BOOK REVIEWS


This book makes an original contribution to our understanding of the intellectual climate of the seventeenth century. No more stimulating study of a seminal period in Atlantic history has appeared during the last decade. Much research and considerable reflection have been packed into the nine short chapters. Although neither Sir Thomas Craig nor Sir John Davies has hitherto received as much notice as he receives here, for the most part Mr. Pocock is concerned with the notables of the period—lawyers like Coke and Hales, antiquarians like Spelman and Dugdale, philosophers like Hobbes, Harrington, and Locke, and polemical writers like Brady and Petyt—and he succeeds in adding to our knowledge about them all.

Mr. Pocock is, as he continually reiterates, a student of the history of history, and he writes about the century’s approach to the study of the past and the various interpretations of both the function of the historian and the problems of process and change in society. He relates these questions to the political controversies of the time which so long dictated the concern and attitude of scholars. As late as 1825 Jefferson wrote that “the Whig historians of England have always gone back to the Saxon period for the true principles of their constitution, while the Tories and Hume date it from the Norman Conquest and hence conclude that the continual claim by the nation of the good old Saxon laws, and the struggles to reclaim them were ‘encroachments of the people on the crown, and not usurpations of the crown on the people.’ ” Mr. Pocock examines this long-lived partisanship in history as a stage in the development of historical relativism. In so doing, he explains much which has too often been ignored in the minds of the men of Stuart England.

First of all, Mr. Pocock points out that, on the whole, literary historians both in England and on the Continent did little to enlarge the scope of history. They continued old ways. Lawyers, on the other hand, studying in France the laws of ancient Rome, discovered for themselves the strangeness of a bygone civilization. As the tenets of Roman law began to bolster doctrines of authority, writers like Hotman in his Franco-Gallia began to seek justification in Frankish antiquity for opposition to princely sovereignty. In England, Sir Edward Coke, with “a purpose to diminish royal authority,” began to instruct his disciples, as well as the king, in the doctrine of the ancient constitution with its immemorial laws endlessly adapted by “artificial reason” to circumstance, but never at the mercy of royal fancies. This led to strange perversions of history.
In the same period, antiquarians like Spelman were rediscovering feudalism and its system of tenures as something which, at the Norman conquest, brought about new habits, new obligations, and new kinds of baronial status. Dugdale continued his work. Even Prynne, vitriolic critic of the administration of Charles I, began under his son and after the experiments of the Interregnum to examine thoughtfully the public records and to attempt from them to date the first appearance of the Commons in Parliament. Royalists like Filmer and Clarendon were loath to emphasize the role of conquest in the English past. Only Hobbes was prepared to accept its consequences. Englishmen were also, Mr. Pocock thinks, insular in their approach even to feudalism. Not many of the persons he describes were much interested in "Gothic Liberties," that is, in the common European character of medieval tenures. He here exaggerates insularity. After all, as early as 1625, English members were voicing in Parliament the recognition that Spain, Germany, France and England had all once had similar parliaments, diets, or cortes.

Why should Englishmen quarrel over a conquest in bygone times, or about the existence of the Commons in Parliament under Alfred? Mr. Pocock believes that the process of historical change was not understood and that men commonly believed in the authority of the past. Royal authority could not fail to be bolstered had William really come as a conqueror (rather than as a dynastic upstart), just as Hyde, in showing that the king's powers go back coterminously with other powers of the old constitution, sought to rest the prerogative on certainty. Historical verity lay with Spelman, Filmer, and Brady rather than with moderate royalists or their Levelling, Roundhead, or Whig opponents, but it was not until the end of the century that Locke could ignore historical precedents in his essay on government and develop the idea of contract or—as his associates at the Revolution of 1688 were to do—of oath. Sidney, about the same time, though endlessly preoccupied with Gothic history, flatly declared that bad governments could be changed, that necessity could authorize revolution. Nevertheless, as Jefferson's prejudices show, it was difficult for the reading public to divorce its political interest from the work of the historian. The scholar could, however, as the seventeenth century ended, examine the past with careful attention to the meaning attached to terms common to several centuries, like Communitas and Parliament, and endeavor to recapture the significance of early societies.

The antiquarians influenced thought very soon, even if the full import of their discoveries for the scholar was not at once discernible. Harrington derived much from his realization of earlier tenurial systems. His work, he says, is "a Machiavellian meditation upon feudalism." But Harrington failed to direct his reflections to the later Middle Ages when feudalism was declining and, like so many others, seized at once on sixteenth-century events for the explanation of the destruction of the old balance of property. Mr. Pocock himself neglects one author, Fletcher of Saltoun, who in his
Discourse on Militia (1698) did in fact discuss the discoveries, technological advances, growth of commercial wealth, decline of the baronage vis-à-vis the monarch, and also attempted to absorb some characteristics of feudalism into a theory of past and present liberties.

Immemorial law continued to find exponents, not only in the work of good Sir Mathew Hale in the reign of Charles II, but in the writing of Edmund Burke more than a century later. Burke's philosophy of continuous, half-conscious constitutional adaptation of institutions was used as an argument against revolutionary upheaval, where Coke and Hale both were concerned, of course, to prevent by similar reasoning royal innovations.

As the century ended history began to face a fresh danger. If the past were obsolete and gave no title to present liberty or power, why waste time on it? Bolingbroke, though hardly the best of moral preceptors, suggested that history taught "virtue by example." Others, however, took advantage of new freedoms and detachment to attempt the recapture of times past, to analyze the rise and fall of empire, the varieties of human institutions, the whys and hows of process and change.

Bryn Mawr College

Caroline Robbins


To any individual who deserves the title of human being, the problem of his relationship to the universe and to God cries out for some kind of solution. The Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts is of immediate interest because it grappled with this problem and represented a long step toward modern American society. We still hold several typical Puritan concepts, such as that of "vocation"—the duty of every individual to make the most of the talents which God has given him to exercise in the material world.

John Winthrop would not have been a great man in any other environment, but he had the talents, both spiritual and material, which made him the core of the Massachusetts experiment. One may think that the City upon a Hill was more of a community effort, that it owed less to Winthrop than Mr. Morgan believes, but there is no question but that his contribution made that experiment more successful, more of an example of the best in Puritanism than it otherwise would have been.

This volume is less of a biography than of an essay on Winthrop as a type of Puritan and as an influence on history. The author has rigorously sifted the unessentials from the great mass of source material, suppressing, for example, the temptation to quote at length from the charming correspondence between Winthrop and his wife. Indeed, the whole function of this volume is to use the Governor as a demonstration of Puritanism. It is
a book which has been very much needed, for one still finds the absurd theories of J. T. Adams, Parrington, and Beard in popular writings and some works of reputed scholarship. Without stopping to point out the old misconceptions, Mr. Morgan demonstrates the facts so simply that the errors of others fall away. He shows, for example, that “the Puritans were extraordinarily reasonable men” who believed that “not knowledge but ignorance, was the mother of heresy.” Without stopping to refute the old idea of a “theocracy,” he points out that “of all the governments in the Western world at that time, that of early Massachusetts gave the clergy the least authority.” By his description of the interworking of church and state he shows how the system carried the seeds of modern democracy, although he does not depart from his topic to point it out.

Mr. Morgan has a fresh approach. He has not written a history of the institutions which the Puritans built, or of the philosophy which they distilled from the Bible. Instead, he describes the heart and soul of Puritanism, the emotional urges, and the ways of thought which underlay their states, churches, and theological interpretations. Although he accepts Perry Miller’s conclusions, he does more than present a simplification of that erudite author’s great but formidable works. For example, he points out that there ran through Puritanism a stream of Arminianism which was forever eroding away their theological structures. This fact is much more significant in the history of their influence than is any particular theological web spun by their thinkers.

Reviewers have sometimes criticized Mr. Morgan’s works of the Revolution on the ground that in them he shows a personal bias which makes him incapable of seeing any good in one side. There is no such distortion in this volume. Perhaps the fact that the author is himself no Puritan is a help. At any rate, here he shows the detachment which one expects to find in a scientist when he is dealing with science, not politics.

This volume should be assigned reading in every college course covering the colonial period. It has the clarity, simplicity, brevity, and the corrective interpretation so badly needed. Indeed, it is essential reading for everyone interested in the period, for it is one of the best books ever written on this particular facet of our origins.

American Antiquarian Society

Clifford K. Shipton


This is an account of the early culture of the region which was to become the nucleus of the United States, and covers roughly the first century and a half of its existence as a region of European settlement. It is the story of a
culture which was only to a slight extent indigenous. The recentness of the arrival of the pioneers, the advent of new settlers, and the close association with the Old World make clear the importance of the European legacy. Yet the process was eclectic. Not all of Europe’s culture crossed the Atlantic, nor did all the colonies select the same elements. This differentiation, combined with environmental influences, served in time to create not only a culture which was in important respects American, but local culture areas as well.

Necessarily, cognizance is taken of the economic and social foundations without which a cultivation of “the higher things of life” would not have been possible, and without reference to which it is hardly to be comprehended. But the prime concern is with culture itself. Religion, which manifested itself in many forms, provided the major cultural element in the lives of most of the colonists. Education—elementary, secondary, and higher—if not yet attaining full stature, nevertheless reflected a remarkable use of the limited resources available. Books were largely imported, but colonial pens and presses contributed to the literary output. Scientific interest was widespread, and in Franklin the colonists produced a thinker who was accorded international acclaim. Architecture, while not unaffected by local influences, largely followed European models, as did house furnishings and dress. The author gives just recognition to non-English cultural influences, British as well as European, and recognizes the unifying influence of travel and of the colonial press.

Even for an author possessing Louis Wright’s enviable acquaintance with the primary and secondary sources for the cultural history of colonial America, the writing of this volume can have been no easy task. Indeed, the very awareness of the vastness of the material that he was called upon to distill must have added to his labors. Fortunately, he has a gift for synthesis, an ability to grasp essentials, and a knack of transmitting to the reader a measure of the zest and vividness of his own approach. The result is a volume sound enough to merit the approval of the scholar, and sufficiently engaging to delight the general reader.

University of Pennsylvania

Leonidas Dodson


In December, 1763, a body of Pennsylvania frontiersmen from the vicinity of Paxton (now Harrisburg) murdered twenty Indians, most of them women and children, living under government protection at the village of Conestoga, south of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. A few weeks later the Paxton Boys, as these men with their supporters from several counties came to be called, marched on Philadelphia to liquidate the Christian Indians who
had fled there from Moravian mission villages near Bethlehem. The citizens, including many Quakers, took up arms to protect the refugees, and the Paxton Boys, after making a public statement of their grievances, withdrew. There ensued a noisy controversy in the public press. Some sixty-three pamphlets and squibs, as the editor of this volume counts them, attacking or defending the Paxton Boys, were issued. Of these, twenty-eight are here printed. These are the so-called "Paxton Papers."

Hysterical, derisive, and at times pungently reminiscent of billingsgate, they follow an established mode, approved in its day, of political pamphleteering. But the editor is not interested in these pieces merely as literary curiosities. His purpose is to show that, as early as 1763, the division between Presbyterian and Quaker, between frontiersman and city merchant, between east and west in Pennsylvania, had become so acute as to threaten a violent solution. The American Revolution, when it came, was concerned with other issues; but the forces on each side had already been consolidated by just such incidents as the Paxton Boys provided.

The frontiersmen's grievances were real. For one, the Quaker-dominated Assembly, though liberal in its principles, had failed to provide the people with sufficient military protection during the French and Indian War and now again during Pontiac's War. For another, the western parts of Pennsylvania were inadequately represented in the Assembly. Men of the Indian border, in consequence, had no normal means of putting pressure on the government to give them what they needed. The method by which the Paxton Boys brought their grievances to public attention may not have been intelligent (the Conestoga massacre, in fact, was to bring untold harm to the frontier during the Revolutionary War because the Ohio Delawares declined the offer of protection made to them by Congress, fearing that the government of the United States might prove to be as little able to control its back-country inhabitants as the government of Pennsylvania had been in 1763), but at least it was understandable.

The rhetoric of vituperation employed by both sides in the debate served well enough to air the frontiersmen's sense of grievance and to disclose the angry dismay felt by the Quakers at the cracks opened in their pacifist policy by the Conestoga affair and the march on Philadelphia. But the mocking and abusive tone in which the pamphlet war was carried on was not one that allowed proper consideration of the questions that lay at the root of the whole controversy: Were the Conestoga Indians and the Moravian Indians guilty of the crimes they were accused of? Was there a "Necessity," as the Paxton Boys contended, that they be exterminated?

Neither in the pamphlets themselves nor in the editor's introduction is there any cool examination of the charges. The Paxton Boys speak for themselves in "A Declaration and Remonstrance" and "The Apology for the Paxton Volunteers." It would, of course, be too much to expect a reply from the Conestoga Indians: they were all dead. But the Moravian Indians, thanks to the spirited conduct of Philadelphia's citizens, were still alive,
and they had their missionaries with them, men who knew them intimately and could give an honest and discriminating account of them. Their reports are available, but not among these pamphlets.

The editor makes passing mention of this Moravian material in a footnote, but includes none of it in *The Paxton Papers*. It is regrettable that documents so essential to an understanding of what this controversy was about should not have had a place—if only in an appendix—provided for them.

If it is understood that this is a book about the press war following the Conestoga murders, with certain historical deductions drawn from the fracas as such, its value is apparent. But as a study of "the justice of the massacre of the Indians and of the march on Philadelphia" (p. 50), it is confusing if not actually misleading.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*

**PAUL A. W. WALLACE**


The author of this volume has filled a long-felt need by providing the first comprehensive biography of Thomas Truxtun, "founder of the United States Navy." In his opinion, others may have hesitated to undertake such a study because of "the widely scattered material and the endless searching required to locate it." In any case, it is a welcome contribution some two hundred years after the birth of Truxtun and at a time when public attention is being directed toward the restoration of the Constellation at Baltimore.

Truxtun was apprenticed to the sea when only twelve years of age. At twenty he was the commander and half-owner of a merchant vessel. In 1775 he aided the Revolution by bringing back from the West Indies a much-needed cargo of gunpowder. After losing his vessel to a British warship, Truxtun turned for a while to privateering, and his subsequent exploits as a privateer and merchant captain won high praise from Washington. At the close of the war Truxtun continued his trading ventures, turning his attention from Europe to the Far East where the China trade offered opportunities for handsome profits.

In 1794 Congress provided for the building of a small navy, and Truxtun, at the age of thirty-nine, was appointed a captain, ranking sixth in order after Barry, Nicholson, Talbot, Barney and Dale. Since he was the only man on the list who had not held a commission in the Continental Navy, this appointment clearly reflected his reputation as a capable mariner and ship commander. For several months Truxtun personally supervised the construction and outfitting of the Constellation at Baltimore. And it was as
captain of the Constellation that he won his greatest victories, the capture of L'Insurgente early in 1799, and the defeat of La Vengeance a year later. These signal triumphs in the naval war with France made Truxtun a popular hero and added prestige to the young United States Navy.

Truxtun's subsequent service in the Navy was anticlimactic. Early in 1802 he was called upon to take out a squadron against the Barbary Powers. Highly displeased because of what he regarded as inadequate arrangements for this assignment, he wrote the Secretary of the Navy that unless he could be placed in a situation similar to that of the squadron commander then serving in the Mediterranean he "must beg leave to quit the service." This statement, rightly or wrongly, was interpreted as a resignation, and Truxtun was given no further opportunities for active service in the Navy.

In addition to the faithful recital of Truxtun's varied exploits on the high seas, this volume provides interesting information regarding his family, his life-long friendship with Charles Biddle, and his little-known relationships with Benjamin Franklin, Joshua Humphreys, Aaron Burr and other notable figures of the day. The author has succeeded admirably in giving us an honest appraisal of Truxtun and his achievements. And despite his human frailties, Truxtun emerges as a naval hero and as one of the leading founders of our Navy tradition. By personal example and by means of his writings, Truxtun established a tradition of proficient seamanship, strict discipline, fearless command and combat zeal. Such a tradition was passed on firsthand to John Rodgers and David Porter, and in time was transmitted to Farragut, Dewey, and all their illustrious successors.

That this study should have required some ten years of painstaking research can be best appreciated by an examination of the copious reference notes and the extensive bibliography appearing at the end of the volume. Attention should be called to the helpful charts on the front and back covers of the book. One of these traces the sea routes followed by Truxtun in carrying on trade with Europe and the Far East, while the other points out the location of his naval victories in the West Indies. Finally, there is a carefully prepared index which adds greatly to the usefulness of this informing and readable volume.

_Takoma Park, Md._

NELSON M. BLAKE

*John Johnston and the Indians in the Land of the Three Miamis.* By LEONARD U. HILL. (Piqua, Ohio: Published for the author by Stoneman Press, 1957. x, 198 p. Illustrations, index. $2.75.)

From personal knowledge, the reviewer is cognizant of the long labors of the author in preparing this slim volume. He is disappointed, however, that the results are not all that were anticipated.

*John Johnston and the Indians,* for the most part, is a mosaic of letters and documents relating to Johnston's role as an Indian agent, pieced
together by a running narrative. It carries his career from his early days at Fort Wayne to the final removal of the red man from Ohio. Included are treaty negotiations, letters dealing with Indian policy, and views on Indian affairs in general. Mr. Hill notes that many of Johnston’s papers were lost during the War of 1812 and thus accounts for some serious gaps in the story. The last third of the volume is devoted to what purports to be Johnston’s autobiographical notes as originally contained in a series of letters written for Charles Cist’s Cincinnati Advertiser, 1845–1846. They were also partially included in Cist’s Miscellany, 1846, later published as Recollections of Sixty Years, and still later edited by Charlotte Conover in 1915.

So much for the contents of the volume. The omissions are legion.

It appears that the volume is intended as a medium for relating John Johnston’s experiences with the Indians. This it accomplishes only in a fragmentary way. Although the voluminous (though admittedly sometimes contradictory) Johnston Papers of the Draper Collection are used, the great mass of this important material finds no due space either in transcription or in the author’s narrative. Other collateral sources, too, could have been used with effect. The same serious sin of omission is evident in the inclusion of the Conover edition of Recollections of Sixty Years. Again, much of the Johnston material printed by Cist is omitted, though it was at hand for the author’s use.

Finally, as a piece of historical scholarship, the volume leaves much to be desired. The small amount of annotation is generally useless to the historian, not even containing adequate geographical information. Likewise, no bibliography is included. The illustrations are good.

After reading and rereading Mr. Hill’s book and with some knowledge of the topic being discussed, the reader feels that both he and Johnston have been done a major disservice. There is no doubting that the man played an important role in the development of the Northwest, but the volume, in fact, does little to support this thesis. The transcriptions included are interesting peripheral data, but fall far short of their intended purpose. The most interesting material is in Hill’s narrative, though, being undocumented, one must, perforce, take it with a grain of salt.

Johnston’s role as an Indian agent, aggressive citizen, and personality is yet to be written, should be written. Mr. Hill, in spite of his personal enthusiasm for his subject, touches only the outer orbit.

Anthony Wayne Parkway Board of Ohio  Richard C. Knopf


It is a pleasure to bring Bray Hammond’s book favorably to the attention of the readers of this journal. Unlike some historians, Hammond knows
what banks really do; and unlike all too many economists, he has been willing to do the laborious research which is necessary for insight into historical development. The result of this combination of scholarly attributes is a volume which both describes with real insight the relationship between banks and government in our earlier history and also illuminates questions of general significance. This book is an admirable instance of what economic history ought to be.

The oft-repeated idea that debtor farmers have always been primarily responsible for paper money crazes and bad banking in the United States is not true, says Hammond. What was true during the Greenback period has been erroneously attributed by many writers to an earlier period. The fact seems to have been that the "multiplicity of banks and abundance of credit characteristic of the 19th and 20th century American economy are the result of an aggressive and persistent demand by . . . business men and speculators." There is much truth in this idea. It is also true that the image of businessman, speculator, and farmer become somewhat blurred as one looks at the historical picture. Nevertheless, Hammond's emphasis is the correct one, and the oft-repeated myths about the agrarian origin of bad finance in the history books of the schools should be revised.

One of the most interesting and valuable features of this book is the analysis and description of the changing character of America's business and political leaders from 1789 to 1861. The second war with Great Britain produced a crop of aggressive vulgarians, and Hammond points out that by 1817 an eighteenth-century gentleman like Girard felt ill at ease. Girard's "conservatism was uncongenial to the new and democratic enterprisers who were filling the business world with such numbers, such diversity, such comotion, such free-for-all aggressiveness, such sanguine irresponsibility, such readiness for slight-of-hand, and such contempt for established codes of old-fashioned honesty. . . ." Concerning the politicians of the Jacksonian period he remarks: "They democratized business under a great show of agrarian idealism and made the age of Jackson a festival of laissez faire prelusive to the age of Grant and the robber barons." The Jacksonians who destroyed the Second United States Bank "canted virtuously about the rich and the poor, hydars, and other irrelevancies. This was good politics. But it cannot conceal the envy and acquisitiveness that were their real motives." Perhaps he is too optimistic when he says: "There was no other period in American history, one would hope, when language was more idealistic, endeavor more materialistic, and the tone of public life more hypocritical than during the Jacksonian revolution." Hammond probably blames the Jacksonians too much for a process which would have taken place with or without the rise to power of Jackson and his associates. But their influence doubtless hastened the development of a society in which "Liberty became transformed into laissez faire. A violent, aggressive, economic individualism became established. The democracy became greedy, intolerant, imperialistic, and lawless." The legacy of this intellectual and
moral confusion is with us today. It seems unlikely that Hammond's book will be quoted at many Jackson-day dinners.

It is currently asserted that the United States government suffers from the curse of bigness and that a better ordered public life would emerge if the states were to have more power and the government in Washington less. There may be validity in this idea in some aspects of public life, but American experience as reviewed by Hammond suggests that it is not true in the control of money and banking. The destruction of the Second Bank of the United States with its centralized control over state banks substituted the inferior policies and practices of state banks for rational and adroit management by the central bank in Philadelphia. The divorce of the United States government from the generally used processes of payment by the inauguration of the Independent Treasury System in 1846 and the adoption of the specie payments plan in government transactions was a rigorous attempt to separate the Federal government from the state-controlled banking system. The results were not "sound" money. The instability of the money and credit system was accentuated. Federal government intervention was resorted to in various ways to relieve the money market in times of crisis. This necessary abandonment of principle had to be carried out by subterfuges which were only partly effective. States left to their own devices evolved the trade bond-secured currency. The variety of state regulations led to an inconveniently heterogeneous bank-note currency. When a really serious crisis occurred during the Civil War, this unrealistic attempt to apply laissez faire to money and banking had to be abandoned. The inference from Hammond's review of history is that the question of the proper jurisdiction of Federal and state governments in the United States should be approached through analysis of the particular field involved rather than by means of a general political maxim.

This book is a piece of mature scholarship in the best sense of the word. It may be true that the only thing that history teaches is that man learns nothing from history; but if man should attempt to learn something about the relation between business and government this volume should prove helpful.

Claremont Men's College

WALTER B. SMITH


Presidential elections periodically bring into focus the political forces operating in the American democratic system. For most citizens today they constitute the only real point of interest in politics. Such elections while they often obscure rather than reveal the roots of the American party system are,
of course, significant. Professor Roseboom of Ohio State University has made a sound contribution to understanding these elections. His book "is designed to give a connected account of the history of national politics built around the quadrennial struggles for control of the office of President" (p. v). The account begins with a brief sketch of the roots of our national parties during the colonial and Revolutionary periods, and moves from the polarizing of parties about the presidential question in the 1790's down through the second Eisenhower election. There is also background material to enable the reader to understand subsequent nominations and elections. This material is necessarily brief, but is adequate, and portions of it, indeed, are concisely and cogently presented. Such, for example, are the comments on the sources of Jackson's political strength (pp. 113-114), the appraisal of the factors in Blaine's defeat in 1884 (pp. 273-274), and the evaluation of television coverage of national conventions (p. 517).

While undoubtedly based on extensive independent investigation, Roseboom's book is not so much a product of fresh research as a synthesis of material already in print. It will be highly useful to both active and armchair politicians in the months before the 1960 sweepstakes. Its chief limitation, understandably, is that it cannot examine in detail certain fundamentals of our evolving party structure. Thus, we learn (pp. 370-371) something about the Bull Moose platform but nothing of that party's division on antitrust policy, a division (as George Mowry has so ably demonstrated) highly symptomatic of the basic cleavage in that party. Again, we have certain generalizations about the soldier vote in 1944 (p. 490), but more of the basis for such generalizations would be of real value.

These observations should not obscure the noteworthy features of this volume. These include the broad knowledge and considerable understanding of the American political process at the national level which it displays, a selective bibliography listing materials useful in the further exploration of presidential elections, and a concise, compact, and readable style. This last includes many thoughtful and well-turned phrases, such as that applied to the diminished enthusiasm for Bryan in 1900 (as compared with the spirit of 1896): "His appeal was not much more exciting than that of a returned foreign missionary seeking funds for Christianizing the heathen" (p. 329). Again, earlier, we are told that Hamilton "... created a party without becoming a good politician" (p. 20), and of Johnson's alleged drunkenness Roseboom writes: "Nowhere in American history did two or three glasses of whiskey have such lasting potency" (p. 204).

Certain mechanical changes might have made this volume even more useful. These include the presentation, as in the Stanwood volumes, of popular and electoral returns in tabular form, the printing of the texts of significant party platforms, and the use of graphs, charts, and cartoons. Are not the last absolutely essential in the history of presidential elections? Finally, there are far too few footnotes, the inclusion of which, this reviewer
believes, would provide valuable leads to the further study of certain provocative remarks. These include Quay's dislike of Hanna "for personal reasons" and the relation of this dislike to the T.R. nomination in 1900 (p. 325), the suggestion that in 1920 certain Republicans in that party's inner circle wanted Will Hays as the Republican nominee (p. 397), and the statement that the idea of going to Korea was "suggested [to General Eisenhower] by a shrewd journalist" (p. 520).

It is not clear from just which sources voting statistics were taken. Apparently Burnham's volume (listed in the bibliography) was not used, and the reader cannot be sure whether Robinson was the chief source for the vote since 1892 (p. 123, note 3). Needless to say, Burnham and Robinson, as the best we now have, should have been used wherever possible.

*Muhlenberg College*  
*JOHN J. REED*

**Soldiers of the States. The Role of the National Guard in American Democracy.**


The significance of this interesting book lies in the development of its subtitle. Lacking that, we might expect a history of the National Guard as far as its accomplishments in war are concerned, or in peace, for that matter. Actually, such accomplishments are scarcely noted. Mr. Riker is concerned almost wholly in tracing the dual relationship of the Guard to state and Federal authorities. He does this with interest and skill.

Until we have read this book, most of us may never have realized the complexities of this control. The problems as well as the plan of the book are given us in the opening paragraph. "Each unit of the Guard is responsible to two distinct governments and serves both alternately. Each unit receives financial support from two distinct appropriations recommended by two distinct chief executives and passed by two distinct legislatures.... In the whole world, the United States is the only great power that relies on a corps with dual loyalties and dual commanders."

Mr. Riker's approach to this is well shown by the division of his book into six chapters. Their titles are important: "Historical Roots"; "The Constitutional Setting"; "Degeneration of the Militia, 1792-1860"; "Revival of the Militia, 1877-1903"; "Development of the National Guard"; "Federalism and the Militia."

In the chapter on historical roots, we are given an outline of the role played by the militia in the days of the Revolution and during the framing of the Constitution. This chapter is basically a discussion of Federalism and its origins, its conflicts with the inherent rights of the states. We see the militia of those days as a form of universal military service, yet in no sense of universal military training. "White males, usually those aged 18 to 45 or
60 years, were required to muster for training, usually four to eight days per year, two to four days in the spring (usually a company parade) and two to four days in the autumn (usually a battalion parade).” In many states, the provision of this basic law degenerated rapidly into a muster day once a year, a multiplicity of exemptions, and a mockery of anything approaching military efficiency or discipline.

Chapter two, “The Constitutional Setting,” deals, as its title suggests, with the growth of dual control. The Federalist Papers are referred to. The economic as well as the political and social phases of the problem are discussed. The title of chapter three is self-explanatory. We see the militia of the states, in varying degrees, almost disappear. We see to our surprise what a small part the militia, as such, played either in the North or the South during the Civil War, where volunteer units in Federal service took their places. Chapters four and five trace the change-over from the concept of universal service to that of volunteer service. The use of the Guard in police and strike duty is noted as a passing phase.

Perhaps the last chapter, “Federalism and the Militia,” proves the most thought-provoking, for here we see the emergence of an actual Federal force or militia—the Organized Reserves. With it stems the inevitable, and current, rivalry between the Army, its protégé, the Organized Reserves, and the National Guard.

Mr. Riker is fair, yet his conclusions seem to indicate that he does not regard a dual-controlled militia as an efficient second line of defense. His book will not please all members of the National Guard, but it will stimulate thought.

Chester Springs

Clifton Lisle


This is a highly literate book, which is unusual for a volume of pedagogy. It is aimed at museum curators and park superintendents, whom we do not ordinarily label as pedagogues. But Merriam-Webster defines pedagogy as “the art, practice, or profession of teaching; now, esp., systematized learning or instruction concerning principles and methods of teaching.” I doubt if Freeman Tilden ever thought of himself as a pedagogue, but he has, for the first time, assembled in print a series of well-thought-out principles for teachers in the third dimension. He wishes to make effective instructors out of these custodians of land and objects, large and small.

But his first step is to emphasize the difference between classroom education and what he terms “elective education.” It is not only that we are here dealing not with books but with objects, ranging in size from an arrowhead
to an entire village; it is also that we lack the captive audience of the
schoolroom. Hence, the principles from which we begin and the methods
which we use are distinctive, and too little understood.

Since this kind of teaching is known, in the trade at least, as interpreta-
tion, the author gives us his definition. Interpretation is "an educational
activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of
original objects, by first-hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather
than simply to communicate factual information." He emphasizes that it is
the revelation of a larger truth that lies behind any statement of fact, and
urges us to "capitalize mere curiosity for the enrichment of the human
mind and spirit."

Tilden then devotes six chapters to discussing the six principles he feels
essential to effective interpretation. We must first relate our material to the
personality or experience of the visitor. We must recognize that mere infor-
mation is not interpretation (though the latter will include the former), and
that interpretation is an art which combines many arts. We must accept the
fact that, by reasons of the special circumstances surrounding a visit to any
site, our aim must be provocation rather than detailed instruction. In line
with this, we cannot afford to tell any particular segment of the story, but
must endeavor to present the whole, for we cannot at any time know the
special interest of an individual visitor. And finally, in dealing with children
we cannot merely dilute our adult material, but must take a fundamentally
different approach.

In part two the author deals with methods now being used throughout the
vast fabric of parks, museums, historic sites and houses. He concerns him-
self first with the written word, mostly as used on signs and labels. He then
turns to the ways in which the visitor can be helped to step back in time,
by re-creation of the atmosphere of the past, by demonstration of its crafts
and ways of life, and even by participation in some of this re-creation.
Automatic devices, as alternatives and supplements to personal contact,
enter the picture. And in connection with all of these particular methods go
discussions of the relationships of restraint ("nothing in excess"), of aes-
thetics (natural beauty and sympathetic atmosphere), and of enthusiasm
(love of thing about which one teaches—"the priceless ingredient"). And
finally he reminds us of our role in creating the "Happy Amateur." The best
interpretation can only begin the story; if any visit stimulates a continuing
interest transcending the particular site or object, we have achieved the
most significant result of all.

Yes, this is a book of methodology, but a most literate one. Mr. Tilden
writes as well as he enjoins us to do. He illustrates his points with well-
chosen examples, geographically well spread. And behind it lies a back-
ground of belles-lettres and philosophy which gives both breadth and depth
to the author's understanding of the problems of communication.

From the viewpoint of the professional, there are omissions. A treatment
of interpretive literature—guides, folders, booklets—seems called for under
"The Written Word," for example. Little attention is paid to the problems of "load": what happens when successful interpretation—or possibly even a wholly extraneous factor—produces so many visitors that the best-laid plans collapse under the strain, or the building or object is in danger of destruction from excessive use in interpretation. This is no problem to the beginning project, but it is in the forefront at established, well-known parks and historic sites staggering under their load. But these are minor reservations; this is a good book, and—mirabile dictu—a readable one; it is much needed.

Earle W. Newton


Essentially, this book is popular journalism. It is not an ordered and authoritative treatise on early American architecture, nor a reliable guide to historic restoration. Doubtless, the authors did not intend it to be either, although the advertising endorsement of the publishers could lead a purchaser to expect more than the text and illustrations convey. On the other hand, in a world absorbed, for the moment, in technological pursuits, technological thinking, and technological art, it is refreshing and useful to be reminded, in an entertaining manner, that grace and beauty are enduring; that the architecture of early America is still an appropriate and comfortable background for those who find, in the American heritage, things worth remembering.

A surprisingly large, but generally inarticulate, segment of our people does not subscribe to the radical preachment that any attempt to capture the charm of color, texture, and line, which we admire in the venerable buildings of our country, is shameful copying, whereas the slavish imitation of novel and mechanical forms of architecture must be classed as inspired originality. Some day this will be recognized as destructive hypocrisy. The authors are to be commended for ignoring this false and shallow philosophy, and frankly discussing ways and means to achieve, in present-day construction, the atmosphere and the satisfying beauty of our native architecture.

If the book is regarded as a series of entertaining discussions and anecdotes, informative to a degree, the reader will be satisfied. To the amateur do-it-yourself enthusiast, it will be especially attractive. The fact that some of the information is not strictly accurate will not trouble him. For example, a drawing on page 50 is entitled "A very early cellar fireplace used by slaves or for household tasks such as lye-making." Actually, this is a representation of the unique and well-known second-floor fireplace in Saron, the Sister
House of the Ephrata Cloister in Pennsylvania, reversed in the drawing. The chimney-like structure in one corner of the fireplace happens to be the clay-lined flue from the fireplace on the floor below, a fact unknown to the person who copied the romantic appearance without comprehending the features. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the drawings generally are not of better quality. Those depicting moldings are particularly inaccurate, and display no knowledge of the significance of these forms, a knowledge which is basic to interpretation of early work. Much reproduction loses its effect by carelessness in this small, but important, detail.

On the critical side, it must also be noted that the passages relating to structural procedures in restoration and remodeling might prove dangerous guidance to an amateur. Such operations require the advice of an experienced engineer, the more experienced the better. To be specific, on page 37 the authors discuss the collar beam in roof construction in these words: "Since this timber was usually firmly jointed to the rafters, it also helped to prevent the rafter feet spreading and pushing outward on the walls. In such cases it would act as a tension member, and that, undoubtedly, is why some of these joints are halved dovetails or pinned mortises and tenons. On occasion a collar beam is found with no dovetail or peg, indicating that the carpenter used it as a compression member only, and realized it could not come apart because of the weight of the roof on the rafters." Actually, the static load and wind pressure on a sloping roof are always resolved into downward and horizontal thrusts. If not counterbalanced, the joints, and, indeed, other parts of the roof, not only could, but would come apart. Collar beams, because of their position, have little value in resisting the outward spread of rafter heels; and no carpenter could eliminate thrust in a collar beam by simply regarding it as a compression member if surrounding conditions placed it in tension. The weight of building materials can quickly mount into dangerous tonnage, subjecting construction to shearing and other stresses with which no novice should trifle. It is equally hazardous for an author, unacquainted with fundamental engineering principles, to touch the subject.

As stated earlier, this book should not be regarded as a reliable handbook for the restoration of important historic buildings, as its title might imply. Authentic restoration is a field requiring expert and scholarly knowledge and years of dedicated study and experience. But, unfortunately, amateurs do not hesitate to invade it, with a consequent loss, in the case of historic structures, of irreplaceable evidence which might have guided a qualified restorer. No one has the right to object when a private owner does this to his own property, but attempts have been launched in recent years to produce restoration "specialists" by a quick course under instructors of doubtful competency. Such persons are actually entrusted with some of America's most precious architectural heritage, and the practice should not be encouraged. In an age of change, these structures are becoming increasingly valuable to all Americans.
It is certain that the authors would not knowingly aid and abet the enemies of the preservation movement in America, but in Chapter VIII they urge, in some detail, the use, in new construction, of old materials from wrecking yards. If all such material came from wrecking yards, no harm would be done, but, unfortunately, encouraging its use breeds a destructive army of scavenging dealers, who are stripping our old houses of hardware, glass, and paneling to stock their showrooms, while destroying important features of surviving buildings.

Thus the criticisms of this book do not apply to the purpose or the enthusiasm of the authors. These are concerned more with the great scope of the undertaking, with consequent errors due to limited familiarity with some areas, and the harm which such a book can conceivably do. Let us hope that the good it accomplishes will far outweigh any possible evil.

Gwynedd Valley

G. Edwin Brumbaugh


This is an excellent book which will give pleasure equally to the professional historian of the American scene and to the intelligent lay reader. Although the subject is the liberal arts college and the author disclaims any intent to write "a general history of higher education," Mr. Schmidt has suggested, if he has not fully described, most of the patterns into which American higher education has fallen from its beginnings at Harvard to the present day. This follows almost inevitably from Mr. Schmidt's method. He has chosen not to isolate out the liberal arts college for treatment under the microscope, but to see it in its full context and in relation to changing times and changing needs.

The book falls naturally into three parts. Six chapters are devoted to "the old-time college," established first on the Atlantic seaboard and gradually reproducing itself by academic cell-division as it moved westward. Though the author points out that the earlier colleges were laws unto themselves and responded to different stimuli in differing communities, they had certain common features: their curriculum was firmly based on the Greek and Latin classics; many were church-founded and church-related, and all had a profound respect for religion; they were residential; and, by contemporary standards, they were small and uncomplicated. And they had this in common with their modern successors: no matter how much wealth they had, they needed more.

Two chapters describe the emergence of the university, both tax-supported and private. This process, which seemed both to fortify and to threaten the liberal arts college, is shown through the utterances and policies of such men as Eliot, Gilman, White, Angell, Jordan, Harper,
Barnard, Wilson, and Hadley. The sleepy "old-time college" had come alive with a vengeance. There was strife between the classicists and the scientists, between the proponents of religion and the "secular" wing, between those who favored the old prescribed curriculum and those who, like Eliot, leaned toward the principle of the election. German scholarship came gradually to dominate the new universities, but there were those who resisted bitterly. The vitality of American higher education in this period is shown by the fact that, from 1870 to 1910, "the enrollment of students in institutions of higher learning increased, in complete reversal of earlier trends, four times as fast as the population of the United States" (p. 182).

The last chapters deal with the liberal arts college in its contemporary setting, either as an independent unit, still largely residential, or as an undergraduate school within a modern university. The author traces the origin and growth of such common practices as courses, credits, entrance and graduation requirements, athletics, "big-time" and little, and extra-curricular activities. The old curriculum, so simple as to invite nostalgia now, has yielded to a new curriculum so complex that its mere description in catalogue form may require hundreds of pages. As he has done earlier, the author again traces the principal conflicts in educational theory that mark our contemporary period, many of which stem from the clash of Dewey's philosophy with that of Hutchins. And there are some pages on vocational courses, fields of concentration, integration, and general education.

The book presents a readable, coherent, and well-documented account of the growth and development of the liberal arts college. Much reading and research have gone into it, and at points the footnotes are as engrossing as the text. If the pages are well studded with slang and colloquialisms, they are at least not pedantic, and they are further enlivened by the author's wit. This is a book which every parent should read if he has children in college or approaching college age.

Wilson College

(Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1957. 244 p. Illustrations. $4.95.)

This, the latest of the many books extolling the virtues of the Pennsylvania Dutch, is difficult to review because it is neither straight history nor direct narrative, but a combination of expository and narrative writing woven together. Moreover, this work is as personal as it is historical, as appreciative as it is critical, and far more disposed to praise the Dutch than to blame. And we who have been the "dumb Dutch" for so long are really unaccustomed to the adulation which this work expresses.

In substance this book is made up of twelve essays on various themes which deal with Pennsylvania Dutch culture and life. Here we meet again
the old topics, now somewhat threadbare: the sects and their differences, the folksiness of the Dutch, their precious antiques, their hexerei and powwow, “the kingdom of the tulip” and its symbolism, the communal activities of butchering, threshing, and husking, Amish ways, “der battlefield iss at Gettysburg”—an old chestnut pulled out of many fires—preacher troubles, an Amish wedding, the Harmony Society, and the proverbial plenty of our Pennsylvania scene.

Each essay is a skillful combination of exposition and narration, and Scott Brenner weaves into the fabric of cultural history his own experiences while living among the Pennsylvania Dutch. The result is somewhat of a mixture—indeed, one might almost say hodge-podge—and where Scott Brenner reports his own experiences among the Pennsylvania Dutch he is a competent and sometimes quite brilliant reporter. His description of an Amish wedding is as good as anything on the subject. Other narrative incidents stand out, bits of brilliant writing which more than adequately describe various phases of our life. Indeed, Scott Brenner has set down his own impressions of Pennsylvania Dutch life with uncommon accuracy and sensitivity, and as a social document this work has merit. The careful reader wishes for more of this first-class reporting.

Much of the conversation as reported by Brenner is in hybrid English—he puts down the phonics uttered by the Pennsylvania Dutch in a curious and rather interesting fashion. Language has always made trouble; and the writing of dialogue has brought headaches. Even the experts are only now learning how to spell and to write the dialect. With admirable courage, Scott Brenner plunges in and comes up with dialogue which, while it leaves much to be desired, does maintain somewhat of the flavor of the people he is describing. But the mood is strained and its genuineness not clear.

From the historical point of view, however, the book is not sure-footed. He makes basic mistakes. Pastorius did not live in a cave along the Wissahickon, for he was not a member of the Woman in the Wilderness group; he lived in a house in Germantown. The implication that Peter Muhlenberg preached his celebrated “time to pray and time to fight” sermon in Trappe Church robs Winchester, Virginia, of its great honor. The statement that Washington’s Continental Army was completely equipped with the Pennsylvania long rifle ignores the great quantity of arms which the French shipped to America. And then who ever heard of applebutter called “Ebbel Butter”; we know it as lotwaerrig!

On the whole, Scott Brenner has written a pleasant and somewhat superficial work, aimed at the popular market, which strains to create mood and atmosphere, and which reads easily. The Pennsylvania Dutch are flattered by the plaudits heaped upon them, but they could be better served by more original research so their as yet unknown cultural contributions to American life might be more fully known.

Norristown

John Joseph Stoudt
Iron in the Pines. The Story of New Jersey's Ghost Towns and Bog Iron. By ARTHUR D. PIERCE. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957. xii, 244 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

Here is an excellent book about a region lying within short driving distance of Philadelphia and New York, yet as little known to the average Philadelphian or New Yorker as though it were on another continent. Once a thriving industrial area and a chief source of the ammunition used by the Continental Army during the Revolution, the region has sunk into an oblivion almost complete. Much of the rich history of the place lies unread on library shelves or survives only in "tall tales" about the Pines and the "pineys." Fortunately, there are a few spirits, like the author of this book, whose love for the region and curiosity concerning its past prevent a total eclipse of an integral part of our heritage.

Planned as an account of the fabulous "Wharton Tract," which came into unexpected prominence through its recent acquisition by the state of New Jersey, the book highlights the histories of the more important centers in that tract, places like Batsto, Atsion, and other sites of old forges and furnaces.

The book is full of surprises. One is surprised that so much activity could ever have centered in a region now seemingly so desolate and lonely. One is surprised that so much of our history was written in this place of almost endless pine growth. But most of all, as the record unfolds, one is surprised at the unobtrusive scholarship of the author, a scholarship that becomes increasingly evident as the narrative continues, but that is never self-evident. Here is the local history of a section told with the pen of an artist but seen through the eyes of a painstaking researcher. Only those who have worked with the source materials of New Jersey history can appreciate the tremendous task confronting the researcher in this field. Records are scattered among a dozen or so local historical societies and libraries. Much material is still privately held, is in New York or Philadelphia institutions where one would scarcely expect to find it, or has entirely disappeared, leaving a void of which the student is aware but about which he can do nothing. With the great number of local historical societies in New Jersey, each holding a quantity of material of value to some other distant part of the state, nothing has been done to make the scholar's job easier in getting to his material. There is a real need for a Union Library Catalog of New Jersey's scattered historical collections. A glance at Mr. Pierce's bibliography will give an indication of the wide range made in his search for material, but it can never tell a part of the difficulties he must have experienced in locating that material.

In recording the history of the ventures in iron within the area now comprising the Jersey Pine Barrens, Mr. Pierce has also given us valuable and sympathetic thumbnail sketches of the early industrialists and ironmasters responsible for the original development of the region. The personalities of
some of these men would be lost to us were it not for local histories such as this, and they are distinctly worth study. Many of them, like the Richards, or Charles Read (who has been singularly neglected for one of his abilities), deserve rescue from oblivion, and merit a closer study.

Of more than extraordinary interest is the reprinting without editing of the "Martha Furnace Diary." This diary forms all of Chapter 8 and is preceded by a glossary of the more unusual terms used in it. Terse, matter-of-fact, the everyday record kept by a clerk of the doings at the Furnace, it gives a vivid, firsthand picture of the life which centered about an industrial venture more than a century ago. Selected extracts from other sources have been printed in the appendix, but none had, for this reviewer at least, the interest of the "Martha Diary."

During the course of the years, a number of inquiries concerning the Wharton Tract have appeared in the city's papers. Pondering the real interest in the subject of which these queries are evidence, it seems a pity that a book so worth-while from every point of view as Mr. Pierce's cannot be assured a wider public than books of its character generally get.

Philadelphia

Audubon R. Davis


The New Jersey Historical Society was founded in 1845. Since that date, it has accumulated a collection of manuscripts that now exceeds 75,000 items. To make these more available to scholars, the Society has issued the first comprehensive guide to its collections. Written by the Librarian of the Society, the guide lists and describes more than three hundred groups of manuscripts, which range in size from those containing but one item to those comprising thousands of pieces. The material included in the collection pertains almost exclusively to New Jersey. As might be expected, the area in the northern part of the state, adjacent to the Society's headquarters in Newark, is very strongly represented. There is little manuscript material from southern New Jersey, and, seemingly, nothing at all from the seashore resort area.

Although many of the collections have only a local interest, some of them have a wider significance. A rough check, for instance, shows more than twenty-five collections pertaining to colonial history. The Revolutionary period is represented by about the same number of collections, and of these more than ten are orderly books of the Revolutionary Army. For the nineteenth century, the papers of Mahlon and Philemon Dickerson, Peter D. Vroom, and Marcus L. Ward, all of whom served as governor of New Jersey and were prominent in national politics, seem to merit examination
by those interested in the political battles of the period. The papers of Joseph P. Bradley, an associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, contain material on his legal practice and on the decisions of the Court.

The descriptions of the collections are adequate in some cases, but in many instances, more information would be desirable. Many of the business records, for example, give only the name of the owner, omitting any mention of the type of business and the locality where it was situated. The student interested in a particular kind of business or in a particular locality will find such entries of little or no value. Another noticeable omission is the lack of identification of the persons around whom the collections center. It is impossible, of course, to identify definitely everybody whose papers find their way into a historical society, but usually the papers or books will give some clue as to the profession, business, or other interests and to the place of residence of the people mentioned. Such data is invaluable in determining whether a collection is worth investigating or not.

The foregoing remarks should not be construed to mean that the Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society will not be of value to the researcher. It will be, but it could have been of much more value had a little more time been taken with it. As the author, in his introduction, asks for help in identifying individuals and places, and hints that there will be another edition of the guide, let us hope that that edition will be more complete than this one.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

J. Harcourt Givens

*A Short History of New York State. By David M. Ellis, James A. Frost, Harold C. Syrett and Harry J. Carman. With a Foreword by Louis C. Jones.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Published in co-operation with the New York State Historical Association by Cornell University Press, 1957. xiv, 705 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliographical essay, index. $7.75.)

This publication of attractive appearance can be termed "short" only in comparison with the ten-volume *History of the State of New York*, edited by A. C. Flick and published 1933–1937, also under the sponsorship of the State Historical Association. This new undertaking embraces the entire period from Henry Hudson's well-known voyage to the year 1956 and is long enough to permit a detailed account of all relevant important matters.

An effective combination of the chronological and topical approaches is used. The entire work consists of two books, each with a brief introduction, and with the dividing point at the Civil War. Book I is again divided into three parts, concerned with the colonial period, the rise of the Empire State, and the national period to 1865. Within these boundaries chapters are given over to the many appropriate subjects which have to be consid-
BOOK REVIEWS

April

ered, subjects like the Indians, the Dutch, agriculture, migration, business, labor, education, and religion. Book II also has three parts—politics and government, economic developments, cultural factors—with the arrangement topical throughout. Professors Ellis and Frost wrote Book I, Professors Syrett and Carman the rest. Happily, just about half the space is allotted to the most recent century, about whose happenings not much has been readily available within a reasonable compass.

Summing up briefly, the authors have produced a volume which is authentic, complete, and most readable. Delving diligently for any significant omissions, the reviewer offers only one weak comment—a treatment of the contributions made by this state in numbers and influence to other regions in the time of the westward expansion. Deserving special mention is the attention given to the national pre-eminence of New York City in many fields aside from wealth and population, to the evidence of the state's concern for the welfare of all its citizens, and to the full accounts of the administrations of its later great governors, Alfred Smith, Franklin Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman and Thomas Dewey. Nowhere else can this information be found so conveniently.

The work is not without errors, both geographical and historical. Those mentioned below are all from Book I. The New Hampshire Grants are twice stated to lie “east” of the Connecticut River (pp. 78, 121); New York's interest in that region was all in present Vermont. “Cochecton” is given for “Cohocton,” earlier Conhocton (p. 253); both villages exist, but are widely separated. Lisle, a village of early importance on the Tioughnioga River, is placed on the Chenango (p. 257). New York State did not grant “each” Revolutionary soldier land bounty rights (p. 153); the enactment applied to certain members of the levies. William Cooper, the able land colonizer and politician, did not marry a Livingston (p. 206); plenty of rising young men did—John Jay, Richard Montgomery, James Duane, Morgan Lewis—but the family name of Cooper's wife was Fenimore. Issue may be taken with the statement that “a few thousand settlers drifted into the St. Lawrence and Black River Valleys between 1783 and 1825” (p. 156). The official population of Jefferson County only, which lies in both those valleys, was 262 in 1800, and 41,625 in 1825, a growth certainly not much attributable to natural increase. Some errors are so obviously mere slips of the pen that it seems they could have been avoided by a hard look at the manuscript.

Following a present trend, the thirty-two pages of well-chosen illustrations are grouped together at the center of the book. The detailed bibliographical essay is arranged in the main to correspond with the forty-two chapter headings. This essay is a splendid guide to those who have need or desire to pursue the subject further, and will be widely appreciated. At the proper places within the text are a goodly number of useful maps. Especially complete and interesting is one of the short-lived electric railways of the state as these existed in 1910. One of the twenty-two tables included is
an ingenious and effective aid to an understanding of the complex and confusing matter of political affiliations in the period preceding the Civil War. An improvement would have been a listing of these tables as is done for the maps and charts.

The broad coverage of this history will meet the needs of many classes of users—libraries, teachers, local historians, general readers and any others who desire to know what part New York State has played in any phase of human affairs. Because of a group of men who know history and know how to write about it, readers will not only find what they have a right to expect, but they will have a pleasant experience. It is evident that the enjoyment extended to the writers.

Hartwick, N. Y. Roy L. Butterfield


The best part of this small volume is the preface, which tells tersely and concisely the important part sea power played in winning the Civil War. The book itself seems rather a bid for popular acceptance, rather than a definitive effort to develop the theme. This surmise is best illustrated by such chapter headings as “Uncle Gideon Ups Anchor,” “Welles Unleashed Old Bulldog,” and “Steel Corsets Get Unhooked.”

The pages teem with descriptions of the principal actors, which might have been gleaned from Brady’s photographs. Burnside had a “whiskered double chin.” Goldsborough was a “bewiskered officer.” Porter was “heavy bearded.” Secretary of the Navy Welles flourished a “flowing gray-white beard.” DuPont had “side whiskers.” Only Farragut was clean-shaven, and one gathers from the text that whiskers largely accompanied incompetence. Today bearded men are generally wrestlers or in show business, but Mr. Merrill has overlooked the fact that in the period of which he writes, whiskers were much in vogue and the clean-shaven man was the rarity.

The author has a great familiarity with all these officers. Farragut, for example, was “Cap’n Davy”; Admiral Stringham, “Cy”; Burnside, “Burnie”; Porter, “Black Dave”; and Admiral Lee, “Old Triplicate.” Although a teacher of history, the author seems to abound in clichés. Rumors “scurried”; editors were “wild-eyed,” or “bleary-eyed”; newspapers “chafed”; “dirty little news boys” hawked their papers; the Navy Department was “in a stew”; accusing fingers “were pointed”; and leaders were “panicky.”

Surprisingly, the Monitor-Merrimack battle is referred to only as infecting “the North with iron fever.” The naval successes along the upper Mississippi and its tributaries are barely mentioned, and the successful Yankee
Commodore Foote is completely ignored. A book has been published recently about the exploits of William B. Cushing, but Mr. Merrill identifies him merely as a nameless lieutenant who destroyed the Confederate ram Albemarle. Similarly, Captain T. A. M. Craven, of the monitor Tecumseh, who stepped aside to let another man scramble to safety when the vessel went down, goes nameless in the author's account of the episode.

The bibliography is exhaustive; particularly so in manuscript material and newspapers. Its extensive use is indicated by innumerable quotations, direct and indirect, from minor unidentified characters. These have been used episodically, and their animadversions upon the conduct of the naval war seems to have somewhat influenced the author's opinions. The endpaper map by Samuel Bryant is an excellent one of the area where Mr. Merrill's admirals displayed their ineptitude.

Brevard, N. C.

WILLIAM BELL CLARK


Among American historians—all of whom perforce are descendants of immigrants—emigration to the United States has aroused intense interest through the last half-century. Long identification with this field of inquiry has characterized, for example, such outstanding members of the guild as T. C. Blegen, Oscar Handlin, the late M. L. Hansen, G. M. Stephenson and Carl Wittke. Among recent devotees is W. S. Shepperson, a history professor at the University of Nevada whose great-grandfather left a London solicitorship to become a Missouri farmer. In his 1957 study, British Emigration to North America, he proffered for 302 pages of text extremely abundant annotations, plus a twenty-seven-page bibliography, demonstrating anew the lively interest and industry of historians attracted to this field, an interest and industry which as early as 1948 moved E. N. Saveth to produce his American Historians and European Immigrants.

In fact, the interest and industry know no sex, nation, or discipline; we now have a wealth of books and magazine articles on different ethnic groups from diverse countries settling in various areas at various periods, written by persons of various disciplines from various angles. And still many areas remain untouched. The volume here under review, written by a woman teacher of economic history at the London School of Economics and Political Science, is an excellent illustration of what is going into this field. Over a period of some seven years spent in the United States, "in all the British Isles," and on the European continent, she explored sources in the immigrant-yielding countries, mourning only that postwar conditions pre-
vented her from dealing with German and Italian sources as thoroughly as with British, Irish, and Scandinavian materials.

The diversity of research co-operation currently received on both sides of the Atlantic places this study in the classification of international products, of which we fortunately have an increasing number. Begun in 1948 as a Cornell University doctoral thesis, recipient of aid from such internationally co-operating organizations as the American Association of University Women, the Social Science Research Council, and the Fulbright Commission, this book was completed in 1955 in England and two years later received the accolade of sponsorship as one of the Studies in Economic History published in co-operation with the Committee on Research in Economic History at Harvard.

The movement of European immigrants into American industry is here analyzed from three angles: the search for skilled workers—a search usually disappointing; the actual operation of the trek from European farms into unskilled industrial ranks; the real objectives and operation of the Contract Labor Act of 1864, which are contrary to some long-held notions. An appendix pertaining to five classifications of immigrant movement affords statistical endorsement of the argument. By way of bibliography there are fifty-six pages of notes citing specific paginations from a broad reach of sources; also, they intermittently add to our substantive knowledge.

The long-held notion that American industrialists generally demanded the 1864 Act and that they imported hordes of contract laborers, 1864-1885, to cut wages and break strikes is here pretty well exploded. Actually, contract labor was imported far below alleged amounts, and the rare importation of highly skilled workers was for particular jobs. Nor did mine operators and railroad contractors make mass importations of the unskilled. Most of the immigration from Ireland and Germany in the early fifties, from Sweden in the sixties, and from Italy and Hungary in the eighties was voluntary. While industrialists were happy to employ immigrants, they neither organized the market for that labor supply nor took measures to correct abuses of it; they did not speak unitedly on immigration.

On contract labor, as the author makes clear, labor itself and its historians have too often been misled into accepting such mistaken notions as that strikebreakers were contract laborers instead of immigrants and others supplied through urban, private labor agencies; that the anticontract labor laws were the natural outgrowth of labor thinking rather than a policy “sold” to labor by the small craft group of window glass workers who broadened their appeal by exploiting the nativist prejudice among the Knights of Labor; and that solution of labor organization problems could be found in anticontract laws.

In the case of a piece of research so well done, criticisms seems picayune. This reviewer ventures merely to suggest that the value of the work would have been much enhanced if some little additional space could have been found for further detail on political factors determining the inaction as well
as the action of Congress; politics is, of course, inseparable from economic problems in any representative government. Further, the study occasionally leaves points unexplained; a striking illustration is the frequent reference to the “Reporter,” which leaves the reader somewhat frustrated because the term does not seem to apply to any of the various “Reporter” items encountered in large libraries; and if it was a private, occasional publication (as seems likely) it needs more elucidation.

University of Pennsylvania

Jeannette P. Nichols


To his own and later generations Jay Gould has been a sinister and mysterious figure. Lacking close friends, he wrote no intimate letters that could reveal his aims and motives. Save as the details of his operations required it, he wrote few letters of any kind. If there is any important collection of Gould correspondence it has yet to be discovered.

Intrigued by the problem of understanding the operations of this “financier” who showed his contemporaries the great possibilities for manipulation in the securities of railroads and other public utilities, Julius Grodinsky spent many years tracking down the scattered evidence. He went through railroad archives all over the country both looking for Gould letters and learning the details of intricate corporate maneuvers from the letters of more voluminous writers. Necessarily, this book is more a detailed account of the business situations in which Gould operated than a picture of the man himself. As such, it is a contribution of outstanding importance to the business history of the United States. But only a careful and well-informed reader will be able to avoid getting lost in the maze of plans and considerations that entered into the strategy of railroad finance. And one crucial element is necessarily uncertain: Gould’s stock market operations, conducted with great secrecy, can be known only by inference. Thus, what looks like a Gould failure, such as Pacific Mail, may have in reality brought him large profits from short sales.

The main value of the book is in its carefully reconstructed business detail. Inferences regarding Gould’s motives or the social consequences of his actions seem relatively unimportant. But since such consequences are dwelt upon in the concluding chapter they must be considered. Any biographer who labors for ten years or more develops a certain fondness for his subject, and Professor Grodinsky tries to justify Gould. The chief justifications are that his manipulations permanently reduced railroad rates, led to the laying of more track than would otherwise have been the case, and drew
equity capital that would otherwise have been dissipated into the expansion of his companies.

The long-run effect of Gould policies on the railroad rate structure seems a moot point. On the process of capital formation Professor Grodinsky's argument is too intricate and subtle to set forth in a review, but even granting its correctness, it is doubtful that more parallel tracks were an advantage to the West in the 1880's, and probable that the bad reputation given the stock market by the operations of men like Gould discouraged investment in equities of any kind. In fact, a business community composed of Jay Goulds could scarcely have functioned. He seems to have lacked a feeling for the level of integrity necessary for successful human relations, and the ordinary man's urge to constructive endeavor. In the pages of this book his brilliant mind appears to have been directed chiefly to creating new strategies for legally acquiring other people's money.

_University of Pennsylvania_  
THOMAS C. COCHRAN

*Johnstown, the Day the Dam Broke.* By RICHARD O'CONNOR. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1957. 225 p. Illustration, bibliography. $3.95.)

About three o'clock on the afternoon of May 31, 1889, a locomotive engineer shouted to two young men trudging along the tracks near Johnstown, Pennsylvania, "The South Fork dam might break any minute. Pass the word along and fly to the hills!"

With this classic warning, began America's classic flood. The South Fork dam did indeed collapse, hurling some 20,000,000 tons of water on unsuspecting Johnstown. Almost within minutes the city and some 3,000 lives were swept away. Practically equaling the torrent of water has been the torrent of words written about this great disaster. Dime novels, "potboilers," sob stories, miles of newsprint have been churned out, scrambling the statistics, jumbling facts and legends together in as tangled a mass as the debris piled against Johnstown's railroad bridge that rainy twilight sixty-nine years ago.

Now at last Richard O'Connor has pieced the whole story together—the background, the causes, the unheeded warnings, the incidents that marked the flood itself, the great mopping-up afterward. The result is undoubtedly the definitive account of the Johnstown flood. And at its best, the book is even more than that. With the flood as a sort of backdrop, it gives us an intelligent, interesting picture of daily life and attitudes in a typical American town during the post-Civil War era.
Mr. O'Connor vividly etches the sharp line of status between the ordinary townspeople, vaguely uneasy about the dilapidated dam, and the unlistening, untouchable millionaires who used its waters for an exclusive fishing retreat. He vividly conveys the sense of complacency that invariably preceded these Victorian calamities—for instance, how the dam's owners politely shrugged off the 1880 engineering study, warning that the dam was dangerous. Besides catching these major colorations, Mr. O'Connor also has a good eye for the little touches of daily life: the heavy midday meal, the pageant of a Memorial Day parade in the eighties, the sacred right of the man of the house to enjoy his evening paper before the women and children got at it.

In telling the story of the flood itself, Mr. O'Connor is especially effective in building up suspense during the twenty-four hours before the flood. Using frequent glimpses at the steady, unending drizzle as a dramatic device, he carries the reader along toward the inevitable climax. The leaden skies, the soggy ground, the dripping trees—it's obvious what it's leading up to, but the tension is no less. This is story-telling at its best.

In a different way, Mr. O'Connor is almost equally interesting in telling about the aftermath of the great flood: the scramble of newspapermen to cover the story, the influx of telegraph boomer, dynamiters, and souvenir hunters, the brisk cheeriness of Clara Barton scurrying about the wreckage. In these stories of disaster, it's all too often forgotten that the story doesn't end as the last victim hits the ground with a thud—things must be picked up again; life must start anew.

Curiously, this book seems weak only when describing the actual deluge. Not that the coverage isn't detailed—it's overwhelmingly so—but a person can stand only so much water. Too many of the flood stories seem the same (no fault of Mr. O'Connor's), and the pacing gets gummed up as a result. On page 117, for instance, young Bertha Caldwell reaches safety as the town clock strikes five; on page 121, as Dr. A. N. Hart prepares to clamber over the debris, he too hears the clock strike five; on pages 129, 134, and 140, as various other survivors solve their problems, the clock is still striking five. No clock should strike five for twenty-three pages.

The effect, when considered with Mr. O'Connor's fine commentary on the times, raises the thought that famous disasters—like fires, floods, and shipwrecks—are interesting not so much in themselves as in the picture they give of the period, the reactions of the human beings involved, and the lessons that can be drawn. But this is a question that's intrinsic to the subject, rather than the writing. Once Mr. O'Connor decided to tell the whole story of the Johnstown flood, he probably had to toss in all the details. He has done a thoughtful, complete job, backed up, incidentally, by a splendid line-drawing map, and the book should remain the ultimate treatment of a moment that will always be a landmark in Pennsylvania history.

New York

WALTER LORD

The Victorian Age is remembered principally for its foibles and its fancies; we are thus all too aware of its superficialities and tend to forget its basic achievement. The experimentation and industrialization which led to mass production in so many fields had no precedent at that time. It is no wonder that the Victorian product, whether a household item, a house, or a machine often appears crude and vulgar to our eyes. It was new in every sense of the word, and John Maass points out, with regard to architecture, that "... instead of clinging to traditional rules and academic schemes, the Victorian builders attacked each new problem in a spirit of vigorous experimentation. Even their gallant failures have the merit of individuality." This individuality was the very quality which best represented the greatness of Victorian achievement. It was strong and at times even brutal in its outward manifestations, but almost invariably it was expressive, the quality which we recognize today in our best contemporary architecture.

The outward expression of the Victorian Age includes its basic concept of morality which frowned upon nudity in any form, except when relegated to the world of art, and in which "... the bare bones of every proper building had to be clothed in the outer garments of 'historical' design." This seems paradoxical until we remember that, in architecture, Victorian expressiveness lay not in the "bones" but in the plan. In the new freedom of the plan the joy of living found full expression. Asymmetry triumphed over the restrictive planning of the eighteenth century; although the germs of free planning are found in the core of the Greek Revival of the 1830's, this freedom was never expressed on the exterior. If the Victorian wanted a tower to view the countryside, he had a tower; if he wanted a splendid drawing room twelve feet high, this did not prevent him from attaching to it a low, glassed-in conservatory; nor did he hesitate to add bay windows and balconies where he wanted them, all conspicuously expressed on the exterior. Everything became a symbol, a hallmark, and a proclamation—even clothes "... were most artfully designed to accentuate the difference between the sexes. The male is made to look bold and strutting, the female languishing and curvaceous."

Pervading this whole era of industrialization was a heavy romanticism which found a melancholy delight in the cemetery and a new prestige in an adherence to past styles while reveling in their romantic connotations. A rarely achieved correctness of detail was sought, not for its archaeological veracity but as a borrowed attribute of respectability.

The newly wed Victorian couple was engrossed with the problem of aesthetics and a charm to be enhanced by roof crestings, oriel, towers and loggias—a far cry from the same couple today, whose monotonous ranch-style house is all squashed into a long, low, rectangular box which has been
finally coaxed and tortured into a mean, coy prettiness. The preoccupation today is not with appearance but with the cost of asphalt tile.

Victorian is a term used to cover most of the architecture built during the reign of that good queen, and includes not only the "Romantick" styles of the 1840's and 1850's, but also the more formal French architecture of the sixties and seventies, borrowed from the boulevards of Second Empire Paris. It is a loose term, and perhaps the name "Gingerbread Age" is equally applicable. John Maass truly sympathizes with the aspirations of the Victorian builder. He sees in its true light the joyous exuberance of this architecture, where the pace was set by the newly rich, but where the formula set down was equally available to the humble cottage builder provided with some vertical battens, a jig saw, and the desire to produce beauty. All of this he has set forth for us in picture-book style with meaningful text.

The industrialization of the Victorian world brought with it a formula made possible by mass production of everything from cast-iron window heads to the most complicated machinery. The romantic cottages and villas of the early Gingerbread Age resisted this to some extent, but the Mansardic Era reveled in its use, applying stock ornament by the yard. Constructional features, such as balloon framing, made possible the erection of whole cities overnight. Industrial architecture grew by the mile, with stock ornament playing its part in creating a repetitive grandeur punctuated at strategic locations by high roofs, domes, and towers.

The quest for beauty in the Gingerbread Age, exemplified by its sunny villas set among spacious, well-tended lawns, served by lithe carriages drawn by high-stepping horses, all clothed in the aura of borrowed respectability, commands our admiration as a gesture of defiance against the thick pall of anthracite which descended yearly in ever-deepening clouds over the landscape.

*American Architectural Archive*  
Alan Burnham


One of the most satisfying experiences for students of history is to encounter the work of a master historian. Mastery of history is evident whenever topics of substantial proportions are treated with such competence and thoroughness as to inspire confidence. In fact, it is by applying such standards of craftsmanship that the men of the historical profession are separated from the boys.

*The American Business System* by Professor Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania conveys the impression of a master's touch, presenting as it
does the facts and interpretations derived from some thirty years of research into the development of American business. Pioneering work is here also. Since the history of business has been slighted by the customary accounts of American society (a noteworthy phenomenon itself for so business-minded a civilization), Professor Cochran has had to attempt "a new and broader synthesis" for United States history in the twentieth century. He has endeavored "to see the history of business forms and business action in their essential relationships to technological and industrial change, and to suggest some of the interactions of the whole complex with the rest of American civilization."

In this enterprise Professor Cochran has succeeded admirably. He has illumined American society for us through his portrayal of the American business system as it evolved from 1900 to its present form. At each stage of his development the most dynamic factors are emphasized, though farmers and industrial workers appear only incidentally, being afforded detailed treatment elsewhere in this series. Thus we read in turn of the new technology, first of petroleum, electricity, and chemistry, but ultimately of nuclear energy. Indeed, technological innovation stands out as an important process of social change, one that not only determines the characteristics of production, but helps to shape the basic structure of the community. Next big business is described, and its relationship to big banking or finance capitalism is made clear. The welfare-state is introduced as a response to the growing needs of the people when challenged by powerful, new conditions. Together, thereafter, these new forces and factors are shown as striving, until 1929 without sensible interruption, to adjust themselves to each other and to the older structures of American life. Then occurred the great depression of the thirties, which turned the American business system upside down and wrought major alterations within the social fabric. Gone at last, most likely forever, was the popular confidence in individual self-reliance or in the self-regulating nature of the economy with its corollary of restrictions on interference by government; vanished as well was any serene trust in the omniscience of businessmen. The result was that henceforth political and economic activity tended to merge, as the New Deal searched for an elusive recovery amidst the prevailing unemployment of plants and workers. This merger became virtually indissoluble after 1940, when war-making assumed primary importance, in the crystallization of "the modern, centralized, militarized, and welfare-directed state." The "new and broader synthesis" stands revealed.

In fact, a reviewer might enter his sole query at this very point. Is the new synthesis genuine, or is it merely synthetic? Does this account of modern America's business embrace elements that are actually outside its major theme though more or less typical of economic history in the conventional pattern? Has editorial policy decreed one volume instead of two? Whatever the case, Professor Cochran has given us a valuable book. He has encouraged all serious students to turn to him for guidance into the
intricacies and significant features of the American business system. He has reminded us three decades after Calvin Coolidge that the business of America still is business.

*Bryn Mawr College*  
ARTHUR P. DUDDEN

**Rosenbach Lectures, 1958**

The University of Pennsylvania announces the appointment of Dr. William Charvat, Professor of English at Ohio State University, as the Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography for 1957–1958. Dr. Charvat will deliver three lectures at the University of Pennsylvania on April 11, 18, and 25, under the general title of "Literary Publishing in America, 1790–1850."

Dr. Charvat is a pioneer in the study of the business of literature in this country. He has investigated the records of various American publishing houses and the income of individual authors to determine the economic circumstances of literary publication. By such investigation he has brought to American literary criticism an economic approach.

The first lecture on April 11 will discuss publishing centers during the period, namely, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. On April 18 Dr. Charvat will analyze the problem of relationships of publishers and authors, using Washington Irving as a case history. And on April 25 he will lecture on the popular types of writing of the period, and the format, binding, and retail prices of the books published.

The lecture series will be held in Auditorium A-1 of the Physical Sciences Building, 33rd and Walnut streets, at 4:00 P.M.

**Erratum**

On page 55 of the January, 1958, issue reference is made to Viscount de Noailles. "Viscount" is in error and should read "Marquis," the title of Emmanuel Marie Louis de Noailles (1743–1822).
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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Founded in 1824, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has long been a center of research in Pennsylvania and American history. It has accumulated an important historical collection, chiefly through contributions of family, political, and business manuscripts, as well as letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, paintings, photographs, and rare books. Additional contributions of such a nature are urgently solicited for preservation in the Society’s fireproof building where they may be consulted by scholars.

Membership. There are various classes of membership: general, $10.00; associate, $25.00; patron, $100.00; life, $250.00; benefactor, $1,000. Members receive certain privileges in the use of books, are invited to the Society’s historical addresses and receptions, and receive The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Those interested in joining the Society are invited to submit their names.

Hours. The Society is open to the public 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., Monday through Friday. The Society is usually closed during the month of August.