BOOK REVIEWS


This is one of the most important collections of American source material ever to be published, and should prove definitive as a splendidly edited corpus of documents for all students of our early colonization. In their scope, these two volumes cover every aspect of the ill-fated Roanoke colony, from its inception in 1584 until the futile relief expedition of 1590. The famous Lost Colony has been all too often lost (or neglected) by historians in the past, but there is no longer any excuse for slighting England's earliest colonial venture in what is now the United States. Professor Quinn has shown himself eminently equipped for the task, and has not only utilized every scrap of evidence, printed and written, English and Spanish, but he has also explored the coastal region of North Carolina, and has gone into the subject of the archaeology of the settlements with great detail.

A brilliant summary of the whole venture, and the application of the source material thereto, is given in a lengthy introduction; in addition, Professor Quinn has put in narrative sections of his own at the beginning of each of the twelve chapters. All this is smoothly integrated into the source material itself, so that the production is most excellently balanced between the editor's own text and the multitude of documents, whose meaning is thereby greatly enhanced. One hundred and sixty items of source material are enumerated, of which the most lengthy are the printed narratives of Barlowe, Lane, and White, from Hakluyt's Voyages; the Bigges account of Drake's 1585 expedition; and, of course, Hariot's famous Report. Manuscript material was found chiefly in the Public Record Office and the British Museum, although the civic archives of Plymouth, Exeter, Barnstable, and Bideford all yielded useful items. Spanish manuscript sources were found mostly in the archives of Simancas and Seville; one interesting printed book was drawn upon: Jeronimo de Ore's Relacion de los Martires de la Florida (1617).

One of the most useful chapters is that dealing with the collection of water-color drawings by John White, now in the British Museum. Never before has the story of these remarkable records of the earliest Virginia colony been adequately told; here the whole narrative of their execution, provenance, and filiation is set out and every drawing is fully described with copious notes. It gives us hope that the long-overdue publication of a really
fine series of these priceless relics of our national heritage will not be long delayed.

The Spanish sources are especially interesting, and give one the impression that the Spaniards, from Philip II down, were thoroughly alarmed by the creation of a colony so near the route of the plate fleets. At least, it prompted them to send out an expedition—during a hiatus when there was no colony at all—that went clear up Chesapeake Bay right to the mouth of the Susquehanna. Perhaps even this had a definite effect in diverting Spain's effort at the time of the Armada: certainly the colony became involved in the grand politics of Europe.

In reading the narrative and documents relating to the colonizing voyage of 1587, one cannot avoid reflecting on the chance hazards of a few fortuitous circumstances. With any sort of luck, the voyage, as planned, would have settled the colonists at a deep water anchorage in Chesapeake Bay; on a great inland sea, leading into the heart of the continent, instead of on a hopelessly situated island in a shallow sound leading nowhere. If the colonists had been established at Old Point Comfort instead of on Roanoke Island, perhaps Virginia would have got off to a flying start two decades before it did.

Professor Quinn and the Hakluyt Society deserve every congratulation for this splendid book on the first English attempt to settle Virginia.

Devon

Boies Penrose


The opportunity which America has traditionally offered to ability and industry has seldom been more graphically illustrated than by the Dulanys. Coming to Maryland as an indentured servant at the age of eighteen, Daniel Dulany the elder had the good fortune to be employed as a lawyer's clerk, thus getting the start upon which he was so brilliantly to capitalize. Established in practice, he invested his earnings in land and thus underwrote both the financial and the social future of his family. Elected to the legislature, he identified himself with the "country" party, but the Calverts showed their appreciation of his talents by preferring him to office, thus enlisting on their side his eloquent tongue and pen. Dulany took up large tracts of some of the best land in Maryland's west, and when the flood of German settlers came in, played an important part in the establishment of Frederick, town and county. It was this adventure, supplemented by his share in the Baltimore Iron Works, which constituted the principal basis for the great Dulany fortune.
Understandably, the second Dulany began with advantages denied his father. Educated at Eton, Cambridge, and the Middle Temple, he came to be reputed the ablest legal mind in the colonies. Inheriting his father's close association with the Calverts, he secured for the family an impressive grip on the colonial administration. Dulany was secretary, his younger brother Walter was commissary general, and sons and nephews held minor positions. All this may have served to buttress the waning proprietary power, but hardly to have promoted healthy political evolution. Dulany nevertheless had a sufficient appreciation of the constitutional aspirations of the colony for one governor to dub him, with sardonic praise, the Patriot Counselor. His Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, perhaps the best-reasoned protest against the Stamp Act, gave Dulany an intercolonial reputation and was quoted in both houses of Parliament. But he decried violent opposition, and in the years to come continued to oppose both the unconstitutional enactments of Parliament and the colonial excesses which they provoked. When the Revolution split the loyalties of his own family, Dulany took refuge in a neutrality which the relative moderation of the Revolution in Maryland permitted him to preserve. However, half the family estates were lost, and Dulany never again held public office.

Professor Land's decision to write a dual biography extending over two generations was warranted by the nature of his subject, and has been amply justified by the resulting study. He has been largely concerned with public affairs, partly because of the scope of the Dulanys' activities, partly because of the absence of a body of family papers. Yet personal and family matters are by no means neglected, thanks to the skillful use of the materials available. This is a good story, told well and in proper historical perspective. The Dulanys will not soon require another biographer.

University of Pennsylvania

Leonidas Dodson


Once before the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society has published a significant study by John Joseph Stoudt. That volume, entitled Consider the Lilies, How They Grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art, appeared in 1937, and was later reissued in a revised edition as Pennsylvania Folk-Art: An Interpretation (1948). In both versions, the author concerned himself quite extensively with literary expression, but the obvious emphasis was on well-reproduced pictorial images and the history of their symbolic essences.

Now, in Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685–1830, the far less explored literary remains of the same region and civilization are at last focused upon,
first in a long and provocative introductory essay, and then in a substantial anthology of High German poetry produced in America up to 1830. The compiler himself stresses that he has merely begun to tap a vast area of literary study long neglected. He has selected for inclusion some three hundred poems by about one hundred and fifty poets, with the intention of providing a representative survey of schools, types, and attitudes. His method succeeds in establishing a new dimension in the social and cultural history of America as well as in the perspective of American literature, thereby correcting the traditional overemphasis on New England Puritanism, with its somber, oppressive preoccupations. Certainly Mr. Stoudt's volume provides striking evidence that the High German verse written during the colonial period outweighs, at least quantitatively, the total of English-language verse produced in British America, and it also demonstrates that Pennsylvania mysticism and Pietism, by affirming the worth of the individual and a social ethic of love, issued readily in political and economic democracy.

As poetry, much of the material included in the anthology is undistinguished, though rarely as crude as, for example, Michael Wigglesworth's "The Day of Doom." Occasionally, an unusual compound, a line, a group of lines vibrates imaginatively, as do "Klein-Verborgenheit" and "Einbildungs-Oel" (pp. 32, 34); "Hertz schwing dich über dich" (p. 34); "O Ungrund . . . bodenloses Meer . . . O Mutter aller Dingel!" (pp. 61-62), and "Lieblich, dunkel, sanft und stille" (p. 212). There is a Rilke-like touch about Johann Peter Müller's:

Ach komme bald! mein Freund, in deinen Garten,
Dann sonstigen die Früchte nicht. (p. 80)

A Romantic sensitivity invests Johann Conrad Beissel's:

Wird man sehen bald die Bäume,
Die am Ufer lieblich stehn,
Wunder-voll als ob man träume. . . . (p. 67)

And there is Johann Heinrich Müller's well-conceived quatrain:

Du Meer der Wunder und der Wonne!
Es ist, im Ansehn Deines Lichts,
Die Sonne selbst ein Punkt, ein Nichts:
Nur Gott, der Herr, ist Schild und Sonne." (p. 188)

Moreover, a gratifying number of poems seem fully accomplished. I would choose above the rest the anonymous gnomic verse on "Mysteriousness" (pp. xcv-xcv); Francis Daniel Pastorius's simple and incisive "Verse Protest Against Slavery" (p. 4); some of Johann Conrad Beissel's poignant couplets (pp. 49-52); Elizabeth Eckstein's quietly ecstatic "The Smallest I and Mine" (pp. 69-70), and Jacob Stoll's prayerful and mystical "The Silent Nought" (p. 173); a superb anonymous "Shepherd's Song," in which
nature lyricism is raised to the power of a chorale (p. 240); "The Contented," an alert and sanely rounded poem, also anonymous (pp. 242–243); an anonymous hearty, uncomplicated "Song of a Country Girl" (pp. 257–258); and such compact, witty, and wordly-wise almanac verse as "Heins and Kunz," "To Mr. N.N.," "Self-Love," and "The Spectacles" (pp. 260–262). Standard works like *The Cambridge History of American Literature* and the more recent *Literary History of the United States*, edited by Robert E. Spiller, fail to indicate such richness and delicacy in German-language American poetry.

Incidentally, this reviewer discovered that the anonymous poem on pages 244–246, stressed in the "Introduction," is merely a translation of Samuel Woodworth's "The Hunters of Kentucky"—a fact which throws doubt on the authenticity of other supposedly original items.

Mr. Stoudt's remarkable work points up an enormous scholarly and critical task. A vast amount of American verse in High German remains to be identified and evaluated, and the study needs to be carried beyond 1830 to the present. Eventually, we should thus have a sizable anthology of German poems written in America which clearly excel in literary as well as human value.

*Haverford College*

*Gerhard Friedrich*


The missions of the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church, have long received routine homage in general histories as the only Protestant Indian missions to achieve sustained success in the colonial and early national periods. The heroic story of their establishment and perpetuation in the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles, however, has not been generally available to even the interested and sophisticated inquirer. Missionary fervor was one of the most impelling forces behind the colonial Moravian immigration. After abortive beginnings in Georgia and New York, the missions to the Indians achieved their first solid success in the Lehigh and Susquehanna valleys in the late 1740's. Located on the turbulent frontier, between warring lawless whites and displaced savage Indians, these gallant missionaries and their afflicted charges endured with superhuman patience a heartbreaking alternation of material success and spiritual efflorescence with flaming massacre and threatening disintegration. Three times—on the Mahoning in Pennsylvania (1755), on the Muskingum in Ohio (1782), and on the Thames in Ontario (1813)—they saw their settlements put to the torch by warring armies or malicious neighbors, twice to the
accompaniment of atrocious massacres. A final idyllic renaissance on the Thames in the 1820's was followed by a long period of gradual decline under changing cultural conditions, ending at last with the sale of the mission to proselyting Methodists in 1901.

Despite its intrinsic interest and romantic appeal, this gallant tale has never been adequately told. The standard histories of the mission by Loskiel and Heckewelder end in 1749 and 1820 respectively. Subsequent special studies have stressed the early period and have not attempted comprehensive synthesis. While the present volume performs a real service in presenting an overview of the whole, its subtitle, "The Moravian mission to the Delaware Indians," will arouse false hopes in many breasts. For, with all its merits, this book is in no sense a comprehensive study of Moravian enterprise among the Delawares. It is essentially a chronicle of the Canadian period, to which is devoted two thirds of the space. The remaining ninety pages have not sufficed to accommodate more than the barest outline of the complex but fundamental formative years in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Moreover, the sources used for this early period are almost entirely secondary. The chapters devoted to Canada give more evidence of solid research among primary sources and are replete with minute detail.

As a whole, the book will have more appeal to the fancier of local history than to the scholar seeking comprehensive analysis and astute synthesis. It is frankly a chronicle of events, narrated with warm sympathy and appreciable literary skill. Considerable attention has been devoted to the material culture of the missions in the Canadian period, although sources are not always indicated precisely. The individual missionaries are vividly portrayed. The relationship of Europeanization to Christianization is suggested, and much of the success of the Moravians is attributed to their emphasis upon doing rather than preaching. A serviceable index greatly enhances the reference value of the work. Citations are generously available, although the paraphernalia are perhaps more impressive than the sources.

It is this very impress and imprint of scholarship, however, which tempts one to judge the book by standards it does not pretend to meet. There is, for instance, no internal history of the mission. There is nothing on the problems of adapting the sophisticated symbolism, elaborate ritual, and foreign theology of the Moravians to the simple culture and rude minds of their converts—indeed, too little information of any sort on the religious life of the missions. Acculturation and the division of labor are almost totally neglected. Most disappointing of all, one lays the book down with no understanding of the bases of the powerful hold obviously exercised by the missionaries over their alien charges in the face of divergent cultural values and repeated physical catastrophes. Despite facile passages, the authors betray a basic lack of familiarity with both Amerindian and Pennsylvania-German culture.

Pennsylvanians will be grateful for the appreciable factual data offered on the contribution of their compatriots to the early history of Upper
Canada. On the other hand, they will regret that the authors have not exploited more fully and effectively the manuscript resources of the state in the extensive field of investigation to which they lay claim.

Philadelphia

EUGENE E. DOLL

George Washington in the Ohio Valley. By HUGH CLELAND. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955. xvi, 405 p. Illustrations, maps, index. $5.00.)

This volume, in the words of its author, "relates some of the important early history of the upper Ohio Valley . . . in the words of one of its most distinguished visitors, George Washington; and occasionally, to round out the narrative, in the words of his contemporaries—soldiers and Indian traders, friends and enemies, Colonials, French, British, and Indians. It is, essentially, the story of the Western Country as it helped to make the man, and of the man as he helped to make the Western Country." This is a truly noble ambition, but the author, or editor, has not been able to accomplish what he has set out to do, at least to the satisfaction of this reviewer. The volume is a handsome one, but our first pain is felt at page 7 of the text where we are told that the engraver of the frontispiece, which is also reproduced on the dust cover, "is unknown, but his work suggests the portraits of Washington by the American portrait painter, Charles William Peale."

Four of Washington's visits to the western country are represented by his own journals, and that for the expedition of midwinter 1753-1754 is reproduced in facsimile from the London edition of 1754 (Sabin 101710). A comparative study of the two versions of the journal for 1754—the Memorial and the Contrecoeur—is made along the lines pioneered by Donald H. Kent in Pennsylvania History, XIX (1952), 1-32, and the author has done a great amount of work to illuminate the other two journals—1770 and 1784—geographically and historically. The Braddock and Forbes expeditions, as well as the role Washington played in the suppression of the so-called Whiskey Rebellion in 1794, are represented by letters, newspaper extracts, depositions, and other contemporary documents.

All of this has been done and yet the book just does not "come off." The author/editor has gathered together material from many sources all of which are not clearly identified, much of it relevant but also much of it irrelevant, but he has failed to make a book of this varied material. It seems to this reviewer that nothing can better illustrate the inappropriateness of some of the material than can the inclusion of two illustrations: the "Typical Iroquois," from Notes on the Iroquois, Schoolcraft, 1847, and the "Defeat of Genl. Braddock" from Parson Weems's Life of Washington. The maps are well drawn, but all the other illustrations could well be traded for a good bibliography, or any bibliography at all, for that matter. Historically
there may be some argument for Fort Loudoun’s being the starting point for Forbes’s Road (p. 164), or for George Croghan’s having sold his 200,000 acres south of the Ohio River to Barnard Gratz in 1775 (note 47, pp. 248-249). Incidentally, this latter note may serve as an example of faulty proof-reading or mistaken directions. It reads: “This tract [Croghan’s] ran from the mouth of Racoon Creek south to near present Independence, Pennsylvania, and then west [sic] to near present Duquesne, Pennsylvania. The northern and western [sic] boundaries of the tract were formed by the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers.”

When this title was first announced by the University of Pittsburgh Press it was looked forward to with high expectations, but after reading the book we cannot but the better appreciate those two fine, although older, monographs, Charles H. Ambler’s George Washington and the West, and Roy Bird King’s Washington’s Western Lands.

Dillsburg, Pa.

JOHN V. MILLER


Among the Wentworth-Fitzwilliam Manuscripts, recently made available for historical research, is a letter book containing the original drafts of letters written by Edmund Burke to the Committee of Correspondence of the New York Assembly and to individuals in the province during the time he was acting as their colonial agent. These letters prefaced by an essay on Burke and the agency form about half the volume under review.

On first analysis this correspondence is somewhat disappointing, for it adds comparatively little to our knowledge of the colonial agency as an institution or to the history of the period. On the other hand, the letters are interesting as they reflect Burke’s own views of his responsibilities. As a member of Parliament he felt that his first obligation was to his English constituency. Partly for that reason, he studiously avoided giving advice to his American employers on any of the controversies that were embroiling the empire during the period of his agency, 1771-1775. He limited his functions to keeping the assembly informed of matters which he felt were of concern to them and represented them at the Board of Trade when their colonial laws were under review.

The British government preferred that colonial agents with whom they dealt should be accredited by governor and council as well as assembly. Burke’s appointment, however, was by the assembly only. Under these circumstances he would have had difficulty in serving New York as a financial agent to receive Parliamentary grants as agents had done previously. But
during Burke's tenure there was no occasion to test his credentials in this connection. Indeed, Burke stated that he would have refused the appointment if the governor and council had had a voice in his election. He considered himself a representative of the people, who might need to complain of the governor's administration.

Burke's reasoning with respect to his position as agent of the assembly and his realization of the conflict between the agent's obligations and those of a member of the House of Commons illuminate the embryonic office of provincial agent. Minor crown officials in England who often held such offices were even more prejudiced than members of Parliament, although they were more advantageously placed to influence the origin of colonial policies. British merchants who viewed the welfare of the colonies as closely related to their own were probably best suited to perform the functions of a colonial agent. But no colonial agent could have served America effectively in the critical years of Burke's agency.

Many readers will find Mr. Hoffman's essay on Burke as colonial agent, written against the broader background of Burke's general connection with American affairs, a useful introduction to the letters. More critical students of the eighteenth century, however, may feel that there is in his discussion of colonial policies and his treatment of the agency a certain lack of perspective. For example, he states that the colonial establishment of a permanent civil list had been a prime object since the days of Grenville and Townshend, whereas this had been the case for about one hundred years. What was new in Burke's time was the attempt to secure an American fund subject to appropriation by Parliament, a really revolutionary proposal, depriving the crown of its long established prerogative in connection with colonial revenues (the regulatory customs duties aside).

Mr. Hoffman is on his own ground when he deals with Burke's character and with his political views, for he has become a specialist in this field. The second set of correspondence, that with Burke's personal friend, Charles O'Hara, naturally contributes far more to an understanding of Burke than does the more formal correspondence with the New York committee. Burke's letters to O'Hara were found in Ireland.

O'Hara was a member of the Irish Parliament and an old friend of Burke and his brothers. The Burkes were, of course, Irish in origin. Furthermore, in 1761 Burke accompanied William G. Hamilton to Dublin when the latter was chief secretary to the lord lieutenant. Naturally, both Irish politics and British policies in dealing with Ireland rank high among the subjects of these letters. But O'Hara was deeply interested in Burke's own political career and advised him and encouraged him. These warm and intimate letters, therefore, provide an important supplement to other published correspondence of Edmund Burke.

Taken alone, the letters would not be enough on which to base a thorough analysis of Burke's political theories. Nor do they supply the reader with any systematic account of governmental policies even during the ad-
administration of Rockingham when Burke was Rockingham's private secretary. But they do reveal the serious and conscientious character of Burke and his high opinion of his employer. Furthermore, they give additional evidence of the curiously fragmented nature of British politics and show why the opposition was so ineffective during the years preceding the American Revolution.

Wilson College

Dora Mae Clark


Miss Augur has written a very readable account of the "secret war" of the smugglers, gunrunners, and privateers of the American Revolution. She has dealt, in particular, with the fascinating story of the secret aid from abroad which supplied America with arms and ammunition during the campaigns of 1776 and 1777. Some gunrunning took place before the Revolutionary War began, and some of the guns were delivered to American sea captains by British merchants. American merchantmen continued to obtain arms from British sources even after the outbreak of hostilities. However, when hostilities continued and spread widely throughout much of North America, it became increasingly difficult to obtain military supplies from British sources. Some cargoes of arms were seized by American privateers, and some shiploads of the implements of war were acquired from British sources through devious methods known to American smugglers. Captured weapons and those smuggled from British and British West Indian ports were a welcome addition to American military strength, but only a small part of America's supply of arms was acquired from British sources. The remainder of the supplies required to equip the American army had to be acquired from the countries of Continental Europe.

Some of the supplies which were purchased from European merchants came from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hamburg. Cargoes from those ports were shipped to various islands in the Caribbean—particularly to the Dutch colony of St. Eustatius—and were then carried to America on fast-sailing blockade-runners. British goods, as well as goods from Continental Europe, found their way to St. Eustatius, and many of the Redcoats commanded by generals Gage, Howe, and Burgoyne were shot down by British muskets which had been smuggled to North America after having been consigned to Dutch merchants at "Statia."

Amsterdam and St. Eustatius were among the principal sources of military supplies for the American army, but France and the French West Indies supplied more arms and munitions than did the Dutch merchants. France co-operated with Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin in arranging a
flow of military supplies from French ports to North America. France was officially neutral until 1778, but the French foreign minister, Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, was eager to aid the Americans in order to weaken the British Empire. Vergennes, supported by his king, Louis XVI, went so far as to ship arms from French arsenals to America under the cover of the operations of a dummy trading company headed by the famous playwright, Caron de Beaumarchais. Vergennes also permitted Silas Deane to recruit French artillery experts and military engineers for the Continental army, and Deane and Franklin were permitted to organize American privateering expeditions in French ports.

Miss Augur has told the story of secret French "lend-lease" very well, and she has made the accomplishments of Beaumarchais, Deane, and Franklin come alive in her pages. Blockade-runners, privateers, spies and counterspies are as active and ingenious in Miss Augur's narrative as the undercover operatives who outwit the Communists each evening on televised cloak-and-dagger thrillers! However, Miss Augur has not added materially to our knowledge of the American Revolutionary War. The story of French secret aid has already been told by biographers of Beaumarchais, Deane, Franklin, and Vergennes. The story of American privateering and blockade-running has been told by various naval historians, and a number of diplomatic historians have already investigated the efforts made by British spies and diplomats to put a stop to the secret lend-lease shipments from France to North America. All told, Miss Augur has unearthed very little information that was unknown to historians, but she has written a very interesting and entertaining book which should have wide appeal to the general reading public.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

Ben Franklin's Privateers. A Naval Epic of the American Revolution. By William Bell Clark. (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. xii, 198 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $3.75.)

It is doubtful that even the chairman of the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress had as wide a knowledge of the Revolutionary Navy as William Bell Clark has attained. Years of intensive search in European and American archives and careful indexing of his finds have provided him with an organized library of men, events, and material unsurpassed in the field.

Without such a tool at his command it would have been impossible to give us this interesting though minor episode in Franklin's diplomatic career in France, an episode which illustrates well Franklin's deep humanitarian concern for those of his fellow countrymen unfortunate enough to find themselves British prisoners of war. Since the British would deal only on a
man-for-man basis at the point of exchange, Franklin was induced to com-
misson three privateers which he hoped would afford him a sufficient supply
of British citizens to trade for the American seamen locked up in English
prisons. If ever Franklin opened Pandora's Box, this was it. The privateers
were French-financed, manned by Irish smugglers and escaped jailbirds,
and nominally for legal purposes commanded by weak-spined Americans.
To some extent, the venture was successful in taking prisoners, but the good
doctor soon found himself involved in the dubious position of admiralty
judge, wrestling with highly technical matters of sea law, and, worse, as
apologist to neutrals for the misbehavior of the wild Irish crews who
thought any floating object a fair prize. To add to these troubles, Franklin
also discovered more than a small amount of double-dealing on the part of
our French ally. Hence, even though his three little privateers did provide
a few exchanges and caused so much havoc with British shipping that the
royal navy was forced to keep patrols in home waters which otherwise would
have been used on the American coast, he shed no tears when an oppor-
tunity offered to end the whole business.

Of course, Franklin's interest in alleviating the sufferings of his fellow
man is well known through his activities on behalf of the Pennsylvania
Hospital. His further interest through the exchange of naval prisoners of
war has escaped his biographers. Franklinophiles must therefore thank Mr.
Clark for adding additional evidence to the humanitarian side of the doc-
tor's character, and naval students must thank him for the discovery of
another lost episode in our maritime history.

Peabody Museum

M. V. Brewington

Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson. Volume IV. Compiled with
Annotations by E. Millicent Sowerby. (Washington, D. C.: The

The impressive tribute of the Library of Congress to the memory of
Thomas Jefferson and his books is almost complete. Miss Sowerby's fourth
massive volume lists the final portion of Jefferson's library, including the
works he acquired in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, geography, the
fine arts and literature. The necessary indices, without which the published
volumes are extremely difficult to use, are promised in a forthcoming fifth
volume.

Many articles and perhaps some books will be written on Jefferson's
choice of books now that Miss Sowerby's study is available, hence it would
be impertinent to comment on it in a brief review. One fact, however,
strikes the reviewer, and that is how characteristic of the taste of his times
Jefferson's selection was. Very roughly, it seems likely that seventy-five to
eighty per cent of all the titles listed were in the possession of the Library
Company of Philadelphia in one edition or another in 1814 when Jefferson drew up his own manuscript list.

We have now the record of the 4,615 titles which were listed (with a few exceptions) in the 1815 catalogue of the Library of Congress after Congress rather reluctantly authorized their purchase. Alas, the books bought to replace an earlier library destroyed by fire were themselves in large number destroyed by another fire thirty-six years later. The extent of that holocaust is sadly evidenced by the mere handful of original copies from Jefferson's collection which have survived of the just under a thousand titles catalogued in this volume.

It was this loss which made Miss Sowerby's work so difficult a one, for she was forced to identify titles from a typically brief, early entry, sometimes so brief as to make her task impossible. Of the dozens of possible editions of *Hudibras* (4505), which was owned by Jefferson, when the entry merely tells us it was a 16mo? Miss Sowerby did not try to guess in this case. In others she has ingeniously traced records and searched bibliographies, and come up with an answer. It is this painstaking reconstruction of the Jefferson library as identifiable titles, accurately transcribed and with places of printing, printers' names, and dates of publication given, which is the main and most valuable purpose of the handsomely printed catalogue. It is also Miss Sowerby's major scholarly contribution. At last, we may know what were the books that Jefferson owned.

If, however, this is the chief value of the catalogue, one may be permitted to wonder why the basic identification of under five thousand titles was blown up to four quarto volumes. While no one will underestimate the importance of an accurate and adequate listing of titles, there is some inconsistency about Miss Sowerby's procedure. She sometimes, and sensibly, uses three dots to indicate the omission of unimportant words and phrases, but then she copies out long titles available in full in bibliographies which she cites. A case in point is the space devoted to the long titles of a collection of first editions of the voyages published by De Bry (3973-3983), which can be found in the John Carter Brown and Church catalogues, even though Miss Sowerby's transcriptions are prefaced by the note, "It seems impossible to ascertain what editions and issues were comprised in the copy purchased by Jefferson." It is generally agreed that the exhaustive transcription of a title page is desirable only when such a transcription is not printed in a cited reference or adds important, new information.

Bibliographically, the most difficult feature of Miss Sowerby's descriptions to understand is her use of a collation by leaves, rather than by pages or by a collational formula. Most of the standard references which she quotes give a collation by pages. Very few only cite the number of leaves without giving the signature formula. There are few things more confusing than to count leaves, and few more subject to human error. A number of examples of the difficulties which result may be given. Miss Sowerby, without explaining the variation, says that Jones's *Journal* (4005) has forty-
seven leaves, although Evans 13356, which she cites, calls for p. [95], (1), and the book collates A-M*. The Freneau (4437), listed as containing 230 leaves, does not "collate in eights in a 24 letter alphabet," but \( \pi^8 \text{A-D}^8 \text{Ee}^4 \), which comes to 234 leaves, as does the count in Evans 28712. It would be helpful to know what is the extra leaf of Humphreys (4447), which Miss Sowerby says has thirty-four leaves, although Sabin 33803 gives sixty-six pages, and the LCP copy collates A-D \( \text{E}^1 \). A perfect copy of the Lucretius (4459) would collate quite regularly A\( \text{B}^1 \text{B-V}^1 \text{V}^1 \), or 252 leaves, the first of which was probably a blank, not 250 leaves as given.

In describing the contents further, Miss Sowerby is sometimes exhaustive, listing minutiae like the names of the engravers of plates and the presence of preliminary poems. For instance, all the details of number of plates and their engravers are given for Santa Thereza's *Istoria* (4138), but not even the number in Lery's *Histoire* (4139). It would seem a waste of space to have done the Chaucer (4317) to a fare-thee-well, when it is so fully described in Pforzheimer (minus an \( n \) 177), but disappointing to have passed off the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (3753) without more than a nod at the plates which are not elsewhere described.

When one gets to the bibliographical references, one is impressed by the scope of the tools which Miss Sowerby used to track down her prey. However, here too are some glaring inconsistencies. Sometimes the esoteric is recorded, and the obvious missed. We are told that the Moll (3822) is not in Halkett and Laing, Lowndes, or CBEL, but not that it is Sabin 49905; that Phipps's *Voyage* (3868) is not in Lowndes, Watt, CBEL, or Boucher de la Richardie, but again not that it is Sabin 62572. The Coreal (4149) says "Not in Church," but the Zarate (4133) does not cite Church 120, nor the Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (4140) Church 100. Not cited for the Moreau de St. Méry (4155) are Evans 32504 and 34137, for the Barlow (4302) Evans 20219, and for the Warren (4439) Evans 23035. Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (4337) is noted as "Not in Sabin," but not as Wright 354. For Birch (4161) only Sabin is cited, when far better descriptions of this collection of views were made by Stauffer, Stokes, and Martin P. Snyder in this *Magazine*, LXXII. No reference is given for the Palisot de Beauvois (3774); it is Sabin 4211. It is said that no English edition of the Le Roy (4189) was listed in any bibliography consulted; it is in Watt, II, 819, a work cited elsewhere. The *Perfect Painter* (4239) is said not to be in Lowndes; it is Lowndes, VII, 1763. More important is the statement regarding *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book* (3966) that "No copy of an edition of 1689 has been traced"; Wroth in *Some American Contributions to the Art of Navigation*, page 15, describes Southack's own copy of this edition in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Wing entry giving that institution a copy of a 1698 edition must be an error. These are all rather pettifogging criticisms of the basic soundness of Miss Sowerby's work. They are rather like chips on the baroque ornamentation of a well-proportioned building; a few here and there do not detract from the splendor of the whole.
One final word should be said of the quotations from the letters of Jefferson and those to him. Historians and bibliophiles both will delight in these, for they are the touch of humanity in what might otherwise be a technical listing. However, in view of their appearance past or future in Dr. Boyd's *Papers*, some extensive quotations of a peripheral nature seem rather extravagant of space. No doubt as the *Papers* appear, other, new material will be printed relevant to some of these books to which Miss Sowerby did not have access. This should be borne in mind. All the odds and ends of the story of Thomas Jefferson, bookman, are not yet in print. But no one will ever be able to write any part of it without reference to Miss Sowerby's catalogue.

*Library Company of Philadelphia*  
*Edwin Wolf, 2nd*


Professor Bemis' *John Quincy Adams and the Foundation of American Foreign Policy* most deservedly received the Pulitzer Prize in biography in 1950. That monumental work—described by its author as a "diplomatic biography" of his subject's "First Career"—was undertaken after three decades of research and publication in American diplomatic history. Moreover, through his powers of diplomatic address, Professor Bemis so completely won the confidence of the late Henry Adams, 2d, that he had free access to the Adams Papers, then generally closed to scholars. Now, six years later, the present volume completes the biography of John Quincy Adams, traversing (as George N. Kates has so movingly said of Willa Cather's later life) "the wayfarer's high plateau, where it is already afternoon with lengthening shadows, and a constant preoccupation over the meaning of life—and also with death at the end much nearer."

The journey across the high plateau of Adams' "Second Career" begins sadly enough with his four years as a minority President, elected by the House of Representatives, with high visions and little skill in communicating them contagiously to his fellow Americans. Both were family attributes that lead to greater commendation from one's Maker than from the voters. Samuel Eliot Morison, in describing John Adams' masterly stroke for peace with France in March, 1799, observed: "The Adams family have generally been right, but they are uncommonly disagreeable about it; and the President's manner created no less indignation than his act." The thoroughness with which traits passed from father to son is attested by Ralph Waldo Emerson's quip of 1842 that John Quincy Adams "cannot live on slops, but must have sulphuric acid in his tea."

Political misunderstandings, anxieties over children, and financial worries darkened Adams' years in the White House, though there were occasional bright interludes with Tacitus "who always instructs and charms," with
trees and plants, swims in the Potomac (much as T.R. enjoyed them in the still simple Washington of eighty years later), and the correct identification of varied vintages of Madeira. When swept out of office by Andrew Jackson, there was no warmth of welcome for him even in Boston. Then, unexpectedly, at sixty-three, Adams was elected to the House of Representatives of the Twenty-Second Congress and began a wholly new life. For more than seventeen years he did battle on the floor of the House for human rights against the expansion of slavery until the day of his dramatic death, "for there is no discharge in that war." As one reads Professor Bemis’ measured and carefully documented pages, one is first carried along and then almost swept away by the mounting crescendo of the old warrior’s determination.

He had endured the trials of Job, and had merited the words of Zophar the Naamathite: "Yea, thou shalt be stedfast, and shalt not fear; Because thou shalt forget they misery, and remember it as waters that pass away; And thine age shall be clearer than the noonday; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning." This one remembers as one follows Adams’ struggle for the right to petition and reads with almost breathless intensity his defense of the Mendi mutineers of the Amistad before the Supreme Court.

John Quincy Adams was usually misunderstood in his life, but a century after his death he has been rewarded with the right biographer.

Boston Athenaeum

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Gateway to a Nation: The Middle Atlantic States and Their Influence on the Development of the Nation. By D. G. BRINTON THOMPSON. (Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith, 1956. 274 p. Maps, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

Allan Nevins’ introductory remark that Brinton Thompson has discerned "a real and curious gap in the panoply of books on America," points to the chief merit of a work that the author calls "an adventure in sectional history." Whether or not the Middle States form a true region, it is remarkable that no one previously has published a chronological narrative of the development of the rich and populous land between New England and the South.

Beginning with a very brief sketch of the geography and the aborigines, Professor Thompson tells of the early Dutch, Swedish, and English settlements and of the development of four English colonies in this area. He gives particular attention to the colonial and early republican periods of Middle States history because he feels these periods are most significant "in showing the importance of the Middle Atlantic States in the development of the United States." Yet two fifths of this short book is devoted to the period since the War of 1812.

Politics and politicians dominate a work which often reads like a collective history of four states rather than a unified history of a region. Re-
peatedly Professor Thompson devotes a few pages to the history of Pennsylvania, then some more pages to the history of New York, and then a paragraph or two to New Jersey and Delaware. Perhaps this sort of organization results not merely from the dominant position this volume gives to political history, but also from the lack of regional consciousness in this area and from its domination by two cities, Philadelphia and New York. Since the geographical limits are set by political boundaries, Baltimore and Bridgeport, at either end of the area, are necessarily excluded, but it is odd that Pittsburgh and Buffalo and Trans-Appalachia in general find little space. The index gives but six references to Pittsburgh and three to Buffalo, while Rochester and Syracuse draw but one reference each.

Another factor in determining the nature of this book was its genesis. It developed, the author explains, out of a course he offered at Lafayette College combining Pennsylvania and New Jersey history for the benefit of schoolteachers from those states. The mark of the good teacher remains on the book in some other ways that are not particularly to the advantage of the scholar. In attempting to relate the story of four states to the development of the nation, Professor Thompson frequently feels impelled to devote a part of his few pages to events, like the Detroit campaign in the War of 1812, that are outside of his boundaries. Similarly, in a sketch of Cleveland’s life, his narrative is diverted by an account of the great currency quarrel. This sketch is but one of a group that are scattered through the volume. Though their matter is probably interesting and useful to young students, they are necessarily so brief as to contain little that is not familiar to historians.

The author is usually quite definite in his opinions about the individuals he describes; he has no doubt, for instance, of the validity of John Jay’s decision that Hamilton’s suggestion of dividing New York into electoral districts in 1800 was unworthy of a responsible statesman. In a book of such scope it is not surprising that there are errors in detail: the Swedish settlement on the Delaware, for example, was in 1638, not 1636. The use of footnotes is infrequent and inconsistent; it is not so strange that they appear on only forty-six pages as that they appear at all, for this book’s usefulness, aside from its value as a pioneering effort, is obviously for the general reader, to whom it is directed.

University of Delaware

JOHN A. MUNROE


About forty years ago, John R. Commons and his associates at the University of Wisconsin published their enduring and monumental documentary history of the labor movement in the United States. Then, later, they
gave us their historical interpretation of the labor movement based on the documents they had so carefully uncovered. The Commons Associates considered the labor movement in the United States as a reflection of the rise of trade-unions, of skilled hands working in the essential trades of shoemaking, saddle making, carpentry, and the like. The Commons people agreed with F. J. Turner that, as the western movement in this country spilled into the trans-Alleghenies, a revolution was caused in the manufacture of goods and in merchandizing. So came the conflict of interests between those partners in production, the merchant capitalist entrepreneur, who exploited the western market, and the worker at the bench, then rapidly becoming a production man, often against his will. Since the Commons series of publications there has been a great interest in the history of the American labor movement, and much labor has been expended writing and studying in the field. But, really, not too much has been added to the findings of the Commons Associates. Their work still stands like Henry Adams' History.

In searching into the industrial origins of labor in Pennsylvania in the first forty years of the nineteenth century—those years just prior to industrialism as we know it today—William Sullivan has chosen a key region for his study. Especially in Philadelphia, where manufacture was most advanced, skilled artisans were nudged out of their professions by the introduction of laborsaving machinery and mass production of the goods of life. Child labor, female labor, and unskilled male labor became the staple of the labor market after the depression of the 1820's. The skilled man was being displaced, but he fought a rear guard action through his trade-union in actions both economic and political.

Factories sprang up on the outskirts, away from the old parts of town where labor was customarily done. The new buildings of this period were often an acre of red brick, three stories high, with narrow windows and topped with saddle roofs. Invariably they were placed on the falls of the river, and their presence was dramatic. Architecturally, they were monstrous symbols of the transition of the labor market. In them women and children labored long hours tending the bobbins and spindles of the incipient textile industry. To them were drawn the skilled workers from downtown, men with creative hands, victims of technological displacement who were forced to compete with young girls and boys for the privilege of drawing a few dollars a week in pay. The presence of skilled hands in the labor force was unwanted, for they brought with them to the factories the idea of labor organization.

Mr. Sullivan knows many of the details of the change from handwork to machinery, but what he has given us is well known to the readers of Commons and subsequent commentators in the field of labor history. Sullivan's book is organized in the conventional manner of a doctoral dissertation, and he fails to bring to his study the contribution of originality in concept that it is certain he might have made. Actually, we never even learn what he means by "industrial worker," as opposed, for example, to the handcraft
worker. In a work of this sort, such a distinction is crucial. Had he built his work around the industrial worker—and updated the Commons Associates in the process, his work might have had direction. As it stands it is amorphous, lacking in thesis. It is regrettable that for all his attention to detail, Mr. Sullivan has hurried his study into print, for he might have increased our knowledge of the period instead of rearranging it.

Melrose, Fla.

Louis A. Arky


This handsomely designed book is the fourth volume to appear in the series of publications sponsored by the Friends of the Princeton Library. It records pleasantly and faithfully the details of an overland trip made to Boston and Portsmouth by Elias Boudinot in the summer of 1809. On this outing he was accompanied by his daughter, Susan (Boudinot) Bradford, and a young lady, Miss Mary Binney, who was seeking to regain her health.

Elias Boudinot (1740–1821) had retired in 1805 from public office after a long and successful career. In addition to his service as commissary general of prisoners under Washington, delegate to the Continental Congress—as president he signed the treaty of peace with Great Britain—and member of the first three Federal Congresses, he had spent the last ten years of his official life as director of the United States Mint at Philadelphia. The death of his wife in 1808 and his involvement in a protracted quarrel with Dr. Benjamin Rush over the settlement of the estate of his son-in-law, William Bradford, Jr., furnished him with two good reasons for desiring a change of scene.

In this quiet, unpretentious journal, Boudinot gives a pleasing picture of the New England of an earlier day. As his party leisurely proceeded by carriage on its way from Burlington, New Jersey, to Boston, he commented on the many changes that had taken place since his previous visits. (His diary, pages 77–78, states clearly that he was in Dorchester while Boston was occupied by the British, a point overlooked by his biographers.) He was greatly impressed by the signs of material and cultural progress. New manufactories, roads, schools, churches, and even cemeteries receive particular attention in his notes. It was especially gratifying to him to see again old friends who had lived through the same trying experiences. In Stratford he called on William Samuel Johnson, the former president of Columbia College, and found him in such poor health that he did not expect him to survive more than a few days. On his return trip to Burlington, Boudinot was amazed to find him alive and active—Johnson attributing his remarkable recovery to a copious draft of brandy administered him on what his friends thought was his deathbed.
Boudinot found Federalist Boston much to his liking. He was astonished at the "appearance of Wealth magnificence & taste, thro' out the Town" (p. 34). Friends and former colleagues called upon him, and he and his companions were treated with all the deference and consideration due distinguished visitors. John Adams invited him and his daughter to Quincy; the Law Society had him to one of its dinners; he was given a tour of Harvard as he had been of Yale; and Bostonians in general honored him with such a round of activities that it probably contributed to the attack of gout that kept him in his room for a month. In all, Boudinot was in Boston about two months with time out for an excursion to Portsmouth to see John Langdon. He left the town on September 11 and was back home on October 2, having been away a hundred days.

Occasionally Boudinot falls into error—as in his biographical sketch of Sir William Phips—but he is promptly rescued by Mr. Thomas, who has edited the manuscript meticulously. Readers will not find this journal highly stimulating, but will be amply rewarded if they decide to accompany Elias Boudinot and his ladies on their sedate tour.

*Massachusetts Historical Society*  
Stephen T. Riley


This book attempts to do two things which must be evaluated separately. In the first place, as one of the volumes in the rapidly expanding Library of American Biography edited by Oscar Handlin, it aims to furnish a brief, popular, yet reliable account of a figure whose life requires outlining practically all of American political history, as well as much of its diplomatic history, for the forty years from 1812 to 1852. This is a big order to accomplish in two hundred pages, but Mr. Current, an old hand at biography, provides a skillfully proportioned, briskly written summary which, if obviously not intended for the specialist, is nevertheless sound and up-to-date in its judgments. If he hauls out most of the old anecdotal chestnuts to give his story vivacity, that is merely reassuring to the college professor who still likes to use them in his lectures.

In the second place, this series justifies such retelling of familiar material by emphasizing each subject's relationship to some major influence in American society. In this instance, as in Richard Leopold's study of Elihu Root, the excuse is the present widespread vogue of conservatism, which is producing reappraisals of conservative leaders of the past. Mr. Current's particular task, therefore, is to rescue Webster's reputation from the strictures of liberals like Parrington and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and to rehabilitate him as an admirable, or at least intellectually respectable, exponent of early nineteenth-century "national conservatism." This is quite a challenge,
and perhaps arouses expectations impossible of fulfillment. When in such limited space Mr. Current has to sketch all of Webster's long and varied career, he hardly has time for any substantial analysis of his ideas until the final chapter, the most thoughtful and rewarding in the book.

In any such discussion the first hurdle is the definition of conservatism, a word that is rapidly proving as ambiguous as liberalism. Thus Russell Kirk, the high priest of the conservative revival, has carefully played down the crassly materialistic element of plutocratic selfishness in favor of more idealistic concepts of respect for the traditional, the organic and individual freedom. But in Mr. Current's depiction, Webster's conservatism seems to amount to little more than a defense of the economic interests of his wealthiest Massachusetts constituents. To be sure, Webster dressed this up with appeals to nationalism (after it suited New England's needs), Christianity, the necessity for a wide distribution of property so that all would have a stake in society, popular government (if based on self-restraint and checked by representative institutions), and technology as the agency for raising the standard of living for everyone, not to mention the present-day Wilsonian philosophy that what is good for business is good for the country. But Mr. Current never lets the reader forget the economic realities beneath the rhetorical superstructure. With a cool detachment bordering on distaste, he describes Webster's shift from his youthful state rights and antitax days, when he was actually an early champion of "interposition," to the nationalism and support of the American System of his mature years, precisely as his home region changed from commerce and shipping to industry. Nevertheless, he argues that Webster was always consistent in his basic conservatism, certainly true if one accepts Mr. Current's particular interpretation of the term.

The author insists, however, that Webster did not merely reflect the desires of the Boston business community, to whom he was so unabashedly financially indebted as perhaps to make some contemporary oil magnates wistful for the good old days. He was often an opportunist whose personal ambitions caused him to waver in allegiance, even to the extent of some tentative flirtations with the Jacksonians, rather than an earlier Robert A. Taft clinging to principle at the expense of political expediency. At such times it is even more difficult to make out an impressive case for Webster as the spokesman for any political philosophy. On the question of slavery, a century ago as much the touchstone of basic attitudes as segregation is at the present moment, Mr. Current portrays Webster as taking a conservative middle position possibly analogous to Eisenhower-Stevenson "moderation" now, but he does not press the "statesman of compromise" angle as much as might be expected.

Within its intended limits, this is an excellent little book, though, if this is the best intellectual ancestry American conservatism can produce for itself, Parrington may yet rise again.

University of Pennsylvania  WALLACE EVAN DAVIES

Dr. Fletcher is Dean Emeritus of the College of Agriculture, Pennsylvania State University. A previous volume by him, published in 1950, covered the period 1640-1840. The present book is a stupendous piece of work. Every imaginable item concerning, or affecting, Pennsylvania agriculture is fully treated. Mention of soil conservation, fertility practices, farm mechanization, co-operatives, agricultural societies, the Grange, good roads, rural mail delivery, scientific research, legislation, crop supports, effects of wars and depressions, a brief attempt at silk culture, and the oleomargarine controversies will illustrate, but by no means cover, the topics discussed.

The author refers many times to that interesting, widely known, clannish, thrifty, deeply religious, conservative group known as the "Plain People," but cautions that they, although farmers all, are much inferior in numbers to other excellent farmers of the state. He also mentions the acreage lost to agriculture by the ruthless early methods of lumbering, by culm piles and denuded surfaces in the coal mining regions, by contamination of the soil in oil operations and by noxious fumes from great industrial plants. This reminds readers that Pennsylvania is not only an important agricultural state, but is noted also in the extractive and manufacturing fields and has its densely populated nonfarming areas.

Pennsylvania agriculture has its distinctive features, but farming there does not differ greatly from farming over a much larger area of this country. Hence this account has real value to many others than Pennsylvanians. This is especially true of the comprehensive record given of Federal means of aiding agriculture. This is clear and complete and therefore most usable and helpful.

The four concluding chapters are devoted to farming as a way of life. Here are related the changes occurring in rural conditions over a century and the contrast drawn between the beginning and the end of the interval. Farm buildings, furniture, food, clothing, health, social practices, education, religion and the farmer's role as a citizen are presented and with a philosophical turn.

The table of contents is more detailed than is usual in books published today. This matter is very well phrased and an excellent aid in use of the volume. There is no separate bibliography. Forty pages of notes follow the text. These sufficiently identify the author's sources, which are largely agricultural bulletins, reports, and periodicals. The illustrations included were all hand-drawn by S. W. Fletcher, Jr. These are small and inserted mostly at the beginnings and ends of chapters. They are interesting and decorative, but do not particularly complement the text. There is just one small map. This shows the forest areas, certainly not the most vital for the purpose of the work. This reviewer believes that more and larger maps
would have improved the value of the book, especially for out-of-state readers. The location of counties, so frequently mentioned, the regions devoted to particular purposes in 1840 and a century later, are examples.

The price for which this one-volume encyclopedia of agriculture—for such indeed it is—can be had must be ascribed to a nonprofit undertaking. It is worth very much more.

_Hartwick, N. Y._

*The Fiction Factory or From Pulp Row to Quality Street. The Story of 100 Years of Publishing at Street & Smith.* By _Quentin Reynolds_. (New York: Random House, 1956. x, 284 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

This very attractive-looking volume was inspired and obviously subsidized by its subjects, Street & Smith. Through lavish illustrations of colorful old magazine and "dime novel" covers, and careful attention to the portraits and personal hobbies of current executives, it achieves its purpose as a centenary souvenir. Francis S. Street, a onetime grocery clerk, and Francis S. Smith, who had worked as a printer, reporter, and hack writer of fiction, began their partnership in 1855 by acquiring a tottering four-page "story paper" and renaming it _The New York Weekly_. Street was the business manager and Smith the editor, as well as principal author for a time—his most famous serial for the _Weekly_ was "Bertha the Sewing Machine Girl, or Death at the Wheel." In 1869 he displayed great acumen by buying and promoting the first of many "Buffalo Bill" stories written by the incredible old faker and rascal, "Colonel" E. Z. C. Judson—"Ned Buntline." Thereafter success was—and still is—Street & Smith's.

In one hundred years of packaging reading matter for large audiences, the firm has spawned no less than one hundred eighty serial titles, including the immensely lucrative "Nick Carter," "Frank Merriwell," "Jesse James" and "Diamond Dick" series; current color comics like "Red Dragon," "Ghost Breakers" and "Kid Zoo," and _Astounding Science-Fiction_, a Street & Smith periodical which began its career as merely _Astounding Stories_. Its authors have ranged from Horatio Alger, Jr., to Truman Capote, who was "discovered," Mr. Reynolds tells us, by the fiction editor of Street & Smith's _Mademoiselle_. Theodore Dreiser edited the firm's _Smith's Magazine_ and Dorothy Parker ran a theater column for its _Ainslee's_. Upton Sinclair got his start writing Street & Smith "Hal Maynard" stories. Frederick Schiller Faust, an aesthete who lived in "a magnificent villa in Florence," writing sensitive poetry with a quill pen at one desk, and pulp fiction with a typewriter at another, was the leading favorite in Street & Smith's _Western Stories_, under his pen name of "Max Brand."

All this is skimmed over lightly in _The Fiction Factory_; on most counts the book is a disappointment. Historically-minded readers will find it useful
only for the illustrations and a checklist of Street & Smith publications included as an appendix. Mr. Reynolds is no man to grub around in old records; he tells us the firm has kept "voluminous files" of correspondence and maintains an archives of all its publications, but he has relied largely on interviews for his text material. His prose, considering the lively subject matter and his own reputation, is flat and hurried, with many errors of fact and nomenclature. One can still learn more about the early history of Street & Smith, and its role in shaping popular reading tastes, from Mary Noel's excellent *Villains Galore* (Macmillan, 1954).

One fact is well established by *The Fiction Factory*—by 1949 the old "pulp" formula had been largely moved out of magazines into comic books, movies, twenty-five-cent paperbacks and "something new called television." Since that date Street & Smith, which operates now from a sleek modern office building on Madison Avenue, thronged with gray flannel suits and modish lady editors, has derived its best profits from thick "service" magazines like *Mademoiselle*, *Charm*, and *Living for Young Homemakers*. There is something for sociologists here, I think. Buffalo Bill and Bertha the Sewing Machine Girl are out in their back yards these days, building barbecue pits for the kiddies. Such at least is the evolution of the Street & Smith public, 1855 through 1955!

New York

Roger Butterfield


"Frontier political life did not operate in a vacuum but was closely linked at all times with national politics. The dynamic political energy of the nineteenth-century frontiersman was in large part responsible for this identification, but the formal connection between local frontier politics and national politics was furnished by the national political organization." Professor Johannsen details this thesis in his excellent study of Oregon (and to a lesser degree, Washington) from the early 1850's through the fall of Fort Sumter. The book is important for two reasons. First, it forces modification of some assumptions made about the West; second, it supports those who see the Civil War emerging in the breakup of the Democratic Party.

The necessity for expressing frontier attitudes through national party organizations often led to odd mixtures of issues in the Pacific Northwest. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, for instance, was popular in Oregon not because it promised to dispose of the slavery issue, but because the settlers interpreted it broadly as a promise of increased self-government. The Pacific Northwest did not want slavery because it did not want Negroes, either
slave or free. But it did desire that more of the functions of government be transferred west of the Rockies. Therefore, the national Republican promise of homesteads and railroads did less to carry Oregon for Lincoln in 1860 than did the state Republican Party's adoption of the Douglas position on popular sovereignty.

Oregon was Democratic in the 1850's. The "Salem Clique" ran the territory and was represented by Joseph Lane at the national capital. Whether Lane was master or creature of the Clique was a question produced by patronage squabbles. In the resulting split, Lane and his followers supported Buchanan and the Dred Scott decision. Lane's reward was his nomination for vice-president on the Breckenridge ticket. The Salem Clique supported Douglas and popular sovereignty only to discover that the state Republicans campaigned more effectively with Lincoln and popular sovereignty.

Johannsen points out that in its reaction to the secession crisis the Pacific Northwest was much like the border states of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Cool to the sectional struggle and to Negroes, unable to grasp the seriousness of the crisis, Oregon and Washington hoped that a conservative and moderate policy could be found through compromise. When the fighting began, however, sentiment for union was overwhelming.

A map shows the distribution of the region's population in 1860. In a brief opening chapter the author describes the early settlement of the area, emphasizing the heterogeneity of the population and its active interest in politics. The author's thesis is difficult to follow in the next two chapters where his material does not lend itself to the organization he has given it. Thereafter the exposition is clear and satisfying, a very thorough study.

*Case Institute of Technology*  
STANLEY P. WASSON

*The North Reports the Civil War.* By J. CUTLER ANDREWS. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955. xii, 814 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

*Yankee Reporters, 1861-1865.* By EMMET CROZIER. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. xiv, 442 p. Maps, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

The two titles given above represent the third and fourth books on Civil War reporting within the last three years. While all these books often cover the same ground, one or two stand out with contributions entirely new. This is eminently true of *The North Reports the Civil War* by J. Cutler Andrews, Professor of History at Chatham College (the Pennsylvania College for Women), who had already shown his capabilities in writing newspaper history in his book, *Pittsburgh's Post-Gazette*. He spent more than ten years on his Civil War book and consulted more than fifty manuscript collections, a number in private hands and not hitherto known to exist, the
files of more than sixty newspapers, all secondary works, including the writings of the war reporters, and government documents. Ninety pages of notes are not only extremely valuable, but are as entertaining reading as the text itself. He has compiled a list of more than three hundred fifty Northern reporters, many of whose names have never before been made public; the Memorial Statue at South Mountain to the reporters lists not many more than a hundred.

This book is neither dry nor pedantic, but stirring, even exciting, and scholarly. It is more than a history of the articles by the reporters, for it ties these in with the history of the war itself. No phase of the war is neglected, and the account of those who wrote on the naval battles and the war in the West is given as well as the story of those connected with the Army of the Potomac. No more fascinating pages appear in the book than those dealing with more than a score of scoops on big battles, and the graphic accounts of these scoops, some of which have literary merit and from which Dr. Andrews gives extracts. At times the reporters had information before government officials and even gave it first to them. Another interesting feature is the account of the hardships the reporters underwent, being wounded, imprisoned, court-martialed, disgraced, and expelled from the lines, sometimes unjustly. They had their battles with censorship and with some generals, notably Meade and Sherman, who in spite of their justifiable precautions that secret news should not reach the enemy, resented personal criticism and were cruel in their resentment.

The reporters connected with the New York Herald and the New York Tribune were especially adept, though some connected with Cincinnati, Chicago, Philadelphia and Baltimore papers were not far behind. A number of these men later became famous in American history for other services, so that it has been overlooked that they had once been war reporters. Henry Villard is known as a railroad magnate, Whitelaw Reid as a newspaper proprietor and ambassador, Edmund Clarence Stedman as a poet, critic, and banker, George Alfred Townsend as a novelist. And did those of us who used William Swinton’s Fourth Reader in grammar school, or Adams S. Hill’s Foundations of Rhetoric in high school, or read those juveniles, The Boy Traveller series, by Thomas W. Knox, ever dream that the authors had been distinguished Civil War reporters?

Dr. Andrews has brought to light more fully the services of men whose families kept manuscripts by and about them. An instance of this is his discussion of Uriah H. Painter of the Philadelphia Inquirer, who made a Bull Run scoop and was the first to report General Lee’s advance into Maryland in the summer of 1862 before the Battle of Antietam. Dr. Andrews learned that Painter’s daughter lived in West Chester, Pennsylvania, and through her he obtained a portrait of her father and saw the papers of the Painter family. The present reviewer treasures a copy of the revised edition of William Swinton’s Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, presented to Painter by the author in May, 1883, “With old-time and personal regards.”
The Andrews book abounds in excellent portraits, verbally depicting these men, and relates entertaining anecdotes; above all, the work is authentic. No imaginary events are created, and the reporters themselves are drawn,warts and all. Of course, there was faking by them, and violent competition, which generally did not bring out noble characteristics.

Emmet Crozier's *Yankee Reporters, 1861–1865* deals, as he tells us, with the work of some of the Civil War "Specials" and is a newspaperman's story. Crozier has worked for several newspapers, was himself a war correspondent during World War II, and then editorial writer on the *New York Herald Tribune*. Knowing what interests the average reader, he has given us a very readable book, but in doing so has given play to his imagination. He has consulted no manuscript sources of any reporters but one. He has omitted references to numerous reporters, and crowds into a few pages the immense work of reporters since the Battle of Gettysburg. Some events, however, he gives more fully than Dr. Andrews; sometimes he writes more winningly; and he often sets forth the high lights dramatically. For the layman this book is suitable, but it must be judged finally as a slipshod piece of work.

One of the strangest features about this book is the many references to the bottles of whiskey which Crozier knew were always drunk at every specific meeting of reporters or officers. The very foreword begins with reference to an imaginary bottle of whiskey in front of a person writing to an editor asking to serve as a correspondent. Undoubtedly, some of the men drank. But what can we say about the importance given to a bottle of liquor when we find the following comment written in on a constructed map of the Vicksburg campaign: [Here] "Captain Ward produced a bottle of Catawba"? The place is set forth at a point on the Mississippi just north of Vicksburg.

There is an excellent account of George Alfred Townsend's adventures in bringing direct to the office of the *New York Herald* his story of six of the Seven Days Battle, based, it is true, on Townsend's own book, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant*. Perhaps Crozier had authority for saying that after Townsend had written his story and been taken to the Metropolitan Hotel, he then went to Delmonico's and later, remembering only the clop of horses' hoofs and the flickering lamps in the dark night, was brought back to his hotel and helped up the stairs and into bed by a reporter and hotel clerk. Here is Townsend's own account, conflicting with Crozier's, from the time he arrived at the foot of Christie Street: "I repaired to the office at once, and wrote far into the night, refraining finally, from sheer blindness and exhaustion, and dropped asleep in the carriage as I was taken to the Metropolitan Hotel" (p. 216). No mention of liquor or Delmonico's, except that on the next day, as he was recounting his story to listeners, he says that he took a few sips of wine.

The following is a sample of what an author may do if he is not called upon to state his authorities. On page 339 Crozier writes: "A New England officer wrote home that army headquarters [General Hooker's in the early part of 1863] had become 'a combination of bar room and brothel' and no
decent woman would be seen in the vicinity.” Here is what Charles Francis Adams wrote in *An Autobiography* (p. 161): “The headquarters of the Army of the Potomac was a place to which no self-respecting man liked to go, and no decent woman would go. It was a combination of bar-room and brothel.” Certainly so distinguished a person as Charles Francis Adams became should have had his name mentioned and not been designated merely as “a New England officer,” and the quotes should have been assigned to the autobiography and not to a letter sent to his home. It is possible, of course, the Mr. Crozier may have authority for such a letter, as he may have had for the tale of Townsend’s spree, but if he had he should have cited these authorities.

The best one can say of Crozier’s book is that it is a sympathetic, fragmentary account of some episodes, entertainingly, even fascinatingly, written. Of course, it can in no way be compared with Dr. Andrews’ book, nor for that matter with another able book on Civil War reporters, *Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action*, by Louis M. Starr.

Philadelphia

Albert Mordell


What was “Lincoln’s fifth wheel”? If the reader has observed the subtitle he knows the answer. It was the United States Sanitary Commission, which Lincoln feared might become “a fifth wheel to the coach” (p. 8). Yet, he signed an order authorizing a Sanitary Commission to advise and supplement the War Department’s Medical Bureau. Being composed of intelligent, practical, and far-sighted philanthropists, it soon began performing the duties we now associate with the Red Cross and the U.S.O. These civilian workers labored so unremittingly in behalf of the Union soldiers, who were being neglected by the army’s inefficient Medical Bureau, that they incurred the opposition of the army doctors, the quartermasters, the generals of the army, and even the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who never talked about it without cursing. Nevertheless, the organization’s work was outstanding.

The central figures, among a multitude of men and women dedicated to the heroic cause of attending to the needs of the soldiers, were the Rev. Dr. Henry Whitney Bellows, cofounder and president of the Commission, and Frederick Law Olmsted, executive secretary.

The executive order creating the Sanitary Commission did not mention its future possibilities. But Bellows and Olmsted had no intention of allowing the organization to remain a body of “inquiry and device.” Bellows saw a “majesty” about its development.” He said the commission moved according to a plan, one “based on the best study, the most devoted analysis
of the facts, the most cautious and anxious regard to the laws of human nature.” As the commission strove to do “the most good with the least pain,” it became “a great governmental department.” These far-sighted men saw that there was more to do than supplement the inevitable defects of the Medical Bureau; they would have to increase and improve the usual supplies and practices of the bureau. “So the commission sent agents and stores to about five hundred bloody encounters; it developed relief corps for camp, battlefield, and hospital; it organized not less than seven thousand aid societies and from them drew various stores; it set up lodges where exhausted or convalescent soldiers could find a meal and a night’s rest; it placed feeding stations on the route from battlefield to base hospital; it helped the veteran get his back pay; it kept the wounded soldier in touch with his family and friends through its directory; it distributed among the army surgeons medical and surgical monographs on recent advances in medicine” (p. 9). Yet, according to Bellows, these constituted the surface exhibition of the commission’s work. Without boasting, he said: “Our plans have a breadth and height and depth which no similar military philanthropic undertaking ever had, since the world began” (p. 10).

The work of the Commission was not financed by the Federal government, but by the voluntary contributions of the American people. Fundraising drives were occasionally staged with “sanitary fairs” held throughout the North. The Commission raised and distributed more than $25,000,000 in both goods and money. This money was spent wisely in providing drugs, bandages, in inspecting camps and even in building hospitals.

Dr. Maxwell has produced a thorough and exhaustive political history of the Commission, but in doing so he did not neglect the work performed in the camps, on the battlefields, and along the line of march and retreat. The style is vigorous and interesting. The study is composed of a preface, an introduction, fourteen well-documented chapters, thirty-three pages of biographical notes, a bibliography, and a satisfactory index. It is a study which every library should have; also, every student of the Civil War should have his own copy.

Lehigh University

George D. Harmon


The Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), like other great American corporations, though privately owned and managed, is almost a public institution, and its history should be of interest and importance to large numbers of people who have no direct connection with it. The methods and techniques developed for the production, collection, manufacture and dis-
The decision was made very early in our national history that the economic area of life was best left uncontrolled and unregulated, at least by the national government, because, it was confidently asserted, private initiative and competition would insure the most rapid and effective development of society. The partial truth soon became dogma, and for almost a century most men believed that any attempt to impose order and authority in any segment of the economy was immoral regardless of whether it was government or a less formally recognized agency that attempted the task.

The opposite of order and authority is chaos and anarchy, and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, this almost predictable result had happened in the United States. Speculation, manipulation, and fraud were prevalent and along with them came insecurity, uncertainty, and wide variations in the volume and profits of economic enterprise. The founders of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), for the sake of their personal interests far more than for the welfare of the country as a whole, were among the earliest to recognize that unrestrained competition, rather than leading to effective and efficient development of the economic society, was a source of waste and exploitation, and in the petroleum industry they sought ways and means to limit and control these abuses.

Their purpose was not to eliminate competition by gaining a complete monopoly. Intuitively, it seems, rather than by conscious decision, they recognized that some degree of competition was necessary for the health and efficiency of their own enterprise. What they sought and, to some extent, achieved, was sufficient control to eliminate chaos and anarchy, with its by-products of insecurity, uncertainty, waste, and exploitation, in this particular segment of the economy.

Ralph and Muriel Hidy, the authors of this introductory volume of the History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), have described with effective detail the carrying out of this purpose both in the United States and abroad and the methods and techniques through which it was accomplished. They have also described the internal organization of this company, its predecessors, affiliates, and associates, and the numerous departures from ordinary corporate practices that were made. The first and perhaps the most important of these was the recognition that in an operation of such scope there was no room for one-man domination. Policy decisions in Standard Oil were made by committees, not by individuals, and the committees, almost exclusively, were made up of men who had operating responsibilities.

Ownership, as such, took little or no part in management, though, in the earlier years, many of those with operating responsibilities also were owners. Always, however, the effectiveness and influence of an individual depended more on his role as manager than on the number of shares he held, and, so
complicated was the division of power, the authors, in writing of the enter-
prise, have almost never been able to find where any single person was the
originator and source of a particular policy.

The public interest in the organization, though never formally repre-
sented, was an additional restraint upon it. The producers from whom it
purchased, the customers to whom it sold, its competitors, the newspapers,
and the state and national governments were not without power and influ-
ence, and the managers of Standard Oil, in making their decisions, were
forced to recognize these real and effective limitations upon their freedom.
Standard Oil, however, was a pioneer, an innovator, and the things it was
trying to accomplish offended those who dogmatically believed that indi-
vidual initiative and competition were moral truths. The organization was
bitterly attacked, resented, and, in many cases, hated, and such was the
power of this hostility that in 1911 the Standard Oil combination was
forced to dissolve into its constituent parts as a result of a decision by the
United States courts that it was an illegal conspiracy to restrain trade.

The present volume of the history covers the years from 1882 to 1911,
and two other volumes, now in preparation, will bring the story down to the
present day. The officers of the company, with great wisdom, have freely
opened their files to the present authors and their associates, and have
imposed no restraints upon the material used. They have also made no
attempt to influence or control the conclusions and interpretations of the
writers, and the result is a major contribution to the knowledge and
understanding of an important segment of American life.

National Council
The Protestant Episcopal Church

Thomas P. Govan

On the Arkansas Route to California in 1849. The Journal of Robert B. Green
of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Edited by J. Orin Oliphant. (Lewisburg,
Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1955. x, 87 p.)

On February 26, 1849, six young men from Lewisburg, Pennsylvania,
started on the long and arduous overland trek to the California gold mines.
After seven months to the day and 2,600 miles, they completed their grim
journey. Three of the men kept journals of the trip, that of William H.
Chamberlain having been first printed in the Lewisburg Chronicle in 1850
and later twice reprinted. Now the journal of his companion Robert B.
Green has been published in a most attractive format and with a helpful
introduction by its editor, J. Orin Oliphant.

Green's account is in no way literary, but its rambling form, humor,
candid comments on men and circumstances, and general observations are
interesting reading. Although the Chamberlain journal is the most complete
and best-written narrative of the journey, Green's journal supplements it.
More important, as Professor Oliphant points out, it adds another to the small number of accounts written by forty-niners on the southern or Arkansas route, about which Professor Oliphant has considerable to say in his introduction.

The journal of Robert B. Green has been faithfully transcribed and printed in its entirety. The editor has, however, taken the liberty of dividing it into six chapters, each of which is followed by explanatory notes.


Two more volumes of the Jefferson Papers are now available to researchers in the life and times of Thomas Jefferson. These volumes continue his professional and personal correspondence while United States minister to France, illuminating not only the man and public servant, but the range of continental affairs as they related to the new nation Jefferson represented. Developments at home are constantly brought to his attention for information and advice. Americans abroad invariably seek him out in Paris; Philadelphians will find particular interest in young Thomas Lee Shippen's account of a day spent with Jefferson at Versailles (XII, 502–504).

Jefferson's personal interests—history, horticulture and agriculture, books, gadgets—are the subject of many letters, and his correspondence with the women of his acquaintance is charming. In his official capacity, his letters deal with treaties, coinage, finance, trade, and a host of diplomatic problems. His notes of a tour to southern France and northern Italy in 1787, during which he traveled incognito, are full of the interesting observations that only a man of Jefferson's many-sidedness could make. Like their predecessors, these handsome volumes provide good reading, as well as source material of broad interest.


Believing that of all that has been written about Thomas Jefferson little has dealt specifically with his political principles, Edward Dumbauld has arranged and edited selections from Jefferson's state papers and correspondence relating to this aspect of his thinking. Mr. Dumbauld is thoroughly familiar with Jefferson's life and ideas, having published other books about the statesman.
This analysis of Jefferson’s writings on politics is divided into six chapters: fundamentals of rightful government, the blessings of free government, government founded on the will of the people, the value of constitutions, the true principles of the United States Constitution, and the great family of mankind. Within each chapter the selections are arranged under more specific headings.

Mr. Dumbauld has provided an annotated introduction in which he discusses Jefferson’s relation to politics, his political writings, and his political theory, accenting the fundamentals of his thinking. Although much of this is familiar, as are many of the selections (though some items are published here for the first time), it is a most useful handbook not only on Jefferson himself, but on the development of American political thought.

**Bryn Mawr Symposium**

The Alumnae Association of Bryn Mawr College will sponsor a symposium, on November 3, 1956, on the early history of the Welsh Tract, an area intimately associated with Philadelphia throughout the period 1681-1776. A program of general interest has been arranged, stressing important but not over-familiar topics in the life and thought of early Pennsylvania.

The morning session will begin at 10 o’clock. Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College will introduce the speakers and the program as a whole. A brief discussion of “The Unknown Penn, Classical Republican” will follow. Professor Frederick B. Tolles of Swarthmore College will then talk on the “General Cultural and Religious Patterns of the Early Eighteenth Century.” Immediately after luncheon there will be a half hour of music, Mennonite hymns and colonial songs, directed by William Reese of Haverford. Edwin Wolf, 2nd, of the Library Company of Philadelphia will be chairman and commentator in the afternoon session which will concentrate on special social and personal achievements of the times. Conway Zirkle of the University of Pennsylvania will discuss early Pennsylvania botanists. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Associate Editor of the Franklin Papers, will talk on “Dr. John Redman, Philadelphia’s Medical Preceptor.” John H. Powell, Philadelphia historian, will conclude the meetings with an analysis of the “New Society in Mid-Century—Caste and Class in Penn’s Eden.”

Historians interested in receiving invitations should write to Miss Caroline Robbins, Department of History, Bryn Mawr College.

**Genealogical Workshops**

There will be lectures, discussions, projects and trips designed to explore the various techniques involved in the best type of genealogical work. Conducted by experts, these workshops will give practical and interesting instruction in the location and use of records, the construction of family charts, the compilation of genealogies, the collection and evaluation of family records, professional methods, the relations with clients and the value of genealogical work in history and in population study. There will be demonstrations of the best methods of discovering patriotic ancestors and compiling lineage papers.

The first term of workshops will begin on Monday, October 1, and will end on December 17, 1956. The second term will include the first twelve Mondays in 1957. Sessions will be held from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. The subscription will be $50 for each term. Members of the Genealogical Society will be allowed a discount of the amount of their dues, or $8 for the two terms. Examinations will be held for those wishing to qualify for a certificate of proficiency. The number who may subscribe is limited to thirty per term. The workshops will be conducted by visiting experts and the committee in charge: Lewis D. Cook, Dr. Ralph D. Owen, Mrs. F. Spencer Roach, Rev. Carl T. Smith, and Norman J. Greene, Chairman. All persons interested are invited to send in their names to Miss Helen Moore, at the Genealogical Society, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia 7.
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