William Penn is a great man. But this opinion has been for so long taken on faith that it has become habitual and stale. Now a single convenient volume makes available the source material from which to form an independent judgment. As one reads one is impressed anew with the range of Penn's concerns and with his wisdom as well as with his loyalty to what he felt to be right.

The editors have done their part well. Their introduction is a well-balanced appreciation of both Penn's life and his writings, with enough biographical and historical background to remind the reader of the nature of the times and the nature of the man. Each section is preceded by a brief introduction which surveys and summarizes Penn's ideas and the ways in which he set them forth in his life and in his writings.

The three sections present selections from Penn's writings under the headings "The Apostolic Christian," "The Christian Statesman," and "The Final Distillation." In most cases the selections are long enough to give a fair taste of Penn's thought and its presentation. Spelling and punctuation have been modernized and made consistent; occasionally, words have been inserted in brackets when needed to make the sense clear to twentieth-century readers or to repair an omission by Penn or his printer. Helpful footnotes identify people mentioned, clarify allusions, or interpret words familiar in the seventeenth century but now not generally known. Otherwise Penn's material is presented as he wrote it. Where there is more than one edition, the editors tell which has been used. There is a useful bibliographical note.

The section on "The Apostolic Christian" presents the text of The Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers and rather brief selections from the long No Cross, No Crown. "The Christian Statesman" is represented in several parts. "For Freedom of Religion" gives the text of The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience and the report (of which Penn was not the author, although he may have helped edit it) of The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Assaulted in the trial of William Penn and William Mead when a stubborn and brave jury won recognition of the right of English juries to reach their own decisions about alleged facts without fear of overbearing judges.
“The Holy Experiment” gives the preface to the first Frame of Government for Pennsylvania, the careful Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, the letter to the Indians in America setting forth the basis on which Penn hoped to build friendship between natives and newcomers, and extracts from a Letter to the Free Society of Traders which describes the Lenni Lenape Indians with scientific detachment and at the same time with appreciation and respect. The brief memorandum of 1696 to the Board of Trade, outlining a plan for the union of the English colonies, the first foreshadowing of the United States of America, is made available to the many who forget that William Penn was not only the founder of Pennsylvania, but one of those who looked forward to a greater commonwealth of freedom. The well-known Essay Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe is given so that Penn’s constructive vision of world order may supplement his vision of a free commonwealth, to which it is apparently necessary.

In “The Final Distillation” are included about one third of both parts of Fruits of Solitude and extensive extracts from Fruits of a Father’s Love. This last was written just before Penn’s second departure for Pennsylvania, although not published until 1726; it gives advice against activity in political affairs, advice which Penn was not practicing when he wrote and which it is the glory of his life that he never practiced. Penn’s great value to the present generation is his own example—that of a man of deep religious insight, profoundly concerned to do right as well as to believe rightly, who accepted responsibility as a citizen and underwent the difficult discipline of trying to discover the right possible course in the existing circumstances.

Riverton, N. J. Richard R. Wood


Young men had been traveling westward across the Atlantic in pursuit of happiness and a fortune for about a hundred years when Henry Newman turned his back on New World opportunity and emigrated from his native Massachusetts to London. What combination of character and circumstance led the grandson of Samuel Newman, a notable Puritan divine, to return to the country and to the church his grandfather had forsaken?

Henry Newman was about thirty-three years old when he left the colonies for good, and during those years he had tried a variety of occupations both scholarly and commercial. After taking his M.A. at Harvard in 1690, he stayed on for three years as librarian to the College. Then he made three voyages to Bilboa on a merchantman. On the third voyage, he left
his ship at Bilboa and sailed for England where he remained for about fifteen months. He then returned to Boston and, in his own words, "commenced merchant 1696." Two years later he undertook a commercial venture at St. John's, Newfoundland. This apparently ended his mercantile career and by 1703 he had settled, permanently as it turned out, in England.

For awhile Newman was in the service of the Duke of Somerset, but the life of a courtier and politician had no appeal for him. More congenial employment came his way in 1708 when he was appointed secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a post which he held until his death in 1743. Newman was an ideal secretary for the Society. His colonial background, his interest in liberal Anglican theology acquired at Harvard under Leverett and Brattle, his early business ventures, and his acquaintance with the Court ensured the broad outlook desirable in a secretary whose job required him to oversee all phases of the Society's work, from the distribution of books and tracts and the fostering of charity schools throughout Britain to the encouragement of missions in the East Indies.

Shortly after Newman became the SPCK's secretary, he was appointed agent for the colony of New Hampshire, and he held these two posts concurrently for some thirty years. Unlike some other expatriates, Newman always maintained a deep interest in the welfare of his native country. He always considered himself an American and his extant correspondence contains numerous letters to his American cousins, to old business friends, and to New England clergymen, both Puritan and Anglican.

Newman was a bachelor, and he admitted that his work absorbed his whole life. His friendships were largely business and professional ones, and taverns and coffeehouses and the clubs that met therein supplied his social life. Once settled in London, Newman seems never to have left it, except for a few weeks spent at Hampstead while convalescing from an illness. He had lodgings over Whitehall Gate, then in the Middle Temple, of which he was a member, and finally in Bartlett's Buildings off Holborn, and when he died, he was buried in St. Andrew's Holborn. Neither the place of his grave nor any inscription that might have been on it is known today, but as Mr. Cowie points out, an obituary Newman wrote for a physician friend, "His friendship and Charity kept Pace," might well have been his own.

Leonard Cowie's book is packed with facts, and the appended bibliography makes it abundantly clear that the author spared no effort to uncover every last bit of information relative to his subject. In spite of this, Henry Newman remains a shadowy figure buried under detailed descriptions of SPCK proceedings. At times attention is so firmly fixed on the Society that Mr. Cowie seems to be writing a history of the SPCK rather than undertaking a life of one of its secretaries. Probably he is not entirely to blame for the unsatisfactory nature of this biography, for it is not easy to write a warm, lively story of anyone when minute books, official letters, and business papers constitute the chief sources of information. Nevertheless, I put the book down with a dissatisfied feeling and the firm conviction that had
Mr. Cowie given more thought to the requirements and limitations of a biography, he might have given us Newman's portrait in oils instead of his silhouette only.

Philadelphia Historical Commission  MARGARET B. TINKCOM


Representing the third in a series of conferences held at Williamsburg in 1952-1953, the present volume is a companion to Whitfield J. Bell's *Early American Science: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, published in 1955. The present volume comprises two items: Dr. Fenton's timely essay, originally read on February 19, 1953, and presented here in a revised and presumably amplified version, covers twenty-five pages of printed text; the bibliography, designed as a more permanent aid to research, fills ninety-two pages. Included in a single volume, they may serve as a monument to the ethnologists' discovery of history.

The American ethnologists' neglect or unskillful use of historical sources, and the historians' general preoccupation with fields other than that of the American Indian, are the factors which have produced the present "need and opportunity." The first of these phenomena is perhaps the more curious, and may come to look even stranger in retrospect; but Dr. Fenton has worked ably to correct the defect, as bibliographical entries on pages 41-42 of the present work demonstrate. The consequences of this neglect may be illustrated in a minor way by the fact that a purported Indian town, Alamino, documented only by a fabricated captivity narrative, has got into ethnological literature, where it appears as recently as 1952 in a publication of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Recognition of the need and opportunity for study is implicit in the current vogue of the dubiously defined term *ethnohistory*, meaning, apparently, co-operation not only between ethnologists and historians, but also with archaeologists, philologists, and others for more effective study of our Indians. Undoubtedly, much of the current interest in this field is a product of the Federal Indian Claims cases. Whether the long-term effects of this stimulus will be as beneficial as Dr. Fenton seems to expect, or as detrimental as some others fear, remains to be seen. It may be anticipated that
some, at least, of the Indian Claims researchers will live to learn the difference between legal decisions and scholarly conclusions; and in the meantime there is underway a great accumulation and exchange of data which may be accessible hereafter to more detached and impartial students.

Dr. Fenton’s essay is lively and stimulating, though the first-person style and the note of restrained enthusiasm cannot have the same effect in print as in direct address. The reference on page 25 to a meeting held at Columbus, Ohio, in 1952, presumably refers to a conference (not planned by Indian Claims workers) held on November 20-21, 1953. Further reference to this conference and to its journal appears on page 76.

The second and longer part of this book, the bibliography, is not easily evaluated without more practical use than time has yet afforded. Criticism of individual omissions and inclusions is easy but not necessarily important. The list is subdivided topically into seven parts, ranging from “Reference and Bibliographical Aids” to “Special Topics.” Outside the bibliography proper, Fenton’s bibliographical comments in his essay (pp. 5-19) are enlightening and useful. The compilers defend (p. 121) their inclusion of a novel (Conrad Richter’s The Light in the Forest); and the reviewer misses Archibald Loudon’s Selection of ... Outrages, Committed by the Indians ... (Carlisle, Pa., 1808-1811; reprinted, Harrisburg, 1888), which contains John McCullough’s sympathetic reminiscences of captivity, authentic if less artistic than Richter’s novel. To describe the Pennsylvania Colonial Records (p. 96) as “succeeded by Pennsylvania Archives” is not very helpful.

One notes The Handbook of American Indians, edited by Frederick W. Hodge, deservedly praised both by Fenton (p. 5) and by the bibliographers (p. 34); but historians, who probably have made the most uncritical use of this work, now almost fifty years old, should be cautioned that it is a collection of notes by different authorities, varying somewhat in historical skill and reliability. John R. Swanton’s Indian Tribes of North America, on the other hand, is praised by Fenton as the “finial to the capstone” of that student’s work (p. 5), but is viewed much more objectively in the bibliography (p. 37). Swanton, whose work is undocumented, could confidently classify Delaware bands as Munsee, Unami, or Unalachtigo, unconcerned whether the term Unami could be documented before 1756, or Unalachtigo earlier than 1769.

It is unfortunate that so commendable a book should bear so inconvenient a caption. The shorter title used on the binding suggests a historical study of a kind belied by the slender proportions of the volume; and there seems no good reason for the variant title, “Indian and White Relations in Eastern North America: A Common Ground for History and Ethnology,” which appears on pages 1 and 29, prefacing the two sections of the book.

Harrisburg

William A. Hunter

Of all the Founding Fathers none was more consistent, more single-minded, more certain of where he was going and where the Republic ought to go than Alexander Hamilton. It is one of the many virtues of Mr. Mitchell's substantial volume (which covers the first thirty-three years of Hamilton's relatively brief life) that it makes this utterly clear. At the age of fourteen young Hamilton knew himself well enough to write, in his earliest surviving letter: "to confess my weakness . . . my ambition is prevalent, so that I contemn the groveling condition of a clerk . . . and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station." And barely a year later, in a local West Indian newspaper, he announced to an inattentive world the main theme of the Hamiltonian political philosophy, when he praised the British system of government for concentrating power in the office of the Prime Minister and added: "I think this wise regulation a wholesome restraint on the people [whose] turbulence, at times . . . requires a Dictator."

Alexander Hamilton never became and probably never wanted to become a dictator. But he never faltered in his admiration for the British system of government; he always distrusted the democratic mass for its turbulence and variableness; and he eventually became "prime minister" in the cabinet of the regal George Washington. It was part of his philosophy, as indeed it was with the whole generation of the Founding Fathers, that the ineradicable vices and passions of men could be made to check and counteract each other to the ultimate safety of the Republic. Though many of us will continue to find Thomas Jefferson a more inspiring figure, who of us, living under the Constitution which Hamilton defended so ably and the government which he helped launch so successfully, will regret that he was ambitious? Professor Mitchell, incidentally, denies that personal ambition or love of power was Hamilton's "motive force." One can agree that his devotion to the Federalist policies was "in no sense narrow nor interested," but if one reads the record as Hamilton himself read human history, one will still see the human traits of ambition and love of power in it.

Professor Mitchell sets the record of Hamilton's early life before us in almost overwhelming detail from its obscure beginnings in the West Indies through the Revolutionary years (when the young soldier stood next to glory as General Washington's aide-de-camp and finally achieved his own measure of glory at Redoubt Number 10 on the field of Yorktown) down to the fateful period of the framing and ratification of the Constitution. He rightly underlines the fact that, like many American statesmen of his generation, Hamilton learned his political lessons in the school of the soldier. He shows us how very early—even before independence was securely won—Hamilton came to his convictions with regard to the necessity of organic
union, the virtues of a national debt and a national bank, and the importance of sustaining the public credit. He acknowledges that Hamilton got out of touch with American political reality when he broached his scheme for an elective dictatorship in the Constitutional Convention, but has high praise for the skillful political propaganda and analysis of his *Federalist* papers and the superb political managing by which he pushed the Constitution through the reluctant New York ratifying convention. Incidentally, Mr. Mitchell accepts the new evidence which pushes Hamilton’s birth back from the traditionally accepted date of 1757 to 1755 and makes him two years older at the commencement of his American political career than we used to think. Even so, the record of his amazing political sophistication in his twenties suggests that he crossed the bridge from youth to maturity remarkably early. In so doing he hastened the maturing of the American nation.

Biography is, or can be, both history and literature. Mr. Mitchell’s book is splendid history, full-bodied and massively documented. It is perhaps not quite literature. In some passages the style is curiously craggy and elliptical (“Already had been building up, to later culmination, the Conway cabal, genuine or supposed, to substitute Gates for Washington as commander in chief”). In others there is a straining for the memorable phrase that results too often in bathos (“When the American Mars loosened armor, he was found to be wearing political diapers”). And nowhere does much human warmth come through, or much personal magnetism. But if Mr. Mitchell’s *Hamilton* is not quite in the class of Van Doren’s *Franklin* or Malone’s *Jefferson*, it may be because the biographer has a different type of man to portray—colder, less various, and less engaging. Still, this is surely the best biography we have, or are likely to have for a long time, of a great and remarkably consistent American.

*Swarthmore College*

FREDERICK B. TOLLES


When the twelve letters of Major Baurmeister during the Philadelphia campaign of 1777-1778 appeared in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in October, 1935, and January and April, 1936, they provided a delightful foretaste to the present volume. That series, translated by Dr. Uhlendorf and the late Miss Edna Vosper, fills only about ninety pages, or less than fifteen per cent of the pages in *Revolution in America*. Moreover, those dozen letters have had some additions made to them, and, like the
other letters from 1776 to 1784, have been carefully annotated. The result is a significant and important contribution to the documentary history of the American Revolution.

Upon Baurmeister, as adjutant general of the Hessian forces employed by the British government, fell the duty of reporting to Baron Von Jungkenn, Lord High Chancellor and later Minister of State to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, whose troops comprised half the mercenaries from the five German principalities—all generally termed Hessians. The letters give a complete and interesting account of every move and disposition of the Hessian troops in the main British army under Howe, Clinton, and Carleton. About the mercenaries under Burgoyne and Haldimand in Canada, and those serving in the southern campaigns, Baurmeister had to rely upon reports received from time to time at British headquarters, occasional letters from German commanders, the rebel press, and the New York newspapers. This was true also of all naval and military activities in the West Indies.

As an observer, with the detached view of one who owed allegiance but not esteem to his employers, Baurmeister might be expected to appraise both sides without too much bias and Dr. Uhlendorf feels that “as a keen observer and a shrewd interpreter,” he tried to differentiate between mere hearsay and propaganda. Whenever the translator felt that Baurmeister had been misled by newspaper articles, he has footnoted the fact. However, James Rivington’s *Royal Gazette* and the Robertson brothers’ *Royal American Gazette* contained numerous fabrications which the German officer accepted as truth. An example is Baurmeister’s statement that both Gates and Wayne were Washington’s enemies, “the latter openly,” and that Congress was very much in fear “of this barbarian [Washington].”

When Baurmeister tells of what is happening around British headquarters he is on firmer ground, and some of his comments are most illuminating. He discloses that Clinton and Admiral Gambier, in 1779, had “never been on good terms.” Commenting upon the heavy expenditures of the British army under Clinton, he remarks that Carleton, the new commander in chief, had declared that the war “must be waged against the rebels and not against the British Treasury.” Perhaps the largest contribution of new material to the history of the war is made by Baurmeister in his letters following Yorktown. He gives a vivid account of the partisan warfare around New York, of the panic of the Loyalists, and of the long-drawn-out period after hostilities ended and until the evacuation by the British was completed in the closing days of 1783.

As has been stated, the letters are well annotated, but there are a few places where Dr. Uhlendorf, despite his “laborious searching,” has been mistaken, or misled. The Lieutenant Hele to whom Baurmeister entrusted his letter of July 4, 1780, is “not identified” (p. 349) as Lieutenant Christopher Hele, the sea officer who was to deliver the Peace Commissioners’ Manifesto to Congress (pp. 240, 241). The frigates *Effingham* and *Wash-
ington were sunk, not "burned by the Americans to prevent their falling into British hands" (p. 174, note). Major Ferguson was killed at King's Mountain, not Fish Dam Ford (pp. 286, 393, notes). The British privateer Surprise, unidentified in a footnote (p. 460), was a schooner of eight 4-pounders and one 12-pounder, and thirty-seven men, commanded by a Captain Ross. The Honorable Keith Elphinstone was captain, not master, of the Warwick (p. 507, note).

In the index there is confusion about the Campbells, which is understandable, considering the number of Scotsmen by that name in the British army. The Lieutenant Colonel Campbell taken prisoner and paroled (p. 289) was George, not John; the John Campbell at Pensacola (p. 398) was not the John Campbell who took over the command at Penobscot (p. 532); the Colonel Campbell who was active in Georgia (p. 261) was Archibald, not John; and finally, the lieutenant general who was to sail for Nova Scotia (p. 588) was John, not Archibald. Such errors in index and footnotes in no way detract from the scholarly work of Dr. Uhlendorf. That they are so few this captious reviewer considers a remarkable achievement, particularly when one realizes that there are 896 notes in the volume. Revolution in America is a must for every library, public or private, and students, amateur or professional, should learn much from its contents.

Brevard, N. C. William Bell Clark

Background to Glory: The Life of George Rogers Clark. By John Bakeless.
(Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1957. 386 p. Frontispiece, index. $6.00.)

"The moment the baby was born, they saw that he had red hair. It was an auspicious omen." So John Bakeless begins his romantic story of the adventurous George Rogers Clark. And romantic it is, from beginning to end, sometimes clouded in darker tints, more often brightly colored in the hues of victory.

However, in spite of being carried away now and then by a devotion to the individual, the author presents, for the first time, an interesting, readable, and essentially accurate account of the Revolutionary exploits of the hero of the Northwest.

Background to Glory is not to be considered a definitive biographical study of George Rogers Clark. The early life and backgrounds of Clark are dispensed with in the opening pages and the post-Revolutionary period is likewise concisely covered. Actually, Mr. Bakeless emphasizes the pinnacle of Clark's career, the winning of the "Old Northwest." While Clark is never
forgotten as the axis of the narrative, the book is the story of the ragged, half-starved frontier army which marched to victory after victory north of the Ohio, subduing Indians, surprising British army officers, and, in the end, becoming acknowledged as the victor in the wilderness.

Never for a moment is the story dull or plodding. It reads like an excellently written novel, and, if the author overplays certain phases of Clark's career, he is excused on the grounds of composing a book which will be welcomed by scholars and lay readers alike.

There are moments of inaccuracy. The Battle of Piqua, as is known to all Ohioans at least, did not take place near present Piqua, but rather a few miles west of Springfield. By the same token, the Little Miami and Great Miami rivers are sometimes interchanged and confused (also true of the route of Clark as depicted on the inside cover). Both these errors, of course, are understandable. Seldom do the early accounts make fine distinctions and present-day place names only add to the confusion.

Mr. Bakeless' reference to the holding of the frontier posts by the British is interesting since it infers that the orders for holding them came from Haldimand. In the first instance, this was undoubtedly true. However, as Mr. Bemis points out in his *Jay's Treaty*, the binding order with relation to the posts came from George III on April 8, 1784, after he had been pressured with appeals from British merchants interested in the fur trade.

Perhaps, too, it is too bad that the post-Revolutionary period of Clark's life is skipped over so quickly and gingerly. Recent research indicates that Clark's activities in 1793-1794 were more than just means to recoup his fortunes. Materials in the Wayne Collection at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania seem to point to a liaison among "Tarnished Warrior" Wilkinson, "Whiskey Rebel" Bradford, and Clark of Kentucky. The British intrigue of this particular period is almost completely omitted. The reader also receives the impression that Carondelet of Spanish Louisiana was being given at least moral support from Simcoe in Upper Canada. This, too, can be questioned, as Carondelet's repeated appeals for a junction of the two forces, British and Spanish, were turned down.

However, as a story of frontier warfare, as the narration of the lives of those who fought it, and as a glowing, readable account of a phase of frontier and Revolutionary history usually dismissed with a line or two, *Background to Glory* ranks with Bell Wiley's *Billy Yank* and *Johnny Reb* and with other similar accounts of our nation's adventurous periods. Perhaps more than anything else, it is proof that readable yet generally accurate history can be written which will be acceptable to the scholar as well as to the lay reader. While some refinements could have been made in terms of accuracy, and, perhaps, in terms of emphasis, Mr. Bakeless' volume presents, in an admirable fashion, this oftentimes glossed-over saga of the American frontier.

*Anthony Wayne Parkway Board*  
*Richard C. Knopp*

The figure of Henry Clay has attracted little attention or admiration from recent historians, and the present volume will not inaugurate a Clay renaissance, nor is it meant to. Professor Eaton admires Clay and gives full attention to his abilities and his charm, but the presentation is too honest to encourage adulation.

No new figure emerges from this study. Clay remains the poor Virginia boy whose charm, political skill, and advantageous marriage raised him to eminence and financial respectability in the Kentucky West. The "mill-boy of the Slashes" became a slave owner, a (tariff protected) hemp grower, a social arbiter, and a local and then national politician. He was a charming, oratorically gifted, humane, and civilized gentleman, who really believed that he never pursued high office, never practiced "low political arts," cherished the common (American) man, and "would rather be right than be President." He was also, as this book indicates, a politician consumed by ambition who did not hesitate to attack violently his own leaders, whose rule-or-ruin policy wrecked his own party, who talked out of every side of his mouth to gain the Presidency, and who did not even understand the full concomitants of his own policies.

Professor Eaton portrays Clay as a regionalist until about 1830, then as a nationalist spokesman. But the nationalism he espoused was that of industrial capitalism; that is, "he became a kind of Western doughface." By his policies of a protective tariff, a national bank, and restricted land sales the erstwhile Jeffersonian became "the leader, not of the democratic masses, but of the party whose dominant element belonged to the broadcloth class." The irony, and in some respects the most characteristic element, of Clay's life was that he never understood this.

Professor Eaton does not overemphasize Clay's achievements. Thus Clay "did not make a notable Secretary of State." In Kentucky affairs "he devoted little attention to social reform . . . to free schools or care of the handicapped and underprivileged. Nor did he later exert himself to promote the railroad development of Kentucky." It is clear also from the book that as a leader of the opposition to Jackson's personal rule Clay was no more fractious and demanding than when as leader of the majority he destroyed President Tyler and his own party to maintain his own position. In a larger sense, as the author notes, Clay suffered the fate of the moderate in an age of the polarization of thought; in a period of increasing egalitarianism he represented an older conservative tradition; in the dawning era of the self-effacing party manipulator he remained the political prima donna who could neither submerge opposing viewpoints under his own overwhelming personality nor lose sight of himself in his party's success.
What remained for him to be, he was. A true lover of the Union, he was also a pure empiricist who “thought that he acted from fixed political principles but actually he moved largely by intuition, playing by ear.” A humanitarian rather than a reformer, he never felt the zealot’s white heat. Hence he was a compromiser par excellence. In times of crises he put together various proposals, neither brilliant in themselves nor original with him, and with personal charm and political skill he secured their adoption, or (as in the Compromise of 1850) prepared the way for others to do so. In this he perfectly personified the art of American politics.

This interesting book suffers from some defects. The well-known is occasionally explained while the less familiar or more complex is slighted. Occasionally repetitious, the treatment seems to shift between the chronological and the topical in an effort to present the full picture of Clay. Nevertheless, the book is the best short treatment of Clay’s career, and provides a very sympathetic but honest treatment of a man who very narrowly missed a rather high rank of greatness.

Rice Institute

W. H. Masterson


So excellent is this study of the pre-presidential career of James K. Polk that it can confidently be described as “definitive.” Professor Sellers set no narrow limits to his inquiry. He has probed deeply, and with evident enthusiasm, into the personality of Polk, the turbulent currents of Tennessee politics, the great public questions of the Jackson era, and the involved maneuverings that shaped national political movements. Although Polk was a minor figure down to 1844, this biography represents a contribution of the first magnitude to the historiography of the period. For the years under consideration it quite displaces the able earlier work by E. I. McCormac.

Sellers’ Polk was intensely and single-mindedly dedicated to the profession of politics. Possessed of limited natural gifts and devoid of the spectacular attributes of leadership that distinguished many of his political generation, he nevertheless rose rapidly to the fore in Tennessee and twice filled the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives. His ambition was irrepressible and his capacity for dogged application to the tasks required by his profession seemingly had no limits. His stock of political principles was meager and included the primitive Jeffersonian dogma of 1798 reinforced by his reverence for the agrarian simplicity of the Old Mecklenburg he had known as a child and by his southern provincialism. Early in his political career he became a devoted follower of Jackson and,
unlike many Tennessee Jacksonians, he remained loyal to the "old hero" to the end.

Sellers' brilliant presentation of the intricate and even bewildering pattern of politics that prevailed in Tennessee and his shrewd analysis of Polk's course with respect to national Democratic politics will offer a challenge to those who would seek to explain "Jacksonian democracy" in terms of some simple formula. Even Sellers, when he attempts generalizations about the "democratic awakening," or about the role of the "entrepreneurial democracy," or about the "inchoate democratic aspirations of countless Americans," experiences difficulties in relating such observations to the actual course of politics in Tennessee. Judge Catron's succinct description, "Our state follows men, is clanish [sic], has no very strongly held creeds . . . " (p. 351), would seem to fit the facts nicely.

It should be added that this is a historical biography written with such verve and perceptivity that the scholarly reader will derive from it real enjoyment as well as intellectual profit.

Rutgers, The State University

Richard P. McCormick


The history of prison reform in America has been almost a no man's land, with sources often inaccessible to the historian and of little concern to the busy prison administrator. Professor Teeters and his collaborator, John Shearer, Director of the Diagnostic Center at the Eastern Penitentiary, have long been interested in the history of this remarkable Philadelphia institution which was not only important in the development of the so-called "Pennsylvania System" of penal treatment, but was to become the architectural prototype for most of the prisons built in Europe and Asia.

The Prison at Philadelphia is written in a popular style, but it nonetheless assembles a great deal of data not easily available to the student of history or penology, some from documents heretofore buried or lost in the archives of the prisons. There are also a number of plans, old engravings, and photographs of the prison which add considerably to the interest and value of the book. The authors begin their story by sketching the background of Quaker penal philosophy and developments in the Pennsylvania criminal law leading up to the creation of "Cherry Hill" in 1821. This is followed by sections dealing with the construction of the prison, early investigations, and a chapter titled "Prison Practices and Policies," which presents some
interesting materials illustrating the actual working of the Pennsylvania System of solitary confinement, stories of escapes, of inmate labor and many other things, in some cases seen through the writings of the wardens and other officials in their logs and journals. There is also a chapter on the rise and fall of the distinctive regimen of solitary confinement so closely associated with the Philadelphia prison.

The authors include a number of anecdotes, some brief life histories of prisoners taken from Charles Dickens' account of his visit to the famous prison, and glimpses of the social life of nineteenth-century Philadelphia, all of which should make this book of interest to other readers than students of penal reform. In these descriptions of prison reform during the last century, and especially in Pennsylvania, one is again reminded of the prominent place that such matters occupied in the life of the community and its leaders. Penal treatment was one of the burning issues of the day and as such commanded the energies of the elite of the community. We find such names as Bishop William White, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Roberts Vaux, Judge Charles Coxe, and many others in this account of the Eastern Penitentiary.

The final brief chapter, "Influence of the Pennsylvania System," was somewhat of a disappointment to the reviewer. It contained only a fragmentary account of the European adoption and modification of the System, and nothing on its early trials by several American states. Some of the material in this last chapter would seem to belong more properly in other portions of the book.

In spite of this small criticism, The Prison at Philadelphia is an accurate account of the development of what was perhaps the most important prison ever built. The authors point out something too often forgotten by contemporary penologists without the corrective perspective of history, namely, that the Pennsylvania System was based on the perfectly accurate and sensible observation that prisons corrupt rather than better their inmates. Though the nineteenth-century solution to this problem subsequently proved to be unworkable, the problem of contamination in prison is still with us. Teeters and Shearer, by giving us an up-to-date picture of an old problem, have written a book which could be read with profit by most prison administrators as well as historians.

University of Pennsylvania

Norman Johnston


The editor of Holmes's Civil War letters and diary and of the Holmes-Laski letters has written a biography of the jurist's early manhood which
the publisher rightly claims "is of the stature of Holmes himself." Once secretary to Holmes and now Professor of Law at Harvard, Mr. Howe is thoroughly conversant with his subject. He knows intimately the kind of world that produced Holmes and by training and experience is qualified to write with understanding and discernment of those years when Holmes's character was set and his preparation for life made.

The family of the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table enjoyed among the amenities of life conversation with people of culture while enduring the "unutterable ennui" of half-Puritan Boston Sundays. In such an atmosphere Holmes developed interests that were literary, philosophical, and artistic. He doubted certain aspects of his religious inheritance, but his exuberant and versatile father's failure to concentrate his talents may well have "stirred the embers of those Puritan instincts in the son which demanded seriousness, industry, and direction of effort."

Dissimilar in temperament and performance, the two were fundamentally of one mold of mind and style. The son shied away from the ardors of a life and training deeply saturated with religious principles. He was attracted by the challenges of positivism and of the scientific approach that the work of Charles Darwin accentuated. Nevertheless, his unforgettable statement that "no man has earned the right to intellectual ambition until he has learned to lay his course by a star which he has never seen, to dig by the divining rod for springs which he may never reach" contains an echo of the father's assertion that "a man may fulfil the object of his existence by asking a question he cannot answer, and attempting a task he cannot achieve."

Holmes's undergraduate conduct at Harvard included the satisfaction of the "sprightlier elements" of his nature. Youthful escapades evidenced a revulsion to the precepts taught, and stimulated an intellectual independence that pointed to the future performance of a confirmed thinker. His doubts as to the adequacies of his college course ended when he answered the call to arms in 1861.

The two chapters on Holmes's voluntary service in the Civil War will be to many the most interesting and illuminating in the book. As an infantry lieutenant in the Twentieth Massachusetts he was wounded in the battles of Ball's Bluff, Antietam, and Chancellorsville. Promoted to lieutenant colonel on staff duty he finished his three years' service after the Battle of the Wilderness. He returned to civilian life because he could no longer "endure the labors and hardships of the line." In later years he seems to have regretted having decided for himself the scope of his duties. "His greatest loyalty and his greatest admiration were given to those associates who made gallantry their ideal and who cared little for the constitutional and moral cause for which they fought."

Military service disciplined and prepared Holmes much as did John Marshall's service as a soldier in the Revolution. War taught him not only to distrust his own opinions, but to respect the convictions of others. The boy who indulged a taste for tales of heroic deeds and noble aspiration be-
came the man whose ideals were the qualities of the gentleman rather than the tenets of religion. Without losing his "sympathy for the feelings of an early age," he became fully conversant with the life of the current century.

He had misgivings about his father's urging him to make the law his profession, but he knew that legal training would not preclude a career in literature. After a year at Harvard Law School the scholar-soldier became a dedicated candidate for the bar. His reading spread to a larger field. Henceforth his commanding interests were law and philosophy. After two years he entered a Boston law office to prepare finally for admission to the bar and to follow the daily routine of the young apprentice.

On a trip abroad close association with men of acknowledged distinction in letters and in public life gave him a new mental stimulus. He discovered the need for philosophers in a field where lawyers and judges had sought a practical solution to their problems. By temperament and by taste and equipped with a "mind possessing analytical and logical capacities," Holmes sought "through mastery of the law to qualify himself for the resolution of the larger questions which lie beyond its outer limits."

He once desired political office as "another challenge to his capacity, another opportunity to prove his strength." His admission late in life that his ambition lacked the purity that he found in others affirmed the beliefs of those who considered it excessive and his aspirations ruthless. With industry and scholarship came the recognition he deeply cherished; with accomplishment and with age came, particularly from the young, the admiration he had sought. By then "the quality of selfish aspiration which had offended some of his earlier friends had dissolved."

The author has treated fairly the abundant material in the early life of Justice Holmes and has given us a fully documented biography which sets a standard for the one or more volumes which it is hoped will shortly follow.

Philadelphia

HAROLD D. SAYLOR


No single organization in the United States has ever contributed as much to arouse public interest in the arts as the much-maligned Works Progress Administration. Not only did it encourage practitioners of painting, sculpture, music and the drama, it also supported historical research for the recovery of our hitherto unknown artistic heritage. In 1940 the New Jersey Historical Records Survey of the W. P. A., under the direction of Dr. George C. Groce, issued in mimeographed form 1440 Early American Artists. This valuable book provided data on hundreds of artists for the first time. After
the war, the New-York Historical Society, which has been for more than a century the leading private agency interested in our early art, took over the project, and this monumental Dictionary of Artists by Messrs. Groce and Wallace is thus the triumphant culmination of more than twenty years of devoted labor.

In the Dictionary the term artist is given a very broad scope to include painters, sculptors, draftsmen, engravers, figurehead carvers, silhouette cutters, and medalists who worked in this country prior to 1860. Strangely, the first artist-photographers are omitted. Wherever possible, the full name, dates of birth and death, chronology of residence, media, exhibitions, and pupils are given. There are also references to the principal sources at the end of each sketch; and the "Key to Citation of Sources" at the back of the volume is the best general bibliography of American Art the reviewer has ever seen. Based as far as possible on primary sources, this is an authoritative work of the highest value. In short, the authors have given us a book of reference that immediately takes its place with such great reference tools on American culture as Evans, Sabin, Brigham, and the Dictionary of American Biography.

The book has to be seen and used before its true value can be made evident; but a few of its many fine features may be pointed out. In the first half of its history, this country can no longer be regarded as artistically poverty-stricken. A quick count of the names in this volume shows that from 1564 to 1700 only seventeen "artists" were at work, but for the eighteenth century to the end of the colonial period 169 are listed. The fear of the Founding Fathers and the belief of many writers since that a republic would not cherish the arts, because of the absence of aristocratic patronage, turns out to be an intellectual cliché when we note that something over 9,815 individuals engaged in some form of artistic activity between independence and the Civil War.

During our colonial era artists were predominantly of English birth or descent; in the early national period the large number of Germans is most impressive, and as time passed the rapid increase of French and other foreign names is striking. Talent frequently ran in families, as in the cases of the painting Peales and the engraving Mavericks. Philadelphia seems to have been the engraving and lithographing center for most of the time covered, and it shared supremacy in painting only with New York in the nineteenth century. Certainly the Quakers did not prove actively hostile to the arts; and there are ample indications that a history of the artistic life of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania is long overdue.

The authors ask for additional names to be included in future editions, but so comprehensive is the Dictionary that very few omissions were noted. A Philadelphian named Creamer (Kremer) instructed in "some kinds of Painting" at the Academy of Philadelphia in 1754. Peter Harrison of Newport and New Haven was a skilled draftsman and his son Thomas a painter; and at Boston one How painted in 1774, while a year earlier the press noted
in an obituary the promise in painting of Shrimpton, the son of Governor Thomas Hutchinson.

The Groce and Wallace *Dictionary* (as scholars will doubtless soon refer to it) richly provides the essential foundations on which the history of the arts in America can now be securely erected.

*University of California, Berkeley*  

**CARL BRIDENBAUGH**

*The Cabinetmakers of America.* By Ethel Hall Bjerkoe, assisted by John Arthur Bjerkoe. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957. xx, 252 p. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography. $10.00.)

For the specialist in American furniture dating roughly from 1650-1830 there are five or more well-known books which include regional lists of American cabinetmakers. There are also five or more copiously illustrated books devoted to the entire geographic field which also list cabinetmakers. Mrs. Bjerkoe's book belongs in the latter category, but it is largely a check list of American cabinetmakers and their biographies rather than a volume of photographs and text. She has gathered together, from many sources, information concerning American cabinetmakers, their lives and works, which comprises approximately 232 pages. The fact that most of this material has been published before does not detract from its value to the student, who can refer to it far more readily between the covers of one book.

The introduction by an old-timer in the field, Russell Hawes Kettell, is appreciative of the time spent in compilation and looks forward toward modern microscopic methods of identification of woods. The book starts out with a section entitled "Cabinet Making as it Developed in America." To some it may seem an "old hat" approach; but it is brief and is a necessary link to the check list, which, with its photographic plates and drawings, follows. Both plates and drawings are purposely sparse compared to preceding works. They are uniformly good, and illustrate documented examples wherever possible; otherwise they adequately emphasize key details in specific types of furniture. The check list is cross-referenced with the photographic plates. This allows a handy basis of comparison.

Although Mrs. Bjerkoe does not often quote original manuscripts as source material, she does quote in most instances well-known writers in specialized fields. There are several cases in which she is content with mentioning the name of the publication from which she gleaned her information, not the author or his source. The method of accepting a previous author's word in place of checking the original manuscripts, where available, can result in the repetition of an error. For example, it is a fact that at least one of the frequently mentioned authors on Mrs. Bjerkoe's list never has revealed the whereabouts of his source material. Mrs. Bjerkoe's bibliography should certainly contain *The Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and*
South Carolina, 1721-1800, by Alfred Coxe Prime, and Arts & Crafts in New York, 1726-1776, compiled by Rita S. Gottesman and printed by the New-York Historical Society. These two works list the same sort of broadsides and contemporary documentation supplied by George F. Dow in Arts & Crafts of New England, which Mrs. Bjerkoe has used.

In leafing through Alfred Coxe Prime's Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia, 1721-1785, I found between the letters H to L mention of eight cabinetmakers or joiners not listed by Mrs. Bjerkoe. These men either advertised between those years in a local newspaper or were recorded in the minutes of the Common Council of Philadelphia. I do not doubt that there would be other omissions should one comb through both volumes mentioned above.

Mr. Kettell states that there are bound to be additions to Mrs. Bjerkoe's check list from time to time, but perhaps he did not realize how substantial her list might be. Mrs. Bjerkoe has omitted none of the well-publicized and currently well-known American cabinetmakers. She has included many "scarcely known" names, some of which may become prominent when undiscovered documented furniture can safely be attached to them. There are some 2,500 names in all.

It was interesting to read Mrs. Bjerkoe's attribution of the "Guilford Chests" to Charles Gillam of Old Saybrook, Connecticut. Her attribution seems to be based on the location of specimens discovered and on the propinquity of a cabinetmaker at a given period. As a speculation it is possible; other attributions have been maintained on less evidence. It was gratifying to find Mrs. Bjerkoe's correct dating of the Bachman family of Lancaster which she quotes from the family records of a descendent, Herbert B. Weaver of that city. Jacob Bachman (1798-1869) is often confused with John Bachman, II (1746-1812). The latter apparently made most of the elaborately carved Chippendale furniture which in many instances had formerly been attributed to Jacob.

Mrs. Bjerkoe mentions amusing instances when she "traveled thousands of miles" in search of material. It is a little to be regretted that she did not exhaust more fully sources at hand. Nevertheless, her check list, as it stands, though incomplete, will serve the student, the museum, and the more casual collector alike, as a highly valuable compendium of American cabinetmakers contained for the first time in a single volume.

Wilmington, Del. David Hunt Stockwell


As the author points out in his introduction, this is not an architectural history but rather a monograph on a series of early plantation houses of
Maryland. He deplores the rapid inroads which neglect and unsupervised "restoration" have made among the antique structures of his state, and his book succeeds very well in preserving, by means of drawings and photographs, many buildings which are disappearing or being altered beyond recognition.

The volume under consideration is a sequel to *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*, which the author published in 1934. When the third volume is published, the three will form a trilogy in which Dr. Forman will have covered most of the early buildings of Maryland. The present volume ends with a tantalizing photograph of wattles and half-timber work, which the author promises to cover in his future book.

This is an extremely personal work. Not only has the author redefined accepted architectural and historical terms, he has also included photographs of his child, and of people and their servants who lived at various times in some of the houses. After a valuable explanation of early terms, the writer continues with the assertion that he has discovered, identified, and named five of the six architectural styles which prevailed in early Maryland. These include the American Indian, Medieval, Jacobean, Transitional, Georgian, and Hangover styles. By the last, the author means any recurrent style, such as the Gothic Revival, and the question may be raised as to whether there is any advantage in seeking new names when there are already names which serve their purpose. Isolated details do not necessarily constitute the development of a complete style.

The layman will be delighted with this book and its many illustrations and with the quaint names which have always characterized Maryland houses, like Ending of Controversie, Mount Misery, and Plaindealing. The scholar will find the numerous photographs and drawings of great interest, and the architect will be interested in the handsome restoration of Mrs. Mary Young Pickersgill's Town House, which has been recently completed by the author in association with Wrenn, Lewis and Jencks. There is a short bibliography and an index.

*University of Virginia*  
**Frederick Doveton Nichols**


The second volume of the Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures in Americana contains eleven essays concentrating for the most part on the relationship between the early history of Dickinson College and the community, state, and nation which it serves. Read individually or together, the papers transcend local history, taking on a wider significance precisely because the authors root their discussions firmly at the local level and then relate them
to important events in the development of America. In the case of Dickinson, this seems to have been not too difficult a task, for this small college has long touched the lives of a great many Americans and many great Americans, to the advantage of both the individuals and the institution.

The papers are arranged roughly in chronological order, the first six dealing with the founders and the founding of the College, and the last five discussing the nineteenth-century careers of three students and two professors. President Edel gets the book off to a good start with a brief but charming sketch of the College from its founding to the crisis of 1832-1833, and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., follows with an essay on founder John Montgomery which is the best available anywhere (he is not even listed in the Dictionary of American Biography). John Dickinson, appropriately enough, rates two essays, a tribute by Justice James Miller Tunnell of Delaware for his work as a founding father of our constitutional system and a discerning analysis by Frederick B. Tolles of Quaker influence on Dickinson. Charles Page Smith’s essay on James Wilson and the era of the American Revolution and Brooke Hindle’s paper on American culture and the migrations of the Revolutionary era have little direct connection with the College, but each demonstrates conclusively how right the planners of the series were in broadening the scope of the lectures beyond Dickinsoniana to Americana.

Students and faculty are the heart of any college and we get fairly representative examples of both in this book. Philip Klein gives a good picture of young James Buchanan’s boisterous student days and his later relations with the College, John A. Munroe contributes an excellent biographical sketch of Henry Moore Ridgely’s academic, political, and civic career, and Mary Elizabeth Burtis summarizes Moncure Conway’s search for religious and secular truth. The two faculty members are studies in contrast: in a pleasant paper Elmer Charles Herber traces the placid professional career of Spencer F. Baird as he advances from student and later professor at Dickinson to assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, while Harold A. Larrabee, in an urbane essay on an apostle of reason in the declining years of the Age of Reason, discusses the turbulent life of truculent Thomas Cooper.

The lectures, though varying widely in coverage and style, are of a uniformly high caliber, but each reader will have his favorites. Mine are those by Bell, Hindle, and Larrabee. Bell’s essay on Montgomery is a brilliant illustration of what persevering research can do, even when no collected body of manuscript material exists. By combing the manuscripts of Benjamin Rush and Montgomery’s other coworkers, Bell has ferreted out a surprising amount of information and has written a concise, well-integrated account. Hindle has also tapped a wide variety of sources for his analysis of American culture, one of the most original and provocative essays in this collection. He challenges the oft-repeated, seldom-criticized concept that the emigration of the Tories during the Revolution was a virtually mortal blow
to American culture by suggesting that the immigration of people to America during the war and immediate postwar period “more than made up for the losses incident to the loyalist emigrations.” Larrabee’s task was of a different sort, for Dumas Malone’s biography is the standard guide to Cooper’s life. But in his perceptive discussions of Cooper’s views on the right of free discussion and on the liberating effect of useful knowledge, Larrabee said some things that needed to be said in 1952 and which need constantly to be discussed in colleges such as Dickinson, dedicated as it is to religion and learning as “the bulwark of liberty.” The Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures in Americana are a distinctive contribution to the strengthening of that bulwark and to the advancement of the noble tradition of intellectual freedom.

James Morton Smith

Institute of Early American History and Culture


Admirers of Henry Charlton Beck’s earlier books on completely unknown or totally forgotten towns lying hidden off the beaten track in southern New Jersey will be greatly disappointed by this attempt to do for the whole state what was done so well in Forgotten Towns and Fare to Midlands. The earlier books had a spontaneity, an easy journalistic style, which gave them charm and readability quite apart from their content. They dealt with a region Beck knew well, and were written, primarily, for his column in a newspaper. This book covers far more territory, and emphasis is placed on a region to which he has come comparatively recently and as a clergyman. The two professions approach problems differently. Whatever the cause, the book does not hold the reader, fails to interest him from cover to cover.

The dust jacket claims that Mr. Beck “conjures up lost towns and legendary people,” an obvious exaggeration. The act of “conjuring” implies an element of magic. Mr. Beck’s writing, excellent in some places, does not have that magic quality that transmutes even the trivial into something one feels impelled to read for the writing’s sake if for nothing else. Many of the chapters could be skipped with no loss to the reader. Some, however, are done so well that to miss them would be a real loss. Much that is of greatest interest and value comes at the end of the book, and nearly all of this part concerns the southern portion of the state.

Mr. Beck has failed to take advantage of many locales of more than ordinary interest, and has concentrated on those of lesser interest. The chapter on Schooley’s Mountain is an example of this. In its day one of the most
famous and fashionable watering places in the country, it is given a short chapter of more than usual dullness. Surely there must be more to be said about such a place than has been recorded here, and more of greater interest to the reader. Legends, which are Mr. Beck’s chief interest, cluster around such places. The fashionable resort has disappeared, its once great hotels are slowly disintegrating and are now owned by outsiders many of whom have gone there to live in the seclusion to which it has sunk. How can one, using the method of interviewing the oldest inhabitant, get enough worth recording about such a place?

The same criticism could be made of the chapter, “New Jersey’s Sodoms.” The title is wonderful, and one plunges into the account with high hopes only to lose interest in the whole thing before finishing half the chapter. Such “let-downs” are frequent throughout the book, and are its chief fault.

Canal building and operation has always been the source of many legends and tall stories, and the old Morris Canal has produced its share of these. Mr. Beck’s chapter on the old Morris Canal is one of the better ones, and should be read. After giving some account of the company and its early difficulties, Mr. Beck plunges into an account of life along the canal banks, the turmoil at its locks, and does so in a manner that makes one wish for more. Something is told us of the lives and quarrels of the towpath walkers, of the “ladies of the Canal” and the feuds engendered by their presence, but not enough. It is this phase of the life of the canal from which legends and tall tales grow and in which reader interest centers. As Roads of Home is primarily a book of legends the reader feels thwarted by the fact that a field so rich as this one has been passed over so hurriedly.

“Purses of the Dead,” the chapter on the Morristown murders, is one of the gems of the collection. Strangely enough, one of the best stories in the book is not the product of talks with the “oldest inhabitant,” but was written as the result of the author’s perusal of a pamphlet on the subject. Printed for the benefit of the family of the executed, or to help defray his funeral expenses, such peculiarly nineteenth-century pamphlets gave a highly colorful account of the crime, the criminal, the victim and, often, the trial. Today, years from the crime, they make enjoyable reading and have become collectors’ items.

Another intensely interesting chapter, “The Butcher who was a Spy,” deals with quite another kind of person. John Honeyman, an emigrant from Ireland, was universally considered a spy in the pay of the British. Later research has vindicated him and proved him, on the contrary, to be a spy for the colonies. Mr. A. V. D. Honeyman, a descendant, was formerly a trustee of the New Jersey Historical Society, and Mr. Honeyman’s daughter is now its secretary. There is a great deal of material on Honeyman in the Society, and Mr. Beck has used this material and talks with descendants of Honeyman to good advantage.

Anyone who has motored to Smithville, that once model community not far from Philadelphia in South Jersey, will be fascinated by the account of
Hezekiah B. Smith, the eccentric founder and presiding genius of the town. Fast becoming one of the “lost towns,” it is still worth a visit; it has an aura of sadness and a nostalgia both poignant and pleasurable. Smith, who hailed from Vermont originally, was a real “character,” and Mr. Beck presents him in a most sympathetic light.

On the whole, *Roads of Home* has more to recommend it than not. Its greatest interest will be for the Jerseyman. Levels of interest run unevenly through the book, and never reach that peak that makes an unregenerate book buyer run off to secure a copy for his own.

*Philadelphia*  

**Audubon R. Davis**

*General George B. McClellan, Shield of the Union Army.* By *Warren W. Hassler, Jr.* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. xvi, 350 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliographical essay, index. $6.00.)

On May 3, 1861, McClellan became a full major general. Except for Scott, he was now the ranking general in the Union Army. McClellan’s military skill was so effectively demonstrated in western Virginia that Lincoln brought him east after the Union defeat on July 21 at Bull Run. He accordingly “assumed command of the division of the Potomac, comprising the troops in and around Washington, on both banks of the river” (p. 20). He said: “I found no army to command; a mere collection of regiments cowering on the banks of the Potomac, some perfectly raw, others dispirited by the recent defeat” (p. 23). McClellan proceeded to rebuild the Army of the Potomac. By March, 1862, he had made it into an army of strength.

Despite opposition in Washington, McClellan succeeded in moving his army down the Chesapeake Bay to take Richmond by way of the Peninsula. This plan led to several desperately fought battles. One of special interest was the battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines, on May 31, 1862. The first line of Union defense was held by General Silas Casey’s Division, which suffered severe losses. In reporting to Washington the performances of the various divisions, General McClellan placed the responsibility for most of the Union failures upon Casey’s men. McClellan’s telegram of June 1, in part, said: “Gen. Casey’s Division, which was in the front line, gave way unaccountably and disunitedly. . . . With the exception of Gen. Casey’s Division the men behaved splendidly.” Dr. Hassler has failed to mention McClellan’s severe indictment of Casey’s Division. General Casey, however, resented the attack and came to the defense of his men. He wrote Governor Sprague of Rhode Island:

In the public prints you have of course seen Gen. McClellan’s telegram of 1st June making severe strictures on the conduct of my division on the 31st May.
On the contrary I assert that the division, as a body, deserved, not the censure, but the commendation of the Gen'l. Commanding. Gen. McClellan has not informed me from what official sources he derived the information on which he based his telegram which casts vile & unmerited aspersions on my division. . . . The dead bodies of the rebels which, on that day strewed my battle field . . . are silent witnesses of our honorable resistance.

After several important battles, General McClellan planned to attack Richmond, but before it could be implemented, he received orders to withdraw from the Peninsula.

General Pope was now the man of the hour. After his disastrous defeat in the Second Battle of Bull Run, President Lincoln, despite Cabinet opposition, again placed McClellan in command.

Meanwhile General Lee was marching his victorious army into Maryland. General McClellan hastily reorganized his army and followed Lee. McClellan’s troops inflicted heavy losses upon Lee’s forces in the passes of South Mountain. The Battle of Antietam soon followed. Here Lee and McClellan fought each other to a standstill, but Lee was unable to renew the battle, so he withdrew into Virginia. McClellan, however, had suffered so severely that he was in no position to pursue Lee.

After some delay, McClellan’s army slowly crossed the Potomac and advanced southward along the east side of the Blue Ridge. On October 28 he wired Lincoln: “Everything is moving as rapidly as circumstances will permit” (p. 312). Ten days later McClellan’s army was well concentrated about Warrenton. The two wings of Lee’s army were more than fifty miles apart, so the “Little Napoleon” planned to interpose his army between Lee’s two separated segments. “But, now, despite the auspicious progress of the Union advance, a sudden and dramatic change of events took place. On November 5, in Washington, the axe fell for the last time, on McClellan’s head” (p. 314).

McClellan has been and still is a controversial military figure. Dr. Hassler has written a military history of the Civil War, restricting his account to that phase of the war which involved General McClellan primarily. McClellan’s troop movements and engagements are carefully recorded. The author quotes the opinions of men who were in a position to judge not only the soundness of his plans and orders, but his ability to command an army. General Lee said that McClellan was by “all odds” the best Union general he faced during war (p. 326).

This study contains a preface, introduction, nine chapters, four illustrations, ten maps, and a workable index. It also includes a “Critical Essay on Authorities.” The author is to be congratulated on his important contribution to the military and political history of the period.

Lehigh University

George D. Harmon

The historic battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac provides the theme for this volume. When they clashed in the placid waters of Hampton Roads, in March, 1862, naval warfare had come to a time of change in ships, weapons, and tactics. Ironclads were not entirely new then, despite the common misconception that they were. Both England and France had been developing such vessels of war. But this was the first time that they had been tried in combat against their own type. The results echoed in the capital of every naval power on earth, and revolutionized warfare upon the sea.

William C. and Ruth White carry us through the brief but momentous careers of each of these men-of-war: the Merrimac from her original launching as a naval vessel of the United States to her sad end as the Confederate ironclad Virginia, trapped in the siege of Richmond; the Monitor from her conception on the drawing boards of the redoubtable naval designer John Ericsson, to her demise by foundering in a storm off the North Carolina capes.

The late William and Ruth White were a husband-and-wife team of authors. They give us a very intimate and graphic picture of each ship, of its officers and crew, and the details of the running battle in Hampton Roads. We are also taken aboard a number of the wooden-hulled warships involved in the engagement. These now-outmoded craft stood by, either powerless to play any role in the outcome of the battle or helpless victims awaiting the Merrimac's savage onslaught. We see the futility of their gunnery as their cannon balls bounced harmlessly off the raider's armor, and clearly glimpse the frustration and despair of their officers and men.

The scene also shifts periodically to Washington and the White House. There a pessimistic Lincoln presided over Cabinet meetings drenched in foreboding. It seemed certain that the Merrimac would come irresistibly up the Potomac to turn its guns upon the capital and blackmail the Union into surrender. The age-old interservice rivalry is exposed in all of its ugliness as Secretary of War Stanton presumed to push Navy Secretary Welles aside and direct the Federal operations upon both land and sea. The incredulous joy which greeted the news of the Monitor's triumph, after the earlier tendency to discount its possibilities in the crisis, is well told.

There is a rather complete picture of John Ericsson, including his connection with the ill-fated Princeton during the Tyler Administration, and his subsequent disputes with the government over unpaid claims for services rendered. One is intrigued by the realization that, although almost any "Tom, Dick, or Harry" could get an interview to waste Mr. Lincoln's time with utter trivia, the United States almost missed having the Monitor because Ericsson's reputation as a result of past difficulties had put his stock
very low in Washington, and his early offers to the President and the Navy
Department were simply ignored. The Whites give proper credit to Corne-
llius Bushnell, almost forgotten in history, for serving as an intermediary to
bring his two friends, Ericsson and Secretary Welles, together.

One of the features of the book is a five-page introduction by Henry
Steele Commager. He finds worthy of comment and praise the very notice-
able tendency of the authors to stick to the factual story and avoid the
temptation to "dwell lovingly on the 'ifs' of history." As Professor Com-
mager points out, there could scarcely be found anywhere in the chronicles
of mankind an episode with greater implications for reversing the course of
history. The Confederacy beyond question did count upon the Merrimac
for momentous deeds. It expected the ironclad to launch an irresistible at-
tack, which would break the blockade of Southern ports and force the great
seaboard cities of the North to capitulate under its guns, or face devastating
bombardment. Only the little "tin can on a shingle" prevented the realiza-
tion of this dream.

In addition to Professor Commager's well-considered introduction, there
is a selective bibliography, an index, and a number of useful illustrations.
There are no footnotes, but excerpts from sources sometimes are included
within the text. Lack of copious references may prevent the book from be-
ing regarded as a piece of impressive scholarship, but it undoubtedly makes
it very readable. The reader can feel assured about its general accuracy be-
cause a number of authorities on naval history read the manuscript, and
their services and advice are noted by the authors on page 168.

The book seems to have only one small deficiency. Not enough time and
space were devoted to picturing life on board the two vessels and to prying
a bit into the individual personalities of the ships' companies. Just enough
is done with this theme to arouse great interest. One is left with the feeling
that this human side of the narrative could have been unfolded with more
detail, and that the book would have been an even more intriguing bit of
reading had this been done.

Temple University
Lawrence Ealy

Pennsylvania Doctor. By Beatrice Fox Griffith. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The
Stackpole Company, 1957. [viii], 239 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliog-
raphy. $4.95.)

This biography of the eminent ophthalmologist L. Webster Fox, A.M.,
M.D., LL.D., is written by his daughter. It presents a full picture of the
Fox family and of Dr. Fox's many-sided life. Dr. Thomas G. Fox, Webster's
father, was graduated from the Jefferson Medical College in 1853, the year
that Webster was born. Webster himself was to be graduated from the same
school in 1878 and was to live until 1931. It is of this period that this volume pictures medicine in Philadelphia, especially in the field of ophthalmology and with reference to Jefferson Medical College and the Medico-Chirurgical College where Webster became a professor. He had many interests, and in his later years did much by operation and treatment to combat blindness among the Indians in Montana and New Mexico.

It is always difficult for a lay author to give proper emphasis to medical matters and individuals and to avoid occasional errors in the spelling of medical words and names and in the dates of medical advances. But with this in mind, the book can be said to be a useful record of a brilliant man and an important period.

Villanova

O. H. Perry Pepper

Papers of James Madison

The University of Chicago and the University of Virginia are sponsoring the publication of a new and complete edition of the papers of James Madison. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters by or to James Madison or his wife, especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions. Please address The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.