BOOK REVIEWS


The first edition of this bibliography was published in 1946. In his foreword to the volume Dr. William E. Lingelbach hailed it as “a welcome and much needed contribution” to the historiography of the Commonwealth. That welcome work quickly became a useful and indispensable aid not only to students of Pennsylvania’s history, but to all who study any aspect of the nation’s history which Pennsylvania reflects, such as religion, industrialization, minority cultures, education. The present Bibliography of Pennsylvania History supersedes the earlier volume. It is no less welcome than its predecessor and will prove no less useful and indispensable.

The Writings listed materials printed through 1942; the Bibliography includes books and articles published through the end of 1952. The new bibliography contains 9,198 entries against 6,165 in the 1946 Writings. Under the Civil War subhead, “The State Defends the Union,” for example, one hundred sixty-six titles are listed in 1957; only eighty-five appeared under the head in 1946. The section on county and local history has grown from 760 to 1,151 titles, that on Benjamin Franklin from ninety-four books and articles to one hundred fifty-three. The new volume is thus a bigger book than the one it supersedes; it is also a better one. The list of serials from which articles were drawn numbered 394 in 1946; it numbers 589 in 1957. The Bibliography helpfully includes entries on the Pennsylvania Archives, a troublesome compilation even to those who consult it often. It lists unpublished masters’ theses and doctoral dissertations. Interpreting history and historical materials broadly, Mr. Wilkinson has included a number of journalistic accounts and analyses of contemporary problems and personages; they will be historical enough in time. Capping all, where the Writings had an index to authors only, the Bibliography ends with an excellent index, one hundred and twenty-five pages long, to authors and subjects. A few minor modifications have been made in the outline, and Mr. Wilkinson has excised one whole section: the 520 entries under Pennsylvania fiction in the 1946 Writings do not reappear in the Bibliography.

It is inevitable, in so extensive a work as this, that some omissions and errors will occur. Each reader will see those in his own specialty. Deborah Norris Logan’s Memoir of Dr. George Logan of Stenton (Philadelphia, 1899) was overlooked. The “History Med. Bul.” and the “Johns Hopkins Inst. Hist. Med. Bul.,” separately listed on page xxiii, are one and the same—the

341
Not every title that needs one has a descriptive note: who were "the Vigilant Volunteers" who appear under the rubric "Public Health and Safety" (No. 3390)? Personally, I wish I were as sure of the authorship of the *Historical Account of Pennsylvania* (London, 1759) as the editor seems to be (No. 1790).

The first edition of this bibliography was sponsored by the Pennsylvania Historical Association, its editorial costs were defrayed in part by the American Philosophical Society, and the printing costs were borne by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The costs of preparing and publishing the second edition have been paid entirely by the Commission. For the vision and understanding which that fact evidences the Commission deserves the warmest praise from professional historians and others who will consult the work. Historical commissions supported by public funds should, of course, plant markers along the highways, prepare leaflets for schoolchildren, make and maintain historic "shrines." To do these things state commissions use the historical knowledge and understanding which others have assembled and produced. Should they not also, from time to time, replenish the historical funds on which they draw? The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has recognized its obligation and its opportunity to produce as well as to use historical materials. It has, for example, published the papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet and a distinguished series of monographs on the political history of the Commonwealth; and now it has issued this excellent bibliography of Pennsylvania's history.

Having been given so much, we should probably not ask for more. All the same, historians of Pennsylvania everywhere are certainly hoping that the Commission has plans to keep this *Bibliography* up to date by the publication of supplementary volumes every three or four years.

*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*  
Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.


The contents of this work are admittedly difficult to summarize in a single brief title. The one chosen is not particularly happy and is even likely to prove misleading. The main portion of the book consists of a narrative account of the utilization of manuscript source material (chiefly archival) preserved in France by American and Canadian historians in their studies of United States diplomatic history and of French colonization in North America, and of the gradual accumulation in United States and Canadian libraries of a pool of reproductions of this material in the form of handwritten transcripts and photographic copies. Mr. Beers's account,
which might be described as a "report on reports," is based upon memoirs and correspondence (some of it unpublished), printed books and articles, and on the files of the organizations concerned. The account serves a useful purpose by recapitulating the long-standing efforts of the historians of America to make adequate use of the great storehouse of materials preserved in France, and by calling attention to the impressive amount of this material that has been transferred, in the form of reproductions, to this side of the Atlantic.

The readability of Mr. Beers's narrative suffers from excessive subdivision which makes for considerable repetition and redundancy. Indeed, the whole account, conscientious as it is, appears to this reviewer unnecessarily detailed, with much trivial information included. It covers the period from the time of Jared Sparks in the 1820's down to the present, recording the activities of men like George Bancroft, Francis Parkman, John Gilmary Shea, Benjamin Franklin Stevens, and Henry Adams, as well as the "projects" sponsored by state historical societies (for Pennsylvania, see pp. 170-172) and such organizations as the Carnegie Institution, the American Historical Association, the Library of Congress, and the Canadian Archives.

Behind all this there is an interesting chapter on Franco-American cultural relations—the story of several generations of American scholars working in Paris and of their human relationships with their French colleagues. Mr. Beers, however, is concerned only with the tangible "results" of these research missions, and not with the temporal story of the missionaries. In spite of his approach, one gets occasional glimpses of the people involved—for example, of Benjamin Perley Poore, who discovered that Pierre Margry had carefully mislaid certain La Salle documents he was looking for (p. 89). Unfortunately, in most cases where personal details are included, they are mere irrelevancies. One learns, for instance, that "the granting of permission to travel in taxis, when so doing would save time, in March, 1929, made communication between the different working places easier" (p. 214), or that "shortly after the beginning of 1930, Miss Roach became sick and was replaced by Mlle. Alice Moreau" (p. 217). It is gratifying to find recognition given to many of the unsung heroes of these research missions—to the devoted work of Abel Doysié, for example. But, is it really necessary to include the fact that in 1929, after a busy year, "Doysié went off to Plombières in the Vosges Mountains for a month's vacation"?

The bibliography which concludes the book recapitulates systematically the sources drawn upon for the preceding account, lists historical works which publish or utilize French manuscript sources, and includes writings about French archives. Without actually being a guide to French archives, it should provide useful "leads" to anyone undertaking work there, and, equally important, enable him to make the most of the materials already available in the United States. As Mr. Beers points out, there has been much duplication of effort in the past; his present guide should make it easier for the neophyte to know what has already been done. The book,
incidentally, raises the whole question of the proper “exploitation” of the work accomplished. We learn, for example, that “the Library of Congress has no [printed] guide to its collection of French reproductions” (p. 226), and we are reminded again (p. 195) that to date only two volumes of the Leland-Doisyé Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris (the result of a half-century’s endeavors on the part of countless individuals) have been published (the volume covering “Libraries” in 1932, and the Foreign Office Archives volume in 1943), and that the subsequent volumes “intended to complete the guide” still await publication. Meanwhile, the less essential volume under review finds publication in a form and at a price which makes one wonder if it might not have served its purpose equally well, and perhaps better, in some less expensive dress. Such paradoxes appear to be inherent in the field of scholarly publication today.

Princeton University Library

Howard C. Rice, Jr.

The Life of John Smith, English Soldier. By Henry Wharton. Translated from the Latin Manuscript with an Essay on Captain John Smith in Seventeenth-Century Literature by Laura Polanyi Striker. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, 1957. [x], 101 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. $4.00.)

Several engaging personalities are brought together in this highly readable little book. Henry Wharton, who wrote this hitherto unpublished manuscript in 1685, was a brilliant young Anglican priest and one of the ablest scholars of his time. “This wonderful man,” Bishop Stubbs wrote a century and a half later, “died in 1695 at the age of thirty, having done for the elucidation of the English Church history more than anyone before or since.” Wharton’s candid and fair-minded narrative, defending Captain Smith from the jealousy of snobbish contemporaries, lay neglected in the archives of Lambeth Palace until 1824.

In that year the manuscript was discovered and copied by another youthful prodigy, Francis Walker Gilmer, who had been sent to London from Virginia by Thomas Jefferson charged with responsibility for selecting and appointing the first professors for the newly created University of Virginia. Within four months of obtaining the transcript, and before he could carry out his plan to publish it, Gilmer died in Virginia, mourned by Jefferson as the ablest scholar raised in America since the Revolution.

Scholarly battles over Captain John Smith’s veracity have centered on those of his True Travels chapters which describe his adventures in Hungary. So it is fitting that Wharton’s honest and persuasive account of those adventures is now at last brought into print by a distinguished Hungarian scholar, Dr. Laura Polanyi Striker. Her book was published in conjunction
with Virginia's 350th anniversary celebration. Professor Davis' appended essay is a pleasant reminder of his works on life and learning in Jefferson's Virginia.

Although Wharton adds little detail to what we know of John Smith's career, his confidence in Smith's truthfulness is sincere and contagious. Most importantly, he reminds us that caste attitudes of the seventeenth century made Smith's exploits inappropriate for a man of humble birth. Hence the contemporary neglect of Smith.

Preceding her lucid and agreeable rendering of Wharton's Latin manuscript, Dr. Striker's own essay, "John Smith in Seventeenth-Century Literature," is an informative reply to hasty nineteenth-century judgments and a reminder of the importance of proper historical perspective. This work, added to Bradford Smith's biography of 1953, in which Dr. Striker collaborated, reinstates Captain John Smith as an Anglo-American hero whose honesty does not fall short of that of other respected old soldiers.

University of Virginia

Francis L. Berkeley, Jr.


The colony of Virginia suffered compounded ills in 1676. Bad weather had destroyed crops, tobacco prices were low, taxes were high, and Indian assassins terrorized all but the coastal regions. The system of popular elections had atrophied since the Restoration, with the same governor, Council, House of Burgesses and county court justices retaining control year after year. During the two wars with the Dutch the people of Virginia had been heavily taxed to build forts which had proved useless, they were taxed again to send abroad a trade mission which failed, and in March, 1676, they were asked to support a new and expensive system of frontier forts designed to pacify the Indians permanently. Within four months constituted authority collapsed in a wasteful and futile civil war wherein the chief belligerents were an army of Indian fighters under young Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., and a handful of loyal planters attempting to maintain the authority of the aging governor, Sir William Berkeley.

The new study of this tragic year offers the provocative notion that Governor Berkeley was an honest and principled statesman who was defied and ultimately destroyed because he tried to maintain a sound and fair Indian policy; his opposition consisted of land-greedy frontiersmen who believed that troublesome Indians deserved rapid annihilation. Rejected as myth is the older, though hardly universal, view that Bacon's Rebellion was a democratic movement rooted in the same principles that motivated inde
dependence a century later. Washburn's approach is surely more consistent with the facts of the demagogue Bacon's career: the rebel fought the governor, not to replace him or to change the laws, but simply to be recognized as the legal general of the colony's forces against the Indians. Bacon's dreary marches through the swamps are intelligible only as the actions of a man morally committed to find Indian victims as quickly as possible, for the popular support he enjoyed depended on success against the savages. Similarly, Washburn emphasizes that the bundle of legislation offered by the new Burgesses of June, 1676, can hardly be credited to Bacon, as one of the laws barred him from holding office anywhere in the colony.

Refreshingly free of an idealized view of seventeenth-century Virginians, Washburn may even be overly harsh with them. He suggests that they preferred killing Indians to obeying the law represented by the good governor Berkeley. Unfortunately, this book reflects no serious effort to investigate the question whether Virginians would have felt so casual about defying a good government as a bad one. Instead it asserts that Berkeley's government was good, and still popular until the difference over Indian policy. But the laws passed in June, 1676, stand on record, and, though they are clearly not the work of Bacon, they just as clearly encompass major reforms in the government of Virginia. Can such a background of discontent be ignored when one is inquiring into the willingness of people to defy, attack, or at least refuse to defend, a legal government?

Washburn has explored the heroic view of the rebellion put forth in Wertenbaker's 'Torchbearer of the Revolution,' and has replaced it with a tragic, or at least pathetic, narrative more appropriate to contemporary thought as well as the subject itself. But rather than junk the inapplicable technique of discriminating heroes and villains in the tragedy, he has simply reversed Wertenbaker by undertaking to exalt Governor Berkeley, and, in a series of lengthy apologies, to justify his every action in the rebellion. The bias has the virtue of being so obvious that readers are not likely to be misled, but the study has probably suffered from its preoccupation. Though written with an engaging vigor and conviction, this account adheres too closely to the dramatic events of 1676 and neglects the background. Until someone places Bacon's Rebellion within a reconstruction of the Virginia of the late seventeenth century, it will remain an enigma.

University of California, Berkeley

Robert McColley


Created by profoundly pacifist Quakers, Pennsylvania became within seventy-five years one of the fields of a major armed conflict. The story is
one of almost classic tragedy, and the dilemma in which it placed a peaceful
people must win them the sympathy even of those who do not share their
convictions. The author of the present study is fortunate in his choice of a
theme so promising and of so wide appeal.

This book is not the familiar story of why and how war came to Penn-
sylvania, nor does it center upon the moral dilemma of the Quakers. Rather,
the core of the narrative is an account of the successive evasions, procras-
tinations, and political devices by which a strongly Quaker Assembly sought
to avoid involvement in military measures. Failure of the Assembly to base
its opposition upon an appeal to noble ideals is to be explained in part by
the fact that resistance to militarism was intertwined politically with more
general and commonplace contests, those between legislature and governor
and between colonist and proprietor; and in part by the gradual weakening
of the Quakers' position in the colony (partly in consequence of Penn's own
policy of religious freedom), which made their party in the Assembly in-
creasingly dependent upon allies like Franklin whose interests were anti-
proprietary rather than pacifist. Had the author laid more stress on these
points, he might have shown the Quakers in a somewhat more favorable
light.

Termination of the study at 1756 excludes consideration of the Quaker
politicians' remarkable maneuver subsequent to their loss of power in the
Assembly: the charge, voiced by Charles Thomson (not Thompson) and the
much-prompted Teedyuscung, that the Indian hostility which had flared up
in 1755 was the consequence of land fraud perpetrated by the Proprietaries.
Inclusion of this subject would have extended the scope of the study to
1762, however, and required a much-needed re-evaluation of the notorious
and perhaps overly maligned "Walking Purchase" of 1737; and the author
cannot fairly be reproached for stopping short of this further development.

A fuller awareness of it might have clarified some aspects of his book,
however, especially in the later chapters. The author unhesitatingly charac-
terizes William Smith's *Brief State* (1755) as a partisan tract (p. 132), but
fails to attribute to Thomson's *Enquiry* (1757) any of the same character
(pp. 124, 177). He is unaware that Pennsylvania had regular paid troops
after 1755, and confuses these with militia and "rangers" (pp. 164, 174,
186). The treatment of Indian matters is probably the weakest aspect of his
work. Indian affairs, it is true, constitute a difficult and neglected area of
historical research, but, even so, more careful use of Hodge's *Handbook*
would have prevented such errors of fact as are most conspicuous in Ap-
pendix (b) and in the statement that the Susquehannocks survived to rebel
against the Six Nations (p. 193).

Another shortcoming is indicated by the fact that the bibliography lists
no work later than 1948; and a further blemish is the fact that text, notes,
and bibliography are freely sprinkled with miscellaneous errors, some of
them as simple as misspelled names (Conracoeur, Joincaira, Célerson de
Bienville—or W. W. Célerson). Equally simple of correction is the com-
pounded misstatement on page 119, where a letter written by John Fraser at the Forks (of Ohio) on August 27, 1755, is identified as written by Edward Shippen at Carlisle in May, and where the French "new Fort" is incorrectly and prematurely identified as Fort Venango (properly Fort Machault). Other errors reflect confused chronology and geography: the French are said to have descended the Allegheny in 1756 (p. 166), and Fort Granville to have been burned after the Armstrong expedition (pp. 186, 189); Northampton County is placed on the northwestern frontier (p. 164), and the Great Cove on the Juniata (p. 159). In the bibliography it may be noted, for example, that the Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet (in nineteen volumes, not three) were issued by the Pennsylvania Historical (not History) Commission; and that on page 236, where the name of this agency is given correctly, it is unduly credited with having compiled the Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania. It must be a matter for regret, in view of the possibilities of the subject and the merits of the study, that this volume was published without a much-needed recheck of the manuscript. Index citations are incomplete.

The Columbia University Press has issued this study in an attractive, well-printed form.

Harrisburg

William A. Hunter

Burke and the Nature of Politics. The Age of the American Revolution. By Carl B. Cone. (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1957. xvi, 415 p. Illustrations, index. $9.00.)

The advent of prosperity and Republican administrations, however temporary in nature, also brought into fresh fashion doctrines of conservatism. Proponents of the new dogma have yielded to no one in their nostalgic affection for intellectual patron-saints, and have become particularly attached to the memory and contributions of Edmund Burke. Indeed, Burke has come to enjoy a vogue in the fifties comparable only to that enjoyed by Jefferson in the liberal thirties.

Actually, a revived concern for Burke preceded Eisenhower's modern republicanism by several years: it was in 1949 that Ross Hoffman and Paul Levack brought out a selection of Burke's writings and speeches, and coincidentally in that same year the Burke Papers were finally opened to research of a broader nature than that earlier undertaken by Sir Philip Magnus or Dixon Wecter. And there is now in progress a general edition by Thomas Copeland of the newly opened materials held hitherto by the Fitzwilliam family. New studies and discoveries seem assured.

Meanwhile there have been two important publications utilizing the newly accessible Burke material: Ross Hoffman produced the excellent Edmund Burke, New York Agent in 1956, and Carl B. Cone of the University of Kentucky has courageously if hurriedly embarked upon a major two-
volume biography, *Burke and the Nature of Politics*. The first volume to appear, *The Age of the American Revolution*, takes Burke up to 1782, and is not concerned with Burke’s political theory but with his political career. Dr. Cone properly remarks: “Had Burke died before the French Revolution began, I doubt that we should think of him as a political philosopher.”

Burke was indeed a politician, and as with Jefferson, there will always be some question of his right to be called a philosopher: for this reviewer, Burke is more a politician with an interesting attitude of mind, a man who could learn from mistakes and who was not wedded to immovable principles. And this first volume from Carl B. Cone amply demonstrates Burke’s political agility—and frequently and frankly, his hypocrisy.

While this biographical portion is titled *The Age of the American Revolution*, the attention accorded to American affairs and English politics seems rather limited. However, there does emerge a clear portrait of Burke’s opposition to the Coercive Acts of 1774, an opposition based on fear of imperial disintegration rather than any feeling for colonial rights. Burke was equally pragmatic in urging repeal of the Tea Act, but claiming the Navigation Acts to be the cornerstone of British colonial policy. Dr. Cone views Burke’s political activities with commendable objectivity, and suggests that “Burke’s bitterness against the ministry and his generosity of spirit toward the aggrieved Americans obscured the inadequacy of his proposals.” Burke saw taxation as the basis of the colonial difficulties, not trade regulation, and he was for a long while willing to modify the Declaration Act only as it affected the taxing power.

American affairs did not, of course, demand the continuous or even frequent attention of Burke, and Dr. Cone consequently supplies rather allusive reviews of Burke’s interest in Indian problems, his concern for religious toleration, and the persistent difficulties in maintaining a Parliamentary seat: Burke’s attitude to his Bristol constituents was noble but unbending—rather like Woodrow Wilson’s conduct toward the Senate on the League issue. However, one avowed intention of the author is to demonstrate Burke’s role as a creator of the modern concept of political party, and here Dr. Cone seems to be less than successful. In fact, little proof is offered beyond comments on Burke’s political devotion to the Rockingham group: too often the words “party,” “faction,” and “group” are used interchangeably, a risky habit in eighteenth-century English politics.

Conceding the scholarly and political timeliness of Dr. Cone’s biography, and allowing that it has substantial merit, some reservations must be entered. While there is a comforting awareness that the author has left few primary materials unstudied, there is less confidence when secondary sources are considered. It is tempting to suggest that Burke’s papers have enjoyed a sort of posthumous victory over the scholar: that they have so fascinated Dr. Cone that he has failed to read widely outside them. Working so closely with Burke’s own records seems to have limited Dr. Cone’s perspective, and the book suffers accordingly. Burke fails to emerge with
the sense of light and shade, of life and immediacy that distinguishes really satisfying biography. There is often a welter of detail that smothers the reader, and the author does not convey a needed sense of familiarity with the complexities of eighteenth-century English politics so vital to understanding Burke's political career. This reviewer has the impression (probably mistaken in the light of Dr. Cone's excellent study of Richard Price, *Torchbearer of Freedom*) that the author has come at English politics through the Burke Papers rather than first viewing the political context of Burke's operations. Certainly the varying contributions of Professors Herbert Butterfield and Lewis Namier might have been more usefully and substantially employed. Dr. Cone has commented that "One's patience cannot exceed his life expectations, or his natural timorousness be permitted to stifle ambition." But perhaps the author has rushed himself, and the result seems to be a good biography where there might well have been an excellent one. Perhaps, also, the second volume when it appears may call for an upward evaluation of the total work.

Two final comments must be offered. The book is considerably enhanced by the excellent reproductions of James Sayers' caricatures of Burke's political contemporaries. But this gain is somewhat offset by the high price of this volume: conceding the high cost of book publishing, nine dollars still seems unreasonable, especially when it is noted that publication was made possible "partly by reason of a grant from the Margaret Voorhees Haggin Trust."

*The Library Company of Philadelphia*  

**H. Trevor Colbourn**


The Teach Yourself History Series, edited by A. L. Rowse, has scored another hit in bringing out *Washington and the American Revolution* by Esmond Wright. The author, Professor of Modern History in the University of Glasgow, is a specialist in eighteenth-century American history. He was a Commonwealth Fund Fellow at the University of Virginia and has taught at Johns Hopkins and the Universities of Minnesota and Tennessee. He therefore knows considerable at first hand of the land whereof he writes.

Mr. Wright goes far beyond the domain of the title. Not only does he seek to relate Washington to the Revolution, he writes, within a limited scope, to be sure, a surprisingly complete biography of Washington in which he endeavors to discern the man behind the myth. Many modern biographers of the great Virginian have felt that somewhere behind the model of rectitude and dignity and impressive silence lay the real Washington, someone complex and involved. Mr. Wright contends—and, in this reviewer's
opinion, correctly—that one need not look for someone different from what
the man seemed to be. Washington was distinguished by his simplicity and
his straightforwardness, with the gift of silence adding depth and mystery
to his personality. The sophisticated French with their rare perceptiveness
of attitudes and values were utterly charmed by his sincerity and gravity.

This Jove-like figure, however, as Mr. Wright demonstrates, was far more
than “a Character of Convention,” as John Adams called him. Conven-
tional he might be in his political conservatism, his observance of the social
amenities, his deploring slavery yet not freeing his slaves except in his will.
But no merely conventional character would have hazarded his life in the
Pennsylvania wilderness on a mission to the French; could have made a
Continental army in face of sectional jealousies, social disparities, and
anarchical individualism and have maintained that army in the field for so
many years; could have retained his patience and confidence when disaster
stared at him from military defeat and a treasury so depleted that, on one
occasion, the best part of his army mutinied.

Mr. Wright appraises Washington with cool objectivity. The man, he
recognizes, had imperfections and limitations. He showed stubbornness and
faulty judgment in selecting indefensible positions during his New York
campaign, he let himself be badly flanked at the Brandywine, his choice of
Valley Forge was dubious. On the other hand, he could strike with swiftness
and imagination as in the Trenton-Princeton campaign, and at other times,
though preferring action to passivity, he could restrain his impatience lest
he lose what little army he had. Furthermore, none could have performed so
ably the service of peacemaker between the military and civilian authorities
or between his own army and the French. Subsequently during his presi-
dency, his ability, as Mr. Wright makes clear, manifested itself more in the
administrative than in the political field. He lacked the intellectual power
and political imagination of either Hamilton or Jefferson and, after first
being above party, eventually let himself be dominated by the former’s
ideas of government.

The book is well conceived and written in a facile, graceful style that does
not quite conceal its extensive research and hard thinking. There are two
rather obvious errors, one on page 89 and the other on page 94, where Mr.
Wright attributes the command of the Northern army to Arnold instead of,
in the first instance, to Thomas and then Sullivan and, in the second
instance, to Schuyler. Moreover, Mr. Wright states flatly that the Amer-
icans could have won the war without the formal entry of France or Spain.
While flattering to Americans, this opinion is highly suspect, to say the
least, when one considers the military and particularly the financial straits
to which the country was reduced in the latter part of the war. Occasional
errors and doubtful opinions aside, however, the book is a useful contribu-
tion to the growing body of Washingtoniana.

*Wesleyan University*  
**WILLARD M. WALLACE**
This book has many fine qualities, notably a sustained good prose style punctuated by touches of rhetoric which are not inappropriate to its epic theme. It ought to have a wide audience. Most readers will discover what they have always understood to be the history of the Revolution, at least in a general way, but will find new insights and bits of intriguing detail. Professor Alden writes most interestingly of life and manners in the colonial South, takes the reader through the disputes with Britain (in which it is clear that the Americans were quite correct in believing their liberties were in danger), fights the war, and makes the peace. After short essays on political and social changes accompanying the Revolution, he proceeds to the adoption of the Constitution.

One interesting variant is the effort to broaden the conception of the United States, as it existed in 1776, to include the Mississippi west and incorporate the obscure history of the area into that of the nation. Professor Alden has done firsthand research in the field, having published a work on the Old Southwest. The chapters on this subject enhance the value of the book, although they do not always attain the literary grace which characterizes the work as a whole. Quite the opposite is true of the chapters on military history, in which Professor Alden is an authority. His narrative of battles and campaigns is the best reading on the topic one is likely to find.

The purpose of such multivolumed series as the new History of the South, of which this book is the third volume, is, presumably, to recast history in accord with the latest research. Professor Alden does this; however, he devotes most attention to embellishing or modifying what is in substance a conventional outline of the history of the period. His conservative approach will not disquiet the general reader and it may be, after all, a proper and mature approach, but some will feel that it leaves gaps in his account. Except at a few chosen points, Professor Alden does not care to dig very far into the domestic affairs of the states either during or after the Revolution. There is little analysis of the relations between Congress and the southern states, or between the southern states and the rest of the Union, and, though the beginnings of sectionalism are laid in the Confederation period, the sectional issues are not fully developed. The book all the way through avoids more than merely casual references to public finance and paper money, war procurement, state economic legislation, mercantile affairs, securities speculation, and the like. Such factional disorders as the Silas Deane affair and the southern opposition to the regime of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance are beneath the level on which the book is written. The movement for the Constitution is glossed over without real
analysis of its sources in the South. These are not necessarily dull matters, nor are they lacking in implication. One would think they should have more of a place in a representative history.

University of Maryland  
E. James Ferguson

The Trail of the Black Walnut. By G. Elmore Reaman. (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1957. xx, 256 p. Illustrations, maps, appendices, index. $5.00.)

The Pennsylvania Germans who settled in Upper Canada have found their Tacitus. Although earlier works had scratched the surface, letting us know that settlers of non-British extraction had contributed much to the early days of Upper Canada, it remained for Dr. Reaman to document the settlement and cultural achievements of these pioneers in Ontario. We now are beginning to understand how the Pennsylvania settlements spread out, not only to the American South and West, but also to the Canadian North, taking with them from the Pennsylvania heartland cultural values of more than passing moment.

Sharing the same backgrounds as the other Pennsylvania settlers—Quaker, German, Huguenot and Scotch-Irish—these Canadians added one more: their loyalty to British rule. While Dr. Reaman sketches the course of the settlement and the sociological significances of this migration, he does not document what to this reviewer is the most important of all: the religious pacifism of our Pennsylvania religious groups which caused them to remain loyal to the British crown to the extent that they migrated to Ontario. Indeed, historians of American thought have not distinguished between loyalist and pacifist in the Revolutionary period; and Dr. Reaman has passed up an opportunity to make a major contribution to the history of ideas.

As it is, though, The Trail of the Black Walnut is an impressive achievement, detailing the county-by-county and sometimes even township-by-township settlement of Ontario by non-British peoples. A pioneering work, this book leans heavily on materials already known to Pennsylvania scholars, but for Canadians the book will come as fresh light on a darkly obscured subject.

The chapter which deals with the contributions of the Pennsylvania-Canadians to agriculture is of more than passing merit. Dr. Reaman has given one of the most skillful analyses of the Germanic origins of Canadian agriculture.

This book has been included as part of the series published by the Pennsylvania German Society.

Norristown  
John Joseph Stoudt
By DAVID KASER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957. 182 p. Illustrations, index. $4.00.)

This book is both welcome and tantalizing. It is welcome because, as the author points out, "Surprisingly little is known about the American book-trade during the first half of the nineteenth century." It is tantalizing because the multifarious activities of the most important firm of that period have been compressed into such a few pages. However, it would not be proper to call Mr. Kaser to account for failing to give us a full-dress history. He tells us at the outset that this is a monograph which was offered as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan. Instead, we are in his debt for giving us the broad outlines of a complicated story that is fundamental to the history of American publishing. The importance of this book lies as much in the questions it suggests as it does in those it answers.

The name of Carey dominated the American booktrade during the early years of the young republic. Forty years ago Earl L. Bradsher assembled the story of the firm's colorful founder, Mathew Carey, who began his Philadelphia career in 1785. Mr. Kaser's book deals with the years from 1822 to 1838, the years during which the firm achieved its greatest triumphs under the founder's son Henry Charles Carey and his son-in-law Isaac Lea. It is entirely a business record and makes only the briefest kind of allusion to the careers in economics and science for which the two partners are much better known. The principal sources used by the author are the correspondence between Mathew and Henry Carey in the William L. Clements Library and the large collections of the firm's papers to be found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the American Antiquarian Society.

Henry Carey was the dominant figure in the partnership. It was due to his energy and skill that the Philadelphia firm was able to maintain its leadership at a time when that city was losing to New York its primacy in other fields. The book opens with four chapters on the manner in which the business was run. Particular attention is paid to financial structure, selection of titles for publication, and methods of marketing. Within these chapters is the outline of the early development of the colonial bookseller-printer into what was ultimately to become the modern publisher. The last part of the book is devoted to chapters on special aspects of the business, covering such general problems as the relationship with American authors and the reprinting of popular British novels. In both fields the firm of Carey & Lea held the lead, for they published Cooper and Irving and established themselves as the authorized American publishers of Sir Walter Scott. These chapters are replete with exciting anecdotes about those races with rival publishers to be the first to market new books. In the chapter entitled "Law, Medicine, Science, and Technology," Mr. Kaser points out that although the profit from technical books was slow, it was steady and provided the financial strength that allowed the firm to speculate on more
risky titles. The publication of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* and the various literary annuals receives individual treatment as does that special scheme of Henry Carey, *The Book Trade Sales*, which was designed to improve the wholesale trade. Finally, there is a brief but important chapter on "Relations with Others in the Trade." Here are set down such things as a discussion of trade courtesies and the relationship with J. & J. Harper, the New York firm which had to wait until the retirement of Henry Carey in 1838 before it could assume the first place among American publishers.

Mr. Kaser's book has left this reviewer with the strong feeling that it has laid bare the raw material for at least two further lines of investigation. The sociology of American literary taste for this period is a study which would provide a useful addition to the social history of an era which is today receiving close scrutiny by historians. A further and deeper analysis of the business operations of publishing houses is also indicated. It is a real pleasure to note that Mr. Kaser announces that he is at present preparing the *Cost Book* of Carey & Lea for publication. It will be, of course, an essential appendix to this pioneer work.

*The John Carter Brown Library*  
*Thomas R. Adams*


Until recently, historians have ignored the role of British immigrants in the development of American institutions and ideas. The impact of the Germans, the Scandinavians, and the Italians upon American society has been treated with extensively, if not exhaustively. To be sure, the almost incalculable contributions of the first settlers have been recognized, and they have been distinguished from the later arrivals by the flattering designation of "colonists." But the British emigrants (the Irish excepted) of the nineteenth century, numerically the most important of any single group, almost unnoticed were absorbed into the American community.

Professor Clifton K. Yearley's *Britons in American Labor* is an excellent addition to the increasing number of studies remedying this neglect. Not only is it a fine contribution to the field of immigrant history, but also it is a valuable addition to the studies in American labor history.

Although willing to accept the Commons thesis of the indigenous origins and the unique character of the American labor movement, Dr. Yearley argues persuasively that "the rise of labor in America was a response to the same general forces that were giving stimulus to labor movements elsewhere." In the vast populations movements of the nineteenth century, the American labor movement could not remain immune to European influ-
ences and ideas. And most significant, contends Dr. Yearley, were the influences emanating from Great Britain.

That the nineteenth-century American labor movement ultimately evolved into one that was liberal and reformist rather than revolutionary, pragmatic rather than idealistic, wage and job conscious rather than class conscious, Dr. Yearley suggests was as much due to the presence of English agitators and ideas as it was to American environmental factors. In fact, he declares that it was these moderating influences coming just as the American labor movement was beginning to emerge that decisively shaped the future course of its development.

These conclusions are supported by an impressive scholarship. With meticulous care he traces the flow of ideas and personalities across the Atlantic. Although it was a two-way exchange, it was the Americans who had the most to gain. A large number of the most capable organizers came from the British Isles. Others occupied strategic positions within the labor movement from which they could influence and determine policy. Among the more prominent were such outstanding leaders and personalities as Andrew Cameron, Richard Hinton, John Siney, Samuel Gompers, and John Rae, to mention only a few.

Less obvious, but almost as equally important, Dr. Yearley reminds us, was the example which the British trade-union and reform movements posed for the Americans. England was the model. It was there that the trade-unions first took root. Among the American trade-union leaders the conviction was widespread that the English organizations were leading the fight for the liberation of the working classes and that the workingmen of the United States were bound to follow.

In the closing pages of his monograph Dr. Yearley poses a series of tantalizing questions suggesting that had the pattern of immigration been different, the American labor movement would have developed along different lines. Rhetorically he asks: "What might have happened, for instance, had Slavic or southern European immigration—the 'new immigration'—preceded the great influx of British and Irish workers into the United States? What course might American labor have pursued if radical German immigrants who arrived in the late forties had come fifteen or twenty years later?" Although he concedes that there is no final answer, he does suggest (p. 315) the direction might have been a more radical one. But this reviewer doubts that the course of the American labor movement would have been strikingly different. Immigrant influences on the whole have been conservative influences both within and without the labor movement. Moreover, Dr. Yearley admits that the indigenous forces were the pre-eminent ones in shaping the American labor movement.

Be that as it may, this is a study which no student of American immigrant or labor history can afford to ignore.

*Michigan State University*  
*William A. Sullivan*

Professor Nichols' book divides itself into three parts. The first two chapters deal with the attempts of various Americans to open up our trade with Cuba, which in time was to become of the greatest importance. The author sums up his story in a succinct paragraph. "During this thirty years a small company of agents had led the way. A large number of individuals had gained first-hand experience regarding Hispanic-American conditions. Both the mercantile class and the State Department had learned how difficult, if not impossible, it was to have satisfactory relationships, official or commercial, with colonies ruled so arbitrarily and capriciously, and how much must depend on the caliber of their agents. The knowledge thus acquired was cherished, for these experiments in trade and diplomacy had stimulated ideas of great future significance, such as the acquisition of Florida, the Monroe Doctrine, and Pan-Americanism."

The second section of this work deals with the well-nigh incredible career of William Shaler, and Professor Nichols has rendered a substantial service in rescuing this fascinating personality from oblivion. This business man and diplomat was indeed a many-faceted personality. He was interested in foreign languages; he was a keen observer of other cultures; he translated a history of Chile, and wrote a book on Algiers; he published a journal of his voyages between the northwest coast and China; he later brought out an essay on the laws, manners and customs of the Berbers. He was an ardent Democrat, and, excited by the French Revolution, learned French history, and read the works of the philosophers "with the same enthusiasm in which many of them were written." He drew up an ambitious plan for world peace, based upon the close collaboration of the United States and Great Britain; he became a member of the American Philosophical Society. He was also a man of affairs. He began his independent career as supercargo on a vessel carrying goods from the West Indies to France, and "had many adventurous encounters with British naval vessels." As early as 1799 he made a trip to Latin America. By 1803, in a vessel which he had purchased, he was cruising off the coast of California, and thence he went to Hawaii and on to China. A second visit to Hawaii in 1805 brought him in close contact with the king, Kamehameha, and gave us one of the most interesting descriptions of the Sandwich Islands. By 1810 Shaler had entered the government service. He was consul at Havana in 1810, and was deputed to visit Natchicoches, and report on the situation on the Spanish border in 1812. For a time he was at Ghent, at the time of the negotiations for peace, as a kind of special agent. Next, he appeared with Stephen Decatur before Algiers, and with him imposed on the Dey one of the most favorable commercial treaties which that piratical monarch had ever negotiated. He became consul at Algiers, and remained there till 1828. Returning to America, he was given
a job as consul at Havana, and there he died in 1833. Professor Nichols has
made skillful use of Shaler's private correspondence to bring out many an
interesting detail in this remarkable career.

The third section of this book deals with the question of the search for
guano and the building up of an island empire in the Pacific. In the second
quarter of the century, and indeed into the third, before the increasing use
of nitrates, guano was a much-desired fertilizer. The search for it prompted
many American firms to scour the Caribbean and the Pacific, and to seek
to establish title to islands, the possession of which was in doubt. There
were long diplomatic controversies, especially with the governments of
Ecuador and of Peru. There were signs of rivalry with Great Britain in the
Pacific. And the upshot of it was that long before the era of American
"imperialism," the United States had taken possession of such places as
Navassa in the Caribbean, and of Johnston and Baker Islands in the Pacific.

These are little known episodes in the history of American expansion. It
is useful and interesting to learn about them. Though the story is told in
detail, its essential significance is well stressed. Taking the book as a whole,
it is an interesting contribution to the history of American expansion.

Cornell University

Dexter Perkins

The Early Jackson Party in Ohio. By Harry R. Stevens. (Durham, N. C.:
pendices, index. $4.50.)

(Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957. viii, 231 p. Ap-
pendices, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

In modern terms, American political party activity is based upon organ-
ization, leadership, and propaganda. This combination of elements is rela-
tively not very old, since parties in the sense of present understanding did
not come into being until less than a century ago. The two books under
review are effective studies of the evolution of two of these elements, organ-
ization and propaganda, and both, strangely, rather neglect the third,
leadership.

The basic fact in American politics is the federal system. Politics operates
in the several states as well as in the nation, and there are, therefore, two
types of party, state and national, which together make a federal party
system. The origins of party operations in this country are generally looked
at nationally when the realities of the situation demand a close examination
almost state by state.

Professor Stevens of Ohio University has undertaken to approach this
problem from the latter point of vantage. He has explored a most difficult
field, the period of the beginning of party organization in Ohio in that
obscure period of the 1820's. Here the records are scarce and the activities somewhat confused. It was a time when chaotic activity was being painfully reduced to some form of order. From a scattering of manuscript survivals and a spotty series of newspaper files, the author has drawn the complicated story. Through the activities of local supporters in the sixty-four counties of Ohio, he has traced the efforts of six presidential candidates to win the vote of the Buckeye State, placing particular emphasis upon the superior organizing ability of those promoting Jackson. These latter operators made most thorough and effective use of basic county organization. They assembled public meetings, which created committees of correspondence, and they secured support from newspapers.

Professor Stevens has made an elaborate canvass of the many hundreds of names which he has found, numbering among them more than four hundred supporting Jackson. He finds a most significant lack of any pattern of determinism. The supporters of the various candidates come from all occupations, racial groups, and sections of the state; comparable distributions are found in the supporters of the other candidates. Certain family and religious ties seem most significant, and, above all, the popularity and the appeal of the individual seems determining. When a number of such careful studies are made we shall really begin to know something about the complex story of party organization, its origin and evolution. The indications are that the main creative force springs from the political needs of a fast growing, never stable, population. In such societies, obscure leaders made use of great names. These now almost forgotten men were the real leaders, not the men whose fortunes they promoted.

As Stevens deals with organization in the formative period of modern politics, so Meyers deals with propaganda. He has the perceptive idea that the most potent political appeal is made when politicos generally intuitively recognize basic values which society shares and use their emotional potential by issuing a program or persuasion which evokes the response necessary to win support.

Jackson's managers were active in a period of very bewildering change. In such periods many people are lost and grope for some assurance of security. In such periods there are at least two types of effective persuasion. Either leadership may look forward and seek to interest society in a new land of promise in which great hopes and ambitions will be realized, or it may emphasize present dangers and seek to offer reassurance, in other words, to offer present security as a more comfortable program than future possible success which, however, is fraught with risk. It was the Jacksonians who, strangely enough, offered the conservative, the timid persuasion which for the nonce was successful.

In the process, a Jacksonian myth was created and disseminated. Here was an intrepid warrior chieftain who would lead and protect a confused and scattered multitude. They were beset by a great monster, the Bank of the United States, which threatened annihilation. The great warrior would
slaughter the monster and restore the idyllic conditions of the Republican Garden of Eden as they were before the monster invaded its precincts. Against such an appealing concept of immediate security, those who looked into the future and offered hope, i.e. Henry Clay and the Whigs, could make no real headway.

Meyers works out this thesis from the utterances of a series of spokesmen and commentators: Jackson himself, Tocqueville, Fenimore Cooper, Van Buren, Theodore Sedgwick, William Liggett, Robert Rantoul, and others. He gives refreshing emphasis to the fact that appeal to a simple sense of virtue motivation is one of the most effective forms of political propaganda, more potent than hope of gain or promise of power. This is reassuring and needs to be kept “before the people,” as Jacksonians used to say. Meyers does not deal particularly with the mechanism of leadership behavior, which was the means of making the persuasion effective. Ideas must be spread by people, not merely put in print.

These two studies open up new paths leading to a better understanding of the realities of American political behavior. If by further effort and happy chance we may recapture and more clearly understand the character of the people who created the organization and translated the persuasion into popular action we shall more clearly comprehend the mechanism of political behavior. We cannot do this by concentrating attention solely on a few spectacular national “leaders” who were, in reality, often only the instruments of more potent but obscure local operators. Can these obscure but effective leaders be rescued from oblivion?

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

The Log-Cabin Campaign. By ROBERT GRAY GUNDERSON. (Lexington, Ky.: The University of Kentucky Press, 1957. xii, 292 p. Illustrations, bibliographical note, index. $7.50.)

Political campaigns in our democracy rarely bring to the people serious discussions of the basic problems of the day. That of 1840 was marked by political deception and sheer misrepresentation to an extent scarcely equaled in our history. Professor Gunderson in his slim volume of fewer than three hundred pages tells the story of the burning oratory and the political chicanery that sent a spent general of limited abilities to the executive mansion for a few brief weeks. In twenty chapters filled with inane songs and still more inane slogans and sayings, and studded with extracts of homespun speeches from “the Buckeye Blacksmith” turned campaigner to polished orations of Clay and Webster turned political blacksmiths to beat the minds of the voters into forms in which they themselves had no faith, the author traces the contest from its murky beginnings to the death of the general.
The book is based on a large body of source material, and is well written. But there is nothing essentially new in *The Log-Cabin Campaign*; even a large number of the chapters have already been published in an impressive array of historical journals. Except for a few comments in his first chapter and in his "Bibliographical Note," the author makes no attempt to interpret the campaign either in terms of the overwhelming romanticism and enthusiasm that marked the period, or in the seeming excesses that characterized the burgeoning democracy of the years. He nowhere points out in crisp sentences the distinction between the campaign home of the general and the real home near North Bend, Ohio; he nowhere condemns in pointed words the hokum and buncombe that swept the nation downward to an all-time intellectual low; and he nowhere presents, contorted as they may have been, the vital issues of the day.

Some readers of the volume will criticize the writer because he does not condemn most things Jacksonian, especially the destruction of the second Bank of the United States, and fix on the Democratic Party responsibility not only for the panic of 1837, but also for the feverish delirium that developed in 1840. Other readers will be thankful that he followed a more realistic course than that. Actually, Dr. Gunderson, professor of speech at Oberlin College, was perhaps most interested in the nature of the campaign oratory itself. He etches some very fine profiles of many speakers: of "the lame and lisping Printiss" appealing to "the cross, the flag, and that 'fairest flower—womanhood'"; of Webster crying over his father's log cabin in New Hampshire; of Clay swallowing his disappointments and praising a cider-drinking candidate for the presidency; and of the old general downing hard cider for political purposes.

The campaign of 1840 has evoked much description. Its poetry, songs, and slogans have been repeated too many times. *The Log-Cabin Campaign* seems a reasonable stopping place; in fact, it is likely that Professor Gunderson's book will not have to be redone.

*Temple University*  
JAMES A. BARNES


The rapidly approaching centennial anniversary and the apparently insatiable intellectual appetites of a growing army of Civil War buffs must share the credit for stimulating, in recent years, the publication of many worthwhile books on the battles and leaders of that historic conflict. Whatever the cause, one gratifying effect has been to revive long-buried classics and other highly literate works that might otherwise have been lost to the present and future generations.
One such gem is *The Civil War: A Soldier's View*, by Colonel Henderson, for which Jay Luvaas, a teacher in the Department of History of Allegheny College, has assembled a rare treat composed of essays, reviews, and lectures by the distinguished British soldier-author. Although *The Campaign of Fredericksburg*, first published in 1886, which accounts for about one third of the book, was written primarily to draw the attention of his fellow officers to the valuable lessons to be derived from "minor tactics," as exemplified at Fredericksburg, it turned out to be an extremely able critique which was not only comprehensive in giving a penetrating blow-by-blow account of the campaign, but went much further in evaluating the strategy and leadership qualities of the principal participants.

*The Campaign of Fredericksburg* was written by Henderson when he was a young captain, presumably absorbed in the responsibilities and duties of his grade. But he foresaw that any future war in which England might become engaged would be fought mainly by volunteers, and was among the first to realize the importance of effective training of the citizen soldiers who would inevitably fill the ranks of the British Army. He was, moreover, the first English military professional after 1870 to make a serious study of the American Civil War and to bring its lessons forcefully to the minds of military students in Great Britain and on the Continent.

The campaigns of von Moltke in 1870–1871 had indoctrinated the then current military thinkers in the view that wars preceding the full acceptance of the breech-loading rifle could no longer be considered subjects for valid studies. Henderson did not agree. His thoughtful writings on and perceptive evaluations of the campaigns of 1861–1865 not only established his sound reputation as a great military analyst, but enriched Civil War literature for all time with his enduring two-volume biography, *Stonewall Jackson and The American Civil War*, by which he is best known in this country.

To round out the feast, Mr. Luvaas has included four essays from Henderson's *The Science of War*, all pertaining to the Civil War, but stressing lessons of special significance to the British Army; and a short essay entitled *Stonewall Jackson's Place in History*, which was hastily composed for inclusion in the second edition of Mrs. Jackson's biography of her husband.

Each of the four chapters from *The Science of War* is built around a specific theme. "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," which was a detailed review of that classic four-volume set, emphasizes the problems of a volunteer army, while at the same time the author took advantage of the opportunity to advance many of his own conclusions on such varied subjects as the essentiality of discipline, the importance of fortifications, and the vital need for co-operation between units on the battlefield. "The American Civil War, 1861–1865" was in effect a capsule history of the Civil War, with comments on the composition, organization, strategy and tactics of the opposing forces and with special attention given to the operations of the cavalry arm. "The Battle of Gettysburg" discusses leadership and staff
duties as applied in that battle, and "The Campaign in the Wilderness of Virginia, 1864" envisages that campaign as a preview of wars to come.

Almost as interesting as Henderson's own writings are the results of editor Luvaas' careful research in looking behind the scenes to observe the author at his work and to relate his literary efforts to his military career in the British Army. In view of the vast influence which Henderson's writings exerted on contemporary and later military thought, students of the techniques of Civil War campaigns, as well as readers who enjoy military history for its entertainment value alone, will find this book a source of infinite pleasure and profit.

_E. J. Stackpole_

_They Met at Gettysburg._ By _Edward J. Stackpole_. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Eagle Books, 1956. xxiv, 342 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $4.95.)

The battle of Gettysburg has earned the reputation of being the best-known engagement of the American Civil War. Why it has etched itself so deeply in the public consciousness is pretty clear. The stakes were high, there were exciting movements of armies and parts of armies which in some cases set off interminable controversies, and the decision was in doubt until near the very end of the three-day battle. These and some other aspects of the battle are all ingredients of high drama. Thus the story has been repeated until there has grown a vast literature on the subject, though interestingly enough this battle has not yet been subjected to the scrutiny that characterizes the treatment of some of the other Civil War campaigns.

With General Robert E. Lee the stakes were extremely high. He aimed at Harrisburg, Washington, Baltimore, and perhaps Philadelphia and New York. Had he been able to seize any two of these places, the war might well have ended with the Union in ruins. Fortuitous circumstances intervened, however, and forced him to fight just outside the Pennsylvania village of Gettysburg. Here he fought what many have long considered his worst battle. While this may be true, its persistent emphasis has a strong overtone of special pleading. After all, Lee fought as he did primarily because he was Lee and because his opponent, General George Gordon Meade, was the kind of man he was.

Not so long ago Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery and one of his more famous friends were quoted as saying that both Lee and Meade should have been "sacked" for what happened at Gettysburg. This pronouncement may have been a bit severe, but nonetheless it does suggest what the trained commander sees when he looks at Gettysburg. As for Lee's part, the trained observer is doubtless struck with the Confederate commander's failure, due to habitual procedure, to see to it that a plan of battle was executed. His corps commanders simply refused to react in accordance with his plans. It
was his responsibility to see that they did. As for Meade, he was hopeless as an offensive commander. To his credit it must be said that he consistently outguessed Lee, especially during crucial parts of the three-day battle. He adopted a defensive tactic, executed it skillfully, and with the help of a few lucky breaks won the fight. Unfortunately, when the time came to convert to the offensive, Meade simply did not embrace the opportunity and Lee escaped.

Mr. Stackpole, also a trained military man, would probably not have "sacked" the Gettysburg commanders. In fact, he is rather sympathetic toward them. He presents Gettysburg against the backdrop of the battle of wits between them. He also wisely begins his story with the Brandy Station engagement early on June 9, attaching considerable significance to the new lease on life which the Federal cavalry began to show there. The story properly closes with Lee's recrossing of the Potomac on July 13. These were five exciting weeks. Nearly four of them were spent in a race for a battle-field. Once Mr. Stackpole gets the armies to Gettysburg, he offers a timely geography lesson. Then he follows the main movements on the field, presenting the major controversies evoked by them. Here one gets glimpses of Ewell's apathy, observes Longstreet opposing Lee's battle plan, views at close range Pickett's memorable charge, and meets the unpredictable Sickles, the brilliant Reynolds, and the stouthearted Hancock.

This is a general account that will appeal to the history-minded reader. Mr. Stackpole tells a well-known story accurately and with commendable grace and simplicity. *They Met at Gettysburg* is recommended to all, historians included, and especially to those who plan to visit the famous national shrine that has been erected on the site of the Civil War's most momentous battle.

*University of Georgia*  
*Horace Montgomery*


American historiography now is reaping special advantages from accumulated materials; on some subjects enough data has become conveniently available to permit ready reappraisal. May the day never come when reappraisal is not welcomed. This book reappraises the materials on Cleveland and his party, exposes the "Bourbon's" failings, corrects some earlier views. For example, Allan Nevins in 1932 presented the Pulitzer Prize biography—*Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage*; to Merrill, a quarter century later, this seems to be rather a mythical concept of a man who really became a
"cautious politician . . . who hesitated at the brink" (pp. 135–167, 173). Merrill is less concerned with a biography as such than with analysis of Cleveland’s attitudes toward political questions, politicians, and the Democratic Party, his use of that party and his uncomfortable efforts at leadership.

Cleveland’s early life and New York state governorship are disposed of in an opening forty-one pages, whereafter his first presidential candidacy gets one chapter; the “Businessman’s President” and “Reluctant Reformer” (of the first term) occupy two chapters; the “Cautious Politician” of Harrison’s epoch gets one chapter; two final chapters treat the second term under captions of “Depression Legislation” and “Defender of the Status Quo.” No illustrations or notes are provided, and the “note on sources” is compressed to little more than a page and a half. However, fourteen pages are allotted for a good index.

Obviously, Cleveland annoys the author rather frequently, but Merrill concludes that Cleveland in his first term “fumbled his way to a record of commendable achievement,” restoring “some of the prestige lost to the Presidency and to presidential election campaigns by his predecessors” (p. 102). Not so moderate is the authorial climate of the second term, wherein the currency issue split both major parties and ended the old Bourbon control of the Democracy. Here, strictures against presidential attitudes and policies so abound that they get out of bounds. For example, to imply that Cleveland had it in his power to achieve a practicable compromise on “international bimetallism” is to forget the adjective. Actually, the complicated factors working in the United States, Britain, Germany and the Latin Union ensured that international co-operation on bimetallism could not then be achieved; confidential reports from special agents verified this. Also, the industrialized nations were moving toward a predicament where political compulsion would demand a currency stance shortsightedly concentrated on the immediate national need; international currency co-operation was enroute to political opprobrium.

The general reader, for whom the books in the “Library of American Biography” are designed, may possibly contract a case of jaundice from this book. Here is vigorous castigation of Grover Cleveland because he as President from 1885–1889 and 1893–1897 did not actively pursue many of the policies more commonly applauded in 1957. For a fair view of the presidencies of 1865–1901 we need to keep in mind the fact that phenomenal economic opportunities then pulled the bold innovators into entrepreneurship, not politics. The then common concept of the politician’s narrower role was not likely to establish in high office persons of broad vision and commensurate skill at implementation.

This uninspiring fact consigns analysts of most of the politicians between Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt to the unhappy role of recording a succession of inadequacies. The best we can do by such politician subjects is to orient them fairly among their peers (indifferent though these peers may be)
and in their period (engrossed in heady exploitation of economic opportunity as it was).

From such analysis, some few of the 1865–1901 occupants of the high political places emerge a notch or two above the ordinary run. In fact, his latest biographer, at some junctures, accords Cleveland a notch or two. This reviewer ventures to hope that Mr. Merrill may next concentrate his considerable talents upon a far more difficult field, namely, the meticulous, analytical scrutiny of the local and national processes of the shift in control of the Democratic Party.

University of Pennsylvania

Jeannette P. Nichols


“Did you ever read a Magazine?” asks a character in one of George Lippard’s old-time Philadelphia novels, to which his barroom companion replies: “Didn’t I? Haven’t we all them picture books down south? Steel plates in front, depicting the feelings of pussies deprived of their ma’s, and nice love tales full of grand descriptions of the way young gentlemen and ladies die for one another. . . . Read the Magazines! What poetry, what sentiment, what murder and madness, and mush-and-milk, all for a greasy quarter!”

This summary might have applied well enough to some of the popular magazines of the 1840’s, when Lippard was writing his books. But things have been different for a long time now. Modern magazines rarely make the mistake of merely entertaining their readers. They preach and they teach, they shock and they sell. They snuggle up in “togetherness,” and promote their advertising “influential.” They also absorb into their pages a tremendous tonnage of history in the raw which is difficult to find elsewhere. That is what makes magazines endlessly fascinating and almost always useful to writers and researchers.

Frank Luther Mott is performing one of the happiest labors of our time in unlocking and arranging the treasures that are contained in magazine files. The first three volumes of his monumental History were published in the 1930’s, and won him a well-deserved Pulitzer Prize. This fourth and latest volume, with its 858 closely packed pages, is the most opulent of the lot, and in some ways the most significant. The period it covers saw the emergence of magazines as we know them today. In the 1890’s a new generation of editors “locked up their ivory towers and came down into the market place,” where they battled lustily for advertising lineage, and the attention of a mass reading public. “A good magazine is a good newspaper in a dress suit,” proclaimed George Horace Lorimer in his five-cent Saturday Evening Post. All the major trends in modern magazines were established before
1905: the urge to outdo the newspapers in reporting and interpreting the news; the demand for shorter articles and more escapist fiction; the increasing use of illustrations and photographs (including "artistic" nudes); sensationalism and exposés. These were the great years of magazine "muckraking" which drew a roar of protest from President Theodore Roosevelt, though the so-called "muckrakers" were often high-minded, courageous writers who documented their articles with indisputable facts, and were sincerely interested in improving the world. According to Mott, the original muckraking era ended about 1912, and its demise was brought about "not so much because of the pressure exerted by big business, but chiefly because readers tired of shrill-voiced criticism."

The dates on this volume cover only twenty years and are somewhat deceptive. Included here are complete and up-to-date sketches of a number of magazines which still flourish mightily—The Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's, Vogue, Cosmopolitan, National Geographic and Argosy—as well as a prominent pair which expired only last year, Collier's and Woman's Home Companion. Mr. Mott devotes forty-five pages to the Post and concludes with the observation that it is as much an American institution "as the public school, the big department store, the network television program, the hot dog and the ice cream cone." But he disposes once and for all of its legendary birth date, "Founded Anno Domini 1728 by Benj. Franklin." This claim, as he shows in interesting detail, developed out of some hasty compiling by Scharf and Westcott in their History of Philadelphia in 1884, and has only a shadowy basis. The Post really began in 1821 in a Philadelphia print shop where Franklin's former partners had once published the Pennsylvania Gazette. Even so, it is a very old magazine, as magazines go in America.

Mott's Volume IV, like his earlier volumes, is organized to stand on its own as a reference work. The first four hundred pages or so discuss trends in magazine publishing, and the many, many types of magazines that flourished in the years 1885–1905. Here the scholarship is amazingly rich, yet lightened always and made into pleasant reading by anecdotes, quotations, and pictures from fresh and original sources. About 11,000 different magazines were published in this period; some 7,500 new ones were started, and about 3,700 died. The author shows endless patience in sorting them into categories, from the more general literary, political, and artistic journals, to those which were devoted to the special interests of beekeepers, burlesque performers, butchers, and the like. His sixty-eight-page fine-print index lists literally thousands of titles, from the Acetylene Journal and the American Annals of the Deaf to the Wild West Weekly and the Yellow Kid. This feature alone makes his book an indispensable tool.

The second half of the book is given over to thirty-four sketches of individual magazines. Here Mr. Mott displays a commendable taste for mingling the picturesque with the important. Among his choices are O. Henry's Rolling Stone, Elbert Hubbard's Philistine, William M. Reedy's St. Louis
Mirror (the editor of this one, we are told, was “a seasoned roué” who married two different brothel-keepers), and Brann’s Iconoclast, a muckraking Texas publication whose editor was shot to death on a street in Waco. (Before he died he killed his antagonist.) Editor Brann had the largest funeral Waco ever saw, and a fellow magazine editor wrote an obituary which deserves to be remembered for its final punch line: “It is thus, alas! that Texas disposes of a literary style.”

It is welcome news that Mr. Mott’s first three volumes are now back in print, and that Volume V of his History is already under way.

Hartwick, N. Y. Roger Butterfield

Philadelphia Gentlemen. The Making of a National Upper Class. By E. Digby Baltzell. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958. ix, 440 p. Tables, index. $5.75.)

This study is a unique contribution to the sociological literature. Scattered references to the wealthy, the big-business men, the leading families, and the celebrities can be found in many publications, but no comprehensive analysis of a metropolitan upper class. This neglect probably stems from the fact that the great majority of American sociologists are themselves members of the middle class, some of whom have moved up from a lower status, and their class position exerts a strong influence upon both theory and research design. In theoretical orientation we tend to be antagonistic to an upper class, and research is difficult for the middle-class professional who seldom communicates with upper-class people and does not participate in their activities.

Professor Baltzell, then, is one of our pioneers. His investigation, which combines the materials of economic and social history with the methods and point of view of sociology, covers a whole range of activities associated with upper-class living: family, neighborhood, religion, education and social clubs. Interesting facts and illuminating interpretations are presented, with special emphasis upon historical continuity and change, as befits a study of the historical-minded upper class. In each case he stresses the significance of group memberships for attaining and maintaining high status. The rise and fall of exclusive neighborhoods are traced. The relationship of religion to class structure is stressed, especially since the latter half of the eighteenth century when Proper Philadelphians came to prefer Episcopalianism. Correlations between class and schooling are clearly revealed, the upper-class children attending private day schools in Philadelphia or the boarding schools of New England much more frequently than children of the middle class. The former also tend to select Harvard, Yale, and Princeton more frequently than did their fathers. The chapter on social clubs gives every indication that the author is quite familiar with the gradations of status that are so important to those involved.
The subtitle of the book, "The Making of a National Upper Class," points to one of its main conclusions. "While there are many middle and lower classes in America, and in Philadelphia, there exists one metropolitan upper class with a common cultural tradition, consciousness of kind, and 'we' feeling of solidarity which tends to be national in scope. The origin and development of this inter-city moneyed aristocracy in America quite naturally paralleled the rise of rapid communication and the national corporate enterprise." The author believes that the growth of this national class has been supported by such "status-ascribing institutions" as the New England boarding schools, the fashionable eastern universities, and the Episcopal church.

So far a major feature of the study has been ignored, namely, the constant stress upon the relationship between upper-class position and membership in the "elite." Baltzell uses the Social Register as an index of upper-class status and Who's Who in America as an index of elite achievement. Of seven hundred and seventy Philadelphians listed in the 1940 Who's Who, two hundred and twenty-six (29%) were also listed in the Social Register. The statistical studies of the elite are extensive, yielding many informative comparisons; but the emphasis is somewhat misleading, for there were only two hundred twenty-six upper-class elite among 5,150 conjugal family units listed in the 1940 Philadelphia Social Register. This procedure gives a certain bias to the investigation. It is as if one should study a large school population by analyzing the characteristics of "A" students only. It is stated (p. 314) that "there is some evidence to support the thesis that the second and third generations of America's plutocracy produce more than their share of failures," but this point is not developed further.

The author's analysis of the functions of an upper class contains a number of suggestive interpretations, but his argument that a strong upper class is a bulwark against totalitarianism is not very convincing and it overlooks significant issues closer at hand. To what extent did members of the upper class (1) align themselves with corrupt politicians in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania, or (2) wink at these subversions of democratic government?

This criticism points to the need for further research. In the meantime, sociologists are indebted to Professor Baltzell for amassing a wealth of material on a class of people whom they seldom understand or appreciate.

Temple University

Claude C. Bowman


Some years ago Jean Cocteau made a motion picture about Paris, the scenes of which were terra incognita for many Parisians. In a similar manner, many Philadelphians, holding to a prewar concept of the city set forth by
Christopher Morley and Struthers Burt, may encounter difficulty in recognizing Frank Brookhouser's Philadelphia. The fact is that Mr. Brookhouser’s latest book is an up-to-the-minute view of Philadelphia, embracing radical and remarkable changes that have taken place in the city during the dozen years since the end of the war.

“Sometimes I feel like a small-town editor,” writes Mr. Brookhouser as he ranges through the city, recording its pulse-beat by meeting and talking with people who belie the notion of a Big City stereotype. In describing people and setting down their stories, the author exercises a warm human sympathy that is reminiscent of Sherwood Anderson. He also brings his established talent as a short story writer to the enhancement of his subject matter. The result is that these personalized vignettes transcend the mere lens-eye images of journalism; they possess the vitality of the story-telling art and, as such, provide intimate reflections of life in Philadelphia at mid-century.

It is plain to see that Mr. Brookhouser, like Morley and Burt, regards Philadelphia with affection. His nostalgic anecdotes and his account of the city’s traditions are related in a spirit of fond attachment. He is a casual browser among the city’s diversified delights of the eye and ear. He is at ease in the glittering parquet of the Academy of Music, or at a jam session in the narrow confines of Billy Krechner’s on Ranstead Street. In his grand procession of events and personalities, the author supplies a needed round-up of observations and information anent the city’s theatrical enterprise, particularly within the sphere of after-dark entertainment and its haut monde.

The book jacket describes Our Philadelphia as a “candid and colorful portrait of a great city.” In making this portrait, Mr. Brookhouser has fitted a wide-angle lens to his camera eye. He explores Little Italy, describes Willow Grove Park in the days of John Philip Sousa, interviews the lady bouncer at Steve Brodie’s Sho-Bar, and remembers Nelson Eddy singing at the Grace Baptist Temple on Sunday nights. He supplies a recipe for Fish House Punch, quotes Frederick B. Tolles in an appreciation of William Penn, and recalls how the Phillies won a pennant with Dick Sisler’s home run. The effect is not as kaleidoscopic as this variety of items, chosen at random, suggests. On the contrary, the subjects are well organized so that the entire portrait is well formed and clearly delineated.

This book does not pretend to be a sociological treatise. It presents no political viewpoints and offers no panaceas for urban problems. It is an eminently readable book that, to a very large extent, deals with people—from which the personality of the city itself emerges. The future historian, eschewing arid statistics and trying to savor the essence of Philadelphia in this time, will be grateful for Mr. Brookhouser’s vivid and interesting picture of the community.

Atwater Kent Museum

M. J. McCosker

One of the first decisions that any author must make is the audience to which he is directing his efforts. In the case of a firm history, he may well think only in terms of employees. A second alternative is to produce a scholarly book appealing to an academic audience. Many authors seek a balance between these two extremes, as Mr. Lunt has done. He has been highly selective in the range of the topics treated and of the personnel discussed.

This history of the Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware has a straightforward theme, concisely presented. At beginning and end the author points out that the charter was derived directly from that of the first Bank of the United States and that the institution still operates largely under the terms of its first authority. Though partly state-owned, the bank has always been privately managed. For more than one hundred and twenty-five years, leadership of the bank came largely from a few families, the most prominent being the Ridgely group. The Farmers Bank started as a branch-banking operation and remains so. Of the first three (Dover, Georgetown, and New Castle), the New Castle branch was closed in 1899, while that at Wilmington, opened in 1813, now has branches of its own. Both weaknesses and strengths in administration have been analyzed, occasionally in conjunction with human interest stories.

Scholars will be interested in several of the findings. At first the branches operated as three separate and completely independent units under one corporate charter. Centralization of the Dover bank's authority began to be felt in 1904 and later, though observers are still impressed with the degree of autonomy exercised by the branches. Professionalization of management has occurred only since 1940, but the Henry Ridgely who initiated the move toward centralization would certainly qualify as an expert banker. Interested students will lament the almost total lack of analysis of investment policies, though they will welcome the few examples of aid extended to state and Federal governments.

Perhaps the most noteworthy characteristic of the book is its unusual balance. About one third of it is devoted to the first twenty years. Other phases are given less space. Perhaps this imbalance should be expected in a book which devotes only one hundred eighty-two pages of text to the story, then devotes seventy-two pages to illustrations, eighteen pages to an index, and thirty-six pages to appendices (including acknowledgments, a note on sources, lists of officers and directors, and statistics showing dividends and growth).

A glance at the note on sources is enough to make a business historian drool at the gold that might be mined from the records described. These
should now be made available to scholars interested in portraying the whole range of policies and practices of a conservative, country, branch-banking corporation. It is hoped that the executives of the institution will now encourage scholars to dig deeply into the ore that Mr. Lunt has worked to a limited degree.

Harvard University

RALPH W. HIDY

The Moses Coit Tyler Prize

The Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American Intellectual History has been made possible by the generosity of the Cornell University Press and by action of the Council of the American Historical Association. The prize is to be offered in 1959 for the best complete original manuscript submitted in English on American intellectual history.

"American intellectual history" is to be understood broadly in this case. The offer invites histories of movements of thought, and of the recognized institutions or agencies of intellectual life, and biographies or studies of intellectual leaders in America. The only restriction as to period and place is that the history must concern the area of the present United States during the years since 1607.

Manuscripts must be submitted no later than June 1, 1959. The prize consists of $1,500 in cash and publication by the Cornell University Press. For detailed information concerning manuscript requirements and for the application form, correspondence should be addressed to Professor Charles A. Barker, Chairman, Committee on the Moses Coit Tyler Prize of the American Historical Association, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Maryland.
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PENNSYLVANIA

President, Boyd Lee Spahr

Vice-Presidents
Boies Penrose
Conyers Read
Roy F. Nichols
William C. Tuttle
Charles Stewart Wurts
Ernest C. Savage

Secretary, Richmond P. Miller
Treasurer, Frederic R. Kirkland

Councilors
Isaac H. Clothier, Jr.
William Logan Fox
John H. Grady
Penrose R. Hoopes
Henry S. Jeanes, Jr.
A. Atwater Kent, Jr.
Sydney E. Martin
Henry R. Pemberton
Harold D. Saylor
Grant M. Simon
Frederick B. Tolles
H. Justice Williams

Counsel, R. Sturgis Ingersoll

Director, R. Norris Williams, 2nd

DEPARTMENT HEADS: Nicholas B. Wainwright, Research; Lois V. Given, Publications; J. Harcourt Givens, Manuscripts; Raymond L. Sutcliffe, Library; Sara B. Pomerantz, Assistant to the Treasurer; Howard T. Mitchell, Photo-reproduction; Walter Lockett, Building Superintendent.

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.
PHILADELPHIA
in the Romantic Age of
LITHOGRAPHY

By
NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

This volume tells the story of Philadelphia's lithographic artists and printers from 1828 to 1866, and in more than one hundred reproductions of their views depicts the city and its life in the mid-part of the nineteenth century.

scheduled for fall publication

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia 7