in the answers contained in these pages the historian, the philosopher, and the contemporary medical research worker, as well as the many who enjoy a well-written book, will find great satisfaction. For to the wealth of Professor Winslow's own special background in public health and bacteriology have been added his careful analyses of a large number of original works and a rich knowledge of contemporary history and philosophy. A single purpose pervades the book, namely to follow the gradual evolution of one idea, the conquest of epidemic disease. In the author's own words, "How did the leaders of science really visualize a given problem in a given century, what was their solution and what were the reasons which dictated that solution?"

The bulk of Dr. Winslow's book is concerned with following the ideas of contagion and the germ theory of disease from 1540 to 1910 in the western world even though he records much else. Fracastorius, Kircher, Sydenham, Mead, Benjamin Rush, Noah Webster, Chadwick, John Simon, Panum, Budd, Snow, Pasteur, Pettenkoffer, Koch, Ronald Ross, Theobald Smith and Chapin all appear prominently with lengthy quotations and even new translations of their writings. Biographical details are minimal. The entire emphasis is on the analysis of what these men really thought and why—and of what parts of their thought can be traced in the works of other men through ensuing centuries. The historian in search of anecdote will be disappointed but Professor Winslow's material is so interesting and so well presented that he will probably not turn aside. The medical historian who has browsed in these same fields will be grateful for the lengthy quotations from original sources often difficult to have at hand and for the inclusion of little-known items, like the plague tract of Jehan Jacme and reports on the practices of various tribes—from the American Indian to the inhabitant of the Central Celebes. He will also welcome the frequent comments on the many historians quoted by Dr. Winslow, although to this reviewer the credit given to all contributors was recorded within the text with rather too great meticulousness.

The author has been careful to note the occasional retreats as well as the advances in this conquest of epidemic disease. He has included materials from the Far East, from anthropological studies, from the Bible, Galen and Hippocrates. Many will find his chapters on demons, magic and metaphysical medicine of greatest interest.

There is no doubt that this is an authoritative work, delightfully conceived and well written. In the opinion of this reviewer, it will stand the test of time. The quotation used in the dedication of the volume to the author's well-known and beloved wife, Anne Rogers Winslow, may as aptly be applied to the book itself. "And the whole is well worth thinking o'er when the autumn comes."

New York City

LEONA BAUMGARTNER

Delaware's Forgotten Folk: The Story of the Moors and Nanticokes. By C. A. WESLAGER. With photographs by L. T. ALEXANDER and drawings by JOHN SWIENTOCHOWSKI. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. xiv, 216 p. \$2.50.)

North of the Mason and Dixon Line we have always minimized the amount of Indian blood there is among the people of the Atlantic seaboard. That minimizing is not wholly due to the belief that there is a stigma in Indian blood. Some with Indian blood in their veins are not proud of it. Some are so proud of it they deny that they are partly of white ancestry, though they have brothers or sisters who are blue-eyed blondes. It used to be said that straight black hair and high cheekbones were a result of climate and local conditions, that people of purely European ancestry tended to look like North American Indians because they lived in the environment and under the influences that made those Indians what they are. It is, of course, admitted today that those characteristics are more probably due to Indian ancestors, remote though they may be. There were many marriages of white men with Indian women, and white women, carried off into captivity by the Indians came back after ransom with children by Indian fathers. Such byblows had to be taken in by their mothers' people.

South of the Mason and Dixon Line those with Indian blood in their veins have not been so fortunate in the attitude of their neighbors to them as have northerners of like mixed blood. Despite the old fable that the blood of Pocohontas flows in the veins of a distinguished family of Virginia the possession of Indian blood has resulted in the classification of those of such mixed origin as "colored" people. In Delaware, for instance, the people of Indian River and of Cheswold have been obliged at times to send their children to schools for Negroes.

It is the strivings of these two communities to win the place to which their Indian blood entitles them that Mr. C. A. Weslager chronicles in *Delaware's Forgotten Folk*. It is a book written with warm sympathy by one who knows the two groups intimately, who has enjoyed the hospitality of their simple homes, who has possessed himself of their traditions and who has researched deeply in all available local records. Many of these "Moors" or "Nanticokes" have the names of the oldest white settlers in the Delmarva peninsula. Most of them have only white and Indian blood in them, but there are some families of a slight negroid admixture.

Both the group numbering about seven hundred on Indian River, at the southern extremity of Delaware, and the five hundred at Cheswold, just outside of Dover, about the centre of the state, are farmers. Yesterday many were fishermen, but now only one man on Indian River makes his living in that occupation. When their children move to northern cities they are almost without exception accepted as whites.

Mr. Weslager has given up most of his book to studies of their ancestry and to their efforts to be considered Indians. He gives us engaging pictures of their household implements, such as mortars and wooden spoons, gourds

and husking pins, and of their traps for snaring game. He recounts their tall stories, most of which seem to be of European origin. He takes us into their homes, and tells us of their furnishings and of the meals served there. We wish he had given us more close-ups of their attitude to the wonders of the changing seasons, of their regard for flowers and birds and beasts, for the look of their clapboard cabins in their settings of pines.

The book is dedicated to Dr. Frank G. Speck, the anthropologist of the University of Pennsylvania, who has done so much to help the Moors and Nanticokes to establish themselves as Indians.

University of Pennsylvania

CORNELIUS WEYGANDT

The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County. By CALVIN GEORGE BACHMAN. Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings, volume 49. (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1942. xxx, 294 p.)

The history of the great German emigration in the beginning of the eighteenth century and the participation of the Amish in that great exodus are well known. However it is important to remember that the majority of the immigrants were members of established churches. The Sectarians were more conspicuous, because their mores differed essentially from those of the other settlers and they therefore attracted more attention.

Today essential differences between Pennsylvanians of English descent and the descendants of the Palatine emigration have largely disappeared, especially in urban surroundings. But some rural groups cling tenaciously to the past. The "tendency to defend and to continue that which has existed before and from which other groups have drifted away" is especially manifest in the Old Order Amish. Differences between the Amish and the other inhabitants of Pennsylvania are so obvious and so many strange stories are told about the "Pennsylvania Dutch" that an Amishman in his old-fashioned garb seems to personify all the oddities commonly believed to be inherent in Pennsylvania-German culture. But the Amish are not representative of the Pennsylvania Germans. Numerically they are an insignificant minority. The religious census of 1936 reports a membership of about ten thousand, one fifth of which lives in Pennsylvania. The characteristics of the group, for instance their conception of the Christian Church, their attitude towards civic government and their avoidance of any but agricultural occupations, cannot be found in the vast majority of the Pennsylvania Germans.

Many books and papers have been written about the Amish but the book under consideration is the first well-rounded, scholarly investigation of this most fascinating topic. Mr. Bachman is exceedingly well fitted for this research. As a minister he has the necessary theological knowledge for an understanding of the religious background of the Amish. As a student of the University of Pennsylvania he has modern research methods at his

command. As a lifelong resident of Lancaster County he can easily converse in the dialect and has the confidence of the Amish group. That he is not a member of the Amish Church is of great advantage, only an outsider who approaches his topic with full human sympathy can give a satisfactory sociological explanation of their customs.

Mr. Bachman attempts to answer two questions: Who are the Amish; and where do they come from? The latter question was comparatively easy, since the answer could be based on the research done by Smith, Horsch, Wegner, and other writers of Mennonite Church History. To consider the first the author has divided his book into twenty-eight essays. By quoting the first five chapter captions the whole arrangement can be visualized: Amish Homes, Amish Farmers, Apparel, Means of Travel, Church Organization. The result is that Amish life, especially the four important points of church, occupation, community-life, folklore and mores, is thoroughly covered; but the reader is overwhelmed by details, by overlapping accounts, and even by verbatim repetitions.

The facts are given with clarity but the book does not attempt to go beyond a purely descriptive stage. In the case of one of the most important points of Amish life, "The Amish as a Farmer," the material is not exhaustively treated, and Bachman's book must be supplemented by W. M. Kollmorgen's pamphlet *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community* (published by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1942, as Rural Life Studies, 4) and by the same author's paper "The agricultural stability of the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County" (*The American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1943).

It would have been of interest to point out an analogy between the Roman Catholic Church and Amish custom. Both denominations retain as a holy day the second day after a great festival day of the church year, for instance second Christmasday (December 26), Easter Monday, Whitmonday. Moreover, the fact that a group whose whole life is so entirely governed by the authority of the Scriptures is in one point still under the spell of an old heathen custom—unconsciously of course—deserves more than a small remark. (Amish weddings are generally on Thursday (Donnerstag), the day of the week devoted to Donar, who was in Teutonic mythology the patron of married life.) Nor does Mr. Bachman state clearly the negative social effects of the Amish way of life. It stands to reason that reckless driving of horse and buggy will not be the only outlet for all the inhibitions caused by the strict Church discipline.

This criticism does not impugn the great value of the book. Mr. Bachman is to be congratulated on his contribution. He has given us a reliable description of a pious and hard-working people and has justly repudiated the "picturesque" stories which tainted so many former descriptions of Amish life.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volume X. *The Territory of Michigan, 1805-1820.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1942. xii, 948 p.)

Michigan became a separate territory in 1805; she reached statehood in 1835. Having an existence of thirty years, Michigan Territory had the distinction (though not of her own choosing, it must be admitted) of being longer-lived than any other territorial unit carved from the original West. The three decades of her territorial life were eventful, including capture and a period of occupation by the British during the War of 1812; the removal, in disgrace, of her first governor; the long (1813-1831) and highly successful governorship of Lewis Cass; government-sponsored exploratory expeditions to the Upper Peninsula; and a period of astounding growth in the years following the opening of the Erie Canal. Volume X of the *Territorial Papers* deals with the first fifteen years of this period; two more volumes of this notable series will be required to cover the remaining decade and a half.

In this first volume dealing with Michigan, Dr. Carter has maintained the high standard of excellence set by the earlier volumes of the series. The principles of selection as stated in the Preface appear eminently sound. Although there are no introductory notes, the footnotes are useful and enlightening; the index is well-arranged and comprehensive; and the general format highly satisfactory. Indeed, despite its formal character and its truly formidable size, the book is—at least to a resident of Michigan—very readable; to the historian of Michigan it is invaluable.

The numerous documents relating to Governor William Hull invite reappraisal of that history-maligned official. Father Gabriel Richard's communications with respect to his early experiments in education in Michigan add lustre to his merited fame as a forward-looking educator, and incidentally throw interesting light on social conditions in the early territory. The numerous reports concerning the progress of early land surveys illustrate the great opportunities which this type of record affords the student of pre-settlement conditions. A dozen or more papers ranging in date from 1808 to 1818 demonstrate the fact that the Ohio-Michigan boundary question was regarded as a serious one almost from the beginning of the Territory's existence. An 1816 preëmption demand, and numerous petitions to Washington, some protesting against Governor Hull, others requesting reimbursement for losses sustained during the War of 1812 (with a large portion of the petitioners offering marks rather than signatures) indicate that the early population was by no means wholly passive in attitude, despite the fact that the amenities of culture were rather late in development. Indeed, even in the latter category, the Territory was sometimes conspicuously progressive, as is evidenced in the papers recording the arrival of Father Richard's printing press (p. 233), and the establishment of the University of Michigan in 1817 (p. 731) with ten professorships—held by two professors.

Despite the fact that the editor, in dealing with papers relating to Indian affairs and to the War of 1812 as it affected Michigan, restricted his selections to such as were closely connected with the history of the Territory itself, the volume contains a wealth of information on both of these important subjects. Related subjects frequently touched upon are military roads, defense measures, and land disposition.

Michigan has long needed to have her history briefly yet comprehensively told. If, as there is every reason to expect, Volumes XI and XII of the *Territorial Papers* prove to be as valuable as Volume X, the availability of these useful volumes of source materials relating to a period for which they are particularly wanted, should prove an effective incentive toward the production of such a book.

University of Michigan

L. G. VANDER VELDE

Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: a Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion. Edited, with an introduction, by HUNTER DICKINSON FARISH. (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1943. xlv, 323 p. \$4.00.)

That part of the journal of Philip Vickers Fithian which covers the year 1773-1774 during which he was tutor at Nomini Hall was published in 1900. It has long been out of print however, and a brisk demand for copies has had to go unsatisfied. Its appearance in its present format should therefore prove a welcome event to a wide range of readers.

Fithian completed his two-year course at Princeton in 1772, and then continued his studies for the Presbyterian ministry under the Reverend Enoch Green of Deerfield, New Jersey. The opportunity of going to Virginia as tutor to the children of Robert Carter presented itself partly because available British tutors were apt to come from north of the Tweed, and the inflection of a native American was deemed preferable to the Scottish burr as an influence upon the diction of the Carter children. It is clear that Fithian hesitated to go to what seemed an alien society, and that he was advised against it by friends who feared that the moral atmosphere of Virginia might influence the young seminarian adversely. But go he did, and discovered that the society of the Northern Neck, while different from that of his native Jersey, was by no means lacking in its standards of conduct. Indeed, he had the opportunity of observing the life of the Virginia tidewater aristocracy at its very good best. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, Councillor Carter as he is often called, was grandson of that Robert Carter whose wealth and influence had earned him the sobriquet of "King" Carter. He had inherited some seventy thousand acres of his grandfather's vast estate, and this choice patrimony he had improved by careful management. Like the rest of the tidewater planters he inevitably raised

much tobacco, but he avoided that extreme specialization which was jeopardizing the position of some of his contemporaries and helping to involve them in debt. His marriage to Frances Ann Tasker served further to diversify his holdings, for in addition to providing him with a life partner of rare charm and ability it led to a substantial interest in the Baltimore Iron Works. Robert Carter was a cultivated gentleman with wide literary tastes, an accomplished musician, sincerely religious, and a humane master of the not inconsiderable community of whites and Negroes over which he presided. Thirteen of the Carters' seventeen children had been born at the time of Fithian's visit, and nine were still living. Of these, seven were of school age and came under the mentorship of the young man from Cohansie.

Fithian was obviously a good tutor, well trained, sensible, deeply interested in his charges, and blessed with a personality which commanded their confidence. He was obviously impressed by the contrast between the aristocratic society of Westmoreland County and his own middle-class background, and was somewhat daunted by it. Yet he had the strength of character to stick to his own scale of values, and had the satisfaction of winning the respect of those who were puzzled by his consistent refusal to dance and his rather close application to his books. He was by no means incapable of enjoying relaxation, however. He accompanied various members of the Carter family on innumerable outings, and his devotion to his fiancée, Elizabeth Beatty (the Laura of his diary and correspondence), did not prevent him from having an eye for the young ladies of the neighborhood, a very discerning eye to judge from the detailed descriptions in his journal.

Some of Fithian's criticisms of Virginia society, such as those concerning the lax observance of the Sabbath, are the somewhat forced reactions of a young man who for all his amiable qualities was something of a prig. But he shrewdly discerned certain essential weaknesses in the slaveocracy; the improvident agriculture which was exhausting the soil; the lavish standard of living and the open hospitality which in some cases were coupled with a ruinous burden of debt; and the problems created by the status of the Negroes. Not only was Fithian horrified by stories of cruelty from neighboring plantations; he was scandalized by the scant fare given his slaves by Robert Carter, a humane master who later in life was to adopt a liberal policy of manumission. Fithian's appraisal of Northern Neck society was indeed far from gloomy, but the picture presented in the journal is not as optimistic as that given in the introduction to the present volume.

In the 1900 edition parts of the text of the journal were omitted. Happily, this time it has been printed in its entirety. In the earlier edition the center of interest was Princeton, and correspondence relating to Fithian's years at Nassau Hall was included. The selection of correspondence in the present work reflects the emphasis upon Virginia. There is appended the catalog which Fithian made of Robert Carter's library which, impressive though it is, did not include some four hundred and fifty volumes in the town house at Williamsburg. An error in the dates of "Light Horse Harry" Lee (p. 18,

n.) is too obvious to do much harm. Rather surprisingly, no reference is made to the later portion of Fithian's journal published by the Princeton University Press in 1934. The work is handsomely printed and contains several excellent illustrations. It makes a welcome companion volume to its predecessor in the *Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies* series, Louis Morton's *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall*.

University of Pennsylvania

LEONIDAS DODSON

Thomas Jefferson, The Road to Glory. By MARIE KIMBALL (New York: Coward, McCann, 1943. \$5.00.)

In writing an historical work there would seem to be three distinct functions to perform: (1) to add something to our knowledge of history; (2) to put new interpretations on already recognized facts; (3) to write pleasingly. A reviewer would also seem to have three duties: (1) to be as unbiased as possible; (2) to subordinate his own views—not use the review as a vehicle for self-expression, as Macaulay did so successfully; (3) to be accurate in his criticisms. Perhaps in this review I may break my own rules, but being much interested in Jefferson, and especially interested in Mrs. Kimball's biography, I hope to be forgiven.

There has never been, in my opinion, an adequate biography of Thomas Jefferson. Randall's is still the best, if the reader has eyesight equal to the footnotes. So far, however, anyone who really wishes to understand Jefferson must read his letters which continue to show the real man better than any biographer has done. For her study, Mrs. Kimball has chosen to consider a part of Jefferson's life—his youth, a particularly difficult period and one universally ignored, except by Randall. It must be evident to every reader of *Thomas Jefferson—The Road to Glory* that the author spent a great deal of time going through the source materials, particularly the records of the House of Burgesses and the Virginia county archives. Her researches have been painstaking and exhaustive, but to this reviewer some of her conclusions seem hardly justifiable.

Among the debatable points is Mrs. Kimball's estimate of Peter Jefferson. I am willing to admit that he was perhaps more prominent politically than has generally been conceded. He was a colonel of the militia and a rather silent member of the House of Burgesses; but the fact that he owned thousands of acres of land, much of it uncultivated forest, means little especially when we consider that he secured title to two hundred acres in return for "Henry Wetherburn's biggest bowl of Arrack punch." Moreover, would a reasonably successful and prominent man abandon his newly built house and newly plowed fields to remove to Tuckahoe? Mrs. Kimball admits that William Randolph's testamentary request was "most unusual." In my opinion Peter Jefferson complied with it only because by so doing he could ensure his young family that security which they otherwise lacked.

Another point on which I must take issue with Mrs. Kimball is her presentation of Jefferson as "a gay young blade in a scarlet coat." Randall's account may belong to the speak-no-evil-of-the-dead school of nineteenth-century biography, but Randall was closer to Jefferson than any other biographer, with the possible exception of Tucker, and when he reports, "He [Jefferson] never gambled . . .; he was moderate in the enjoyments of the table; to strong drinks he had an aversion which rarely yielded to any circumstances," these statements cannot be discounted lightly. The story of Jefferson and Mrs. Walker is very clearly and well told by Mrs. Kimball. Of this youthful erratum nothing more need be said.

Mrs. Kimball's chapter "The House on a Mountain" is particularly good. Studying it, the reader, whether or not he has a background of architectural knowledge, will gain in appreciation of Monticello and of Jefferson the architect. I also liked the criticized chapter "The Road to Glory." This chapter, and the map used as an end-paper seem to me to be of especial value to the student of Jefferson. I should also mention Mrs. Kimball's statements regarding his love of children—one of the most attractive sides to Jefferson's complex and versatile character. I might add that Mrs. Kimball's article in the *North American Review* (February, 1921) on this same subject is well worth the reader's attention.

All in all, in *Thomas Jefferson—The Road to Glory* Mrs. Kimball would seem to have fulfilled the duties of an historian, as set forth above. The book probably does not add anything particularly new to the sum of the specialists' knowledge, but it is thoroughly enjoyable and will surely give every reader something to think about.

Philadelphia

FREDERIC R. KIRKLAND

Lonely Midas: The Story of Stephen Girard. By HARRY EMERSON WILDES.
(New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1943. xii, 372 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

One of the ways to achieve immortality is to found and perpetuate an institution. It is interesting to speculate on the place Stephen Girard would occupy in local and national history if he had not founded Girard College. His name would by now be forgotten in all probability, and his works irretrievably lost.

Any work on Girard is a difficult assignment. The man was almost entirely lacking in the romantic appeal that catches the public eye. He was austere, Calvinistic—no warrior, philosopher, or adventurer. Because of this, much credit is due to Mr. Wildes for having produced an acceptable popular account of the man.

Harry Emerson Wildes has developed his biography to show how the events of Girard's family and business life led to the peak of his career, reached when he provided for the founding of Girard College. This develop-

ment necessarily relegates to a subordinate position Girard's great contribution to American economic history. The lengthy genealogical exposition of the affairs of the Girard and related families stresses the internecine quarrels, complaints, and misdemeanors of that large group of unhappy people at the expense of more important historical aspects of Girard's life. Mr. Wildes shows that Girard, although denied the pleasures of a normal family life, usually had a large number of people around him in his home; and that instead of being a lonely Scroogelike character, he was remarkably generous, both to his numerous grasping and predatory relatives and to individuals and organizations in his adopted country. The implication is that it was because of his jealous relatives and his love for young people, that Girard formulated his plan for endowing the great institution that bears his name.

Girard was one of the most influential men of his day and contributed greatly to the early development of modern American business and finance; his advice and assistance were sought by presidents and statesmen. At times the stubborn courage of his convictions enabled him to attain heroic stature, as for example, when the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1793 threw the city of Philadelphia into a wild panic. At that time, defying medical and civic authorities, Girard and a few other brave souls brought order out of chaos. Many such facets of the career of the many-sided Girard are brought out by Mr. Wildes, although his treatment of the financial and commercial entrepreneur could have been more comprehensive.

Among the important services Mr. Wildes has performed is that of laying to rest, forever it is to be hoped, many of the fables concerning Girard and his college that have been repeated for generations by people who should know better. Among the most pernicious of these fables are two: that Girard established his fortune by privateering; and that he made an immense sum by assisting refugees from the slave insurrections in Haiti in their efforts to escape the terror in that strife-torn island. Mr. Wildes shows these and many other popular beliefs to be without foundation. Actually, as Mr. Wildes points out, Girard's fortune was established and increased through his uncanny genius for collecting and utilizing in his commercial transactions information of economic conditions at home and abroad.

There are some minor irrelevancies that more careful editing could have eliminated. A more serious criticism may be made of the frequent and well documented references to the sexual irregularities of the Girard clan, references that many readers will find offensive, and which detract from a work that has a genuine importance. On the whole, however, one who knows the sources must commend the author for handling a Herculean task in his usual expert way. The documentary records left by Girard constitute a mass of material that would take years to read and digest. By his selection of materials Mr. Wildes has presented Girard as a human and not a mythological figure.

McDonogh School

KENNETH L. BROWN

Old Thad Stevens: A Story of Ambition. By RICHARD NELSON CURRENT. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1942. viii, 344 p. Illustrated. \$3.00.)

When James Truslow Adams in *The Epic of America* imperiously dismissed Thaddeus Stevens as "perhaps the most despicable, malevolent and morally deformed character who has ever risen to high power in America," many students of American history disagreed fervently. Mr. Adams has never presumed to know a great deal about Stevens and when he wrote his intemperate pronouncement, he naturally exposed himself to challenge and contradiction. Those who knew more about Stevens than did Adams understood how wrong and misleading his words were. Not only were they wrong and misleading insofar as Stevens alone was concerned, but they maligned and withered every movement in which Stevens was a figure and factor. It is not surprising, therefore, that since that time two biographies have been published defending the "Old Clubfoot." And now we have a third, entitled *Old Thad Stevens*. In it Professor Richard Nelson Current of Rutgers University takes the broad middle ground.

Stevens is not an easy subject for the biographer because his mental workings were never exposed and his personality was oblique. He would take a strong position, frequently an extreme one, but after stating his views, he seemed wholly indifferent to explaining or justifying them. This reviewer is fully convinced that had Stevens been inclined to footnote the regularity, consistency and propriety of his actions, he would not only have saved himself many a heartache, but would have happily avoided much of the denigration that has come to his name at the hands of historians. But he seemed always stubborn and indifferent. In fact Stevens stands without parallel in our history. Brooding, uncommunicative and deformed, he looks out from the pages of history through dark eyes, deep set and burning, implacable and imperturbable. Although a lawyer and a good one, he seemed to have little interest in preparing any brief in his own behalf. Irresistibly honest in word and deed and still maligned and persecuted, he is the greatest enigma our country has yielded.

Professor Current's volume will take its place as first on the shelf of biographies of Thaddeus Stevens. It is complete, comprehensive, and meticulous in detail. Professor Current has studied all of the source material and although he has added little of authoritative substance to what was already known, he has woven together the reliable matter in a most attractive way. On occasion the author may have departed from the straight and narrow of authenticated material as for example when he states that Stevens in his tender years, gazing upon the stately dwellings on Beacon Hill, "then and there resolved to get rich somehow." This reviewer knows no authority for that statement and the author does not give one. However, the fact that Stevens was the type of man who would naturally make such resolutions, shows insight into his character.

Some of his other remarks seem hardly well supported. For instance, on page 27 the author refers to his subject as "the gambler," as if that infrequent indulgence overshadowed everything else; on page 192 he gives the impression that Stevens attempted to reimburse himself for his loss when the Confederates burned the Caledonia Iron Works. This is the exact opposite of the truth as a letter published in the Lancaster *Intelligencer* on June 4, 1867, proves. Stevens was and had been clearly on the record as claiming no remuneration whatsoever for his works. Again the author has captioned one of his chapters with "Malice Toward Lincoln." This reviewer is convinced that although Stevens and Lincoln did not always see eye to eye, nevertheless Stevens bore no malice toward the President. A careful reading of the chapter in question does not prove otherwise. Moreover, it is regrettable that the author did not interpret and explain the theory, legal rectitude, consistency and philosophy of Stevens' readmission and reconstruction measures.

However, all these are minor flaws in a truly outstanding biography. Professor Current has given us a tightly woven tapestry in which he has shown the fascinating character of Stevens against the background of his times, not in black and white but in real and true colors. In so doing, Dr. Current has enriched the field of American history and given invaluable help to everyone interested in that fiery period of war and reconstruction. The work is fresh and so inviting that one need only read the first few paragraphs to be chained to the book until it is completed. Being solid and authentic as well as interesting, this biography deserves the widest distribution.

Bangor, Pennsylvania

THOMAS FREDERICK WOODLEY

Simon Cameron, Ante-Bellum Years. By LEE F. CRIPPEN. (Oxford, Ohio: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1942. 303 p. \$3.50.)

From his appointment as Adjutant General of Pennsylvania in 1826 until his death in 1889, Simon Cameron was known as "general," although he never participated in any war or commanded any troops, even in peacetime. The title still clings to his memory. The general's surname shows his Scottish ancestry on the paternal side. As the author points out, there is no evidence of relationship with "The Lochiel," the head of the clan Cameron, other than such remote connection as may be implied in the surname, but it will be a surprise to many, even among Pennsylvania readers, to learn that the general was half Pennsylvania Dutch—his mother's maiden name was Pfoutz.

Cameron had only such rudimentary education as the few and woefully inadequate country schools of Pennsylvania provided in the early days of the nineteenth century and that only for a few years, for at the age of

sixteen he became a printer's apprentice, and thus achieved the first round in the ladder of politics via the familiar route of rural journalism. In 1826, at the age of twenty-seven, he was appointed Adjutant General of Pennsylvania by Governor Shulze. In the same year he became a contractor for the construction of some sections of the Pennsylvania Canal; by 1829 he was cashier and practical head of the Middletown Bank, a promoter of various railroads and an active lieutenant of James Buchanan in Democratic politics. Nine years later, in 1838, he was appointed one of two commissioners to adjust the claims of the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin against the government, his first federal position.

When Mr. Buchanan resigned his seat in the United States Senate to become Secretary of State under President Polk in 1845, Cameron succeeded, by a combination of Whigs, Native Americans and some Democrats, in being elected as Buchanan's successor. By defeating George W. Woodward, the choice of the Democratic caucus, Cameron caused the first rift in his relations with Buchanan. His career as a United States Senator was marked by his opposition to the Democratic Tariff of 1846 as giving inadequate protection to Pennsylvania industry, by his successful opposition to Judge Woodward's nomination to the United States Supreme Court, and by his voting for the Wilmot Proviso. According to Dr. Crippen, "his vote was based upon the request of the Pennsylvania legislature for its delegation in Congress to support the measure, rather than upon any deep-seated convictions upon slavery."

By 1848 Cameron was back in favor with Buchanan and actively supported him for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, which however, went to Lewis Cass. Cameron himself was unable to secure Democratic support or to effect a coalition for his re-election to the Senate in 1849. In fact, he was not even voted for in the legislative ballots. His reconciliation with Buchanan was short lived, and by 1852 he emerged as a leader in the opposition party, which was forming out of the remnants of the Whigs, the Native Americans and the Anti-Slavery Democrats. Again he tried for election to the Senate, contesting the anti-Democratic nomination with Andrew G. Curtin. The Democratic candidate was Charles R. Buckalew, but no one was able to obtain a majority in the legislature and a vacancy ensued for several years. However, in 1857 Cameron was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican—this, through the aid of three Democratic members of the legislature, and under circumstances which were even more questionable than the coalition which brought about his election in 1845.

He was an active contender for the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1860, but withdrew in favor of Lincoln. Professor Crippen reviews the negotiations between the friends of Lincoln and Cameron but does not state that an express bargain was struck, although he submits that the evidence points strongly that way. Colonel McClure in *Old Time Notes* (I, 407) states flatly that John P. Sanderson, a Cameron lieutenant, "ob-

tained a conference with Leonard Swett and David Davis, who were the chief Lincoln managers at the convention, and proposed that Cameron should have the assurance of an appointment to the cabinet if the Pennsylvania delegation voted for Lincoln and Lincoln should be elected president." Professor Crippen, on page 216, quotes Swett as saying that there was a meeting in the Tremont House in Chicago, "two of Mr. Lincoln's friends and two of Mr. Cameron's being present, our arguments prevailed, and the Cameron men agreed to come to us on the second ballot. This they did right nobly and gave us forty-eight votes." It is unlikely that Mr. Swett would record an explicit bargain so that his guarded language does not exclude what Professor Crippen regards as a probability and what Colonel McClure states was a fact. The point is perhaps immaterial, since Lincoln's selection of Cameron for a cabinet position was in line with the choice of his other competitors, Seward, Chase and Bates.

Professor Crippen does not attempt the impossible. He does not try to make Cameron a hero or a statesman, but he does, with well-documented detail, portray the rise to power of one of the greatest American politicians. Cameron was not the first "party boss," either in Pennsylvania or elsewhere. The Albany Regency under Van Buren, Marcy and Wright long dominated the Democratic party in New York, and other instances could be cited; but Cameron was the first to develop the modern technique of a ramifying organization held together, not only by personal loyalty (which to a large extent was the mainspring of earlier leaders) but by an elaborate and systematic use of patronage, by skillful alignment of congressmen, state legislators and office holders, county chairmen, and the precinct leaders. This organization he passed on to his successors, his son, Donald, Robert W. Mackey, Matthew S. Quay, and Boies Penrose.

Dr. Crippen's book is a valuable contribution to the political history of the United States and of Pennsylvania, and it is hoped that it will be followed by a second volume.

Philadelphia

BOYD LEE SPAHR