BOOK REVIEWS


In Henry Adams' novel Democracy the heroine exclaims: "Why doesn't someone grow up like a tree and cast a shadow?" For several years I have felt much the same way about the writing of the history of American thought. During the past half-century scholars have been amassing a corpus of knowledge from which a synthesis might be made. Vernon Parrington, Ralph Gabriel and the Beards produced notable works exploring certain lines of American intellectual development, but no historian attempted to survey our thinking in its entirety. Many scholars told me the job was too big for one man. But the Reverend Samuel Miller was not afraid to tackle the eighteenth century only three years after its close, and John William Draper and Preserved Smith did not shrink from assessing the intellectual history of Europe. Fortunately, Merle Curti possessed the courage to grapple with a large and complex subject and the energy to see it to completion. The Growth of American Thought is an original and genuinely distinguished performance, equaling any work I have read on the intellectual history of any country. In it American historiography reaches a high-water mark; its author casts a shadow, indeed.

Mr. Curti has made generous use of the works of other scholars, as his excellent critical bibliography indicates, but he has supplemented these and has filled in gaps by extended researches of his own. His erudition is impressive, his judgments are balanced, and his style is graceful and clear.

The greatest problem in preparing The Growth of American Thought was undoubtedly that of organizing and presenting a mass of bewildering material in such a way that the reader could encompass it. In this Mr. Curti has proved amazingly successful. His twenty-eight chapters are divided into chronological periods according to ideas: "The American Adaptation of the European Heritage," "The Growth of Americanism," "Patrician Leadership," "Democratic Upheaval," "Triumph of Nationalism in Social and Political Thought," "The Assertion of Individualism in a Corporate Age of Applied Science," and "Optimism Encounters Diversion, Criticism and Contraction." In each chapter the author traces the dominant ideas of the period, carefully giving every dogma and ism due consideration. His sympathy with liberal democracy, though always evident, is nowhere permitted to submerge the views of those who thought otherwise. In scope the book is encyclopedic; no important person or idea is omitted. Each point of view

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is neatly labelled, classified and clearly explained with the precision of a Linnaeus.

It is impossible within the limits of a review adequately to indicate the wide range of subject matter covered in this book. It should be read and studied by all who are interested in what Americans thought in the past and in what they are now thinking, and why. This is no mere analysis of "highbrow" thinking. Perhaps its greatest merit lies in the careful exposition of the effect of economic, social and political conditions on the American mind. Popular culture receives ample attention and Mr. Curti is particularly skillful in tracing the improvement, diffusion or deterioration of ideas as they filter down from their authors through the various levels of society.

In The Growth of American Thought all the dominant forces of our national life are brought into proper focus. No work so effectively shows the interplay of religion, science, and culture. Few books surpass it in evaluating the cultural contributions of immigrant groups. Women, too, receive ample credit for their share in our intellectual accomplishment.

On the other hand one could wish that the author had expanded on the esthetic side of American life. More could be said for architecture, painting and music. Likewise folklore and folk culture demand increased emphasis. I, for one, would like to know if Mr. Curti can explain why intense intellectual, literary or artistic activity suddenly blossoms in certain communities, like Litchfield, Connecticut, between 1800 and 1830 or Indiana after the Civil War. Was Litchfield a sport, as the biologist would say? Moreover, in his care to give all sides a fair hearing the author often leaves the reader in doubt concerning the real drift of American thought. Frequently the national mind appears as a mere confusion resulting from a multiplicity of ideas, native and imported. Possibly this is the real America, after all! I like to hope that another historian will come along and erect a great interpretation of American thought on Mr. Curti's solid and noble foundation.

If Mr. Curti's work is more Linnaean than Darwinian this is due to the present development of the study of the intellectual history of America. He has revealed as has no other writer the variety and richness of our cultural heritage.

Fort Schuyler

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

American Political Parties: Their Natural History. By Wilfred E. Binkley.

(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. xi, 407, xii p. $3.75.)

The author set out to write a natural history of American political parties, to analyze each to discover its component groups and to show how these elements have been marshalled by group diplomacy exercised particularly by our greater presidents. His method is to trace the succeeding interest-group combinations which have developed since 1789 to the present, and to give an account of their behavior in party formation. The result is a nicely
patterned economic interpretation of the functioning of American politics, with some account of the diplomatic talents of the leaders who in this book are confined largely to presidents or presidential candidates.

Mr. Binkley has been at work on this theme during over thirty years of teaching political science and of participating in local politics. He has developed wide knowledge and interesting ideas. He has applied the principles of geographical determinism and has used election maps with profit in describing electoral phenomena. He is a shrewd observer and has some keen comments on politicians, particularly those of his home state of Ohio. McKinley and Hanna fare better at his hands than at those of most authorities on the period and he produces some interesting evidence to support his interpretation.

Unfortunately Mr. Binkley's reading, though wide, is spotty. His bibliography has a number of curious omissions and he follows the usual practice of citing frequently from college textbooks as authorities. Most unfortunate has been his failure to go to the sources except to a few which are printed and readily available. No manuscript collections and few newspapers are cited. The book is largely a survey of secondary and third-hand material.

Furthermore the author has sacrificed too much to maintain the consistency of his pattern. His morphology is deceptive in so amorphous a society as ours. One cannot speak so glibly, except with many reservations, of interest groups as though labor and dairy farmers rose at instant call and voted en bloc. The weather and personal prejudice and convenience often have as much to do with elections as group interests and there are always cleavages within particular groups. Mr. Binkley neglects all too much the federal organization of our politics, the factor of peculiar localism, and the role of the organizations and of their leaders who often never even run for office.

Here is an excellently written book which will be particularly attractive to what are known as "general readers." Most of them, however, will not have the specialized knowledge which will enable them to supplement its many good qualities with the consideration of the equally important forces which must be understood if one wishes to grasp the intricacies of American politics.

Those interested in Pennsylvania history will get little idea of the part which the Commonwealth has played in the story. Neither Pennsylvania nor Cameron, Quay nor Penrose are in the index. The monographs on Pennsylvania politics such as those by Brunhouse, Mueller and Klein are not in the bibliography. One may grant that Pennsylvania politics has not been glorious and that quite frequently it has been malodorous, but it has been the politics typical of expanding industrialism and as such is part of the "natural history of American political parties."

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS
Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies. By Mary Patterson Clarke. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. xi, 303 p. §3.00.)

In her Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies Dr. Clarke has made available to students of American colonial history not only a work of high scholarship but one that has a most fundamental bearing upon the slow movement in the colonies in the direction of complete self-government, if not complete independence. She is impelled, in summarizing the fruits of her exhaustive investigations of the expansion of privilege in the colonial assemblies, to reject John Adams' view that the Revolution "was in the minds of the people, and . . . was effected from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years, before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington." She writes (p. 268): "Why begin in 1760? It is obvious that the legislative experience of all the colonies for decades before the accession of George III must have had tremendous effect on the public opinion of the years in which the revolutionary movement was beginning."

The author illustrates abundantly in her pages the workings of some "twenty miniature parliaments" operating in the colonial world. Moreover, equal stress is placed upon the history of privilege in the assemblies of the other British colonies, insular and continental, as in the assemblies of the thirteen. Only two colonial assemblies do not apparently provide material that can aid in this study: those of Antigua and Nevis, both islands in the English Leewards of the West Indies. Her treatment of the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda and Jamaica, in each case, is as full and careful as that of Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, and South Carolina. But her approach is institutional and topical and not geographical.

The book opens with a carefully framed introduction dealing with the British background of parliamentary privilege. Thereupon the colonial assembly as a court with judicial functions is fully discussed; then follow two chapters concerning the speaker's petition and its enforcement; and after these, such important topics are considered as the determination of disputed elections, the control of members by the legislative body, and conflicts in jurisdiction. While matters of parliamentary privilege naturally become from time to time issues of the greatest importance in both royal and proprietary colonies, yet even with respect to such corporate colonies as Connecticut and Rhode Island in which the assemblies have, as it were, all-embracing power and also in which there is absent the characteristic speaker's petition to the governor that the house may enjoy its customary rights, there is, nevertheless, much to say about such matters as the scope of the jurisdiction of the chamber of deputies.

In dealing with the speaker's request of the King or of his representative for the customary freedom of speech and freedom from arrest and molestation of the members of the House of Commons or of the Assembly, as the case might be, Dr. Clarke considers the development of the concept of "inherent right." She shows that not only did this concept develop in Eng-
land with the growth of the power of Parliament in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but that it found expression from time to time in the assembly in a number of the colonies and particularly in that of Pennsylvania (pp. 79, 83-4) and of Jamaica (pp. 81, 255, 258). At the same time she does not fail to point out that as a rule the governor gave little encouragement to assemblies setting forth such a pretension. With reference to the insecure position of the colonial assembly in the eyes of the typical governor she writes (p. 83): "Even its very existence he considered precarious, since it rested on a charter or on commissions and instructions; and he was inclined to preach the doctrine that the hand which has given can also take away." One may add that while theoretically this may be true, in practice this could not be easily done—although it is true that the Dominion of New England was built upon the ruin of parliamentary privilege.

Parliamentary privilege was by no means limited to the customary liberties included in the speaker's request. It comprehended questions of criminal, civil, and appellate jurisdiction, the reversal of decisions of courts, impeachment, the pardoning and reprieving power, the granting of divorces, punishment for abuse of the assembly, elections, eligibility of members, exclusion of members, assembly fines, petitions, the methods of passing laws, privacy of debate, and oaths of secrecy, as well as other matters. As Dr. Clarke continually emphasizes, the colonial assemblies took their lead from the House of Commons and tended to grasp for powers not only comparable to those enjoyed by the latter but even beyond the parent legislature. It would not be too much to say that the growth of colonial particularism went hand in hand with the establishment and consolidation of parliamentary privilege in the different assemblies and that through this growth, coupled with the extension of the doctrine of "inherent right," we find the colonial leaders arriving by 1774 at the conclusion that the British empire was in fact and in theory a group of all but independent, self-governing units each with its own law-making authority, each enjoying certain exclusive powers.

Before closing this review mention should be made of the exhaustive bibliography presented in the form of a bibliographical note and covering some seventeen pages. The format of the book is also worthy of its contents.

Lehigh University

Lawrence Henry Gipson


It seems singularly appropriate that this most recent translation of The Federalist into Spanish has been done in Mexico. During most of the century and a quarter of Mexico's existence as an independent nation, its political thought and constitutional development have been strongly influenced by
the example of our own constitution. This influence, however, has not been an unmixed blessing for Mexico; it has been the cause of much of the nine-
teenth-century political maladjustment which that country suffered in its struggle toward nationality.

Almost from the beginning of independence in Mexico, attempts were made to adopt the federal principle as basic political practice. The first constitution, that of 1824, was a conscious effort to emulate the United States' constitution. Unfortunately, those who planned the Mexican constitution of 1824 little understood the intricacies of the political developments of the Anglo-Saxon republic to the north and they failed to realize that the institutions they tried to copy were hardly suitable for a Mexico suddenly broken away from three centuries of complete centralism and absolutism. The experiment was doomed to failure; but the hope of establishing federalism in Mexico (still with the constitution of the United States as a basic model) did not die out. The second major attempt at a federal constitution was made in 1857, with new elements (especially the rising mixed-blood, or Mestizo, class) participating. In this constitution, and the later one of 1917 (still in effect), federalism, along the lines of our own constitution, had to share the spotlight with incorporated programs of social and economic reform. The result has been federalism in the constitution, but strong centralism in practice. Federalism in Mexico has inevitably been the smoke screen for successive methods of strong-man control from the center, and the people of the country have all too frequently been the losers in the political experimentation which has often been patterned after imperfectly understood political institutions of the northern neighbor.

The political turbulence and maladjustment of Mexico since achieving independence seem to proclaim a need for closer appraisal of the institutions with which she has tried to govern herself; in this need lies the principal justification for Dr. Velasco's present translation of the great explanatory work of the fundamentals of our own constitutional system, *The Federalist* of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. Had the political planners of Mexico's early independence period had at hand such a translation, much political disaster might have been avoided, or at least the problems might have been better understood by later leaders planning along the same lines. This does not mean, however, that Dr. Velasco's work should be considered as "too little and too late." As he himself points out in the prologue, perhaps Mexico and the world still stand in great need of critical appraisal of political institutions in order to cope successfully with the ideological confusion growing out of the present world crisis. In this sense, Mexico and other Latin American countries (whose experiences in copying the United States' experiment have paralleled those of Mexico) might well find much food for political thought in thorough study of *The Federalist*. The translation is yet a timely one, for there has been too little consideration in Latin America of the underlying principles of the practice of federalism in the United States while successive attempts have been made to put the ideal into effect.
The translation itself has been, in general, excellently done; and the translator reveals in his prologue a high appreciation of his task and a wide knowledge of the pertinent literature in the field. A sampling of the work reveals, at times, a too literal rendition which makes for hard reading and for occasional grammatical errors in Spanish. Some misuse of words, and sometimes the “manufacture” of words which do not exist in the Spanish language but apparently are borrowed from English equivalents, handicap the literary quality of the translation. These, however, are minor faults which do not materially detract from the over-all excellence of Dr. Velasco’s achievement. The value of the work to those of Spanish speech who have in their hands the political destinies of their respective countries far outweighs minor grammatical and literary deficiencies. Dr. Velasco’s work is deserving of, and will undoubtedly receive, the acclaim and appreciation not only of his compatriots but also of political students and leaders in other Spanish-speaking countries. The translation will serve to fill a gap in Latin American understanding of Anglo-Saxon political institutions.

University of Pennsylvania

PHILIP WAYNE POWELL

The Pennsylvania Germans. By Ralph Wood et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. x, 300 p. $3.00.)

There has been no dearth of writing on the Pennsylvania Germans during the last century. Indeed, there has been considerable good writing—although little of it has received the careful attention it deserved. Much of it, however, has been marked by a tendency to write in provincial terms and to concentrate upon the bizarre and the particular rather than the characteristic and the universally significant. The present volume is noteworthy for its adherence to basic essentials and for its delineation of an integrated and comprehensive picture. Having found focus, it offers perspective.

As a symposium The Pennsylvania Germans presents expert knowledge in each of several related fields of investigation. Yet the emergence and recurrence of common themes and emphases save it from the disorganization and confusion which weaken most symposia. In the early chapters the reader meets certain core-ideas, which are restated and reinforced in the later essays in such manner that each seems to build upon and add to its predecessors. This internal unity has resulted in a coherent story—the more easily grasped and remembered because of its meaningfulness. Even viewed stylistically, the unity of the book is surprising; but its essential harmony and coherence has a deeper basis. Each writer has viewed his topic as one manifestation of the Pennsylvania-German way of life and has dealt with it in terms of the basic characteristics of the culture. The general agreement between chapters is but evidence of the success with which the authors have severally analyzed out the underlying pattern of Pennsylvania-
German life. Conversely, the book deals with just those aspects of Pennsyl-
vania-Germandom which are essential to the comprehension of the whole.

At first glance the table of contents—which covers agriculture, the sects,
the churches, education, journalism, and literature—seems a bit disappoint-
ing and inadequate to those acquainted with the story-book "Dutch." Yet,
as one reads, it becomes increasingly evident that these are the essential
aspects of Pennsylvania-German culture. It is basically a rural culture,
resting largely upon a distinctive religious ideology. Since this ideology
stemmed from a body of religious literature written in German, there arose
a strong and increasingly conscious identification of language and culture.
The external pressure from the surrounding English language served but to
strengthen this identification. Hence arose the Pennsylvania-German tril-
ogy of the farm, the church, and the language. The chapters on education
and journalism deal with the problems of perpetuating this way of life—
frequently in the face of disintegrating pressures from the surrounding
Anglo-American culture. The school and the Pennsylvania-German news-
paper became the foci of attack and defense—the newspaper assuming
special significance as a rallying point of linguistic and cultural self-
consciousness. The chapter on Pennsylvania Germans as soldiers serves as
a useful antidote to the common emphasis upon the pacifist sects, to the
neglect of the non-pacifist majority of Pennsylvania-Germandom. Thus
each chapter of the book falls into its rightful place in the general review
of the essential aspects of Pennsylvania-German life. Not all chapters are
equally strong in this and other respects, but there are few lapses from
adequacy and the general level of factual content, interpretative comment,
and effective expression is unusually high.

As a whole, the book—as a study of a people—presents an interpretative
exposition; indeed, one of its chief merits is the extent to which it rises
above the level of a chronicle of facts, to deal with the inner forces of a
culture rather than with its picturesque externals and adventitious achieve-
ments. Yet one cannot help wishing that more careful attention had been
given to problems of definition, analysis, and variation. Basic definitions,
although implied, are nowhere explicitly stated. The field of investigation
has not been delimited either socially or ideologically, and in only general
terms geographically. Cultural sub-types—the different kinds of Pennsyl-
vania-German living—are mentioned only incidentally; nowhere are they
clearly delineated. The urban culture of the region is neglected almost
completely. In concentrating upon the distinctive rural core of Pennsylvania-
Germandom—where it is purest and strongest—the authors miss some of
its most interesting ramifications and modifications. At the close of the book
one is almost tempted to ask, "Must one be a farmer or a preacher to be a
Pennsylvania German?" Obviously not, for the authors deal with too many
personages who are not. Yet nowhere are we clearly told to what extent
and in what ways Pennsylvania-German culture maintains or modifies
itself in the cities or among the intelligentsia. Geographically, a related
looseness of statement gives too often the impression that the "German counties" of eastern Pennsylvania constituted a sort of exclusive Pennsylvania-German domain.

One of the most consistently maintained and most pleasing notes of the book is its thorough-going Americanism. One is constantly reminded that, if the story be German in its origin, it is thoroughly American in setting and development. As the Anglo-American locale made for increasing loss of contact with the Fatherland, the Pennsylvania Germans—left to themselves—soon became the most American of Americans. In many places theirs was the first European culture on the scene. It became rapidly acclimated, free to develop of itself on American soil—distracted by none of those false European loyalties that have sometimes marked other immigrant groups from the seventeenth century on. The authors of the book, writing as or about members of a minority group, have kept steadfastly to the concept of America as a fusion of many European bloods and cultures, pointing out numerous instances of the workings of acculturation. The contributions of the Pennsylvania Germans to American culture are writ large on their pages. At the same time the authors pay homage to those American freedoms which have enabled the survival of much that was finest in Pennsylvania-German life. On the other hand, they are very far from glossing over the misfortunes Pennsylvania-German culture has sustained from arbitrary, ignorant, and oftimes unnecessary interference on the part of the surrounding Anglo-American tradition. Such instances, however, they report dispassionately and factually—with none of the contentiousness, defensiveness, and self-pity that is likely to color works devoted to minority groups.

In brief, the authors set out to depict in scholarly yet popular form a way of life—a way from which they themselves, for the most part, have sprung. They have done so coolly, effectively, and with quiet pride—eschewing alike panegyrics and misereres. One of their number closed his chapter with no idle words when he wrote, "the contributors have worked to one greater end—a more adequate interpretation of the American nation."

*Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation*  
*Eugene E. Doll*

*Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Volume VII.* (Allentown, Penna.: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1943. 174 p.)

If Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, essentially a contrast between medieval and modern culture, had been written just one generation later the story would have been very different. For example, King Arthur's life is saved at a crucial moment through the fact that the American has introduced bicycles for the knights to ride instead of horses; what could the author not have accomplished if he had had automobiles, planes, and the radio at his disposal!
This and similar thoughts occur to the reader of the latest report of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society devoted to accounts of six historical museums in Pennsylvania (Bucks County, Doylestown; Schwenkfelder, Pennsburg; Pennsylvania State Museum, Harrisburg; Berks County, Reading; Hershey, Hershey; Landis Valley, Lancaster). These museums contain much material that the collectors have gathered from heaps of junk dealers and which the casual visitor may think might well be returned to the scrap pile. But Dr. Mercer, the Landis Brothers, and other collectors were guided by good historic sense, for the domestic, agricultural, or industrial tools which they have gathered serve to bridge the gap between those of the eighteenth century, almost identical with the ones used by the Egyptians, Romans, or Chinese, and the machinery of the present day propelled by steam, electricity, or gasoline. The settlers on the American continent improved in innumerable ways the tools brought from Europe and prepared the way for the much more efficient devices introduced in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Thus a visit to one of these museums serves to illustrate the story of mechanical progress and at the same time to give a vivid picture of the everyday life of the men and women who conquered this continent. But for the foresight of collectors in the midst of our current breath-taking progress, as measured against that of former millennia, this record would be utterly lost.

A brief review of the accounts of these institutions cannot enumerate even a fraction of their rich material. Most of them are likewise libraries housing the written or printed record of settlers in Pennsylvania. Outstanding is the Schwenkfelder Historical Library supported by the relatively small religious group whose American ancestors landed in Philadelphia September 22, 1734. Primarily devoted to the preservation of the Schwenkfelder religious manuscripts of Pennsylvania from the eighteenth century it was expanded by historically-minded curators to comprehend sources for the history of religion during and after Reformation days in Germany, the period covering the beginnings of the Schwenkfelder. For this section of religious history it constitutes the best collection in America. Its great wealth in letters constitutes a valuable record for life during colonial and early American times. The same is true of the 25,000 volumes in the Landis Valley Museum and the 15,000 books and 30,000 pamphlets in the Bucks County Museum. A number of the historical societies likewise support historical publications, notably that of Berks County.

In view of the fact that this record is published by the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society the six curators stress particularly the sources for the history of the early German settlers. An essay by Dr. Arthur D. Graeff illustrates the current interest in the lore of this group by an enumeration of historical gatherings, lectures, and publications during 1942. The essay on rifles by H. K. and G. D. Landis is germane to the general theme of the volume: the history of pioneers in Pennsylvania, particularly the cultural
contributions of those of German descent. The Pennsylvania Germans have, as it were, taken stock of their available historical sources and they have indeed a rich supply.

University of Maryland

A. E. Zucker

Maryland During and After the Revolution. A Political and Economic Study.

By Philip A. Crowl. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 1. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. 185 p. $1.75.)

In the introduction to his book Philip A. Crowl declares that political conflicts in Maryland during the Revolution cannot be explained in terms of class struggle. This is probably true, yet it does not exclude the "economic interpretation of history" of which Crowl's study is an excellent and convincing example. Influenced by sociological methods and by the doctrine of economic determinism, the author has gathered the material from the Hall of Records in Annapolis and the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore and has interpreted it in a very fruitful way.

Crowl shows that the term "critical period" for the decade after the Revolution is hardly justified if one considers how little actually was changed. For Maryland it does not hold true that the War of Independence coincided with an internal revolution of the masses against the local aristocracy. The Revolutionary movement was carried by a comparatively small group. In many respects the strategy of the two parties ("court party" and "country party") followed the battle lines of the Crown-Parliament struggle in England. The aristocratic framework of the province survived the revolution against England: a group of a dozen men controlled Maryland's political destiny in the years during and after the Revolution. With genealogical minuteness the author describes how closely knitted was this upper class of Maryland society where almost everyone was everyone's cousin, uncle or brother-in-law. The new constitution of 1776 preserved an outspokenly conservative government in a state where all important offices rotated within a small influential group of planters, lawyers, merchants and where on account of the property prerequisites not more than about fifty-five per cent of free adult males had the right to vote. Also the confiscation of British and Tory property did not have a noticeable effect of democratization on the social structure of the state; as a whole property was simply transferred from one group to another one which numerically was not so much different from the former class of owners.

In the question of collecting pre-war British debts Maryland was considerably more tolerant than the neighbor state Virginia. Through the grain raising German settlers in Western Maryland and through the shifting of Maryland's agricultural economy from tobacco to grain, a native mercantile class had developed in Maryland and had furthered a partial emancipation
from British credit control. Therefore, the British debt problem did not weigh as heavily in Maryland as in other states. In the years between 1784 and 1787 the fight for and against paper money shocked the foundations of the state; here were the first attacks on the government of "the rich and well born," the first signs of political unrest and social discontent that led to the anti-aristocratic suffrage amendment to the state constitution in 1801. Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll were the two outstanding antagonists in the violent struggle for paper money and debtor relief.

After 1787 the problem of the Federal Constitution overshadowed all other issues. Crowl describes in great detail the constitutional fights at the Federal Convention at Philadelphia and their repercussions in Maryland. Although the Maryland delegation was not comprised of the leading political spirits of the state, one of the delegates, Luther Martin, was not without influence in shaping the new federal structure. Crowl makes it clear that only to a certain degree the political leaders and the voting masses in Maryland lined up according to their position in the paper money-credit-fight. To be sure, to a certain extent it can be said that the Federalist cause recruited its most influential supporters from the conservative anti-inflation party, and that the Anti-Federalists tried to get votes by denouncing the Constitution as an aristocratic conspiracy. Yet, we should not forget that the lines overlapped and that the new national issue helped to form new party lines. The author emphasizes the great significance of the Ratifying Convention in Annapolis in the national picture. Maryland's ratification of the Constitution destroyed the plan of a separate Southern Confederacy before it was born. Very justly Crowl points out that particularly the industrial and commercial circles of Baltimore were most active in promoting the new Constitution.

Four years ago we received Charles A. Barker's admirable study on The Background of the Revolution in Maryland which dealt extensively with the two decades preceding the outbreak of the Revolution. Crowl's book continues where Barker left off, and nothing better could be said to his praise than that it holds the same high scholarly level set by his predecessor.

*University of Maryland*  

Dieter Cunz

*This Was New York: The Nation's Capital in 1789.* By Frank Monaghan and Marvin Lowenthal. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1943. xii, 308 p. Illustrated. $2.75.)

To transport the reader back one hundred and fifty years is not an easy task but it has been done successfully by Frank Monaghan and Marvin Lowenthal in *This Was New York.* The life of the people in the nation's capital in 1789 has been recreated for us in a most entertaining way, and at the same time a firm historical basis has been kept.

The panorama of daily life opens before us, beginning with the details of travelling to the city, the finding of places to eat and sleep, and con-
continuing to describe the ways the people earned their living and amused themselves. We see what the New Yorker had in the way of churches, schools and colleges, shops, medical care, courts and municipal rules and regulations. The final chapter, the picture of Washington’s inauguration, brings the happenings of that day before our eyes in a rush of activity, excitement, and color—an excellent note on which to complete the story.

The material has been gleaned mostly from the newspapers, the New York Directory, the minutes of the Common Council and the standard histories. Sometimes we have the description directly from Brissot de Warville, the noted traveller, and sometimes William Maclay speaks up to discuss the political or social scene. Fortunately the charging-out ledger of the New York Society Library for 1789–1790 came into the author’s hands. As a result of their analysis, together with their feeling for history, they have produced a chapter on reading habits of a group of New Yorkers which is charming and indicative of the day, while the summaries of popular novels, and the comments on the taste of the readers are most entertaining. Aside from this, there is not much new material. The subject has been written up a good deal. 1789 was an important year in the country’s history and New York City was the center of political activity. It is rather by the authors’ imaginative use of the facts and figures at hand that the book has its claim as a worthwhile addition to the many histories of the city. True, it does not have the formal tone and impersonal manner of the usual history, but by its informality it has a far wider appeal. The decision to omit footnotes was a wise one for footnotes do not seem to belong in a book of this type. The chapter notes at the end are adequate.

It is unfortunate that the first impression of the book is of historical inaccuracy, for this is not borne out in the text. The sketch of Wall Street on the dust wrapper is totally wrong—as can be seen by comparing it with the illustration opposite page 189. It is a colorful picture and catches the eye, but there is no reason why it could not have been correct also.

Dr. Monaghan and Mr. Lowenthal have written a book of lasting interest in New York history. By keeping in mind always the idea that they are looking at New York through the eyes of the individual, and that they are telling a story of people, they have created an impression of reality which is most enjoyable. And I am sure that they had as good a time writing it as people will have in reading it.

_The New-York Historical Society_  

**SUSAN E. LYMAN**


It was most appropriate for the University of Pennsylvania Press to bring out a biography of Dr. William Smith in its series of “Pennsylvania Lives.” He was the first and greatest Provost of the University and or-
ganized it as an educational institution. A churchman of distinction and the most gifted pulpit orator in America, Smith’s talents further included those of a distinguished educator, teacher, fund-raiser, businessman, and versifier. He was one of the many teachers who came to the Colonies from Scotland and the influence of Aberdeen, his Alma Mater, upon him was very strong. He had an original and independent mind and was early interested in educational possibilities in America.

The publication of Smith’s mythical College of Mirania, a copy of which he sent to Benjamin Franklin in 1753, attracted wide attention. Franklin showed it to the Reverend Richard Peters and to William Allen, colleagues upon the Board of Trustees of his infant educational venture, and the three became greatly interested. Dr. Franklin recognized in Smith a zealous worker, indefatigable in the pursuit of his plan, and eager to establish a college. This was the man selected as the first Provost. He came first to the Academy, organized it as the College, and then into the first University of America.

Dr. Smith’s scheme of study, initiated at the college in 1756, is now the basis of all college curricula. He had enthusiasm, vigor, ability, and color, and soon attracted the best boys of the town as his students. These included Francis Hopkinson, Hugh Williamson, Thomas Godfrey, Benjamin West, Anthony Wayne, John Morgan, Jacob Duché, William Paca, Thomas Mifflin, and Richard Peters, all of whom became distinguished in later life.

Dr. Smith labored to prevent the break with England and worked for a reconciliation, advocating then what has now become the British Commonwealth of Nations. After the break, however, he supported independence and delivered an eloquent sermon in Christ Church on June 23, 1775, before the Third Battalion of Militia, Colonel John Cadwalader, Commander. This was the high point in Smith’s life in the judgment of the author of this volume. Subsequently, Dr. Smith attempted to reconcile loyalty to the Crown and the Anglican church and also to America by taking a middle course. By so doing he became the subject of attack by the violent and radical revolutionaries. The animosity of Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania in 1779, destroyed the college which Dr. Smith had brought to such distinction, and the latter was banished to Maryland where he founded Washington College in Kent County in 1780.

After the Revolution, there was a revival of the old college and Dr. Smith returned from 1789 to 1792. As Secretary of the old board of the college Smith called a meeting for organization and his minute recording the election of Benjamin Franklin as President seems significant in the oft-recurring controversy as to who founded the University. Dr. Smith’s minute calls Dr. Franklin “The father and one of the first founders of the institution.” He delivered an eulogy of Franklin in 1791 at the invitation of the American Philosophical Society, upon the occasion of Franklin’s death. Although he had become estranged from him over political differences, he was warm and eloquent in his praise of Franklin’s many abilities.
Smith died May 14, 1803, in retirement. He was a man of action, tremendous energy, and a great teacher. His greatest legacy was the young men whom he taught. Dr. Gegenheimer has written a comparatively brief biography packed with much information. However, there are many incidents and personalities in Smith's life which could have been given more prominence and by giving the book more color would have made it more readable and diverting.

University of Pennsylvania

Horace Mather Lippincott


William Cobbett, the brilliant literary and political leader of the early nineteenth-century English reform movement, has been the subject of biographers as distinguished as G. D. H. Cole, G. K. Chesterton, Marjorie Bowen and Lewis Melville. But none of them has given much attention to the eight-year period, 1792 to 1800, which Cobbett spent in the United States, most of it at Philadelphia, as a pamphleteer, newspaper editor and bookseller. By describing in painstaking detail his American experiences, Miss Clark has rendered a valuable service to students of Cobbett and more broadly to students of Pennsylvania and American history; for the closing years of the eighteenth century were formative ones for Cobbett and for political parties and journalism in the young Republic.

The story Miss Clark tells is the familiar one of the impecunious but gifted immigrant who won wealth and influence in the United States. An English farmboy who had served with an infantry regiment in New Brunswick, Cobbett settled in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1792 and there eked out a livelihood as a tutor and boardinghouse keeper to French refugees from St. Domingo. Early in 1794 he moved to Philadelphia, which as the national capital, seemed a likely spot for realizing his ambition to be a pamphleteer. These were the years in which national political parties were taking shape for the first time under the federal union. Probably because the Federalist party favored the policies of Great Britain, Cobbett advocated its cause in pamphlets he published under the pseudonym, "Peter Porcupine." He began by attacking Dr. Joseph Priestley, who had received friendly treatment from the Democratic-Republicans during a stay at Philadelphia. Soon he was aiming his stinging invective at the opponents of the Jay Treaty, at John Swanwick, Democratic-Republican Congressman from Philadelphia, at the Casa de Yrujo, Spanish minister to the United States, at Chief Justice Thomas McKean of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and even at Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia's leading physician. He led the Federalist journalistic pack in demanding war with France in 1798. Cobbett's pamphlets enjoyed a wide sale both in this country and in Great Britain. He augmented
his fame and financial success by publishing a daily newspaper, *Porcupine's Gazette*, and by operating a bookstore, in the tradition of "Old Lightning Rod," as he called Benjamin Franklin.

But in an important way Cobbett differed from the other immigrants who were winning prominence in the United States. His loyalty to the land of his birth remained greater than that to his adopted country. When President John Adams and the other Federalists abandoned their belligerent attitude toward France, Cobbett turned on them, with the result that he became embroiled in a series of disastrous libel suits that sent him scurrying back to Great Britain in 1800.

To tell this story Miss Clark has culled the vast store of Cobbett's printed works and made fairly thorough use of pertinent manuscript material available in this country. She has marshalled her facts in an orderly, straightforward fashion. But it is a pity that her aims in writing her monograph were so modest. As she confides in her preface, "I have not attempted very much in the way of interpretation." The consequence is that the student of Cobbett can still obtain a better appreciation of the complexities of the pamphleteer's character from William Reitzel's article on Cobbett published in this magazine nine years ago* than he can from Miss Clark's book. Moreover, Miss Clark's Cobbett is almost entirely a man living and writing in a vacuum. Rarely does she attempt to sketch the social, political and journalistic milieu in which Cobbett played such an important role; seldom does she make his heroes and his adversaries anything more than names. Even more surprising, for the author's interest in Cobbett presumably is primarily a literary one, she does not undertake to appraise his writing talents, although she does quote liberally from his publications. Nevertheless, readers already familiar with the background of the times and the pamphleteer's character will find Miss Clark's book useful as a careful and detailed chronicle.

The volume contains a good bibliography of the works Cobbett published during his American period and an inadequate listing of pertinent manuscript and secondary materials. There is no index.


Historical Division, Army Air Forces Raymond Walters, Jr.

*The Road to Salem.* By Adelaide L. Fries. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944, x, 316 p. Illustrated. $4.00.)

This is a factual story. The preface informs the reader that "It is not fiction with a background of history, but a recital of things that really happened. Every man, woman, and child actually lived and acted as presented, and with very few exceptions their real names are used, four or five being disguised for obvious reasons." Through all of the absorbing narrative...
shine the drama, the color, the charm of a unique frontier experience, covering ninety eventful years of the later colonial period and the earlier national period of American history.

The life story of Anna Catherina Antes, daughter of Henry Antes the well-known German pioneer of Pennsylvania who identified himself with the American Moravian Church in the difficult period of its beginnings, serves as motif for the instructive and delightful narrative. Anna Catherina herself supplied the outline in an autobiographical sketch written in 1803, when she was seventy-seven years of age. This outline Dr. Fries has skillfully filled in with rich and abundant materials drawn from contemporary diaries, journals, and letters as well as from printed historical sources of the Moravian Church. Archivist of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, close and devoted study has given Dr. Fries thorough knowledge of the events of the time and of the men and the women who participated in them or were affected by them. Hence, experiences and occurrences are portrayed with a deft and sure hand. These all come to bear their proper significance in the tale that is told. And the men, women, and children of the narrative are presented as well-known acquaintances with a true and shrewd estimate of their abilities and qualities, their virtues and graces, their faults and foibles. The several persons are always in character. The author has produced a close-knit, steadily moving narrative of a significant chapter in American pioneer history, setting forth the purposes and services of a Christian community in details so authentic that "line and page reference could be given for each item."

The early chapters of the book are fitted into the background of Pennsylvania frontier history, the scene shifting for Anna Catherina from the paternal roadside inn and mill to the sisters' houses at Bethlehem and to the nearby Moravian settlements of Nazareth and Emmaus. Then Anna Catherina follows her physician husband to the one hundred thousand acre tract secured by the Church in North Carolina, whither a Moravian Bishop had led a small company of chosen settlers, who took into the settlements they founded in that region their music, their architecture, their medicine, the regulations of their organization, their varied craftsmanship, and above all, their aim to proclaim the Gospel of Christ. All too soon, death claimed the devoted physician. Later, Anna Catherina is confronted with quite different conditions and problems at the side of her versatile second husband whose activities included those of surveyor, teacher, and storekeeper. After successive periods of widowhood, she rendered service as the helpmate in turn of two Moravian ministers, the one located in Friedland and the other in Bethabara, both settlements within the selfsame Wachovia tract. In the course of a long life this pioneer heroine witnessed or participated in the manifold experiences incident to rearing new and permanent settlements. Her slender account of these experiences has been filled in with a wealth of pertinent detail and thus rounded out becomes an adequate and effective narrative of pioneer enterprise committed to highest and noblest purposes.
The volume is a real and readable contribution to the long and fascinating story of American beginnings. *The Road to Salem* is bound in red with gilt lettering. It is illustrated with contemporary drawings, engravings, and portraits. End papers reproduce an old engraving of Salem, North Carolina.

*Moravian College and Theological Seminary*  
W. N. Schwarze

*Writings on Early American Architecture. An Annotated List of Books and Articles on Architecture Constructed before 1860 in the Eastern Half of the United States.* By Frank J. Roos, Jr. (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1943. x, 272 p. $2.75.)

This is a fine and scholarly bibliography covering books and articles on architecture constructed before 1860 in the eastern half of the United States. The geographical area covered includes the East coast to the western edge of the Mississippi Valley. No titles are included which are concerned with architecture constructed later than the Civil War, nor with architecture in the West or Southwest. After a summary of the general references dealing with the history of the development of architecture in the United States, the subjects are listed in broad sub-divisions—Domestic Architecture, Religious, Details, and Miscellaneous—before the author makes a further classification by periods, such as Colonial, Early Republican and Greek Revival.

The method of classification of titles is based primarily on locations under specific place names, city or county, or failing that, under state or region. It is pointed out that some titles are so geographically inclusive as to necessitate classification by style. In this connection, and very wisely, Mr. Roos appends the classification that was used, pointing out that such terms as Colonial, Post-Colonial, Georgian, Federal, Early Republican, and Classic Revival have had different meanings for different writers, and that while not all students will agree with his arrangement, it will have served its purpose if it leads to further discussions which may bring about a more authoritative classification. In addition to titles dealing with architecture proper, the minor arts are also covered, as well as unusual types of structures not normally considered in histories of architecture, such as lighthouses, windmills and shot-towers. The book ends with a most useful list of the architects named in the titles, with their dates.

The greater part of the index is devoted to a classification by general geographical areas: New England, Middle Atlantic, Southern, North Central, covering in all a total of thirty-two states, and the District of Columbia. Each geographical area has sections devoted to General References, Domestic, Public and Religious buildings, and in the case of each state the General References to the architecture of the state precede references deal-
ing with particular locations, in which case the town or city is the smallest geographical division used.

This book is the best comprehensive bibliography on the subject that this writer has seen, and fills a very real need. Mr. Roos is to be congratulated on the clear and lucid manner in which the subject matter is presented.

Philadelpia

JOSEPH PATTERSON SIMS


This engrossing volume mirrors a Michigan fast growing in population, but still very French, still in the shadow of 1812, dependent on and dissatisfied with national aid. The greatest number of items is from the General Land Office—more than half again as many as from the Department of State. Indian affairs loom nearly as large as the territorial system itself. Altogether it is a rich and varied ore which Professor Carter has mined and assayed. An application in the Land Office files recounts the disillusionment of John Farmer, who, having “acquired the Lancaster system of education,” accepted the University trustees’ offer of $500 for teaching the primary school at Detroit; “I . . . have Laboured hard two years and find myself $100 worse than when I arrived there” (p. 535–536).

Former Secretary Attwater furnishes a detailed inventory of his household goods, destroyed in 1812. In the Schoolcraft papers, James Duane Doty reports the death of Dr. William S. Madison on his way to join his family, shot by an Indian guide north of Sheboygan “without any cause or malice . . . ‘to see how pretty he would fall off his horse’ ” (p. 176).

Professor Carter’s volumes are “best buys” in a field much broader than Michigan history. Investigators (and the government employees who assist them) will be saved many routine searches; they will find some documents (as two noted from the General Accounting Office) to which individual access is apparently impossible. The footnotes are useful guides to materials already published and still unpublished. One is inclined to respect the explanation (in Volume X, v) that “the well-known prolixity characteristic of much of Cass’s writing has been carefully weighed in the admission and rejection of his correspondence and reports,” although the most prolix of Cass in the volume seems to this reviewer to be of more general interest than, for instance, most of the postal correspondence. Still the mass of the postal series is small, and it is well that it appears in full instead of in part. Material in the State Department files is much bulkier. As Professor Carter notes (p. 1244), the completeness of the index reflects the use of the ample lists of voters (introduced in this volume) and petitioners. Data relating to a contested election for a delegate cover over 160 pages, and contests are
not infrequent in territorial history. Enjoying the riches of this second Michigan volume, one rejoices in the departure from the earlier plan to confine the Michigan papers to two volumes, but also wonders if a third will suffice.

All of this is not meant in criticism of the present volume but in hope that as many as possible of the following volumes may appear during the service of the present editor. Certainly comparison of this volume with volume XXXVI (1908) of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, which covers the same period, reminds one of how unsatisfactory and in the long run wasteful such limited selections may be, however useful in their time. Professor Carter has issued eleven volumes, covering about seventy-seven years of territorial history—a truly impressive output, and at a remarkably low cost to taxpayer as well as purchaser. (The bicentennial series of Writings of George Washington was much more expensive, volume for volume, each volume being of possibly one-fifth the dimensions of the present Michigan volume; most of the documents had been published previously, and nearly all were in a single depository.) Although including previously published material would render great service, by excluding it the editor has chosen the course more economical of time and money.

But there still remain 462 years of territorial history for the contiguous territories alone. Oklahoma of 1900, moreover, had a population of 790,391, while Michigan of 1820 had 8,896, few printing presses, no great ambition for immediate statehood or even for a legislative assembly. Historians and historical societies, therefore, should see that the very modest appropriations for carrying on this work are not again threatened, and are, as soon as possible, increased. Perhaps the resourceful editor may brighten the prospect of waiting more than half a century for the completion of the series (at the rate of eight and a half years of territorial history per annum) by issuing a supplementary microfilm service (covering, for instance, enclosures of rare newspapers), and by more frequent calendaring, as is now being done in the footnotes. We should have had the series before so many of the territorial documents were published in scattered places. We might be better prepared for the tasks of overseas responsibilities pressing upon us now, as well as for a fuller appreciation of our democratic heritage, if we understood more of the American experience with the territories.

University of North Carolina

EARL S. POMEROY

Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860. By Alice Felt Tyler. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1944. x, 608 p. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. $5.00.)

Without waiting to see what the rest of the year brings forth, this reviewer nominates Freedom's Ferment for the 1944 Pulitzer Prize in American history. Seldom does a publishing season produce even one book, let alone
more than one, so important in content, so interesting, and so well done as this one. It is a long book, sound in scholarship and mature in judgment, and there isn't a dull page in it. The reader finishes it with the feeling that while being entertained he has gained new insight into the national American character.

In *Freedom's Ferment* Mrs. Tyler explains and describes that astonishing outburst of American social energy which was let loose by the formation of the new republic and continued with increasing vigor until it involved the nation in a civil war. There never has been anything quite like it in our history, before or since. Journalistic writers have exploited the crude exuberance of some of the reform movements of this period, with such labels as "fabulous" or "frenzied." Even professional historians are bewildered and somewhat ashamed at the antics of our earnest but at times misguided ancestors. But they need not be, says Mrs. Tyler. Accompanying these transitory fads andancies were "fundamentals of faith, crusades, reforms, and reformers whose effect on American civilization was profound and permanent."

It was a combination of evangelical religious zeal and optimistic faith in democratic institutions, operating in a vast new country of limitless resources, which produced this amazing crop of reform movements. No proposal was too fantastic to get a tryout somewhere—if not on the older and more conservative seaboard, then farther west. Thus Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, was a native of Vermont, but he incubated his religious ideas in western New York, and developed them in Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri; and when even the hospitable frontier had no room for the Mormons, they pushed on into the wilderness of Utah.

After describing the background of evangelical religion and "dynamic democracy" in which these reforms flourished, the author describes and evaluates the various movements themselves. Part Two of the book, "Cults and Utopias," contains successive chapters on Transcendentalism, millennialism and spiritualism, the Mormons, religious communistic societies from the Ephrata Cloister in Pennsylvania to the Jansonists in Illinois, with a whole chapter devoted to the Shakers. Then follow two chapters on American Utopias, one covering those of religious inspiration, such as Brook Farm and the Oneida Community, the other on the secular socialistic experiments—the Owenites, the Fourier "Phalanxes," and others.

Part Three, "Humanitarian Crusades," is the largest section of the book. It takes up in turn the movements for education, penal reform, care of the poor, blind, and insane, and the crusade against alcohol. Then under the title, "Denials of Democratic Principles," the anti-Masonic and the anti-Catholic campaigns are described, followed by chapters on the peace movement and the campaign for women's rights. The author appropriately saves the antislavery movement for the last. Her two long chapters on this subject are perhaps the best in the book.

Many of the reform movements which Mrs. Tyler describes have been
investigated by scholars in recent years, with resulting articles and books, such as Krout's *Origins of Prohibition* and Billington's *Protestant Crusade*. But until this mass of literature, old and new, could be digested, summarized, and interpreted in one volume, as Mrs. Tyler has now done, it has been difficult for the modern reader to grasp the full significance of the urge for reform, and to appreciate the cumulative impact which these various movements, many of them flourishing simultaneously, must have had on the minds of our nineteenth-century forbears. It is hard to believe that anyone at that time could fail to have been affected in one way or another by these reform crusades, even though he took no part in any of them. There were some professional reformers, like Gerrit Smith, who were active in several movements at once or in succession. Others might be radical on one subject and conservative on another, as in the case of the World's Temperance Convention of 1853 where the delegates barred women from their deliberations, howling them down with cries of "Shame on the woman." What was one reformer's meat might be another's poison, but the menu was varied enough for all.

It would be ungracious to try to pick flaws in so good a book as this. No one else would have done it exactly as Mrs. Tyler has, but it is unlikely that anyone else could have done it better. The Shakers seem to have got more space than their importance merited—but that is only one reviewer's opinion. The chapter on criminal law and punishment seems the least satisfactory one in the book, but that may indicate a need for more special work in this field, rather than a deficiency in the author.* In deference, no doubt, to the publisher's wishes, this scholarly work is made to look unscholarly by hiding the footnotes at the back of the book. No bookmark is furnished. Those who wish to follow the author's documentation must insert a thumb at page 556 and turn back and forth 583 times during the reading. One wonders just how many prospective purchasers of this $5.00 volume really are allergic to footnotes. Brazen fellows like Walter Lippmann and John C. Miller flaunt their footnotes right on the bottom of each page, and somehow or other get their books chosen by the Book-of-the-Month Club. It doesn't make sense.

* The University of Delaware

H. CLAY REED

Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer, His Earlier Career, By ERIC F. GOLDMAN. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. 150 pp. $1.50.)

As the author points out, Theodore Roosevelt and Charles J. Bonaparte had much in common. Both can be called "patrician" reformers in that by inheritance each acquired social position and independent means. It was this,

perhaps, which made both men almost contemptuous of parvenus, or of those
who because of recently acquired wealth sought any special privileges or
power. This feeling, shared in common, made both men believers in the
necessity of curbing the powers of the trusts, Both Charles J. Bonaparte and
Theodore Roosevelt played an important part in establishing the control of
American government over American economy and each, unwittingly, con-
tributed to the development of a federal government which has acquired
extensive powers under another “patrician” reformer, President Franklin
D. Roosevelt.

Charles J. Bonaparte, who was a great nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte,
was a positive personality with complete confidence in himself. He never
hesitated to express his opinion no matter whose feelings might be hurt.
While admired and respected, he had no popular following. Politicians,
especially, resented the great interest he showed in civil service reform.
There was little geniality in Bonaparte’s makeup, except for his ever
present smile, which more often expressed disdain than amusement.

Bonaparte had no delusions about the equality of men. By nature, he
said, they were “notoriously unequal.” Since this was the case it was foolish
that all children should receive the same education. Too often a good car-
penter was lost in making a worse than useless clerk or bookkeeper. Bona-
parte questioned whether individual liberty could coexist with popular
government and whether it was possible to make men equal without abridg-
ing their freedom. As an instance of this, he cited the case where a trade
union by preventing one man from doing better work than his fellows
“dwarfed all alike.”

“A moralist favoring an aristocracy for the good of democracy,” such,
according to the author, was Bonaparte when, in 1902, President Theodore
Roosevelt appointed him to a seat on the Board of Indian Commissioners.
Later Bonaparte achieved considerable prominence in his thoroughgoing
investigation of the scandals in the Post Office Department. He was made
Secretary of the Navy in 1905. As the development of the Navy was one of
the President’s chief interests, Bonaparte did little more in his new position
than carry out “T. R.’s” instructions. Present-day readers will be interested
to note that when Bonaparte took up his new duties, there was much feeling
against the Japanese especially in California. Roosevelt warned the people
that they must be armed and the Navy ready for any emergency.

The author’s last chapter contains an account of Bonaparte as Secretary
of the Navy. Unfortunately, due to circumstances beyond his control, Dr.
Goldman was unable to write of Bonaparte’s later and more important
activities when as Attorney General of the United States he brought suits
against the trusts. As he has written so interestingly of Bonaparte’s earlier
career, it is hoped that Dr. Goldman will later be able to complete the
biography.

Maryland Historical Society

Raphael Semmes