BOOK REVIEWS


These two lectures on the relationship between religion and American democracy were delivered at the Rice Institute in Houston, Texas. They treat this perplexing theme in a manner which is provocative and assuredly timely. Their burden is the conviction that in a cultural complex there is both continuity and change, and that change does not of necessity appreciably alter the mutual influences between cultural institutions spiritually akin. The reader will, by the end of this little book, feel that in some measure he has shared the vision of a seer and savored the words of a prophet.

The first lecture, “The Democracy of American Religion,” reviews the familiar story of the contributions of American religious groups, wittingly or unwittingly, to the development of self-government. (Perhaps because these lectures were delivered in former Spanish territory, Dr. Nichols suggests that even Roman Catholic Spain was not without a gift which later was to be useful.) It is the climax to this story which arrests us: a well-documented appreciation of the fact that although the creators of the instruments by which a new nation was born did not attest to the extent of their religious motivations, those who inaugurated the experiment, even while proscribing formal ecclesiastical associations, evidenced in word and deed the depth of their religious dependence. And to the degree that these Americans were exhibiting democratic political behavior they were offering testimony to the influence of the democratic spirit in American religion, and, paradoxically, to the real strength of the voluntary relationship between religion and American democracy.

Dr. Nichols sees “The Religion of American Democracy,” the caption of his second lecture, as the issue of this tenuous union. A moral imperative for righteousness, generated by the “Arminian Revolution,” used a new vocabulary for educating the younger generation. Their elders recognized the expressions of their dreams in a secular Scriptures produced by their leaders. The nation’s behavior made of American democracy “not only a government but a way of life.”

Throughout what is virtually the biography of an idea, generous quotations from pertinent sources provide admirably for sympathetic understanding; these give meaning to what may be called the epilogue: “It may
be profitably maintained that it would be in the interest of the general welfare if American citizens would continue to hold their rights and responsibilities of self-government as sacred, that those to whom the duties of government be entrusted should feel that theirs is a trust to be carried out in a spirit of democratic dedication. . . . Democracy is not easy. . . . Man’s belief in his capacity for self-government under divine guidance may well be the salvation of the American Way.”

This is a stimulating little book about a big and serious subject. It ought to be consulted frequently by many in the years to come.

Rutgers University

RUSSELL E. FRANCIS


In the author’s words, Out of Our Past “seeks an answer to the question ‘How did Americans get to be the way they are in the middle of the twentieth century?’” For the purposes of his search Professor Degler, a member of the Vassar College faculty, limited himself “to those aspects of the past which bear on the present,” and “to the history of Americans as a people.” One is tempted to quibble over which aspects of the past do not bear on the present, or to press for a precise definition of “a people.” But suffice it to say, we are offered an assortment of paths to the present.

Actually, this is always the case. Whether history is written descriptively of the past or presented deliberately as a guide to some particular present or other, it will be that present which stands revealed as clearly as the past. As Professor Degler quotes Walt Whitman, though in another context, “Nor for the past alone—for meanings to the future.”

However, Professor Degler demonstrates that right at the beginnings of American history forces were at work important for the future. For example, economic and social as well as political results emerged from the New Worlds’ abundance of available land and the related failure to endow a feudal aristocracy with enduring landed privileges. In so unfettered an atmosphere, both Puritanism and Quakerism contributed toward a dwindling of restraints by setting up enticing goals for the industrious and frugal. Said Cotton Mather: “Would a man Rise by his business? I say, then let him Rise to his Business. . . . Let your Business ingross the most of your time”; while William Penn counseled so fruitful a blend of diligence and plain living that Philadelphia’s commercial prosperity was underwritten at birth. What endured for future generations, though shorn of its theological doctrines, was “the virtue of work and wealth.”

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries new influences entered the streams of American development. One of these was slavery.
But slavery's terrible importance could never be grasped until the rise of the cotton kingdom and the war between North and South. Because slavery denied the equality of American pretensions, it disrupted the affairs of the Republic, and its death bequeathed a haunted legacy of relations between the races. Other ingredients in the American background proved less tainted with ultimate doom. The American Revolution created the example for the entire world of successful colonial rebellion. Yet the spirit of 1776–1787 “conserved the past rather than repudiated it.” The effect of the frontier was exhilarating. “It left its mark in the optimism, the belief in progress, the promise of the future and the second chance.” Jackson’s day was “the age of the great experiment” in popular democracy. The system of public schools was democracy’s nursery. Its graduates inevitably became reformers.

Reform, nationalism, industrialism, immigration, and urbanism transformed the older America into a new civilization. So profound was their work that the full results of the Civil War could never be assessed, but lay buried beneath the surface to form for the people as a whole an imperfectly shared subconscious. Finally, in Professor Degler’s synthesis, there occurred the Great Depression of the 1930’s equated with the War of Independence and the Civil War as of revolutionary proportions. “The searing ordeal of the Great Depression purged the American people of their belief in the limited powers of the federal government and convinced them of the necessity of the guarantor state.” Aply, Degler concludes, “there could be no turning back.”

To sum up, this book is well worth consideration. It is to be hoped that mysterious figure, the intelligent layman, will read it with profit. The bibliographical essay affords a constructive guide for further reading. Professional historians might well ponder the author’s emphasis on slavery. Has their erudition led them astray from the main point? They might ponder, also, Professor Degler’s one-sided treatment of corporations and the business system, his virtual omission of two world wars, imperialism, and revolutions abroad—in fact recent foreign affairs altogether, and his failure to assess the impact of modern science.

The most serious criticism one could direct at this book is that its effort to explain the forces of the past bearing on the present falls short precisely because it fails to comprehend the complexities of the present.

Bryn Mawr College  
ARTHUR P. DUDDEN

The Ohio Company: Its Inner History. By ALFRED P. JAMES. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959. xxiv, 375 p. Appendices, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Any reader who takes up this “inner history” of the Ohio Company expecting to encounter scandalous revelations, intimate and shocking
glimpses behind the scenes, is bound to be disappointed. Sensation-mongering is no part of its purpose. Professor James’s object is the more legitimate one for a historian of chronicling the internal affairs, the unexciting day-to-day development, of the company on the basis of the surviving documents, of which he has long been a patient and diligent collector. As a result of his labors, transcripts and photographic copies of more than 1,200 documents from more than fifty depositories and printed sources are now in the Darlington Library of the University of Pittsburgh, alongside the extensive collection of similar materials assembled by William Darlington and published in extenso in 1954 as *The George Mercer Papers* under the meticulous editorship of Lois Mulkearn. In addition to summarizing the story told by these documents, Professor James has included a hundred pages of selected documents, two tables showing the Company’s business transactions in detail, and a useful calendar of the collection. The whole thing is a commendable enterprise. Nevertheless, one cannot avoid a feeling of disappointment and some degree of bafflement at the way it has been carried out.

For one thing, the story, as Professor James tells it, is remarkably dull and pedestrian, little more than a bald summary or paraphrase of the documents, unlighted by effective writing or revealing commentary. “Much concomitant milieu has been consciously omitted” (the words are Professor James’s) with the result that one reads the story in a historical vacuum save for a few introductory but scarcely enlightening statements such as: “In the background of the Ohio Company was the Age of Discovery and European colonization and settlement of North America” (p. 2). One can understand that it was impossible or undesirable in a book of such deliberately restricted scope to tell the full, exciting story of the Ohio Company in its historical setting. On the other hand, one could have spared many dreary paragraphs and pages detailing petty business transactions and legal actions involving faceless individuals for a few paragraphs describing and individualizing such significant and colorful actors in the drama as Thomas Cresap, George Croghan, Christopher Gist, George Mason, and John Hanbury. Indeed, one would suppose that some comment on the characters and personalities of its leading members was part of the “inner history” of any organization. Yet we are given scarcely a glimmer of insight into the makeup of any of these men.

But this, it will be said, is a documentary, not an interpretative history: what is required is not insight or literary skill, but accuracy and a sure grasp of the significance of the documents. It is precisely here that one’s sense of disappointment and puzzlement grows acute. The selected documents printed in Appendix A are, we are told, “faithful collated transcripts.” I have not had the opportunity of checking many of the transcripts against their originals, but a spot check of a few documents which happen to be in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is not reassuring. The brief letter of Thomas Lee to Conrad Weiser on page 195, for example, contains no fewer than seven minor errors in transcription; to be sure, none of them seriously
affects the sense of the document, though the reading "Conosotogoe" for what is clearly the name "Canasategoe" (the Onondaga sachem) could easily be misleading. Similarly, a letter of Thomas Cresap to James Tilghman on pages 241–242 contains six minor errors. One is rather surprised to read on page 71 that the Company awarded Andrew Montour "thirty pistols" for his service at the Logstown conference of 1752 until one checks the document in The George Mercer Papers (pp. 143, 176) and finds (as one might have suspected) that the payment was "thirty pistoles." One hardly knows what to make of the statement on page 70 that a certain petition of the Company to the Governor and Council of Virginia has "hitherto not been known" when its text was printed in full, not once but three times, by Professor James's coworker, Mrs. Mulkearn, in The George Mercer Papers, five years ago.

Finally, one wonders about the criteria for the selection of documents to be published. These are given on page xi as follows: (1) to omit documents already published, (2) to print items that are "revealing and generally significant," (3) to present "unusual items hitherto unknown," and (4) "to include at least one item of each of the more important types found." These criteria seem reasonable enough. But one begins to have doubts about their application when one comes upon such items as the following: the text of a historical marker erected in Centerville, Kentucky (p. 270), an advertisement for the sale of George Croghan's Philadelphia property excerpted from the Pennsylvania Gazette (p. 266), a memorandum, already published in Kenneth Bailey's Ohio Company Papers, which reads (in full) as follows: "Memorandum for Mr. Gratz. . . . Please to Examine the Clarks office for ye Judgt. Entred against Trent and Croghan & See ye. amount" (p. 258). Since these are clearly not unpublished sources, one can only ask whether they should be considered "revealing," "unusual," or representative of "the more important types" of material found in the collection.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat. By NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1959. x, 334 p. Maps, bibliographical essay, index. $6.00.)

George Croghan was practically unknown to writers of American histories before 1926 (he was not mentioned in the first American Nation Series) when Albert T. Volwiler published his George Croghan and the Westward Movement. This pioneering study emphasized the role of the land speculator and promoter of such colonizing ventures as the Illinois and Indiana companies, and the Vandalia scheme. But Volwiler's work was not a biography. Now we have in the present work a more comprehensive treat-
ment of Croghan based upon documentary sources. In 1939 Mr. Wainwright discovered the Croghan papers in the archives of the Cadwalader family of Philadelphia. These were presented to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Croghan’s most voluminous journal, edited by Mr. Wainwright, was published in this Magazine in October, 1947. He has drawn on these, as well as upon other large collections of sources, in presenting the first biography of Croghan.

Readers of Croghan’s journals and letters have been fascinated by his complex personality. His quaint and unpredictable orthography, so highly phonetic in rendering the Irish brogue, make him appear illiterate, but through it there often emerged real eloquence and colorful description. This deceptiveness appeared in his other activities. He was a rugged frontiersman willing to live in crude intimacy with Indians, yet he developed a taste for luxurious living and fine clothes. On the one hand he was a grasping trader, but he was capable of broad humanitarianism, and was able to deal effectively with both natives and statesmen. He was often condemned for his money-making schemes, but he was generally in financial difficulties. His charm of manner and generous spirit, so often displayed, won him a host of friends, but no one was ever more devious and deceptive in undermining and losing the confidence he inspired. Perhaps for these reasons his contemporaries withheld much of the credit which was his due.

From the beginning of the French and Indian War, when he was with Washington at Fort Necessity and with Braddock before Fort Duquesne, until the Revolution, he was in the midst of all frontier troubles, all schemes of expansion, and had a finger in colonial politics. Like Sir William Johnson, whose deputy for Indian affairs he became, he developed from the role of Indian trader to the title of “Indian Diplomat.” Like Conrad Weiser and Johnson, he knew how to win and keep the confidence of the savages; like them, he knew that you might double-cross the white man, but never lie to the Indian. The author concludes that “Croghan’s real stature does not rest on his visionary efforts to build provinces, but on his real ability to deal with Indians.” His achievements in this field were of incalculable value; here, as in international diplomacy, it is difficult to balance the importance of the peacemaker with the more concrete performance of the warrior.

But while Croghan was Sir William’s strong right hand as deputy for Indian affairs of Pennsylvania and the West, his left hand was simultaneously manipulating land speculation, trade, and politics in a mesh of intrigue and promotion. Never possessing great wealth, his schemes outran his resources, while he sought to recoup his fortunes by grand strategy. He dreamed of such an establishment as Sir William had at Johnson Hall, as he successively established “Croghan Hall” at Fort Pitt; “Monckton Hall” at Philadelphia; and “Croghan’s Forest” in central New York. But his restless energy, his continual speculation and involvement in grander schemes, as well as his failing health and loss of “character,” left no time to enjoy these estates before they were abandoned or destroyed.
The author carefully documents Croghan's partnerships in trade, his loans, debts and speculative ventures, but the reader may still be baffled by their complexity. He does not spare his subject as he uncovers shady deals, undercover transactions, and downright dishonesty. There was little more than jungle morality in the morass of land claims, patents, and purchases; and political skulduggery was expected. But Croghan did nothing to raise the level. It was only as a diplomat that he could be admired. His frontier adventures, his trials and disasters, and his visit to England make interesting reading. We wish we could know him better, for he seems to be one of history's great originals. Yet we are fortunate to have this new scholarly and authoritative study, which places George Croghan in an indisputable niche in American history.

New York Division of Archives and History
Albany, N. Y.

Milton W. Hamilton


With the publication of the third volume of The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, which includes an index to the series, Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein bring their gigantic undertaking to a successful and dramatic conclusion—dramatic, because the missing journals covering the last two years of Muhlenberg's life were discovered (through the kindness of the late Dr. Hiester M. Muhlenberg of Reading) after the volume was already in page proof, but in time to be translated, edited, and set up in print alongside the others.

This is an important work, not only for church historians, but for the laity as well. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg lived near the center of Pennsylvania's political and cultural life from 1742 to 1787. He had been chosen by the Fathers at Halle for service in America with a view to bringing order into the confused state of Lutheran affairs here, and he proved himself to be the right man for the job. Putting things in order was a compelling instinct with him. An essentially modest man, he could be ferocious when he scented "confusions" in the wind. Since his journals were written with an eye to later use in official reports to Halle, they contain many blow-by-blow accounts of church battles.

But they contain much else. They are an important source for state and national history. Henry Melchior himself traveled widely, and his three sons (Peter, "our General," who during the Revolution won high honors at Charleston, Brandywine, Germantown, and Yorktown; Frederick, who, already enmeshed in national politics, was to become in time Speaker in the first Federal Congress; and Henry Ernest, a distinguished botanist and first
Principal of Franklin—now Franklin and Marshall—College) kept him in touch with what was going on all over the country.

H. M. Muhlenberg was too robust to yield himself long to those moods of pietistic melancholy which, with their literary clichés, were expected of a man in his position. He broke away frequently and wrote simply and vividly about the things that passed before his eyes. In these intervals of relaxation he gives us priceless glimpses of the changing American scene. There is, for example, Henry Ernest Muhlenberg's prescription for his mother's hysteria: "Moss from a cedar roof, cleaned, dried, and drunk as tea." There are comments on juvenile delinquency, the general increase in crime, and capital punishment. He writes: "The thief who robbed our Neighbor Cruther's store was sentenced to death. But he was given a choice between hanging according to the old law and pushing a barrow according to the new. He chose the latter." There is a brilliant account (from the lips of General Peter Muhlenberg, who held the advanced lines at Valley Forge) of an incident, May 20, 1778, when a band of Oneida Indians posted at Matson's Ford helped to save Lafayette's forces from disaster.

One of the most delightful things in the journal is the impression it gives us of the Muhlenberg family circle: three generations of them traveling to and from the Trappe on business or pleasure with presents of rock fish, watermelons, and what not. One must suppose that Henry Melchior's gloomy reflections in the journal upon the "vain" lives of his children (military, political, and scientific) served as self-castigation for the sinful pride he took in these young makers of the American nation.

The translation from the German is idiomatic and readable. At the same time it keeps close to the quality of the original, catching its quick transition from turgid reflections upon the vanity of life to crisp and pungent reporting of contemporary efforts to better it. The editors have helped the reader with brief but judicious notes, and with the filling-out (in brackets) of Muhlenberg's numerous abbreviations.

We congratulate the editors, the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent Parts, and the Muhlenberg Press on a great work accomplished.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*  

**PAUL A. W. WALLACE**

*The Royal Governors of Georgia, 1754-1775.* By W. W. Abbot. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1959. x, 198 p. Map, bibliographical note, index. $5.00.)

The omission from the *Dictionary of American Biography* of the man who was by all odds outstanding among the three royal governors of Georgia would seem to provide proof enough that the present work deals with a
neglected topic. The exclusion of the incompetent Captain John Reynolds might have been understandable. His administration, overshadowed by the sinister figure of his egregious favorite William Little, was too brief and inglorious to provide much more than an illustration of what a royal governor should not have been. Henry Ellis might also have been passed over with impunity. True, an account of his brief but masterful performance in the governor's mansion could have provided a brilliant cameo amid accounts of less important and much duller people. Yet it was but an episode in the life of this mercurial dilettante, most of which was lived on the other side of the Atlantic. But these men are both included, and Sir James Wright is not.

A South Carolinian by birth, Wright had already seen two decades of public service before becoming governor of Georgia, an office which he was to hold with distinction, though not without interruption, for the ensuing twenty-two years. In terms of population and material development, it was indeed a minor colony over which he was presiding. Yet the tempo of development in Georgia, ethnic, economic, social and political, during the fifteen years preceding the American Revolution could probably not have been matched anywhere else on the continent. And the key man in this development was the governor. Wright has just been rescued from an undeserved obscurity. His exclusion from any future roster of prominent Americans is unthinkable, especially since another recent work throws light on his career. Kenneth Coleman's *The American Revolution in Georgia* appeared too late for the present author to see it, which doubtless explains how its title became inverted in his bibliographical note. It would be instructive to compare the two works, but the appraisal of Coleman is no part of the present exercise. Suffice it to say that his monograph covers the whole Revolutionary era, less than one fifth of it being devoted to the period covered by Abbot. The two studies are supplementary rather than competitive.

Georgia was founded late, and the tempo of her development under the ineffectual auspices of the Trustees was slow. Yet she possessed resources which ensured a rapid growth once favorable conditions were provided. This caused her to pass, during scarcely more than two decades of royal rule, through stages of development spanning much larger periods in the evolution of her sister colonies. "The history of colonial Georgia, though perhaps as complex as any other, has the merit of brevity." But, as the above quotation may intend to imply, there is more here than mere condensation. The fact that the trial for strength between governor and assembly, which in Virginia came in the days of Andros, Nicholson, and Spotswood, was reserved in Georgia for the era of Wright, meant that it synchronized with the contest with the imperial government which followed in the wake of the Stamp Act. The resulting complications have called for deft treatment, which happily has been forthcoming. Mr. Abbot's presentation affords new insight into both developments.
More thought is to be found in the last four pages of this small book than is discoverable anywhere in many a fat volume through which the present reviewer has labored. The author raises the question of why the Georgia revolutionists espoused the cause of independence. He does not delude himself that he has all the answers, or indeed that extant evidence permits their attainment. But he makes good use of the materials at hand. The fact that Georgia had as little reason as any colony to secede from the Empire makes this analysis the more instructive. In its light, the American Revolution becomes less incredible. All in all, Mr. Abbot has turned in a highly creditable performance. Thorough research, keen insight, and felicitous style unite to make this a most acceptable contribution to the historical literature of the colonial period.

University of Pennsylvania

Leonidas Dodson


Dr. Coleman has written a thorough, scholarly, and objective history of the Revolutionary era in Georgia. He has engaged in careful research and has produced an excellent account of politics, military campaigns, economic developments, and social changes during three eventful decades. His book is well organized and readable, and it throws considerable light not only upon the history of Georgia, but upon the early history of the United States.

The opening chapters of Dr. Coleman's book present a survey of the colonial scene in Georgia. Credit is given to the last royal governor, James Wright, for his able and conscientious administration of public affairs. Georgia prospered under Wright's leadership, but the rise of discontent over British revenue measures undermined the governor's popularity and authority. Wright remained in Georgia until February, 1776, but, by that time, power had shifted from the hands of the governor to those of the members of newly created revolutionary bodies. The governor then fled to a British warship, but he returned to Savannah in 1779 to take up his duties again after a series of military victories had cleared the way for the restoration of the royal government.

American forces suffered some severe defeats in Georgia in 1778 and 1779. However, the British were unable to stamp out the spirit of independence in Georgia, and the embattled patriots received assistance from the northward when General Nathanael Greene's army overran the interior of South Carolina in the spring of 1781. Greene sent a detachment of his best troops to assist in the siege of Augusta, and the garrison of that place was forced to surrender in June, 1781, after some very severe fighting.

It should be of special interest to the readers of The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography that the final skirmishes of the war in...
Georgia were fought and won by troops commanded by Brigadier-General Anthony Wayne. General Wayne and the troops of the Pennsylvania Continental Line were sent to reinforce General Greene's army in South Carolina after the successful outcome of the siege of Yorktown in the fall of 1781. Most of the Pennsylvania soldiers were detained by Greene to blockade Charleston, but Wayne himself commanded the force of Georgia and South Carolina militia which blockaded Savannah until it was evacuated by the British in July, 1782.

Georgia's economy suffered severely from the ravages of war and from the departure of many Loyalists and Negro slaves when the British army withdrew from Savannah. The public finances remained in ruins for several years after the war, and the state had difficulty paying her delegates to Congress and meeting other necessary expenses. However, the civilian economy recovered from the war more quickly than did the state's finances. Sturdy frontiersmen pushed into the backcountry north and west of Augusta and cultivated tobacco and cotton in frontier areas which had once been a part of the hunting grounds of the Creek Indians. Augusta became the commercial center of the new tobacco and cotton area, and, presently, supplanted Savannah as the capital of the state. Savannah remained important as a seaport, but the development of agricultural lands in the backcountry resulted in an increase of the economic and political power of that part of Georgia at the expense of the merchants and planters of the tidewater area.

The advance of daring, self-confident frontiersmen into the backcountry resulted in major political, social, and economic changes in Georgia after 1782. Democratic political institutions developed, and farmers and frontiersmen became leaders in place of the old, privileged group once headed by Governor Wright. A democratic society grew up, and men of humble origins were able to make their way upward to places of honor and leadership once reserved for royal officials and planter-aristocrats. Some Savannah merchants and tidewater planters deplored the new order and its "levelling" tendencies. However, most Georgians were pleased with a new order in which there were splendid opportunities open to them for economic gain and political and social advancement. They understood the new opportunities clearly, and they were ready and willing to work hard to make full use of them.

*Lehigh University*  
George W. Kyte

*Historic Houses of George-Town & Washington City.* By Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard. (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1958. xvi, 480 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

A handsome book is a pleasure to have and to read. Before you join Harold Eberlein and Cortlandt Hubbard in their ramblings through George-
Town and Washington City, you have the assurance of a good journey in pleasant company, with a fine format before you and, of course, beautiful photographs of these charming old houses.

Some of the satisfaction we enjoy in holding a well-bound book, in admiring good tooling and composition of well-designed type, the joy of an illuminated manuscript, is reflected in this comparatively modest edition. You will find here the fruits of long experience in the composition and arrangement of the narrative. The reader’s way is an easy one, abetted and seduced by the authors’ presentation of their history. No serious demands are made on fortunate readers. They have only to listen with some attention to find themselves familiars of the Bealls and Gordons and their neighbors on the Potomac.

Perhaps the authors are beyond criticism as they have chosen to bring to a vivid life the people who created these early communities. The story of the succeeding generations who lived in these historic houses, who, in fact, made them historic, gives substance and flavor to what otherwise would be no more than houses of some architectural importance. Yet, in the long, patient, and painstaking researches which must precede such a work as this, and the devotion and dedication that such researches demand, it would seem to have been possible for the authors to have supplemented the narrative with measured drawings of the houses. Drawings of this kind are now generally understood by the layman and are, of course, essential to a full understanding of the architecture of the period. The authors may say with good reason that they were more concerned with the history of the buildings than with their architecture, and that the good citizens who lived in these houses are of more lively interest than the bricks and stone, yet it is beyond question that measured drawings are in themselves the text of history, to those who understand them.

However this may be, everyone in the least interested in historic preservation, or in the origins and growth of our early communities, must have this book at his elbow, and enjoy from time to time an excursion to one or more of these lovely houses, with a courteous introduction by the authors to the families who contributed so greatly to the making of a new nation.

*Philadelphia*

Grant M. Simon


William Dickinson Martin was a young man of but nineteen years in 1809 when he left the South he loved to spend two years in Connecticut studying law. He had just become engaged to the lady of his choice, and his journal of the trip north was kept for her edification.
From the distance of a century and a half, Martin’s journal cannot help but evoke some smiles of gentle amusement. Here, certainly, is a young man of his times. He reveals himself to be self-conscious, almost affectedly emotional, and somewhat pompous. Beginning with a prefatory account of his early years and the winning of his love, his journal throughout reads like one of the quaint personal-reminiscence novels of the nineteenth century, studded as it is with sentimentality, high-flown verbiage, and rather condescending moralizing. On crossing the South Carolina border, for example, nineteen-year-old William wrote:

I bowed adieu in silence & the tear of anguish started in my eye. . . . Let not the philosopher or moralist, call this an enthusiasm or the brooding of bewildered superstition. No, he must first administer the cup of oblivion to recollections & anticipations like those of which I have been speaking—& which I conceive to be the natural effect of the corresponding & relative circumstances by which I was surrounded.

One feels sure that a tear started also in the eye of his sweetheart.

For all his youthful philosophizing, Martin was sincere in his curiosity and keen in his observation. His most original comments are to be found early in the journal as he traveled through the more sparsely settled areas of the South. From the nature of his remarks and the fact that he could not have seen all he described, his descriptions and statistics of the major cities—Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York—and even small towns in between, were obviously taken from guidebooks of the day. Only occasionally does one come across a personal observation, such as the one he made in Delaware: “This was the first time I had ever seen white servants”; or the one on Connecticut education: “. . . there are more graduates in Connect’t than grammarians in Carolina.”

In many respects this brief journal is unique. Although it adds little to our perspective of the American scene in 1809, it is a charming document of the period. Its author could not help but have a noble career. His concluding lines would seem to be prophetic: “I trust that the mist of ignorance & superstition, is dispersing fast [in South Carolina], & that the sun of Education will soon shine with meridian splendour.” William D. Martin went home from Connecticut to become a distinguished lawyer, judge, and Congressman.

_Historical Society of Pennsylvania_  
_Lois V. Given_


*My Partner, The River* is a story of the part played in the history of the lumber industry of central Pennsylvania by the Susquehanna River and its tributaries. The author, R. Dudley Tonkin, is well qualified to tell this
story because the Tonkin family has long been associated with the area. Vincent Tonkin (1830–1908), grandfather of the author, was one of the pioneers in the valley. He was among the earliest inhabitants who saw in the luxuriant growth of timber along the banks of the Susquehanna the rich possibilities for lumbering, and descendants of his remained in the valley and continued in the industry after him. As a result, the author had access to family records not before available and to company records still in private hands. In addition, he was able to draw on personal experiences and interviews, as well as on the usual sources of research. Data of such nature and variety combine to make an important literary contribution on the lumber industry of the Susquehanna River valley.

The reader should be aware, however, that this book does not present the complete story of the unfolding of this really important economic phase of Pennsylvania history. The technology of the sawmill, for instance, is completely omitted, but it should be emphasized that the author did not intend the book to be inclusive. He simply wanted to, and does, tell the story of the contribution of the Susquehanna River and its tributaries in the lumber industry.

The book has one serious shortcoming which will prove, no doubt, troublesome to the reader. It is the lack of a good map of the entire Susquehanna River basin. Unless the reader is familiar (and many will not be) with the geography of the central part of the state, the use of such names as Patchville, Cush Cushion Creek, Onion Patch, and others, will be confusing. To this reviewer, the lack of such a map makes the book less effective as a tool of learning.

The book contains four and one-half pages of glossary (pp. 267–271) with a total of seventy-six terms. This is not a complete compilation of terms used in the book, but the author does explain many of the unlisted terms in the text. In addition, there are two appendices, the first of which lists the raft pilots from the Head Water Division to Port Deposit, Maryland; the second, the rafting points along the Susquehanna, which with the aid of a map of the region would be invaluable.

The author is at his best when describing the individual men—the loggers, the raftsmen, and the dealers who furnished the brawn, the capital, and the know-how to make this section of Pennsylvania, with Williamsport as its capital, the most important in the entire history of the industry within the state.

State Teachers College, Clarion

Samuel A. Wilhelm


In politics each state is *sui generis*, and to understand how American democracy works careful attention must be given to the political heritage
of individual states. This volume, one of a series inspired by Dr. Roy F. Nichols, is (like the others in the series) a real aid in understanding our American political heritage. It begins with the disruptive impact of General Jackson’s veto of the bill to recharter the Second Bank of the United States and concludes with the impact of General Taylor, whose magic name helped to rehabilitate the Whigs in Harrisburg, as well as elsewhere. It tells how the dominant party, the Democrats, came to open warfare in 1835, thus permitting a coalition of Whigs and Antimasons to elect the Antimason Joseph Ritner to the governorship, how the Democrats regained power in 1838 with David R. Porter, of the triumph of the “Coalition” in 1840, and how the tariff overshadowed other issues and helped to bring about the return of the Whigs in the election of 1848.

There is a thorough examination of the issues, the campaigns, the legislative and other squabbles of these turbulent years. In the concluding section, appropriately entitled “A Political Transition,” it is pointed out that this period “revealed no cataclysmic political upheavals to set it apart from the decades which preceded and followed it.” But, “It was an era, nonetheless, marked by significant changes.” This underscores the fact that while these years lacked the glitter of earlier and later ones, at a time when the machinery of American politics was being forged and when politics was becoming a game open to certain kinds of American talents, the business of wooing the electorate and of seeking to win elections was indeed very important in the development of the American democratic way.

Among the changes which made this a period of significance in the history of Pennsylvania politics were the rise and the phenomenal success of the Antimasons, whose role in Pennsylvania and national politics (this reviewer believes) is too often minimized, the coalescence of the Jackson and Adams-Clay partisans into party organizations, and the in-and-out history of the Whigs, at one time part of an unstable coalition and later, as the tariff issue again came to the fore, a party of some success in defending “Pennsylvania interests.” Important, too, were notable changes in political methods, along with changes in leadership and issues. Dr. Snyder writes:

In 1832 Pennsylvania Democrats were groping to bring themselves into conformity with principles emanating from Washington, a new and irksome responsibility; the convention was replacing the caucus so that nominations might be made by representatives “fresh” from the people; the parties were almost devoid of permanent organization. By 1848 the harmonizing of State with national party measures was an accepted, albeit unpleasant, duty which weighed heavily upon the leaders of both parties; the convention was universal on all levels of activity; parties remained loose-knit, but permanent committees, campaign chests, and other paraphernalia were contributing to give them a modern appearance.

This study has many notable characteristics. It reveals a sound use of the sources and an authoritative knowledge of the personalities and issues in the Pennsylvania political situation. It demonstrates clearly the persisting factionalism beneath the party labels, and the constant in-fighting so char-
acteristic of politics at the state level. The almost perpetual maneuvering is made abundantly clear, with issues, loyalties, and alliances the weapons used. It was a dog-eat-dog game, and, as Snyder writes concerning the legislative battle over the Independent Treasury: "The over-all picture was one of uncertainty and disunity." There is also much evidence of the real, and often subtle, impact of national politics on the states. Anyone who wishes to learn how Pennsylvania politics became what it is today will find this volume well worth his examination.

The appendix has the vote by county for governor and for presidential electors for this period, as well as the congressional and senatorial apportionment.

*Muhlenberg College*

*John J. Reed*


Mr. Remini's contention, effectively argued in this workmanlike book, is that Martin Van Buren played an indispensable role in precipitating modern ideas of efficient party organization out of the political amorphousness of the Monroe period. The Era of Good Feelings marked the eclipse of the two parties which had contended for power in the first generation of the republic. Whether or not Monroe (as Van Buren believed) was consciously following a "fusion policy," Mr. Remini agrees with Van Buren that Monroe's "failure to act as party chieftain" ensured the disintegration of the old Republican Party by 1824. Van Buren's mission, as he now saw it, was to reconstruct the old Republican Party. In the next four years, with the help of other members of the newly emerging class of professional politicians, Van Buren proceeded to redefine party principles and to re-establish party organization. His success was a major element in Jackson's victory in 1828 and in the subsequent affairs of the Jackson administration.

This is Mr. Remini's story, and he tells it soberly, factually, and convincingly, with only a mild tendency to ascribe uniquely to his hero what was due to come anyway in the course of events. His book makes two particular contributions. One is to explain why Van Buren turned to Jackson in spite of his opposition to Jackson in 1824 and in spite of the fact that the leading Jacksonian in New York was Van Buren's bitter rival De Witt Clinton. Mr. Remini suggests that Van Buren saw in Jackson the only means of massing the grass-roots sentiment which would make a thorough-going party reorganization possible. He could use the General "to reform the party, eliminate Federalist principles from the national government, and oust Adams from office." As Van Buren himself wrote to a Virginia politician:
If Gen Jackson & his friends will put his election on old party grounds, preserve the old systems, avoid if not condemn the practices of the last campaign we can by adding his personal popularity to the yet remaining force of old party feeling, not only succeed in electing but our success when achieved will be worth something. We shall see what they are willing to do.

Mr. Remini’s second contribution is to make some sense of Van Buren’s role in connection with the Tariff of Abominations. As he rightly notes, the traditional story has never been convincing; it assumed a Machiavellianism in political maneuver which is more likely to occur to historians after the fact than to politicians before. Mr. Remini argues rather that Van Buren and his followers, believing that the Jacksonians had to reassure the protectionists if they expected to win in 1828, wanted the bill to be passed from the start. He makes a persuasive case, even if he rather glides over the discrepancies between Van Buren’s Jeffersonian professions and his attitude toward the woolens schedule.

The book concludes with the election of 1828. In his last chapter, Mr. Remini points out that organization is not everything, that, in any case, others beside Van Buren helped put together the Jacksonian organization, and that Van Buren himself, with his passion to restore the “old” Republican Party, never fully realized that his manipulations were helping bring a new mass party to birth. For all this, Mr. Remini is surely right in assigning Van Buren a central role in the organizational process which both expressed and stimulated the great release of democratic energies in the age of Jackson.

*Harvard University*  

*M. Remini*  


Even before opening the pages of Miss Dolson’s first attempt at historical writing one gets the impression that it will be racy. The subtitle is “the gaudy and turbulent years of the first oil rush: Pennsylvania, 1859–1880” and the dust jacket proclaims that “Miss Dolson locks horns with history for the first time, and gives it a happy shake-up.” Thus, this work defies the normal criteria of the historical discipline and description to remain what it has been frankly, frantically, frenetically intended to be—a popularization.

Miss Dolson brings to bear her own oil region memories and a writer’s insights into human motivation on secondary works and some primary sources to put flesh and blood on the gay troupe of characters which parades across her pages. The author is not content to let the characters speak for themselves, but she has written in her own intuitions, reactions, puns, and comments to keep up the merry pace of dramatic, comical, ribald, pathetic, and often startling events which were generated by the quest for oil.
The serious historian will be frustrated by this inseparable combination of factual fancy and fancy facts. It is hard to draw the line between Miss Dolson's lively, intuitive imagination and the meticulous research which obviously went into the resurrection of this boom-town era. Bizarre, interesting characters receive most of her attention, and this reader, at least, was left to wonder about the accuracy of the characterization of these people and their times.

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society  Richmond D. Williams


This life of Stephen A. Douglas is one of the series entitled "The Library of American Biography," edited by Oscar Handlin. This series is designed to be short and readable, specializing in interpretations of the significance of the men in question. The volumes are not much longer than two hundred pages and enable the reader to get a maximum of understanding in a minimum of reading time. Mr. Capers has been very successful in meeting these specifications.

This is the intriguing story of an undersized, sickly lad who, when early thrown on his own resources, developed a compensating force of personality which overcame his handicaps. In the hurly-burly of the raw Illinois frontier, this Vermont youth fought his way to Congress at the age of thirty, and four years later was in the Senate. In Washington as in Illinois, he demanded successfully to be heard, despite his youth, as the spokesman of the West. For awhile he was extraordinarily successful, but then he was bitten by the Presidential bug and expected to be successful by the use of the same brash tactics. At the age of thirty-nine, he stepped out of line and endeavored to crash past his elders. From that point onward, his greatest success was in making enemies.

Added to this handicap was the fact that he faced an impossible dilemma. To advance his national fortunes he must keep his Illinois constituency, for if he lost that he would sink into obscurity. But to keep his Illinois constituency he had to refuse the concessions to the South without which he could never be President. He kept the constituency at a terrific expense of energy, lost his health, and died at the age of forty-eight, his chief ambition frustrated.

This is the most able analysis of Douglas' complex character yet to appear. Dr. Capers is remarkably frank and free from bias, but even he, as he is the first to admit, in the end has fallen under the spell woven by Douglas' heroic fight against his handicaps, and the circumstances surrounding his early death. These romantic and heartwarming circumstances sometimes persuade us to forget Douglas' great weakness.
The Illinois Senator was morally obtuse at a time when the nation was peculiarly sensitive to morality. Likewise he was a hard-liver, not when he was finely dressed and on parade, but when he was drunk in public houses and had to be kept off the floor of the Senate. Furthermore, he could seldom rise above political expediency. Statesman though at times he could be, he could not assert moral leadership, and thus he never reached Lincoln's stature.

The American people would take military men, they did not draw the line at mediocrity, but they would not be convinced by a morally indifferent master of expediency, even though on occasion he rose to the heights of statesmanship. They would never accept Clay or Webster, whose morals were suspect, nor would they accept Douglas.

Douglas' weakness was that he was a pragmatist in a romantic age demanding absolutes. Even his final rally to Lincoln and the Union can be construed as a desperate effort to climb on another bandwagon. He would be only fifty-one in 1864 and fifty-five in 1868. The goal of his ambition might well still be within his reach. I do not have the confidence in Douglas' basic sincerity which Dr. Capers has achieved.

The book on the whole is a masterly example of condensation which presents a vivid picture of the "Little Giant." A slight touch of caricature would have made it greater art, for Douglas was something of a mountebank.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS


The steady flow of literature arising from the great conflict of 1861–1865 seems to increase in volume as time goes on. Military leaders on both sides began writing their memoirs almost before the smoke of battle had drifted away, and ever since, enthusiastic writers, good, bad, and indifferent, have added to the enormous store of books on the Civil War, or as Southerners call it, the War Between the States.

In the 1930's Douglas Southall Freeman produced his masterpiece of biographical literature, the four-volume work on Robert E. Lee which covered exhaustively the life of that great American and, for most people, settled the controversial aspects of his military career for all time. Freeman then used the material which he had perforce assembled relating to the other military leaders of the Army of Northern Virginia and produced his three-volume work on Lee's lieutenants. He also, in a series of lectures published under the title The South to Posterity, catalogued and evaluated the source material available to students at that time.

Dr. Bean in his preface draws attention to Freeman's request for a biography of Sandie Pendleton, and states that his narrative "contains no
new or original interpretations of tactics or strategy of the military operations,” because “Freeman has exhausted this subject.” Dr. Bean’s position on this point is above reproach. Stonewall’s Man, Sandie Pendleton, having been eliminated by its author from the controversial sphere of military history, falls into the enormous group of lives of Confederate officers written with love and admiration by writers carried away by the romance which increasingly year by year envelops the subject of the Lost Cause.

In writing such a book, there is and can be but a single pattern—a chronological sequence beginning with an account of the hero’s ancestry and family connections, his birth, education, and career in brief prior to the opening of hostilities, followed by the detailed story of his participation in the great conflict. Dr. Bean’s literary device which opens Chapter I on the late afternoon of September 22, 1864, with the veterans of Jackson’s old Second Corps retreating in disorder from the battlefield of Fisher’s Hill in no way alters the standard pattern since we arrive at the customary ancestry at the bottom of the page.

From this point on, those interested in the brief career of a truly outstanding young Confederate officer can spend some delightful hours in the company of a brilliant, scholarly, brave, and deeply religious young man whose biography fills one of the last gaps in the written history of the Confederacy. Dr. Bean has delved into the customary sources, as well as into newly uncovered family letters, and extensive quotations from these bring a liveliness into the story which is so frequently lacking in other military biographies of that period. Sandie wanted his mother to know exactly how his tent was furnished and what he had to eat, and so we are given a lifelike glimpse of what it was like to be living in the field as a staff officer in the Confederate Army.

A prior familiarity with the general history of the war on the part of the reader seems to be assumed by the author, inasmuch as its decisive battles are given no greater emphasis than are minor skirmishes in which Sandie Pendleton happens to be involved. For a student of the Confederacy, this book rounds out the picture; for the general reader, it should be rewritten as a historical novel in which the author’s tender treatment of the romance between Sandie and Kate Corbin could be given free rein, unhampered by footnotes and other distracting implements of the scholar.

Ambler

Henry Cadwalader


This is a biography of the first Jesuit to become “exclusively” engaged in converting non-Catholics to the Roman faith (p. 174). “Father Tom” is truly a challenging subject, for from early childhood he became a point of
outer conflict between his Catholic mother and Protestant father, and throughout adult life suffered severely from inner conflict. Small wonder that he sometimes could not brook particular routines of the Order he loved, or that mental imbalance over a considerable period led him finally into demands for dismissal from the Order and open denunciation of it. At life's end, in his seventy-seventh year, he found peace in his last surrender, renewing his vows as a Jesuit.

The difficult terrain of those seventy-seven years is traversed by his biographer with care, acumen, and distinction. He has had the whole-hearted co-operation of his subject's favorite niece, Miss Eleanor Sherman Fitch, who yields to none in her complete devotion to her Church, but who also appreciates the importance of unbiased preservation of historical data; indeed, she has generously shared her excellent materials with historians not of her faith.

Also, Father Durkin has enjoyed access to other, older members of his Order and to its records, thus widening the scope of his presentation, infusing significant material otherwise presumably lacking. Naturally, his loyalty to his Order is implicit in his presentation, as, for example, when he writes of "the Society of Jesus in its true and splendid colors" (p. 149), and when he implies that "ruthless logic" surely must drive Protestants into the Roman Catholic Church (p. 176). But to a remarkable extent, the biographer manages to approach the successive crises of Tom's life as a dispassionate analyst, and yet with that basic sympathy without which no biographer can perceptively weigh his subject's virtues and faults. The author probably does a better job than a non-Jesuit would likely have been able to do at explaining what made Thomas Ewing Sherman so great a success and so tragic a failure.

Where this reviewer takes issue with the author is in the limited range of his manuscript sources. Other family material which he apparently did not use throws into sharper focus for those periods of his life that were unhappy the depth of misery which Tom could reach. When he was but five years of age his Catholic mother, Ellen Ewing Sherman, was setting her heart upon the priesthood for him; she was an advocate of no mean skill, persistent, capable, unyielding. Occupying the very center of her being was her Church; within the circle encompassed by it were her eight children (two died in childhood). Outside this circle was her husband, who, despite the love he bore her, remained forever unwilling to abandon the Protestantism of his parents and of his brothers and sisters. He felt obligations to Ellen's Catholic mother and her Protestant father, who had assumed the support of nine-year-old Tecumseh when Judge Sherman's untimely death left the mother of his nine children impoverished, but even living with Ellen's eager, unremitting devotion to her Church did not move the General to turn.

He could never forget the indignities of poverty which some of his less fortunate brothers and sisters endured as half-orphan offspring of Judge
Sherman. He felt eternally obligated to proper support of his own children, and he fondly planned that his elder surviving son should be prepared to assume this responsibility if necessary. To him, this was vitally important. So, the priesthood was nothing he wanted for his son Tom. As a Yale student, Tom had allowed his father to believe that a legal career was agreed upon. But, on a few days’ notice, the General was apprised that Tom was on the point of sailing abroad to begin training for entrance into the Jesuit Order. To the mind of the General, Tom thereby selfishly reneged on a moral obligation to his flesh and blood and proved himself guilty of breaking faith—faith with his own father. Neither father nor son ever recovered from this denouement, and thereafter the hierarchy of the Church became to the General the epitome of much that was undesirable. This one end result of Ellen’s influence he could not forgive.

This, Tom sporadically sensed. To make things more difficult for him, he remained tremendously proud of the achievements of the renowned father whom he had so grievously wounded. Also, he felt especially at home with the people and places associated with his famous parent, and sought to be with them rather frequently. He used the fact that he was “the son of the General” as a drawing card for huge audiences which came to hear him lecture and remained through his arguments that they adopt the true faith. He told them that he was living proof of the success of mixed marriages. But, in his heart, Thomas Ewing Sherman perhaps knew differently.

University of Pennsylvania

Jeannette P. Nichols


This guide has been prepared by the curator of the West Virginia Collection in the library of West Virginia University. The collection was organized in 1933 and since that time more than 3,000,000 items have been received. This impressive growth has been mainly due to the three men who have headed the collection since its formation—Charles H. Ambler, who began the work; his successor, Festus P. Summers; and the author, who has been curator since 1950.

The West Virginia Collection contains 715 groups of papers. These are for the most part originals, but some important groups are represented by microfilm copies. As is usual in manuscript collections, the units vary widely in the size and importance of their contents. The collection is particularly strong in papers relating to the history of West Virginia since the admission of that state into the Union in 1863, but there is a small amount of material dating from an earlier period. Many of the more important political figures of the state are represented, a quick check showing papers of nine governors, six United States Senators, and four Representatives in Congress. The many business and labor records will be helpful to those
studying the economy of West Virginia since the Civil War, and those interested in family history will find the personal, family, and genealogical references valuable.

As the title of the guide implies, archival material forms an important part of the collection, which serves as a depository for records from more than one third of the counties of West Virginia. These county archives contain the usual legal suit papers, land papers, lists of voters, wills, and records of births, marriages, and deaths, but included in some of them are many papers of a nonofficial character, such as business records. The West Virginia Collection is fortunate in being able to make available to scholars so many of the local records of the state.

In describing the various groups in the West Virginia Collection Mr. Shetler has followed the conventional method. After giving the source and the number of items in each group, he briefly summarizes the contents. In the case of personal papers, the more important correspondents are listed. The index, an essential in a book of this type, is apparently very complete. Mr. Shetler is to be congratulated on a book which will prove an invaluable aid to the students of West Virginia history, but why not a more substantial binding than paper?

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

J. Harcourt Givens

A Fellowship in American Studies

In the spirit of its traditions as one of the nation’s oldest cultural institutions, and wishing to stimulate research in the field of American studies, The Library Company of Philadelphia is offering the Library Company Fellowship for the academic year 1960-1961 to enable a scholar to use the rich historical resources of the Company and its sister libraries in the Philadelphia area. It is hoped that the Fellow’s research will result in a manuscript of such significance and scope that it will be acceptable for publication by a commercial or a scholarly press.

The Fellowship will carry a stipend of $5,000 for the full academic year, and the Fellow will be expected to reside in or near Philadelphia during that time.

No specific academic qualifications are required, but preference will be given to one who has had research experience and given evidence of promise or accomplishment in the field of American studies.

Applications for the Fellowship, including a personal history, three letters of recommendation, and an outline of the proposed research project, must be in the hands of The Library Company of Philadelphia, Broad and Christian Streets, Philadelphia 47, Pa., no later than March 1, 1960. No form is necessary.