The story of George Fox, 1624–1691, founder of the Religious Society of Friends, is not one which is known by any large circle of persons. This uncultured, relatively unlettered product of the lower classes, who shook England during the middle of the seventeenth century as he set into motion a mighty religious movement which gained 40,000 adherents in less than half a century, has an obscure place in history except in the writings of his fellow religionists.

When one places the work of Fox in its proper perspective, as one of the many religious and political events which rocked England to her very foundations in the middle of the seventeenth century, it is easy to see why he has been neglected. A great struggle was taking place between the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Anglicans, with the Catholics thrown in for good measure on occasion. Superimposed upon this religious controversy was a political conflict which resulted in the Civil War, the Interregnum, and the Restoration in twenty short years, and towering over all this is the name Oliver Cromwell.

Fox, who had no use for any of the conventional religious organizations, and believed that political affairs, particularly wars, should be avoided if possible, went about the business of preaching the word of God as he understood it. He believed in the direct revelation of the will of God to man, utterly renounced all religious forms, and was certain that he was reviving primitive Christianity. He and thousands of his followers were imprisoned during these troublesome times, and yet the movement grew, and sent missionaries all over Europe, into the Near East, and to the English colonies in the Western Hemisphere.

Vernon Noble has told the story of the growth of the movement from insignificant beginnings in the late 1640's when George Fox began to preach, until his death in 1691. The author has made a real contribution by writing a readable account of the first half-century of the history of Quakerism. He has attempted to make George Fox stand out in his description of these most vital years of the movement. That he has failed to write a true biography of George Fox is not his fault. He does not really understand this
religious zealot; perhaps no rational, intelligent person in the twentieth century can understand him.

As students of Pennsylvania we note two chapters in particular, one about William Penn and the other a description of the “Holy Experiment” in Pennsylvania. The treatment of these two topics is superficial, as would be expected in a biography of George Fox, and it is also inaccurate in several matters. For example, Noble states: Penn “was absolute proprietor of the province and its governor, able to frame his own laws and sell the land how and to whom he wished.” Penn’s charter from the Crown stated that he could make laws only “by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said Countrey . . . or of their Delegates or Deputies.” His description of the signing of the treaty with the Indians under the great elm tree will make some scholars shudder. There is no indication that he is familiar with the work of William I. Hull, Albert Cook Myers, Frederick B. Tolles, Guy F. Hershberger, or John E. Pomfret (for New Jersey).

The whole matter of footnotes or the citing of sources has left the reviewer puzzled. There are very few footnotes in the entire book, yet on page 147 the author goes to the trouble of citing Cyril Ransome, *A Short History of England*, as his authority for the statement that the Corporation Act of 1661 was aimed at nonconformists. On page 167 he writes that 12,000 Quakers were imprisoned between 1661 and 1689, and on page 267, he says that the figure was 8,000 for substantially the same years, without citing the source in either case. There is no bibliography.

On the other hand, most of the book is based upon Fox’s *Journal* and other reliable sources, and the author has written an interesting description of the first half-century of Quakerism, with the career of George Fox at the center of his narrative.

Temple University

Edwin B. Bronner

*The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution.* By Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1953. x, 310 p. Index. $6.00.)

This book fills a major gap in the historical literature of the pre-Revolutionary period. Despite the recognized importance of the topic and the existence of numberless pages dealing with one or another aspect of the problem, it has remained for the Morgans to attempt the first comprehensive monograph treating the critical period of the passage and repeal of the Stamp Act.

In order to avoid the mass of detail which would be necessary to tell a complete story of events in every colony, the authors have attempted “to see general issues so far as possible through the eyes of particular men.” Such an approach necessarily involves selection and elimination, but the
authors have managed to compress a good deal of detail into a relatively small compass. They place the Act in the general context of the period; they give an excellent account of the events in England (too often ignored by American colonial historians) which led to the passage of the Act; they manage to say something about opposition in virtually every colony, while wisely concentrating on events in areas which set the pace of colonial thought and action; and, finally, they give a substantial account of the politics of repeal in England.

Quite properly, the authors emphasize political and constitutional questions. Whatever may have been the economic hardships involved in the stamp duties and whatever economic motives may have impelled individual leaders to protest against the Act, the struggle was fought out on the broad issue of the place of the colonies in the political system of the British Empire. In this respect, their account of the proceedings and resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress is particularly important. They show that few of the delegates questioned the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies, though the majority of them did not believe that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies. This theoretical separation of the functions of legislation and taxation served to justify colonial leaders in their tacit admission of the supreme legislative position of Parliament in the Empire at the same time that they were steadfastly denying the right of Parliament to impose taxes on them. Along the way, the authors dispose of the old notion that in 1765 the colonists objected to internal but not external taxes. They clearly show that colonial leaders objected to all taxes.

Those with special knowledge may find cause to quarrel with an occasional fact or interpretation. Thus, the authors are under some misapprehensions about the nature and extent of the jurisdiction of vice-admiralty courts in the colonies both before and after the reforms of 1764. Their treatment of Governor Bernard seems to be unduly harsh, failing to take sufficient account of the skill and intransigence of the popular leaders who opposed him. For reasons not immediately apparent, they seem to have taken sides with the antiproprietary faction in Pennsylvania politics, although this bias adds nothing to their treatment of the reaction to the Stamp Act in that province. Finally, they might have shown better judgment in the selection of individuals for extended discussion. Only one—Daniel Dulany—represented the patriot point of view. The others—Francis Bernard, John Robinson, Thomas Hutchinson, Jared Ingersoll, and John Hughes—all favored submission to the Act.

These, however, are peripheral criticisms. In general, the book is soundly documented and based on thorough research. In addition, it is graced by fine writing. Despite this advantage, it is probably too specialized to attract much attention from that overworked abstraction, “the general reader.” But it will be read both for information and pleasure by all students of the colonial period.

Madison, Wis.

Arthur L. Jensen

Considering how foot-loose and elusive counterfeiters are, this book—No. 127 in the Society's "Numismatic Notes and Monographs"—stays within its title about as well as may be expected. Numerous cases from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other provinces are included. The subject is treated chronologically, and the book is divided into sixteen chapters. The first chapter is a brief account of colonial counterfeiting in the seventeenth century. Chapter 16, the concluding chapter, is an excellent and comprehensive summary of the whole book. The intervening chapters cover the eighteenth century in successive time intervals, such as the years 1711-1726, the years 1727-1735, and so on. Although it is not always clear why the particular time intervals have been chosen, it is a convenient way of tracing the rise of colonial counterfeiting. Interspersed is an occasional chapter describing the activities of certain gangs, such as the "Albany County Gang," the "Ford Gang" (named after their ringleader), and the "Oblong Gang" (which refers not to the shape of the gang, but to the tract of land in New York in which it operated).

The author cites scores of cases, naming the individual counterfeiter, how and where he operated, how the law finally caught up with him, and the nature of the punishment inflicted. Unless one is familiar with the subject, he may be surprised to learn how extensive was the practice of clipping, counterfeiting, and passing of bad money, and how rapidly it grew. Before the Revolution, highly organized gangs were co-operating with one another throughout the British colonies. "It was estimated in 1768 that there was a clan of 500 counterfeiters in the colonies from New Hampshire to North Carolina." Just how much bogus money circulated during the colonial period we shall probably never know, but it was apparently embarrassingly large, judging by the number of counterfeiters caught and the amount of false bills confiscated.

The temptation to counterfeit attracted not only such "naturals" as silversmiths, blacksmiths, tinkers, printers and engravers, but also persons from many other walks of life. Among the others—either accused or convicted—were mariners, laborers, cordwainers, carpenters, merchants, bakers, tailors, doctors, deacons, captains, and colonels.

According to the earliest colonial records, counterfeiters were considered as "cheats." In 1680 a counterfeiter who confessed his crime was ordered to make restitution and fined; others were given thirty lashes on the bare back. As time went on, the penalty was increased, and by the time of the Revolution, counterfeiting, altering, or passing bogus money was punishable by death without benefit of clergy. The record seems to show that despite the death penalty counterfeiting continued to flourish.
Printers of newspapers in colonial New York did much to apprehend counterfeiters. The printers circulated cautions which warned the public to be on their guard against accepting false bills and coins, and the cautions were usually accompanied by careful directions how to tell the spurious from the genuine. Newspaper printers co-operated partly from a public-spirited urge and partly for economic reasons, because in many instances the newspaper printer also printed the true bills of credit that were being counterfeited. It is curious that the use of the watermark, which was known during that period and which was used by the Bank of England, was not used in colonial New York.

The monograph is well written, well documented, and well indexed. It has an index of money and of persons, and a geographical index. It also has thirteen plates illustrating a variety of genuine and counterfeit bills and coins.

*Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia*  
Evan B. Alderfer


This first of a projected two-volume history of _Swedish Contributions to American Freedom_ is ample evidence that Dr. Johnson’s interest in and ability to narrate the relations between the United States and Sweden have not diminished since he produced his monumental work, _The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware_. This new volume attests to his scholarship, his indefatigable research pursued in manuscript and printed sources in more than a half dozen languages, and his ability to record in an interesting manner episodes in American history either heretofore unknown or little understood.

This first volume conditions the reader with considerable background history of the concept of freedom in England, France, Holland and Sweden. It then gives a valuable recapitulation of the conditions existing in the American colonies, that is, the status of religion, the political aspects, and the prevailing economy. It also shows the strong sympathies in Europe for the American colonies due largely to the antipathy of the nations on the Continent for England and her naval supremacy. The author reveals the extent to which the Swedes were informed of events taking place in America. Some writers have claimed that Swedish interests and influence died with the capitulation of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware to the Dutch in 1655. Dr. Johnson shows that through the Swedish missionaries who still maintained their churches in the former Swedish settlements until the end of the eighteenth century a considerable amount of knowledge of life in the New World was gained.

Six of the ten chapters of this large volume treat directly with an interesting chronological account of the events of the American Revolution. Be-
cause of the Swedish system of "farming out" promising young men of the
army and navy to foreign countries which were at war, a considerable
number of these young officers gained actual wartime experience. Many of
these young officers served with the English, Dutch, and French fleets, and
a number of them were with the French armies. It is the correspondence and
journals of these men and of Ambassador Gustaf Philip Creutz which supply
Dr. Johnson with much of the information for this present volume. In a
chronological account of activities of each year of the Revolution, he first
relates the military situation as it existed in Europe, principally between
the French and the English and later with the French, Spanish, and Dutch
as allies against Great Britain. Then in each chapter he carries the reader
to the West Indies where the naval action was intense, and then in turn
relates the activities of the French officers with the command under General
Washington, for the Swedes were serving with these French naval and mili-
tary forces. From the journals of Count von Fersen we gain intimate
glimpses of the French and American military activities.

Students of American history may tend to overlook this volume because
of that portion of the title referring to "Swedish Contributions." This
volume is much more than its title implies. It gives an excellent insight into
the European attitude and background at the time of the American Revolu-
tion and the volume is invaluable for the wealth of naval history it contains
of this war. Dr. Johnson has embellished the text with voluminous footnotes
containing a wealth of supplemental information. In some instances these
footnotes number as high as two hundred and ten to a chapter and occupy as
much as fifty-six pages of fine print. The volume is further enhanced with a
bibliography of seventy pages of references, many of which have never here-
tofore appeared in American historical writings. The Swedish Colonial
Foundation is to be complimented upon the publication of this volume in
its attractive format, and it is believed that when the second volume is
issued this monumental work will take its place on library shelves as one of
the standard references for the American Revolution.

Delaware State Archives

Leon deValinger, Jr.

The Great Man. George Washington as a Human Being. By Howard Swig-
Bibliography, appendix, index. $5.00.)

This biographical study of Washington is not to be compared with the
lengthy and not-quite-finished one by the late D. S. Freeman. Mr. Swiggett
did his own research, wrote his own book, and made no effort to emulate
Mr. Freeman. He did not try to write a complete history of Washington and
his times, but to portray his personality as an adult, during his years forty-
three to sixty-seven, from the time when he assumed command of the
American army to his death. Mr. Swiggett does offer a narrative of events
in which Washington played a part after 1775, but his major purpose is consistently to describe "The Great Man."

It is well known that Washington has been the subject of much historical controversy in recent years. There are those who concede, even extol his greatness, but find flaws in the hero; there are those who follow the nineteenth-century tradition and who see few or no faults or shortcomings in him. Mr. Swiggett belongs to the latter group. He deals harshly with the contemporaries of Washington who were not his friends, gently with his allies and supporters, except for Lafayette and Steuben, almost lovingly with Washington himself. He also offers some forthright and amusing comments upon historians who do not see "The Great Man" as he does.

It is not meant that Mr. Swiggett is a modern Parson Weems. On the contrary, he is perceptive, subtle, witty, and often absolutely charming. Nevertheless, he is affected by Washington-worship. Thus, contemporary phrases which he reads to the exaltation of Washington and to the detriment of others are frequently susceptible of other interpretations. Curiously, he is seriously critical of his and our hero on one point, the Virginian's attitude toward slavery, saying that "he was worse, in that regard, than early abolitionists like Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and even Aaron Burr." Admitted that Washington displayed a measure of callousness toward slaves, he was as altruistic in his views and actions with respect to slavery as most enlightened Americans of his time. It may be worth commenting that Jay, Morris, and Burr had little to lose economically by abolition, also that Washington could hardly have devoted himself to public affairs, could hardly have been "The Great Man" without the forced toil of his Negroes. It may concern Mr. Swiggett that Horatio Gates, Washington's quondam rival, freed his slaves before his death, not in his will, as Washington did. The fact does not much impress this reviewer. Gates could easily afford to be generous.

Mr. Swiggett's bias against those who were not absolutely devoted to Washington may be illustrated by one of his remarks concerning James Monroe. He would let his readers believe that it was Monroe who revealed to the public the affair between Alexander Hamilton and Mrs. Reynolds. He does not mention that Monroe denied the accusation, that he was prepared to fight in defense of his veracity, that recent research proves him to have been quite innocent of the charge.

The bias of the author in favor of Washington's friends does not extend to Lafayette and Steuben. He cannot find that Lafayette was really close to Washington, cannot discover many great qualities in the Frenchman. He may be right on both counts. He is not far from the truth, certainly, with respect to Steuben, whose merits, he believes, have been much overpraised. He properly finds humor in Steuben's preposterous claim that he saved the American army at Monmouth.

The most novel of Mr. Swiggett's characterizations is surely that of Martha Washington. He thinks her face is like one "often seen in Vogue today—an expression of 'cold fire,' very exciting to men, of enormous self-
possession, a little cold, a little hard." He does not see the wedded life of the Washingtons as "dull if amiable." This reviewer does not know enough about Martha Washington to say aye or nay.

One familiar with the eighteenth century can find minor errors as well as slant in *The Great Man*. It is odd that two of these appear in connection with the most glorious days of Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, not Washington's most fervent admirers. The repulse of the British in 1776 at Sullivan's Island, for which Lee properly received much credit, occurred on June 28, not July 21; and the capitulation of Burgoyne in 1777, Gates's great moment, came on October 17, not October 21. No matter. *The Great Man* is lively, amusing, thoughtful. If that "general reader" person can read no more than one volume about Washington, he can read this one.

*University of Nebraska*  

JOHN R. ALDEN

*Washington's Officers Slept Here. Historic Homes of Valley Forge and Its Neighborhood.* By EDWARD PINKOWSKI. (Philadelphia: Sunshine Press, 1953. [x], 278 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

While the policies, temperament, and tactics of Washington from Cambridge to Yorktown are still sufficiently unclear to require continuing study, certain episodes of his command are more in need than others of further research. Three battles are in point—Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. The phase, however, that remains most inviting to inquiry after a century and three quarters is that blanketed by the term Valley Forge. Readers of history should have no difficulty conceding that Valley Forge resists conclusive statements as stoutly as that other incident of the American saga that has become a symbol, the Gettysburg Address. To understand completely either of these common denominators of patriotism we should have what is lacking, the full testimony of the two men most concerned. So, since the campaign of the autumn of 1777 and the story of the ensuing winter still challenge historians, any serious book which may add something to the sum of knowledge is to be welcomed.

It is not to be denied that the most scholarly works on the campaign of 1777-1778 leave something to be desired. For that reason it is proper to approach in generous expectation Edward Pinkowski's unpretentious study of the encampment and the farmhouses occupied by von Steuben, Knox, Varnum, de Kalb, Sullivan, Greene, Wayne, Lee and others. If Pinkowski fails to satisfy he is in august company. All one has to do to realize that Valley Forge is still what an author makes it, is to compare recent contributions of three popular but varying historians—Freeman, Wildes, and Bill.

In justice to Mr. Pinkowski it must be said at once that he sticks close to his title. He is writing about houses first and men second. So to readers who are eager to prove again the case against Conway and Lee and to show
Washington a man of supernatural patience in the face of treachery and what seemed certain disaster, the book may seem defective.

It is chiefly defective, however, only in the intrusion of vernacular expressions which are inappropriate to the subject, in the rather naive, over-enthusiastic passages on the ownership of certain privately restored Valley Forge houses as they are today, and in mechanical matters such as proof-reading. But the magnitude and difficulty of Mr. Pinkowski’s task are a rebuke to quibbling. Let any detractors first try to trace the titles of the Valley Forge houses.

The encampment was neglected so many years while changes in real estate deeds were multiplying and the houses were being altered and in some cases razed by a succession of owners, that it is a wonder a researcher could produce any credible check list and description of the properties as they were when Washington moved into the Potts house.

The sources of Mr. Pinkowski’s list are necessarily almost all original. When Harry Emerson Wildes wrote his book only fifteen years ago he was forced to remark sadly that no full-length volume based on firsthand data existed. He mourned the absence of a complete scholarly investigation. So, Mr. Pinkowski’s is no mean accomplishment.

Listing, studying, and describing the places where Washington’s generals were quartered, the author is admirably objective and surprisingly restrained. Indeed, he sounds almost as scrupulous as Henry Woodman, who, in 1850, wrote the only work approaching a Valley Forge source book as a series of papers in the Doylestown, Pennsylvania, Intelligencer. The thirty-two consecutive numbers of Woodman’s study of the property were not collected, edited, and published in hard covers for seventy years; this, in spite of their value as coming from the literate son of a Valley Forge soldier. The span is indicative of the widespread indifference to the tract. Thus Mr. Pinkowski deserves applause. He had the courage and industry to complete a study of the inhabitants of the winter quarters site, their dwellings, and the part they and their homes contributed to the events enabling Washington to lead an army into the field in the summer of 1778.

Bryn Mawr

McCready Huston


This volume follows the plan of Clark Wissler’s American Indian and subsequent surveys of North American ethnology. Like most later synopses of this type, it fails to fill the need for a readable and yet authoritative general book on Indians. Wissler’s success was due largely to the deceptive simplicity of most of his writing; he dealt with difficult topics in good English style and clear thought. It is precisely these virtues which are lacking
in his successors. The book under review is an attempt at popular writing; it is written in a breathless, rapid style, liberally sprinkled with journalese and flashy catchwords of today, but it is poorly written and ill-digested. It is a confused mixture of ethnology and history, with a little archaeology and social work thrown in for good measure. As ethnology, it deals with shadows rather than people, and is far inferior to Ralph B. Raphael’s little paper-back, published the same week and which retails for seventy-five cents, *The Book of American Indians*. It also has even more abundant errors than this booklet by an amateur, and is by no means of the same literary quality.

More than half of the bulk of Miss Underhill’s book is about history, and particularly about the history of the frontier. This is a depressing subject unless the author has unusual insight into human destiny and has some good reason for discussing certain of the depravities of Indian and European natures. Miss Underhill is mainly content with chronicles of the destruction of Indian communities, accented by especially vicious incidents. There is nowhere any intelligent discussion of changes in frontier character or of the significant aspects of Indian and white culture which set the pattern for the peculiar frontiers of America. Although atrocities are played up, there is no discussion of that most horrible of all American borders, the recent California frontier. Neither is there any mention of the severe native problems involved in the present-day development of Alaska. Many statements about historic events are exceedingly oblique, with references to secondary sources. The documentation has much to be desired, especially since the inadequate footnotes are clustered at the back of the book and are very difficult to follow.

The illustrations are all line drawings, in fact are practically all tracings from published plates, and yet everyone is signed by the artist! The maps, by Miss Neil, are not signed, and some at least are original, but they are miscredited to Miss Stoller, the other artist, on the wrapper. Carl Voegelin’s map of language superfamilies (rather of hypothetical language-family groupings) is used without credit, and is erroneously captioned a map of language families. Tracings of early published illustrations are credited to recent authors; for example, Lewis Morgan’s 1851 Seneca male costume plate is credited to Caroline Lyford, another compiler of hasty puddings for the United States Indian Service.

Although the subject of the book is generally history, one looks in vain for any original interpretations or for any integrated historical account of a particular area or field. Each areal or tribal account quickly turns into a chronicle, but none of these sequences is set in any context of American history or of the development of modern American cultures. The local historian especially will be disappointed at the fragments which are offered.

There are no significant statements about Indian life in Pennsylvania, but there are several very misleading remarks about Pennsylvania Indian history. As in so many other parts of the book, historic events are mentioned
so obliquely that they are difficult to identify. Miss Underhill states that even the citizens of Philadelphia were encouraged to hunt Indian scalps for bounty money (p. 133). We insist with pride that we have no record of any scalp ever having been bought in Pennsylvania, folklore to the contrary, and that the only prices ever put on Indian lives in the province pertain to three incidents during the war of 1755 and 1756. Miss Underhill mentions the Delaware Prophet as a peace-preaching predecessor of the Shawnee prophet, and as one whose name has not been recorded (p. 133). He was a messiah whose nativistic teachings were part of the Delaware-Shawnee war pattern on the Susquehanna and Ohio, and they were the seeds of murder; his name was Neolin, “the Enlightened.” She states that all Indian land titles in fee simple have been extinguished, yet the tiny Cornplanter Grant of Warren County, Pennsylvania, is probably the best case in existence of a land title in fee simple. Neighboring Allegany Reservation in New York is even more than that; it is a title which has never been out of Seneca possession and administration. Other fee simple titles still exist, but these two are noteworthy because they have been upheld as fee simple titles by the United States Supreme Court in recent decisions.

Most serious of all is omission of any mention of the rational and benign relationships which held with few exceptions between whites and Indians in Pennsylvania. This province was unique in that Indians and other national groups were always equal before the law, and were not outlanders in formal contexts or in everyday life. Even the periods of formal warfare and the worst individual occurrences, such as the Walking Purchase of 1737 and the Conestoga massacre of 1763, were all less vicious than commonplace events in the histories of alien groups in other provinces. Other American governments so dealt with Indians that they exposed their own citizens to the horrors of border wars with Indians; Pennsylvania dealt with Indians and other aliens as free, equal humans, and disaster came only with the spread of war from Europe or from the rare criminal acts of a few white borderers. To Indians here, the court of law was the proper substitute for the field of battle. During the past seventy years, the Indian Rights Association (a citizens’ group, centered in Philadelphia, of which Miss Underhill omits mention) has continued this tradition, as a major legal-advisory group which deals with Indian affairs as the specialized legal problems of one group of our citizenry.

Miss Underhill, a professional anthropologist with a strong vocational background in white social work, and for more than fifteen years an employee and important official in the Department of the Interior, United States Indian Service, should be in a position to cast a great deal of light on the present-day problems and status of the Indian community. Large parts of her book discuss such problems, mainly in terms of specious historical statements and records of monetary expenditures. I can find nowhere here any sense of the individual Indian as a person, of the community as a surviving entity, nor any appreciation of the problems of community
survival and adaptation which all Indian communities and national groups must solve if they are to survive as anything but scattered genes. Miss Underhill's sketch of the history of Carlisle Indian School is hypercritical, and she sneers at the ideals of education of the individual Indians to white community life which existed here. However, her glowing accounts of the present and future of our aborigines suggest nothing except the destruction of Indian communities by individual education and placement in white communities. The more intelligent attitude found among many Indian Service employees today is not mentioned; that problems of Indian reservations are problems of community development, that reservation life and education must improve to the point where any individual born into such a community may enter into community and national life at whatever social and economic level for which he may be naturally endowed. It appears that Miss Underhill has never heard of this premise nor talked with the Indian Service educators who are trying to implement it, one little step at a time. For that matter, she shows no understanding of the role even of Carlisle, and her accounts of the ideals, intentions, and accomplishments of early Carlisle are distorted. She blames Carlisle's later failure on the boarding-school principle, rather than on the corruption and graft of its administrators, the fact which destroyed one of our most interesting pioneer educational institutions. Certainly, the former Assistant Supervisor of Indian Education of the United States Indian Service should be able to give a reliable sketch of the history of Carlisle Indian School. Since neither this nor any other phase of recent Indian history is dealt with in a reliable fashion, I can only recommend the book as an example of the blundering, scholastic type of intellect which has helped create so much of the tragedy of modern reservation life.

Pennsylvania State Anthropologist  

John Witthoff

(Philadelphia: Published for the Philadelphia Art Alliance by the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. vi, 36 p. Illustrations. $3.50.)

Somewhat suggestive of "The House That Jack Built" was the genesis of this book. A chance luncheon discussion led to organising an exhibition of nineteenth-century architectural drawings and photographs; the exhibition led to publishing much of the material shown; and publication called for adequate comment on the contents of the resulting volume. Following a brief introduction by Theo B. White is an engaging summary of nineteenth-century Philadelphia "atmosphere" and outlook, "Yesteryear In Our Town," by William P. Harbeson. Then comes David M. Robb's careful and critical essay on Philadelphia's architectural development between 1800 and 1900. The half-tone plates (more than a hundred in number) follow the text and are immediately preceded by (1) a list of architects whose work is
shown; (2) a list of the buildings illustrated; and (3) a catalogue comprising essential descriptive notes for each plate.

If flies are to be picked out of the ointment—and picking out flies is commonly deemed one of the *raisons d'être* for a review—it seems more gracious to deal with *musca* at the outset and then go on to mete out such praise as may be due—in this case, not a little. One cannot but regret that some of the photographs were apparently taken merely as hasty "record shots" without much thought for either good light or composition. These illustrations suffer further from limitations of reproduction. This stricture, of course, applies only to a limited number; others of the illustrations display considerable dramatic quality and emphasise the characteristic spirit of the buildings they picture. In any event, the illustrations whet the appetite and one would gladly see more of them.

Since Mr. White's introduction invites "reliable contradictions," it will not be amiss to submit that the house at the northeast corner of Eighteenth and Locust streets (Plate 97), originally intended for St. Mark's Rectory, was not "built of green serpentine stone with limestone trim," unless, between the date of its erection and the end of the century, some unprecedented physical metamorphosis took place and changed it to brownstone, for, by then, brownstone it certainly was. Also, the unqualified attribution of St. Mark's Church (Plates 40 and 41) to John Notman is unfortunate since (according to the unvaried accounts of many of St. Mark's congregation who were alive and active in parish affairs at the time) Mr. Notman's sole contribution to the design of the church building itself consisted in cutting out one bay of the choir from the plans sent over by the Camden Society. This he did at the instance of the then Rector, the Reverend Dr. Edward Augustus Hoffman. With the choir of men and boys not yet installed, Dr. Hoffman objected to what he fancied would be unnecessary vacant space to traverse in the course of services. So much for "fly-elimination."

Mr. Robb's scholarly contribution, "A Century of Architecture in Philadelphia," deserves careful reading and thoughtful rereading. As he points out, the evolutionary course of nineteenth-century architecture can be better traced in Philadelphia than anywhere else in America for "of the major cities in the United States, Philadelphia is that in which the architectural reaction to changing patterns of cultural tradition in the nineteenth century can be observed unfolding consistently from beginning to end." A large and well-established community when the century opened, it "did not lack the stabilizing force of tradition as was the case in New York. Unlike Boston, no cramped and meager scheme for the city as a whole inhibited later developments. Nor did such a catastrophe as the great fire in Chicago bring unparalleled expansion in the later decades of the century to overshadow the buildings of earlier times in interest and importance."

Within this exceptionally complete field of study, he instances "the very variety of nineteenth-century building" as one of its noteworthy character-
istics; he shows its sensitive response to contemporary cultural ideals and influences, sometimes productive of whimsical eclecticism; he considers the "extraordinary range of function" the architects were expected to provide for, as well as the vastly "increased demands upon imagination in planning and use of materials"; and he comments on the "intelligent planning of space use and effective employment of materials" called forth by the "needs of an expanding culture." For all his observations he cites apposite examples.

In discussing this "phase of our cultural inheritance that has not previously been accorded much attention," Mr. Robb censures—with good reason—the "general disregard of nineteenth-century architecture" both in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Most Philadelphians, certainly, need to be jolted out of their inert complacency about our architectural possessions.

This book, besides presenting a timely record of buildings—not a few of which have now vanished—should prove an wholesome stimulus to thoughtful appraisal and appreciation of Philadelphia’s architectural heritage and the circumstances contributory to its nineteenth-century evolution.

*Philadelphia*


This history of the United Society of Believers, or Shakers, has the distinction of being first in its field. Studies have been made of Shaker furniture and handicrafts, music and ritual—Mr. Andrews’ being among the more notable of these, too—but no one has attempted a history of the movement itself until now. We are offered an account of the origin, vigorous growth, and latter-day decline of a Utopian movement with religious, social, and economic implications, which flourished almost wholly within the borders of our own country and left a certain impress upon our history and institutions. Mr. Andrews, because of his intimacy with and sympathy for these people, has had access to material not heretofore available and has made ample use of his resources. The appendices, for instance, contain the first printing anywhere of the "Millennial Laws" of the Society, a body of doctrinal and behavior rules drawn up for the government of the various communities and as behavior patterns for individual members as well. A sort of Shaker "Emily Post," they have been committed to writing only three times, have never been published nor even widely circulated among the "brethren," and yet their influence is everywhere evident in Shaker communities and living.

Fortunate, indeed, are the few remaining Shakers to have such a genuinely devoted, sanely analytic, and wisely critical historian as Mr. Andrews. His deep affection for them and their way of life is as evident as his determination to record truthfully and judge justly. The jacket tells us that the
book is the “product of 25 years research, assembling notes, and collecting first-hand information.” One is almost too fatigued, after that, to bother with the book. A short excursion into its pages, however, soon reveals those years as spent in a labor of love.

Originally a group of religious dissenters, Shaker meetings were first held about the middle of the eighteenth century in the home of Jane and James Wardley, Quakers, of Manchester, England. Like other Quaker meetings, these began in silent meditation and communion. Then the worshipers would be “taken with a mighty trembling, under which they would express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times they were affected . . . with a mighty shaking; and were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor. . . .” Without a real leader, or organization, and as mere religious dissenters, the group might have faded into obscurity unnoticed, but in 1758 Anne Lee came under their influence. During the course of one of her imprisonments for “breaking the peace of the Sabbath” she had a vision. Christ came and ministered to her and she was so filled by Him she became His bride and, subsequently, “Mother of the New Creation.” From here on, the Shakers, or Shaking Quakers, became a force. They grew and prospered, changing from a purely dissenting group to an organized Utopian venture destined to last longer and become more prosperous than any comparable society.

The Believers looked for the Second Coming, eschewed “carnal concupiscence,” and became rigid celibates. They withdrew from “the world” and all contact with it, danced, sang, and rolled about during worship, making themselves a curiosity and anathema to their neighbors. Anne preached common property to be held by the Society for the good of all its members, industry, and simplicity. The “brethren” came to America more to find a newer and more fertile source of converts than because of persecutions in England. All went well, or comparatively well, until converts began coming in wholesale, signing their farm holdings over to the Society. It is with this phase of growth that their troubles began and it is in the resolution of the problems presented that the history of the United Society is of significance.

Indignant relatives and prospective heirs infuriated by the prospect of losing, to a group of “perverts” and worse, the rich lands they had come to consider theirs instituted law suits. Certain converts backslid and demanded return of their property or suitable reimbursement for their labor. The Society had waxed fat enough to become fair game for such actions at law. Its landholdings were so large, and income from its industries so great that Samuel J. Tilden, in 1839, opposed it with all his might, using many of the arguments against it which were later used against industrial monopolies and resulted in the Sherman Antitrust Act.

In spite of turmoil, litigation, and libel suits, individual members of the Society continued celibate, simple, sincere and industrious. They lived their life withdrawn from the world, doing exceedingly well the homely tasks at
hand, serving God in their dancing and singing and mankind in charitable acts. The religious and social decline of the order, begun just before the War Between the States, continued until there are only three communities left. A study of the reasons for this decline are a summation of the whole history.

As a social document this well-annotated book deserves a place in Utopian literature, and a wide reading.

_The Bucks County Historical Society_  
_Audubon R. Davis_


Students of Walt Whitman have been waiting for this fourth volume of _With Walt Whitman in Camden_ by Horace Traubel for nearly forty years. The first three volumes had appeared in 1906, 1908, and 1914 under the auspices of three different publishers. Traubel was unsuccessful in getting a publisher for this volume, though he managed to get selections published in several issues of _The Forum_ in 1915, while other extracts were published after his death in Mencken’s _American Mercury_ in 1924. It has now found a good angel in Charles E. Feinberg of Detroit, and has appeared under the able editorship of a noted Whitman scholar, Professor Sculley Bradley of the University of Pennsylvania, with the able assistance of Mrs. Anne Montgomeries Traubel, widow of Horace and owner of the manuscript of the book, and Miss Gertrude Traubel, their daughter. The previous volumes had recorded conversations from March 28, 1888, to January 20, 1889, inclusive, and the present volume continues from January 21 to April 7, 1889. Traubel was then thirty years of age and Walt nearing seventy. There are still in manuscript the recorded conversations up to the time of Whitman’s death, March 26, 1892. We sincerely hope they will eventually reach the public.

From a volume which records numerous comments and opinions of Walt Whitman, and gives many letters to him and by him, and is virtually a picture of his life during two and a half months, we can present only some of the high lights.

Two of these are not part of the text itself. One is a hitherto unpublished portrait of the poet. The other is the first printing of a facsimile, in actual size, of the five-page letter and envelope written in 1855 by Ralph Waldo Emerson to Whitman in which he greeted him “at the beginning of a great career,” a letter which is probably the most important ever written in American literature, by our greatest essayist to our greatest poet. Whitman made a gift of the letter to Horace Traubel, as shown in a facsimile endorsement on an envelope by Whitman. No greater compliment could have been paid to a young admirer.
This book presents Traubel himself in a commendable light. He has been criticized for his "Boswellism" unjustly, and even subjected to abuse. He had the vision to realize that everything connected with Whitman would eventually be of value, and he ardently followed his task, with Whitman's approval, of setting down with unusual fidelity the "table talk," rather the "chair talk," for Walt was an invalid. One is taken into that second-story room in the cottage on Mickle Street, Camden, and one notes, as it were, the very gestures of the poet and tone of his voice. Traubel kept himself in the background, but did not hesitate to differ with the poet, and at times criticize him, justly, for his indifference to economic problems. Whitman made Traubel swear that he would not make a saint of him. "You know," he said, "that I always want you to remember what people say against me even if you must forget the things they say for me. If you write about me observe that rule" (p. 88). Traubel has obeyed Whitman.

In spite of this advice, however, the poet was really concerned with opinions about himself, and was prone to divide all men of letters into two groups, those for him and those against him, and, one is sorry to say, often to judge them as men and writers accordingly. Those who partly accepted him were accredited only with fairly tolerable virtues. When the French writer Gabriel Sarrazin sent him his article on the poet published in La Nouvelle Revue in 1888, Walt had abstracts printed and circulated. He carried on like a youthful poet receiving the first eulogistic review of his first book, although Walt had by this time received recognition in greater measure and from greater writers than Sarrazin.

The reader must be indulgent toward Walt during this trying period. We have a querulous invalid confined to a room, a once robust man who had lived outdoors and sung of the open road. Yet he was more worried about his friend William Douglas O'Connor, who was ill in Washington and who was to die in a few months. Much of the book is taken up with the two of Walt's friends who had done much for his reputation: O'Connor, whose unfortunate belief in the Baconian authorship of Shakespeare, verging on fanaticism, influenced Walt at least into disbelief in the Stratford man; and Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, whose quarrels with Thomas Harned about a water meter Bucke invented and sponsored are given some prominence.

There are outstanding pages, such as the account of a visit by Traubel and Bucke to the sick O'Connor in Washington. The most magnificent piece of reporting, in this reviewer's opinion, is the discourse by Whitman on Sunday, February 17, 1889 (pp. 165-167), containing his enthusiastic tribute to Emerson and above all his account of the philosopher lecturing. It begins thus: "I have seen him come on the platform, arrange his papers deliberately, look about over his audience—so [indicating]—then proceed. After a bit, a point would come: he would strike a deliberate pause: probably a minute and a half, which is a long time to make an audience wait: yet he would do it as if it was the most natural thing in the world—as if people had come there understanding, desiring, that he should
follow out his own ways wholly.” Reporting of this kind also shows Traubel at his best.

Traubel has been unusually accurate. We find one slip he probably would have corrected in the proofs had he lived. He tells us (February 9, 1889) that Emma Lazarus wanted to help make Walt comfortable. Of course, Traubel meant Josephine, Emma’s sister, as he tells us elsewhere Emma had been dead for more than a year.

Philadelphia

Albert Mordell

*The American Diaries of Richard Cobden*. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Elizabeth Hoon Cawley. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. xvi, 233 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $4.00.)

In this little volume are published for the first time the diaries kept on each of two visits to America—in 1835 and again in 1859—by the British statesman Richard Cobden. These diaries follow literally the texts of the originals in the manuscript division of the British Museum. There is an admirable introduction. Mrs. Cawley has not only attempted to interpret the meaning and value of the diaries, but has presented a discussion, based largely on unpublished correspondence, of what Cobden thought of various aspects of life in the United States. The introduction is thus a readable and informative essay on Cobden himself, the diaries, and on the years in between. And, as the editor points out, the diaries can be useful in many ways. They contain material on life in America during two critical periods in our history and, set side-by-side as they are in this volume, they dramatize the rapid growth which the country a hundred years ago was experiencing. They, of course, throw light on Cobden’s thinking and on the importance of his ideas about America at a time when Anglo-American relations were often seriously strained.

Both trips were of the whirlwind variety, and this is reflected in the diaries, especially the first. Quite understandably, the diaries are more descriptive than analytical, but they contain many penetrating and thoughtful observations about important aspects of American life. What distinguishes the approach of this particular British traveler in America is his sympathetic interest, his desire to learn about the young republic, and his understanding of those aspects of American life which other diarists have described with so much acidity. Cobden is consistently critical of slavery, but is not overly bitter about American drinking and tobacco-chewing. Furthermore, he is impressed by the decency, the democratic manner and spirit, and the enterprise of most Americans—the Irish excluded! He is especially impressed by the development of American education, the press, and by reform in prison procedures. And, as Mrs. Cawley points out, these affected his conduct as a leading British statesman. His one great disappointment, besides the
persistence of slavery in America, seems to have been in the appearance of American women. He met only one “truly handsome” female and she turned out to be the daughter of an Englishman!

This volume should appeal to many readers. The specialist will find it useful source material and at the same time the general reader should find it, especially that portion devoted to the diary of 1859, informative and interesting. Cobden, while not writing for publication, presented his observations in readable form, and Mrs. Cawley has provided helpful notes to accompany the text. Whether waxing poetic before Niagara Falls, describing his traveling companions, or reporting the “affectedly unaffected” preaching of Henry Ward Beecher, Cobden expressed himself effectively. Philadelphians will be interested in his generally favorable observations of their city. He mentions the practices of the Episcopal church there, the great number of churchgoers, the “splendid shops equal to anything in New York or London” on Chestnut Street, the city’s houses, Girard College, “the Historical Society,” and the Academy of Arts. Of his visit to the last of these he wrote: “I predict that in less than a quarter of a century the Americans will beat all modern competitors in painting and statuary.”

In addition to the introduction and the texts of the diaries, there are a “Selective Bibliography” of material on Cobden and his relation to America and American problems, an index, and several illustrations, including reproductions of two portraits of Cobden and pages from each of the diaries. These features round out a well-organized, excellently presented, attractive publication.

Muhlenberg College

JOHN J. REED


Professor Craven reminds us that the South is not one geographical province, but several. Its people, however, had so much in common before 1860—British ancestry, speech, folkways, a rural background, and money crops, tobacco and cotton, dependent for sale upon a foreign market—that self-conscious sectionalism inevitably developed out of the clash of interest with the equally sectional Northern states.

The author points out that the evolution from sectionalism to Southern nationalism was a continuation and sharpening of the old sectional issues of previous decades. The old quarrels had centered in the acquisition and organization of territories and states—the Louisiana Purchase, the admission of Missouri, the annexation of Texas. The sectional balance of power and slavery as a political factor and a moral issue were always involved with territorial organization and admission of new states. If slavery could go
into a territory, it would become a slave state and furnish two more senators for the South; if slavery could be kept out, the territory would become a free state and furnish two senators for the North wherever sectional issues were involved. The spokesmen of the North, furthermore, were coming increasingly to regard slavery as a moral evil and, indeed, a deadly sin; at the same time, slavery became a symbol of everything Southern. To keep slavery from the territories and thus put metes and bounds to that institution and to the power of the South was a great moral right. The idea was de-emphasized that such weakening of the political strength of the agricultural South in the national government would vastly benefit the economic interests of the industrial North, frequently at Southern expense.

The new sectional controversies involving the balance of power and slavery as a political factor and moral wrong centered in the organization of the territory acquired from Mexico and in Kansas and Nebraska. In this struggle, beginning with the Wilmot Proviso in 1846, the North insisted on the right of keeping slavery out of territories where it could not go, and the South demanded the recognition of what it regarded as its constitutional and legal rights to carry slaves into the new territories where slavery could not exist and to have slavery protected. Both the North and the South were thus, in the period from 1846 to 1860, demanding abstract rights.

The author makes much of the struggle between "right" and "rights" and seems to assume that "right" implied moral right, and "rights" implied only constitutional rights. But it must always be kept in mind that the American people from the beginning had regarded constitutional rights—life, liberty, property, freedom of speech and religion, trial by due process—as God-given natural rights, certainly moral rights. The reviewer feels that casting the struggle as one between "right" and "rights" is not valid, since "right" and "rights" were identical in the minds of Southerners and most Northerners.

The great contribution that Mr. Craven makes is his study of popular Southern reaction to the sectional issues as revealed in the public press. One is convinced that the majority of Southern people were conservative and not carried away by the great debates and measures enacted by Congress. They appear far less excitable than the Northern public at this time. The Fort Sumter affair and Lincoln's call for volunteers to put down secession proved the necessary catalyst to transform sectionalism into Southern nationalism.

University of Alabama

FRANK L. OWSLEY

The Negro in the Civil War. By BENJAMIN QUARLES. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953. xvii, 379 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

On slavery and the Civil War and on freedom and the readjustment there have been investigations without number. But, in the vast literature of the
Civil War and in the almost as vast literature on the Negro, only George Washington Williams' *History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865*, published in 1888, and Bell Wiley's *Southern Negroes, 1861–1865*, published just fifty years later, have preceded Professor Quarles in an attempt at a careful delineation of the Negro's participation in the war which ended slavery. These earlier accounts are not fairly compared with Quarles's, for the first is primarily a military chronicle with excursions and digressions into the general area, and the second is a detailed study of the economic and social effects of the war upon the lives of those Negroes who were native to the embattled South. Quarles, because he focuses on the efforts of Negroes to aid in freeing themselves, finds much of his material on the home front and especially in the North, where Negroes, "schooled over the years in public affairs by the convention movement and the abolitionist crusade," were always vocally and often physically active in their support of measures and proposals designed to further the cause of freedom. And, because many of the more significant efforts to employ Negroes to advantage took place on the periphery of the main theater of the war—in Missouri, in Louisiana, and in the Sea Islands—the present account restores almost forgotten areas of conflict to their more nearly proper places.

The present study is a blend of the political, social, and military history of the period with special reference to Negroes, free and slave. It opens with a moving account of Shaw's 54th Massachusetts Regiment, the first of the officially organized Negro units, in the ill-fated assault on Fort Wagner. It then enters upon a detailed narrative of the course of the war and of the efforts of Negroes to volunteer, to press the abolitionist cause, and, at last, to join in the defeat of the Confederacy and in the initial attempts to educate and to plan for the future of the freedmen. The role of the Negroes within the lines of the Confederacy, including those who labored, those who waited for the coming of the Yankee forces, and those who, both at the beginning and in the last days of the war, donned the uniform of the Confederacy, is not neglected. But the main emphasis is upon the Negro fighting forces both in the field of armed battle and in the field of political and social action. "Jubilees" and celebrations of rejoicing over the great events of the war, with all their particular symbolism for their Negro participants, receive what may appear to be undue attention, but meetings such as that of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1863 at Philadelphia, with all the old workers for Negro freedom in attendance plus a squad of brand new Negro soldiers from Camp William Penn sitting on the platform where a slave auction block had been placed as a stand for the speakers, deserve the attention which they receive. For out of these meetings and celebrations came not only a solidifying sense of achievement tallied so far, but also the needed crystallization of opinion that preparing the freedmen for the future had just begun. For the war itself, Professor Quarles concludes, had its most striking achievement not in its battles, but in "the momentum it gave to the ideals of the freedom and dignity of man."
In this generally excellent and often beautifully written book, there are a few repetitions, a few hasty judgments, and an occasionally annoying excess of sobriquets like "The Palmetto State," "Little Aleck," and "land of the palm" (for Haiti), all unnecessarily used. Far more serious, in a study which moves so swiftly and so surely over so many matters still controversial, is the lack of documentation. The writer has carried to an extreme the growing tendency to forgo detailed notes. A general bibliographical note, supplemented by a series of chapter references, is appended, but the abundant details of the text are not sufficiently accounted for by this device. The practice of listing only the "more readily available" sources may be responsible for this, but the impression remains that the riches of the Official Record, of the published unit histories and memoirs, and of such variable but nonetheless valuable sources as the papers of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion have by no means been exhausted in the preparation of this otherwise well-presented and splendidly ordered contribution to the literature of the Civil War and of the Negro.

Lincoln University

Ulysses G. Lee, Jr.


The establishment of the graduate school in the American university in the last three decades of the nineteenth century is a familiar story. The long controversy over it in the three decades before the Civil War is little known. But it is an important factor in that development and in American intellectual history. It is to this controversy that Richard J. Storr of the University of Chicago addresses himself in this study which was started under the guidance of Arthur Meier Schlesinger of Harvard.

Several influences tended toward the addition of university-level work to the colonial college. One was the post-Revolution group of planners of whom Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson are best known. They thought in terms of a true university, sometimes national in scope, to which students who had been graduated from a college might go for higher studies. But these planners found enough obstacles to the building of new colleges, let alone a university.

The greatest influence in the same direction was the example of European universities, especially those in Germany. Several of the plans were attempts to imitate the philological seminars at these institutions. Nationalism was another motive, and advocates of universities rarely failed to point out that a real university in America would satisfy our thirst for knowledge without the necessity of European study. The pressure of the newer knowledge, especially the sciences, to find a place in the college curriculum, also played a part, for the only possibility of its inclusion seemed to be in the extension of the number of years of education.
Most of the actual plans seemed to look little beyond an earned master's degree. Sometimes university education was thought of chiefly as professional education for college teaching. But always there were obstacles, the most persistent of which was naturally a lack of funds. But almost equally important was the fact that there was no effective demand for people with university training. As there were no scholarships or fellowships for graduate training and no advantages in professional positions afterward, few students took advantage of such opportunities as were opened to them.

In spite of these failures the reformers did much to develop intelligent dissatisfaction with the college, and their work established "a tradition of aspiration and experiment."

Professor Storr has developed his study from original sources and given us a model of careful research. It is a notable addition to our knowledge of the history of American higher education.

University of Missouri

ELMER ELLIS


This volume is a commentary on and collection of songs of protest composed and sung in this country. The emphasis is upon songs arising out of industrial conflict and deplorable labor conditions between the close of the Civil War and the New Deal. The method is to offer historical background for the group of songs under discussion and specific histories preceding each example. About two hundred songs are printed in their entirety, about thirty of them with music, and thirty or forty fragments are sprinkled through the text. The author states that this represents a culling from his collection of more than two thousand songs of protest, or, as he says, "folk songs of protest."

Dr. Greenway opens his volume with an introduction to which I shall return later. Chapter I, "An Historical Survey," covers briefly such matters as the Down-Rent Wars, the Irish immigrant, Knights of Labor, single tax, Pullman strike, Coxey's Army. Most of the songs in this chapter are broadsides printed at the time of the conflict. Chapter II, while it contains little that is new, is a comprehensive survey of Negro songs of protest, many of them genuine folk songs. Chapter III, on the textile workers, contains some vigorous pieces from the Marion and Gastonia strikes. A number of these, however, are from The Peoples Songs Library, and one necessarily wonders how much revision and alteration the songs may have undergone while under that aegis.

The section on miners' songs is careful to supplement rather than duplicate the material published by George Korson. The IWW and migratory workers are treated in an especially interesting chapter; Greenway con-
continues the debunking of the Joe Hill legend by corroborating Stegner's findings with fresh evidence from Harry McClintock, author of "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" and "Big Rock Candy Mountain." Dr. Greenway is surprised—and just a little hurt—to find that farmers don't sing many songs of protest except under such unusual circumstances as those which grew out of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in the thirties. If he knew more farmers perhaps he'd understand why this is true. Union songs of the UAW-CIO, steelworkers, National Maritime Union, and lumber workers are represented, briefly but adequately. And finally the author discusses the work of four writers of protest songs: Ella May Wiggins, a North Carolina textile worker, a child of what he calls, to my infinite annoyance, "American peasantry," a woman who was brutally shot during the Gastonia troubles; Aunt Molly Jackson, a product of the coal miner's world, who suffered in as many ways as such a woman could—a fierce, articulate voice of protest; Woody Guthrie, the class-conscious itinerant, unable or unwilling to adjust to a society ready to give him material rewards because he is at war with all the shams of that society and distrustful of its virtues; and finally, Joe Glazer, graduate of Brooklyn College, educational director of the Textile Workers Union, writing songs as part of his job, and not very good ones at that.

Dr. Greenway creates an unnecessary problem for himself in his title and introduction. Had he called his book *American Songs of Protest* we could view the book as a document of social history with considerable enthusiasm. He has been so ill-advised as to insist these are folk songs, but his study of folk song scholarship made it clear that by no one else's definition did they fall into that category. Criticizing his predecessors for having made definitions which could not encompass his material, he then made a definition of "folk song" which he felt was adequate to the situation: "a song concerned with the interests of the folk and in the complete possession of the folk." The booby trap is in the second phrase, for the minute a song is printed, or passes beyond its original audience, it ceases to fulfill Dr. Greenway's self-imposed limitations.

Indeed, he belatedly, apparently, became aware of this discrepancy. A footnote to his definition says, "This . . . excludes from folk song many pieces included in this collection, such as most of the broadsides, the more turgid IWW songs, the productions of Peoples Songs composers, and the songs of the more cultured unions." How true! Two hundred songs appear in the volume; of these a quick check shows thirty-one are broadsides, seventeen are IWW songs which appeared in their song books, fourteen are from Peoples Songs Library, which, if my information is correct, means they were written or greatly rewritten by Communist sympathizers who were not "folk" by any definition, eight are from "cultured unions" or their song books. Guthrie's early work, Aunt Molly Jackson's and Ella May Wiggins' songs (a total of thirty-five) seem genuine folk songs to me, along with seventy-eight others. Thus, by the most generous estimate, one hun-
dred thirty of the two hundred songs can be called folk songs. The rest are popular songs, many of them of considerable historic and sociologic importance, but not folk songs even by the author's definition.

A good deal of scholarship has gone into this book. It is well documented, made valuable with appendices containing a list of "songs of social and economic protest" on records, a bibliography, lists of songs and composers. And the book is competently written. But I found myself perpetually quarreling with the author. I deplore just as vehemently as he does the brutal, vicious pages in our industrial history and they should be frequently repeated lest we forget the bitter road we have followed, but the facts speak for themselves, and a book dealing with this subject would have been strengthened by greater objectivity and a greater critical sense in evaluating the songs themselves.

*New York State Historical Association*  
*Louis C. Jones*

*American Firearms Makers. When, Where, and What They Made from the Colonial Period to the End of the Nineteenth Century. By A. Mervin Carey. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953. xiv, 146 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography. $5.00.)*

If the books and magazines printed about a subject are a criterion of its popularity, then the field of arms collecting has become very attractive to many people in recent years. The circulation of magazines has skyrocketed, and a large number of books are coming from the publishers' presses. *American Firearms Makers* by A. Mervin Carey is the third new or revised list of gunmakers to appear in the past two years.

The format of this book is particularly pleasing. A flintlock gun and powder horn are sharply silhouetted across the front of the dust jacket. The harsh effect is relieved by a number of figures in historic costume holding guns appropriate to their periods. The end papers are handsomely decorated with arms, including products of Whitney, Colt, and the Massachusetts Arms Company. There is also a composite group of arms indicating the range covered in the book. In the back of the book are seven full-page illustrations reproduced in excellent quality, but not representative of the contents.

The entries are alphabetically arranged in two vertical columns on each page, and the names and estimated working dates are set in boldface type, a plan which promotes easy reference and eliminates the need for an index. At the end of the entries for each letter there is provided an open page headed with a line drawing of a firearm and the word "Notes." This attractive and useful idea breaks the monotony of the printed page and encourages the reader to join the author in the compilation of data.

The merit of the book will vary with the whims and needs of each individual owner. It is not a large listing, it is not documented, and it is not comprehensively illustrated. Although its entries range from 1630 to 1900,
the entries for the last half of the nineteenth century greatly outnumber those of any similar period. Thus the book will be of most value to collectors of arms of that period. The information about many eighteenth-century craftsmen is uncertain and fragmentary.

Mr. Carl Drepperd adequately describes the book in his introduction when he says, "Mr. Carey has created a readable contribution to the biography of our most important artificers, our gunsmiths."

_Lancaster_  

**HENRY J. KAUFFMAN**


This entertainingly written volume represents the life history of a successful Pennsylvanian whose professional career took him to the west coast. If a naive motif of vanity runs with the record it is easily pardonable.

The title is perhaps misleading in that the reader is led to expect more material dealing with our Keystone State. However, our author is graduated from Gettysburg College and then goes west to become a lawyer in Spokane, a lecturer in Gonzaga Law School, and president of the great Northwest Life Insurance Company. Pennsylvania has been left behind, except that we are given many, too many perhaps, pages on the genealogical background of the writer. We would far rather have more detail of life at Gettysburg and in western Pennsylvania at the turn of the last century.

Easily the most interesting portion of the narrative is that dealing with the rough and ready life of the frontier settlement as the young lawyer pursues his interesting and at times adventurous career. One feels that the one hundred pages devoted to the author's recent trip around the world might have been much better employed in telling us more of early conditions in the territory of Washington. We are only mildly interested in learning that Venice is built upon one hundred twenty islands, that Rome is known as the Eternal City, and that the Houses of Parliament are located on the Thames.

This acceptably printed little book is garnished with thirty-one illustrations and will doubtless be of great interest to Mr. Weaver's friends and admirers of whom there must be many.

_Reading_  

**J. BENNET NOLAN**


Continuing its tradition of promoting useful knowledge, the American Philosophical Society has published in _Historic Philadelphia_ a compendium
of ready information on the first city of eighteenth-century America. Twenty-four authors have contributed "papers dealing with its people and buildings." The range of these articles in actuality provides a social and cultural panorama of Philadelphia, for banks, churches, academies and libraries, fire insurance companies, the hospital and the museum, theaters, taverns, markets and prisons—all are treated in general or specific terms. Names familiar in Philadelphia and American history, and none more so than that of Benjamin Franklin, add personality to the various civic ventures which the buildings represent.

Because of the extremely interesting development of the Independence Mall project, this volume makes a timely appearance. Since most of the buildings discussed are within the project area, the book becomes a guide to their history and significance. The illustrative map encased on the inside back cover of the book not only locates these buildings, but shows them in the larger context of the city as a whole. Lavishly illustrated, Historic Philadelphia should prove a most useful reference work to all who wish to learn, or to refresh their knowledge, of Philadelphia and its institutions.

Emigrants from the Palatinate to the American Colonies in the 18th Century.
By Friedrich Krebs and Milton Rubincam. (Norristown, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1953. 32 p. Map. $1.00.)


Primarily for the genealogist is the list of emigrants from the Palatinate to the American colonies in the eighteenth century. For some years Friedrich Krebs, State Archivist at Speyer, Germany, has held that Palatines did not comprise the majority of German emigrants to America, despite the fact that German immigrants were generally so designated on ships' lists and by colonial immigration clerks. On the basis of church records from the towns of the Palatinate, Dr. Krebs has compiled his list, and wherever possible identification of names of emigrants with Pennsylvania settlers has been made. Milton Rubincam's introduction provides valuable background for the listing, including the modern location of some twelve towns and villages which were the principal sources of Palatine emigration. The pamphlet also contains a map of the Electoral Palatinate of the Rhine in 1645.

Of perhaps more historical interest is A. H. Dodd's study of the character of early Welsh emigration to the United States. Although the earliest Welsh
settlers came as indentured servants, it was a religious motive—an apocalyptic vision of a New Wales—which proved the underlying emigration force until the nineteenth century. From 1680 on, Quaker, Baptist, Methodist and Mormon influences were responsible for Welsh settlement in America. Pennsylvania consistently attracted the majority of immigrants, although Virginia, North Carolina, and New York drew their share. Later Welsh settlement moved westward. Economic motivation supplanted the religious in the nineteenth century, and the Welsh settled in areas of heavy industry, such as Pittsburgh, where at one time there were four Welsh newspapers. Mr. Dodd discusses the Welsh Tract and the activities of the Pennsylvania Welsh Society, as well as the factors which led to the submergence of the Welsh communities by German and Irish settlers.

Arlow Andersen's book on the Norwegian-American press in the middle nineteenth century is a revealing study of the position and attitudes of an immigrant national group toward the larger problems of an adopted homeland. Discussing briefly the character of Norwegian immigration to the United States and the compatibility of Norwegian ideas and experience with American democracy, Mr. Andersen proceeds with a careful survey of the growth of Norwegian-American interest and participation in public life as revealed in their language press. He gives four main reasons for the growth of political expression by the Norwegian-American newspapers: Americanization, or the preparation of the immigrant for participation in American affairs; the desire to rid the country of Negro slavery (not abolitionism, however); a defense against nativism as exemplified in the Know-Nothing Party; and an incentive toward actual political participation in state and local offices. Norwegian and Danish journalists are discussed, as well as the political affiliations of the papers. Chapters are devoted to the Norwegian-American attitude toward foreign policy and expansion, slavery, Lincoln and the Union, social reform, and reconstruction. A chart of the newspapers used in the study, with their editors, period of publication, and political alignments, is helpful and useful.

Delaware Becomes A State. By John A. Munroe. (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1953. 28 p. Illustrations. $.25.)

John A. Munroe has written a well-organized, simply stated, readable story of Delaware's transition from colony to state. Dividing his account into four topics and using Caesar Rodney as the focus of his story, he briefly discusses the Three Lower Counties in terms of their origin, people, education, economic and family life; then proceeds to the quarrels with England, the question of independence, and the Delaware State and the invasion. The story ends in 1778 with the withdrawal of the British from Philadelphia. Designed primarily for young readers, but of interest to adults as well, this booklet is the second in the pamphlet series issued by the Institute of Delaware History and Culture.
The Clymer-Cherryhill Story. Compiled and edited by Clarence D. Stephenson. (Clymer, Pa.: George Clymer High School Senior and Junior Historians, 1953. x, 160 p. Illustrations. $1.45.)

This booklet represents a project of the Senior and Junior Historians of the Clymer High School in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, to explore and memorialize the history of their town and surrounding area. Published in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of Indiana County, it is an admirable effort, worthy of notice. Included are brief articles on persons, institutions, and organizations, and sketches of historical events of the region, some of them little known. It is of interest to learn of George Clymer's landholdings in the western county, of Cherryhill Manor, dating from 1760 and held in the names of Thomas and Richard Penn, of fugitive slaves and the underground railroad of ante-bellum days. Clarence D. Stephenson is to be commended for sponsoring this project and for organizing the articles into book form.


This second edition of Newspapers on Microfilm brings to date the most comprehensive listing available of newspapers in the United States and abroad which have been preserved on film. It is admittedly not complete, but constitutes an invaluable aid to scholars and libraries. A preface gives pertinent information about the project of the Microfilm Clearing House of the Library of Congress, and an explanation of the listing itself. Copies of the book may be purchased from the Card Division of the Library of Congress.