

BOOK REVIEWS

Jefferson and the Rights of Man. By DUMAS MALONE. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951. xxx, 523 p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Mr. Dumas Malone is engaged on a four-volume work, *Jefferson and His Time*, a historical biography, designing to relate the story of the whole man to his times, remaining faithful to his own chronology, not looking backward to Jefferson, but looking forward with him as the years of his life unroll. The first volume, *Jefferson the Virginian*, was universally praised. This is the second, covering the eight years 1784 through 1792, Jefferson's forty-second to his fiftieth year, when he was Minister to France and Washington's Secretary of State.

They were happy, successful years for Jefferson. "Never again did he live so well or indulge his tastes so freely. Never again until his final retirement from public life could he be to such an extent and for so long a time a detached philosopher." The world was between wars, Jefferson was continually occupied with foreign affairs rather than domestic conflict, and the French Revolution remained for this period (as indeed it tended to remain for some while afterwards in Jefferson's thinking) in its philosophical stage.

These years are Jefferson at his best. He was living on the broadest world-stage of politics and thought he ever attained, and there had not yet crystallized those partisan divisions within the Federal Government that after 1793 would drive Jefferson's philosophy into a factional corner and make him the champion of only part of the people. The Declaration of Independence was the climax of his youth; the struggle with Hamilton was the climax of his middle years. In this period there is no big climax at all, nor any disastrous focus of thought to action. This is the era of hope, and of fulfillment.

What Mr. Malone is fashioning is more than a biography, it is a reference work, almost an encyclopedia of Jefferson's life. He writes in an agreeable, easy style, his pages are filled with two charms, Jefferson's and his own. The whole importance of the work will wait upon the appearance of the four volumes, but either one of the two now available can furnish entertainment anywhere one opens them. This volume as a separate production should be praised and heartily recommended.

Two reservations I suggest, not to take merit from the work, but rather to try to explain why sometimes the living presence of human beings seems suddenly absent, why sometimes the charm disappears. The theme, Jeffer-

son as "a true and pure symbol of the rights of man," defender of the spirit of liberty, is so broad a theme that it is not human experience at all. It might be said of many people; it is scarcely a biographical judgment. No man lives the life of a symbol, however he seems to others; no symbol has emotions and fears and troubles and joys. The rights of man was certainly a cherished notion to Jefferson, but it cannot be made to explain more than one set of his interests and activities.

No one could object to Mr. Malone's feeling, that in the variety of Jefferson's intellectual, spiritual, and political life he exemplified better than any other American the spirit of the free man. But it is unfortunate when other public men of his time are obliged to exemplify, not the same spirit to a less degree, but an opposite spirit which they sincerely and genuinely opposed. Hamilton, in this volume, becomes likewise a symbol, with the result that the great division between the two men is dehumanized. Hamilton, in a biography of Jefferson, needs all his vivid dimensions, so that the reader may know that Jefferson's antagonist was at least worthy of Jefferson.

Mr. Malone's account of the first Cabinet and its problems is fresh and spirited. He brings out Madison's role as Jefferson's guide and informant; Madison knew more of Hamilton than he as the government began. He describes briskly the maneuvers on the Residence Bill and Assumption, and stresses the sectional nexus, the difference between the southern planter and the eastern merchant, though he seems to approve one sectionalism and condemn the other. But Hamilton is presented as a flat surface, and one marvels that any reasonable American could have accepted his views. Here, as so many other places, Hamilton suffers because he did not enjoy a long retirement of reminiscence and self-justification, as Jefferson did, and John Adams. Hamilton's attributes were numerous, but they will probably not survive today's Jeffersonian enthusiasms.

Fully half of the volume is occupied with Jefferson's French mission, and for this section no reader will have anything but praise. The chapters on France are delightful essays—on Jefferson's travels, his science, his circle of friends, his sentimental adventure with the gentle, accomplished painter, Maria Cosway, on his gay, generous companionship and inexhaustible curiosity, even on his diplomacy, which was but a minor aspect of his five years in Europe. "I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts," he wrote, and he might have said the same on every intellectual and social interest of Paris. "Minister of Enlightenment," Mr. Malone calls him, and details the fascinating story of Jefferson's "zeal to promote the general good of mankind by the exchange of useful things." Useful things were every imaginable thing. Jefferson regretted he was unable to take an American moose with him to France. Reading of the marvels of his mission, one wonders how he happened to omit it.

This is a mid-point in the Malone Jefferson. The two volumes are so distinguished, and so perfectly epitomize today's best historical scholarship,

that I hope the author's expressed intention of compressing the material of the presidency into a single volume will not prevail. He has much to explain of Jefferson in power, and he is the best man to do it.

Philadelphia

J. H. POWELL

George Washington. A Biography. Volume V: Victory with the Help of France.

By DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. xviii, 570 p. Illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This volume of Dr. Freeman's great work carries the story of Washington, and of the Revolution as he saw or heard about it, from the intervention of France to the end of hostilities. It is not as interesting as the earlier volumes, for in the period which it covers only two major battles were fought; and even Freeman cannot enliven five years of almost unbroken inactivity in a military camp. It is too much to expect any volume to add new information or significant revaluation in a field which has been constantly plowed by American historians for a hundred and fifty years. The best portion of this deals with the Yorktown campaign, with which the author has long been familiar.

Rereading my review of volumes three and four in this magazine for April, 1952, I find that everything which I had thought to say about volume five is said there with more striking illustrations of the things which I chose to praise or criticize than this volume affords. The criticisms should not be reiterated because the minor faults at which they are aimed are inevitable in a work of this character. Dr. Freeman could not himself cover the sources on which this work rests in the span of time which he has allowed. Anyone who has worked as a research assistant, or as a compiler of the results of the research of others, will recognize flaws inevitable in a book written in this manner. The compiler, not having soaked in the sources themselves, sometimes strikes a false note. The conclusions which he builds upon the reports of his research assistants are not quite those which the assistants themselves would have drawn.

Even with research assistants some useful sources must be ignored in a work of such scope as this. Dr. Freeman is not writing a history of the Revolution, so he has made slight use of the archives of the thirteen colonies; but they contain much that is relevant to his subject. Take the matter of the failure of the states to support Washington's army. In a story written from the point of view of his headquarters he is a very great and wise man, and the state officials by contrast are blind, selfish, and stupid pygmies. However, the state archives show many of their administrators to have been just as devoted to the cause as Washington, and faced with crises as great as those with which he contended. The governors suffered for their naked and hungry soldiers just as Washington did, but when there was not one

hard dollar in the state treasury, and very few to be extracted by the most persistent tax collector, the most earnest labors had little effect. So far as devotion and character were concerned, Washington is not the lonely figure which he sometimes appears to be.

With all this Dr. Freeman would agree. And all of those who have labored to write history will agree that volume five, like its predecessors, is a remarkable achievement.

American Antiquarian Society

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

The Browns of Providence Plantations: Colonial Years. By JAMES B. HEDGES. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952. xx, 379 p. Illustrations, index. \$6.00.)

Merchants led the society of colonial New England, but there are few scholarly books recounting the history of their varied family enterprises. In the Brown papers at Brown University and the Rhode Island Historical Society James B. Hedges found the basis for an unusually complete study of the business affairs of one of the great merchant families. The present volume which covers the period from 1723 to about 1800 is the first of three that will ultimately extend the family history to the twentieth century.

The Browns' early trading ventures which were begun by James and Obadiah in 1723 were primarily directed southward. Their first ships sailed to Caribbean or southern Atlantic ports. Molasses, often smuggled in, was their staple import and rum, horses, and timber were their chief exports. Later the Browns tried whaling, and bought oil and head matter for their spermaceti candle factory. But over long periods, prior to 1766, they carried on no direct trade with London.

Like many other successful merchants, the Browns sought security and profit by diversifying their interests. In addition to the largest spermaceti candle works in the colonies, they tried distilling and crude iron manufacture. During the Revolution they went in for privateering, and put large sums into depreciated public securities.

Dr. Hedges notes (p. 122) that "perhaps the marked increase in the number of spermaceti plants on the eve of the Revolution, in spite of the growing disparity between the price of head matter and of candles, is evidence in support of Louis Hacker's contention that colonial merchants possessed capital which they were eager to invest in manufacture if only British regulations would allow them to do so." But the account of Peter Oliver's iron works (p. 147) shows that in spite of nominal restrictions the colonists made finished iron products.

Apparently, it was difficult or impossible for Dr. Hedges to estimate annual profits from the Brown partnership ledgers. Such family books never had to be closed out, needed no profit and loss accounts or annual state-

ments. We can only gather that the Browns were cautious, calculating, and fortunate, and that slowly over two generations they became rich.

By the sixties they were leading citizens of Providence, active in politics and other public affairs. Nicholas Brown was one of the incorporators of the College of Rhode Island in 1765, which was later to recognize the family benefactions by becoming Brown University. The Browns took the patriot side in the controversies with Great Britain, and their business benefited in some ways from their proper political connections.

These early Browns were not inclined to elaborate literary expression. The terse character of the correspondence is illustrated in a letter of James Brown to a widow upon the loss of her husband. "So Shure as we come into the World we must go out," he philosophized, but followed in the next sentence with "he had of me 100 bushels of salt for which he was to pay last fall £23-15/."

It is possible to learn many of the minute details of trade and manufacturing, but the social, religious, and family life of the Browns emerges only in a very general way. This, no doubt, reflects the fact that these early merchants "lived their work." Trade probably colored much of their thought and conversation. Furthermore, Dr. Hedges is writing primarily for the business or economic historian. In order to understand colonial society in general, however, the historian needs to know about the nonbusiness roles of the merchants. He needs to follow them into vestry and college meetings, to hear more of their leisure pursuits and their social ambitions.

Dr. Hedges' style is lively and straightforward. Harvard University Press has produced a handsome book, and chapter titles taken from the letters give it an eighteenth-century flavor.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale. By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. [American Philosophical Society Transactions, Vol. 42, Pt. 1.] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952. 276 p. 452 plates [4 color], bibliography. \$5.00.)

Here is a long-awaited work in early American art research, which more than justifies its delay. It is a masterful accomplishment which will be greeted with enthusiasm and delight by Mr. Sellers' co-researchers in this field. With enthusiasm because of its wealth of material presented in ideal completeness, and with delight because of the spirit which pervades its sensitive and knowledgeable text.

The listing of the portraits of any artist can be a dry and uninspired treatise indeed, no matter how informative. This book, however, transcends scholarship of the most painstaking variety, which it most certainly represents, by its charm, warmth of understanding, and quiet humor, unusual as it is stimulating.

Mr. Sellers is certainly the one right person for this vast undertaking. He has already given us the splendid two-volume life of Charles Willson Peale (*The Early Years*, published in 1939, and *The Late Years*, in 1947), and is therefore thoroughly steeped in his subject. How wise and appropriate that the American Philosophical Society put this task into his hands.

The subdivisions in the foreword are an indication of the careful and instructive way in which we are led on to the list itself. A terse review of the painter's life, the all-important role his home and family played in his every phase, his breadth of friendships and acquaintances among the most important personages in the early years of America, his scientific interests, his tremendous energy and versatile accomplishments, combine to give the reader of this volume a quick review of the earlier biography. A most engaging section is then given as to the why and wherefore of the many details that add up to his picture-making. Clothing, backgrounds, and accessories are explained, and the artist's integrity is revealed through Mr. Sellers' remarkable understanding and familiarity with each item. No doubt remains that this remarkable gentleman, artist, and veritable jack-of-all-trades achieved a stature worthy of this monumental piece of research.

The great bulk of the book is the alphabetical index of all the known portraits and miniatures. Even a quick thumbing through will reveal the vast amount of material which the author has amassed in the 1,046 items. Those who approach the book for specific information will be handsomely rewarded. Few authors have had such large stores of material from which to draw, and few have been engaged in a single study for such a span of years. I am sure that Mr. Sellers may already have wishes to change, add, or subtract, but I am even more sure that no one else is so well informed, nor could, with more integrity, make the decisions of compilation for this long and authoritative list.

The quality of the illustrations is not all that could be desired, but the great cost and trouble of procuring new photographs and cuts of this vast number of items would doubtless have endlessly delayed publication, and the section given to the reproductions is adequate for the record. The chronological and owners listings are also valuable and helpful to the book's usefulness.

It is regrettable that this treatise could not have been carried just that much further to include the other paintings, not portraits, from this artist's hand. That task still remains to be accomplished. Surely Mr. Sellers, again, is the one to carry this work forward. He must have the major material at hand, as it could not escape his notice and study as he pursued the portraits.

This reader has the reaction that many of those finest attributes of the subject are somehow very much those of the writer, and the same keen energy and indefatigable attention to detail have combined to give the research world a definitive work. Peale and Sellers have become very close indeed.

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

JOSEPH T. FRASER, JR.

Myths and Realities. Societies of the Colonial South. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1952. xiv, 208 p. Bibliographical note, index. \$3.25.)

This entertaining and instructive volume presents for the attention of the reading public the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History delivered by Mr. Bridenbaugh at Louisiana State University in the fall of 1951. The three lectures are devoted to "The Chesapeake Society," "The Carolina Society," and "The Back Settlements." The discussion of the Chesapeake community embraces, in addition to tidewater Virginia, the province of Maryland and the upper section of eastern Carolina. The Carolina society is that having its focus in Charleston, and North Carolina comes into the picture chiefly in the discussion of the back settlements. Mr. Bridenbaugh's method is descriptive. The period of time may be roughly stated as the half-century preceding the Revolution.

As the title itself suggests, some of the more popular assumptions regarding the southern provinces are either dismissed or left open to question, including assumptions made popular by relatively recent study. Thus, Mr. Bridenbaugh rejects the belief that the plantation system of the Chesapeake area afforded leisure for a planter class to indulge in cultural pursuits. Not only does he find the Virginia planter bound to an exacting round of daily duties, but he discovers in him little inclination to pursue intellectual interests. Jefferson and Madison, and William Byrd's library, were the exceptions rather than the rule. As for Charleston, it was the focal point of the wealthiest society in colonial America, but its life was the life of the *nouveau riche*.

The most interesting and the most valuable of the lectures is the third. Here Mr. Bridenbaugh talks about the back country stretching from Pennsylvania southward through western Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina to South Carolina. At the outset, it is the story of what the author happily has described as Greater Pennsylvania, the story of a folk movement having its origins in Pennsylvania and leading to the establishment of communities on the back side of the southern provinces which first looked to Pennsylvania both for markets and leadership. This greater Pennsylvania soon gave way to influences political and economic which emphasized the east-west lines of provincial boundaries, but the reader is cautioned against conclusions depending too much upon traditional assumptions regarding east-west conflict. In Maryland and Virginia, and to a lesser extent in North Carolina, the provincial governments were prompt in extending to new areas of settlement established rights of local self-government; only in South Carolina did the provincial government display an inexcusable delay in meeting the needs of a new frontier of settlement. The author finds no evidence that in western Maryland and Virginia there existed before 1776 any resentment of eastern domination of the government of the two provinces. In the case of North Carolina, he warns against too ready an acceptance of the post-Alamance propaganda of the defeated Regulators. Even in South Carolina the

government had been prompt in its encouragement of communications joining the back country to the economy of Charleston. Everywhere important positions went first to gentlemen, and western communities proved ready enough to adapt white servitude and Negro slavery to their needs where the opportunity offered. When the Revolution came, the "west had not as yet enunciated or even adumbrated a theory of American democracy."

Not all of Mr. Bridenbaugh's readers will agree with these conclusions. But they will admit that his propositions are sufficiently well grounded to call for reconsideration of some of the assumptions on which depend the accepted interpretation both of the colonial period and of the Revolution. And if this report suggests an iconoclastic approach to the problem, it does less than justice to the spirit in which the author makes his points.

Princeton University

WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN

Letters on The American Revolution in the Library at "Karolfred." Volume II.

Edited by FREDERIC R. KIRKLAND. (New York: Limited edition published for the author by Coward-McCann, Inc., 1952. 128 p. Illustrations, index.)

Collectors are enthusiasts, and enthusiasm has to be shared. It is agreeable indeed when a collector's joy in his items bubbles over, and he gives of his collection and enthusiasm both to the public.

It is agreeable, but no one must expect a staid, scientific performance. Mr. Kirkland calls his handsome volume by the same title he used for his previous one, with the result that a letter of Governor John Endecott of 1650 surprisingly leads off this collection on the American Revolution. Literal-minded readers may be upset by this, but the literal minded, Randolph Adams used to say, are dull people. Let them be warned, for even more bemusing in a collection on the American Revolution is Number 85: a note to Sarah Siddons from the Duchess of Devonshire, relating to a play. Mr. Kirkland smilingly observes that *la* Siddons is "too well known to discuss—besides, she is not part of American History." Neither, of course, was the Duchess Georgiana, nor this letter. But who can dispute concerning the enjoyments of a collector? The Duchess "was one of the loveliest women of her time, and a great favorite of mine," Mr. Kirkland declares, and even dullards of literal mind will perceive that this is justification enough for including the item in any collection.

Ninety-two letters are presented here, with extensive notes on each. Each letter is a curiosity, and the mind ranges over myriad subjects turning through them. General Braddock wants a road constructed; one of his useful aides is young Mr. Washington of Virginia. Years later that same Washington finds his stepson "a good deal relaxed from study, & more than ever turn'd to dogs horses & guns." Tiny little Francis Hopkinson must give up his cloth and wine store when he becomes Collector of Customs (he was

scarcely as big as a bolt of ticklenburg anyway); Horatio Gates serves as colonel in Lord Dunmore's War. In collecting, subjects are flexible. It is the item that counts. The collector wants his items unique, challenging, and colorful; he wants them to charm, and to stir the mind.

Some of these letters have been published elsewhere; citations are always carefully recorded. But most have not been, and sometimes this is surprising, in areas well searched. Delawareans will be delighted with Number 19, a unique item in the history of their state and their university, not discovered by Dr. Ryden in his canvass of Rodney materials.

Mr. Kirkland freely indulges his own tastes and distastes in his notes, which intersperse facts and identifications with particularly personal remarks. He is beguiled by young John Laurens' "sweet and lovely nature," his ingenuous, boyish letters; the Laurens youth's abrupt, needless death still comes to his twentieth-century collector-admirer as a rude shock, which he makes his readers feel. He is capable of extraordinary capsule judgments, such as this on Patrick Henry: "Like so many great men he wanted most to be a soldier—at which he was a dismal failure. . . . Generally speaking, he was a good Governor, largely due to his enthusiasm and energy." Or of Dr. John Fothergill: "To me Fothergill has always stood for what is finest in mankind. He reminds me somewhat of the typical country doctor, making his daily visits and speaking cheer and confidence wherever he goes, most of the time without any monetary reward. To the end he wore the plain Quaker dress, but with a most urbane manner."

Frequently, his notes make points about a letter which would not be noticed otherwise. Thus a George Ross holograph of no textual importance gains interest when described as a letter of one of the most obscure of the signers written in the year of independence. Often little known, sometimes even unknown facts are discovered; not infrequently letter and notes together strike a beam of light into a dark corner.

Numbers of these letters have a considerable historical importance, many of them breathe with the high passions and hot actions of the war. The big names, the great autographs are here, but to the informed collector, as to the student deep in manuscript sources, the famous leaders are not always the best and liveliest fish to hook. Owen Biddle, Richard Varick, Henry Brockholst Livingston, or that vigorous New Jerseyman who dubiously called himself the Earl of Stirling may not catch us on the pulses, but they are likely to have written letters we cannot forget. Some items have a curious provenance, of which surely the oddest is a letter of Benjamin Harrison, signer, which old Dr. Sprague the collector gave to Edward Everett to give to a friend. Sprague was incredibly generous. He had a duplicate Harrison letter among his "signers," he wrote, and perhaps Everett's friend would find this one especially interesting because it was addressed to Washington!

As is the case with all books, objections can be made to this one. I, for example, object to some of Mr. Kirkland's opinions about Aaron Burr, of whom there is much in this volume. But objections are only ways of sharing

the collector's enthusiasms, and will furnish infinite matter for discussion and enjoyment. It is for the scholar to dispute. The collector, who precedes the scholar and serves his needs, has only to appreciate, and gives his best when he gives both his materials and his own sensitive reactions to them to a large circle of those who participate in his historical sense.

Philadelphia

J. H. POWELL

Meetinghouse Hill, 1630-1783. By OLA ELIZABETH WINSLOW. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. 344 p. Illustrations, index. \$4.00.)

The author of this new approach to colonial New England history has already won distinction as the biographer of the most important intellectual figure of colonial New England. Published in 1940, her *Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758* was awarded the Pulitzer prize in biography for that year. Those who had formerly written on Jonathan Edwards had centered their attention on Edwards the theologian; Miss Winslow, on the other hand, while not overlooking the importance of Edwards' thought, gave chief consideration to Jonathan Edwards the man and for the first time, under her skillful portrayal, Edwards actually comes to life on the written page. The present volume does much the same thing for colonial New England life, of which the meetinghouse was the center, and Miss Winslow's sources are those that reveal the everyday life of a New England town community. Here we have the reason for the title of the book, as well as social history at its best.

The New England meetinghouse was not simply a place of worship, but the center of the total life of the town. The New Englanders never used the term "Church" to designate either the building where they worshiped, or the religious services held in it. That term was too reminiscent of the Church of England upon which they had turned their backs forever. On Sundays they went to "meeting" or to "preaching," never to "Church." The meetinghouse was not God's holy temple; it was an all-purpose place of assembly. On Sundays the "town" assembled there for preaching; on weekdays the same people came to vote "fence repairs" or bounties on crows or wolf heads, or to specify more trees for the shade of cattle (p. 51). Every early New England community called a minister as soon as a church was formed, for a minister was as essential to a New England town as a blacksmith.

The building of a meetinghouse was a matter of special concern, and in its building common sense dictated every decision, and each town was a law unto itself in the matter of details. Every congregation was a "gathered" body, gathered out of the "world," and fitness for membership was rigidly guarded, for only proved saints could qualify. This procedure was followed throughout New England; everything determined on the local level.

"Our First Good Men" is the chapter heading in which the author traces the record of the first-generation ministers, one hundred and twenty-five of

them. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, which Miss Winslow calls the first *Who Was Who in America*, furnishes most of what we know of a majority of them. It is indeed a "hero tale," for Cotton Mather was the son of one of them. There were some men of real stature among them, not a few of whom "outlived their deaths." Every chapter furnishes an intimate glimpse into the way New England managed the everyday affairs of its community life, such as choosing a site for the meetinghouse; assigning the people to their seats, called "Dooming the Seats"; the singing quarrel, brought on by the introduction of singing by note; the disciplining of members, or "The Brotherly Watch of Fellow-Members." The chapter which recounts the story of the great New England Awakening is entitled "Gales of Heavenly Wind," gales which tore asunder many New England churches.

Book Five, which contains three chapters, is headed "Powder in the Meeting House" and tells the story on a meetinghouse level of the coming of the Revolutionary War and New England's response to it. The headings of the three final chapters suggest the steps by which the people in every New England town were led along toward war, and the achievement of independence.

Here is history with an intimate, personal touch, beautifully told.

Pomona College

WILLIAM W. SWEET

Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840. By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. xvi, 338 p. Bibliography, index. \$3.50.)

The influence of religion on civilization is generally recognized, but in the case of American culture this influence is only belatedly receiving adequate attention. That has been partly because political and military events and even economic and literary development have seemed more important, and partly because the pattern of religion in this country looked at nationally has been so multiform. Dr. Sweet appeals for a cure of this deficiency, a recognition of the influence of religion on the cultural and social life of our nation. The best appeal is to illustrate what can be done. This volume illustrates the thesis in an unusually difficult period. Having dealt with American Christianity as a whole in other books and with several denominations on the American frontier, the author is now covering similar ground by periods in four volumes, of which this is the second. It includes the period just before and during the Revolution, the severance of American Christianity from its old world ties, the winning of the West, and some other religious phenomena of the era. These are, particularly, the founding of church colleges and theological schools and of religious periodicals, religious controversies, the rise of new sects and divisions in old ones, home missions, including missions to the Indians, and socialist experiments.

Professor Sweet is particularly well fitted to deal with this field. The literature is heterogeneous and scattered. As the footnotes and an extended bibliography indicate, many of the subjects have been studied only recently in any scholarly way, in theses (several still unpublished) by his own and other graduate students. The amount of detail included in the volume is extensive, too voluminous even for its own index. I am not qualified to pass on its accuracy. Where I have tested it, I have found it lacking in matters hardly more important than proofreading, rather than in matters of judgment.

It was natural that the geographical center of the story in this period should gravitate to the Middle West. Professor Sweet believes that this is where American Christianity was really made. He thinks, like F. J. Turner, that the frontier determined the life of the whole country. The eastern states, like Pennsylvania, receive, therefore, comparatively little attention. They were sources of funds, of some traditional ideas, and of a slight part of the impulse. What is lacking is concrete evidence of the reverse effect of the West on the East. For Pennsylvania history, therefore, this volume, like some others reviewed in these pages, provides wider context rather than much immediately relevant data.

Even for the wider scene some features receive scant attention. Perhaps the relation of religion to the antislavery campaign is being reserved to the next volume which is to deal with *Religion in America in the Age of Controversy*; but a good deal of it belongs also before 1840. Probably it is too much to ask that, amid the confusion of theological controversies, revivalism, millennialism, and ardent missionary zeal, the author should have attempted to trace the unorganized and undemonstrative changes in the simple piety of the quiet in the land.

Harvard University

HENRY J. CADBURY

My Irish Journal, 1669-1670. By WILLIAM PENN. Edited by ISABEL GRUBB, with an Introduction by HENRY J. CADBURY. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952. 103 p. Illustrations, notes, index. \$3.00.)

To the readers of THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, at least to those whose memories go back to January, 1916, or who know the Penn Manuscripts of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, William Penn's Irish Journal is a familiar document. But what a tantalizingly cryptic one they also know, to their despair. Now at long last its mysteries have largely been resolved. Miss Isabel Grubb, an Irish Friend who lives not far from the estates which young Penn went to settle for his father in 1669, and who knows the history of Irish Quakerism as well as anyone now living, has produced a modernized, extended, and annotated version of the Journal. In her task she has been extensively assisted by Professor Cadbury, who has written a short

history of the small manuscript volume which has been a treasured possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania for nearly forty years. In 1910 a small proof edition of the Journal appeared in London; in 1914 the manuscript came to The Historical Society, which published an independent transcription without attempt at editing (*THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY*, XL [1916], 46-84). Neither transcription was entirely accurate, and neither did more than whet the appetite for a competently edited and annotated edition. This we now have, bound in lovely emerald green, with handsome end-paper maps of the country just east and west of Cork where most of Admiral Penn's lands lay, and with thirty-seven pages of explanatory and identifying notes to amplify the forty-one pages of text to which the Journal has been extended.

In this new edition, titles, names of individuals and of places have been filled in and identified, Penn's spelling modernized and made uniform, his incorrect designations of places and distances corrected. Some may object to this modernization, which begins with the very first word—"Departed from London" instead of "Parted," as Penn wrote it. But these purists always have the earlier printings to fall back on, if they wish. A few of the scores of individuals whom Penn designated only by initials remain anonymous still, and a few of Miss Grubb's guesses may be wrong. Perhaps if someday Albert Cook Myers' notes on the Irish Journal are made available, we shall be able to fill more of the gaps and correct possible errors. But the present edition is essentially complete.

Now that this longest of Penn's autobiographical writings is available in usable form, we have an excellent indication of how the character of the young Quaker and future colonizer developed and seasoned during his Irish sojourn of 1669-1670. He proved a competent land agent for his father's 12,000 acres, a hard bargainer, but not a heartless one. He shared the common English blindness to Ireland's wrongs from which he profited. He could see no good in "papists," and showed little sympathy for the Irish owners and tenants whom his father and the other English "Planters" and "Adventurers" had displaced. The Irish peasants he hardly noticed, except to remark once upon the "barbarous" character of one of their funerals which he happened to witness (p. 48). He worked hard, used assistants extensively, carried on a large business and personal correspondence, freely mingled with the highest members of Anglo-Irish society and officialdom. In short, he was in a fair way to becoming a competent and respected man of the world, but for one thing—his Quakerism.

Seasoned by his first imprisonment in the Tower, Penn's Quaker faith moved him as much as his business concerns. Nearly half his days in Ireland and more than half his Journal he devoted to the doings of the Quakers: their meetings, their organization, their sufferings for Truth's sake. He preached, he disputed, he wrote pamphlets, he attended meetings. Almost every time he stopped in Cork, he went to the jail to visit Friends incarcerated there. Once he "lay" there himself, voluntarily spending the night in

order to be near his imprisoned fellow Quakers. And on his journeys to Dublin he spent as much time with the royal authorities in trying to get the Friends in Cork and elsewhere out of jail as he did in trying to straighten out the complicated titles to his father's estates. All of this experience trained and strengthened Penn for his later defense of Quakerism and religious liberty in England, and for his work as colonizer in America.

If William Penn in his generation had little feeling for the wrongs of Ireland, Isabel Grubb is equally representative of the contrary Irish opinion in her generation. No one but a citizen of the Republic can really express the attitude of present-day Irishmen toward the centuries of English rule in Ireland. Catholic and Protestant alike, Quakers even—for the virus of Irish indignation infects them all after they have lived in Ireland a generation or two—they feel that the English occupation was a great crime, no less a crime for Cromwell and the Stuarts to remove whole populations in the seventeenth century for the benefit of foreigners and another nation's interests, than it is to displace people in our own times. Penn didn't see this, but his *Journal* and Miss Grubb's introductory "Background" help to explain why Irish Republicans feel as they do toward England. And perhaps Penn's Irish experience and the further workings of his Quaker conscience softened his later attitude toward Catholic colonists and red Indians in America, even as it schooled him in the problems of managing a great landed proprietorship and building a colony where liberty of conscience should prevail.

Haverford College

THOMAS E. DRAKE

Embattled Maiden: The Life of Anna Dickinson. By GIRAUD CHESTER. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951. xii, 307 p. Illustrations, index. \$4.00.)

The dust jacket of this first biography of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson (1842-1932) contains a tally sheet of the ten remarkable qualities and facts in the life of "the Queen of the Lyceum" platform of the nineteenth century. Her life was one of meteoric success. Yet she left the stage of history without a curtain call and with what might be described justly as tragedy and disappointment in the true sense of those words.

Her biographer has tried to elevate her to the level of "America's Joan of Arc." But not every reader will agree with his estimate of her right to this characterization. Evidently the complete story has not finally been recorded, for James Harvey Young of Emory University (see "Anna Dickinson, Mark Twain, and Bret Harte" in *THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY*, LXXVI [1952], 39-46) and J. Calvin Callaghan of Syracuse University, are both engaged in extensive research of the career of Anna Dickinson.

Fortunately for scholars and historians, the probate judge of Orange County, New York, saw in the several trunks and collections of letters and documents of a woman who died intestate at the wonderful age of ninety

a priceless collection. The treasure was offered to and accepted by the Library of Congress and is there available in the Manuscript Division for all researchers.

Anna Dickinson was born a Philadelphia Quaker and if she had remained true to some of the Friendly testimonies and genuine qualities of her ancestral persuasion, her life might have been more like that of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Fry, or Margaret Fell, who grow in stature with all the changes of time. They were in the limelight long before women were welcomed as public crusaders and orators. Anna Dickinson's story is not finally evaluated in this biography. We shall have to wait for more insight and reflection. Here was a subject for a Gamaliel Bradford. The author writes an engrossing biography, but one must question some of his conclusions. This study is an appetizer for analysis to come.

Overbrook, Pa.

RICHMOND P. MILLER

The Monongahela. By RICHARD BISSELL. (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1952. [xiv], 227 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$3.50.)

"Half horse, half alligator!" Such was the contemporary characterization of the inland rivermen such as Mike Fink. Of course, the almost legendary figure was neither horse nor alligator. Half history, half literature, is not a bad description of this book, though to the historian, it certainly seems more literary than historical. Not that historical writing should not be literary, nor literature soundly based on history.

All that is said by the publishers on the paper jacket can be readily accepted. The small volume is weighted with gripping narrative, description, and comment. It is both realistic and impressionistic.

But interest here is primarily in the volume as history. The question of the historical value of the work fairly jumps out of the first paragraph and lingers on to the last word of the text. Most certainly *The Monongahela* violates many of the criteria of sound historical writing.

Some of the historical shortcomings may well be indicated. There is little chronological perspective. The treatment of any topic is sporadic and spasmodic, rather than evolutionary or developmental. There is a minimum of factual contribution to history. Chapter VIII, for instance, is a short story rather than history. Chapter IX is admittedly based on an encyclopedia. Much of the content is undated dialogue or reminiscent soliloquy. Chapter XVI contains a six-page citation. Chapter XVII gives an unusually severe picture of Andrew Carnegie. Much of the historical data imbedded in the volume, if not antiquarian in type, is nevertheless presented in antiquarian style. Much of the book is mere writing.

In regard to this volume, the reviewer feels as he has in regard to other volumes in the series, that like them this work is not river history, but

regional history. And unfortunately, much of this regional history is so familiar, so hackneyed as to historical content, that the result seems to be historical hash. Indeed, one may question the advisability of reviewing such books in historical magazines.

But probably it is asking too much to demand that such books contain scientific, systematic, historical writing. Description, impression, and feeling are found. Entertainment is not without value. Readers are essential to success in writing and publication. As interesting reading the book may have more readers than a more closely knit historical treatise might capture.

University of Pittsburgh

ALFRED P. JAMES

A History of the American People. By HARRY J. CARMAN and HAROLD C. SYRETT. Two volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952. xxvi, 726, xxii; xxii, 812, xxvii p. Illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. Boxed, \$15.00; Text, \$5.75 per vol.)

This work has been designed for general comprehensive reading in American history and for the first two-semester course in that field. It more than adequately fits that design, for it presents the mass of facts about our history with clarity and brilliance, combining new points of view, calm historical judgments, readability, and a marked degree of fairness. Moreover, this work does the two things all good textbooks ought to do: it co-ordinates and it introduces. The authors have no special axes to grind, show a surprisingly catholic view of American history, reveal an awareness of the many elements which have shaped the American mind, and have considered the significant events which have shaped our national course. This is one of the better textbooks in American history.

By far the best sections of the work—and its plan is a combination of the chronological and topical approaches—are those dealing with agriculture and the general cultural history. The weakest sections are the religious and philosophical, the interpretation of the ideas which have shaped our past.

From the provincial Pennsylvania point of view we must raise the old claim with this book, as we have raised it before with many other textbooks, that the authors fail to comprehend what we believe to be the cultural significance of Pennsylvania's contribution to American history, both from the Quaker and from the Pennsylvania Dutch points of view.

Furthermore, one senses lack of fair treatment for one tenth of our population, the American Negro, inasmuch as the Negro appears only as a political issue and never as himself an indigenous element in American culture. His spirituals are not even mentioned, nor is the great contribution which the Negro has made to our culture.

The main fault of this work—which on the whole is so excellent that an honest criticism is its best advertisement—is with its historiographical principle, the assertion that eclecticism is adequate for the interpretation of history. The great historians of the past—Ranke, Burkhart, Gibbon, Acton, to mention a few—were never afraid to take a position which made them search for a binding principle in historical analysis. The present authors take the easy way out: “our approach to history is eclectic,” they say. This is sophism, the notion that there is no measure for things beyond individual opinion. This denies that there is a single point of view which explains past events and this also denies that history has any meaning at all. Good philosophical realism it may be, but it is not history, for history is not everything that happened and everybody’s opinion of what happened; history is the *meaningful* past recreated by a judgment of historical value. How do events get meaning? How does the historian select his events for description? No eclectic treatment of materials already selected can ever be called history, simply because the process of selecting events is a process of judging, and so to make selection is to pass judgment. Eclecticism is an impossible historical theory and, if accepted, tends to reduce history to a series of unconnected, meaningless events.

The fact is, however, that this excellent book defies the consciously stated eclectic principle, that is, the authors do not carry out their theoretical ideas. That is what saves their work and makes it one of the best textbooks on American history.

Norristown, Pa.

JOHN JOSEPH STOUT

The Journal of George Fox. A Revised Edition by JOHN L. NICKALLS. With an Epilogue by HENRY J. CADBURY and an Introduction by GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1952. 1, 789 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

This new edition of George Fox’s Journal is designed to replace for the general reader the text prepared by Thomas Elwood, which was first published in 1694 and many times reprinted in England and America. An autobiography dictated by Fox to his stepson-in-law in 1675 provides the main source for the Nickalls edition, but Elwood’s text, other journals and diaries (including Fox’s American diaries), letters and additional supplementary materials have been used to make this edition as nearly complete and accurate as possible. Spelling and punctuation in the Journal have been modernized, and notes are used to identify persons and places and to clarify obscure or obsolete expressions. Geoffrey Nuttall has written the introduction and Henry J. Cadbury has supplied the epilogue on Fox’s later years. It is wholly fitting that this tercentenary year of the Society of Friends should see a modern re-edition of the Journal of its founder.

The Mennonite Church in the Second World War. By GUY F. HERSCHBERGER. (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951. xii, 308 p. Index. \$3.50.)

This is an over-all wartime history of one Mennonite group in the United States and Canada, that officially known as the Mennonite Church, during World War II. The war was a severe testing of the Mennonite belief in nonresistance, affecting all phases of the life, work, and witness of the Church. Mr. Herschberger has explored thoroughly the direct relations of the Church to the war in all its military and civilian aspects, has discussed the Civilian Public Service program, and has included chapters on missions, education, relief, voluntary service, and intergroup relations both within and without the Mennonite family.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XVIII: The Territory of Alabama, 1817-1819. Compiled and Edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. xiv, 875 p. Index. \$5.50.)

The series of volumes of the territorial papers of the United States, prepared from official records in the archives in Washington, D. C., continues with the papers relating to the Territory of Alabama. Actually, volume XVIII is a continuation of volumes V and VI on the Mississippi Territory, from which the Territory of Alabama was created in 1817. Alabama remained a territory under its only governor, William W. Bibb, for but two years before being admitted to the Union as a state. The territorial records selected for inclusion are largely administrative, but papers dealing with the postal system, Indian and military affairs, and the public land system are used with varying emphasis as they fall within the framework of territorial management.