

BOOK REVIEWS

Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Vol. I: 1000-1700. Edited by GEORGE W. BROWN, MARCEL TRUDEL, and ANDRÉ VACHON. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966. xxiii, 755 p. Introductory essays, general bibliography, list of contributors, index. \$15.00.)

After Great Britain and the United States, Canada too will soon have its dictionary of national biographies. The realization of this multi-volume project was made possible by the generous bequest of the late James Nicholson, a Liverpool-born Toronto businessman, to the University of Toronto Press, for the specific purpose of assisting in the founding of such a dictionary. Two important features distinguish the Canadian effort from those of other countries. In the first place, it is completely bilingual; two editions, French and English, are being published simultaneously by the University Presses of Toronto and Laval. Secondly, the arrangement is chronological instead of alphabetical. The reader can thus pursue the history of a period in each volume, something that is impossible under the other method.

Volume I, covering the period from the Norse discoveries to the year 1700, should soon establish itself as a most valuable work of reference for both the scholar and the layman with an interest in the history of the New World. It is the result of the labor of more than one hundred contributors from Canada, the United States, Great Britain, and France, and contains 594 articles which can be classified approximately as follow: New France 318, Acadia 71, Hudson's Bay Company 34, Newfoundland 37, maritime explorers 59, Indians 65, miscellaneous 10. These entries vary from brief notices of 200 words on minor personalities whose principal claim to importance was their participation in events at a time when the population of Canada was minute, to substantial essays of 10,000 words on the great figures of the age, such as Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, the Count de Frontenac, and Cavalier de La Salle. While the form is narrative, the articles are not simply compilations of fact. In each case, an attempt has been made to evaluate the subject's character and to explain his role and importance in the period in which he lived. The juxtaposition of so many individuals, both great and small, famous and obscure, makes up a unique and colorful panorama of life in early Canada that unfolds before the reader, page after page. They are all there as in a great picture gallery, the Indian chieftains and pioneers of Europe in North America, discoverers and explorers, government officials and soldiers, farmers, fur traders and businessmen, priests, nuns, missionaries and martyrs. While history is not simply

the sum total of many biographies, as was once said, we are again reminded here that not impersonal forces alone, but human beings too, shape the nature and course of events.

Although it is no easy task to present an assessment of the work of so many contributors, it can be safely said that a high standard of scholarship has been generally maintained throughout Volume I. The articles by Marcel Trudel, W. J. Eccles, and André Vachon, the *Dictionary's* indefatigable General Secretary, can be singled out for particular praise. Unfortunately, however, two major entries do not measure up to these standards of excellence. The one on La Salle, for instance, is only mediocre. Yet, in view of the towering role played by this man in the early history of North America, the article on him should have been among the showpieces of the volume. The other, on Mother Marie de l'Incarnation, an important figure of New France's mystical age, as the period from 1630 to 1660 is called, is not even mediocre. It is a hagiography which has no place in an important work of reference.

In spite of these flaws, and of a handful of cases of apparently superficial research on some of the minor figures, Volume I remains an impressive achievement. Undoubtedly, the work will grow even better as it progresses and as the editors gain in experience. Ultimately, the hope they expressed that this *Dictionary* "would prove to be not only a work of permanent historical value, but in a variety of ways a significant symbol of Canada's biculturalism" should be richly fulfilled.

McGill University

YVES F. ZOLTVANY

Colonial Virginians at Play. By JANE CARSON. [Williamsburg Research Studies.] (Williamsburg, Va.: Distributed by the University Press of Virginia for Colonial Williamsburg, 1965. xviii, 326 p. Illustrations, bibliography, appendixes, index. \$3.50.)

There is the temptation to compare this book with Edmund S. Morgan's *Virginians at Home*, but such a comparison would not be entirely fair to Miss Carson. The purpose of the two works is different. This work is one in a series of reports prepared by the research staff of Colonial Williamsburg. These reports were outgrowths of the need to obtain the necessary information for the accurate restoration of the colonial capital. This particular study should be a useful reference for historian, novelist, antiquarian, and curator. Moreover, its usefulness need not be confined to Virginia scholars, for much of what Miss Carson has to show about the diversions of colonial Virginians, allowing for local variations, is applicable to other American colonials.

The author groups her material into four categories—Home Entertainments, Games, Sports and Outdoor Games, Public Times and Public Occa-

sions in Williamsburg—and considers such diverse activities as dancing and charades, billiards and card games, racing, wrestling and bowling, and the theater, balls and assemblies. The book has numerous illustrations, many of which enlighten the text. The research has been extensive. Miss Carson has not only consulted a wide range of secondary studies but appears to have combed thoroughly public records, account books and ledgers, newspapers, diaries, and many manuscript collections.

Since the project, of which this book is a by-product, had as its primary purpose the gathering of information, this, no doubt, accounts for the absence of interpretation. Yet one would wish Miss Carson had given us more of it than she does in her brief introduction. The values and attitudes of the eighteenth century are suggested, for example, in some diversions: games designed to teach a moral lesson; little girls' adult-like dolls dressed in the latest European style (Were these identical with the dolls that ladies imported for the purpose of learning the newest fashions?); the compulsion to bet on almost anything from horses to quoits; the aristocratic tone of horse ownership and horse racing; a lingering social crudeness suggested by the popularity of cockfighting and rough and tumble fighting. Perhaps the author felt that such interpretations should be left to the historian.

The book is bound in heavy paper and reproduced from a clear, readable typescript. It has a bibliography extensive for so modest a work. There are three appendixes on games.

Central Connecticut State College

ETHEL E. RASMUSSEN

Agents and Merchants: British Colonial Policy and the Origins of the American Revolution, 1763-1775. By JACK M. SOSIN. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965. xvi, 267 p. Illustrations, select bibliography, index. \$5.50.)

This is a book that has long been needed. It is a history of the agents of the American colonies in London and their alliance with America-oriented merchants there and of the role of this alliance in the development of the breach between the colonies and the mother country in the years between 1763 and 1775.

The agents and the merchants, working together, constituted an "American lobby," whose chief function was to influence Parliament and the ministry. During the twelve years between 1763 and 1775, this lobby "played a significant part in the flexible, often pragmatic, administration of the First British Empire. Given any practical issue not posed in terms of a challenge to the authority of the mother country, they had either won concessions or obtained modifications of particular measures" (p. 227). This lobby, particularly the official part of it constituted by the agencies, was, in fact, an institution in London representative of the colonial legislatures in America, a sort of reverse counterpart of the agencies of the imperial administration

in the colonies constituted by the colonial governors. But it was more than an institution, also, because it embodied many of the forces binding the parts of the empire together, such as personal friendships and connections, family ties, business relationships, two-way ownership of property, and so on. Professor Sosin writes, further, that these unifying forces bound the British West Indies and the continental colonies together, since their economic interests were mutually complementary, rather than competitive, and these economic interests were supplemented by the others. The lobby, in other words, was thus, also, a strong force making for imperial unity.

The list of the successes of this institution, or lobby, in the form of modifications of British policy brought about largely by its influence, included significant amendments to, or concessions in the administration of such acts as, for example, the Currency Act of 1764 and the extension of the Mutiny Act to America in 1765. The merchants and agents "achieved their greatest cohesion and success" during the winter of 1765-1766 during which, besides other things, they brought about the repeal of the Stamp Act. The important point is that the American agents and the London merchants did succeed in bringing about significant modifications of British colonial policy.

The theme of imperial unity and of American influence in London persists throughout the book, from the recital of the influence of the American lobby upon the Grenville program through the repeal of the Townshend duties and after, during the years of good feeling when there appeared to be "a ground for reconciliation," through the debates over the Tea Act and the Intolerable Acts, and even into the critical months of 1774 and 1775 when Lord North entered into a significant series of negotiations with the agents, particularly Benjamin Franklin, and offered the colonies a series of concessions that added up to an offer to refrain from actually enforcing Parliament's supreme sovereignty over the colonies if the colonies would only recognize it in principle.

But the very success of the colonial and English mercantile reaction to the Stamp Act had fixed upon the colonies and their representatives a pattern of policy which would lead to the ultimate failure of the lobby. For the colonies, in their opposition to the Stamp Act, had challenged the sovereignty of Parliament over them, and whereas the ministerial policy, from the time of the Townshend duties onward, focused upon the principle of Parliamentary sovereignty, the colonies clung, even in the Continental Congress, to the original pattern of success, economic boycott and constitutional challenge. Most significantly, perhaps, the possibility of a revision of the imperial-colonial constitution in the direction of providing a more liberal measure of home rule for the colonies was destroyed by the political divisions within the colonies themselves between, say, the radicals and the conservatives on the question how far to go in the direction of compromise and the acceptance of ministerial concessions, on the one hand, as against the dogmatic insistence of the radicals upon a complete British acceptance of the colonial challenge to Parliamentary sovereignty, on the other.

Sosin's general approach to this problem is "Namierist," in the sense that, as he says (pp. xiii, xiv): "It was not ideologies or institutions that figured critically in policy decisions, but the political capabilities and experience of ministers and the nature of the problems they faced. . . . During inept, inexperienced, or politically divided administrations decisions were made either by individual ministers or outside regular governmental levels with private interest groups. The present work is an attempt to utilize this framework."

Yet, almost despite himself, Professor Sosin is compelled to recognize that the essential point in British colonial policy from 1767 onward was the assertion and the enforcement of the theory of Parliamentary sovereignty, even while it recognized the need for a large measure of colonial home rule. He does, indeed, stop there, and apparently accepts the contemporary Parliamentary theory of sovereignty that "The locus of ultimate authority can rest in only one government, as the Americans themselves were to realize in the course of the following century" (p. 232). He does not discuss the American theory of divided sovereignty or its implied theory of imperial federation. And yet, if it is true—as Sosin certainly demonstrates—that British colonial policy after 1767 centered upon the idea of a unitary imperial sovereignty resident in Parliament, it seems to be equally true that the American challenge, at least from 1765 onward, centered precisely upon the emerging idea of divided sovereignty and of imperial federation. The conflict, thus, seems eventually to resolve itself into a conflict over constitutional theory more than one over specific issues of taxation, currency, commerce, colonial government, or anything else.

One might say that this book is neglectful of other aspects of British colonial policy, such as policy with regard to religion and an American bishopric, the prerogative of the Crown, immigration, and so on, as well as of the theoretical nature both of British policy and of the Revolution itself. But these other aspects are not, really, parts of Professor Sosin's problem. The book is, for all that, a highly valuable and significant contribution to the historiography of the American Revolution based upon profound and exhaustive research in the original materials pertinent to the problem and presenting a series of closely-reasoned explanations of British policy and of the relationships of the American agents to it and their influence upon it at the various critical moments in its development during the period covered. It is a splendid contribution, both to the history of the American Revolution and to the history of imperial constitutional relationships in that particular time of crisis.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

John Singleton Copley. Vol. I: In America, 1738-1774; Vol. II: In England, 1774-1815. By JULES DAVID PROWN. [Ailsa Mellon Bruce Studies in American Art, I]. (Washington and Cambridge: Published for the

National Gallery of Art by the Harvard University Press, 1966. xxiv, 244 p.; xxi, 245-472 p. Illustrations, genealogical charts, appendixes, bibliographies, index. \$25.00.)

This is the long-awaited definitive biography of Copley, bringing us in one coherent view the history of his life and a critical analysis of his life's accomplishment as a whole. It is a work of painstaking scholarship, worthy of the subject and of the distinguished auspices under which it appears.

Since Copley's career was about equally divided between America and England, the two volumes make a convenient division. Each has its narrative section, its check list of pictures, plates, bibliography and appendixes, the whole united by an index at the end of Volume II. Each, however, has a fundamentally different character, in that so much has already been published on the American years, while Dr. Prown's survey of the English period is the first comprehensive treatment it has had since Martha Babcock Amory's book of 1882. Volume I is therefore intended to be used in conjunction with *John Singleton Copley: American Portraits*, by Barbara Neville Parker and Anne Bolling Wheeler (1938), and is keyed to the more recent studies by Waldron Phoenix Belknap and others. Volume II, in contrast, is to a much greater extent upon new ground, and is intended in part as a guide to further study. Only paintings of established authenticity are listed, leaving the many doubtful attributions for the future. The appendixes give important source material for continuing study: Copley's exhibition record, with a full record of the Copley Print Sale of 1820, and the Lyndhurst Sales of 1864, all with important material on Copley works and the sources from which they were derived.

In the appendixes for Volume I, a statistical analysis of Copley's American patrons forms what is at once the most original, and most disappointing, feature of the book. In portraiture particularly, the relationship between art history and social history is extremely close, and more so in early America than in the centers of sophisticated taste. But this data on 240 of Copley's sitters, their educational background, relative wealth, political and religious persuasion, marital status and so on, relating these factors to one another and to geographical area, are only dimly related to the artist. We learn only what we knew already, that Copley's patronage was not influenced by any political or religious bias and we see (interestingly demonstrated in genealogical charts) how many were within a few family relationships. A simple chronological listing would have shown how his patronage was affected by current events or the presence of other painters in town. Answers to the more important, more elusive, questions touching on portraiture as a social convention, a wedding rite, a monument to material success or departed worth, only occasionally appear. This is unfortunate and yet, in a way, less so with this artist than with others. In his idealistic eagerness to rank with the greatest in art, and in his early effort to achieve it by imitating the rococo elegance he found in British prints, Copley

reached an almost classic detachment from the ordinary life of the individual and the occasion for which the portrait was painted. One does discern that many of these Americans were happy to appear in such costume, poses and milieu, one has evidence of such things as their mutual delight in the reflection from a polished table top, one sees throughout the aspirations and taste of a provincial community—and with it, in contrasting truth and directness, the individuals themselves.

The greatness of Copley's American portraits is concentrated in these faces, each strong, immediate, alight with life and character. Dr. Prown remarks upon "fixed expression" as a "Copley trademark." It is an element of strength, in the single portraits particularly, giving them something of the quality of the pioneer photographs, the artist carrying over to his subject a mood of the importance of the event, a sense of standing in history. American artists are often profoundly revealed in their changes of style on one side of the Atlantic or the other, and this is true of Copley. One can see the same strength, particularly in some of the studies for portraits in his English historical pieces, but the English portraits are within a new framework of fashion. These distinctions are admirably brought out in this work, the sources, feeling and success of each picture discussed, in a narrative style as careful and precise as Copley's own. Dr. Prown allows himself no spark of humor, nor does his subject invite it.

A decisive feature in both Copley's American and English careers was his determination to achieve material success—and to deserve it. Dr. Prown confirms the charge when quoting some of the hostile comment of "Anthony Pasquin," who wrote, "to talk of any man possessing genius, who is so immoderately fond of money, is preposterous: . . . to have genius, and be ungenerous, is impossible." Copley had genius, and though one can see it eroded by self-seeking, there lies in that part of the story his most lasting influence in art history, a story for which we have only the preamble here. On establishing himself and his family in London his interest in financial rewards was sharpened by genuine need. He had crossed the ocean in company with the jovial Sir Brooke Watson, whose boyhood misadventure is celebrated in Copley's first English "History" painting, the deservedly famous *Watson and the Shark*. The picture itself, spirited, exciting, and well-composed, won praise and served at the same time as an introduction to its hero's many friends.

The Death of Lord Chatham, which followed in 1781, was still more contemporary, but on a loftier plane and more truly in the realm of history. The composition is clearly derived from West's *Death of Wolfe*, with the observer's eye carried through the form of the dying hero, upward into an area of symbolic light and shadow. Copley, as Dr. Prown points out, was adopting West's "new type of history painting." But it was with the new feature of portraits of distinguished contemporaries appearing as actors in the piece, thereby building a groundwork for later private commissions. Yet many were offended by Copley's exhibiting the painting privately rather than

under the auspices of the Royal Academy, feeling themselves degraded by being shown for a price. Here was the rub. Copley demonstrated to artists who eagerly followed suit in England and America for many years to come that a large dramatic picture could be exhibited profitably by the artist, and an engraving from it published, before the work itself went on the market—three elements of profit instead of one. However, in an art center still dominated by noble patronage, such Yankee promotion was not admired and often discountenanced. West had attained eminence in part by his genuinely selfless idealism. Copley, by taking a derogatory and competitive position toward West, emphasized the difference. The career of one caught the imagination, while the other repelled it. It was not by mischance that Copley had a bad press throughout his English years. His effort to attract a higher level of patronage by his charming portrait of the three princesses might have succeeded in spite of the adverse criticism it received, had not the feeling run so deep. One must believe that the gradual deterioration of his art was due in a measure to the clash, year after year, between effort and frustration.

It is significant, perhaps, that the great work of Copley's English career, his dashing and splendid *Death of Major Peirson*, was painted on a commission from Alderman John Boydell, and not on the more speculative basis of the other large historical works, before and after. The story of each is faithfully recorded in this book, though one may differ with the author sometimes on Copley's source material and other inevitably moot points. It seems very unlikely, for instance, that Lord Mansfield was, as he suggests, offended by being shown seated, in the *Death of Lord Chatham*, at the moment when all others have risen. There is a judicial dignity in his posture, and to have changed it from that he actually held would surely have been more provocative.

In every artist's work, there is a double reflection of his subjects and himself. A book such as this, bringing into view the progress and pattern of all of one life, the whole drama of an aspiring, troubled spirit, has value and interest far beyond the audience of specialists to whom it is primarily addressed.

Dickinson College

CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS

Lord Dartmouth and the American Revolution. By B. D. BARGAR. (Columbia, S. C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 1965. ix, 219 p. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

It will not be necessary for any one again to devote as much time and attention to the career of Lord Dartmouth as Professor Bargar has done. This book is a careful, exhaustive study of a man who was for one year President of the Board of Trade (1765–1766), three years Secretary of State

for the Colonies (1772-1775), and then was Lord Privy Seal for the remainder of Lord North's ministry. Although Dartmouth occupied these offices during stirring times, he left no stamp on history and only established for himself the ranking of a third-rate public man. Professor Bargar is probably correct in saying that the usual adjectives—"good," "amiable," "well-intentioned," "pious" or "ineffectual"—do not adequately represent either Dartmouth's abilities or his work; Professor Bargar also demonstrates that Dartmouth could hardly be expected to control events, giving the inadequacies of his official authority, the divisions within the North government, the polarities of the radical position in America and the official position in England, his own limitations of will and personality, and his loyalty to the principle of parliamentary supremacy. He shared his commitment to this principle with members of the imperial government, with most members of the parliamentary opposition, and in fact with most Englishmen of the time. A person who did not have this view of the imperial constitution could not have been Colonial Secretary; as long as this was England's official position, there was little likelihood of peacefully resolving the imperial controversy. As Bargar says, "It is doubtful whether a stronger personality could have accomplished more than Dartmouth in these trying circumstances" (p. 193). This quotation just about sums up Bargar's evaluation of Lord Dartmouth as Colonial Secretary.

Though it takes Dartmouth through his life, this study was not intended as a biography. It concentrates upon his public career. With no apparent qualification except good political connections, as President of the Board of Trade during Rockingham's first ministry Dartmouth inherited an office which possessed no real power. His desire to make something of it was not fulfilled during Rockingham's tenure and, because it was certain that Pitt would not do anything about it, Dartmouth preferred to resign rather to continue under Pitt in the same post. In the meantime Dartmouth's support for repeal of the Stamp Act and for passage of the Declaratory Act identified the position on the American question that he would hold to for the next decade. Like his former colleagues, from whom he drifted away for reasons that had nothing to do with the imperial controversy, he insisted upon the legislative supremacy of parliament. He also admitted that parliament did not have to exercise all the powers it possessed, and argued that much depended upon the manner and occasion of using the superintending authority of parliament. Having supported repeal of the Stamp Act, Dartmouth was marked out as a friend of the colonies, and his appointment as Colonial Secretary was welcomed by the Americans. On principle he agreed with North, though on measures he sometimes disagreed. He desired to be more moderate after the Boston Tea Party than some of his cabinet colleagues. He thought that the Boston Port Act was sufficient to show Britain's determination to be firm; he wanted Britain to be firm, but not vengeful, and always approachable by conciliatory efforts. His close personal relationship with Lord North, his stepbrother, was a strong reason

why he had accepted office and was also a reason why he stayed in longer in 1775 than he really desired to do. When it became clear that "short-term policies, designed to suppress rebellion" (p. 171) would have to yield to preparations and plans for a long war, he asked for the Privy Seal "in order to escape the responsibility for directing a war against the colonies" (p. 178). He could not be a war minister and he knew it, but he could continue to support his stepbrother, and the principle of empire as they understood it.

Along the way Professor Bargar describes in detail Dartmouth's reactions and relationships to the specific events that form the history of the British-American controversy from 1765 onwards. Based upon research in the Dartmouth Papers and other manuscript collections which are fully described in the bibliography, this book does not reinterpret the background or causes of the American Revolution. It adds to our factual knowledge of the background insofar as it describes Dartmouth's individual place in this history. But the book offers one larger contribution. It makes understandable, and even poignant, the dilemma of the moderate man who sought friendship with Americans, who desired maintenance of the unity of the empire, who thought the empire could exist only under the imperial relationship that a British constitutional lawyer like Lord Mansfield would allow, who therefore was intellectually incapable (like most of his English contemporaries) of understanding the American radical argument, and who in the end found unhappily that when each side held adamantly to its position, there was no solution to the imperial controversy short of war.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

General De Kalb, Lafayette's Mentor. By A. E. ZUCKER. [Number Fifty-Three: University of North Carolina Studies in the German Languages.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. 251 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$7.00.)

Of all those hard-bitten soldiers of fortune who crossed the Atlantic to fight for American independence, General de Kalb was one of the ablest and one of the most unlucky. Through no fault of his own he saw no action during his three years in the American army until he was struck down, mortally wounded, on the battlefield of Camden. If de Kalb had been in command on that day, as Washington had intended, instead of the incompetent General Gates whom Congress had insisted on putting over his head, the outcome of the battle might well have been different.

Mr. Zucker is right in thinking that General de Kalb deserves a full-length biography. The only other "life," written in German, was published in Stuttgart more than a hundred years ago. If Mr. Zucker makes some claims for his hero that are difficult to substantiate, there is no great harm in that. He is in love with his subject, and that is as it should be.

Like many other soldiers of fortune who found a spiritual home in the French army, the famous Marshal Saxe among them, Johann Kalb was not a Frenchman at all. His mother and father were Bavarian peasants. How their son picked up his knowledge of French and English, how he became Jean de Kalb, a lieutenant in Count Lowendal's regiment of French infantry, and subsequently Baron de Kalb, is still a mystery. He may well have assumed the title to facilitate his advancement in the army. As Mr. Zucker tells us, perhaps a little unnecessarily, "much was different in the European armies of the eighteenth century from what is considered proper in the armed services of today."

Evidently the young Baron de Kalb served with some distinction, for when he retired from the army at the end of the Seven Years' War the Duc de Choiseul, Minister of War at the time, picked him out for a secret mission to America. England had imposed a humiliating peace on France, and the Duc de Choiseul was determined to square the account. Instead of plunging into another war, he believed he could weaken his adversary more effectively by promoting insurrection in the colonies. Some one must go to America to report on the feasibility of his plans. De Kalb with his knowledge of French and English was just the man for his purpose.

He arrived in Philadelphia early in 1768 and spent four months traveling through the colonies gathering information about the likelihood of a revolt against the mother country. At the end of that time, being short of funds, he returned to France. To his great disappointment the Duc de Choiseul seemed to have lost interest in him. Just as he was thinking his career was over, the shrewd predictions he had made about American affairs began to be fulfilled. When Silas Deane arrived in Paris to promote the cause of the colonies, Baron de Kalb was one of the first to offer his services. Though Deane was not specifically empowered by Congress to appoint officers, he was so impressed with the qualifications of de Kalb that he engaged him as a major general, his appointment to date from November 7, 1776. A few weeks later, de Kalb introduced to Silas Deane a friend of his, a young man of great wealth and the highest nobility who was also anxious to join the American army. His name was Lafayette.

Deane hesitated over appointing de Kalb's young friend a major-general, which was what he demanded, but de Kalb was so insistent that Deane finally yielded. After numerous delays the two generals sailed in April, 1777, and reached Philadelphia two months later. There they discovered that Congress refused to ratify Deane's appointments. On second thoughts, Lafayette was ratified owing to a warm letter of recommendation from Franklin. De Kalb was indignant, as he had every right to be, and he was on the point of embarking for France when Congress decided to make one more exception. De Kalb was too valuable an officer to lose. Owing to the delay he did not join the army until after the battle of Brandywine, where Lafayette was wounded and the Lafayette legend was born. Though he spent the winter at Valley Forge, de Kalb missed the battle of Monmouth

owing to illness, and it was not until the spring of 1780, when Washington appointed him to the command of the southern army, that he began to think his luck had turned.

So far, though he had won the respect of his allies as a professional who knew his business, he had had no opportunity to prove himself in the field. It was ironical that he should have written to his wife that he had hardly seen a gun go off in the two years that he had been supposedly fighting. By the time she got that letter de Kalb was on the road to his death.

Salisbury, Conn.

ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

Benjamin Franklin. By RALPH L. KETCHUM. [*The Great American Thinkers Series*, edited by ARTHUR W. BROWN and THOMAS S. KNIGHT.] (New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1966. xiv, 226 p. Chronology, bibliography, index. \$3.95.)

This excellent study titled simply *Benjamin Franklin* in *The Great American Thinkers Series* is a welcome addition to all who are interested in Franklin. Professor Ralph L. Ketchum of Syracuse University, and previously an associate editor of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, has used his editorial experience to write a highly readable and concise account of Franklin's thought and philosophy. In eleven chronologically arranged chapters Mr. Ketchum has judiciously selected numerous quotations from Franklin's appropriate writings to support his interpretation of Franklin's thought.

Franklin was not only a thinker; he also was a man of action. Therefore, his thought must be considered in relation to his actions. This is what Mr. Ketchum has done in his book. In his words, Franklin's "thought and philosophy grew hand in hand with the full life he led. To expound and analyze his ideas apart from the events which called them forth would be to miss their essence and meaning."

Franklin's basic philosophy was formulated early in life. In his father's home he had read from Plutarch and from such contemporary writers as Bunyan, Defoe, and Cotton Mather. It was Plutarch's *Lives*, Defoe's *Essay on Projects*, and Mather's *Essays to do Good*, which impressed his youthful mind. The combination of "moral precept and practical advice for promoting harmony" recommended in these writings was to find "echo after echo in Franklin's later career." A consistent theme in the volume is that Franklin's early reading and his father's training were paramount in the later development of his thinking. Although he rejected his father's Calvinism in a theological sense, he accepted the qualities of earnestness, courage, benevolence, and diligence from his father's faith. "In a very deep sense he brought to Philadelphia a clear notion of what he admired in human beings; an especially important foundation for one whose life was spent dealing with people, not secluded in a study."

In explaining Franklin's religious beliefs and his plan for moral perfection, Mr. Ketchum answers those literary critics such as Charles Angoff, D. H. Lawrence, and others, by suggesting that it was not Franklin's fault if "misguided admirers and myopic critics convert these useful and prudential means into ignoble ends." While he did make significant theoretical contributions in the study of heat, meteorology, and other areas, Franklin's energy as a scientist found more characteristic outlet in attempting to understand and then to solve troublesome problems in everyday lives of men. His role as a provincial politician and later as an "ambassador" in Britain and France is presented from a similar point of view. He believed that public service was a responsibility he owed to society, and he willingly discharged his debt. He was proud to be an Englishman and his writings show clearly an early concept of an expanded British Empire based upon the federal principle. He expressed his optimism concerning America when in 1760 he wrote to Lord Kames that the "*foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America.*" The final chapter is concerned with Franklin's sage philosophy, particularly as it relates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

In his selected bibliography, Mr. Ketchum lists the major Franklin sources. It is apparent that he has buttressed his wide knowledge of Franklin with perceptive evaluations from such Franklin scholars as Carl Van Doren, Verner W. Crane, I. Bernard Cohen, and others. Some readers may complain of a lack of footnotes, but annotations in the selected bibliography are provided. Mr. Ketchum has written a book which merits wide acceptance.

Kansas State Teachers College

JOHN J. ZIMMERMAN

Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Reported by James Madison. With an introduction by ADRIENNE KOCH. (Athens, O.: Ohio University Press, 1966. xxiii, 659 p. \$10.00.)

Madison's "Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention," though even when unpublished in his own lifetime of intense interest to scholars and politicians, have always been something of a publisher's problem. When Dolley Madison sought their publication after her husband's death, the commercial houses praised the notes, their industrious compiler, and his deserving widow; but, fearful of small sales, they offered no lucrative contract. They were, it seemed, both invaluable and (commercially) valueless. The Notes were purchased by Congress (for less than one-third Dolley's asking price), published under its direction (1840), and filled warehouses for decades. They were reprinted at the turn of the century and in the 1920's in government-sponsored documentary histories, and by Gaillard Hunt and James B. Scott as part of a campaign for international law and order. Hunt included them in his edition of Madison's writings (1900-1910). None of

these ventures set sales records, but at least copies of the Debates were readily available, often at discount prices. For scholars, the inclusion of Madison's Notes in Max Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention* (issued in 1911 and again in 1937) set them for the first time in their proper setting as the one full, clear account among many other skeletal records of the proceedings of the Convention of 1787. Now, as Miss Koch and the publishers point out, these older, unhandy editions are out of print and hard to acquire. The question arises, "can Madison's Notes be reprinted in 1966 in a way both useful to scholars and likely to reach a wide public of students and others interested in the founding drama of American government?"

Unfortunately this book seems unlikely to serve these purposes, not through any defining in the Notes themselves, which illuminate as marvelously as ever "the process, the principles, the reasons and the anticipations" attending the birth of the United States, but due to editorial inadequacies. The text is reproduced meticulously and in full as Madison wrote it and the book is manufactured to be read easily and to last, but beyond that it fails the reader utterly. From page 23 where the notes begin, until their conclusion on page 659, there is not a single heading, note, break, or finding aid of any kind beyond the rather inconspicuous entries at the beginning of each day (Friday, June 22. In Convention) Madison himself had supplied. There are no running heads. Notes on the right-hand pages, and perhaps general subject headings on the left-hand pages, would have permitted a reader to thumb and browse intelligibly. There is neither an index nor a significant table of contents. Cross referencing or explanatory notes are nonexistent. The final text of the Constitution is not even included. The reader flounders in frustration trying to discover which clause is being debated or voted on, and must consult another book to find how a proposal might compare precisely with that included in the final document.

The thought of what-might-have-been is tantalizing. A careful index of names of participants and of important ideas, even one much smaller than that in Farrand, would have made the book infinitely more useful for reference purposes. A reasonably full table of contents indicating where such major proposals as the Virginia and New Jersey plans or the first report of a working draft constitution can be found would have lessened greatly the book's indigestibility. Cross references permitting the reader to see easily how the executive or judiciary departments, for example, were handled at different stages of the Convention would have helped. Such matters take space, and often call for difficult judgments on "where to stop"; but such is the editor's task. This edition, unhappily, simply has no editor; Miss Koch is acknowledged only as the author of a brief introduction. Also useful would be the inclusion, perhaps in footnotes, of the relatively few places where the other records of the Convention amplify or complete Madison's Notes. Though the book is already bulky, the addition of perhaps fifty or one hundred pages of "assistance to readers" would still have been most worthwhile. As the book stands, scholars must still seek out Farrand,

students must flounder needlessly, and the general reader is left in a chartless sea. It is nice to have Madison's Notes again in print in one handsome, durable volume. Less happy is the thought that this "half-way" book may deter publication of a fully useful, modern one-volume edition of the records of the Convention of 1787.

*Maxwell Graduate School
Syracuse University*

RALPH KETCHAM

The Papers of Alexander Hamilton. Vol. VIII (February–August 1791); Vol. IX (August–December 1791). Edited by HAROLD C. SYRETT and JACOB E. COOKE. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965. xiv, 626 p.; xiii, 599 p. Illustrations, indexes. \$12.50 each.)

Most of the material in these volumes is official in character. There are financial reports and customs and revenue statistics. There are instructions to customs officials, captains of revenue cutters, and commissioners of loans in the states. There is a host of letters from officials to Hamilton. It is clear that he kept tight personal control over the new federal officials throughout the country who were responsible to the Treasury. He explained and interpreted laws and made decisions about their enforcement, no matter how petty the cases. He even gave specific advice about the materials to be used and the number of rooms to be provided in a home for a lighthouse keeper.

The conversion of old debts into the new national debt bulks large. Hamilton's policy is set forth when he instructed Benjamin Lincoln, collector of the customs in Boston, to buy \$50,000 of the public debt for the sinking fund. He told Lincoln that it was the intent of the sinking fund act to "be liberal, rather than to manifest a disposition unfavourable to the Creditor," and that "there is a greater national Interest in the rise of the funds, than in the saving to the Government." Whether or not this was the intent of Congress is doubtful, but here as elsewhere Hamilton interpreted the law without consulting Congress.

The first Bank of the United States was established during these months. Hamilton and Fisher Ames, among others, looked upon the bank as still another bond of union. As Ames put it: "All the influence of the monied men ought to be wrap'd up in the union and in one Bank." State banks were not to be allowed to participate although some of them tried. The fears of monied men in Boston and New York that Philadelphians would control the bank were subordinated to the higher purpose of using the bank as still another tool for increasing the power of the central government.

The most interesting financial material is to be found in the letters of William Short, chargé d'affaires in Paris. Short negotiated loans and arranged payments on the American debt. His detailed reports to Hamilton are a fascinating picture of international finance as well as an account of the financial transactions of the United States in Europe.

As in previous volumes, private political correspondence is conspicuous by its scarcity. Hamilton apparently wrote almost none, and only a few are written to him. As in previous volumes also, the editing has been kept to a minimum so far as any discussion of the significance of particular documents is concerned. The contrast with Julian Boyd's edition of the *Jefferson Papers* has been made pointedly clear by Boyd himself in his publication of George Beckwith's reports of his conversations with Hamilton. The editors of the *Hamilton Papers* have published these virtually without comment. Boyd has made a significant and startling book of them.

The University of Wisconsin

MERRILL JENSEN

The Changing Political Thought of John Adams. By JOHN R. HOWE, JR. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. xv, 259 p. Bibliographical essay, index. \$6.50.)

Well known for his achievements as diplomat and politician, John Adams has never been studied with the definite aim of charting the content and significance of his political thought. Historians have long recognized his important place in the establishment of the conservative political tradition in America; Adams has in fact been identified by some as the spiritual forebear of twentieth-century conservatism, and by others as an American Burke. The important thing about Adams' thought, it was felt, was its consistency.

Mr. Howe, in this fresh appraisal, assumes the difficult task of sifting out the pattern of Adams' political thinking and finds it was *changing*, in some ways dramatically. A clear and close analysis of pertinent writings from his early Revolutionary years through the 1790's shows that Adams' assumptions about the moral condition of the American people altered radically "from an emphasis upon moral virtue and social cohesion to notions of moral declension and social conflict." These social and moral assumptions, Howe concludes, underlay his political and constitutional ideas.

During the 1770's Adams held to an abiding belief in American virtue: the uniqueness or "differentness" of America's historical situation, he felt, directly influenced her people's moral character. Through the Revolution this thinking directly reflected his belief in the youthful simplicity of American society; he was struck with particular force by the fact that the Revolution offered the American people a unique opportunity to reconstitute their state governments. Adams' optimistic reflections upon the Providential guarantee of American success were, according to the author, "an extension, a socialization of classical Puritan covenant theology."

During his stay abroad in the Confederation period, Adams began a systematic re-evaluation of his ideas on American society and the American political order. By his own observations, and warnings from home, he became disenchanted with what he took to be a declension in the moral

character of the people and in the effective cohesion of society. In his major political writings of this period—*Defense of the Constitutions* (1787–1788) and *Discourses on Davila* (1790)—Adams drew upon his understanding of historical change to discuss the problem of maintaining social order. He emphasized the importance of strong institutions of social control—law and government. He stressed the dangers of popular government and the threat of political corruption; he saw the essential problem as one to circumscribe the direct influence of the people rather than to expand it. The virtue and good sense of the populace had vanished in the face of political divisions and contesting elections. He interpreted his own defeat in 1800 as part of the schema of American moral declension.

In the quarter of a century of retirement after the Presidency, Adams could not recall any part of his political life without a sense of gloom. Every scene presented “Jealousy, Envy, treachery, Perfidy, Malice without cause or provocation and revenge without Injury or Offence,” he wrote his son John Quincy Adams in 1804. His “generous fellow Citizens, the wisest and best People under heaven” had worn him out, Adams continued, “like an old Dray Horse.” After 1801 he retired to the isolation of Quincy; what the future held for him and his country was uncertain. Behind the seriousness, the ambiguities, and the tensions of Adams’ comments after his Presidency, lie the savage indignation, the shock, and the deepening pessimism. As Clinton Rossiter has said, Adams “wore the scratchiest hair shirt over the thinnest skin in American history.”

This brilliant and provocative book is an important addition to the growing corpus of studies on late eighteenth-century American thought. Howe’s is a sharply-focused, tightly-organized work, with cogent insights into the mind of John Adams—a lonely, intensely ambitious man.

Antiques Magazine

WENDELL D. GARRETT

Hopewell Village: A Social and Economic History of an Iron-Making Community. By JOSEPH E. WALKER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966. 526 p. Illustrations, glossary, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Hopewell Village, located in southern Berks County, Pennsylvania, was one of hundreds of charcoal iron-making communities common throughout the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New England area during part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Eventually they gave way before the American industrial revolution and the accompanying changes in transportation, market demands, and mineral fuel utilization. Yet while they endured they served as essential, nearly self-sufficient rural industries supplying the needs of an agrarian economy as well as the needs of the early urban and industrial beginnings of the new nation. An aura of romance surrounded

these iron plantations. The romance has been caught and translated into reality by the writings of Frederick K. Miller, Arthur D. Pierce, and the late Professor Arthur C. Bining.

Joseph E. Walker presents a study in depth of one of these iron plantations, tracing the story of Hopewell furnace and village from its origins in 1771 to its closing in 1883. His account also calls much attention to its reconstruction under the National Park Service as a National Historical Site.

A question raised by Professor Walker in the introduction to his book is particularly revealing. "Why should this one [Hopewell] out of so many furnaces be the subject of intensive study?" In partial answer to the question he confesses that there were advantages in selecting Hopewell because of the available records on file at the Hopewell Village National Historical Site and the excellent encouragement and assistance received from the professional staff of the National Park Service.

Admitting that the full history of the Pennsylvania charcoal iron industry during the nineteenth century is yet to be written, Dr. Walker cheerfully suggests that although his work presents only some aspects of the history of one of the furnaces, should interested scholars pursue investigations of other furnaces, then the story of early iron-making would emerge. One could comment on this at some length. This reviewer merely wonders if such an approach to scholarship ever should be attempted.

One fact remains incontestable. This is an intensive study of an eastern Pennsylvania iron-making community. While the furnace itself is the central theme, nearly every aspect of the life of Hopewell Village is included in 418 pages of text and an additional 118 pages of meticulous glossary, appendix, bibliography, and index. To the enduring credit of the University of Pennsylvania Press, footnotes are where they are supposed to be—at the bottom of the pages. The book is well illustrated with excellent photographs of the furnace, outbuildings, stoves, the iron master's mansion, and charcoal making. A map showing the exact location of the village, however, is not included.

The author's research and resulting documentation have combined to create a successful published scholarly exercise. But the organization is confusing, the style tedious and pedestrian, and the facts pedantic and profuse. The interpretation of accumulated data in the larger setting of Pennsylvania social and economic history is often obscure.

Perhaps the most interesting seventy pages are to be found in Part Six, "The Social Village." The chapters dealing with the workers, the women, the Negroes, and with recreation serve to bring one into close contact with the lives of the people. But even some of this writing is patchwork and pieces.

There is a kind of Williamsburg or Farmers Museum dialogue running throughout the narrative which, in turn, is interspersed with considerable statistical data and the author's preoccupation for detail. With so much raw material with which to work, it is regrettable that Dr. Walker did not

make Hopewell Village come alive. Despite these all-too-obvious flaws, the book will stand as the definitive work on Hopewell Village, useful for museum experts, park service employees, and historians of the Pennsylvania scene.

Hartwick College

FREDERICK M. BINDER

The Shackles of Power: Three Jeffersonian Decades. By JOHN DOS PASSOS. [Mainstream of America Series. Edited by LEWIS GANNETT.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966. vi, 426 p. Appendix, index. \$6.95.)

When a writer as gifted as John Dos Passos chooses the American past as his subject one expects history of a high order indeed. Whatever else history may be, it cannot be divorced from literary craftsmanship. In *The Shackles of Power*, unfortunately, Mr. Dos Passos has not used his great talent to advantage. Judged by standards which the historical guild usually apply, this book is poor history.

Dos Passos is not interested in historical analysis, in weighing the importance of events or in discerning trends. His interest is in narrative history and, remembering the enduring quality of the work of such literary masters as Parkman and Macaulay who also wrote narrative history, he surely chose the historical genre for which his talent is suited. But the question is—what qualities distinguish good narrative history? To characterize the personality of an historical figure in an epigram or to capture the spirit of a former era with a few skillful strokes of the pen are prerequisites but scarcely all-sufficient. One must also meaningfully order past events or else history is no more than a tale told by an individual who recalls his life as a series of unrelated events without purpose or design. Dos Passos scatters his interest wide and, from a random selection of subjects and a host of diverting tales, a history of “three Jeffersonian decades” is supposed to emerge.

It does only if one equates history with biographical vignettes, however deftly drawn, or anecdotes, however well related. Dos Passos' favorite technique is to interlard his narrative of an event (let's say the Burr Conspiracy) with biographical sketches of the participants (first Burr himself, then Jonathan Dayton, then Harman Blennerhasset, then James Wilkinson, and so on). One takes away from his book some memorable biographical accounts of the actors in the historical drama and insufficient knowledge of the play itself.

The theme of this book is presumably suggested by its title. But precisely what Dos Passos means by “the shackles of power” is nowhere explained. Nor is it clear, aside from the obvious facts of Jefferson's presidency and the succession of the “Virginia Dynasty,” why these were pre-eminently Jeffersonian decades. Dos Passos makes them so by writing two books in one: a history of the United States and an account of the life of Jefferson. In the

first half or more of his book he alternates between the narration of leading events of these crowded decades and a description of Jefferson's activities; the latter part is largely biography. Jefferson, properly enough, is the central character in the American story from 1800-09. His career after he left the White House undeniably has a compelling fascination, if only because the depth of his wisdom, the catholicity of his interests, and the imperishable rhetoric in which he expressed his abiding faith in democracy are nowhere better revealed. But the years from 1809 to 1826 were "Jeffersonian Decades" only in the sense, as I have said, that his party and his fellow Virginians headed the government. His comments, however perceptive, on the men and measures of this period may well illuminate but can scarcely be equated with its history.

To compare *The Shackles of Power* (as it is surely fair to do) to other history books by gifted and popular writers such as Bruce Catton or Barbara Tuchman is to highlight its deficiencies. Such also is the case if one compares it to the most recent general history of the latter part of the era about which Mr. Dos Passos writes. George Dangerfield's *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828* is all that *The Shackles of Power* is not: a book of uncommon wit and grace, combining a mastery of detail with brilliant interpretation, an understanding of the significance of contemporary events with an acute perception of the relationship of those events to the historical development of the United States.

The major flaw of this volume, however, lies not so much in its execution as in its author's preparation. To base history on secondary sources is surely permissible; to ignore the most important of them is not. Dos Passos' failure to incorporate such important studies of this era as Leonard Levy's work on Jefferson and civil liberties, Shaw Livermore's study of the Federalists, and Horsman and Perkins' works on foreign relations helps account for the fact that his book, in the words of its dust jacket description, is merely "the story of the great men, the scoundrels and the opportunists who dominated the young Republic during the Jeffersonian Era."

Lafayette College

JACOB E. COOKE

Typefounding in America, 1787-1825. By ROLLO G. SILVER. (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1965. xiii, 139 p. Illustrations, index. \$7.50.)

The literature of early American typefounding unlike that of Western Europe is regrettably scanty. The English and Scots have their well-documented Johnson-Reed typographical history and the carefully compiled Johnson-Berry bibliography of type specimen books. Similar extensive bibliographies exist for the early foundries of Austria, France, Holland, Switzerland, and Germany. We in this country have for the beginnings of American typefounding neither history nor bibliography; in fact, except for

three pages in Isaiah Thomas' *The History of Printing in America* (1810), L. C. Wroth's work on Abel Buell, the first colonial typesetter, and one slim chapter on American types in D. B. Updike's two-volume work on *Printing Types* (1923, 1937), we have only a scattering of articles and the promise of P. J. Conkwright's full-dress study of the great Philadelphia foundry of Binny and Ronaldson.

In such a state of affairs Mr. Silver's book on the history of typesetting in the early Federal period is doubly welcome. It fills an obvious gap in our knowledge and points the way for a variety of significant studies by future scholars. A major strength of the work is its bringing together for the first time a body of widely scattered and out-of-the-way fact—biographical detail on founders and punchcutters, the shifting and tangled business relationships among the early founders and printers, the provenance of matrices and punches passing from one typesetter to another, and thirty excellent facsimiles of carefully selected type displays drawn from the meager lot of early American type specimen books still extant.

The thirty-odd years, 1787–1825, with which Mr. Silver sharply limits his study are by no means arbitrarily selected. They mark rather the period in which the author is most interested and knowledgeable—the beginnings, successful establishment, rapid expansion, and imminent decline of the American industry of typesetting by hand when a skilled caster even with Archibald Binny's spring mold could turn out no more than 6,000 letters a day.

The account moves rapidly over the activities of two European founders who brought their foundries intact to America with them, the Scot, John Baine, and the Dutch patriot, Adam Gerard Mappa, to deal with the first flourishing native foundry operated by Binny and Ronaldson. These men by their ingenuity in the art and business enterprise convinced printers on the East Coast that an American foundry could compete successfully with those of Caslon, Fry, Wilson, and Bulmer, and despite the scarce supply of antimony and shortage of skilled workers saw their fonts used in printing some of the finest American books of the early decades of the nineteenth century.

They were not however without vigorous native as well as European competition. Elihu White established the first important foundry in New York, and later introduced the industry to Boston and Cincinnati; almost concurrently the Bruce Brothers, also of New York, became successful printers-founders, developed a lucrative stereotyping business, and by 1820 were bragging of their prowess while boldly disparaging the work of Binny and Ronaldson.

Meanwhile the search for a method of casting type more cheaply and faster gained momentum. Two Hartford inventors working separately created the first promising typesetting machines on this side of the Atlantic, the one embodying a principle similar to that of the Linotype, the other that of the Monotype. When in October, 1827, Sturdevant and Starr patented

their more successful machine, the day for hand casting was done, and the American typefounding industry, now well begun, took a new course.

It is appropriate to point out that this volume of Mr. Silver's on the mystery of early American typefounding is in itself a notable piece of bookmanship—virtually a collector's item—handsomely bound, attractive in its illustrations, and printed in Monticello, a modern version of the most distinctive of the faces cast by Binny and Ronaldson.

Temple University

C. WILLIAM MILLER

The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era.

By RICHARD P. McCORMICK. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. x, 389 p. Bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This fine study carries the authority of wide research, a consistent point of view, and clear organization. It adds further distinction to the list of American Association for State and Local History awards.

The author's thesis is that under the stimulation of the presidential elections from 1824 through 1840 a new party system evolved throughout the states and functioned thereafter until 1852. This system, he feels, was "unique in its origins, in its national comprehensiveness and balance, and in the fatal flaws that brought about its early disruption." Unlike the first party system, the second system began to evolve in the states and was characterized by statewide elections of presidential electors rather than the earlier legislative balloting. Important factors in its development included strong local leadership, state and national constitutional structure, and sectional identification with and reaction to the presidential candidates.

This system consisted essentially of two parties (with occasional incursions of Antimasonry), which were in 1840 "for the first time" "truly national in scope." Although largely formed by regional reactions to presidential candidates these two parties in order to be national had to overcome sectional interests, and when they could no longer do so this second party system collapsed and was replaced by a third system, of pronounced regional bias.

The author does not concern himself with party doctrine or composition but rather with structure and with parties as machines designed to win elections. He devotes the major part of his book to parallel descriptions of the evolution of the new parties in each of the states and in the four great regions. These descriptions provide an extremely valuable survey of contemporaneous party development and may well constitute, as the author suggests, the greatest contribution of the book. There are nevertheless valuable discussions of the first two-party South (produced by the substitution of Van Buren for Jackson), the appearance of Antimasonry, the self-perpetuation of party activity, and the substitution of the convention for

the nominating caucus. The author sees the emergence of Jacksonianism as a political expedient rather than as a social, economic, or doctrinal phenomenon.

As may be expected in a book of Dr. McCormick's, his thesis is well presented and soundly supported. It is possible to ask, however, if this study does not underemphasize one vital feature of party organization. Professor McCormick points out that he is concerned only with a "particular dimension" of parties, namely as machines for nominating and electing candidates within the states, and for this function a party exists for him when votes "were concentrated behind a slate of candidates nominated by some agency, formal or informal, and when such evidence of leadership and voter cohesion was manifested in successive elections." But can one thus divide the party's electoral characteristics from its legislative and administrative functions and behavior? Specifically, what of the vital elements of discipline and reward that are so central in party organization. Surely, cohesion, organization, and enthusiasm as well as processes of nominating and electing all involve the carrot and the stick, and surely it was the highly developed and judicious use of these two tools that both differentiate and characterize the party era under discussion.

More important, it appears that his intensive study of one period has led the author to underestimate the persistence and continuity of political characteristics and techniques. Granted there was a "no-party" confusion before 1789 and that the collapse of the Federalists had by 1824 destroyed the vitality of the first party system. Still, between these years there was widespread development of techniques with direct relationship to elections. These included national-state party collaboration, nominating devices, patronage, partisan removal, propaganda devices, and astute local leadership. There were also, especially in 1796, 1800, and 1808, vocal and active if not well-organized Federalists and Jeffersonians in all parts of the Union, and there was certainly "sectional reaction to presidential candidates." In short, perhaps Professor McCormick's second party system was neither entirely novel in its techniques nor peculiar in many of its characteristics of development. Political tools were far more developed in 1840 than in 1800 and some devices were new. But it can be argued that the second party system's "unique" "comprehensiveness and balance" represented merely a very broad popular consensus (except over the distribution of the loaves and fishes) during a brief period of very few highly divisive issues, and that as soon as such issues reappeared the consensus ceased. In other words, perhaps the "second party system" was not so much a unique system as a particular phase of a political continuum.

These matters of emphasis would seem to need further refinement, but there can certainly be no disagreement about this book as a "must" in the bibliography of American political history.

Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian. By DALE VAN EVERY. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1966. 279 p. Maps, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Dale Van Every is a student of history who brings to his task not the professor's concern for painstaking documentation and conclusive proof, but the newsman's delight in pace and movement. An independent writer of fiction and nonfiction, Van Every has taken one of the great themes of American history—the struggle between the red man and the white man for possession of the continent—and recounted the tragic climax of that struggle—Indian Removal in the 1830's—in this book. Although the title suggests a more general treatment, Van Every deals essentially with the removal of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Seminoles from their passionately held lands in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida. Grant Foreman and other scholars have trod this ground before, and Van Every's work inevitably invites comparison with theirs. Van Every does not break new ground. His work is essentially a recounting of a well-known series of events. Although he occasionally makes reference to original source materials, he is principally concerned with telling the story without scholarly impediments. And tell it he does, with skill and persuasiveness. Van Every's attitude is one of deep sympathy for the Indian, and his bitterness over the betrayal and abuse of the Indians is honestly expressed.

Van Every tends to see the struggle between white and Indian in a white context, simplifying or ignoring the complexities of Indian society and life. He sees the Indians, for example, as the presumed victims of an unrestrained individual freedom ("the Indian enjoyed total freedom as an individual") which resulted in a failure to recognize the "community of their interests as a people." This judgment ignores the extraordinary discipline—fully described by Van Every—shown by the Cherokees and other Indians subjected to intolerable pressures, and it also gratuitously assumes a unity of Indian interest and identification. Anthropologists would be unhappy with other assumptions of Van Every about "the Indian." But the author is not writing a conventional anthropological or historical treatise; he is telling a story. It may seem unnecessary to reopen wounds in the American conscience by recounting once more the sorry and sorrowful events of Indian Removal in the Southeastern states. But anything that reminds us of how we were helps us to understand how we are. Van Every's book will probably reach a larger audience than existing scholarly treatments of the subject and we can be thankful for his detailed and sympathetic account.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

A History of Negro Slavery in New York. By EDGAR J. McMANUS. Foreword by RICHARD B. MORRIS. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966. xiii, 219 p. Appendix, bibliographical note, index. \$5.95.)

This excellent monograph is a valuable contribution to the relatively scanty literature on the history of the Negro in the North. The author is well qualified for his task. A native of New York City, he holds a Ph.D. degree from Columbia University (where this study originated as his dissertation) and a law degree from New York University. He teaches both history and law. Perhaps on account of this background, he has been able to make particularly effective use of the statutes and law cases which form a major source for this book. McManus freely admits, however, that practice did not always conform to the law, and he has also dug extensively in manuscripts, newspapers, and other primary sources.

The first chapter deals with slavery in New Netherland and argues that the institution under Dutch auspices existed in a rather mild form, mainly because so many of the Dutch did not think of themselves as permanent settlers but planned to return to Holland. They regarded slavery as a temporary expedient and operated it more or less on the lines of indentured servitude. Under English rule slavery in New York expanded and the regulations regarding it became increasingly complex. The slave trade became one of the cornerstones of the commercial prosperity of New York port. Even under the English, however, slavery in the colony was relatively humane. It is particularly notable that slaves in this province achieved unusual success as skilled workmen. The greatest concentration of slaves was in New York City and the adjacent counties. The average owner held only one or two slaves. In a chapter on the economics of slavery Dr. McManus argues that slavery was a profitable labor system, though later in the book he says that by the late eighteenth century it had become unprofitable. He does not fully account for this change.

Several chapters deal with conditions of life under slavery, regulatory legislation, fugitive slaves, and slave conspiracies. While maintaining that the condition of New York slaves was generally good, the author insists that most slaves objected to the system *per se* and were eager to obtain their freedom if possible. One of the worst features of slavery was its adverse effects on family life. Many slaves fled via the sea or to the frontier; some went to live among the Indians and a few escaped to Canada. There were two major slave conspiracies in colonial New York, one in 1712, the other in 1741. These are described in some detail. An interesting section of the book deals with the religious work among the slaves by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an Anglican missionary organization.

The last quarter of the work deals mainly with the emancipation movement. From an early day slaveowners voluntarily manumitted slaves, out of reasons of conscience or as rewards for good service. As in Pennsylvania, the Quakers led the antislavery crusade from the beginning; even before the Revolution they were dismissing slaveholders from their membership. The Revolutionary War itself contributed to emancipation; both sides offered freedom to slaves in return for military service. The legislature came very close to passing an abolition law in 1785, but the measure failed on account

of disagreements as to what rights should be given to the freedmen. This question was bypassed when the gradual emancipation bill was finally passed in 1799. The impact of Revolutionary idealism and the labors of the New York Manumission Society under the leadership of John Jay and Alexander Hamilton are given rather skimpy attention. Two concluding chapters summarize what has gone before and offer some reflections on the state's moral shortcomings in its handling of the free Negro. The book is short, but it is based on thorough research and is well-written.

The Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

Coal Boats to Tidewater: The Story of the Delaware and Hudson Canal. By MANVILLE B. WAKEFIELD. Foreword by CARL CARMER. (South Fallsburg, N. Y.: Steingart Associates, Inc., 1965. xviii, 206 p. Photographs, drawings, diagrams, maps. \$8.50.)

This is a canal "buff" book with a difference. The difference is Manville B. Wakefield, who has lavished his considerable talents as an antiquarian, artist, draftsman, and map maker on this detailed description of the Delaware and Hudson Canal. As an antiquarian, he has spent his spare time for a dozen years assembling a remarkable amount of original records, local newspaper accounts, oral interviews from old timers, and photographs, both historical and current. As an artist, he has tastefully filled the gaps in the flow of illustrations with scratchboard drawings which also evoke a nostalgic mood for the slow-paced life aboard the horsedrawn canal boats. As a draftsman, he has clearly diagrammed the most intimate construction and operating details of both the locks and canal boats. As a map maker, working from official Delaware and Hudson surveys and county atlases, he has charted every mile, lock, town, and aqueduct along the way. In the towns and other points of interest he changes the scale of his maps to indicate local industry, landowners, topography, roads, and every other manner of detail. The maps, illustrations, and text are carefully cross-referenced to allow the reader to move from one to the other with ease. The result is a major achievement which should preclude the need to study the Delaware and Hudson Canal again for its physical and technological characteristics.

Except for four chapters on early history, the gravity railroad (to transport the anthracite coal from the Lackawanna Valley mines to the canal starting at Honesdale), canal technology and improvements, and a brief conclusion respectively, Mr. Wakefield devotes the book entirely to the canal. His organization is geographical, following the flow of coal-laden canal boats from Honesdale in the west to Eddyville, near Kingston, N. Y., in the east. One chapter is assigned to each section—Lackawaxen, Delaware, Neversink, Summit, Ellenville, and Rondout. Within each chapter, Mr. Wakefield assembles—again in a geographical sequence—his twelve-

year store of information, anecdotes and pictures about the various localities along the 108-mile route of the Delaware and Hudson Canal. By necessity, no community or locality is covered in any depth. The variety of incidents, however, creates an impressionistic picture of the way canal life must have been from the Civil War to 1900.

The graphic elements—photographs, drawings, diagrams, and maps—make the book's major contribution. Mr. Wakefield and other people interested in transportation history should be encouraged to do as thorough a job of investigation on other canals and railroads. The book is weakest in its text. The geographical sequence of the narrative demands a string of disconnected technological discussions, anecdotes, and newspaper accounts of interesting incidents. The choice of paper does not do justice to some of the historical photographs. This is unfortunate because this is basically a picture book with illustrative text, rather than a systematic history with illustrations.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

RICHMOND D. WILLIAMS

Emerson and Thoreau: Transcendentalists in Conflict. By JOEL PORTE.
(Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966. xii, 226 p.
Index. \$7.00.)

The history of the changing relationship, personal and otherwise, between the two Transcendentalists, Emerson and Thoreau, is not a discovery. It was traced in detail from documents by John B. Moore as early as 1932 and, in spite of a fairly general popular acceptance of the notion, apparently started by Emerson himself, that Thoreau was his disciple and merely carried his ideas into practice, no serious critic in recent years has failed to recognize the deeper and more philosophical differences between the two men and their writings.

Mr. Porte's contribution to the story is a sharpening of these differences by the method of exaggeration and contrast and by relating them to their presumed philosophical sources in eighteenth-century thought, rather than to their immediate historical context in nineteenth-century culture. Thus Emerson's central emphasis on the doctrine of correspondence and his debt to Kant through Coleridge is brought into sharp conflict with Thoreau's more empirical and sensuous response to Nature and his debt to Locke by way of the earlier naturalists. No one who appreciates the sensuous as well as the intellectual responses of Emerson's "Snow Storm" or who sees Thoreau struggling to relate his experiences with the world of Walden Pond to "Higher Laws" in Chapter IX of *Walden* will be able to accept Mr. Porte's distinctions without reservations; but the thesis is challenging and, however forced, will illustrate the way in which the anti-historical critic,

however prejudiced, can shock the historian, however correct, into defending his findings on something more than a circumstantial level.

University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT E. SPILLER

Simon Cameron, Lincoln's Secretary of War: A Political Biography. By ERWIN STANLEY BRADLEY. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966. 451 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The justification for writing a political biography of Simon Cameron is not, despite the title of this book, the politician's short term as Secretary of War, but, as Erwin Stanley Bradley knows, to discover how he rose to power, what were the bases of his strength, and how he used his political leadership. Professor Bradley does little to answer these questions as he follows Senator Cameron in his opportunistic, skillful pursuit of place and power. The author has concentrated on Cameron himself in this political biography and almost completely ignored the national and state political scene. He has done nothing to show what made Cameron or Pennsylvania different or significant.

By themselves, the Senator's personal activities were not sufficiently original to make him worthy of a biography. Every political boss has able lieutenants, rewards or punishes his followers by the use of place and other types of favors, and is able to call on "friends" in the opposing party. What then enabled Cameron to succeed in Pennsylvania? For an answer Bradley can only point to Cameron's great skill.

Admittedly, Simon Cameron was a personable, intelligent man with enormous political ability. It must be admitted, too, that it is thoroughly enjoyable to follow him and watch him use that ability. Unfortunately, having done so we still do not know very much about Pennsylvania politics in the nineteenth century.

Bradley should have tried to escape from the fascination of his subject long enough to answer a few basic questions. Why was the Republican party strong in Pennsylvania? What were the areas of its strength? What economic and social groups supported it? What programs appealed to them? Without answers to these questions Cameron's success cannot be explained.

Nor does Bradley attempt to show which parts of the state supported Cameron; whether the votes he received in party caucuses over the years tended to come from certain distinct areas; or whether the programs he supported in the Senate appealed especially to specific groups of voters in Pennsylvania.

The author would have avoided many of these errors if he had paid more attention to the reviews of his earlier book, *The Triumph of Militant Republicanism* (1964). Mr. Bradley still views politics in terms of "feudal cabals" and an inert electorate, a failing of his which David Montgomery pointed out in this magazine in April, 1965. Bradley seems to believe that,

during the period when Senators were elected indirectly, the people did not realize that when they voted for state legislators they were also voting for United States Senator. Yet Cameron's correspondence clearly indicates that the voters did know what they were doing.

Professor Bradley has also still failed to read the more recent books in his field. Thus he is surprised that Simon Cameron supported inflation (forgetting that Don Cameron did the same in 1893), and he is led to make the incredible statement that "'Soft' money and inflation were anathema to most businessmen."

Even when following Cameron's constant pursuit of place and power, the area in which Bradley is at his best, the author is not entirely successful. He slips over the first forty-six years of Cameron's life in thirty pages, so that those who are really interested in the subject must still turn to Lee Crippen's *Simon Cameron; Ante-Bellum Years* (1942). The coverage of the years 1845 through 1877 is far more satisfactory, but Bradley does not adequately trace the rising opposition to Cameron and his organization which began in 1869 and culminated in the electoral contest of 1872.

Bradley states that Cameron was politically active from his retirement from the Senate in 1877 until his death, at the age of ninety, twelve years later, but he gives little information to support this fact as he "covers" these years politically in just four pages. The addition of some of the existing material indicating the dependence of Don Cameron and Matt Quay on the vigorous old man would have done much to strengthen this part of the book.

Erwin Stanley Bradley did a great deal of research to produce this first complete political biography of Simon Cameron. It could have been, despite its shortcomings, an interesting account of a fascinating man, but it has been needlessly spoiled by numerous clichés, clumsy, involved metaphors, redundancies, typographical errors, incorrect words, misspelled names and wrong initials, inaccurate quotations and citations, and an incomplete bibliography and index. Surely the author and the University of Pennsylvania Press could have done a better job of editing and proofreading the text.

Yale University

BROOKS M. KELLEY

A History of the University of Maryland. By GEORGE H. CALLCOTT. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1965. viii, 422 p. Illustrations, bibliographical note, index. \$7.50.)

Nominally, the University of Maryland had its beginning in 1784, when, by an act of incorporation, the legislature of Maryland united Washington College and St. John's College under the name of the University of Maryland and promised this institution annual support from the state. But this arrangement was discontinued in 1805. Two years later, however, the legis-

lature of Maryland took what proved to be a second step toward creating a University of Maryland by chartering a proprietary institution called the Maryland College of Medicine, for in 1812 it authorized this college "to add other professional schools and an undergraduate college," and thus become the University of Maryland, the government of which would be vested in the faculty thereof. By assuming control of this institution in 1826, the state of Maryland made it "a state university in fact"; but in 1839, accepting a judicial decision that such assumption had been illegal, the legislature returned the University of Maryland to its former owners. Because Maryland was slow in accepting full responsibility for the support of such an institution, the University of Maryland did not become a state university in the full sense of this term until 1920.

Neither under private control nor under control by the state did the University of Maryland have much success in maintaining an undergraduate college. Accordingly, its principal role in Baltimore turned out to be that of promoting professional education in medicine, in dentistry, in pharmacy, and, presently, in law and in nursing. The undergraduate college which eventually became the core of a state-controlled and state-supported University of Maryland was chartered in 1856 and opened its doors to students on October 6, 1859, near present-day College Park, as the Maryland Agricultural College. Ironically, this institution in its earliest years operated not as a college for the sons of poor farmers, but as an institution in which the sons of planters, without being compelled to endure the rigors of a classical program, could acquire a scientific education befitting young gentlemen who might aspire to positions of social and political leadership. In both its procedure and its general outlook, this college differed little from the traditional colleges of that era.

But the Civil War brought in its train significant changes, and eventually the Maryland Agricultural College was rescued from threatened bankruptcy by the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862. Between 1864 and 1866, the legislature of Maryland accepted the grant of this act, gave the proceeds thereof to the Maryland Agricultural College, and acquired for the State of Maryland a half-interest in this institution. A third attempt during these years to create a state university ended in failure. But in subsequent years, as the recipient of more federal grants and of aid from the state, this college—renamed in 1916 the Maryland State College of Agriculture—made progress. By 1920, as our author tells us, it had become "a typical land-grant college." In that year its merger with the old University of Maryland united the professional schools in Baltimore with the institution in College Park to form the present University of Maryland.

Since 1920, the history of the University of Maryland has been in large part a history of growth—of explosive growth since 1935. During the administration of President "Curley" Byrd (1935-1954), its enrollment increased from 3,400 to 15,700, its budget from \$3,000,000 to more than \$20,000,000, and the value of its plant from \$5,000,000 to more than

\$65,000,000. By the last-named year it had become one of the largest universities in the nation. And the end was not yet. In College Park only, the enrollment of 9,003 in 1953-1954 increased to 26,265 in 1965-1966. But increase in the number of its students, as well as in the number of its buildings and its services, was accompanied, especially after 1954, by considerable improvement in the quality of its programs, in the quality of its faculty, and in the quality of its instruction. One proof of such improvement is the fact that this university, which was refused a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa as late as 1948, was granted such a chapter in 1964.

This volume, written by a professional historian whose research has been thorough and whose expression has been lucid, should give the alumni of the University of Maryland increased pride in their alma mater and the people of Maryland a better understanding of the greater opportunities for education that have been created in their state since the end of the first World War.

Salem, Ore.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT

Lebanon Valley College: A Centennial History. By PAUL A. W. WALLACE. (Annville, Pa.: Lebanon Valley College, 1966. xvii, 280 p. Illustrations, appendixes, index. \$5.00.)

This centennial history of Lebanon Valley College by Paul A. W. Wallace fills an important void in the social history of Pennsylvania. It seeks to describe and interpret "the struggle out of which the College has emerged into maturity."

Dr. Wallace, who served as a member of the English department at Lebanon Valley College from 1925 to 1949, has overcome the severe handicap of sparse source materials to write a readable history of his academic institution. In a sense, it is a depressing story of adversity and handicaps. The college was founded by the United Bretheran Church, which had a strong tradition of hostility toward higher education. At its outset, the college suffered from a severe shortage of funds and it was equally handicapped throughout most of its early career by a rapid succession of presidents who had difficulty in defining the unique role of the college in Christian higher education. But the college survived its early years and matured largely as a result of the work of a young, dynamic, and resourceful president, H. U. Roop, who served between 1897 and 1906. The twenty-eight-year-old president gathered a good faculty, successfully solicited capital funds, and modernized the curriculum. He made Lebanon Valley a modern college, a course Dr. Wallace maintains it has followed up to the present date.

Dr. Wallace has attempted to strike a balance among administration, faculty, and students as he unravelled the history of the college. He has succeeded rather well although understandably his balance leans at times to-

ward the successes and failures of presidents. His descriptions of Annville, the faculty, students, and the evolving curriculum provide substantial and interesting content. He writes with a friendly, even nostalgic, tone toward the college. Indeed, his language is oftentimes "campus language," a set of colloquialisms peculiar to each college or university.

At the outset of his study, Dr. Wallace places Lebanon Valley College into the context of higher education in the 1860's. It would be interesting to know, if possible, whether or not the establishment of the college reflected a concern—held by many Pennsylvanians—over the state's entrance into the field of higher education as a result of the Normal School Act of 1857 or the Morrill Federal Land Grant Act of 1862. Did the United Bretheran Church share the fears of those who opposed the growing secularization of education? And how well did Lebanon Valley College fit into the context of higher education in the 1890's, 1920's, and 1940's? Writing sympathetically, Dr. Wallace has answered the final question of his study—"Has Lebanon Valley College fulfilled the hopes of its founders?"—with an emphatic affirmative. His answer is based on strong evidence.

The appearance of Dr. Wallace's study provides the opportunity to call for more college histories. Materials are often scarce but we need to encourage our present faculty and students to pen their college memoirs. We should encourage colleges also to establish their own archives. While it can be argued that faculty members are rarely objective observers of their own institutions, it is equally true that the few good college or university histories have come from the pens of prominent "home" academicians. College histories tell us a great deal about individual social institutions but they also enlighten us about the trends of our society. We need more of them in order that the historian of recent Pennsylvania and modern America may understand the patterns of post-civil war social history.

East Stroudsburg State College

ALFRED D. SUMBERG

The Climax of Populism: The Election of 1896. By ROBERT F. DURDEN.
(Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966. xiii, 190 p. Notes on sources, index. \$5.00.)

Professor Durden is persuaded that our understanding of Populism has been seriously distorted by our preoccupation with its more radical elements. He argues that we have relied too much on the "third-rate political novels" of Ignatius Donnelly, the "highly quotable letters" of Henry Demarest Lloyd, and the "highly personal and strange point of view" of Tom Watson, with the result that we have exaggerated the agrarian radicalism and irrationality of the Populist revolt. He fears that continued concentration on the "alleged eccentricities" of the "Pops" will obscure the fact that "their demands foreshadowed a considerable part of the achieve-

ments of the Progressives and New Dealers in the twentieth century." Specifically, he contends that the Populists provided a "political education" in the "need for expanded governmental action, state and federal, to redress the economic grievances that afflicted both the old majority who were farmers and the rising class of the nation's future who were urban industrial workers."

Durden's conclusions are based on his intensive study of the inner politics of the People's Party during the campaign of 1896. His perspective is that of North Carolina's Senator Marion Butler, who served as the keynote speaker at the party's St. Louis convention in July and became the national chairman of the party during the subsequent campaign. Butler's papers, which were not available to many earlier students of this period, have provided the foundation for Durden's research.

Perhaps as an inevitable result of the perspective he has chosen, Durden finds that the central problem facing the Populists in the "climax" of 1896 was one of perfecting and maintaining the fusion between Populists and Democrats which had been consummated at St. Louis by the nomination of Bryan. The problem, as Butler saw it, was to find ways of reconciling the hopes and needs of the western Populists, who could and did fuse with the Democrats, with those of southern Populists for whom fusion with Democrats was a moral and political impossibility. On the successful solution to this problem, both Butler and Durden believe, rested the future of the Populists as a viable force in American political life. It is not surprising therefore, to find Durden, in his Butler-oriented review of the campaign, commending Arthur Sewall of Maine, Bryan's Democratic running mate, for accepting fusion while condemning Georgia's Tom Watson for rejecting it. It does seem a bit far-fetched, however, to describe Watson, who undoubtedly reflected the aspirations of the great bulk of the southern Populists, as "sadly miscast in the political drama" because of his rejection of fusion and his insistence that the Democrats, with Butler's help, sought to "play whale to the Populists' Jonah." The thought that Watson was the political realist who correctly assessed the inevitable consequences of the fusion policy, while Sewall constituted so much dead weight in Bryan's luggage is not seriously considered.

More importantly, the Butler perspective has led Durden to conclude that "the climax of Populism" came in the election of 1896, rather than in the ideological struggle which preceded the Party's acceptance of Bryan's candidacy. The result is an emphasis on intricate political maneuvers at the expense of the broader issues at stake. While it may well be true, as Durden concludes, that the Populists anticipated both the Progressives and the New Deal, the Butler perspective is scarcely the way to prove it.

This is not to say that Durden's contribution is not an important one. As a study of the professional politicians among the Populists it deserves a place among the few really important studies of the 1896 struggle. Properly shelved, it would fill an important gap between C. Vann Woodward's *Tom*

Watson: Agrarian Rebel, and Chester M. Destler's *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform*.

University of Maryland

DAVID S. SPARKS

Turner, Bolton, and Webb: Three Historians of the American Frontier. By WILBUR R. JACOBS, JOHN W. CAUGHEY, and JOE B. FRANTZ. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965. viii, 113 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$2.95.)

The American Frontier is a concept which arouses all kinds of romantic and colorful associations from the "Wild West" to the modern folklore of popular music. To the historian, however, it is pregnant with meaning, even while vague, and has evoked interpretation from distinguished scholars. To Frederick Jackson Turner it implied movement westward until the old frontier, marked by population density, disappeared in a homogeneous America. To Walter Preston Webb it was the "Great Plains," the "great American desert," which conditioned the lives of all Americans. To Herbert Eugene Bolton it was the "Spanish borderlands," the impact of one culture upon another. Each in turn saw his concept in a broader sense than the American West, a thesis which could be applied to other areas and periods of history. Turner spawned a whole school of Western historians, while his frontier concept was repeatedly applied, misapplied, revised, and finally by some scholars denied. Webb's manipulation of facts to fit his thesis promptly came under attack by economic historians, but he was content to let his seed fall on fertile ground and find a sympathetic response. Bolton's frontier embraced Latin America, stimulated an all-American view of history and challenged the orthodox compartmentalization of courses and fields. His students spurred the study of Latin American history in many colleges and universities.

The three essays which comprise this modest little book are different in their approaches. Jacobs, having studied the Turner papers, interprets the master as teacher, writer, and historian (an unorthodox teacher, a reluctant writer, and not productive as a historian). He assumes that his readers know about the man, have read his books, and so devotes his pages to an assessment of Turner. Caughey writes a review of the life and works of Bolton and an estimate of his importance, a kind of tribute from a disciple. Frantz, however, gives a chatty, anecdotal appreciation of Webb and his books, his character, habits, and style. Hence there is a little of everything which will furnish the graduate student rapport with three outstanding figures in Western historiography and some appreciation of their significance. This appears to be the purpose of the book.

Slingerlands, N. Y.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania. By FREDERICK A. SWEET. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. xx, 242 p. Illustrations, sources, index. \$7.95.)

Though published approximately fifty years after the artist's death, this is the first significant biography of Mary Cassatt. It is a fascinating and revealing story of an extraordinary American.

Fortunately for the author and his readers, the members of the Cassatt family, through several generations, kept closely in touch one with the other through the nineteenth-century letter-writing habit. The hoard of these letters in possession of the present generation created a windfall of which Mr. Sweet, through a study of some fifteen years, made intelligent and effective use—as he also made use of countless interviews with those who knew her in life, her nephews and nieces, friends, chauffeur, and housemaids.

Those particularly interested in painting will find here the story of a dedicated artist who never for one moment lowered her standards for self or popularity; others will find a sociological expression of the life of an American family, the cast of characters being the artist herself, her mother, father, invalid sister, brothers, nephews and nieces, children of the nephews and nieces, and friends.

I venture that most readers will start the book with certain preconceived notions that are erroneous, one being that Mary Cassatt was a wealthy American who did much by purchases to support her fellow impressionists struggling for recognition. Factually, her parents were of modest circumstances with \$1,000 a year plus or minus being the difference between paying or not paying their unextravagant running expenses. It is true, however, that she was of great aid to her fellow artists in persuading her more affluent relatives and American collectors, such as the Havemeyers, to acquire their paintings.

Mary Cassatt was in her own right an accepted artist whose work during her middle and later years was much in demand by French collectors in contrast with a lack of interest on the part of Americans. She was proud of the fact that in 1895 she purchased the Chateau de Beaufresne, her home during the remaining thirty-odd years of her life, with money earned by the sale of her work.

Another misconception held by some is that Miss Cassatt was a mildly unconventional Bohemian tending toward the life of an advance guard expatriate in Montmartre or the Latin Quarter. As a fact, during her first unaccompanied years in Paris, Miss Cassatt led a markedly conventional life, definitely accentuated in 1877 by her aging parents with her invalid sister Lydia settling themselves in Paris with Mary under the same roof. For the following years she was the stanch executive head of her semi-invalid family with the heavy chores of bringing them to health resorts, renting summer places, hiring apartments, and enduring the impatience of a rather churlish, selfish father. The sister died in 1882, the father in 1891, the mother in 1895, and only then at the age of fifty-one years, after eighteen

years of duty doing, was Mary freed from the practical day to day family responsibilities. Notwithstanding, these eighteen years were incredibly productive in artistic attainment.

Mr. Sweet illustrates her strong sense of propriety with two anecdotes. Although Degas was the scion of an aristocratic line, he did not entirely live up to his family standards. He admired Miss Cassatt and probably loved her. On his death she wrote George Biddle: "I am sad, he was my oldest friend here and the last great artist of the 19th century." Nevertheless, in answer to a direct question by a young relative as to whether she had had an affair with Degas: "What, with that common little man, what a repulsive idea."

She had no high regard for the generation of artists succeeding her. In 1908 her friend Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears brought her to an "evening" at the home of Gertrude Stein. Doubtless the then advance guard young artists were there, the Fauves and the budding Cubists. Miss Cassatt was introduced to a number of them and looked about her at the dozens of early Matisse and Picassos on the walls. She turned to Mrs. Sears and said: "I have never in my life seen so many dreadful paintings in one place; I have never seen so many dreadful people gathered together and I want to be taken home at once."

Mr. Sweet recounts with clarity Miss Cassatt's contribution to American culture in the part she played in introducing the impressionists to American museums and private collectors. In this range her closest friend and the grateful recipient of her acute critical advice was Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer, whose collection is now one of the great glories of the Metropolitan Museum. The repudiation of Mrs. Havemeyer by Miss Cassatt, through a misunderstanding, a result of the latter's semi-blindness and a growing bitterness in old age, is a tragic incident of a distinguished friendship.

Through many years Mary Cassatt's paintings have been avidly sought after at high prices both in America and Europe. Some of her best paintings continue in the possession of French families, purchased by them sixty or seventy years ago. Her own personality, however, has remained rather shadowy. This book consolidates the shadow. We find a great connoisseur, an opinionated admirer, and an equally opinionated decrier. Mr. Sweet indicates that her pet aversions were the paintings of John Singer Sargent, and of her fellow Pennsylvanian, Cecilia Beaux; her pet admirations, Degas and El Greco.

Although three generations of Cassatts were devoted to "Aunt Mary," as known by the young, it is apparent that the family never took her career as an artist with much seriousness. By Will she left to a great-nephew a painting of his choice. He chose a fan painted by Pissarro.

The excellent illustrations are revelatory of her life and art. The list of heretofore unpublished letters, the extensive bibliography, the index, and the physical format mark the volume as a product of first-rate bookmaking.

Winterthur Portfolio II: (Winterthur, Del.: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1965. 216 p. Illustrations, index. \$9.50, add twenty-five cents for mail orders.)

Anyone interested in American cultural history will find something to his taste in the Winterthur Museum's second annual *Portfolio*. Like the museum itself, this publication has brought to the study of the arts of design in early America a refreshing blend of earnest scholarship and good taste. Both elements are present in the present volume, though the contents are more satisfying than the format.

Five of the articles relate to the pictorial arts. A two-part piece on the Museum's recently acquired portrait of Mrs. Roger Morris by Copley demonstrates two ways of studying a work of art in context. E. P. Richardson discusses the painting in relation to Copley's other work, especially the portraits painted during his 1771 visit to New York. Richard C. Simmons looks behind the canvas to reveal the rather pathetic history of Mrs. Morris and her Philipse relatives, New York Loyalists, for whom the Revolution was an unmitigated catastrophe. Theodore Sizer's brief account of John Trumbull's portrait of his wife, another recent Winterthur accession, applies the same methods to produce a little masterpiece which should be required reading for all aspiring authors of exhibition catalogues.

Robert C. Smith's article, "*Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences*, a Philadelphia Allegory by Samuel Jennings," is an exemplary study of an exceptionally interesting painting, the earliest known anti-slavery work by an American artist. Winterthur's version of this painting is a replica (reduced) of the original painted in 1792 for the Library Company of Philadelphia. Allegory is the subject also of E. McClung Fleming's "The American Image as Indian Princess 1765-1783," which meticulously documents a neglected chapter in the iconography of "America." A delightful series of illustrations drawn from contemporary cartoons, prints, and decorative objects enlivens the text.

Architectural interests are specifically addressed in two articles. Jonathan L. Fairbanks tells all there is to know about one of Wilmington's lost pre-Revolutionary houses, the dwelling of miller Thomas Shipley of "Brandywine Village," demolished in 1957. The article is well illustrated with interior and exterior photographs, early views, and a wealth of pertinent family history. In his useful "Survey and Bibliography of Writings on English and American Architectural Books Published before 1895," Charles B. Wood points up the need for intensive research on the availability and influence of early architectural literature in the United States.

So often on the receiving end of influences, America "gave as good as it got" in the field of horticulture, particularly in the eighteenth century. Just how this worked is clearly shown by Louise Conway Belden in an interesting study of "Humphrey Marshall's Trade in Plants of the New World for Gardens and Forests of the Old World."

Aside from brief pieces on a miniature chest of drawers and a North Devon harvest jug, Nancy A. Goyne's article on "Britannia in America" is this *Portfolio's* only entry in the strictly decorative arts field. It is a good one, providing a very useful reference on a little-known subject. Separate publication of this article would be helpful to museums. The same is true of Charles F. Hummel's illustrated catalogue of English woodworking tools used by the Dominy family of Long Island.

Both students of the book arts and lovers of virtuoso detective work will take special pleasure in reading Willman and Carol Spawn's account of Francis Skinner, appropriately named bookbinder of Newport. It offers a fascinating glimpse of the research techniques which in the last decade have uncovered almost unbelievable quantities of information on early American binders. The methodology set forth in this little monograph is classic in simplicity of plan and thoroughness of execution.

Viewed as a whole, *Portfolio II* suffers a little in comparison with *Portfolio One*, largely, I think, because it lacks focus. The first was mainly about the Winterthur Museum and its surroundings; the second has practically taken all knowledge for its province and spreads itself thin in the effort. In choosing to be neither popular nor purely academic in its approach, *Portfolio* is also charting a relatively unfamiliar course. It needs to be more sure of where it is going to be fully effective.

Independence National Historical Park

DAVID H. WALLACE

The World of Laughter: The Motion Picture Comedy Short, 1910-1930. By KALTON C. LAHUE. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. xviii, 240 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$4.95.)

"This is not a definitive history of the American comedy short. No such work exists and it is doubtful that it ever will," Lahue states in his introduction. Within the limits he set for himself, he has produced a volume that greatly helps fill the need of recording that wild, hectic, mad-house era of silent motion picture comedy production.

The author's selection and recording the output of major producers of comedy during the period was no small task. His presentation of material in chronological order could have been tedious. However, Lahue showed great skill and talent in combining amusing comedy scenarios, interesting biographical sketches, personality portraits, and informative historic commentary.

From the growing-pain period to the full maturation of silent motion picture art, comedy production grew from split-reel to full feature. Along the way it developed some celebrated comic artists. The author very aptly reports the changing developments of this chaotic period in his account of the comedy short.

Those old enough to remember will have many a nostalgic chuckle. Those too young will have a good sampling of the silent comedy films, stars, directors, and producers. This book is a must for fan and scholar. It is simultaneously informative and entertaining.

The College of William and Mary

ALBERT E. HAAK

Notice

Simultaneously with the mailing of this issue of the *Magazine* the title form and index to Volume 90 (1966) have been sent under separate cover to all institutional subscribers. Members of the Society and individual subscribers who wish this material may have it upon request.

Information Wanted

The Inter-university Consortium for Political Research is collecting county election returns, including the vote for both major and minor party candidates, for all American elections to the offices of President, United States Senator and Congressman, and Governor from 1824 to the present. The project has been aided and encouraged by the American Historical Association, and numerous students of American politics have participated in the task of collecting data. These county election returns are being integrated into the Consortium political data archive and will soon be available in machine-readable form to historians and other interested scholars. Within the next few years this collection of county election returns will also appear in published form.

Complete information for all but a few elections in several states is now in the Consortium files. Pennsylvania county returns for the Congressional elections of 1824 through 1832, 1836, 1844, 1846, and 1848 are among those that have not yet been found. Any aid that can be given in locating these Pennsylvania returns will contribute to the completion of the collection.

Communications should be sent to:

The Director of Data Recovery
Inter-university Consortium for Political Research
P.O. Box 1248
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106