BOOK REVIEWS

Essays in Honor of Conyers Read. Edited by Norton Downs. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. xxii, 304 p. Bibliography, index. $5.00.}

The nine essays which make up this volume have nothing in common but the fact that their authors were students of Conyers Read and have been eager to honor him. Professor McIlwain, a friend of many years’ standing, furnishes a brief vita and a warm tribute by way of foreword. Professor Langer writes out of his own observation, a preface about his public service on the William Allen White Committee and in the Office of Strategic Services. Norton Downs, the tireless editor, has provided a most valuable bibliography of Professor Read’s writings to date, though we hope for still more. Helen Stafford writes on witchcraft cases (1580-1581), J. R. Jones on London mercantile activity, and John U. Nef on the genesis of industrialism and of modern science (1560-1640), all learned contributions to the field Professor Read has made peculiarly his own. Richard Humphrey, Marion Kenney, and Susan Lough discuss the more recent past in connection with “official” scholarship, English foreign policy and politics (1937-1938), and the Irish republic. Willard Wallace writes on Wesley and the American Revolution. Mrs. Elinor Nef generously opens up her wartime diary, and George Haines analyzes the relationship between the systems of English utilitarians and French impressionists.

Conyers Read is honored as a friend, as a citizen, as a scholar, and as a teacher. In this somewhat hesitant age when old beliefs are challenged and are open to frivolous, malignant, or ignorant attacks, it may be valuable to emphasize the place of the great scholar and the beloved teacher in a democracy. All, of course, must share equally in the duties and the privileges of that way of life. Perhaps the role of some—the eggheads, the “long-haired” professors, the dwellers in ivory towers—is not as generally comprehended now as in the days of the red schoolhouse or colonial academy. The Republican administration, no less than its predecessors, is calling upon the pedagogues for service and for counsel, yet reminder of their essential part seems constantly necessary to the many who seek only the immediately relevant and useful.

Judge Learned Hand has called teaching a “sacred profession.” He maintains that the “still small voice of reason” is our hope in a troubled period. The spirit of liberty itself is that spirit which is “not too sure it is right,” and perpetually seeks the perfect solution. The very basis of successful democracy must be a population interested in the functioning of government and continually curious about the principles embodied in the Constitution and
upheld by the common law. Not all citizens can or wish to inquire very far beyond their own concerns. The existence among them, however, of those who inculcate the habits of honest judgment and who themselves may be preoccupied with a remote but not unconnected past, beyond present partisanship or interest, acts as a leaven within the whole body politic. These scholars serve as exemplars of an untroubled devotion to the pursuit of truth for its own sake, which must influence beneficially many who will never care to study the minutiae of Walsingham’s diplomacy or the distant days of Bloody Mary. In a concentration upon present enigmas, modern man too often loses sight of time and eternity. With that loss he escapes even a glimpse of some of the deeper values of the civilization to which he is heir. Liberty, especially in a warring world, dwells most securely within our own hearts and minds. The scholar must fasten on abiding issues. He may find these in an antique tale, a forgotten controversy, a half-legible parchment or memorial stone. If he can teach as well as he can study, a beam of the small candle he lights in a dark period may well illumine for his students some part of the good life wherever and however they may eventually seek it.

Conyers Read has loved and chastened his students through some four decades. He has urged them to pursue their bent whatever it may be, to the utmost of their capacity and within the limit of their obligations to their country. He has never ceased to exhort them to follow the ways of careful scholarship, which in good citizens may be translated into the habit of “looking before you leap.” His reward must be in his own continued renewal of faith and hope, and in their continued and avowed affection.

Bryn Mawr College

Caroline Robbins


Few articles of everyday use have the cachet of paper. Its manufacture has been aided by government bonus, its makers eulogized by local poets, its origins chronicled by historians. The reason for all this is obvious: without paper there would be no books, no newspapers, no letters, no easy dissemination of ideas and information. Paper is as necessary to the well-being of an egghead as whiskey to the comfort of an unregenerate alcoholic, and Samuel Thurber’s verses, originally published in the American Journal and General Advertiser, December 30, 1780, state the case for the twentieth-century reader and writer as succinctly as they did for the eighteenth-century man of ink.

Of Paper surely every one’s a Lover:  
By th’ Pen & Press such Knowledge is display’d  
As wou’dn’t exist if Paper was not made.  
Wisdom of Things, mysterious, divine,  
Illustriously doth on Paper shine.

Bryn Mawr College

Caroline Robbins
Dard Hunter came naturally by his preoccupation with printing types and printing paper. His father, his grandfather, his great-grandfather, and so on back through several more generations, were printers, and Mr. Hunter's knowledge of the craft was gained at first hand by way of the press his father set up in the library of the Hunters' Ohio home. Subsequently his researches in papermaking carried him far away from the Middle West, even to Hunan Province, China, where by experimenting with local vegetable materials and appropriate tools he reconstructed Ts'ai Lun's (A.D. 105) papermaking methods. In 1949, Mr. Hunter was appointed Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania and the present volume, *Papermaking in Pioneer America*, presents in essence the lectures he delivered while holding that Fellowship.

In the first chapter, on the beginnings of papermaking in China and its introduction into Europe, Mr. Hunter comments on the different character of the paper made in the East and in the West, the reasons for the difference, and the way the hard-finished European paper influenced the development of the printing industry in the Occident. And from this first chapter to the last one, a checklist of early American papermakers (1690–1817), the book is a compendium of valuable information.

Mr. Hunter's account of the equipment and operation of a colonial paper mill makes clear the difficulties a would-be papermaker had to overcome before he could set up business in the New World. Building and equipping even a one-vat mill, securing trained workmen, and arranging for a steady flow of linen rags put a strain on both capital and ingenuity. It is not surprising that, although paper mills were set going in a number of the continental colonies before 1760 (specifically, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Maine and Virginia), only the Pennsylvania mills enjoyed any real prosperity during this early period. Indeed it was not until the 1760's, when the growing tension between Great Britain and her colonies emphasized the desirability of developing domestic manufactures, that paper mills began to increase in number. Mills were put in operation in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York before 1770; in Maryland, North Carolina, and New Hampshire in 1776, 1777, and 1778 respectively. Patriotic motives evidently were important in the establishment of some of these, although Mr. Hunter does not specifically point this out.

Not only was Pennsylvania the first colony in British America to manufacture paper, it dominated the papermaking industry throughout the eighteenth century, and had within its borders about one third of all the paper mills in the United States in 1810. Pennsylvania also had, in the person of Nathan Sellers, the principal paper mold maker of the time. Sellers' account books, now in the American Philosophical Society, record the hundreds of molds and watermarks Sellers made in his wire drawing shop for papermakers from Vermont to South Carolina, from Rhode Island to Kentucky. These accounts, to which Mr. Hunter devotes a chapter, identify many early papermakers who worked at their trade between 1776–1820 and help to establish the dates their mills were in operation.
The organization of a book of this kind is always difficult, and whatever pattern the author chooses to follow someone will be sure to object to it. For my part, I find that even a good index—and the book has one—fails to compensate for the nuisance of having to look for information regarding the paper industry in a particular state here and there throughout the text, as well as in the chapter relating to that state. William Bradford’s abortive attempt to start a paper mill in New York is set forth in detail not in the chapter on papermaking in New York, but in that on New Jersey, for example. And the extent of Franklin’s business in rags and in paper with the DeWees mill is discussed under Virginia instead of under Pennsylvania where it logically belongs. A tighter organization of the material would also have prevented some unnecessary duplication of information: Conrad Shütz’s later career is described in almost the same words on pages 45, 66, and 134. Incidentally, why is his name spelled Shütz at one time and Sheetz at another?

These objections are obviously minor and relate more to the manner than to the matter of the book. It could hardly be otherwise, for in his field Mr. Hunter is the authority, and in matters relating directly to the making of paper by hand he offers his reviewers little reason for argument or question.

Philadelphia

MARGARET BAILEY TINKCOM

Charles Brockden Brown, Pioneer Voice of America. By DAVID LEE CLARK.
(Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1952. xii, 363 p. Appendices, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Some literary figures, like John Bunyan, decline in prestige as the years pass. The fame of others, like Herman Melville, is eclipsed for awhile and then rises abruptly into pre-eminence. Still others gradually grow in stature as their writings are evaluated by successive generations. Such seems to be the case with Charles Brockden Brown, about whom a number of books and scholarly articles have been written recently.

David Lee Clark, who wrote a doctoral dissertation on Brown thirty years ago, has made a valuable addition to the growing literature on America’s first professional man of letters. Clark is now convinced that our pioneering novelist’s figure is “firmly fixed on the literary horizon.” In this lengthy biography Clark has related the essential details of Brown’s life, interspersing his account with copious quotations from the man’s works. In addition, he has used new letters and unpublished manuscripts in the possession of Mrs. Emilie B. Reiff of Philadelphia which throw new light on the curious, tragic career of the author of Alcuin and Wieland.

Clark, who is currently Professor of English at the University of Texas, is at his best in the chapters in which he carefully examines Charles Brockden Brown’s novels and assesses his role as a literary critic. He well indicates that Brown’s place in American letters is minor but secure and con-
cludes that he was not a writer of outstanding novels so much as the “creator of great scenes.” Quoting long passages from the articles Brown wrote for the *Monthly Magazine* and *American Review* and the *Literary Magazine* and *American Register* which he edited, the author illustrates the wide range of interests and penetrating thought of this remarkable man.

The book is of particular value in giving us a more adequate picture of Charles Brockden Brown’s early love affair with “Henrietta G.” The details of this youthful romance with all its joy, hope, and inspiration, with all its petty quarrels, misunderstandings, and miseries, are revealed in the hitherto unpublished letters which Clark has edited and incorporated into his work. Both Charles, the impractical, introspective idealist (“To see her, converse with her, to bathe her hands with kisses, her bosom with my tears! This is happiness. . . .”), and Henrietta, the practical, independent eighteenth-century heroine (“You will please me more in proportion as you talk less of handkerchiefs and bosoms. . . . Our union is already begun—our minds are wedded to each other.”), are clearly portrayed. David Lee Clark has done a service in destroying the myth of Charles Brockden Brown’s cold aloofness. We now see the struggling novelist as the warm, passionate fellow he really was.

Some minor defects mar this book. At times Clark is repetitious. His quotations from Brown’s articles are too long. His introductory chapter in which he leans heavily on Parrington and Curti to picture the American climate of ideas in 1800 is weak and oversimplified. He makes no mention of Charles Brockden Brown’s disputed editorship of the *American Review* and *Literary Journal*.

More serious, however, is Clark’s assertion that Gouverneur Morris, not Charles Brockden Brown, was the author of *The British Treaty*, the political pamphlet on Anglo-American relations in 1807. His flimsy evidence is unconvincing. This tract does not resemble Morris’s other writings at this time which were openly pro-British, caustically antagonistic to France, and unsympathetic with American mercantile interests. The views on slavery enunciated in *The British Treaty* are not in conformity with those held by Morris.

But these are slight blemishes in a book which, while not a definitive biography, will long stand as the most useful study of one of America’s most overlooked figures who did much to foster American literary independence.

*Columbia University*  
**CHARLES C. COLE, JR.**

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This monograph on the Second Bank of the United States is the first book-length study of the financial institution to appear since those pub-
lished by Ralph C. H. Catterall and Davis R. Dewey in 1903 and 1910, respectively. These pioneering volumes were written during the monetary debates which resulted in the formation of the Federal Reserve System. A new study of the nineteenth-century bank, based on the perspective gained by experience with its twentieth-century successor, has long been needed.

The author is well qualified for his task. He has collaborated with Arthur H. Cole in the statistical study, *Fluctuations in American Business 1790–1860*, and is thoroughly conversant with the original sources as well as the secondary literature. The result, however, is not completely satisfactory, principally because the book is too short for the size and complexity of its subject. In spite of its title, the author has described and explained the political attacks upon the bank, and, as a consequence, has had space only to mention, not analyze and describe, the public services and responsibilities of the institution and the economic functions it performed.

These reservations apart, the book is a valuable contribution to the revisionist movement in regard to this period of American economic history which has been started by Ralph H. Gabriel, Bray Hammond, and Fritz Redlich. The older interpretation was that Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson were essentially correct in their indictments of both the First and Second Bank of the United States. These institutions were considered to be the result of an unconstitutional exercise of national power and also of private and irresponsible monopolies, which enabled a financial oligarchy to dominate the political and economic life of the nation for the purpose of increasing the wealth and power of the rich and the poverty and weakness of the poor.

The newer, and, in this reviewer’s opinion, the more correct view, is that the national banks were established for public purposes and as auxiliaries in some of the highest and most important powers of government. They performed a useful function for virtually every class and group in the nation by facilitating the exchange of goods and payments in a predominantly commercial society. The provision of a uniform currency and a regular system of exchanges reduced the costs of each transaction and increased the profits of the producers, whether farmer, manufacturer, artisan, or miner. The merchants, state bankers, and brokers found their compensation in the steadier course of trade and the resulting regularity of profits.

Professor Smith’s study, which is based on this newer interpretation, begins by describing the American economy and its relations with the rest of the world in the years between 1816 and 1841. He then gives a history of the Second Bank’s activities and policies, and concludes with a retrospective “verdict on the bank.” His conclusions are that “in the sixty years that elapsed between the incorporation of the first bank in this country, the Bank of North America, and the failure of the Second Bank of the United States, there occurred a remarkable development in both banking techniques and ideas about banking.” This promising start was brought to a
close in 1841, and the United States was transformed "from being one of the most financially inventive countries in the world" into "one of the most backward."

University of the South

Thomas P. Govan


The Pennsylvania Dutch have been the sum and substance of a number of volumes in recent years. At least a dozen writers have boosted their fame by choosing some theme in this distinct Pennsylvania folk culture. Recent treatments have ranged from technical discussions of cultural specialties to literary narrative.

Ann Hark was born of Moravian lineage in Lancaster County and is the author of the rather popular Hex Marks the Spot and coauthor with Preston A. Barba of Pennsylvania Dutch Cookery. The genius of the author is her literary skill in interpreting her own observations as she moves among the "Dutch."

Blue Hills and Shoofly Pie contains everything the title suggests, allowing for certain daring omissions. The subject matter is pressed into chapter headings of the twelve calendar months beginning with July. From the author's mountain cottage home, from her own world of likes and dislikes, and with her "Rat" (auto), chauffeur, and "Patsy" (pet), the reader is casually taken with this company to picnics, threshings, auction sales, a hopeless chase for the answer to magic mirrors, water divining, hexing, collecting antiques, and so forth. We stumble from lore to legend without following any system except the experiences and observations which happen to have been the author's. Proof of how interestingly Miss Hark can make her subjects live is the combination of color and imagination with which she writes.

The road we traveled ran beneath the shadow of the hills—my beautiful blue hills that now had suddenly become a changing tapestry of green and red and gold, forerunner of the greater glory yet to come. They separated at one point, and through the gap we came out on a vista soft and lovely as an old oil painting. There before us stretched out hills and still more hills—those hills of Pennsylvania Dutchland which to me spell home and all the sweet content that word implies. What other land can still the heart and fill the soul with such glowing warmth of satisfaction?

Amish, Dunkard, and Mennonite subjects are all woven into the narrative by various means. The Amish are given considerable attention, while Mennonites figure much less prominently. In the minds of most persons, and some writers, the Amishman typifies the Pennsylvania Dutch culture, in spite of the fact that all Amish in the United States represent no more
than five per cent of the total "Dutch" dialect-speaking population. From the present volume it is again evident that the "sect" is given greater publicity in proportion to population than are the "church" people.

The description of visits to the Amish are excellently done; in fact, the account of an Amish wedding is the best this reviewer has ever read. The day-long singing and feasting of chicken, duck, ham, and other dainties, leading well into the night, reached a point where Miss Hark says, "... my own endurance wasn't equal to the test. The heat, the food, the noise, the endless panorama of perpetual motion, left me groggy and confused. I had to head for home or cravenly collapse upon the spot." The author should be excused, however, for inferring that there are Amish living in Minnesota, Idaho, and California.

Miss Hark has a vivid way of telling what interests her. She looks at the culture from the outside, is not a genuine participant herself, and is really inexperienced in the more elemental and everyday affairs of the Dutch. She acknowledges this in several instances, in particular, when she expresses astonishment at the fifteen crocks of applebutter produced in one stirring. Her leisure time is engaged in her favorite sport of "getting educated on the Pennsylvania Dutch," and her typical upper-class manner with Dutch informants leaves this reader with an empty feeling. An example is the sudden switch from cultural items to her "Patsy" or to items of personal taste. The content weighs heavy on the side of hexerei and tales. But the volume is colorfully written, for which the author deserves commendation.

A good many volumes on the Dutch have tended to exploit the colorful, the quaint, and the nostalgic. It is time for a more serious study of Pennsylvania's folk culture, to penetrate beneath the surface, if such creativity is to contribute toward an understanding of sturdy rural communities and social groupings which survive for centuries.

Scottdale, Pa.

JOHN A. HOSTETLER

*His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland.* By DON-NELL M. OWINGS. [Studies in Maryland History, No. 1.] (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953. xii, 214 p. Bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Mr. Owings includes within his subject, as he explains, "any office which, for what it paid, was worth a gentleman's acceptance." The appended list of such offices with names of officeholders, dates of their incumbency, county of residence, religion, and relationship, if any, to the proprietor may well prove to be the most useful feature of this volume. The difficulties of compiling such a list are real, if not obvious. Genealogists and historians will welcome its availability.

The text has somewhat less to recommend it, although the potentialities of such a study are great. Mr. Owings' main object appears to have been to
discover certain facts about officeholding: tenure, the rewards of office, how much each official was paid and from what source. One learns very little about the functions of each office. The results of the investigation are presented in a matter-of-fact and summary fashion. The reader, assuming he is a specialist in the field, can gather considerable useful information.

The author classifies Maryland officeholders under four heads: non-financial officers of the central government; provincial, proprietary, and crown revenue officers. He runs into considerable difficulty with resulting confusion in trying to differentiate these officials. The naval officer, for example, was, of course, in origin responsible for enforcing the English Acts of Trade and Navigation. Mr. Owings, however, characterizes this officer as provincial because he collected duties levied by act of the Assembly, although some of these duties were paid to the proprietor and are, therefore, classified as proprietary.

Possibly if Mr. Owings had defined certain key phrases he would have assisted his readers over rather difficult hurdles. For example, he explains that provincial revenues consisted of funds for defraying "the public charge," while proprietary revenues included, besides the proprietor's private income, revenues granted "for the support of government" (p. 59). For the uninitiated the two phrases carry a similar implication and the methods of disposing of these two funds did not necessarily differ. Presumably, funds "for the support of government" were the equivalent of the English civil list. On the other hand, Mr. Owings uses the latter term to cover all offices of profit, even the customs collectors who were on the English establishment. The latter, by the way, are denoted as crown revenue officers, although the usual eighteenth-century connotation of crown revenue was hereditary or prerogative dues and did not normally include customs duties levied by act of Parliament.

The value of a monograph of this kind depends, to some extent, at least, upon the skill with which it is fitted into the larger subject of which it is a part, in this case the whole field of colonial administration. In this respect His Lordship's Patronage fails fully to satisfy the requirement. The author is occasionally led into erroneous conclusions. For example, he states that the Secretary of State in England "gained increasing influence" over customs patronage (p. 99). On the contrary, in the eighteenth century both patronage and its closely allied function, management of the House of Commons, tended to center in the Treasury. Unfortunately, Mr. Owings chooses for his illustration the case of the Duke of Newcastle in 1760 who was at that time and had been for several years First Lord of the Treasury. And he appears to misinterpret the authority whom he cites in this connection.

Possibly a reviewer should not succumb to the temptation of suggesting what book he wishes the author had written in place of the one that he did write. In this case, however, it seems that the author also realized how much more significant would have been a study of the effects of the system of
officeholding upon the life and institutions of the province. If he or anyone else now wishes to present this subject in a broader context the present volume will have laid part of the foundation.

Wilson College

Dora Mae Clark


The names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall have long been household words, and with them are associated other Virginians of lesser eminence who rendered sterling service both to the state and to the nation. The volume under consideration is devoted to an analysis of the social and political factors which were responsible for the elevation of the Virginia Dynasty to positions of political influence.

The fact that its wealth was derived almost exclusively from the land conferred upon the Virginia of this era a high degree of homogeneity. There was indeed a great difference between the position of a wealthy planter and that of a small yeoman farmer, yet the fact that the well-being of both depended upon agriculture gave them important interests in common. The law restricted to freeholders the right to vote and to hold office, and tradition and circumstance combined to reserve the latter function for those who were accounted gentlemen. The majority of the voters saw no incongruity in being represented by persons whose social status differed from their own. The interests of all were basically identical. The aristocratic nature of government is in some measure to be explained by the fact that most officers were appointed. In colonial times the burgesses alone were elected, and even in the early national period public positions to be filled by election remained few. Yet a seat in the House of Burgesses was a key position, and it is clear that the system could not have functioned if the planter aristocracy had not enjoyed the cordial support of their humbler freeholder neighbors.

The county court constituted the firm anchor of the system in each locality. The justices of the peace were men of substance. Nominally appointed by the governor, they had managed to become in practice essentially self-perpetuating bodies. A young man of ambition and promise would normally start his public career through being admitted to their ranks. Later, if he were deemed worthy of it, he might stand for election to the House of Burgesses. The relatively few who became burgesses without first being justices were drawn from the families of justices, and were little likely to succeed if the county court disapproved of their candidacy. Of course, burgesses were not elected by the county court, but by such of the
freeholders, perhaps half the number eligible, who saw fit to exercise their franchise. It was here that a genuine, if restricted, democracy exercised its most direct control over the political aspirations of the aristocracy. The political aspirant needed the approval of the great, but the well-wishes of those of lesser degree were equally requisite for his political advancement. In the House of Burgesses a further sifting took place. Diligence and ability in committee, and eloquence in a body where oratory was designed to affect the issue at hand rather than to impress constituents, served to attract favorable attention from those who held the keys to political advancement. Those appointed to the Governor's Council in colonial times had usually first served as burgesses, and later the Assembly normally chose from its own ranks those who were to represent the state in the Continental Congress and the United States Senate.

In comparing the situation of a century and a half ago with that of the present day the author does not insist that the eighteenth-century voter was necessarily endowed with political wisdom superior to that of his successor in later times. He does believe, and who will doubt it, that he knew much better the qualities of the man for whom he was voting. He points out that the excellent past operation of a system carries no guarantee that it would still work well under very altered circumstances. Yet he inquires whether we may not, in the process of adopting new standards of political practice, standards which have become sacrosanct, have sacrificed much that is good in the systems of bygone times. His study is both instructive and provocative. One wonders, for example, to what extent the countless favors which planters like Washington performed for their humbler neighbors were inspired by political considerations or contributed to political success, and whether correlation between economic success and political ability was greater or less in Washington's day than in our own. But Dr. Sydnor doubtless does well not to follow too many bypaths. By sticking tenaciously to his subject and excluding extraneous matter he manages to say a great deal in a relatively small space, and to say it lightly and pleasantly. This book deserves to be read.

University of Pennsylvania

LEONIDAS DODSON


Dr. Morgan's essay of thirty thousand words upon a significant phase of Virginia's social life is of necessity a highly concentrated presentation. His four chapters deal with childhood, marriage, servants and slaves, houses and holidays. Contemporary materials are far from plentiful, but Dr. Morgan has made good use of the recently filmed Virginia Gazette, Philip Fithian's Journal and Letters, and William Byrd's Secret Diary. The author has also
used to advantage a number of items in Edgar Knight's invaluable *Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860*. Thus the work contains much material that has never before been presented to the lay reader.

Throughout this volume the unique if not the dominant role of the plantation in colonial Virginia is evident. The patterns of colonial society as they relate to the artisan, the farmer, the indentured servant, and even the slave do not vary except in degree as one goes from colony to colony. True, in Virginia the attitude of parents toward children was more commendable than in some of the other colonies, public education was somewhat harder to come by, and the property arrangements of marriage and inheritance were more closely drawn. Preoccupation with religion and church membership was less striking because of the official position of the Anglican establishment. County seats rather than commercial towns were the rule, since the practice of exporting tobacco directly to England resulted in a heavy importation of English goods which discouraged the emergence of any large class of craftsmen or merchants. This was true even in Williamsburg, the capital, which turned itself inside out once a year for "the publick times."

In Virginia it was the plantation system that set the tempo of living—to such an extent that the influence of the upper Piedmont and the Shenandoah Valley was hardly felt. Even the "young and giddy faction" in the House of Burgesses was of the same mold and followed the habitual *cursus honoris*. This system afforded a social stability for a century prior to the Revolution, it produced a gracious and elegant living, and it gave to America a quality of leadership that during a critical period stood the nation in good stead. That there was so little concern with the unfavorable balance of trade, the debt structure of tobacco culture, or even with the exhaustion of the soil is somewhat surprising.

Other volumes in this series, the first of which was Carl Bridenbaugh's *Seat of Empire*, will deal with religion, costume and dress, the theater, and other topics. Studies requiring skill and imagination are needed upon the great tidewater plantations, upon the College of William and Mary, which moved in a different orbit from the other colonial colleges, and, after the manner of a Strachey, upon the worthies who achieved their reputations in the Old Capitol. A reading of studies such as Dr. Morgan's will yield the visitor to Williamsburg handsome dividends.

*Huntington Library*  

**John E. Pomfret**


On December 28, 1784, by statutory enactment of the General Assembly of Virginia, the Established Church in Virginia became the Protestant
Episcopal Church in Virginia. The second volume of *Virginia's Mother Church* examines the political, religious, and economic factors, in peace and war, which helped to prepare for this disestablishment, which encouraged subsequent disendowment, and which produced a mood of discouragement within the body of the newly incorporated church which seemed to premise an untimely disintegration. The pursuit of this engaging task gives us a most complete history of the Anglican communion in Virginia between the years 1727 and 1814, together with the religious development of dissenting denominations, some of whose unpleasant experiences were charged to the establishment rather than to the integrity of those responsible for enforcing the Assembly's statutes.

Migratory problems plagued English colonial America; in Virginia they brought tremendous changes, revolutionary in character, in religion. The settlement of the backlands, "the Valley," was necessary for the development of the colony so that the lands would not fall by default into the hands of the French. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Virginia began in earnest the attempt to digest peoples of different religious and cultural traditions: Germans, Scotch-Irish, Lutherans, Reformed, Presbyterians. Quakers and Baptists moved in from neighboring areas. Rigid regulations for the Established Church were on the statute books of Virginia; with seeming prescience, those portions of the English Toleration Act of 1689 remitting penalties against dissenters had previously been enacted. As long, therefore, as these dissenting denominations fitted into the life of the colony peacefully, they were accommodated and concern was demonstrated for their welfare.

In the years following the "Great Awakening," men of "zeal without knowledge," especially among the Baptists, abused their "freedom" to condemn those who differed from them. When called upon to conform to legal requirements, these zealots centered their attention upon the establishment. Therein were many evidences of human frailties, for the authority of the commissary had been allowed to lapse in a move designed to provide for the institution of an American episcopate. Within the Church a small group emphasized the preservation of English tradition, while the remainder sought for a solution to the religious needs of Virginia. One will read with interest how Dr. Brydon portrays the ability of Patrick Henry in the "Parsons' Cause" to make a politician's field day out of this cleavage. Perhaps more important to its detractors than these internal weaknesses, it was the Church which symbolized the state in the local districts, which was more readily accessible, more safely attacked.

For the misunderstandings thus engendered, there was no solution save disestablishment. When it came, it was accompanied by the act of the secession of the Methodists and the formulation of an idea that the properties accumulated by the establishment through almost two centuries should be reclaimed by the state and disposed of at the will of the Assembly. So the politically acute found opportunity to fill some local needs—and some
private purses; Virginia’s Mother Church, disavowed, set forth “on uncharted seas.” Neither disestablishment nor disendowment relieved her of the stigma of her previous status. A proposed third volume is to tell that story.

Dr. Brydon’s research continues to bear the marks of his usual thoroughness, and he has succeeded in maintaining the scholarly objectivity necessary to understand and organize this complex period in Virginia’s history. He continues to give the reader the enjoyment of generous notations, and the appendices are a treasure house of pertinent materials. It must be noted that the Church Historical Society of Philadelphia has taken over from the Virginia Historical Society the publication responsibilities.

*Rutgers University*  
RUSSELL E. FRANCIS

Two volumes. By RALPH T. WHITELAW. Edited for the Virginia Historical Society by GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON. (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 1952. 1,511 p. Illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. $17.50.)

Mr. Whitelaw’s book embodies the results of a prodigious amount of invaluable labour spread over a period of fifteen years. For the most part, it is not a book to read, in the ordinary sense. It is primarily a book to consult.

It is a veritable quarry of facts that historians can work with no little profit, whether their special fields lie in social and economic history, genealogy, the story of American architecture, or the varied record of colonisation in the “Kingdom of Accomac.” The value and applicability of the material presented, however, far transcends the bounds of Virginia’s Eastern Shore.

As to the aims and scope of the book, the author says:

This work had a modest beginning with the taking of occasional snapshots of interesting old houses still in existence . . . in the counties of Northampton and Accomack. As the collection grew, the next logical step was to secure a complete pictorial record of all the older houses. Then came the insatiable desire to know more about them: what was the history of each site, who had lived there, when were the houses built, and by whom? Traditions were interesting, but often unreliable, so a search of old records started. As the search continued, the aims of the project expanded until the whole became quite ambitious, perhaps more so than the years available warranted, but it seemed best to collect as much information as possible while the opportunity presented itself. The result of the research is a story of the land and its owners, rather than the usual chronological history of its economic and social development, but the latter is inevitably brought out in any account of the people whose lives influenced this development.

Fortunately for Mr. Whitelaw and his part-time collaborators, the Shore has records dating back almost to the first settlements: those in Northampton begin January 7, 1632/3, and are said to be the oldest continuous county
records in the United States, while those in Accomack are continuous from the division into two counties in 1663. After several years of work in these local records, the search was continued in the State Land Office, the State Library, and the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, the Libraries of the College of William and Mary and the University of Virginia, the Library of Congress, and elsewhere. In addition to public records and documents, many articles, books and family papers were read and scanned for helpful information about the Shore and its people.

This book, whose evolution from a chance beginning is thus set forth, is amply documented and from sources obviously unquestionable. The author modestly says that he and those who helped him "are humbly conscious of the fact that we attempted this work without previous experience in history or writing, and regret the lack of architectural and other technical knowledge which would have been most helpful. This is a publication by a layman in every sense of the word." And then he continues: "We appreciate that History is never finished, but believe that the factual matter presented will stand the test of time and of later investigation by others. The many assumptions, necessarily made, may be more vulnerable, but at the time they seemed logical on the basis of the knowledge then available."

After a searching examination of the two volumes, the author's apologetic avowals only prompt an hearty wish that some popular historical authors—whom any imputation of laymanship would infuriate—might show as much patient industry in research and as much regard for factual accuracy as this self-styled "layman"; and as much common sense in deductions, one is inclined to add.

Three introductory chapters fill the first forty-six pages. The opening chapter explains the method of using the book and has subheadings, among others, devoted to genealogy and the local architecture; the second epitomises the story of the Eastern Shore Indians; and the third is a summary of the general history of the lower peninsula. Thence onward the scheme of treatment is based on the land records, with the original land grants clearly indicated and numbered on the large-scale maps of the two counties. As Mr. Whitelaw points out,

The land, and the people who lived upon it, played such an important part in the social, economic and religious development of the Shore, that it seemed proper to use the maps as the key to the rest of the work. It would have been confusing to number the patents according to the irregular sequence in which they were granted, and therefore the numbers assigned to them are entirely arbitrary. Each of the numbered areas is called a tract, rather than a patent, as in many cases the area represents an early consolidation of two or more patents into one ownership. A study of 896 patents was necessary to arrive at the 422 tracts for the two counties.

Corresponding with the numbers on the maps, the text gives consecutively the data respecting those tracts. For example, N 51 (which means tract 51 in Northampton County) starts with the year 1620 when, it appears, Debedeavon, "The Laughing King," through Ensign Thomas Savage
presented Governor Sir George Yeardley with a large acreage immediately to the north of Savage's land (accounted for under N 49). The next entry, for 1622, gives Captain John Smith's record that in June, "Sir George with his Company went to Accomack to his new Plantation, where he staid neere six weekes; some Corne he brought home; but as he adventured for himselfe, he accordingly enjoyed the benefit." And so on, through the years, the successive owners of the tract, or parts of the tract are given, along with the significant details appertaining to the different individuals; likewise, there are accounts of the house, or houses (sometimes the churches), built on the tract and, so far as possible, pictures of these buildings accompany the text.

The weak and disappointing part of the book is in the illustrations. Not a few were reproduced from photographs that were poor to begin with, from which it was impossible to make good half tones. Other pictures, again, though of better quality as photographs, have been taken from unfortunate points of view and leave sundry architectural questions wholly unanswered. These shortcomings are the more to be regretted because many of the subjects, judged from what the illustrations do disclose, are evidently replete with interest.

At the end of the second volume is a chapter on the ecclesiastical history of Virginia's Eastern Shore, good so far as it goes, but one could wish that this chronicle might have gone into fuller treatment of the old parishes. A short chapter on education follows it, and then come four appendices, one of them giving in extenso the Resolutions of Protest Against Declaration of War Against Great Britain in 1812, and another containing in full the Report of Colonel Edmund Scarburgh to the Governor and Council of Virginia on his Expedition into Maryland in October, 1663.

After the appendices comes an excellent bibliography, and then a carefully compiled and comprehensive index, which is of inestimable value in consulting a book of this character and which deserves high praise for its thoroughness.

Barring the defect of inadequate illustrations, Virginia's Eastern Shore is a most useful aid, not only for those employed in elucidating items of Virginia history, but also to those delving into all the innumerable, far-flung ramifications of one sort or another that had their roots in the Old Dominion.

Philadelphia

Harold Donaldson Eberlein


The Massachusetts Historical Society, conceived in August, 1790, and born only five months later, has during its long existence issued a body of historical writing perhaps unequalled anywhere else. Its Transactions, ini-
dated in 1792, have grown to some eighty volumes of distinguished writing and editing. *The Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, the *Winthrop Papers*, and Sibley's *Lives of Harvard Graduates* (currently being written by Mr. Clifford K. Shipton) are additional outstanding regular publications; and there are also some twenty volumes of special publications, which include among other equally notable works *The Education of Henry Adams* and *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*.

Another regular publication of the Society is its *Proceedings*, first issued in 1859 with Volume III, the first two volumes, covering the years 1791–1855, appearing subsequently in 1879 and 1880. These *Proceedings* have covered the records of the annual and monthly meetings, with memoirs of deceased members. The papers read at these meetings, although naturally treating of smaller facets of history than the other publications, are quite worthy of a place alongside them, and through the years have included many valuable monographs.

With this background it will be appreciated that the appearance of a new volume of these *Proceedings* is worthy of notice. This present Volume LXVIII prints all except eight of the papers presented at meetings of the Society from October, 1944, through May, 1947, and of these eight, six have appeared or will appear elsewhere. As with the preceding two volumes the desirable practice has been continued of transferring the memoirs and the detailed records of meetings to the end of the book, thus leaving the papers all together, although not in the order in which presented.

One need not list all eighteen papers appearing in the volume; it is only natural that some of them make little permanent contribution to our historical literature; and two of them would seem to have little to do with “the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States,” for which purpose the Society received its charter in 1794, however excellent they may otherwise be.

Perhaps the outstanding paper in the volume is “Some American Contributions to the Art of Navigation 1519–1802” by Lawrence C. Wroth which had already appeared separately as an imprint of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library in 1947. Although Mr. Wroth in his typical unassuming manner calls this “an essay which, after all, is but an exploratory entrance into a new field of study,” it is in reality a permanent work of reference which shows as usual Mr. Wroth’s wide knowledge and scholarship. Members of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania will be particularly interested in his remarks on the Herrman Map; on Thomas Godfrey and his quadrant; on Joshua Fisher’s *Chart of Delaware Bay*; on the Library Company’s only known copy of the broadside *Directions to sail into and up Delaware Bay*; and on a number of other items which carry Philadelphia imprints.

There are two thoughtful and interesting papers which will appeal to the legal profession: “Colonial Courts and the Common Law” by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and “The Evolution of Limited Liability in Massachusetts” by
the late E. Merrick Dodd. Charles Warren has a short "footnote to American history," as he calls it, in "The Doctored Letters of John Adams," which explains why we do not celebrate our Independence on July 2, as we should. Two excellent articles on historiography are found in "The Washington Theme in American History" by Curtis Putnam Nettels and "Historical Perspective in Contemporary Crises" by Arthur Burr Darling.

The country can never have too many diaries of the Adams family and it is a pleasure to find in the volume a selection, albeit a short one, from that kept by Charles Francis Adams (1807-1886) for a period of over fifty-six years. The selection, which gains much by its editing, covers the period of a few weeks in the spring of 1844 and describes a trip which Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., made by boat and coach through the Middle West, in the course of which they visited Joseph Smith and the Mormons at Nauvoo.

Two articles about Abraham Lincoln should be mentioned. "When Lincoln 'Ruled' Alone" by the late F. Lauriston Bullard is a lucid story of those four months between the inauguration and the assembly of Congress when Lincoln was, in effect, a dictator. "Lincoln and The Devil's Advocate" by Stewart Mitchell, the Society's Director and Editor of its Publications, is a detailed review of Lincoln: the Man by Edgar Lee Masters which is called "the work of the Devil's advocate against the canonization of Abraham Lincoln." Written in Mr. Mitchell's usual pungent, trenchant style, the chips fly in all directions much to the reader's delight as well as edification.

It was Mr. Mitchell who ended his historical sketch prefixed to the Handbook of the Massachusetts Historical Society, issued in 1949, with these words: "Thus far we remain—certainly, the oldest, probably the greatest, and still, alas, the most exclusive historical society in the United States." This particular volume of the Proceedings is not as good evidence as many of its predecessors in support of Mr. Mitchell's second contention.

Philadelphia

HAMILTON VAUGHAN BAIL

Proud Kate. Portrait of an Ambitious Woman. By ISHBEL ROSS. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. [viii], 309 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $4.00.)

Katharine Chase Sprague was born in 1840 into an era of emotionalism, national expansion, perfectionism, revivalist enthusiasms, antislavery agitation, and magnificent literary achievements. She grew to womanhood and became her father's official hostess and champion in the political arena during the decade when these forces of growth and emotion were splitting the nation in two. During Reconstruction and the impact of industrialization she reached the peak of her career.

It is very unlikely that any of these growing pains of the nation were understood by Kate Chase. During these turbulent decades she was driven
by one ambition—to see her father, Salmon Portland Chase, in the White House. Her constant scheming fed her father’s incurable ambition for the Presidency. His usefulness to the nation and his dignity were impaired by this ambition. To what extent his daughter was responsible for this maladjustment it is difficult to say. With all her devotion to her father and admiration for him she was curiously blind to his lack of political attraction. Her social rivalry with Mrs. Lincoln, coupled with her insatiable ambition for her father, drove her into whipping up constant suspicion of Lincoln in her father’s mind, suspicion which fostered endless antagonism in the Lincoln cabinet. Kate had not even an inkling of the greatness and humility of Lincoln.

Consistently disappointed in the Republican National Conventions of 1856, 1860, and 1864, she married William Sprague of Rhode Island, hoping that with the Sprague fortune behind her she would acquire the power needed to put Chase into the White House. By this time Chase had achieved a certain peace of mind and distinction as Chief Justice. But rather than leave him in his distinguished niche, Kate spearheaded a Democratic boom for a Chase nomination in the National Democratic Convention of 1868. After a last grand gesture for the ailing Chief Justice in 1872, Kate focused her drive for power on Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York. Her friendship with Conkling led to her personal and social ruin. With her divorce from Sprague she lost all influence.

Her father had been the “symbol of ambition” to Kate. In an era of growing social consciousness, of feminism and humanitarianism Kate Chase played politics for her father, for herself, and for the game itself. Her influence was never questioned, but unrestrained pride and ambition encompassed her defeat. The great men of her time admired her intellect, but were not caught in the net of intrigue for her father. President Lincoln, Charles Sumner, Carl Schurz, Horace Greeley, William Seward, all were saddened by her vainglorious machinations. Although Chase was an advocate of woman suffrage, Kate had no sympathy for bloomerism, for what she called “unladylike” tactics. Much more subtly (certainly much more unscrupulously) she wielded power for her own glory, which was not that of womanhood or of society in general.

Miss Ross has drawn a “portrait of an ambitious woman,” who, with her beauty and intellect, her imaginative and fabulous entertaining, sought to influence the political leaders of her era. A biography of Kate Chase is necessarily the story of the brilliant Society of the war and postwar decades. Her intense aspiration to be her father’s hostess in the White House led to rivalry with a succession of First Ladies. Her receptions and breakfasts were more brilliant affairs than those held at the White House. She surrounded herself with soldiers, statesmen, diplomats. All admired her intellect, her beauty, but few saw Salmon P. Chase as presidential timber.

Miss Ross has filled the Kate Chase biography with a wealth of detail. The pages are filled with allusions to the many colorful personalities who
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molded the era. Yet the author has not quite captured the spirit of the age: the physical and spiritual growth of the nation and the reflection of this growth in politics. Much of her presentation hints at this, but the background material is not too well integrated. In this sense the book lacks unity. The biography could have been more effectively organized so that the layman might gain a striking picture of the era. Most of the interest in the biography will derive from its picture of a fabulous Society and the woman who for two decades was its leader.

**Boulder, Colo.**

Henrietta Krone Armstrong


The nation has paid high tribute to many individuals for distinguished service in exciting political days and then has forgotten them completely. Willard H. Smith in *Schuyler Colfax. The Changing Fortunes of a Political Idol* has attempted to restore the memory of one of these. Colfax, born posthumously to a sorrowing mother of scarcely nineteen years, forced to stop school at the age of ten in order to help maintain the family, and finally honored in the council halls of the republic, fits well into the pattern of America's neglected statesmen of the past. Unlike many others, however, he never quite achieved universal plaudits, though he did reach the vice-presidency. His critics were many and bitter, and he left the political scene under a cloud of suspicion.

Schuyler Colfax began his political career in South Bend, Indiana, where his mother and stepfather had moved from New York in 1841. There, while serving as deputy in the county auditor's office, he whetted his political appetite and wrote articles on the West for Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune.* Within a few years he became editor of the *St. Joseph Valley Register,* formerly the South Bend *Free Press,* which he and Albert W. West purchased as partners. The young Whig—"inflexible Whig," he described himself—worked diligently at his newspaper, entered unsuccessfully the contest for clerk of the legislature at Indianapolis, crusaded for prohibition, supported the Wilmot Proviso, vacillated somewhat during the Mexican War, and deserted his hero, Henry Clay, when "noble Harry" introduced his compromise resolutions in 1850. The next five years were puzzling ones politically, but the South Bend editor emerged a Republican and served his district in Congress from March, 1855, to March, 1869.

Colfax rose rapidly in national politics. He took a leading part in the antislavery movement and bitterly condemned the South for its secession. Though his friends could not secure for him a place in Lincoln's cabinet, his party in December, 1863, made him Speaker of the House of Representa-
tives. During the war no one talked more incessantly for victory than he; and after the conflict was over no one sought more implacably to teach the South the bitter fruits of rebellion. Elected three times to the speakership, he made a commendable record in the House. His years in the vice-presidency, however, were on the whole uninspiring, and his self-defense against the Crédit Mobilier charges was inconclusive.

Colfax’s career spanned a dramatic and for the most part tragic period in our national history: conflict, compromise, quarrel, secession, war, reconstruction, reform again, and the beginnings of the golden age of industry. Through every phase the hero of the volume poured out a golden flow of oratory, heard the cheers of many friends, and attained honors reserved to a relative few, but basically he contributed little to the developments of the day. Nothing is so difficult as to breathe life into a political corpse long buried, and Professor Smith, notwithstanding a great deal of hard work, has not recreated the fallen idol. The story is told with scant literary spirit and with indistinct convictions, and nowhere does the central figure stand out in bold relief. This does not mean that the book is not a useful and helpful one; nevertheless, some readers may wonder more how Colfax achieved his successes than why his glories have remained unsung. The proofing task has been excellently done; the binding is prosaic.

Temple University

JAMES A. BARNES


In this third volume study of President Lincoln’s problem of finding a general who could bring the War Between the States to a successful conclusion, Professor Williams has so far written a military study of the war from the Northern viewpoint. The first two volumes considered the Northern military leadership from the first important conflict on Bull Run to the fall operations following the close of the Gettysburg campaign. Volume III is almost entirely a detailed account of Grant’s novitiate as a military commander, with occasional side comments on and criticism of his superior and associate commanders, especially Buell and Halleck. The volume closes with a brief account of the events following the battle of Shiloh.

The first part of this volume is devoted to a discussion of the military situation as it developed in the West, that is, in Missouri, Tennessee, and Kentucky, in order to provide a setting in which to introduce Grant in responsible, but subordinate command. Grant’s leadership was characterized primarily by decision and action, first at Belmont and subsequently at Fort Donelson. The contrast of Grant’s decisive action to the indecision of Halleck’s and Buell’s apparent lack of interest is clearly indicated. The
author's account of these western operations shows effectively why Grant succeeded where others failed. He did not look under the bed before moving to carry out his plans, but always endeavored to protect his army against any unexpected force that might come out from under the bed to interfere with his operations.

The most important engagement in Grant's first six months of responsible command was at Shiloh in April, 1862. From the time of the initial Confederate attacks until the late afternoon of the first day of battle, the Union and Confederate forces were about equal. The author seems to feel that Grant was not surprised at Shiloh because he was "thinking of how to strike the enemy, and not how to fend off a blow" (p. 331). This seems to be begging the question. Once Grant realized what had happened and in spite of the disheartening confusion that prevailed, he took decisive and effective measures to organize his troops for resistance, at the same time urging Buell to hurry forward his supporting army. The arrival of these reinforcements, together with the death of the Confederate leader, General Albert Sidney Johnston, changed the complexion of the battle and enabled Grant to halt the Confederate advance and to bring effective pressure against the exultant Confederate troops. From mid-afternoon of that first day, April 6, the outcome of the battle was hardly in doubt. Grant now had a superiority in numbers that was constantly increasing, and he was faced by a new and confused high command. Professor Williams states that the Confederate "direction of the battle did not suffer" when Johnston fell, because his successor, Beauregard, "quickly took over full command responsibilities" (p. 371). He quotes, without comment, as a support to this view, that "No other possibility was open to Beauregard than 'to break off combat and assemble his troops for the night'" (p. 527). Other authorities, however, have held the view that Johnston's death had an important effect on the Confederate conduct of the battle.

In spite of his superiority in strength and fresh manpower, there was no attempt at effective pursuit, because, as the author states, "Grant had not made adequate preparations for pursuit" (p. 389). This same failure on Grant's part was again manifested after the defeat of Bragg's army on Missionary Ridge in November, 1863. Rather surprisingly, the author attempts to appraise Grant's success at Shiloh in terms of an opposition led by a "distinguished" Confederate high command of "five distinguished soldiers to coordinate and direct" the Confederate attack (p. 363). Likewise, Buell's leadership is constantly criticized and depreciated to Grant's advantage.

In such a detailed narrative it is difficult to keep situations and relations clear. This is illustrated in the author's account, in chapters VI and VII, of the situation in Kentucky and Tennessee in the fall and winter of 1861, which is almost as confused as the situation described. A few errors and misleading statements have been noted. General S. R. Curtis was not "a regular officer," having resigned from the army thirty years previous after only brief service (p. 64); the date of the letter quoted on page 123 should
be 1861, not 1862; General Pillow's first name was Johnson, not Jonathan (p. 255); it is hardly true to say that President Polk "promoted the Mexican War" (p. 281); James McIntosh was a general, not a colonel, at the time of his death (p. 291); the date of Sheridan’s appointment as colonel was May 25, not April 26, 1862 (p. 414); a loyal government in western Virginia, not the "legislature of West Virginia," voted its thanks to General W. S. Rosecrans (p. 447). The life of General Leonidas Polk, quoted in note 19, chapter XI (p. 509), is by W. M. Polk; the date given in note 104, chapter XIV (p. 531) should be March 13, 1863, not 1862.

This third volume has several illustrations, a number of useful maps, and a good index.

Locust Valley, N. Y.  

Thomas Robson Hay


The mutually beneficial alliance between the Republican Party and the Civil War veterans in the decades after 1865 has long been no secret to historians, but now Mary R. Dearing has meticulously documented the details of that arrangement on the basis not only of a wide variety of printed sources, but particularly of extensive manuscript material.

In the first half of the book, which is concerned with the Reconstruction period, Mrs. Dearing shows how from the moment of its founding in 1866 the Grand Army of the Republic was a tool of the Radical Republicans. Then, after the "quiescent years" of the 1870's, the second half describes the society's revival in the 1880's with the help of claims agents and the rise of a new understanding based on the veterans' desire for pensions and the Republicans' interest not only in votes, but also in a patriotic rationalization for maintaining the protective tariff. The claims of nonpartisanship that the organization soon made after it discovered that its overt participation in campaigns was injuring it do not impress Mrs. Dearing very much, and she demonstrates how ostensibly innocent activities like Memorial Day exercises kept war memories alive and thus constituted a subtle form of Republican propaganda.

Subtitled "The Story of the G.A.R.," the book is both more and less than that. While her attention does focus on the Grand Army, she also tells the story of certain activities of all survivors of the Civil War until the turn of the century, not just of those organized in one particular group, or even in one party. Thus many will be startled to learn of the equally determined, if less adept, efforts of the Democrats to woo the former soldiers, first by appealing to their dislike of the Radicals' advocacy of Negro suffrage and then by trying desperately to exploit their limited stock of war heroes like McClellan and Hancock. On the other hand, as the main title indicates, the volume is primarily concerned with the veterans' political efforts, in the
sense either of their influence on various elections or their agitation for governmental favors. The emphasis falls largely on national politics and legislation. An equally intensive investigation of the numerous department proceedings would not have altered any major conclusions, but would have revealed a much wider range of opinions on even more subjects and might have suggested that the onetime soldiers were often even more successful on the state level. Though Mrs. Dearing gives a competent summary of other activities, such as the way in which the G.A.R. turned to various forms of patriotic endeavor during the 1890’s and at the same time became increasingly conservative in its outlook, she does not explore these developments in as much detail, and only suggests the social significance of all such groups as examples of the American habit of “joining.” The work will be extremely valuable for the student of late nineteenth-century political history, and will be almost as instructive to anyone interested in twentieth-century pressure groups.

This account stimulates certain questions which are almost unanswerable. Thanks to Mrs. Dearing’s careful scholarship, we now really do know what the politicians and the officials of these groups were thinking and doing. But to what extent can we conclude that the pronouncements of leaders, the resolutions of meetings, and especially the colorful invectives of veterans’ papers like the National Tribune actually reflected or influenced the views of the rank and file members of the G.A.R.? Even more important, does the fact that an equally large, or greater, number of veterans never joined any of these organizations suggest that their opinions may have been quite different? Finally, Mrs. Dearing’s political emphasis often gives an almost unrelieved impression of selfish aims and Machiavellian tactics. Should these activities be viewed also as the expression of an emotionalism which was far more genuine than many “liberal” historians have been willing to concede? Problems of the sources and value of patriotism, of conformity, and of the organized expression of both are very much with us at the present moment, and we are beginning to realize that they are infinitely complex. This leads us into intricate issues of individual and group behavior which, of course, we cannot expect Mrs. Dearing to discuss in a book quite justifiably limited in its scope. Instead, we should be grateful that she has given us so authoritative a study of a subject of more than sufficient importance in itself.

University of Pennsylvania

Wallace Evan Davies


Those who have enjoyed Frederick Lewis Allen’s Only Yesterday, a history of the 1920’s, and his Since Yesterday, a history of the 1930’s, will not be disappointed in his latest and more inclusive work, The Big Change.
Mr. Allen's good-humored and witty appraisal of the transformation of the United States during the past half-century furnishes certainly the most readable account available on the greatest miracle of modern time. As contemporary history, the tone is authoritative and searching without the accompaniment of the halting academic strain which often characterizes the work of professional historians. In many ways the author's personal experiences are reflected to a greater degree than might normally be found in the work of a professional historian. Certain of Mr. Allen's examples of change, while all apt enough in their context, will illustrate my comment. I allude to such references as the obsolescence of the cutaway coat, which one reads is now generally rented for ushers at weddings, and the extreme difficulty in obtaining pumps to wear with evening clothes.

The Big Change is of special interest to members of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania because it originated from a talk delivered before the Society by Mr. Allen, a talk which was published in the April, 1949, issue of this Magazine. As the child is father to the man, so the talk was father to the book, and the membership of the Society may well take pride in the mature development of Mr. Allen's thought as finally expressed in his book.

Philadelphia

Nicholas B. Wainwright


The Philadelphia story has been told in a variety of forms and with varying emphases. The most recent characterization of the city is by Gerald W. Johnson, whose long essay serves a two-fold purpose. First, Mr. Johnson has pictured Philadelphia of the eighteenth century as the only city in the colonies in which the nation could have been conceived; secondly, he uses this picture as a "pattern for liberty" which today's generations might well follow.

Philadelphia in 1790 was metropolitan and cosmopolitan. It had youth with its courage and imagination; it had ideas and culture; it had commerce, in the busy, all-inclusive use of the word; it was alive to its times and receptive to the new. Boston and New York could claim some of these attributes; neither could claim all, nor any, perhaps, to the degree in which they resided in Philadelphia. Optimism and vigor pervaded the scene. So Mr. Johnson paints the birthplace of the nation, highlighting his study with names and events and moods. The "little city" which "cannot be accurately portrayed in monotone" (as indeed it cannot) becomes under his pen the American Athens.

It is a proud story, one which the general reader will enjoy and remember, in broad outlines if not in detail. The historian, however, will be more
critical. Any survey challenges the specialist to cries of neglect. One of these cries will be that Quaker influences, aside from the founding, are over-minimized, albeit they were social and humanitarian rather than political in 1790. Details, too, may be questioned, the most obvious misstatement being the designation of Carpenters' Hall as Congress Hall. Criticism must extend also to Mr. Johnson's style, for although he writes easily, the reader is frequently brought up short by the juxtaposition of modern colloquialisms (at times even slang) and highly literary words and phrases and unfamiliar allusions.

The format of Pattern for Liberty, too, provokes comment. The book was clearly designed (and the text largely written) around the illustrations, which had originally been commissioned as advertisements for the Continental Distilling Corporation. The result is an oversized volume, awkward for all purposes from reading to shelving. The price of the book is surprisingly high, particularly when one considers the provenance of the illustrations and the brevity of the text.

As a gift book for the casual reader, Pattern for Liberty undoubtedly serves its purpose. It presents a pleasant picture of Philadelphia in the 1790's and an ever-timely message of faith in America.

Philadelphia

Lois V. Given


The Amish have always attracted popular interest because of their different dress and manner of living. Mr. Hostetler, born and reared among them, writes with authority about the Amish, explaining the reasons behind their customs and describing much of their way of life. The illustrations include both photographs and drawings; a list of selected readings is appended to the booklet.


This pamphlet was designed primarily for young readers, although adults, too, will find much of value in the brief, factual discussion of all aspects of Indian life in Delaware. The drawings add interest to the text; there is a short, selected reading list for those who wish to pursue the subject in greater detail. This publication is the first of a series prepared under the direction of The Institute of Delaware History and Culture.