

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Adams Papers. Series I, Volumes I-IV: Diary and Autobiography of John Adams.* L. H. BUTTERFIELD, Editor; LEONARD C. FABER and WENDELL D. GARRETT, Assistant Editors. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961. c, 365; xii, 458; xvi, 449; xii, 403 p. Illustrations, index. Set, \$30.00.)

When Deacon Adams of the North Parish of Braintree insisted on sending his bright son John to college, he had no idea what he was doing for American history or the literature thereof. But no one would argue today that it would have been better if John Adams had stayed on the farm—not even Lyman Butterfield, who is faced with some 400,000 manuscript pages written by Adams and his immediate descendants.

In accordance with the custom of his time and place, John Adams began to keep a diary as a young man. In due season, he started a letter book. Incoming letters and records of his law practice were preserved. His son John Quincy Adams became one of the great diarists of all time. Charles Francis Adams of the next generation wrote an extensive daily record for sixty years. Once begun, Mr. Butterfield remarks, these diaries were continued with a diligence that is almost staggering to contemplate. This highly articulate family, not only the successive heads, but also the wives and children, often separated by intervals of public service, communicated with each other frequently and at length. Official and general correspondence increased with the years. The Adamses seemed to develop a passion for record-making and record-keeping. Fortune favored them. Chests of manuscripts from St. Petersburg, Amsterdam and London and Philadelphia and Washington, all came to rest in the houses in Quincy. Fire and other hazards spared them there, and in 1902 the greatest family archive assembled in America was deposited in safety at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Some of this material had been put into print. Charles Francis Adams had edited ten volumes of John Adams' *Works* (1850-1856) and a twelve-volume selection from the diaries of John Quincy Adams, which he entitled *Memoirs* (1874-1877). Other small selections had been published, but the bulk of the collection was unavailable. In 1905, the heirs of Charles Francis Adams created the Adams Manuscript Trust, vesting the absolute ownership and the care and supervision of the entire archive in a group of family trustees for fifty years. During this period, except for the use made of the collection by Worthington Ford, and for the supplying of copies of letters written to the Adamses, the material was virtually closed to historical investigators.

At the termination of the half-century of the manuscript trust, another generation of Adamsses had succeeded to the trusteeship, and they rose to the occasion magnificently. Arrangements were made to publish the entire collection on microfilm, making it freely available for research, and in 1956 the trustees dissolved the trust and gave the collection, including the literary rights, to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Harvard University Press, recently enriched by the great Belknap bequest for the publication of sources and studies in American history, offered to publish a letterpress edition of the Adams Papers. Time, Inc., offered an editorial subsidy in return for rights to the serial publication of material in *Life*. These offers were accepted by the Adams trustees, and the Society agreed to be responsible for the editing of the papers. In November, 1954, Lyman H. Butterfield, sometime associate editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, began his work as editor in chief of the Adams Papers. His plan is to publish the papers in three series—diaries, family correspondence, general correspondence and other papers—some eighty to a hundred volumes in all. The first fruits of this enterprise, *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, are now before us, and they are in every respect a delight: the books are edited with great skill, learning, and judgment; the typography is sensible and handsome, the binding is attractive, and the text is endlessly interesting.

Nevertheless, John Adams cannot be given top marks as a diarist. For the first twenty years, he kept his record on small sheets or gatherings of writing paper, and carried them about in his pocket, which did nothing to improve their condition or legibility. In 1775, he finally started using a blankbook. "He often kept several books going at once, sometimes proceeding simultaneously from the front and back of the same booklet, used old partially filled booklets for much later entries, and occasionally went long periods without dating his entries at all." Adams' casual habits created immense editorial difficulties for his grandson and for Mr. Butterfield. Moreover, the diary is full of gaps; it was seldom kept regularly, and sometimes Adams let as much as a year go by without making any entries. The diary ends abruptly just before he was elected President. (The title of volume III, "Diary, 1782-1804," is misleading; no diary record exists after September, 1796. The editors print two pages of farm memoranda from 1804.) It is evident that John Adams never reached that point at which diary-keeping stops being a chore and becomes a pleasurable habit. This is regrettable, for when the mood was on him, he wrote one of the most candid and readable of American diaries, full of information and full of self-revelation.

From the hodgepodge of diary manuscripts as left by John Adams and arranged and published in part by Charles Francis Adams, Mr. Butterfield has printed the full text in a single chronology; the raffish passages omitted by the grandson are restored. Three fragmentary journals kept by Abigail Adams, which fill gaps in her husband's record, are included. The published text preserves the form and spirit of the manuscripts in spelling, grammar

and syntax, capitalization. The textual decisions arrived at by the editors have produced exceedingly attractive pages for the modern reader. The editorial annotations, which follow each entry, are all that could be desired: identification of important persons and places, explanations of the vagaries of the manuscripts, the filling-in of certain important gaps in the diary record, references to other portions of the Adams Papers, etc. The citations are full and clear.

Back in Braintree in 1802, Adams began to write an autobiography; "complex" and "chaotic" are the words Mr. Butterfield uses to describe its structure. Part I begins with the coming of the Adamses to Massachusetts Bay in the 1630's and ends with John Adams' departure from the Continental Congress in October, 1776. This was written from unaided memory. When he was writing Part II ("Travels, and Negotiations") and Part III ("Peace"), it occurred to him to consult his diaries and correspondence files and the printed *Journals* of the Continental Congress. The later parts are to a degree compilations; all are printed in full, and annotated.

A long introduction gives the history of the Adams Papers and explains the editorial methods for the entire series. A full chronology of Adams' life and public services is given at the end. The index, thorough and intelligent, deserves special commendation. The four volumes are handsomely illustrated in gravure, and there are extensive notes on the plates.

*Princeton University*

M. HALSEY THOMAS

*An Album of New Netherland.* By MAUD ESTHER DILLIARD. Foreword by V. ISABELLE MILLER. (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1963. 130 p. Maps, illustrations, bibliography. \$10.00.)

Miss Dilliard reminds us at the start of her *Album*, through the words of John Fisk, that "The Dutch were a small people who founded a great republic under great discouragement." They esteemed political and religious freedom, encouraged popular education, held law and order in high regard, shared the rewards of industry, and abundantly secured the necessities, as well as the luxuries, of life.

This was the inheritance of the Dutch people who settled New Netherland, and *An Album of New Netherland* shows, in text and picture, how closely the New World Dutchmen followed the patterns of their Old World counterparts by setting similar goals and achieving equivalent benefits.

In five brief, but informative, essays, Miss Dilliard summarizes the fifty years of Dutch dominion in the Hudson Valley, New Jersey, along the Delaware River, in western Long Island and Connecticut, catching facets of all manner of daily life. There is not much that she overlooks, for she touches upon explorations, settlement, the towns, officials, Indian relations, religion, domestic architecture, paintings, and household furnishings. Needless to say, the essays are not studies in depth. They are not meant to be. Rather, they are a thoroughly readable introduction to a study of the Dutch

in America, a subject which has received all too little attention in the twentieth century.

As Miss Dilliard points out through her bibliography, the majority of published works on Dutch America date from the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. In the past three decades, very little has appeared. The most recent publications on this subject have been, in fact, specialized museum catalogues, like the Albany Institute of History and Art's Cogswell Fund publication, *Hudson River Paintings, 1700-1750*, and the Museum of the City of New York's *New York Silversmiths of the 17th Century*. Miss Dilliard's present volume, then, a summary of our inheritance from our Dutch past, is an awaited and welcome addition to the works in this relatively untouched field of study.

Though the text materials may be short, the illustrations are many. They are well chosen and represent an excellent selection of those substantial possessions which have survived in public and private collections. These materials range from early maps and engravings of the area under discussion to family portraits, silver, furniture, architectural studies, and assorted household goods. They represent the holdings of such institutions as the New-York Historical Society, the Albany Institute of History and Art, the Long Island Historical Society, the Museum of the City of New York, and other major public and private repositories. Through these collection items, a picture of a comfortable and democratic people emerges.

Dutch customs and influences continued in the New World long after the English conquest of 1664. Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Peter Kalm wrote of the Hudson Valley Dutch in the 1740's as if they were a people apart. Anne Grant spoke of the conflict of Dutch and English ways in the Albany region in the 1760's. Well into the nineteenth century, houses in this area were being built in the Dutch style, and the Dutch language continued in use in individual families and in the services of some of the Dutch Reformed churches. While her *Album* stresses New Netherland, the author does not overlook the continuing influences of the earlier settlers.

Miss Dilliard, by summarizing the life and culture of New Netherland, and those products of the mind and hand which stemmed from this background, has produced a handsome work that deserves the attention of any student of the American past.

*Sleepy Hollow Restorations*

ROBERT G. WHEELER

*The Mason and Dixon Line. Story for a Bicentenary, 1763-1963.* By HUBERTIS M. CUMMINGS. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, 1963. xii, 114 p. Illustrations, bibliography. Paper, \$.75; cloth, \$1.35.)

This account by the late Hubertis M. Cummings is published to mark the two hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Pennsylvania's southern boundary, an event which terminated the eighty years' feud, rich in litiga-

tion, between the Penns and the Calverts, proprietors respectively of the colonies of Pennsylvania and of Maryland. The line fixed by two young but already experienced English surveyors and astronomers, Charles Mason (1728-1786) and Jeremiah Dixon (1733-1779), has subsequently attained such figurative importance in the American imagination that its original significance as a practical and scientific accomplishment has been rather generally forgotten. Mr. Cummings' readable account—based to a large extent, as he himself graciously acknowledges, on the studies of Professor Thomas D. Cope—evokes the now dim figures of Mason and Dixon and their sojourn in America from November, 1763, to September, 1768. Mason eventually returned here, in 1786, but died shortly thereafter and lies in an unmarked grave in Philadelphia.

Although Mr. Cummings' narrative is not strictly speaking a documentary publication, it nevertheless stays close to the documents, telling the story largely by means of a close paraphrase of Mason's journal (now in the National Archives). Mason's reference to "my restless [*tireless, we would say today*] progress in America" aptly characterizes the spirit of the great undertaking. With his businesslike mind, Mason tirelessly recorded the day-to-day progress of the survey through its successive seasons. Although his journal is in one sense a "dryly scientific" account, with only occasional personal digressions or picturesque details, this in itself gives a cumulative impressiveness to his story. Mr. Cummings has made relatively few concessions to the nonscientifically minded general reader, but even those not fully conversant with the technicalities of astronomical observation and surveying will nevertheless gain an appreciation of the many factors involved in the survey: the official conferences, the excellence of the instruments used, the skill and rigorous standards of the two leaders, the logistics of the expedition (in which wagoners, ax men, chain carriers and other employees participated), and even such matters as Indian diplomacy.

Mr. Cummings concludes his narrative with a discussion of the famous "Plan" recording the results of the survey, the engraving of which was begun by Henry Dawkins and then completed by James Smithers in Philadelphia. It was issued on two sheets, designed to be cut in strips and mounted. Only a few copies have survived, including three official archive copies duly signed and certified by the Commissioners (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Maryland Historical Society, Public Record Office). The original drawing (probably by Jeremiah Dixon) for one of the two engraved sheets is now in the Princeton University Library; since the publication of Mr. Cummings' study, the drawing for the other sheet has been located in a private collection, as explained in Nicholas B. Wainwright's article in the July, 1963, issue of the *Magazine*. Small-scale reproductions of the "Plan" are included in the anniversary booklet, as are pages from Mason's journal, pictures of the instruments used, and photographs of surviving boundary stones (cut and carved in England from Portland stone). Although Professor Cope's diagram of the survey is included among the illustrations, the addi-

tion of a more detailed modern map would have greatly helped the reader to follow the progress of the Mason and Dixon expedition. The quality of these reproductions, diligently gathered from many sources, and of the printing as a whole is unfortunately far from first-rate. It seems regrettable that those responsible for the production of the anniversary book did not seek out, somewhere within the boundaries of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, technical and artistic skills commensurate with those of the printers of the original Mason and Dixon plan or of the eighteenth-century instrument-makers who contributed so much to the success of the historic survey which the present publication commemorates.

*Princeton University Library*

HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

*The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley. The Jersey Dutch and the Neutral Ground, 1775-1783.* By ADRIAN C. LEIBY. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962. x, 329 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

From the day in June, 1774, when the men of Bergen County in northern New Jersey first met at Hackensack to plan for a Continental Congress until the meeting at Tappan of General Washington and Sir Guy Carleton to arrange for the evacuation of New York in 1783, the events of the War of the American Revolution in and around "the neutral ground" are recounted in this study. This is local history of an area lying between the two antagonists, the Americans in the Highlands and the British in New York. How the Jersey Dutch took part in the war and how the war affected them make an excellent story, as well told as the research on which it is based is thorough.

Cleavage was not new to these people when war came. For nearly a generation the Jersey Dutch had been divided between the coetus party and the conferentie in their own Dutch Reformed Church. They simply continued this division throughout the conflict as Whigs and Tories respectively. Some men held fast to their patriotism or to their loyalty; others were turncoats, following the fortunes of war. At one time, Tories "seemed to outnumber by far those in all the rest of New Jersey." But there were numbers as staunch as Domine Dirck Romeyn to whom Lord Stirling wrote late in the war on "your warm attachment to the cause we are engaged in, your good sense and prudence."

This account is written with particular emphasis on the men and women who spent those months and years in dread fear of losing their property or their lives. They did their farming as best they could, they served in the two regular forces, they banded together in small murderous marauding parties, they spied on their neighbors, and they all hoped to come through the war unscathed—but few did. When their crops were in and their cattle

fattened, the farmers were often victims of the foraging expeditions carried on by both sides. "The land that had filled the storehouses of the British during 1776, 1777, and 1778 now [1779] supplied the Continental magazines." Most unlucky of all, however, were those patriots unfortunate enough to be captured and left to endure the appalling conditions of the British prisons and prison ships. The story of these people, told against the background of the war, shows so clearly their qualities. It is a story deserving to be better known.

The study is based essentially on source material which has been carefully and fully footnoted and listed with secondary sources used in a "key to short titles," which is followed by an excellent index. Mr. Leiby's handling of his material is as professional as one would expect from a trained historian. The author's profession is the law. For years, he has studied the Revolutionary history of the area in which he lives and has not only full command of his subject but has written on it exceedingly well. The book is a delight to read, especially so because it is in the field of local history where work of prime quality is too seldom found. Mr. Leiby is in the tradition of those gentlemen of the nineteenth century who found time from their businesses and professions to turn out historical works of excellence. Recently, in recognition of this fine piece of work, he was elected the Fellow of the New Jersey Historical Society for 1963 for a scholarly contribution to the history of New Jersey.

*New Jersey Historical Society*

ROBERT M. LUNNY

*Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience, 1776-1809.* By WILLIAM NISBET CHAMBERS. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963. v, 231 p. Tables, bibliographical essay, index. \$4.50.)

In recent years, scholars examining the development of our first national political parties, the Federalists and the Republicans, have departed from the partisan paths formerly trod by Henry Adams, Claude Bowers, and Charles Beard. Of course, valued historians such as John C. Miller and Dumas Malone continue to look favorably on the thoughts and actions of their respective heroes, Hamilton and Jefferson; nevertheless, the great bulk of monographic work has been concerned with such problems as the construction of early parties, the development of "working ideologies," the functions of hitherto unknown "managers" such as the Republicans' John Beckley, and the role these parties performed in the process of national consolidation. Two studies are especially worthy of mention. Manning J. Dauer's *The Adams Federalists* has destroyed the old myth that the party of Washington found little support within the republican ranks of the minor merchants and small farmers. Noble E. Cunningham has demonstrated the subtle complexities of party building in his brilliant model study, *The*

*Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801* (his analysis of the Jeffersonian Republicans in power will appear this fall).

With a mass of specialized monographs accumulating rapidly, it is obvious that in the near future a major synthesis will be published. Until this event occurs, scholars and the enlightened laity may now turn with profit to an excellent interim report, *Political Parties in a New Nation*, by William Nisbet Chambers, professor of political science at Washington University in St. Louis. This essay is essentially a chronological history of early national parties commencing with Hamilton's efforts to wed the lovers of order and property to the infant government and concluding with the disintegration of the Republican organization as a disciplined party under the leadership of Madison and Monroe.

The narrative is punctuated with analytical sections in which the author has "sought to derive generalizations from the American story" and thereby "arrive at concepts of the basic nature of modern parties and of the democratic party systems" (p. iii). This is a proper task as Professor Chambers' major thesis is that these were "the first true parties of modern times, appearing well before such formations developed in England or other European countries" (pp. 1-2). The author correctly asserts that the Federalists, while always a "party of notables," exhibited the characteristics of a modern party (a definite structure, a wide spectrum of functions, a substantial and varied following, and an in-group philosophy). The Republicans who sprang up in opposition were forced to evolve further in order to gain control of the national government. Thus, the Jeffersonians established a closer rapport between leaders and followers; they sought support from a broader electorate and were, therefore, "the first to create a genuinely 'popular' party" (p. 107).

While Professor Chambers' analytical passages are interesting and often highly perceptive, this reviewer feels that the great virtue of this work is that the author has blended together all the recent scholarship on the subject in a highly readable, short, and unbiased essay. The dramatic story of how the anti-Treasury faction in Congress was molded into the Republican "interest" by Madison is carefully told. But of greater interest are the methods that Beckley employed to build grass roots organizations capable of capturing state governments and acting in conjunction with the congressional Republicans. Jefferson's triumph in 1800 was in a very real sense the work of the first modern political machine.

*Political Parties in a New Nation* should make exciting reading for the subscribers of this *Magazine* as so much of the narrative touches the political experience of Pennsylvania. It was here that the only quasi parties existed prior to the early 1790's, the old Constitutional (radical) and Republican (conservative) organizations. Due to its central location and its possession of the national capital until 1800, the Keystone State provided the laboratory in which Madison, Beckley, Leib and Dallas worked out the formula of Republican party development. Here, once in power, that party



commenced to destroy itself with equal speed and skill in internecine warfare.

A few minor criticisms could be registered. Professor Chambers correctly states that early parties did not emerge from the Federalist and Anti-Federalist factions of the ratification crisis. However, Hamilton and his "managers" of that conflict, men such as Tench Coxe of Philadelphia, acquired a tremendous amount of experience in co-ordinating inter- and intrastate political activities, especially in the area of propaganda. This reviewer also believes that the author lays too much blame on Madison for allowing the Republican party to tear itself apart while he was President. Actually, a great deal of Madison's woes stemmed from the "hands off" policy that Jefferson followed when state intraparty strife raised its ugly head. Footnotes are lacking in this study, but there is an ample descriptive bibliography. These unimportant complaints can in no way detract from the over-all value of Professor Chambers' impressive and valuable contribution to the early political history of the United States.

*Athenæum of Philadelphia*

EDWARD C. CARTER, II

*Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835.* By JEAN McCLURE MUDGE. [A Winterthur Series Book.] (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1962. [xxii], 284 p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

This most recent book on Chinese export porcelain fills a gap. Previous books on the subject were either more general in scope or limited to the European market. America's trade with China was an important phase of our early history, and export porcelain a major part of that trade. A book dedicated to it has been long overdue.

*Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade* is a textbook. It is scholarly and remarkable in its documentation when dealing with historical aspects of the China trade, but discrepancies and omissions occur rather regularly in those sections dealing with the porcelain itself. Mrs. Mudge is best as a historian, and it becomes obvious that her greatest interest and efforts were bent in that direction. We regret that she did not seek more professional help in compiling information on export porcelain per se, for in this field her knowledge is understandably limited by lack of the kind of experience that can be gained only through many years of association with it.

In her research, Mrs. Mudge has used not only published works, but has had access to rich sources of material privately owned or in the possession of societies and museums, notably Winterthur, a sponsor of the book. Copious notes supplement the text and are an integral part of this work. We wish they were at the foot of the pages instead of in the back of the book.

The index is gratifyingly complete. There are more than a hundred illustrations, but we feel there should be many more to amplify the text fully. Their quality is generally good.

The author begins with a graphic description of the European trade with China as an introduction to a detailed, fascinating, and often brilliant account of the American trade. On the human side, and of special interest, are her accounts of the relationships between American merchants and the Chinese. Also included are detailed accounts of American east coast shipping, with extensive information on the relative importance of the ports engaged in it. Interpolated throughout the text are excerpts from letters and notes of buyers and prominent Americans in the trade.

The processes involved in making porcelain are described in a particularly illuminating section, illustrated by a series of delightful Chinese water colors. Techniques of decorating and glazing are also explained. Of interest is the author's description of the "orange peel" surface on certain pieces as a flaw, particularly since this surface is regarded as attractive and desirable by so many collectors of export porcelain.

Forms of export porcelain for America are examined, with emphasis on the useful pieces, though decorative shapes are also described. Here the author goes somewhat astray. It is amusing and incredible, for example, that she calls an early nineteenth-century sweetmeat dish an *ash tray* (Fig. 62). She describes a pair of goblets (Fig. 68) as "similar but not identical with the standing cup, which has a larger bowl above its stem and a top" (p. 131). Standing cups always have handles, are only vaguely similar to goblets, and are among the more important American decorative forms, as are bough vases, which are not mentioned. Illustrations of both would enlighten the average reader. The forms of functional cups are dealt with (p. 131), but not too accurately. The author refers to a small handled coffee or chocolate cup as a teacup (Fig. 81), and to mugs four inches high as coffee cups (Figs. 84a, 98), although none such are found in surviving tea and coffee services. Other questions may also be raised, but these comments must suffice.

We are pleased that Mrs. Mudge gives the important subject of decorations due consideration, including the "common wares" of Canton and Nanking. Dealing with the less common but related Fitzhugh pattern, she writes that it "appeared not only in blue and white, but also in red or orange, and in green" (p. 141); she neglected to add brown, black, pink, and yellow, the latter extremely rare. Famille rose, later floral patterns, and mandarin wares are mentioned but not illustrated.

The section on historical decoration is splendid, and Mrs. Mudge's penchant for history is evident. She carefully relates the paintings on porcelain of eagles, ships, states' arms, portraits of Washington, etc., to the sources from which the Chinese artists copied them. However, when the author calls ship decoration "perhaps as prevalent as the eagle designs" (p. 145), and when she classifies a particularly rare ship design as "another

common pattern" (p. 146, Fig. 98), does she mean prevalent and common at Winterthur and in other outstanding collections from which she chose her examples? Elsewhere they are very seldom seen, as any hopeful collector can testify.

The author's dating of export porcelain is generally sound, an unfortunate exception being the "Sailor's Farewell and Return" mug (Fig. 97).

The section on miscellaneous decorations includes descriptions of several family patterns on export porcelain, some pieces still possessed by descendants of Americans who originally ordered them through the China trade. Much of this is heretofore unpublished material and a valuable contribution to the book, though frustratingly incomplete. Mrs. Mudge has, however, opened the door on this fascinating aspect of our China trade.

This book has much of value, and Mrs. Mudge seems to have left few stones unturned in developing the historical aspects of America's China trade. If she had applied an equally conscientious and knowledgeable approach to the relatively few, but nonetheless important, chapters on export porcelain itself, and if these were clarified by additional illustrations and color plates, we would have a nearly perfect book.

*Spring Mill, Conshohocken*

ELISABETH SHARPE

*Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History. A Reinterpretation.* By FREDERICK MERK, with the collaboration of LOIS BANNISTER MERK. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. xii, 266, xii p. Index. \$5.95.)

The unique geographical position of the people of the United States has been as significant as any factor in determining their experience. For three centuries it acted as the dominant influence in selecting the character of those who ventured across the Atlantic to find homes or places of activity on the distant shore. A restless people were attracted to the vast area of unsettled real estate and when they arrived they and their descendants and successors continued to be tempted to move, for there was always so much land still unpossessed where new life, new adventures, new wealth might be found.

This restlessness could not help but influence not only the movements of the new Americans, but their enterprise, their politics, and their diplomacy as well. More important, it influenced their image of themselves and the significance of what they were doing. Merk has devoted his scholarly life to discovering the nature of this image so influenced by their thought of themselves as directed by a manifest destiny.

The Americans interpreted their circumstances as providing an imperative to prevent resources from lying idle, to spread the blessings of republican government, and to improve the lot of mankind. Sometimes, this impulse merely resulted in western migration and the creation of new

settlements, but twice, as Merk points out, it entrapped them into imperialistic ventures in the 1840's and in the 1890's. However, imperialism has been foreign to the American sense of mission and it was eventually abandoned in both eras.

These ideas and their influence in shaping the American image are traced very carefully and convincingly over a century and more, concentrating attention primarily on the 1840's. The author has made particular use of the press and congressional utterance as the best indexes of public opinion. He has covered these sources, as well as many others, meticulously, and gives us better definitions than we have previously had, particularly of the varieties and limitations of opinion in the era of manifest destiny. Merk is a realist who has given much careful thought to his interest. He goes beneath the surface of myth and reinterprets some well-known figures. It would be well for more scholars to provide such careful generalizations based upon a lifetime of exploration, thought, and interpretation.

*University of Pennsylvania*

ROY F. NICHOLS

*Benjamin Franklin Wade, Radical Republican from Ohio.* By H. L. TREFOUSSE. (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1963. 404 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

Civil War historians, protests Hans Louis Trefousse, have created an image of "Bluff Ben" Wade which is "a horrid caricature of his true self." This first scholarly biography of Wade has recast the Ohio Senator as "a great fighter for freedom." The book is a worthy sequel to *Ben Butler: The South Called Him "Beast,"* in which Dr. Trefousse revealed admirable qualities in the most maligned of the Radical Republicans. Far easier is the task of rehabilitating the name of Wade, who completed his political career without a hint of personal scandal and displayed remarkable consistency in his principles.

Puritanism and Whiggery provide the keys to Wade's political outlook. His religious heritage committed him to viewing life as a relentless battle against iniquity. Whig affiliations imbued him with militant hostility to executive authority, fervent party loyalty, and disdain for the "Loco-Foco" majoritarianism of the Democrats. He became, in the author's somewhat overworked phrase, a "practical radical." Although his outspoken hostility toward slavery was evident as early as the 1830's, Wade refused to leave Whig ranks until the Kansas controversy created an antislavery party which was directly arrayed against the hated Democrats and offered reasonable promise of electoral success. Working always within the existing political framework, Wade was an apostle of radicalism in the broadest mid-nineteenth-century meaning of the term. Debtors' rights, public schools, hostility to corporations, woman suffrage, free homesteads, green-

backs, and the demands of labor all were championed by this reformer. In fact, the author contends, "the all-inclusiveness of his radicalism" led conservative Whigs to help the Democrats turn Wade out of the Ohio legislature in 1839 and was a significant factor prompting at least four Republicans to vote to acquit Andrew Johnson in 1868.

Professor Trefousse provides interesting evaluations of the work of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, the Wade-Davis Manifesto, and the wartime relationships between the Lincoln administration and the congressional Radicals, and he presents a good case to clear Wade of the familiar charge that he sabotaged McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. Unfortunately, the biography suffers from overemphasizing the role of its subject. Wade appears almost singlehandedly to have secured the nomination of Winfield Scott by the Whig Party in 1852 and four years later to have been "the conscience of the Republican party." To portray Wade as a maverick in his advocacy of labor's cause is to slight the considerably more significant efforts of such Republicans as Nathaniel P. Banks, Benjamin F. Butler, George W. Julian, and John Conness. Furthermore, Wade appears to have lost his bearings after 1863, when he realized Lincoln had wrested the political initiative away from the Committee on the Conduct of the War. The political isolation he suffered as a result of the manifesto of 1864, his tardiness in realizing the course President Johnson was taking, and the minor role he played in the development of the Reconstruction Acts all indicate that, despite Wade's indisputable prominence, the leadership of the Radical faction had passed to hands other than his own.

Nevertheless, the recognition which Dr. Trefousse's book has awarded Wade is long overdue. Well-organized, written with enthusiasm, and resting on thorough research, not only in Wade's papers, but also in those of the many figures whose careers crossed his, this biography is a welcome addition to the current wave of revisionist literature on the Radical Republicans.

*University of Pittsburgh*

DAVID MONTGOMERY

*By Sea and By River. The Naval History of the Civil War.* By BERN ANDERSON. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962, xiv, 304 p. Illustrations, index. \$5.95.)

This book is an over-all examination of the strategic aims and results of the Confederate and Union naval operations, plans, and hopes. Admiral Anderson is well qualified to write such a work by virtue of his long association with Samuel E. Morison in the monumental fourteen-volume *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. He has devoted a considerable part of his life to research and scholarship in naval history and naval affairs, as this reviewer knows at first hand from personal association with him at the United States Naval War College.

Admiral Anderson did not attempt to produce in this work the significant contribution to historiography, and to the record of the Civil War at sea, which he had every qualification for bringing forth. Rather he seems to have put together an interesting and exceptionally well-written account for the general reader. There is no formal bibliography; the footnotes are sparse; there are some interesting illustrations but an absence of maps which would often be helpful to the reader. The Admiral seems to be mainly concerned with putting across a concept which might not occur to a person reading without the intensive and critical approach of the "Civil War buff"—the viewpoint that the blockade of Southern ports and the entire naval side of the conflict was of *vital* importance in producing Union victory and not ancillary as so many writers have described them.

There are somewhat uncommon approaches to historical figures in this book. Secretary Gideon Welles is pictured as being more successful in the interminable interservice rivalries with Stanton and others than some authors are accustomed to conclude, and Admiral Anderson may very well be accurate in the picture he draws here. It is also interesting to see proper attention given to the fact that such campaigns as McClellan's on the Peninsula and the final Grant-commanded operation in Virginia had important naval aspects.

One of the most attractive features of the book is a final chapter entitled "Conclusion," in which the author makes an excellent summation of his theses: (1) that the blockade of the Confederacy was the overriding task of the Union navy, and (2) that thwarting the blockade was the primary objective of the Confederate navy.

In the final analysis, who can doubt that the outcome of the war might very well have been different had each navy come up with the opposite results than those effected? Here one plunges into another side of the conflict—the diplomatic war. The struggle in the chancellories of Europe had a tremendous impact upon the naval side of the conflict. Who can doubt but that if the Confederacy had been able to conclude its sought-after arrangements for more *Alabamas*, for the Laird rams, for supplies of all kinds, for recruitment of seamen, for financial support of its navy, it might very well have been able to break significant holes in the blockade noose? If foreign supplies could have poured into Southern ports instead of the trickle of goods which only served to stimulate a black market in non-essentials instead of strategic items, who knows how different the outcome might have been? Admiral Anderson is as neglectful of this side of things as almost all of his fellow chroniclers of the naval war. But his justification is greater, because he has written a book of limited length, scope, and purpose. Obviously, much had to be left out, and he has made no pretense of a comprehensive work.

There is an attractive, incisive style about this book, a facility for using the right words in a limited way to say a great deal. It is excellently organized and thought-provoking. The reader will hope that Admiral Anderson

will come back to the subject and write again about some of these ideas which he expresses so well.

*Rider College*

LAWRENCE O. EALY

*Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920.* By JAMES H. TIMBERLAKE. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963. [xii], 238 p. Illustrations, index. \$5.25.)

Mr. Timberlake's thesis is that the Prohibition Movement which led to the Eighteenth Amendment, far from being the isolated agitation of a fringe group of fanatics, was an integral part of the Progressive Movement. Drawing upon the same moral idealism and essentially the same group of supporters—the old-stock, middle-class section of the American community—the temperance crusade also attempted to deal with the same basic problems as Progressivism. The well-meaning, optimistic, and often naïve men and women who championed prohibition, the author argues, sought to democratize government, secure legislation to curb big business, and improve the lot of the lower classes just as earnestly as reformers devoted to other political and economic schemes.

The first two thirds of the book is given over to a topical examination of the religious, scientific and social, economic, and political arguments which changed American attitudes toward liquor. Noting that only a scattering of Catholics and Jews supported prohibition, Mr. Timberlake confirms the view that the movement was almost wholly the work of middle-class Protestants. Devoted to social as well as personal morality, they combatted the vice of intemperance “not out of a concern for otherworldly salvation alone, but out of a this-worldly desire for freedom, prosperity, and happiness.” Among businessmen, the temperance campaign won many converts with the economic arguments that sobriety would promote efficiency, prevent accidents and insure safety, and give the strength of character to achieve success. The political arguments (that prohibition would destroy the corrupting power of liquor interests and saloons, promote more democratic control of our political and economic life, and protect the lower classes) attracted support for the movement from good-government reformers and antimonopolists. The most influential arguments in winning public support for prohibition, the author decides, were the statistical findings by prominent scientists and sociologists, widely popularized by temperance leaders and publications, that even moderate drinking was harmful to health and that alcohol increased crime, poverty, disease, vice, misery, and death.

The last part of this study is devoted to the emergence of the Anti-Saloon League as the leading temperance pressure group and its efforts to secure legislation and elect sympathetic candidates on the state and na-

tional levels. Before 1917, the League concentrated on passing local option laws and restricting the commercial liquor traffic rather than on attacking private consumption. By this admittedly expedient policy, the League avoided charges that it was advocating interference with personal liberties and forced the liquor interests to defend themselves on grounds of purely selfish gain. However, in April, 1917, the League suddenly changed its tactics (presumably because of the war since the author does not clearly spell out the reasons) to support the prohibition of personal consumption as well as the liquor traffic. The final passage of nationwide prohibition was speeded up by "the spirit of sacrifice called forth by the war" and by a split in the ranks of the liquor industry when the beer and wine makers unsuccessfully sought to escape restriction by disassociating themselves with the distillers. Although the Eighteenth Amendment did not take effect until January 16, 1920, the author notes that prohibition actually began on July 1, 1919, under the War Prohibition Act.

Mr. Timberlake ascribes the ultimate success of the League to its appearance at a time when middle-class Americans were in a reforming mood. "Although the Eighteenth Amendment would probably never have materialized except for the league, it is equally certain that the league would never have attained its success had not temperance reform been caught up in the progressive spirit itself. In the making of national prohibition, the Anti-Saloon League was a product as well as a cause of reform."

This carefully documented study, presented in a straightforward and well-written manner, is a significant contribution to the history of the Prohibition Movement. However, it may have implications for historians of the Progressive Era of a different sort than those expected by the author. The idea that such an unrealistic approach to reform as prohibition was characteristic of Progressivism, instead of provoking a new conception of the temperance crusaders as enlightened liberals, may only serve to confirm the view that Progressives generally were concerned with fringe issues and never really struck at the basic ills of American society. Finally, one wonders why a scholarly book published by Harvard University Press under a grant from the Ford Foundation does not have a bibliography.

*Beaver College*

LLOYD M. ABERNETHY

*The Road to Normalcy: The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1920.* By WESLEY M. BAGBY. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXX, Number 1.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962. 206 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

Interpretations of the election of 1920 are many and varied. That political incident is occasionally credited with being "one of the most



momentous in American history," but it is also at times depicted as merely a somewhat involuntary reaction against "Wilsonism." Mr. Bagby in his *The Road to Normalcy: The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1920* follows both. The book is largely a day-by-day story of events: the nominations of the two parties in midsummer and the campaign in the fall. The candidates file by in order, and Harding and Cox are—with surface logic at least—eventually nominated. The months pass in their turn as one candidate courageously but hopelessly fights to free himself from a burdensome heritage of his party and the other, though occasionally muddled, rides a rising tide to another seemingly logical outcome in November.

The details are carefully stated. The author has worked earnestly. His research is impeccable. He used a large number of manuscript collections and delved into an impressive array of printed material, both source and secondary. The presentation of what men *said* in the campaign is a very commendable one. The difficulty is that the importance of the campaign lay not in the words that were said but in the why of their saying. The significance of the election may, in fact, be discovered less in its description than in its evaluation. The book lacks interpretation and explanation. The author notes that the Democrats felt that the press was against the party but makes no judgment as to the legitimacy of the accusation; he quotes from political leaders and political journalists without a warning that they were primarily concerned with making events fit a predetermined pattern. It is a little incongruous to write of the "high level" of Harding's words without giving a basic measurement of the man or without throwing them against the tragedy of the years that followed. And, looking at the disturbed world today, it may not only be incongruous but, to this reviewer at least, also shocking to read that Lodge won a masterful victory in defeating the treaty; both the motives and the methods are perhaps open to some questioning.

But it is patently unfair to expect Mr. Bagby to present a carefully etched picture of the nation in 1920, when his concern was only with the campaign and election of that year. *The Road to Normalcy*, however, must wherever used stir controversy. It implies certain assumptions concerning the postwar years. The author obviously sympathizes with the thesis that the period was one primarily of retrogression, even though that thesis is slowly being negated. Argument in that field will continue, but Mr. Bagby's very useful book would be more useful if he had made the two candidates come to life, stark and real. It would be more useful if he had stated his opinions with more force, as, for instance, concerning the "smoke-filled room." (His account is one of the best available.) He leaves the impression, though perhaps unintentionally, that the one-sided contest of 1920 was a normal campaign in which the people were earnestly trying to decide which of the candidates was the better qualified to lead the nation by his own vision and personal strength out of a puzzling morass of a recent war. He might have intimated, as was said by Professor Allan Nevins in his presi-

dential address before the American Historical Association, that everybody now agrees that the election of Mr. Harding was a mistake.

*Temple University*

JAMES A. BARNES

*Dear Folks at Home. The Civil War Letters of Leo W. and John I. Faller, with an account of Andersonville.* Edited by MILTON E. FLOWER. (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association, 1963. [vi], 153 p. Cloth \$4.50; paper, \$1.95.)

Perhaps the most rewarding of the Civil War centennial publication projects are the collections of letters written by soldiers to their families. Candid and often naïve, these letters epitomize the tragedy of war. In them one finds the pride of fighting for one's country, mingled with a kind of bravado which minimizes the monotony of camp life and long marches, the fright of battle, the frustration of constant deprivation.

A fine example of such letters is *Dear Folks at Home*, the correspondence of Leo and John Faller of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who served in Company A, Thirty-Sixth Regiment, Seventh Pennsylvania Reserve. Edited by Milton E. Flower, who provides transitional comment to place the correspondence in context of the war, these letters are, for the most part, typical. One finds the expected concern over food and clothing, letters and boxes from home, prices, rumors, friends and family. Comments on officers are often revealing; like so many of his soldiers, Leo Faller writes fondly of "our bully little General McClellan," and of Meade as a general who was "almost like a Father to the boys of his brigade." Leo Faller died in the Battle of Antietam, and his brother John was captured in the Battle of the Wilderness. John's imprisonment at Andersonville was recalled years later and his account is included in this book.

These letters are devoid of pretense and so convey the mood and impact of the war in a way that more official letters and reports could not hope to do. Moreover, there is a continuing identity between the writers and their home town which adds a special poignancy. All in all, *Dear Folks at Home* is good Civil War reading for the "buff" and for the casually interested reader of this period of our history.

*History of Little Egg Harbor Township, Burlington County, N. J., from Its First Settlement to the Present Time.* By LEAH BLACKMAN. (Tuckerton, N. J.: Reissued by The Great John Mathis Foundation, Inc., 1963. 300 p. Index. \$7.50.)

Leah Blackman's *History of Little Egg Harbor*, first published as an appendix to the 1880 report of the West Jersey Surveyors' Association, has long been out of print and a collector's item, especially for those interested

in the families of this coastal region. Its value and usefulness are primarily genealogical.

The *History* has been reissued by The Great John Mathis Foundation as a means of raising money to finance the restoration of the Great John Mathis House on the Bass River, which eventually will be used as a maritime museum. Reproduced in facsimile, the book retains the paging of the original, which may prove somewhat confusing to readers.

Henry Charlton Beck, in his brief preface to the 1963 edition, writes that Leah Blackman's *History of Little Egg Harbor* "as a book is in the traditions of the best *Jerseyana*. . . ." Its reissue and availability will be welcomed by many.

*New Discovery From British Archives on The 1765 Tax Stamps for America.*

Edited by ADOLPH KOEPPPEL. (Boyerstown, Pa.: American Revenue Association, 1962. [iv], 27 p. Illustrations, bibliography. Paper, \$5.00.)

The tax stamps which the British government in 1765 ordered affixed to all parchment and paper to be used in the American colonies have long interested philatelists. Over the years, there has been considerable research and some speculation on the subject, but the discovery in 1958 of the registers of the dies at Somerset House has now made available impressions of all these stamps.

Through the co-operative efforts of British and American philatelists, the American Revenue Association has published a study of the 1765 tax stamps, including descriptions and illustrations of the stamps, the stamp accounts from the Public Record Office, and comments on overstruck stamps and altered dies and on newspaper and almanac stamps. There is also a brief historical piece on the Stamp Act, and a selected, annotated bibliography. Copies may be purchased from the editor, Adolph Koeppele, 633 Chelsea Road, Oceanside, N. Y.

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