BOOK REVIEWS


On December 6, 1950, Dr. Wallace presented a paper before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania entitled “Indian Trails and Pennsylvania Travelers.” In this paper, which was subsequently published in the Magazine in the issue for October, 1952, under the title, “Historic Indian Paths of Pennsylvania,” he made a preliminary report on Indian trails in general, their location, extent, and uses, and then proceeded to describe sixteen of the most important paths in and through present-day Pennsylvania. The announcement for his lecture informed the reader that “as a consultant to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, he [Wallace] is currently doing extensive research on the Indian trails of Pennsylvania.”

The present volume represents the results of this “extensive research.” In it, Dr. Wallace has expanded the number of trails described to about one hundred and fifty, with variants of several of these shown; the book discloses ample evidence of the magnitude of Dr. Wallace’s research. Considering the paucity of previously published material, and in spite of his statement that “the present work makes no pretense to be definitive,” Dr. Wallace has been able to put together as nearly as definitive a description of these trails as could be accomplished. He has taken advantage of many sources of information—interviews with local residents, use of county and state archival material, but particularly research into copies of warrants and original surveys in the Land Office Bureau of the Department of Internal Affairs at Harrisburg.

In addition to the more commonly known trails—the Frankstown, the Allegheny, the Great Shamokin Path, the Catawba Path, the Tuscarora Path, and the various Warrior’s Paths—Dr. Wallace describes such obscure ones as the Warm Springs Path, from present-day Mercersburg to Berkley Springs, Virginia, the Pohopoco Path from present-day Weissport to Shawnee on Delaware, and the Wysaukin Path from present-day Wysox to Owego, New York. Included also are a number of portage paths—the Tioga Portage at Athens, the Conocochegue Portage between the Conocochegue and the Conodoguinet, and the Chautauqua Portage from Lake Erie to Chautauqua Lake. Dr. Wallace’s preliminary remarks, which occupy sixteen pages of text, describe Indian paths in general, their location, uses, and variants. In this section he also discusses his sources and methods of research, and elucidates the general format of the description of the paths which follows. There is a short bibliographical note of less than a page.
In general it is only necessary to say that this is an excellent book, well conceived, accurately researched, and admirably written. The additional feature of a section “To the Motorist,” appended to the description of each of the trails, makes it possible for the modern-day stay-at-home as well as the active trail walker to travel these ancient paths vicariously or actively with only the aid of county road maps available from the State Department of Highways in Harrisburg. Not the least important feature of this book is the inclusion of the clear, well-drawn maps from Dr. Wallace’s own hand which illuminate the text. The book is substantially made and well documented throughout. In short, we have here a book which should stand side by side with Hanna’s Wilderness Trail on the book shelf of anyone even remotely interested in the historical geography of pre-colonial and colonial Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is to be congratulated on having published this testimonial to Dr. Wallace’s industry and scholarship.

Dillsburg, Pa.  

John V. Miller


Students of American history owe a considerable debt to John R. Alden. His contribution to our understanding of the Revolutionary era, in addition to several fine biographical studies, includes perhaps the best single-volume history of the American Revolution, a part of The New American Nation Series. Professor Alden’s talents and knowledge of the American past have now been enlisted in behalf of another co-operative venture, The History of Human Society, under the general editorship of the English historian J. H. Plumb. In an introductory statement Plumb relates that this series will examine a variety of human societies, selected to show the progress of the human race, particularly that portion of it which has been ruled over or greatly influenced by Western man. Furthermore, an aim of this enterprise will be to bridge the gap between “professional knowledge and history for the masses.”

Professor Alden’s Pioneer America traces the development of American society from its prehistoric beginnings through the Civil War. Thus Pioneer America is meant to suggest an agrarian preindustrial America, as distinguished from a later modern America. Such a differentiation carries with it an interpretation familiar to almost everyone—that the Civil War was a watershed, and can be seen as a huge divide separating two quite different Americas. This is but one very orthodox interpretation in a book that abounds with orthodox interpretations. The reader learns, for example, that America was a melting pot, that life in the colonies was fraught with dangers and insecurities, and that the peculiar environment that was America pro-
moted freedom and liberty. All this emerges from within a general frame of reference that emphasizes growth, expansion, and progress. This is in keeping with the basic theme of the series, for as editor Plumb writes: “What, therefore, is the theme of The History of Human Society? It is this: that the condition of man now is superior to what it was.” For Alden, growth and progress in America are discussed primarily in terms of an unfolding political maturity and economic expansion. Among the features of the book are the thoughtful and often incisive character sketches of notable Americans, but these are restricted to political leaders.

Pioneer America is then an altogether traditional and even commonplace history of America to 1865. The chapter titled “The Jeffersonian Republic” moves from comments about the revolution of 1800 to remarks on Marbury v. Madison, the Louisiana Purchase, and finally American involvement in the Napoleonic Wars. None of this is very new, nor is there much that is startling in chapters on the Constitution of 1787, the westward movement, slavery and the South, and the Civil War. Indeed, the chief characteristic of Pioneer America is the lack of anything approaching freshness in point of view. The occasional flashes of humor (“[John] Adams was a vain, small, plump man who seemed to follow Washington like a fat barger after a battleship”; or again, on the dietary reformer Sylvester Graham, “Ought not the preserver of the alimentary canal be gratefully remembered along with the builders of the passageways at Panama and Suez?”) do not offset what is otherwise a tired and pedestrian exposition.

The specialist will find little here beyond a few choice generalizations, and these are not sufficient to merit a recommendation. For the layman—and the book seems aimed at that audience, for it lacks citations and other scholarly apparatus—there may be something, although that is doubtful. The general reader can encounter most of what is offered, and with far more detail and illustrative material, in any one of several standard American history texts. There are, of course, exceptions to this comment—Alden is to be commended for his careful and recurring insistence when describing American growth and material progress that certain groups, among them the Negro, failed to share fully in the bounty. Still, it is difficult to avoid editor Plumb’s own conclusion with respect to a volume which he recently reviewed: the reason for Pioneer America, “except the blind instinctive need of the author to write a book, is hard to discover” (reviewing Empress Maria Theresa: The Earlier Years, 1717-1757, in The New York Times, July 24, 1966). In this case, however, Professor Alden can share responsibility with others involved in the enterprise.

Oregon State University


What Sidney Lens has undertaken is to supply a popular account of American radicalism. In this he has succeeded rather well. He begins with
colonial America—the rebellions of Bacon, Leisler, and Culpeper—and he concludes in our own troubled time with the less violent protests of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Students for a Democratic Society. In between surge the major and minor radical currents carrying the careers of such men as Roger Williams, Thomas Paine, Wendell Phillips, Eugene V. Debs, William D. Haywood, Earl Browder, and A. J. Muste. Each is carefully placed in a historical context and revealed as quite understandable and human. Political affiliations are adequately spelled out and the often confusing fission and fusion of radical parties shown in broad but meaningful outline.

Regrettably, Sidney Lens' book is not a definitive history of American radicalism. United States historians have neglected all too long such a needed task of synthesis, so admirably pursued in Britain by such scholars as G. D. H. Cole, Simon Maccoby, and Edward Thompson. Consequently, into the field treads yet another gifted journalist, this time with a trade union background. Using a style possessing clarity, though not brilliance, he sets forth what is unfortunately for most of the public an unfamiliar area of history involving utopian communities, mass political action, mob violence, and industrial conflicts. A sizable portion of these take place in Pennsylvania. Surprisingly, in such an emotion-stirring series of events Lens maintains an air of almost clinical detachment, like a veteran surgeon reflecting on a lifetime of idealism drenched in blood.

The book is factually accurate, perhaps as a result of having been read in manuscript by Drs. Harry Elmer Barnes, Harry W. Laidlaw, and Stoughton Lynd. However, the author must be taken to task, even on his own terms as a popularizer. The role of Alexander Hamilton as promoter of industrialization and antagonist of Jefferson's agrarianism is stressed. Yet nothing is said of the equally significant antiradical judicial edifice erected by John Marshall on a base of common law. Lens refers to Gustavus Myers but appears unfamiliar with his devastating History of the Supreme Court, a classic radical work. In a more recent period, when the author probes the radical ferment of the 1930's, he fails to mention the impact on trade unionists and others of the war in Spain. For a host of Americans this was a traumatic experience; and for some the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was a high point of radical internationalism whose roots reached back to Samuel Gridley Howe's participation in the Greek Revolution, or Joel Barlow's role in revolutionary France.

It is sometimes considered in journalistic circles to be academic carping when footnotes and bibliography are insisted upon. But even a popular work has use for at least the latter. Mere passing mention in the text of Bancroft, Calverton, Perlman, and Schlesinger, Jr., without mention of their works, weakens the utility of an otherwise valuable book. There have been some excellent monographs on facets of radical history which should have found their way at least onto a page of "suggested reading." The one book comparable to the author's, namely, Lillian Symes and Travers Clement's Rebel America, contains an extensive bibliography—and it, too,
was aimed at a nonacademic audience. By way of partial redemption, let it be said that the work has received fine proofreading, possesses a useful index, and is graced with a superb selection of highly appropriate illustrations from the Kean Archives in Philadelphia. In format and type face it is a credit to the publisher.

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*

**Daniel R. MacGillvray**

*The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture.* By **David Brion Davis.** (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966. xiv, 505 p. Index. $10.00.)

A reviewer is occasionally rewarded with something more than the book assigned to him. His imagination is excited and his admiration won by a grand design, thorough research in primary and secondary sources, and challenging ideas presented with clarity. This study of slavery in Western culture, the background volume of a projected multivolume investigation of the antislavery movements in Great Britain and America, is such a book.

It is not a history of slavery, but an analysis of the "peculiar" worldwide institution from the Greek period to the end of the American colonial period. The philosophical, literary, and religious sources of antislavery thought are interwoven with economic factors which, at different times, encouraged or deterred slavery. The author presents no chronological account of mankind's response to slavery. He begins by investigating the New World's revitalization of an almost extinct European institution, and constantly keeps America in mind as he delves into traditions in thought and values relating to slavery; and concludes by evaluating works which recognized the Negro's right to human dignity. An epilogue summarizes the work of John Woolman, the troubled Quaker, who "shared the profound guilt of all" Americans and who predicted that "their descendants would face the awful retribution of God's justice."

The book's first of three parts surveys historical problems and the meaning of slavery in New World colonization and development; then it turns back to examine Old World systems of servitude; and finally backsteps further to trace European thought on the institution from antiquity to the eighteenth century. The significance of the human commodity in world trade underlines man's search to justify slavery; among other justifications are the fate of war captives, the ideological distinction between physical and mental slavery; and interpretations of mankind's dire heritage from Adam's original sin. Neither philosopher nor churchman advocated abolitionism. Order and discipline demanded acceptance of worldly status, whether servant or master, and all who endured were promised the reward of heavenly bliss. The second part of the book, chapters five through nine, examines changing points of view on the value and danger of American slavery, probes the legitimacy of the institution, and considers emancipa-
tion, racial mixture, and ethnic prejudice. The themes of these chapters are the “problems and conditions which might aid or impede the rise of antislavery thought.” The volume’s final and longest section begins with the antislavery ideas of Quakers, most of whom were maverick members of an unorthodox sect. After further examination of the influence of religion on collective guilt and private opinion, the philosophical writings during the Age of Enlightenment are presented with particular attention to the ambivalence of Rationalism and the ideas of utility and natural law. The changing image of the Negro contrasts amidiversions on his nature and color with Aphra Behn’s picture of a heroic, intelligent human “full of sex appeal, and passionately in love with freedom” in Oroonoko; or, the Royal Slave.

The many contradictory ideas presented and the author’s interpretations and conclusions necessitate lingering and pondering over this book. Despite continuity between the history of servitude in Europe and America, he finds the slave system of the West Indies and the southern states unique in its sharp racial and cultural distinctions between slave and freeman. From the first, the American colonist’s desire for labor was tempered by his fear of slave insurrection. This fact and moral considerations “reflected tensions in Western culture and involves the very meaning of America.” Although Quakers produced almost every argument later used by abolitionists, the author believes that a powerful international antislavery movement would have been hardly possible “had it not been preceded by a revolutionary shift in attitudes toward sin, human nature, and progress.” Before the Revolutionary War many Americans and Europeans sensed “that American slavery might symbolize all the forces that threatened the true destiny of man.”

By utilizing simplicity and clearcut format, the Cornell University Press has produced a book of appealing design. The press, the author, or both, deserve praise for not adding a fifty-page bibliography—the footnotes with numerous citations and explanatory material relegates a bibliography to luxury status, unneeded in this case to prove the author’s scholarship.

University of Georgia

Rembert W. Patrick


In his first version of The Devil’s Disciple, George Bernard Shaw managed to lose Lord Burgoyne in the woods of New Hampshire on his way south from “Boston” [!] to Albany. Mr. Van Alstyne—undoubtedly in haste—has once again placed Burgoyne and his army “in the forests of New Hampshire.” And he has written a study of the American Revolution as removed
from present interpretations and judgments as Shaw’s was from reality. *Empire and Independence* presents the reader with a cast of clear-cut villains and somewhat tarnished heroes: there were landowners, disappointed speculators, merchants, smugglers, religious bigots, James Otis, Thomas Hancock, Charles Thomson, and John Dickinson, all ambitious and rapacious intriguers on the Revolutionary side; there were responsible—though not always fully perceptive—men such as Daniel Leonard, Joseph Galloway, and Lord North dominating the other side. The issues between these men developed from their characters: from the beginning of the story, the Americans aimed for total independence and employed the shoddiest of schemes and propaganda devices; the British and loyalists consistently aimed for conciliation and endeavored nobly to preserve the British constitution so clearly defined by the Revolution of 1688. North might bungle, but he was very much like Shaw’s Burgoyne who felt the Americans were really proposing “a step backward in civilization.”

The author contends that colonial leaders aimed for “Empire” from the 1750’s. “Empire” meant an American domain, devoid of any element of real British control. The Americans invented a theory of French encirclement to justify war in 1756. In succeeding years, they played upon greed, appealed to “passions vented at the tavern level,” magnified supposed grievances, and finally revolted against their lawful rulers. Throughout the period, British ministers aimed for reconciliation, reconciliation which had to be achieved within the settled framework of the British constitution. Very much in the manner of Thomas Hutchinson, the ministers found no line between independence and the absolute and unquestioned supremacy of the British Parliament. There was no room for colonial autonomy; that—however defined—would be the same thing as independence. The quarrel between home country and colonies led to armed conflict and then merged into a general European war. Yet the British still aimed at peaceful settlement and offered the colonists all that they might legitimately have desired. And the British believed, and the author seems implicitly to believe, the greater number of Americans would have accepted reconciliation except for the domination of a minority of radicals, some British mistakes in timing, and the ways in which American diplomats became involved in the intrigues of Europe.

Throughout *Empire and Independence*, American motives are misstated and misunderstood. There is no conception of the difficulties of the constitutional issues, the political traditions, the ideals debated and gradually defined in the 1760’s and 1770’s. The problems of local self-government within empire are reduced to questions of greed and personal ambition. The American hope to maintain the colonies’ traditional semi-autonomous position is dismissed as a desire for “de facto independence”—no different apparently from the kind of independence secured after 1776. And one may wonder in what sense this is “an international history,” differing from traditional “diplomatic” studies? Much of the work consists of a detailed following of the familiar paths of the Revolutionary diplomats; another part, of
an uncritical summary of miscellaneous contemporary discussions; and yet another part of the inadequate interpretative framework suggested above. In a reaction to the "national bias" and the dogmatism for which he blames other historians, Mr. Van Alstyne has produced a distorted view of some aspects of the American Revolution.

University of California, Davis

DAVID L. JACOBSON


In The Ordeal of the Constitution Robert Rutland attempts, in his words, "to tell readers something of the Antifederalists' personalities, their problems, and their hopes." He explicitly disavows joining the controversy generated by Charles Beard's study of the Constitution and ratification and makes only a few passing references to the large and growing analytical and interpretive literature in this area. As a result this descriptive account of ratification will be, at best, of limited interest to the scholar. It can, however, prove enjoyable and profitable to the layman, and is at its best chronicling, state by state, the political activity of those who tried to thwart ratification of the Constitution as it came from the Philadelphia Convention.

Rutland's analysis depicts Antifederalist strategy more as a response to Federalist initiatives than as an organized, concerted effort. He very nicely conveys the pacing and tempo of ratification in each state, showing how the initial response of most Antifederalists was delay. Federalists, with a clear goal in view and more skillful leadership, exploited a variety of local circumstances and started a bandwagon in favor of ratification. Their most strategic victory was in Massachusetts where, for several reasons, a leaderless Antifederalist majority was induced to ratify the Constitution with recommendatory amendments. This proved to be the successful compromise which kept the Constitution essentially intact and insured ultimate ratification. After this, outright rejection of the Constitution, if it had ever been the Antifederalist strategy, became increasingly more untenable. Instead, Antifederalists turned to conditional (as opposed to recommendatory) amendments and to a demand for a second constitutional convention to remedy what they regarded as the defects in the original document. Rutland is at his best when showing how internal division and lack of strong, decisive leadership among the Antifederalists contributed to the failure of this objective.

The absence of a sustained analysis of the basis of Antifederalism, while not impairing the usefulness of the description, nevertheless has some unhappy consequences for the work as a whole. The narrative lacks the discipline and pointedness which an understanding of the grounds of Antifederalism, at its best, could impart. All too often contending views are left
at some quotations from the opposing sides. The reader has no way of judging the adequacy of the particular quotation or its place in the entire controversy. Grievances, hopes, and anxieties are too often simply listed, without any guidance in distinguishing the important from the trivial.

These difficulties come to the fore most in the opening and closing chapters of the book, where there is an attempt at more general analysis. It is noticeable, for example, in the discussion of Convention Antifederalism. As a set of coherent views on government, Antifederalism was not in fact represented at the Philadelphia Convention. The issues which split the Convention were not the same as those which afterward divided the country. This is seen most clearly by the fact that the large states, zealous in the Convention for a strong national government, were most divided on the question in their state conventions, while the small states were the quickest to ratify and exhibited virtually no dissent on the question. Rutland, in an attempt to give a chronological account of Antifederalism, starts with the Antifederalists present at the Convention, as identified by their subsequent stands. Thus, Edmund Randolph's, George Mason's and Elbridge Gerry's views are examined to find out what Convention Antifederalism was all about. In actuality, however, the only true Antifederalists at the Convention were Robert Yates and John Lansing, who, in total disagreement with the entire project, left after the Great Compromise was agreed on. To study Convention Antifederalism by studying Randolph, Mason, and Gerry is fundamentally misleading.

Similarly, Rutland's conclusion that the chief tenet of Antifederalism was an injunction that "the people must be trusted" is not quite accurate. The main tenet of both sides in the ratification debate was that the people must be trusted. The real question that came out of the debate was how are the people to be trusted? What kind of institutions are best for a regime which rests on trust for the people? It is true, as Rutland indicates, that the Antifederalists regarded the proposed Constitution as a threat to liberty and the state governments as its defender. This notion is never developed in the book. It is only after a full exposition of the reasons behind this opinion and the reasons offered by the Federalists to support the proposition that the Constitution and not the states would save liberty that a proper evaluation of the chief tenets of Antifederalism can be made.

This kind of analysis was not the main focus of Rutland's work, and the failures in this undertaking do not mar seriously the account of the politics of ratification. By their importance, however, they command attention and demand comment.

*University of Chicago*  
Sylvia Snowiss

The cyclical nature of historical interests and concerns is well known and well illustrated for American historians in the recent fascination with the United States' first vocal and articulate localists, the Antifederalists. No less than two major monographs and three anthologies of the writings of these long-neglected opponents of the original Constitution have appeared in recent years, each asking its own questions about their historical role and importance.

Professor Kenyon's careful and well-edited selection of vital and divergent expressions of such sentiments, published along with a revision and extension of her now classic article, "Men of Little Faith: The Antifederalists on the Nature of Representative Government," is a welcome addition. Concerned less, as a political theorist and student of government, with the personal economic, social, and psychological motives of these men, their ambitions and goals, she focuses upon their general views regarding the overall prospects for success in extending the heretofore limited and localized American experiment with republicanism to the entire nation, and now, with the type of documentation which her article could not include, brings out well the wide spectrum of gnawing apprehensions they had in this regard. And as one reads and categorizes such hostilities and concerns of national centralization, he readily sees that little of the states' rights argument, even of the 1960's, is totally new.

Concern was voiced over centralized power, its potential irresponsibility, the tendency of those to whom such power was entrusted both to expand it and utilize it for their own self-aggrandizement. The national court system was an inevitable threat both to state judiciaries and local self-determination. Functions which properly belonged to the states would be taken over by an ambitious and distant federal government whose powers were not specifically enough checked and limited by the ambiguous new document.

Yet the basis of such apprehensions was quite different from those of modern strict constructionists. Clearly such views reflect the Antifederalists' assessments of the realities and needs of their times. As self-proclaimed heirs of the true spirit of the Revolution, they not only feared that the new aristocratically conceived national structure, which sought to extend the republican principle to a far too large area and heterogeneous population, would destroy individual liberties, they saw it as an overly ambitious and grandiose proposal. They feared it would lead to the re-creation of a central tyranny, either from national accretion or through the emergence of a strong man who would lead the common people out of the grasp of such authority; they visualized the potential rise of a demagogue who would undermine the well-working local republicanism whose flaws they felt could clearly be corrected by minor revisions. Such tyranny they had fought a war to end, and they now were prepared to battle against its re-emergence under new colors.

Professor Kenyon's selection of materials to illustrate these tendencies, while neither as systematically presented as those in Morton Borden's Antifederalist Papers, or as thematic and present-minded as Alpheus T.
Mason's *States Rights Debate*, nonetheless gives a good flavor of the divergence of such responses, showing clearly their range from the most exquisitely sophisticated politics of the cloak room to the crudest politics of the mob in the street. But even with such range, and with the essential negativism of the Antifederalist's position, and with the lack of faith which these men had in the ability of American man to manage his own destiny effectively and selflessly, one is impressed with the verve, the vigor, and particularly the candor of such political dialogue, and can only regret that great national debates of a latter day could not have been conducted with such openness and such full exploration of all sides of the public issue confronting the nation.

*University of Minnesota*  
Paul L. Murphy


Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758–1841) was an intellectual Polish nobleman, versatile, quick-witted, and temperamental. He accompanied Kosciuszko to America in August, 1797. In May, 1798, the former suddenly chose to return to Europe, having left Niemcewicz behind; the reasons for this sudden break between two friends, who had been imprisoned together earlier by Russians, are not clear. In any event, Niemcewicz stayed on in the United States, restive and poor. He settled in Elizabeth, New Jersey, where he married a widow, Mrs. Susan Livingston Kean. The marriage was not a success. In 1802 Niemcewicz returned to Poland; in 1804 he came back to America; in 1807 he moved to Poland again. His wife let him go without much trouble; however, as the Introduction puts it, they “maintained cordial relations.” Niemcewicz wrote an enormous amount in Poland; he also was a political and intellectual statesman of sorts, and an amateur diplomatist. After the collapse of the 1830–1831 Polish Revolution he moved again, to Paris, where he eventually died.

Among the many Niemcewicz papers and books, his American diaries exist in two portions, 1797–1799, and a “Journey to Niagara,” 1805. *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree* represents a later reconstruction, from memory, of his life in New Jersey, and also a diary of his second sojourn in the United States. All of this has been meticulously collected, translated, and edited by Professor Budka. Much of it compares favorably with the contemporary accounts of other European travelers. The principal reason for this is Niemcewicz’s darting quick mind and the odd gracefulness of his expres-
visions. If he was not always a profound observer, he was certainly an acute one. He had the good fortune of meeting Washington twice. Niemcewicz's description of Washington's manners, countenance, and of the estate in Mount Vernon are first-rate sources, since his talent for observation was excellent. At times he lets himself be carried away (as when he writes about the Battery in New York: it "cedes nothing to the famous promenade in Naples"), but usually he is both accurate and judicious (as when he writes on Philadelphia houses, p. 36); and at times witty (writing about his companions on the stagecoach to Wilmington: "Three women, very pretty but not having between the three of them enough to make a single bosom"). Wilmington "appears as sad when one is there, as it appeared gay and animated from the river." There are portions in Niemcewicz's diaries that deserve to be included in anthologies of writings of European travelers in the early United States.

_Chestnut Hill College_  

John A. Lukacs


This is a remarkably good book, the best analysis of the Federalist Party that I have seen. Fischer concentrates upon the period from 1800 to 1816, the middle and neglected years of this party's history, but he necessarily gives some attention to the earlier formative period and he has the advantage of the work of his undergraduate mentor, Shaw Livermore, Jr., on _The Twilight of Federalism_ (1815-1830).

It is an essay "frankly revisionist," as the author declares, that starts with the assumption that nineteenth-century America was a "deferential society" where the "habit of subordination" was well established. After 1800, Fischer argues, a second generation of Federalist leaders responded with energy, acumen, and a degree of effectiveness to the Jeffersonian movement and by their response (1) stimulated an increased popular interest in politics that was manifested in increased voter participation, and (2) helped bring about a change in the structure of society through erosion of the habit of subordination and extirpation of the deferential spirit.

Fischer presents his thesis succinctly in a text of two hundred pages, bulwarked by appendixes of equal length. After describing the first generation of Federalist leaders as devotees of a regulated, structured, energetic government who were contemptuous of democracy, parties, and popular opinion, he proceeds to demonstrate how the next generation of Federalists gradually adopted the once despised techniques of their Jeffersonian opponents. Though Federalists had previously been willing to "stand" but never to "run" for office, they now learned to curry popular favor by stump
speaking, barbecues, parades, door-to-door canvassing, and other species of
electioneering, honest and dishonest. Washington Benevolent Societies were
formed after the pattern of the self-constituted Democratic societies that
had shocked the first President by their actions and their aspirations, and
an electioneering Federalist press was created (though a good share of
newspaper editors were already Federalists, but restrained) that called upon
the electorate in strident tones to support Federalist candidates as "Friends
of the Poor" and to "vote for Jack Adams, . . . the seamen's and me-
chanic's friend."

Searching for popular issues, these latter-day Federalists adopted the
very slogans their predecessors had denounced as Jacobinical: majority
rule, minority rights, rotation in office, and the primacy of agriculture.
Federalists had become, not only republicans, as Jefferson recognized, but
even democrats. In this obscure period and through this obscure party,
Fischer declares, a fundamental change had occurred.

His first appendix deals with the constituency of the Federalist Party and
suggests that established elite groups (like lawyers) and mature, static,
-ingrown areas (like the Connecticut Valley, the Delmarva Peninsula, and
southeastern Pennsylvania) tended to produce Federalists. Another ap-
pendix examines the political affiliation of newspapers in 1800 and lists the
ardently Federalist electioneering newspapers of the next twenty years.
But the longest appendix (186 pages) is a directory of Federalist leaders,
listed state by state and categorized as "Federalists of the Old School,”
"Transitional Figures,” and "Young Federalists." In Pennsylvania, for
example, Alexander Addison, William Bingham, George Clymer, and
William Jackson are among those included in the first category; James Ross
and Samuel Sitgreaves in the second; and Horace Binney, James Buchanan,
Joseph Hopkinson, and John Sergeant in the third. These brief sketches
should not be read as biographies, but only for their author’s purpose, as
impressionistic biographical notes. They are so useful that there is danger
they will be relied upon to a degree greater than is justifiable.

Of course, questions can be raised about the thesis of this strongly
didactic essay. It could be suggested, for instance, that Fischer's categoriza-
tion is a bit too neat, that the main argument is pressed so vigorously as to
be unfair to the Federalists, whose shifts and adjustments are paralleled by
changes among the Jeffersonians, and that not only Federalists adopted a
public posture at variance with their true convictions. (Were Federalists
alone in masking a covert elitism?) Perhaps the author's previous concen-
tration on Maryland, where Federalist fanatics were especially evident, led
him to overemphasize the revolutionary nature of the change he is demon-
strating.

But I cannot make these charges very seriously. The book shows such a
wide range of research, such an intelligent comprehension of everything
that matters, and such a straightforwardness of argument that it commands
the highest respect. Everyone interested in the politics or the society of the
early republic should read it at once—at least the 200-page text and the brief first appendix.

*University of Delaware*  
**John A. Munroe**

**The Spur of Fame: Dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, 1805–1813.**  
Edited by *John A. Schutz* and *Douglass Adair.* (San Marino, Calif.: The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1966. viii, 301 p. Illustrations, index. $6.00.)

Lyman H. Butterfield, whose Rush and Adams scholarship is an inspiration to us all, once described Rush's friendship with Adams as his 'deepest and finest.' But to our disappointment, this perception of deep friendship between two great Revolutionary patriots, like so many other perceptions and insights which abound in Butterfield's edition of the *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, has not yet been elaborated by the editor into a monograph. And what was equally disappointing until now, the Adams-Rush letters which evidenced the great friendship remained uncollected in any published source.

Now, John A. Schutz and Douglass Adair have edited the Adams-Rush correspondence from February 6, 1805, when Adams penned his first letter to Rush in twelve years, until April 18, 1813, the day before Rush's death. The Huntington Library has published the edited letters, making them available in one book for the first time. For this, every student of the Revolutionary and early national periods—and of great friendships in all ages—must be profoundly grateful to editors and publisher alike.

"It seemeth unto me that you and I ought not to die without saying goodbye or bidding each other adieu," began the seventy-year old Adams to his junior by eleven years; and in all the letters that followed, Adams maintained his characteristic air of seniority. "Let me put a few questions to your conscience," Adams continued in his first letter to Rush, "for I know you have one. Is the present state of the nation republican enough? Is virtue the principle of our government? Is honor? Or is ambition and avarice, adulation, baseness, covetousness, the thirst of riches, indifference concerning the means of rising and enriching, the contempt of principle, the spirit of party and of faction, the motive and the principle that governs? These are serious and dangerous questions; but serious men ought not to flinch from dangerous questions." Thus, Adams broached the "serious and dangerous questions" that he and Rush were to discuss over a period of eight years. The former president turned to Rush because he knew what some of us are just beginning to realize: in point of republican idealism, there was no one more serious than Adams' Pennsylvania friend of 1776.

As the title of this neat, indexed book suggests, Professors Schutz and Adair believe that Adams and Rush, like Jefferson and Hamilton, and, in fact, all the Revolutionaries of 1776, were spurred on by what Hamilton
called “the love of fame, the ruling passion of the noblest minds.” (The Federalist Papers, Number 72.) Moreover, the editors believe that Adams and Rush were motivated to write their letters by this same “love of fame,” and that their “purpose” in the correspondence was to discuss the fame which they thought they had been so flagrantly denied. This is at once the theme of The Spur of Fame and the editorial justification for deciding what to include of the letters and what to exclude. Regrettably, very much is left out of the correspondence; and only in the case of Rush can one readily see the full texts of letters in Butterfield’s edition. This results at times in vague meanings and puzzling references by Adams and Rush to excluded material, e.g., pp. 43, 56, 98, 106, 216. Perhaps summaries of the letters would have reduced these and other distractions from what the editors represent as the purpose of the letters.

In an introductory chapter, the editors provide a sketch of the lives of the correspondents before 1805, but there is no running commentary or chronology for the book as a whole. Nor is there a bibliography. Although eager to get on with the letters themselves, Professors Schutz and Adair write judiciously of two complicated men: for example, there is not a word of the so-called Conway Cabal, nor of Rush’s excess in bleeding his patients—both of which accusations, of course, having been used for so long to discredit the Philadelphia physician. Rush’s philosophical or religious principles, though, are misconceived: if anything, he became more, not less, eschatological and otherworldly in his final years, as these letters show. And, in his phrase from his last letter to Adams, when his “night . . . of death” began on April 19, 1813 (not on the 18, as the editors say), Rush died with the Christian conviction that his night of death would be followed by a morning of eternal life.

These dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, enhanced by eight illustrations and presented at times with editorial insight and wit, reveal much more than “the embittered feelings of unacclaimed heroes . . . crying out to posterity to do justice to their generation and to themselves and to assure them of fame before their death.” Even in their severely reduced form, the letters testify to a profound and noble friendship between two eminently thoughtful men, a friendship transcending even politics and fame.

State University College
New Paltz, N. Y.

Donald J. D’Elia


The author of this book chose an amazing character as his biographee. Many of us—especially old theater buffs like the present reviewer—may have thought ourselves reasonably familiar with the great English tragedian
Macready. But virtually none of us, I am persuaded, realized that he was the incarnation of paradox. Professor Downer presents his complexity with masterly skill.

Macready hated the practice of the actor's profession in which he gained fame and fortune, yet was devoted to the art of acting and its highest ideals. All his active life he longed for retirement and was so successful that he achieved it at age 58, only to lose his wife, his adored sister and 7 children from tuberculosis, and then to spend his last years in senility, dotage, growing imbecility, and gloom. Fortunately for him, he was devotedly cared for by his second wife, who at 23 had married him when he was 67 and who had borne him a son 2 years later.

To a modern reader the contrast between Macready's personality and his accomplishments is almost incredibly baffling. For he seems to us a hopelessly stuffy Victorian, full of pomposity and high sounding sentiments that would put the angels to sleep. Yet his public appeal to audiences was such that he outshone (and doubtless outearned) every contemporary London star. He wanted only the best available players for his companies, and insisted that unity is a great desideratum in theatrical productions (as contrasted with the sloppy unevenness of the old star system); yet he was petty, snide, and downright nasty about any actor who might possibly challenge his own supremacy—or even who got good notices. Furthermore, in financial matters he seems to have been almost embarrassingly grasping, demanding as much as possible for himself and as little as possible for every one else.

In personal and business relationships he had an uncanny gift for quarreling, frequently through the medium of lengthy, indignant, self-justifying letters. Yet for fellow-Victorians he must have had charm, because his close friends included Dickens, Thackeray, and Bulwer-Lytton.

His career began in 1810 when he played Romeo in a company run by his Irish father, a provincial actor-manager. When his father was jailed for debt, William took on management of the company and of his family's affairs, including bailing out father. His provincial success led to popularity in London and an important association with Covent Garden.

Soon authors took to writing plays especially for him. The first was John Sheridan Knowles' "Virginius." A few of the other Macready playwrights are well remembered today: Robert Browning, Charles Dickens, and Bulwer-Lytton who wrote "Richelieu" for him.

In 1826 he made the first of his two tours in the United States. It was a real success, and friendships began with prominent Americans. The next year he played Paris, and in 1837 became actor-manager at London's Covent Garden. Later he played at the Haymarket, and in 1841 blossomed as full-fledged regisseur (Professor Downer's word) at Drury Lane. It was during his managerial years that his accomplishments reached their fullest flower.

According to the author, "the experiments of his two periods of management, the theory of stagecraft which he developed and demonstrated,
became part of the heritage of the English theatre. Indeed, the renewed consciousness of the power of every element of the production of a play to contribute to the essential unity of a work of art made possible the advances which define and distinguish the modern theatre.” This means not only the British theater, but the French, German, Russian, and later the American as well.

The final two chapters are devoted to his second American tour and to his farewell appearance on the London stage. In New York his rivalry with the American actor Edwin Forrest flamed into a riot which destroyed the Astor Place Theatre, wounded many, and killed at least seventeen men. It was a hideous affair. The London farewell was a performance of “Macbeth,” which is described in full detail from curtain to curtain. One is impressed by the volume of what was possible on those large London stages at a time when costs and the salaries of innumerable supers amounted to so little.

Philadelphia

EDGAR SCOTT

**Early Nantucket and its Whale Houses.** By **HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN.**

This is a book which had to be written. It had to be, because, as the author states, he has been acquainted with Nantucket Island for over half a century, six generations of his family summering there. Much of his boyhood was spent in “Nauma,” one of ’Sconset’s old whale houses. That he cherishes a genuine fondness for the Islanders and their traditions, and understands sympathetically their characteristic way of life is evident to any reader. A book like this is not commercially motivated; it springs from the heart.

The author, speaking of old Siasconset, says: “we have made a record for posterity of this village,” and this is literally true. Being also an analytical observer with architectural training, he has traced and authenticated the surprisingly uniform expansion of early ’Sconset whale houses from the simple seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century “baulk” houses (one story with a tiny “baulk” or hanging attic) to the picturesque and rambling compositions of today.

To chronicle an entire village in this way is a monumental undertaking, especially when the metamorphosis of each house is recorded. One result of this research is especially interesting. He has sensed the medieval character or “feeling” of these small cottages, even though most of their detail in his lifetime has been essentially Renaissance (double-hung wood-muntined windows, and treatment of cornices, eaves, and most chimneys). Ralph Adams Cram, great student of medievalism, once said that character, in a building, “is both material and spiritual.” The latter term might be defined as the message which the building conveys to a beholder, and it cannot
always be rationalized by physical features alone. Cram added, signifi-
cantly, that "Saint Georges des Boscherville has, for example, almost as
many Gothic elements in its construction as the Cathedral of Sens, but the
one is essentially Norman in character, the other just as essentially Gothic."
Dr. Forman properly stresses the essential medievalism of these little
Nantucket houses and traces them to European prototypes.

Many people, including this reviewer, think of the eighteenth-century
houses in Nantucket "Town," when the architecture of the island is men-
tioned, but here we are introduced to "whale houses," a whole village of
them, a very different type, historically. It is hard to restrain a nostalgic
wish that the author's thoughtful, but apparently gratuitous, restoration
sketches might inspire preservation under his obviously competent direction.

In spite of the fact that this is a Hastings House publication, some
criticisms seem justified. On the title page, the author's name is misspelled,
which is not very flattering, and in many instances cross references in the
text refer to incorrect pages (e.g. on p. 120 reference to p. 121 should be 122;
on p. 121 reference to p. 120 is incorrect; on p. 126 reference to p. 124 should
be 125, etc.). Moreover, page numbers are omitted whenever a drawing or
photograph tops the page. In one instance, 11 consecutive pages are,
accordingly, unnumbered. This is a book with many cross references, and the
task of finding unnumbered pages becomes annoying.

It is also unfortunate, in a book of this sort, that the footnotes, in
accordance with current practice, are given in a section at the end of the
book, chapter by chapter, instead of placing them on the pages to which
they apply. Chapter numbers appear only on the first page of the chapter;
thus it is necessary to page back to identify the chapter, then turn to the
end of the book and search for the note. Footnotes often contain choice
bits of information.

Of course, the author had in mind a format for his work: topical arrange-
ment of chapters and description of houses by locations on streets. But this
is confusing. "Shanunga," for example, is depicted in drawings or photo-
graphs, on pages 44, 73, 82, 92-93, 98, 100, 113, 114-115, 116, 117, 119,
122, 123, 124, and 130—quite a lot of page turning and cross reference,
complicating study of this important example as a unit.

While there is surprising accuracy in Dr. Forman's rough sketches, they
leave much to be desired; this work deserved better and more definitive
drawings. However, in spite of these criticisms, the book is an informative
and interesting record, and has a proper place in the annals of Americana.

Gwynedd Valley, Pa.  
G. Edwin Brumbaugh

Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-
essay, index. $5.95.)
Freehling has produced a remarkably provocative book, full of fresh insights and new information about the details of the nullification movement. He presents his work as an overdue revision of this important event, but it is a revision more of minor aspects than of the major interpretation. He develops the theme, already familiar to historians, that the nullifiers considered the defense of slavery their central concern, and tried out nullification on the tariff as a preliminary experiment to shackle a hostile majority in Congress by a formal, legal process. The author limits himself mainly to the South Carolina part of the contest, which he treats in depth. His chapters on the complex economy of the state, on the practical application of nullification laws, and on the local aftermath are particularly useful. But the narrow focus makes South Carolina, standing alone, appear much more reprehensible than it would if seen in broader historical perspective. The excellence of this volume in exposing and analyzing parochial incidents does not carry over to some of the larger problems inherent in the subject.

I have three criticisms, or perhaps warnings, to offer. First, the author generalizes very glibly. His most exciting conclusions, however, do not always emerge from the data he presents, but reflect a rather censorious application of modern value judgments to people who lived in the 1830's. The reader soon senses that the author writes with more of the self-confident rectitude of an ante-bellum Yankee than with real understanding of or sympathy for the plight of the nullifiers. This reviewer privately shares many of the author's attitudes, for they reflect present-day patterns of liberal thought, but contends that the historian should present the broadest spectrum of evidence he can, and let the reader determine the implications of it. Freehling writes that the nullifiers manufactured all their troubles for themselves. They concocted the abominations of the very tariff they later nullified (p. 137), frantically overreacted to the "abolitionists' innocuous attack" (p. 49), constructed a nullification theory which was "a veritable snarl of contradictions" (p. 172), imposed the doctrine of slavery as a "positive good" by "the most thoroughgoing repression . . . ever witnessed in an American community" (p. 333), introduced a gag rule that was "evidently suicidal" (p. 356), and in other ways implemented "that process by which the South has been, throughout its history, its own worst enemy, its own executioner" (p. 359). These are large statements. Freehling may think the abolitionist attack "innocuous," but his data proves that the South Carolinians thought otherwise, as their frenzied overreaction clearly demonstrated.

Second, the author deals with nullification as if South Carolina were the only minority in the United States ever to try a procedure to restrain a hostile majority in Congress from exercising some specific power. He omits the historical origins of nullification, devoting only a few pages to the Virginia and Kentuck Resolutions, one to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and none to the important New England resistance to the federal government from 1808 to 1815. The terms Essex Junto, Hartford Conven-
tion and New England do not even appear in the index. Yet, the Carolinians of 1816 were acutely conscious of the New England resistance movement. By the 1820's, New England had become the focal point of origin of their two worst fears—the protective tariff and abolition. For South Carolina to prepare a defense similar to that which New England itself had used within recent memory would disarm that enemy or force it into colossal hypocrisy. This whole story of context is omitted. As a result, South Carolina stands as the sole creator of a monstrous attack on the nation, whereas she was merely doing in legalized form what those who condemned her had attempted fifteen years earlier, and which others would do surreptitiously twenty years later in the Fugitive Slave Law crisis.

Finally, the author ventures into group psychoanalysis without any apparent clinical base. His book continually dwells upon the slaveholders' "guilt and fear," "nagging moral burden," "intense anxiety," "troubled conscience," "morbid sensitivity," "intense fear and guilt," etc. (See Chapter 3, or pages 65, 69, 123, 125, 303, 355, 358–360, and many more.) These disturbances may or may not have affected large numbers of slaveholders, but the more important question is the source of the emotions. Freehling suggests that they grew from the discrepancy between the Declaration of Independence and slavery, and from the slaveholders' recognition of the gulf between the myth of the happy plantation and the reality. He thus assumes that slavery itself produced the guilt and fear, but does not adequately explore the other possibility (among many) that the northern attack on slavery rather than the institution itself triggered the trauma.

It is hard in the present age to re-create with sympathy and understanding the quality of people who have accustomed themselves to race inequality, to human slavery as a norm, to resistance to strong centralized government, and to the maintenance of a local status quo at all hazards. Freehling judges these people by contemporary standards, and they fare badly. His book is so good in other respects that I wish I had been spared the necessity of the foregoing comments. In its details it is soundly crafted, it is based on extensive research in original documents, and it is full of fresh insights and information. The author writes with clarity and verve, but with less restraint of his private opinions than a historian ought to exercise. He provokes thought, but his data do not compel assent to many of the conclusions he asserts. Much data contradicting his views remains unnoticed. Thus, while this book ought to be required reading for everyone interested in ante-bellum history, it ought not to be accepted as the whole story or as the only significant book on the subject.

The Pennsylvania State University

PHILIP SHRIVER KLEIN

_Life in the North During the Civil War: A Source History._ Edited by GEORGE WINSTON SMITH and CHARLES JUDAH. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966. xvi, 397 p. Illustrations, index. $6.50.)
This is a book of handsome format, which invites the reader with a promise of generously varied selections of readings in source materials. The book is likely, too, to reward any reader, no matter what his previous acquaintance with Civil War sources, by enriching in some measure both his knowledge of and feeling for the war years. Nevertheless, I must stress my reservations regarding it.

Any reader may find some profit in it, but for whom is the book as a whole intended? Who will find it worthwhile to peruse every page? The professional historian obviously needs more than the snippets of sources, running from less than a page to no more than about five pages, that he will find here. Appropriately, then, the editors’ introductory passages seem directed to the reader whose acquaintance with Civil War history is minimal. Documents illustrating the climax of the secession crisis in 1861, for example, are introduced with an elementary outline of the Crittenden compromise proposals. But is such a reader best informed about the history of the war by the kind of uneven coverage, skimping some incidents while developing others in ponderous detail, that necessarily marks a collection of source readings? It is characteristic that the reader finds something about the controversy over Philadelphia’s segregated, or more accurately, all-white, horse cars during the war, but he never learns the outcome, their desegregation shortly afterward. Or again, will the unsophisticated reader, who seems assumed by the editors to be meeting Lincoln’s cabinet for the first time, benefit much from details about the cabinet infighting which gave Lincoln almost simultaneously the resignations of Seward and Chase, which he chose not to accept but to use to control both men?

Will that unsophisticated reader to whom the editors address their introductions be well served by contemporary newspaper accounts of the New York draft riots? How will he distinguish truth from falsehood in these hyperemotional reports? Of course it may be objected that even the reader who lacks preparation for the critical appraisal of primary sources will benefit from the acquaintance with the atmosphere of the times that they give. Even here, however, the values of a source collection such as this one are limited. If the immediacy of contemporary newspaper reporting sometimes compensates for its inaccuracy, what feeling for the atmosphere of the war can be drawn from Secretary Stanton’s statistical report on the ordnance supplied the army, or from R. G. Dun’s statistics on business failures during the war years?

The title of the book suggests an emphasis on social history, an approach which would be welcome after excessively numerous political and military surveys of the war. But the first three and last two of the nine chapters deal largely with familiar political and military materials, and the same is true of much of chapter four, on “The Negro’s Place.” The chapter on economic matters suggests that the wartime North was a busy place, but it cannot do much to clarify the question whether the war accelerated or impeded America’s industrial takeoff, and at least one of its selections is downright
eccentric: the general wartime problems of Northern railroads are represented by a selection about the atypical circumstances of the Pennsylvania Railroad during the Gettysburg campaign. The editors might have done more to seek out previously unpublished manuscripts or fresh and little-known printed sources; most of their selections are from newspapers, magazines, and government documents. Their interpretations suffer from a similar lack of freshness; they have Lincoln contending, for example, with a Radical faction that seems much more clearly defined and united than it probably was.

The best of the book is to be found in its two chapters of social history and in parts of the chapters on "Credos of the North" and "Promises and Threats of Victory." The former two chapters contain a disproportionate share of what is genuinely fresh and unfamiliar. The latter two present Northern attempts to interpret the meaning of the war, and much of what is said on the race problem in America reminds us again how largely the issues of the 1860's remain those of the 1960's. Too few of the Civil War books of the recent centennial years stressed this central relevancy of the Civil War to our own times. Fortunately, that this one does so redeems many of its shortcomings.

Temple University

Russell F. Weigley


Of the three British commentators on the American scene in the post-Civil War decades—Carnegie, Bryce, and Godkin—each struck a distinctive note. Carnegie sang an unthinking paean to triumphant America; Bryce was the balanced and detached observer; Godkin sounded a moral note. In each case personality and background had something to do with the resulting observations. Godkin, the son of a Presbyterian minister in Ireland, quite naturally tended to regard American problems with the attitude and verbiage of a moralist stepping out from the manse.

It is not as easy a task as some people imagine to provide an introductory note for the editions of American classics under the John Harvard Library imprint. The editor must provide a skeleton biography of the original author; he should avoid retelling what the author has actually written and what is reprinted. Students should read the original documents and not an editor's digest of them. Professor Keller has solved this dilemma expertly by discussing Godkin's outlook on the reforms and events of his time. He has relied in part upon these essays, and, in addition, upon Godkin's correspondence and upon the columns of the Nation. If this method shortchanges a little an account of the editor's relationship with his clients, the
stockholders of the Nation, the fault may well be the absence of document-
ation.

It is a relief to read a narrative which appreciates the issues of the day in the terms of their contemporaries. Once in a while the reader senses a note of regret that Godkin did not work himself into a lather against the robber barons and capitalist society, as did H. D. Lloyd and other radicals. Instead Godkin found the big problem of his day to be a decline in the working of a democracy. The issue was a political one. He cut his eyeteeth on reconstruction and ended his career bemoaning American imperialism as a fall from grace. In between he fought for civil service reform instead of against corruption and favoritism; for freer trade instead of against the logrolling and back-scratching of the protective tariff; for fairness to labor in some other way than through labor unions. He indignantly rejected the imputation that he was being theoretical: his old economics, Manchester liberalism, was based upon observation and experience as much as, if not more than, the new economics of the historical school which felt that what ought to be true was true. Enough time has passed to show that the concerns of these perceptive, ironic, and in places melancholy essays were neither trivial nor transient. They remain milestones along the hard road of applying disinterested intelligence to political issues.

Thetford, Vt. 

Edward C. Kirkland

The Year of the Century: 1876. By Dee Brown. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1966. x, 372 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

The presentation of an historic view of any society through the panorama of events which occurred within a single year is not as easy a task as one might think. To be sure, the research is not difficult. The author needs to know what any thorough reader of the year’s press would have encountered and to have enough familiarity with the trends of social and political development at that time to comprehend what he reads. The challenge is to organize this information in a form both lively and meaningful. A purely chronological approach would create an almanac, and a topical arrangement would stultify the readers’ sense of progressing through the year.

Dee Brown has avoided both these dangers and in the process has written a very enjoyable and informative piece of popular history. It is hardly to be compared with Howard K. Beale’s The Critical Year, which generated a once-widely accepted interpretation of the Reconstruction Era out of a single congressional election, yet Beale discussed only national politics, not the whole spectrum of events in 1866. Nor can it match the breath-taking pageant of American expansion depicted by Bernard De Voto in Year of Decision: 1846, but how many books in the entire field of narrative history can make such a claim? Furthermore Mr. Brown could not isolate a single
topic to unify his chronicle, as Robert V. Bruce did in *1877: Year of Violence*. Only the amorphous concept of industrial transformation in a republic celebrating its one hundredth anniversary was available as a central theme for *The Year of the Century*.

Although Mr. Brown relates the year's legendary episodes in the Wild West with gusto, his motif directs attention toward urban America. Using daily incidents to great advantage he portrays vividly the life of the cities—at least of their middle classes. The "instant salvation" of Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey, Thomas H. Huxley's lecture tour, the militant seizure of the Centennial rostrum by Susan B. Anthony and her valiant four, and Emma Allison's confident management of the steam engine, which powered the Women's Pavilion, all conjure up the spirit of the Gilded Age. With obvious relish the author recites contemporary complaints about the lawlessness of the youth, the criminal danger in public parks, and the decay of society's morals to show that "the more things change the more they remain the same." Moreover, his treatment of the Belknap and Babcock scandals is more enlightening than those found in the most noted histories of the Grant regime.

Although *The Year of the Century* makes no pretense to new or profound analysis of the society of 1876 and merits acclaim for its lively exposition of American life at that time, it cannot escape criticism for errors of both commission and omission. This reviewer's only serious protest against Mr. Brown's narration of any of the hundreds of incidents he takes up concerns his treatment of the Hamburg Massacre in South Carolina. In describing the assault by local whites on the Negro militia in Hamburg, Mr. Brown presents Matthew C. Butler in the role of an honorable gentleman unfortunately abdicating his "moral accountability" for the deeds of his poor white neighbors, leaves the reader with the impression that only one Negro was killed, and traces the political implications of the event to Governor Chamberlain's efforts to gain propaganda capital in the North. A very different, and more reliable, view of the affair can be found in the two best available accounts: Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction*, and Otis Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction*. Singletary calls the incident "a deliberately incited race riot," and both works agree that Butler, far from being simply a prestigious bystander, was the leader of the Sweetwater Sabre Club which organized the attack and killed six prisoners in cold blood. His conscious purpose was to engender such racial animosities as to frustrate Wade Hampton's maneuvers toward co-operation with the Chamberlain regime, and force Hampton to base his campaign on the rifle clubs in the pattern of the 1875 Mississippi Plan. Butler's success in this ploy initiated a two-pronged Conservative drive for control of the state government: legal electioneering by Hampton, with all his rhetoric about fraternity between Negroes and whites, coupled with systematic violence to bar Republican campaigning and Negro voting. By attributing practically all subsequent bloodshed to the Republicans, then offering a
Two weaknesses of omission are worthy of note. Despite the book's emphasis on industrial society, its last-minute sketch of "industrial unrest" is much too scanty. In 1876 the "labor question" weighed heavily on the minds of all thinking Americans, having been brought to the limelight by the widespread organization of trade unions prior to the Panic of 1873, the brutal impact of the depression itself and the several "long strikes" it prompted, and the endless demagogic appeals of office-seekers for the votes of the sons of toil. Even the notorious case of the Molly Maguires, in which the major trials took place during 1876, receives only brief and careless treatment.

Secondly, Mr. Brown accepts all too readily the complaint of both Thomas Huxley and President Grant that the industrial success acclaimed by the Centennial Exposition was not matched by American performance in the realm of "science, literature, philosophy, and the fine arts." Consequently he neglects all these fields but literature. It was in the Centennial Year that Willard Gibbs published his paper on "The Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances," which postulated the mathematical relationship between the first and second law of thermodynamics and formulated the language in which the science of physical chemistry could be expressed. That paper with its epochal "phase law" was understood by few Americans at the time to be sure (not even by Gibbs' colleagues at Yale) but it placed Gibbs in a class with Newton, Maxwell, and Einstein in the history of science. While crowds at the Philadelphia Exposition hailed the mighty Corliss engine as the symbol of an emerging industrial age, the unassuming Gibbs was already laying the theoretical foundations for a world of nuclear fission and cybernetics.

University of Pittsburgh

DAVID MONTGOMERY


"Charlie has written a book about her and is going to call it 'Muzzy' and I will sue him if he does." Fortunately this threat remains unfulfilled and the biography of Mrs. George C. Thayer of Kyneton, Villanova, has appeared under the name by which she was affectionately known to her six children and to many of their friends.

In some ways Muzzy's life was a losing battle. Daughter of a family who firmly believed that Philadelphia society should "model itself largely on the English, socially, sartorially, in sports and even (alas!) gastronomically"—the Wheelers entertained "the Vicar" at tea and spoke of Bryn Mawr as
“the village”—she never was able fully to realize this dream. But the gradual disappearance of servants and the increasing pace of life on the Main Line only spurred Muzzy on to greater efforts and more brilliant feats of improvisation.

The Wheelers were a large family who lived in a big dark Tudor house, complete with butler, coachman, and innumerable housemaids. Some of the sisters married charmers like Uncle Dick, who tried to conceal the fact that he did nothing, or Uncle Max, who flaunted his idleness. Muzzy was more fortunate in her choice of a husband.

With him she built a house at Villanova, in what was then the farther Main Line, and began life on a less grand scale, but a scale which seems today one of considerable comfort. True to the Wheeler tradition, tea was served in the drawing room every afternoon.

One chapter in the book is called “Teatime,” and in a way it sums up Muzzy’s achievement. Though there was tea every day, on Sunday afternoons it reached its height. Flushed with the excitement of an afternoon of touch-football, Muzzy would take her place behind an array of little tables laden with a silver service and innumerable cups, sandwiches, and cakes. From there she would dispense tea and sympathy to all. To the young man perched on the club fender before the fire she was the interested listener (for she had the fatal gift of intimacy), while to the room at large she was the attentive hostess. It did not matter that the tapestry chairs were threadbare or that there were jam spots on the carpet. No one was ever invited to tea; people just came. And more often than not they stayed on to supper afterwards, for Lizzie could always be counted on to stretch the food just as Muzzy was always able to stretch the pittance that the bank allowed her to run the house. After supper there were songs around the tinny old piano, or parlor games, and, if necessary, extra beds in the “freezer,” the big attic dormitory for the boys.

In setting the scene, the author has brought to life not only the big unpretentious house with its not too safely repaired furniture, but he has also filled in the larger background of the Main Line as it was in the era of transition from a summer resort to a suburb and from the horse to the automobile. Behind it, he sketches in the larger background of Philadelphia society of which the Main Line and the Thayers formed a part.

Muzzy’s husband, Captain of the City Troop and loyal graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, whose staunch Americanism contrasted so strongly with the Anglophile Wheelers, unfortunately died in 1923, leaving her with a devotion to the Troop which she had followed to the border in 1916 and a loyalty to Penn which drew her to every football game. But he also left her with six children and a host of problems. The account of how she coped with them forms a touching and hilarious tale.

Philadelphia

George B. Roberts

To prune 1,000 terms from a monumental selection of 50,000 must have been a soul-searching task for Dr. Mathews. When his Dictionary appeared in 1951 it was hailed as a great contribution to linguistics, ranking with the Oxford English Dictionary, English Dialect Dictionary, and Dictionary of American English. The two volumes consisting of 2,922 finely printed, double-column pages with occasional illustrations to elucidate further the incomprehensible, has since become an indispensable tool. Unfortunately, it is too expensive for many small libraries or individual scholars to purchase. This abridgement offers them the opportunity to sample, and occasionally to find what they want.

Two-thirds of the words given as examples in the original Preface have been omitted, which seems about the ratio of disappointment. Critics will harp on the absence of words they consider essential, most meaningful or useful, or their personal favorites. This carping seems the equivalent of telling a landscape painter that he painted a seascape when he should have concentrated on a mountain range. The illustrations for chosen words have been retained, as well as the key to pronunciation and the bibliography, though in abbreviated form. This reviewer gratefully noted that a larger typeface has been used with text extending across the page.

Each entry consists of a definition for a word or term, followed by examples of its first and subsequent appearance in print. All words or expressions either originated in the United States, were given another meaning by our usage, or entered into new combinations here. Tracing their historic usages presents a snapshot of the cultural history of our land. Our polyglot, polygenous population has shown inexhaustible imagination in coining, molding, shaping words to fit its needs. The capacity for variation seems endless, often overlooking precedents or rules, hospitably borrowing from other tongues, ever ready to adopt something new, whether in the field of politics, science, or daily living, home decoration, or cookery (see beaten biscuit, chop suey, tamales, etc.).

Definitions can be read according to hobbies or interests, or in pursuit of a favorite author. For example, H. L. Mencken is quoted as authority for seventeen words: belschnickle, bonanza, Bostonese, blurb ... all the way to vaseline and you all.

The compilation stopped exactly at mid-century, with words stemming from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries more numerous than those of a later date. We hope Dr. Mathews is working on the language of astronauts and computers, beatniks and hipsters, esoteric new sports such as drag racing, surfing, and dune buggying to reflect the current fascinating, restless, ever-changing arts of American communication.

Baltimore, Md. Betty Adler


“Money, which represents the prose of life, and which is hardly spoken of in parlors without an apology, is, in its effects and laws, as beautiful as roses.” So wrote Emerson many years ago. This excellent work by Taxay, who is an outstanding numismatic scholar, is an absorbing insight into the creation and development of the mint in Philadelphia. It is almost impossible today, when the mint strikes billions of coins each year, to conceive of any valid arguments against developing a standard medium of exchange in a rapidly expanding economy, but such there were in considerable number. Several members of Congress believed quite strongly that the United States should buy its coins from Europe, where mints had been established for centuries. But, behind the urging of Washington and other far-sighted statesmen, the institution was finally erected here in 1792.

Because of political interference, the ignorance of many in Washington, inferior machinery, and unskilled craftsmen, many misconceptions have arisen through the years pertaining to the various aspects of the minting of the nation’s coins. Taxay has set forth completely documented facts which dispel the fiction of the past. Actual development of the mint and its machinery, the establishment of the several branch mints, attended by the constant harassment of the gold and silver advocates, the many problems incurred by bi-metallism, fluctuating bullion values, and the necessary use of fiat fractional currency during the Civil War period, are all treated in an accurate and interesting manner by the author.

Chronological treatment is also given to the development of the various coin types and denomination, and the pattern designs of Kneass, Gobrecht, and Longacre, to the modern well-known designs by St. Gaudens, Fraser, Barber, Morgan, Sinnock, Roberts, and Gasparro, with lucid descriptions and illustrations of the method used to create such patterns. Many names and little-known facts, which have eluded the general historian, are presented as well. The careers of Washington, Jefferson, Rittenhouse, the Peales, Chase, Lincoln, and others contribute numerous items of interest. For those who would know more of our nation’s monetary history, Taxay’s encyclopedic reference presents a vivid account. Vaguely known events are clarified for the general reader as well as for the serious student of American numismatics.

Francis Browin’s book, serving as it does as an introduction to the historical background of American coinage, is an excellent study which should stimulate interest among the intermediate group of collectors and the
general reader as well. Generously illustrated with sharp reproductions of the major types of coins from Biblical days to the present, it traces in a clear style, omitting much of the technical data that is of interest mainly to the more advanced student of numismatics, the causes for the issuance of such coins and tokens as are included.

The constant scarcity of specie and a standardized circulating medium of exchange, which plagued the colonists, is described through the life of the Continental Congress until the establishment in 1792 of the first mint in Philadelphia. The following year cents and half cents were struck—the nation's initial efforts to alleviate the existing shortage of "hard money." Today it is difficult to comprehend the problems which existed in the use of monies from all major countries of Europe in daily transactions, for each nation used a different standard of values and coins were of varying weights and fineness. Only by constant reference to rates of exchange, published at intervals in local newspapers, could one hope to evaluate fairly the currencies in use.

This is the type of book which should be carefully read by collectors to gain a definitive picture of the development of our currency of today; it will serve as a stimulus to all for the correct manner in which to approach numismatics.

Newfoundland, Pa.  

Richard T. Hoober

*Early American Ironware, Cast and Wrought.* By Henry J. Kauffman.  
(Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1966. 166 p. Illustrations, index. $10.00.)

As pointed out on the jacket of this book, Mr. Kauffman has written the only work thus far which covers so many facets of ironware, and, incidentally, ironwork. Our interest is aroused in the very beginning by a discussion of a fascinating subject, the aspect of the human side of the early workmen who made these items, which has been previously overlooked.

Because very little has been printed about ironware the information throughout can be considered pioneering. The general approach is very good, but some things, such as the Wheelwright, Nailer, and Locksmith, could have been related in more depth. The illustrations of many marked or labeled items are invaluable, but there is repetition of an error in plate 60 where a cast chair of the second or early third quarter of the nineteenth century is shown with the catalog or serial number by Robert Wood (1804), which is mistaken as an actual date.

An eye-opening job has been done on the Blast Furnace, Forge, and Foundry. Blacksmithing is well covered, and the publication of early related advertisements is very useful. In defining the trade of the Whitesmith Mr. Kauffman opens the door to a little-known field, as do his descriptions of tools, cutlery, and horseshoes. While the subject of the Locksmith is in-
formative, it is very general and places too much concentration on Pennsylvania-German examples. Furthermore, there is just cause for questioning the dating of some of the English type mechanical constructions. It is unfortunate that more pages are not devoted to Gunsmithing, for none are so well versed as he on the Pennsylvania Gunsmith and the North Carolina offspring, as evidenced in the remarkably well-restored town of Old Salem.

He could have given more details for the precise dating of nails, but what there is adds to Dr. Mercer's work by illustrating early advertisements, as is done throughout the book. There is also very little dating on the Wheelwright, but it is very interestingly written. The explanation of the process of Tinsmithing, its development abroad, and later here, is covered in depth, making this chapter one of the best. However, illustrations of examples of this ware are lacking in numbers.

While Mr. Kauffman's book is well indexed, it lacks an appendix, which would be a helpful addition to the reference to source and collection noted with each illustration and document. There is little doubt that he has compiled and written a book of value to the libraries of museums and especially to those of private collectors, for the book is more than an introduction to the novice as it covers its subject so beautifully.

Philadelphia

Robert T. Trump


By Elizabeth Ingerman Wood. (Philadelphia: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the Drexel Institute of Technology, Graduate School of Library Science, 1966. xiii, 123 p. Appendixes. $3.00.)

As a member of the Winterthur Museum staff, the author of this study was connected with an experiment using an optic-coincidence information retrieval system to index a collection of manuscripts and microfilm materials in that museum. The results achieved by this system attracted sufficient attention to warrant further investigation of its use in indexing other types of historical materials, such as museum objects and pictorial materials. With a grant from the Copeland-Andelot Foundation, and under the joint sponsorship of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the Drexel Institute of Technology Graduate School of Library Science, Project History Retrieval was undertaken. When applying for the grant, need was stressed for a means of cataloguing the various types of historical collections having the attributes of controllable uniformity of cataloguing procedure; completeness of retrieval; speed and simplicity of cataloguing procedure; speed and dependability of retrieval; compactness of records and cataloguing equipment; and reasonable cost of equipping, installing, and operating the system. The aims of the project were expressed in two points:
to test the optic-coincidence method of information retrieval on a sufficient variety of historical collections and objects to constitute a pilot test of the process' value; and to publicize the test results sufficiently to inform historical museums and libraries regarding the potential utility and benefits the process holds out to them.

After presenting a clear explanation of what information retrieval is, the author gives a basic description of an optic-coincidence system of information retrieval. For the project, ten sample retrieval systems were set up based on representative selections from various historical institutions. Nine public and private institutions permitted portions of their collections to be indexed: The Library Company of Philadelphia—books having historic provenance; Delaware State Archives Commission—an archival record group; The New-York Historical Society—miscellaneous personal and business papers; Eleutherian Mills Historical Library—personal archive of a public figure; Archives of American Art—public records microfilmed for a topical collection; Virginia Colonial Records Project—survey reports describing public records microfilmed for a topical collection; Lewis-Walpole Collection of English Prints—satirical prints collected and used for topical reference; Smithsonian Institution, Division of Cultural History—museum objects; and Winterthur Museum—furniture being studied intensively and analytically for a major publication. A sample retrieval system containing approximately 100 items was set up for each collection. In addition, descriptions for the samples have been brought together to constitute a union index, making a tenth sample. As the samples were processed, time studies were made, recording times required for both indexing and retrieving. These ten samples are described and analyzed in this report of the project. Test questions for each sample are listed along with charts of retrieval results for these questions, often comparing these results with those of a conventional system. Conclusions are given relative to the criteria set up at the beginning of the project as necessary attributes of an information retrieval method if it is to be considered acceptable for cataloguing and indexing historical information. It is felt that the optic-coincidence system, used in the indexing of these varied historical materials, was for the most part successful, and that the stated aim of the project has been accomplished.

The author, however, feels that to accomplish only the stated purpose for the research is not enough. An initial premise expressed in the Project Proposal is that historical materials are inadequately indexed. The reason for carrying on research was to encourage historical repositories to consider using new technological developments in information handling which might have application for historical materials. If this objective is to be fulfilled, the author continues, librarians, archivists, and museum cataloguers must be convinced of the need for and the feasibility of a change in method.

William L. Clements Library
University of Michigan

William S. Ewing

In this volume Professor Skotheim of Wayne State University makes an interpretive survey of the American historians whose work has dealt with the intellectual past of the nation. Beginning with the Puritan chroniclers because of their preoccupation with ideas, he traces the divergence of the paths of Moses Coit Tyler and Edward Eggleston, the development of the "Progressive Tradition" in James Harvey Robinson, Charles A. Beard, and Vernon Louis Parrington, the challenging of that tradition by Samuel Eliot Morison, Perry Miller, and Ralph Gabriel, and the "Convergence and New Directions" of the younger generation of historians.

No one who has mustered his thoughts to give a course in intellectual history will find anything revolutionary in this volume, but he will profit by the evaluation of authors whom he never got around to reading thoroughly. If there is a significant criticism of this volume, it is because of Dr. Skotheim's choice in following Carl Becker's dictum that Intellectual History should not be concerned with the factual accuracy of the historians. In his concern with the ideas of some of these men he ignores the clay feet of their works, although his own treatment of the Puritan chroniclers shows that he is perfectly aware of the problem. He does not make clear the fact that the reaction against the Progressive Tradition historians began as a protest against the plain factual inaccuracy of their premises. One day shortly after the publication of Charles Beard's Rise of American Civilization, I happened to be seated at a table with a distinguished group of senior historians. As the youngest man present, I felt impelled to say that I thought that Beard's work was perfectly brilliant except for the very small segment with which I was familiar, in which he was entirely wrong because he was totally unfamiliar with the sources. After a moment's thought, the senior historians broke into laughter, and admitted that each one would have said exactly the same thing. Their segments put together would have covered most of the arc of the first volume of the Rise.

Parrington's Main Currents in American Thought, appearing in the same year, had the same obvious faults. Resenting the fact that his miserable professorial salary would not permit him to travel to the sources, he spun his brilliant theories from the few reprints available in the poor university library to which he had access, for there were few microfilms in those days. He "disdained" to read the Puritan sermons to which he did not have access, the sermons which were the meat of Perry Miller's work. One may properly charge Miller with neglecting the bread and butter of history because of his preoccupation with ideas, but it was the ignorance of the Progressive Tradition school of the bread and butter facts of history which caused Samuel Eliot Morison to fire his opening broadside against it. Morison never has been, primarily, an "intellectual historian," but he be-
came involved in the history of ideas because the Puritans lived by them as much as by bread and butter, which the Progressive Tradition school never realized.

We will all agree that every generation must reinterpret the facts of history in the light of new ideas, but when we rewrite history to suit our prejudices in current politics, we are not being historians. Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., who is only mentioned in this book, is a good example of success in distinguishing between the facts of history and those of current politics. The chief critics of the Progressive Tradition were no less New Dealers than its authors. Of the two men most involved in defending Puritanism against the interpretation of the Progressive Tradition school, one was an atheist and one an Anglo-Catholic.

With this commentary Dr. Skotheim would probably concur; one cannot write a book from every point of view.

American Antiquarian Society

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography

August 6, 1966

Regarding the review of Benjamin Franklin and Eighteenth-century American Libraries (July, 1966), the author wishes to correct the impression that the work was based "exclusively on secondary sources." Franklin manuscripts, mostly from the Library of Congress and the American Philosophical Society, were studied. There are 48 footnote citations to manuscripts by owner and number and other references to rare books and newspapers printed during the lifetime of Franklin. Each footnote citation refers to the source actually used.

Margaret Barton Korty
Founded in 1824, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has long been a center of research in Pennsylvania and American history. It has accumulated an important historical collection, chiefly through contributions of family, political, and business manuscripts, as well as letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, paintings, photographs, and rare books. Additional contributions of such a nature are urgently solicited for preservation in the Society's fireproof building where they may be consulted by scholars.

Membership. There are various classes of membership: general, $10.00; associate, $25.00; patron, $100.00; life, $250.00; benefactor, $1,000. Members receive certain privileges in the use of books, are invited to the Society’s historical addresses and receptions, and receive The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Those interested in joining the Society are invited to submit their names.

Hours. The Society is open to the public Monday, 1 P.M. to 9 P.M.; Tuesday through Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. The Society will be closed from August 6 to September 12, 1966.