

BOOK REVIEWS

The Life of The Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand.
Translated and annotated by BENJAMIN KEEN. (New Brunswick,
N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1959. xxxii, 316 p. Illustrations, maps,
index. \$7.50.)

That the life of Christopher Columbus written by his son and shipmate should not hitherto have been adequately translated into English is a bibliographical mystery. The present volume is therefore as welcome as it is important as a vital contribution to Columbiana.

Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539) was the illegitimate child of the discoverer and Beatriz Enriquez de Harana, a peasant girl from Cordoba, who was related to one of the officers in the 1492 voyage. Columbus at the time was a widower, and his relationship with Beatriz appears to have been of considerable duration and of sufficiently regular a nature as not to provoke the censure of his contemporaries: we may regard her as a common-law wife. Ferdinand therefore did not suffer from the stigma of bastardy, and grew up to be a favorite companion of his father's, even accompanying the explorer on the grueling Fourth Voyage (1502-1504), when Central America was coasted from Honduras to Darien. At the Admiral's death Ferdinand received royal grants of sufficient size to make him a wealthy man, and as he was of a decidedly studious bent, he settled down in Seville to a life of scholarship, with the idealization of his father as his ultimate aim.

At his house beside the Guadalquivir (not far to the northwest of the celebrated bull ring immortalized in Carmen) Ferdinand had an ample garden, planted with trees and shrubs brought from the New World. Within the house he created one of the finest private libraries to be found in all of Europe, containing more than fifteen thousand volumes and covering every field of human thought. To assemble such a magnificent collection Ferdinand traveled widely throughout Europe, visiting Italy, Germany, and England, and getting on friendly terms with Erasmus in Brabant. As Admiral Morison says, "he was the first European intellectual to bring fresh air from the New World into European letters." His amiable disposition, his open-handed hospitality, and his wonderful library made his house in Seville a haven for scholars. It is all the more a matter of regret, therefore, that of his magnificent collection, bequeathed to the all-too-careless cathedral chapter of Seville, a bare two thousand volumes survive to this day as the Biblioteca Colombina. Yet even what little remains is now an inspiration for every scholar of Americana.

During the latter part of his life Ferdinand was engaged in preparing a biography of his father, which was apparently completed shortly before his demise in 1539. His manuscript, written in Spanish, was taken to Venice in 1568 by his nephew, Luis Colon, where it was translated into Italian by Alfonso Ulloa, a professional translator of Spanish birth. In 1571 it was duly published in Venice, with so lengthy a poster title that the book is usually known only by its first word, *Historie*. That so significant a book should have had so little acclaim is surprising: the only previous translation into English was the highly abridged and very inaccurate version in Churchill's *Voyages* (1744-1746); a fine Italian edition was prepared by Rinaldo Caddeo in 1930; and the first Spanish edition appeared in Mexico City in 1947. Yet, despite all this, the *Historie* remains the most important source of information on the life of the discoverer of America.

Mr. Keen has made a vivid and readable translation of the *Historie*, and the account of the First Voyage stands out in particular, as well as that of the Fourth, in which Ferdinand himself participated. The editor has also contributed an adequate, if somewhat brief, preface, and an excellent series of notes at the end of the volume; only a bibliography appears to be missing. The maps, after Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, are of high standard, and the illustrations, although merely line-blocks in the text, are numerous and well chosen. Rutgers University Press has indeed produced a handsome, well-printed volume, which should be on the shelves of all good Americanists.

Devon

BOIES PENROSE

The Richardsons of Delaware. With the Early History of the Richardson Park Suburban Area. By C. A. WESLAGER. (Wilmington, Del.: Printed for the author by the Knebels Press, 1957. [xii], 194 p. Illustrations, appendix. \$5.00.)

Reaching into the past, through the appealing medium of family history, Mr. Weslager has reconstructed an integral part of Delaware's provincial and state history. It is the story of a substantial Quaker family whose flourishing farms, fine houses, and mill seats once spread over the present suburban area southwest of Wilmington, Delaware, loosely known as Richardson Park. The family intermarried with other leading Quaker names, such as Tatnall, Lea, Warner and Waln. There were important non-Quaker alliances, one with Dr. John McKinley, Delaware's first governor, and with the Bayards and Latimers of New Castle County.

After setting the historical stage with accounts of the early European proprietors, Mr. Weslager introduces John Richardson (*d.* 1710), the merchant who founded the family and first purchased land and an interest in

the water grist mill on "Andries ye Fynnes Creek" (Mill Creek) in 1687. Parts of the story leave one wishing for more, especially when it touches on the Richardsons' manufacturing "ship's bread," and their trade with the West Indies. Then, too, even in a work devoted to New Castle County, it would have been interesting to mention something of Richard Richardson, eldest son of John I, whose career is dismissed as unknown, but whose activities are well defined in Kent County, Delaware, Friends records. It would also be unfair not to point out that there were *other* Richardson families in the state, which the title *Richardsons of Delaware* does not imply. Among these was the family of New York and Philadelphia goldsmiths which had substantial holdings there. This family produced the famous craftsmen Francis and Francis, Jr., and the two Joseph Richardsons. In Dover, the descendants of the late United States Senator Harry Alden Richardson operate the state's oldest canning firm, founded by a New England-born ancestor.

One chapter is devoted to the neighboring families of Sinnex, Lynam, and Stidham. Seneca (Seneke) Broer, who founded the Sinnex family, was one of the original patentees for the land granted in 1669, which Mr. Weslager uses as a basis for his study of subsequent Richardson holdings. However, in the Sinnex history, Mr. Weslager has erred in identifying as the same man Seneca Brewer (Broer), the patentee, and his son, Broer *Senekesson* (Sinnexen, Sinnex). He is a bit harsh, too, to call Broer Sinnexen, a leader in the Christiana congregation, expatriated and illiterate. Educational standards differed in that day, and weren't they all expatriated? Sinnexen was a member of the church council, and was assigned a seat in the best pew of the new Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church.

Mr. Weslager is to be commended on this interesting presentation of otherwise forgotten history. The book is attractively illustrated with photographs and excellent drawings by Walter Stewart.

Dover, Del.

GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II

The British Isles and the American Colonies: Great Britain and Ireland, 1748-1754. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. [*The British Empire before the American Revolution*, Vol. I.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958. xxxvi, 246, xxiv p. Maps, index. \$8.50.)

Historians of the British Empire have all too commonly concentrated on the outlying members of the Empire to the neglect of the most important member, the British Isles, the very heart and center of the subject. Professor Gipson was wiser when he inaugurated his multivolumed work on the Empire by devoting the first three volumes to a survey and analysis of the old Empire as it existed during the short period from 1748 to 1754, when

for the last time it could be viewed in a state of relative "tranquility and equilibrium." These three volumes, published by the Caxton Printers in 1936, have long been out of print, and now they are being revived in the much more attractive format of the subsequent volumes produced by Alfred Knopf, commencing with the first, which is a study of Great Britain and Ireland.

This is no mere reprint with a few scattered corrections, but a carefully revised edition. For the greater convenience of the reader, the maps are now inserted in the appropriate places through the text, instead of being bunched at the end. Two good ones in the first edition are retained, but the others have been replaced by distinctly better ones and another map has been added. The literary style is also much improved by care given to punctuation, by the substitution of simpler and more direct expressions, and by a more accurate use of words. The name "Shakespeare" has replaced the hackneyed and false "bard of Avon," and many loose phrases have been eliminated. Drowsily long sentences and paragraphs have been broken up, and lengthy quotations are now more easily identified by being inset and in smaller type.

More important, and welcome, are the substantive changes. In addition to correcting errors that crept into the writing of twenty-five years ago, Gipson has embodied the results of his own continued research in the subject, which has been considerable, and he has taken into account new material and fresh points of view presented by many other scholars during the interval. The footnotes have been brought up to date and greatly expanded. One of them, however, repeats the error of the original in making the quarter of grain four bushels instead of eight (p. 35); and another, referring to George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh (p. 233), has not been revised to accord with the new text (p. 234).

Some passages in the text have been deleted, more have been rewritten, and many more new passages have been inserted to give a better-balanced and fuller treatment. A striking example comes at the end of the chapter on Scotland, where four pages have been added to give an account of the remarkable Scottish renaissance of learning centered in the four universities, which was ignored in the first edition. There is only one revision that I hoped to find but did not. In the chapter "A Government of Laws," Gipson discusses the harshness of the unreformed criminal law without referring to two practices that mitigated it. According to Masères, juries often refused to convict when they thought the prescribed penalty far too severe, and for the same reason executioners frequently used a cold instead of a hot iron for branding.

In the good index of the original volume there is no reference to Wales. Now there is a whole new chapter of twenty-four pages on "The Mountainous Principality" in the middle of the eighteenth century, with glances backward and forward to throw light on the national characteristics of Wales and the part that Wales played in the variegated life of the British

Isles. The other new chapter that has been added ties the book together by an analytical summary with comments on the transitions, economic, intellectual, spiritual, and political, that were taking place. In concluding this review I cannot refrain from repeating with new emphasis the words of a distinguished scholar who, in a review of the original volume, said he "knows of no place where one can find in equal compass so generally satisfactory a picture of life in the various parts of the British Isles in the mid-eighteenth century."

University of Minnesota

A. L. BURT

The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783. Translated and edited by EVELYN M. ACOMB. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1958. xl, 392 p. Illustrations, end-paper map, biographical directory, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

For a detailed and frequently colorful report upon the French army under Rochambeau from the time it embarked at Brest in the spring of 1780 until it returned home more than three years later, the journal of this sprightly, German-born French officer is excellent reading. As it was written forty years after the events he chronicles, it is, of course, occasionally in error, but these are rectified by the translator and editor, whose footnotes, with corroborative contemporary citations, provide a most informative addition to the journal.

Von Closen, however, was not writing merely from memory. His basic source was a diary he maintained during the American and West Indian campaigns, supplemented by all the narratives and histories published up to the year 1823. While he has added little to the known facts of the major event of the period—Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis—he has given an entrancing account of the peregrinations of himself and the French army through the eastern states from Rhode Island to Virginia. He was inquisitive and social. His observations are seldom critical, and he enjoyed everything he saw or did. Throughout he had an eye for the ladies, but, unfortunately, a limited vocabulary in describing them. The fair sex in Rhode Island had fine features, white and clear complexions, small hands and feet, but bad teeth. In Boston women were "very beautiful and dressed very well," while in Philadelphia he saw many pretty persons, but preferred the Boston ladies. As he progressed farther south he discovered that the women of Baltimore had "more charm than the rest of the fair sex in America." Then, at Annapolis he met "the most beautiful woman I have seen on this Continent." She was Madam Richard Bennett Lloyd, and the Baron learned that "her dear husband" was extremely jealous. That may

explain why in the galaxy of silhouettes of American women drawn by him, that of Madam Lloyd is missing.

On the inquisitive side, the Baron revisited early battlefields, described what had happened there through talks with participants, recounted tales of derring-do by French volunteers who flocked to Washington's army in the early years of the war, and was rather shocked in Philadelphia by several of Dr. Chovet's anatomical, life-size wax figures. David Rittenhouse's orrery visibly impressed him, and upon the two occasions he was in Philadelphia, he visited the museum of that "likable charletan," the painter Du Simitière, and examined natural and artificial curiosities "too numerous to give here."

Von Closen mingled rather pridefully with the celebrities of the country—generals, governors, congressmen—but his favorite was Washington, whom he spoke of as "a great man and a brave one."

A brief summary cannot do justice to the Baron and his translator-editor. He has to be read to be fully appreciated.

Brevard, N. C.

WILLIAM BELL CLARK

We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution. By FORREST McDONALD. (Chicago: Published for the American Historical Research Center by the University of Chicago Press, 1958. xii, 436 p. Index. \$7.00.)

Was the Constitutional Convention of 1787 the spiritual ancestor of the first "Big Business" club in the United States? Were its members primarily concerned in safeguarding their personalty acquisitions and erecting a government designed to encourage commerce and high finance at the expense of debt-ridden farmers and paper money advocates? During the Progressive Era these questions had been raised and, in 1913, with the appearance of Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, they were answered with a thumping affirmative in the form of basic assumptions which apparently riddled some of the fundamental tenets of the "patriotic" interpretation of American history. Professor Beard maintained that when the convention met in Philadelphia its members, despairing of help from the Confederation, had been greatly influenced by the personalty interests. They thereupon produced an organic document that gave the government power to tax, control commerce, and dispose of western lands. Those powers, if wisely used, would bring protective tariffs, curb future Shaysites, and pay off public creditors. Negatively, the prohibitions imposed on the states in paper money issuance and the obligation of contract satisfied the demands of personalty against agrarian-

ism. In the state ratifying conventions, Beard contended, the friends of the Constitution once again represented the business groups.

From Beard's pioneering work McDonald selected three elemental propositions which he considered to be susceptible to "validation or invalidation as historical facts": (1) the Constitution was an economic document created by a consolidated group whose interests were truly national; (2) the struggle for ratification revealed a split between personalty interests and the farmer-debtor segments of the population; (3) public security holders "formed a very considerable dynamic element, if not the preponderating element" (Beard's words) in effecting eventual adoption.

To subject these propositions to historical proof McDonald began by analyzing the membership of the Philadelphia convention in relation to the geographical areas, political factions, and economic interests represented. Then, after a remarkable tour de force of research and synthesis he concluded that the state delegations "constituted an almost complete cross-section of the geographical areas and shades of political opinion existing in the United States in 1787"; that Beard's belief that the members were a consolidated economic group with an "identity of personalty interests" could not be justified; that the voting patterns of neither the state delegations as a whole nor the individuals within them showed an economic split or cleavage into personalty and realty interests. In short, to stress this last and critical point alone, the merchants and security holders offered no united front to the farmers and debtors.

To test Beard's class-struggle interpretation of the ratification movement McDonald divided the states into three groups: those favorable to the Constitution, those divided in opinion, and those opposed. In the first group (Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut and Maryland) ratification was effected with ease and dispatch. Beard explained this celerity by asserting that the agrarian-paper money champions were tardy in combating the personalty group, or the "dynamic element," which accomplished ratification against the wishes of a large number of citizens. This explanation, according to McDonald, is completely invalid. In all these five states ratification was accomplished with the consent of both the farmers and the paper money adherents. Where ratification was unanimous, in three states, most of the support for it came from farmers. Ratification was obtained so readily in those states because a majority of their inhabitants expected to receive definite and substantial advantages from the Union.

In his survey of ratification in the states divided on the Constitution (Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, South Carolina and New Hampshire) the author compiles a body of evidence that literally annihilates Beard's contention that the Federalists were led and mainly supported by men of wealth, and that their opponents were little farmers and propertyless urban groups. Also without foundation is Beard's view that the Federalist ranks contained almost all the holders of public securities and other personalty, whereas the poor farmers were identical with the advocates of paper money

between 1785 and 1787. The Anti-Federalists in Pennsylvania actually held more public securities than their opponents, and in the South Carolina convention the Constitution was favored by the paper money men and opposed by most of the holders of public securities. In brief, there is no factual foundation for Beard's interpretation of ratification in these four states. Finally, Beard's division of the delegates for and against ratification along personalty-realty lines in the states opposed to ratification (Virginia, New York, North Carolina and Rhode Island) is found to have no more justification than it had in the other states.

McDonald's conclusion, then, is succinct and devastating: on the basis of historical evidence Beard's fundamental assumptions cannot be substantiated. And, in a more general statement, he is certain that "economic interpretation of the Constitution does not work." The evidence on which he rests his negation of Beard is awesome in its depth and coverage. It consists, for the most part, of the personalty and realty holdings of the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and of the various state ratifying conventions. These holdings are listed in relation to the members' votes for or against the Constitution and carefully analyzed. Of course, in the Philadelphia convention the delegates' views on the Constitution as a whole could not be definitely determined, but their votes on fundamental issues were subjected to study.

On the assumption that it is possible to determine the influence a man's pecuniary interest has on his approval or disapproval of anything, particularly anything as conceptually broad as the process of creating and ratifying a national constitution, the method employed here is probably the only practical one. At least it shows quite clearly, both in itself as a device and the facts it educes, the untenability of Beard's assumption that the property owned by the delegates had to be *either*, totally or preponderantly, in the realty or personalty categories. That is, if the assumed realty-personalty cleavage had any basis in fact the owners of each kind of property, if listed, would fall automatically into neat groups for and against the Constitution. This would be ideal, but it was impossible because of the variety of holdings of both categories owned by the individual delegates. Although there are many illustrations of this, consider the case of William Findley, of western Pennsylvania. He was a weaver by trade, a Radical in politics, a perennial officeholder, the owner of a 250-acre farm and \$5,977 in securities, in which he was actively speculating in 1788. Apparently, he would have to be classified as a farmer-speculator-politician. To determine, on the basis of pecuniary interest why he voted as he did in the Pennsylvania ratifying convention (he was Anti-Federalist), one would need the services of an economist-psychologist with a specialty in occupational schizophrenia. Another qualification as to method should also be considered, the question of individual indebtedness. In painstaking detail McDonald tells us what the delegates owned but not what they *owed*. This factor might have been a primary determinant in the thinking of the delegates. Admittedly, though, it would have been almost impossible to discover such information. To

William Findley, already overloaded with descriptives, we might possibly add another—debtor.

McDonald is aware of the methodological problem raised by the delegates' varied holdings and the difficulties of ascertaining their debts, if any. But apparently he does not feel that they are serious enough to invalidate his conclusions. It would seem, however, that his case would have been strengthened rather than weakened had he stressed these very considerations as further evidence of the falsity, if not the unprovable nature, of Beard's major assumption.

This is an important book. As a work of negation it has definitely closed an interpretive door that has been swinging more or less freely ever since *An Economic Interpretation...* first jolted the scholarly world. On the positive side it furnishes many valuable facts and observations on the general economic life of the period and the influence it had on the Constitution. It also raises searching questions regarding a pluralistic economic interpretation that may well serve as departure points for the author's future study of the Constitution.

Temple University

HARRY M. TINKCOM

Shop Records of Daniel Burnap, Clockmaker. By PENROSE R. HOOPES. ([Hartford, Conn.]: Connecticut Historical Society, 1958. viii, 188 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$10.00.)

Daniel Burnap is a name well known to clock collectors for his fine, tall clocks produced during the twenty or more years after the American Revolution. He was a Connecticut craftsman trained as an apprentice under Thomas Harland, and in his turn, Burnap trained many apprentices, including Eli Terry who became the most successful large-scale producer of wooden clocks. Burnap also made and repaired watches and small brass goods and produced a variety of related items such as surveyors' compasses and engraved clock dials.

This book, however, will be of real value to the historian as well as to the clock fancier. No one is better equipped to write with authority on the Connecticut clockmakers than Mr. Hoopes, and he here presents a little book of more than ordinary interest. So far as this reviewer knows, there is no other existing record of an early American clockmaker which describes and pictures, as this one does, the step-by-step techniques of clockmaking. Clockmakers were not given to writing manuals or to recording their shop practice. They transmitted their craft orally through their apprentices. They have left to modern historians the necessity of discovering their techniques through their products and through the few European treatises which did exist in their day. Now we have something better.

Mr. Hoopes had the good fortune to discover Burnap's account books, business papers, and—most important—his memorandum book in which he

recorded techniques and recipes as he learned them, with drawings to illustrate the various processes. In addition, Mr. Hoopes recovered Burnap's tools and implements which are presented to the reader in a series of excellent photographs.

Mr. Hoopes has not published a literal transcription of all the records he discovered. Rather, he has gone through the account books to extract items relating to a series of general topics. These he has arranged in chapters which are composed of his own text alternating with the quotation of related entries from the account books, from the correspondence, and from the newspapers. Everyone who has struggled to make sense of account books will appreciate the service performed. The course of Burnap's career, his clockmaking, watch repairing, jewelry sales, and silver craftsmanship all emerge in clear focus. Nevertheless, some historians for some purposes will wish that another course had been followed.

Fortunately, the most important item, the memorandum book, has been reprinted without alteration. Its value is enhanced by a sparse annotation which explains obscure and obsolete terms, by an inventory of his shop equipment, and by redrawn versions of Burnap's drawings—labeled as his were not. The original drawings were in too poor condition to permit satisfactory photographic reproduction.

This picture of the techniques of craftsmanship and the nature of the craft give the book its greatest but not its only value. The story Mr. Hoopes pulls together of Burnap's career has its own significance as an episode of social history. Apparently, the clockmaker dealt in a number of things besides finished clocks and watches. He sold some items he had not manufactured. He acted as a supplier, too, by making engraved clock dials for clockmakers less expert than he. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century, he began to withdraw from clockmaking. He bought a farm and a sawmill, went into distilling, and became a justice of the peace and tax collector. Whether this was because of cheap clock competition as Mr. Hoopes suggests, or whether it represents a way of climbing to an easier and socially preferable status, the story is of real interest.

In any case, this book ought to be used by scholars. It is an important contribution.

New York University

BROOKE HINDLE

Thomas Worthington, Father of Ohio Statehood. By ALFRED BYRON SEARS. (Columbus, Ohio: Published for The Ohio Historical Society by the Ohio State University Press, 1958. xii, 260 p. End plates, bibliography, index. \$5.50.)

One of the most significant documents of the early American republic, and perhaps the most important one of the Confederation government, was the

Ordinance of 1787. Of considerable consequence in the establishment of an American colonial policy which looks toward fulfillment of statehood for its colonies and possessions, it was of immediate import to the territory "North west of the river Ohio." The most controversial aspect of this document in its application was in the transition to statehood, the realization of its ultimate purpose. The reluctance and the outright opposition to the achievement of political maturity for the territory involved a power struggle in which the die-hard Federalists put up a last-ditch stand.

Equally determined to overcome this hurdle and to effect statehood were the up-and-coming Jeffersonian Republicans. Ultimately, the waxing strength of the Jeffersonians in national as well as territorial affairs more than replaced the waning position of the Federalists. The heavy influence of this new force in American politics was reflected in the Congressional legislation dividing the territory and enabling statehood on the one hand, and in the framework and philosophy of government written into the new state constitution on the other hand.

It is as impossible to narrate this story without the name of Thomas Worthington (1773-1827) as it is to keep it devoid of personalities altogether. Indeed his biographer goes so far as to credit him with fatherhood for Ohio statehood. Paternity, it seems, involves a quality of "*sine qua non*ness"; but, in this, the author is not convincing. In fact, a paternity suit on this question would reveal evidence involving the Chillicothe junto, and the jury probably never would decide on which of a small handful of men was chiefly responsible.

This is by no means to detract from the importance of Worthington. His life and fortunes are inextricably entwined in the history of the Northwest Territory and early Ohio statehood. Instead, for example, of a chapter title such as "Framer of the Constitution," which also has paternity connotations, more in balance is a statement within the chapter: "To Worthington and his confreres, Ohioans may justly be thankful that their state assumed her place in the Union with broad boundaries and a democratic constitution" (p. 112). This, incidentally, is a good one-sentence summary for this volume.

Of English Quaker ancestry, equipped with an indifferent formal education, inheriting substantial means and property, young Worthington caught the Ohio fever. He knew of the West through surveying and speculating in frontier lands. The Ohio country appealed to his pioneering instinct; it was a place to exercise his considerable business ability; he liked the slavery prohibition clause in the Northwest Ordinance; and he was ambitious to help build the new country. Soon after the Greene Ville treaty removed the Indian menace, he moved with several other families into the Chillicothe area in 1798.

Political maturation and business acumen came soon and Worthington earned and maintained a leading role from that time forward. The author suggests that in this new country "an ambitious man's success was circum-

scribed only by his personal limitations" (p. 22). Worthington seemed to be boundless. To describe his myriad activities in land speculation, agriculture, manufacturing, trading, and other business activities would be to detail the rapid development of the new country. "To enumerate the varied activities of Worthington's private life is to name almost every occupation followed in the Territory" (p. 27). To follow him through the development of his political philosophy and his public career would be to portray the impact of Jeffersonian democracy on the frontier, as well as the reverse.

This biography serves Worthington well. As a figure of primary importance on the Ohio scene and of secondary importance on the national scene, Worthington has long deserved a biographer. Although it is in a sense complete, it is in another respect one of a trilogy that should be completed by similar studies of Edward Tiffin and Nathaniel Massie. A lot of the spadework for these is already accomplished in the documentation and bibliography of the present volume. It is hoped that the author has such biographies at least in the planning stage.

The Ohio State University Press, recently established, is to be complimented on the attractive format of this book. It sets high standards for other presses. The size of the type used for quotations is much too small and discourages reading, but this is a minor criticism.

Miami University

DWIGHT L. SMITH

The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century. By FRANK THISTLETHWAITE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959. x, 222 p. Index. \$4.50.)

"Had John Bull and Brother Jonathan, in the early nineteenth century, felt able to look candidly upon each other, they would have recognized that, despite their political animosities, the United States and Britain were more intimately connected than any two other sovereign states." With this sentence Frank Thistlethwaite announces the theme of the six public lectures which he delivered in 1956 as the first holder of the Visiting Professorship of American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania. It is somewhat surprising, when one comes to think about it, that we should have had to wait a century for a detailed development of this theme by a competent professional historian.

It is not, to be sure, a new idea. Most American historians, confronted with the proposition, would probably grant it with a bored "Uh-huh" before turning back to less obvious—and much less significant—topics. Perhaps it required the Second World War and the emergence of the "Atlantic Community" as a vital strategic concept to awaken us to the importance of the Anglo-American connection as historical fact. Maybe we needed to exhaust

the implications—and realize the inadequacy—of American “uniqueness” as an explanation of our history. Just possibly, it was necessary to wait for British historians to start taking American civilization seriously before the full import of the continuing Anglo-American connection would be brought home to us.

Mr. Thistlethwaite deals successively with the economic interrelations, with the influence of British radicals in the United States, with the complicated transatlantic world of humanitarian endeavor (devoting a special chapter to the antislavery and women’s rights movements, in which the connection was especially important), and with the mutual give-and-take in the field of educational reform. The dominant influences, he finds, trended westward. British capital nourished American economic growth. British radicalism fructified American social and political thought. British reform groups set the pattern for much that we had thought indigenous in the organization of American humanitarian crusades. Nevertheless, it was a genuine community, this Atlantic world of the early nineteenth century, for there were deeply significant return movements. Cotton was flowing eastward to Liverpool in ever-increasing volume. American revivalism made a lasting impact on British religious life long before Billy Graham. American reform agitators like Neal Dow and Elihu Burritt kept the nonconformist conscience in England raw and sensitive. And the impetus for women’s rights and universal education in Britain came almost entirely from this side of the Atlantic.

In his final chapter Mr. Thistlethwaite makes some enlightening observations on “The Nature and Limits of the Atlantic Connection.” He sees the influence of the Atlantic Community epitomized in the career of Richard Cobden, the great free trader, whose crusade against the Corn Laws, he makes clear, was carried on in the immediate context of the Anglo-American movements for peace, temperance, universal education, and the abolition of slavery. The transatlantic connection, he finds, was “strictly an Anglo-American affair” with little relationship to the European continent. On the American side it involved chiefly the North, in spite of the fact that Southern cotton furnished its essential economic warp. The common outlook which provided the woof of the fabric was shared, not by all Americans and Englishmen, but by minorities who did not always agree with each other. And the connection was definitely weakened, though not quite snapped, by the time of the Civil War.

Insofar as it still survives, he adds, the Atlantic Community persists among those on both sides of the ocean who share the tradition of religious dissent, the Protestant ethic, the nonconformist conscience. Methodologically, he makes the sound point that “it is only by pursuing innumerable contacts among individuals that one may understand the true influence of ideas.” In this connection I for one found it significant that a disproportionate number of the individuals he pursues—people like Jeremiah Thompson, the woolen merchant, Morris Birkbeck, the radical emigration-

ist, Joseph Sturge and Lucretia Mott, the humanitarians, Joseph Lancaster, the educationist—were members of the Society of Friends, for whom, perhaps more than for any other group, the Atlantic Community had been a reality ever since the seventeenth century.

In these lectures Mr. Thistlethwaite has laid the evidence for the historical importance of the Anglo-American connection before us with impressive learning and argued from it with compelling logic. We can no longer disregard it or shrug it off as an unfruitful or uninteresting subject of study.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact upon Religion in America. By BERNARD A. WEISBERGER. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958. xiv, 345 p. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. \$5.00.)

Confronted as they are today by a veritable jungle of events amid the pyramids of works about the past, historians have cause to be grateful whenever an author performs a task so well that his particular offering to Clio becomes in addition a guidebook to a major sequence of circumstances and developments. Bernard A. Weisberger has given us such a book in his history of American revivals and revivalism.

Vividly at one point he describes a great gathering of ten thousand Philadelphians on New Year's Eve, 1875, the setting a Pennsylvania Railroad freight warehouse converted for the occasion by John Wanamaker's money. There, alternating in turn, as the dying hours of 1875 breathed their last, two portly figures, a singer and a speaker, filled the atmosphere nostalgically with "the confident piety of easier and more spacious times." The singer was Ira Sankey, and "he sang plainly worded ballads about lost sheep and erring children and a place called Heaven that was, put simply, a home—spacious, sheltering, and forgiving, full of the suggested presence of a benign, but exacting Father." Then the speaker, who was none other than the renowned Dwight L. Moody, trumpeted to the eager throng "that life eternal was theirs for the asking; that to achieve it, they had only to come forward and t-a-k-e, TAKE!" It was Moody's triumph that, in an age of Darwinism, Biblical criticism, and urbanism, he had brought the old-fashioned awakening up to the moment.

But what a long road led backward! It stretched past the flaming revivals of the frontier, beyond George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards, and it reached to the harsh Calvinistic doom of the Puritans. Much shorter was the path leading toward the future, where in the twentieth century

Billy Sunday would establish the latter-day do-it-yourself pattern of vicarious atonement and statistical salvation.

Before 1800 the term *revival* was employed primarily in the sense of reawakened piety. Revivalism began, therefore, as a form of rebuke to the carelessly drifting tides that carried men away from the faith of their fathers. It was a harkening back to the good old days. However, a new set of values, "democratic, practical, and optimistic," entered American Protestantism as the nineteenth century unfolded. Deism, Methodism, and the heady brew of self-perfectionism with its corollary of social progress all did their part. Mighty transformations were wrought in the old Calvinistic scheme. Soon revivalism faced forward, no longer appealing for a return to the faith of the Puritans. As refined by Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel Taylor, and Charles Grandison Finney, there was created "a strange kind of progressive, democratic orthodoxy under old names." What had once been a mysteriously divine visitation of the Holy Spirit became a human institution administered by itinerant preachers "who made a specialty and finally a profession" out of the conduct of *revivals*. To a man the leading revivalists possessed remarkable powers of persuasion. They taught that man could comprehend the moral law through which God ruled His universe, and that "*if man played his part by repentance and service*," salvation lay within his grasp. The revival's mission was to remind sinners of this bargain, and to compel them to perform those duties which God required.

Clearly, the American revival as first institutionalized belonged to the burgeoning democracy of the eighteen twenties and thirties. It rested on the prevailing foundations of belief in a moral law of nature and the constructive force of individual will. Hence, it was automatically reformist in an era when such goals as more temperance and less slavery promised retribution almost sufficient for the collective sins of society. But by the eighteen seventies it was more difficult for religion to outline a way of life that realistically fitted the social structure. Then it was that Moody and his successors placed the revival on a firm organizational basis divested of all theological subtleties. Eternal life awaited all persons in exchange for repentance and belief, a simple bargain superficially easy to uphold. Yet this simplicity was precisely its trouble. "If salvation was available for the asking, then a revival was a matter of getting the greatest possible number to ask—a matter of salesmanship." And ultimately it was this technique of revivalism that was destined to endure, whereas the day that bred the revival has not.

"Yes, we'll gather at the river,
The beautiful, the beautiful river,
Gather with the saints at the river,
That flows by the throne of God."

The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics, 1835-1864. By CHARLES GROVE HAINES and FOSTER H. SHERWOOD. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. x, 533 p. Index. \$7.50.)

This is a sequel to the late Professor Haines's study, *The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics, 1789-1835*. Upon Professor Haines's death Professor Sherwood took over, edited and supplemented materials that had already been prepared, and added an appraisal of Taney's contribution to the Supreme Court. Mr. Haines's first volume dealt with the Marshall court. This sequel appraises the new era in Constitutional interpretation that came with Jackson and Roger Brooke Taney.

It is customary to stress the fact that the Supreme Court under Taney's leadership turned away from nationalism and gave support and protection to the rights of the states. The Charles River Bridge Case and *City of New York v. Miln* are perhaps the two outstanding examples of that trend. In the former, Taney departed from Marshall's interpretation of the obligation of contracts to construe a charter to a corporation very strictly and prevent the grant of monopolistic privileges. In the latter, the Taney court argued that the police power of a state could coexist with the federal government's commerce power as long as there was no conflict, and it would be valid in the absence of conflict. The fact is, as the authors assert, Taney was predisposed toward the regulation of business, and since in those days the state rather than the federal government was the instrumentality of such regulation, he was inclined to uphold state powers.

To correct the balance, however, the authors properly point out that the Taney court rendered certain nationalistic decisions of equal importance. Taney never completely forgot his Federalist party background and the nationalist doctrines of his formative years, although from the Dred Scott decision until he left the bench he was too busy upholding slavery and subverting Lincoln's war effort to think much about them. Nationalist doctrines were the basis for such major decisions of Taney on constitutional issues as *Bank of Augusta v. Erle*, *Holmes v. Jennison*, and *Ableman v. Booth*. The authors fortify this point by showing how the gradual evolution of the court's authority and procedure in the handling of boundary disputes between the states strengthened and enhanced the position of the court as a national agency.

To the authors the slavery issue was a debate between Story, McLean, and Wayne on the one hand, arguing that federal powers were exclusive, and Taney, Thompson, and Daniel on the other, arguing that state powers were concurrent though subordinate. For all his virtues, Taney was in his way no less partisan than Marshall. He took over the court at the peak of its prestige, and through his unstatesmanlike and historically unsound opinion in the Dred Scott Case brought it to the nadir of its popularity.

This work seems to have two shortcomings. The framework is set in a pattern of historical clichés. The authors speak of "the revolt of the masses" under the leadership of Andrew Jackson, and of the "great democratic revolution" of which Jackson "is at most points the recognized and trusted leader." Since it is now clear that small farmers rather than industrial workers were Jackson's most ardent supporters and that the idea of instituting any broad social reforms under the auspices of the federal government was alien to Old Hickory's thinking, it would seem that the authors have not benefited by revisionist writing on the Jackson period, including Bray Hammond, whose views in article form were well known before the publication of his notable book. While, generally speaking, the authors have given us a useful survey of court decisions and their judgments are temperate, if not startlingly novel, they too often fail to rise above the pedestrian level and seldom, if ever, give us an analysis of the constitutional issues in depth. Had the principal author lived to complete his work it is possible that some of these deficiencies might have been corrected.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

A Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster. Compiled by EMILY ELLSWORTH FORD SKEEL. Edited by EDWIN H. CARPENTER, JR. (New York: New York Public Library, 1958. xl, 657 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$12.50.)

The great-granddaughter of the lexicographer, Mrs. Skeel has paid the amplest of tributes to the scope of Noah Webster's intellect and to his influence on American life, which ranged far beyond his native New England. Begun as a checklist in 1882 in collaboration with her brother Paul Leicester Ford—as a Christmas present for their father—the present volume appeared appropriately in the bicentennial year of Webster's birth, but only after the death of Mrs. Skeel herself. Failing health had impelled her to turn over her manuscript and notes to the New York Public Library, which undertook to publish what she was unable to bring to fruition. No bibliographer will envy Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., the editor of the work as published, his exacting task of preparing the work of another for the printer and of seeing it through the press.

The merits and defects of a bibliography can be appraised fully only through experience, through the success with which it answers questions as they arise. But assuredly, the book collector, the bookseller, the historian, and the librarian will again and again be grateful to Mrs. Skeel. In her work are recorded all possible productions of Webster's pen, in the incredible amplitude of texts and editions in a multiplicity of fields: pedagogy, philology, politics, theology, and even epidemiology. Included are not only the

books he wrote, but also more elusive and anonymous contributions to periodicals and newspapers. It appears that no leaf has been unturned in searching out and recording Webster's every excursion into print.

Nor is it a bones-and-dry-dust record. Not only are the physical descriptions of the works given, an analysis of the contents, locations of copies, and bibliographical references, but also annotations, frequently based upon Webster family manuscripts, all of which add to our bibliographical understanding and to the significance of the works. Appendixes are given which describe other literary activities of Webster, dubious works, plagiarisms, portraits and statues, works about Webster, as well as a directory of the printers, booksellers, etc., of Webster's books. Added to our feast are reproductions of title pages, illustrations, and the like.

The result is overwhelming as evidence—as only bibliographical evidence can be—of the role which Webster played in American cultural history. Thus, some four hundred editions of Webster's spelling book are described. Many of us may learn for the first time that the first book in English printed west of the Rockies was an abridgment of Webster's *Elementary Spelling Book*, published at Oregon City in 1847; that during the Civil War at least seven editions of the speller were printed in the Confederacy; and that at least two adaptations appeared in Japan in 1871 and 1887. For such information the volume can be picked up and read, and not simply consulted.

It is only by comparing this work with the bibliography of Mason Locke Weems, begun by her brother Paul and completed by Mrs. Skeel, published in 1929, that we realize how much we are the victims of economics. Users of the Locke volume find there not only everything provided by the present bibliography, but even more lavish annotation, replete with historical information. The same sort of material was garnered about Webster, but quite obviously the cost of such a volume would have been far too great. But it requires comparison with the Weems volume to suggest what the Webster might have been, and no one will deny that the New York Public Library has amply fulfilled its responsibilities.

In view of the effort which has patently been invoked in the design of the volume it is probably captious to suggest that less lavish margins and paragraphing might have produced a book less awkwardly bulky, or that a more resourceful typographer might have achieved a book easier to move around in. It is perhaps equally captious to report that trifling errors in transcription do exist. In connection with Webster's own activities in behalf of literary copyright, Mrs. Skeel or her editor might pertinently have indicated that Webster's so-called gifts to Harvard of copies of his *Grammatical Institute*, Parts I and II (her Nos. 1 and 405) and of his *Sketches of American Policy* (No. 717) were in fact copyright deposits under Massachusetts law, as discussed by Earle E. Coleman in his "Copyright Deposit at Harvard" in the *Harvard Library Bulletin* for Winter, 1956.

Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, 1670-1870. A Catalogue of a Collection of American Books Illustrated for the Most Part with Woodcuts and Wood Engravings in the Princeton University Library. With an Introductory Sketch of the Development of Early American Book Illustration by SINCLAIR HAMILTON. With a Foreword by FRANK WEITENKAMPF. (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1958. xlviii, 265 p. Illustrations, indexes. \$15.00.)

Every once in a while the bibliographic world is given a rare treat, such as Sinclair Hamilton's catalogue of *Early American Book Illustrators*. Too often such compendiums are pedantic in text, dull in format, and exasperatingly difficult to use. One has the feeling that Mr. Hamilton and his collaborators examined these books and, by determining against such abhorrences, have produced a model of bibliographic distinction—a handsome, delightfully readable, well-illustrated, carefully documented, superbly cross-indexed reference tool. The author modestly states that "the subject of early American illustration has been only scratched and it remains a fertile field for further investigation"; it is impossible to believe that further investigation will conceivably supplant this book within the next fifty years.

The subject treated here has never been adequately covered before. Related information can be gleaned from such books as Bolton's *American Book Illustrators*, Rosenbach's *Early American Children's Books*, Weitenkamp's *American Graphic Art*, Wroth's *American Woodcuts and Engravings*, and the indispensable Stauffer-Fielding *Dictionary*; but for a systematic and nearly comprehensive description of the field of American illustrated books, one must now turn to Hamilton's collection, and investigators who formerly had to resort to the scarce typescript of this collection will find the new format a pleasure and satisfaction to use.

The value of the catalogue derives from many sources, for the compiler has not limited himself strictly to book illustrators and wood engravers, although, as the title reads, this is, for the most part, the matter of the book. Because of an elasticity that is rare in such compilations, the reader can find the latest research on, for instance, John Foster's portrait of Richard Mather, c. 1670, the earliest American woodcut, which probably was not even intended for use in a book. This research, done by Gillett G. Griffin of the Princeton Library, is but one example of the kind of co-operative endeavor displayed here. Nor is the catalogue strictly limited to the relief cut. Thus, when an illustrator worked in other mediums, such as etching, engraving, or lithography, mention of these has also been permitted. The scope of the book is therefore limited only by the size of the collection—some 1,300 items—and by the date, 1870, before which time an artist had to have been active for inclusion in the collection.

After the short introductory material, the book contains an informative article of some twenty-six pages, the catalogue itself of 226 pages, thirty-nine pages of indexes, and, interspersed throughout the catalogue, 124 illus-

trations. The introduction is written in an informal style that clearly shows the author's enjoyment of his subject, notwithstanding its factual nature; and there are excellent footnotes. The catalogue is divided into two parts. The first part (illustration before the nineteenth century) is arranged chronologically because much of the work is anonymous. The second section (nineteenth century) is arranged alphabetically by illustrator rather than by wood engraver. These two sections are not mere itemized lists. Wherever possible there are extensive notations, including quotations from diaries, references to other bibliographic or biographic sources, and comments by present-day authorities, besides the collector's own contributions. Much original research is therefore now available to anyone working on American artists active during the two centuries involved. The indexes, of which there are three, are of illustrators and engravers, authors, and titles. These are so comprehensive that all the information is readily accessible.

The Princeton University Library and Mr. Sinclair Hamilton are to be congratulated for this contribution to the field of American art and books. Mr. Hamilton, in particular, deserves great credit for his persistence in collecting and preserving material in a little known and unpopular field. The fruit of his labor which is evident here, presented in such a handsome manner by one of our foremost book designers, P. J. Conkwright of the Princeton University Press, should be an inspiration to those many people whose modest collections can ultimately become indispensable sources of information to the world of scholarship.

Philadelphia Museum of Art

KNEELAND McNULTY

Fifty Years of Collecting Americana for the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, 1908-1958. By CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM. (Worcester, Mass.: For presentation only, 1958. [viii], 185 p. Illustrations, index.)

In 1927 Clarence S. Brigham told his friend Dr. Rosenbach that he had just found a cache of children's books printed by Isaiah Thomas, all of them miraculously crisp and fresh in their original paper wrappers, and that he would be willing to sell such as were already in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society to the ardent collector of early American children's books. When the Doctor expressed his thanks for the opportunity, Clarence Brigham asked him to write the check out to him personally, for he had bought the lot with his own funds. "In fact," he wrote, "last year I gave more money for books than they gave me money for salary." It is a fortunate institution which has at its head a man with the combination of dedication, imagination, and knowledge demonstrated for fifty years by Dr. Brigham.

The descriptions of thirty-six of the specialized collections at the Antiquarian Society are the saga of Dr. Brigham's building of an old, dusty,

down-at-the-heels library with a distinguished past and, seemingly in 1908, not much of a future into the greatest single repository of Americana in existence. At a period when individual collectors, buying high spots and not comprehensively, rather than libraries dominated the rare book market, Dr. Brigham let it be known that he was interested in anything American—imprints as imprints, newspapers, almanacs, prints in any medium, currency, directories, schoolbooks, bookplates, and ephemera of any kind. The result was that book scouts and dealers offered their finds first to the man whose motto was *nihil Americanum alienum*, and private collectors, honored by election to the Society, added to the treasures being wisely accumulated.

When old almanacs were so unpopular as collector's items that they could be bought literally for pennies, Dr. Brigham recognized the great value of the almanac for historical study. "Literature, humor, politics, social and economic life, religious history, all can be found in its pages," he writes; and to his list might well have been added science and medicine, too. The Society now has 16,720 almanacs. When old newspapers were considered more of a nuisance in a library than an essential research tool, Dr. Brigham began gathering them methodically and exhaustively until he had built up the largest collection of American newspapers to 1820 in existence. Then he set down decades of study and travel in his definitive *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, an essential guide to any scholar in early American history.

It does not take much imagination to recognize the importance of the Bay Psalm Book, the first book printed in British America. It did take considerable imagination to foresee that American novels from 1851 to 1875 would be the subject of increasing study. Yet, as soon as Lyle H. Wright began to work on a bibliography of them, the American Antiquarian Society began to buy them. "Starting from scratch, only four years ago, by intensive combing of catalogues, and by voluminous correspondence with friendly bookdealers, we soon obtained hundreds of volumes in the desired field. Incidentally, this was accomplished by gifts of funds from a few interested members and not by expenditures of the Society's book fund." This sums up moderately well Dr. Brigham's methods; the only factor omitted in his account is the imaginative spark and the persuasive tongue.

The outward form of Dr. Brigham's book is a handbook to the collections of the Antiquarian Society supplanting the 1937 *Guide to the Resources*, with some—too few—personal reminiscences and valuable notes on reference books in print or in progress dealing with the specific subjects from Almanacs to Watermarks. The quintessence is a Yankee success story with an unusual twist, no sailor-to-captain-to-merchant-to-banker sequence as dollars piled up, but librarian-to-director-to-president with row after row and drawer after drawer of rare books, broadsides, manuscripts and prints. James Lenox once said to an English bookdealer, "I can always get another five pound note, but where will I ever find another copy of this book." This

has been Dr. Brigham's philosophy. Yet, while this record is essentially that of Clarence S. Brigham as the human embodiment of the American Anti-quarian Society, it is also that of the Society, its members and its staff, notably Messrs. Vail and Shipton. *Fifty Years of Collecting Americana* is an item of Americana itself.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

The Lonesome Road: The Story of the Negro's Part in America. By SAUNDERS REDDING. [Mainstream of America Series.] (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958. 355 p. Bibliography, index. \$5.75.)

Four decades of serious research on the Negro in American life are brilliantly synthesized in this latest volume in the Mainstream of America Series. In a manner all too rare, Saunders Redding has fused the skills of the perceptive historian and the expert literary craftsman, and has produced, therefore, a work at once charmingly oriented, reliably informative, and a delight to read.

In keeping with the editorial prescription for the Mainstream series, the author presents his account in narrative form—both with respect to major events out of the mainstream of the nation's history, and with regard to the careers of the thirteen Negroes with whom the volume is rather specially concerned. But so graceful is Redding's art, so meticulous his scholarship, and so sure his sense of history that he does not permit the two—events or biographies—to become separated: a sense of the interaction of the men (and one woman) and their times pervades the book.

The time period covered by the volume is from the early nineteenth century to the present, with the ante-bellum period illuminated by biographical narratives of the lives of free-born Daniel Payne, who became perhaps the most effective Negro churchman of the period; slave-born Sojourner Truth, of the "apostolic manner," who spoke of "the nation's sins against my people," and on behalf of women's rights, from New England to Kansas; and of runaway Frederick Douglass, abolitionist orator and editor, "the Negroes' acknowledged leader and clothed by them with an authority such as no single Negro has since acquired."

The author's account of latter nineteenth-century America, kaleidoscopic in its comprehensiveness though wondrously compact, is sharpened by a profile of Isaiah Montgomery, "Boss" of Mound Bayou, a Mississippi Delta Negro community, who became a "champion of isolation and ceremonial submissiveness" and who, "as the only Negro in the Mississippi constitutional convention in 1890 . . . spoke and voted for Negro disfranchisement." The transition into the present century is similarly enlarged by an appraisal of the man who by the turn of the century had become "the best known Negro in the South and who, by the time of his death was to

become the best known and most influential Negro in the United States"—Booker T. Washington; and by the account of Daniel Hale Williams, pioneer heart surgeon and hospital founder.

Approximately one half of the volume is given over to men and events of the twentieth century, a fortunate placement of emphasis, there being no other single-volume source which furnishes such comprehensive coverage and analysis. All but two of the major personalities treated in this portion of the book are still living. Like the movements of which they were leaders—and in which, at the same time, they were participants—these were men of "aggressive counter-action," men more of the stripe of Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass than Isaiah Montgomery or Booker T. Washington: the late Robert Abbott, Chicago newspaper publisher, a model for later crusader-editors; the late Marcus Garvey, though rejected in his efforts to establish an African "homeland" for American Negroes, nevertheless an organizer par excellence of the masses; W. E. B. DuBois, ideologist and a long-time prime force in the N.A.A.C.P.; Paul Robeson, the actor-singer whose Marxist-tinted protest gained much attention—but little support; A. Philip Randolph, brilliant labor leader and exponent of articulate, responsible mass protest and pressure; Joe Louis, "a paragon to his own people, . . . scarcely less a model to whites"; and Thurgood Marshall, who as special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. proceeded on the faith "that the test of democracy, no less than of the moral power of justice, lay in the people's will to accept the equal application of the laws," and whose words close Redding's superb book: "The war's not over yet. We've still got work to do."

Morgan State College

WALTER FISHER

Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad. By WILLIAM BREYFOGLE. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. 287 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

The very phrase "Underground Railroad" has an aura of suspense and adventure about it which alerts the imagination. However, William Breyfogle's *Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad* tells less about the Underground than it does about the broader subject of Negro slavery. The portions which deal with the Underground Railroad, its diverse participants, their motives, methods, and routes are imaginatively and well written, excellent both in content and style. Mr. Breyfogle feels strongly that with this subject the human element is of the utmost importance, and "sympathetic imagination must come to the aid of even the most painstaking research." He has captured the spirit of adventure, mischief, and seeming irresponsibility of those who aided runaway slaves, as well as their

courage and good will. He also makes clear the exhausting and frightening ordeal of the fugitive and the frustration of his property-conscious master.

Alas, the sections dealing specifically with the Underground Railroad are overshadowed by and only loosely connected with the main emphasis of the book, the evil of slavery and its relation to the Civil War. Not only is the book mistitled, but its author seems to have been carried away with his view that the status of the Negro was the only cause of the Civil War. "At this distance in time, it is quite apparent that without Negro slavery there would have been little to argue about." What about the larger issue of states' rights versus nationalism, the question of responsibility to a central government which even today is being challenged by circumvention of the desegregation decisions? He contends that "Webster stood for the ill-defined concept of the preservation of the Union," but was it so ill-defined? Webster stated very clearly that an indissoluble union was one which no state or section could leave when it disagreed with the others.

Breyfogle's interest leans toward the philosophic. His book weaves together two contradictory, but apparently not mutually exclusive, philosophies, freedom and determinism. "The slave trade . . . was economically inevitable," "predestined by geography," "beyond human control." On the other hand, the force and power of ideas and idealism can alter this inevitability. "Deeply held convictions of very ordinary men" were the motivating forces of the Underground Railroad. Slavery was morally wrong and hence doomed to fail in a "vigorous democracy" which could deal with the "social evil within its own body."

Intellectual curiosity is obvious from the depth of Breyfogle's analysis, but many times this curiosity leads him on tangents irrelevant to the development of the Underground Railroad. He devotes many pages to the adventures of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the Boston abolitionist and international revolution-hopper. John Quincy Adams' skirmishes over the gag rule in the House of Representatives are more extensively reported than the battles over the Compromise of 1850 with its fugitive slave law. Too often the reader feels that he is reading the more interesting parts of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, although in the chapter on "Some Leaders of the Underground" this personal approach becomes refreshing and rewarding. Figures like Harriet Tubman and Isaac Hopper are etched vividly and with great warmth.

Obvious by exclusion is the very important topic of the legislative counter to the Railroad's activities. As early as the Articles of Confederation the right to reclaim runaway slaves was affirmed, and the first fugitive slave law was passed in 1793. Ironically, this law grew out of northern concern over the kidnapping of free Negroes for sale as slaves. Its most significant requirement was proof of ownership of alleged runaways. The far more stringent Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 overrode the northern states' personal liberty laws and made assisting in the escape of fugitive slaves legally perilous. The Federal laws raised a moral problem for workers on the Under-

ground Railroad. They were law-breakers. Were they governed by a higher law which justified disobedience to the prevailing law?

Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad is an interesting and informative book which deals with men, sections, and slavery. Breyfogle definitely has literary skill, but it might have been more profitably employed in a history of the Underground Railroad than in another diatribe against slavery.

Rumson, N. J.

JOANNE T. REYNOLDS
GRANT C. REYNOLDS

Chancellorsville, Lee's Greatest Battle. By EDWARD J. STACKPOLE. (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1958. [xiv], 384 p. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$5.75.)

This book is not a scholarly work, and it does not contribute anything in the way of fresh insights or new information. The writing has many of the characteristics of a recorded speech, and there is little evidence of solid research. Only direct quotations are used, and these appear infrequently and incompletely. The maps are the best part of the book; they are so profuse and well done that they alone could tell the story of Chancellorsville. In this respect the work might serve as an example for other military histories.

Chancellorsville opens with a description of Lincoln's visit to the Army of the Potomac early in April, 1863. It tells of Hooker's appointment as commander, his character and early army career, and the measures he took to get his men in fighting trim. There follows a discussion of the army's table of organization and a comparison with that of the Army of Northern Virginia. Stackpole makes the startling claim that "the evolution of the Confederacy toward the substance of a general staff system made greater progress than was the case with the armies of the North" (p. 72). (It may be noted that the late Kenneth Williams in his work *Lincoln Finds a General* took just the opposite view.) Stackpole analyzes Hooker's strategy from the standpoint of what he hoped to accomplish and then describes what actually took place. He tells how Hooker split his army in order to threaten the Confederate forces near Fredericksburg from opposite directions; how Lee with his superb sense of timing took vigorous measures to counteract Hooker's advantage; and how Hooker's nerve failed him at a crucial moment and he fell back to a defensive position. This account stresses the interpretation that once Hooker allowed Lee to take the offensive, he lost the campaign before the fighting began. Jackson's famous flanking attack only contributed to Hooker's defeat. The story of the main engagements at Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, and Salem Church is largely restricted to the movements of corps and divisions, and the narrative ends with Hooker's retreat across the Rappahannock. What is lacking is attention to the more

intimate and personal exploits of individuals and small groups which impart to the reader a sense of the reality and drama of combat.

Remarks on the military skill of Hooker and Lee and some of their immediate subordinates constantly intrude upon the narrative and cause some repetition. The last chapter contains an elaborate commentary on the generalship of the two men. The analysis of why Lee won his "greatest battle" at Chancellorsville despite or because of his deliberate violations of principles of sound strategy conforms to orthodox opinion, except that Stackpole has a tendency to gloss over Lee's mistakes. His indictment of Hooker which goes so far as to denounce him for "moral cowardice" is stronger than usual. It concludes with the statement that "*General Hooker rather than the Army of the Potomac was defeated at Chancellorsville*. The army as a whole was never given the opportunity to win" (p. 367). (The italics are the author's.) This assertion can be questioned. For one thing, it can be argued that in this campaign the army did not always live up to its fighting reputation.

Regardless of the merits of Stackpole's observations, they deserve attention by virtue of his military experience as an officer with field and staff duties in the two world wars. If a casual reader is looking for an adequate account of the campaign in broad outline, well illustrated and with good maps, he will find it in this handy volume, but for a more scholarly and comprehensive treatment one will have to look elsewhere.

Lafayette College

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

E. L. Godkin and American Foreign Policy, 1865-1900. By WILLIAM M. ARMSTRONG. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957. 268 p. Bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

This monograph appraises carefully the writings on external affairs by a man who is often regarded as the most incisive and intelligent editor of the post-Civil War era. It is not intended to be, the author warns, a complete survey of American foreign relations between 1865 and 1900. If some developments he discusses loom today disproportionately large while others that currently seem more significant are neglected, the imbalance represents Godkin's own interests and emphasis. Almost all of the data is culled from the columns of *The Nation* and the *New York Evening Post*. Godkin's letters, printed and unprinted, are occasionally cited, as are a few items from the manuscripts of his contemporaries; but the vast majority of footnotes refer to the magazine and the newspaper over which he presided for thirty-five years.

In the first two chapters, constituting about a quarter of the text, Professor Armstrong analyzes Godkin's political and social philosophy in gen-

eral and his views on the role of diplomacy in particular. He then considers in order, allotting a chapter to each, the following topics: the failure of France to re-establish a monarchy in Mexico; the settlement of the *Alabama* claims and other Anglo-American differences by the Treaty of Washington; the flurry of expansionist projects under Presidents Johnson and Grant; the assorted minor problems, many of them inter-American, that arose between 1877 and 1889; the vigorous policies pursued by Secretaries of State James G. Blaine and Richard Olney; and finally the climactic war and peace with Spain that marked the end of an era for both the United States and Godkin. Godkin retired from journalism on January 1, 1900, and died in England twenty-eight months later.

There are no startling revelations in this conscientious survey unless it be the implied downgrading of a man whom historians have long quoted as an authority and an oracle. Although Godkin's importance is insisted upon explicitly, an impressive list of critical characterizations can be compiled. He is described as "captious" (p. 14), "censorious" (p. 134), "contentious" (p. 144), "impulsive" (p. 170), and "tactless" (p. 177). He was also a "superficial reader and thinker" (p. 28) who "subscribed to the Devil theory of history" (p. 39). His "instinctive perversity" (p. 139) often came to the fore, while his writings during the 1880's were "colored by his hatred of James G. Blaine" (p. 131). We are told that "scrupulous accuracy was clearly not Godkin's forte when he was aroused" (p. 172), and that his "much publicized editorial independence should not be exaggerated" (p. 23).

Nor does Professor Armstrong offer any broad conclusions. He fails to identify those diplomatic trends whose significance Godkin was unable to perceive or chose to ignore; he is hard put to say what his subject accomplished in this field in a positive way. Indeed, his chief concern in the closing pages seems to be with the editor's impact on journalism, not foreign policy. Perhaps the explanation which the author is reluctant to give is that while Godkin affected the thinking of a small but articulate group of readers for more than three decades, he did not directly influence on any vital occasion the policy makers in Washington.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

Altgeld's America. The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities. By RAY GINGER. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1958. [viii], 376 p. Index. \$4.95.)

In these days of the "New Conservatism" it is refreshing to come upon a book that still vibrates with the social consciousness more prevalent a quarter of a century ago. Such a volume is Ray Ginger's *Altgeld's America*, an engrossing survey of Chicago between 1892 and 1905 which nowadays is

startling in its scathing descriptions of the exploitation of the workers, its unabashed sympathy for those idealists who attempted to reform these conditions, and its uncompromising refusal to adopt the more indulgent "industrial statesmen" interpretation of the business leaders of that era.

Mr. Ginger writes with a verve uncommon among most academic historians, being possessed of an enviable journalistic skill for reducing abstract issues to the personal level and dramatic incident which give these problems an immediacy, and often even a poignancy, they would not have otherwise. And what a cast of characters he has from the Chicago of those years: J. P. Altgeld, Clarence Darrow, Eugene Debs, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, Alice Hamilton, Thorstein Veblen, John Dewey, Theodore Dreiser, Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, to name only those who receive the most attention. Of the predictable major figures, only Henry Demarest Lloyd seems unaccountably slighted. He is frequently mentioned, but never receives the full scale consideration one would have expected.

Most of the work is concerned with the serious economic and social problems facing Chicago at the end of the nineteenth century and the various efforts to resolve them. The underlying thesis is shown by the subtitle, "The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities." The "Lincoln Ideal," according to Mr. Ginger, represented an individualistic open society which allowed equality of opportunity for all, but by the 1890's the "realities" of an industrial society had destroyed this. His contention, perhaps a bit forced at times, is that the Chicago reformers were merely trying to recreate the humanist values of Lincoln. He does succeed in showing how many of the new group of social workers came from Republican households which had often had personal associations with Lincoln.

Scholars will be disappointed that so rich a book has no footnotes and no real bibliography beyond a brief two-page note on sources. Mr. Ginger admits that the parts of his story that are the most familiar (the Haymarket riot, Altgeld's pardon of the Chicago anarchists, and the Pullman Strike) are based largely on the research of men like Henry David, Harvey Wish, and Harry Barnard, as well as his own earlier work on Debs, but these events are inherently so dramatic that they do not suffer by a skillful retelling.

Considerably more rewarding to this reviewer's mind, however, simply because less familiar to him, were Mr. Ginger's accounts of the women who became the Hull House social workers, whom he treats with admiration and considerable sensitivity, and of the struggles to improve the criminal law and to achieve municipal ownership of the local transit system. Here Mr. Ginger apparently draws somewhat from various manuscript collections but particularly from a detailed examination of Chicago newspapers and of whatever memoirs and biographies have appeared. There are also two chapters more concerned with Chicago's cultural and intellectual life in these years which one wishes could have been developed even further,

including as they do interesting but relatively brief treatments of the University of Chicago (elsewhere there is a tantalizingly sketchy account of Dewey's experimental school), of the architecture of Sullivan and Wright, and of the city's novelists. Among the last Mr. Ginger reserves his deepest admiration for Theodore Dreiser, constantly reverting to *Sister Carrie* in particular to exemplify the deeper undercurrents of the period.

Until almost the very end of the book the approach is largely a conventional narrative one which is inclined to be anecdotal rather than analytical and shows little signs of being influenced by more recent interpretations, such as Richard Hofstadter's, of the reform movements of the period, though there is some extremely interesting material on the changing position of Chicago lawyers in these years which seems partially to confirm Hofstadter's thesis of a status revolution. There are also repeated indications that Mr. Ginger's reformers displayed a conspicuous reliance upon the statistical approach to social problems which, perhaps because it obviously has so little connection with the "Lincoln Ideal," is never given the full significance it deserves. When toward the close Mr. Ginger does attempt an analysis of the assumptions and ideas that possibly united all his figures in terms of the concepts of "process" and "context," his discussion may not be always entirely clear or convincing, but it does seem a more worth-while method than trying to fit people into the Lincoln pattern.

Mr. Ginger's conclusion, obviously deeply felt but not nearly as successful as his handling of specific individuals and incidents, makes it evident that there is much about contemporary American society that he finds quite distasteful, especially when he compares the current generation with the humanist figures who made Chicago such a center of ferment and aspiration half a century ago. As a whole the book is highly readable and, along with the already familiar material, contains much information that will be new to many people.

University of Pennsylvania

WALLACE EVAN DAVIES

The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912. By GEORGE E. MOWRY. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. xviii, 330 p. Illustrations, bibliographical note, index. \$5.00.)

The volumes in the New American Nation Series, which Harper and Brothers are issuing to replace the well-thumbed books of the old, appear slowly and in widely differing periods in our history. Professor Mowry's *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt*—most recent to be published—spans the years from 1900 to 1912. Those are familiar years to the author; he has distinguished himself particularly in his studies of the currents and cross-currents of liberalism that swept over the land in the days of Roosevelt and Taft.

Of the fourteen chapters in the volume, five are largely philosophic explanations of the new era; six are centered around T. R. and his administration, domestic and foreign; one is devoted to Taft; and two are concerned with the progressive rebellion that brought temporary eclipse not only to Taft but also to the Republican Party itself. Although the brief chapters have much traditional history in them, they move largely through the thought of the time rather than day by day. The pages are replete with the expressions of individuals and with explanations of the ideas that motivated groups. Herbert Croly, Lincoln Steffens, Jane Addams, "Golden Rule" Jones, Brooks Adams, Andrew Carnegie, George F. Baer, and a host of others each has his say, whether liberal or conservative. There are keen observations, too, concerning the perplexing problems of the day. Were women in their climb to freedom to fight on the same level as men, or were they to build a new and better moral plateau to which all must come? Was the city evil or good? Was the mind of man at last being freed? The opinions are widely different; the controversies are complex, and the author, steeped in his subject, wisely declines to resolve them.

The hero of the book is Theodore Roosevelt, and Roosevelt is Professor Mowry's hero also. But T. R. deserves sympathetic treatment lest his great contributions be bogged down in less significant but more dramatic things. Too many actions explained by "expedience," however, may bring doubts in the mind of some readers as to whether there was a "basic" policy. President Taft receives brief but fair consideration; Robert M. LaFollette is, perhaps with some justice, labeled provincial.

The scope and general direction of each book in the series is, of course, shaped by the editors, but the contents are determined by the individual author. Professor Mowry has done a good job in summing up the thought of his years of study, but, though he writes deftly, as is his way, the keen thrusts and cutting criticisms of his own individual publications are missing.

It is no criticism to say that the author may depict more thought than characterized the period; there were, after all, practical things, too, coming into conflict—ruralism and urbanism, for example. He may also credit liberalism too much to the radical socialists. The farmers had not deserted their protest movement. The Night Riders, the American Society of Equity, the *National Rip-Saw*, and even Eugene V. Debs were indexes of that fact. Moreover, it may be that the rural reformers and the city reformers were not directed merely by hunger and brains respectively. Hunger was only the pressing fact that triggered the protest against injustice. The American farmer was not hungry like the Chinaman, but hungry because he had worked for more than he had received. In the rich fields of Illinois there was discontent, too, though swallowed up by the shops of Chicago. The progressives, sometimes wealthy and often educated, may also have been products of their environment—they had come to their ideas in the world of thought, while the agrarians had beaten theirs out on the painful anvil of experience.

These were complex years: materialism and ideology were coming into conflict; the city was vanquishing the country and not only freeing the mind but also, strangely enough, spreading its lengthening cords of discipline over the people; the nation was being pushed reluctantly into the world of nations; and the individual was rising to supremacy.

The Era of Theodore Roosevelt is a real contribution to the new Harper series. There is nowhere else a better summary of the thought of the years. That there may be those who will quarrel with some of the facts or interpretations is only further testimony to Professor Mowry's thoroughness. But, regardless of the scholarship that may mark individual volumes, it is doubtful that the series will serve a more useful purpose than its predecessor.

Temple University

JAMES A. BARNES

Penn's Woods West. By EDWIN L. PETERSON. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958. 249 p. Illustrations. \$15.00.)

This volume is described as "one of a list of books in the cultural history of Western Pennsylvania made possible through a grant-in-aid from the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh." It is difficult to collate the contents with any historical or cultural context. Also, unfortunately, the book lacks a preface and the reader is left to guess at the author's purpose in writing it. The text can best be described, generally, as a distillation of fragmentary journeyings through the forests, fields, and hills of Western Pennsylvania, with a varied dissertation on botany, conservation, astronomy, meteorology, politics, and philosophy interspersed. Loosely hung on a bare skeleton of the seasons and their associated constellations—Leo, Cygnus, Pegasus, and Orion—it consists essentially of rather patently romanticized descriptions of treks on foot, by motor, by bicycle, and by various modes of water transportation through the more natural areas of Western Pennsylvania.

In spite of Mr. Peterson's attempt to depict Western Pennsylvania as a naturalist's paradise, that area is and has been for the greater part of its 200-year history a veritable kaleidoscope of curiously blended contrasts. Just as its topography is a combination of high hilltops and deep canyon-like valleys, so does that topography exhibit a curious mingling of sheer beauty and of almost absolute sordidness. One cannot think of its beautiful trout streams without at the same time bringing to mind the ugliness of its many streams stained and polluted by the sulfurous effluent of its countless bituminous coal mines, nor revel in the beauty of its wooded hillsides without being reminded of the bald rows of sterile shale left behind by the coal-stripping contractors. Mr. Peterson has chosen to describe at length one side of the coin with only occasionally a rare glimpse of the other.

The book is filled with photographs; according to the dust-jacket there are more than "300 photos" by Thomas M. Jarrett, and other photographs

are credited to other sources in the acknowledgments. In all, approximately half the total page area is covered with photographs, and their selection, captioning, and general lay-out are uniformly excellent. The subjects range from eggs frying in a pan, through a close-up of a grasshopper on a blade of grass, to the giant hemlocks of Allegheny National Forest and some very dramatic views of the "New Pittsburgh." To this reviewer, the most striking photograph in the book is the night view of downtown Pittsburgh from the north shore of the Allegheny River, at page 213, credited to Al Church, and captioned "even in a changing world."

But, in this year of Pittsburgh's and Western Pennsylvania's Bicentennial, Penn's Woods West is more than Presque Isle, and Cook Forest, and Kooser Lake, and Pymatuning Reservoir, and the ski slopes of Laurel Hill. Over and above its natural beauty it has the beauty of strength and of the vitality of man's own handiwork in the valleys of its rivers and their intervening hills—the Mon, the Yough, the Conemaugh, and Turtle Creek; their mines, their mills, their coke-ovens, and their oil derricks. The other side of Mr. Peterson's coin, properly shown, would have emphasized the beauty of its strength, the beauty of its vitality, the very beauty of its ugliness; a coin of strength and of beauty worn to a glorious glow by two hundred years of useful, work-filled life.

Penn's Woods West is a difficult book to evaluate. It is an extremely handsome, well-made book, and one which anyone would surely appreciate as a gift. However, at a price which is not incompatible with the quality of the publication, it is difficult to believe that the book will ever enjoy any widespread popular acceptance.

Dillsburg

JOHN V. MILLER

Admiral du Pont Correspondence

The Longwood Library announces its sponsorship of a proposed edition of selected correspondence of Rear Admiral Samuel Francis du Pont for the years 1861–1865, prepared by Rear Admiral John D. Hayes, U.S.N. (Ret.). Du Pont commanded the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and led the memorable naval attack against Charleston in 1863. Although the bulk of his letters is included in the large collection of du Pont family papers now at Longwood, the Library would welcome communications from anyone having knowledge of materials which exist elsewhere, and particularly letters from du Pont to his fellow officers. Information should be directed either to The Director, Longwood Library, Kennett Square, Pa., or to Admiral Hayes, 1970 Fairfax Road, Annapolis, Md.

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