

BOOK REVIEWS

William Penn: Politics and Conscience. By MARY MAPLES DUNN. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967. x, 206 p. Bibliographical note, index. \$6.00.)

When John Calvin wrote in the *Institutes* that "some men, when they hear that the gospel promises a liberty which acknowledges no king or magistrate among men, but submits to God alone, think they can enjoy no advantage of their liberty, while they see any power exalted above them," he could have been describing many seventeenth-century Friends, but not William Penn. The Quaker leader was no more radical than a number of his thoughtful contemporaries and rather less original than several of them. Yet he is deservedly distinguished for his never-ending insistence on liberty of conscience, which Mary Maples Dunn convincingly argues was the fundamental principle of his political thought and action.

Her theme is not that Penn was a slave to a praiseworthy ideal, nor even that he was torn by the obvious tension between principle and politics—though there is plenty of precedent for treating him and his Quaker followers in terms of dichotomies. Instead, Mrs. Dunn concentrates on the interaction between Penn's aspirations and his awareness, sometimes blurred, of the possibilities of realizing his ideals. Not only did he face a society traditionally opposed to nonconformity and a government moving toward absolutism (a direction which was reversed, ironically, at the very time when Penn's creativity appears to have been stultified), but the older and more conservative members of the Society of Friends opposed the militancy of young liberals like Penn. In the face of this opposition, Penn's desire was to improve the lot of Quakers and other Englishmen as well.

Summarizing the situation of Friends during the Restoration with a clarity and verve which makes her book a delight to read, Mrs. Dunn points out the need for an articulate champion when "the Quakers' first line of defense was the pen," a forgivable pun. She relates the development of Penn's political theory to the legal and parliamentary activity which took up so much of his time. Anyone who has read but a few of the fifty tracts attributed to Penn will immediately realize the tremendous service Mrs. Dunn has performed by defining his terms, categorizing his assumptions and clarifying his arguments (it is modestly admitted that "Penn was often repetitious, frequently vague"). It is clear that the Quaker leader was a pragmatic polemicist, almost eclectically choosing lines of argument to fit the problem which he faced. He was also pragmatic in action, being willing to support anyone who backed religious freedom for all Christians. But inconsistencies

in thought and occasionally misguided politics (especially from 1685 to 1688) show pragmatism to have been his weakness as well as his strength.

Although Mrs. Dunn makes no pretense of having written a complete life of Penn, but only of his most creative years (1660-1689), no one who attempts a larger biography of the man will be able to neglect her work. Indeed, it is another step along the way to the still-to-be-written life, and it raises some interesting questions in this regard.

As an intellectual historian, Mrs. Dunn attributes to Penn's commitment to the idea of contract his antipathy to change. Might a psychological historian not reverse cause and effect? Although Mrs. Dunn sees the conflict on political strategy within the Society of Friends as a product of a generational gap, would it not be possible to delve further into Penn's change of character from an enthusiastic young convert to a cautious middle-aged proprietor? Finally, there is the intriguing question of whether Penn's political and religious philosophy was essentially a response, a defense of dissenters and Whigs in the face of direct threat, or a creative effort to reorganize society, as suggested by his latitudinarian approach (Mrs. Dunn concludes that "he did not make a complete break with the older concept of religious unity" and she devotes considerable space to his proposals for world peace, to cite but a few examples).

These queries are raised not to fault Mrs. Dunn's book, which will stand as a landmark among the studies of William Penn, but rather to suggest the direction biographers may be able to take now that the Quaker leader's early career has been so lucidly described.

San Francisco State College

JOSEPH E. ILLICK

James Claypoole's Letter Book, London and Philadelphia, 1681-1684. Edited by MARION BALDERSTON. (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1967. vii, 256 p. Index. \$7.50.)

Marion Balderston, who for some years has been contributing to our understanding of the late seventeenth-century migration of Quakers to Pennsylvania, has now edited the letter book of James Claypoole, one of the early leaders of William Penn's "holy experiment." Parts of the 400-page letter book, which begins in London in 1681 and ends three years later in Philadelphia, were published more than eighty years ago in this magazine. Now interested students will have available almost every fragment of Claypoole's letters that deal with religious, social, and political matters, and enough of his mercantile correspondence to indicate in detail the economic life of a seventeenth-century English "middleman" operating on both sides of the Atlantic and dealing with correspondents spread from the Baltic to the Caribbean. The letters are interleaved with editorial commentary by Mrs. Balderston and prefaced by an introductory essay that gives

us the most complete and useful account of Claypoole's English background yet to appear.

The early history of Pennsylvania is well served by a greater appreciation of Claypoole, for he was one of those shadowy figures who flitted briefly across the Quaker scene in the 1680's, attaining a measure of importance as a member of Penn's founding elite, and then faded from historical memory. And yet his career can be taken almost as typical of the upper-echelon Quaker experience in Pennsylvania in the early stages of colony building. The fifth son of a respectable Northampton family which had been catapulted to momentary glory and near nobility at mid-seventeenth century when the oldest son married Oliver Cromwell's favorite daughter, James launched himself upon a mercantile career in London in the 1660's. As an important member of the London Quaker community and a friend of Penn, Claypoole became involved in plans for Pennsylvania in 1681, and was gradually drawn into the proprietary circle, first as treasurer of the Free Society of Traders, later as councilor, assemblyman, and justice of the peace in the colony, and finally as provincial register general and a member of the five-man commission deputized by Penn in 1687 to act for him in executive matters. But in spite of his attainments, Claypoole, like many others within the proprietary circle, found himself frequently resented and under attack in the first decade. Economic success was also elusive. He helped to establish the lines of trade communication which figured so importantly in Pennsylvania's later commercial success, but made little money himself during the risk-filled first decade. Claypoole left little behind him other than the rights to large tracts of unseated land and a reputation as an overbearing representative of proprietary government. Not until the second and third generation would Quaker merchants of his kind win secure places in the provincial political elite, or aggrandize fortunes which entitled them to places in a genuine colonial upper class.

University of California, Los Angeles

GARY B. NASH

Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660-1775. By THOMAS C. BARROW. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. xii, 336 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$8.00.)

Cherchez la femme is good advice for detectives; historians generally do better to investigate public finance, which Mr. Barrow, echoing William Knox, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin, rightly stresses is at the heart of the question of sovereignty, the basic issue of the American Revolution. Therefore, because the customs service played an integral role in British colonial financial policies, Barrow's book is important. By wide use of various English sources, especially such Public Record Office holdings as the Treasury Papers, the author has largely surmounted the problem of the loss by revolution and fire of many customs records.

He sets the scene by briefly discussing the historiography of his subject (I would have liked more here), mercantilism, and the foundation of the "Old Colonial System." Then he gets down to his main topic, a chronological account of the customs service which attempted to enforce that system from 1673 (when, after an unsatisfactory spell of leaving enforcement to local authorities, the English customs service was formally extended to America) until 1775 when the royal officials were ignominiously thrust aside. I would have welcomed more details about the twilight years after 1775, but Barrow ably escorts us through the Randolphian years of the revolutions of 1689 and the next decade, the stable, essentially Walpolean, period between 1710 and 1763, followed by the long-mooted, disastrous reforms of the early Revolutionary era. A concluding "Retrospect" incisively (perhaps too incisively) presents the author's conclusions, and is followed by four useful appendixes, consisting of original sources partly explaining the customs organization, and a bibliography.

Barrow's focus is on "the creation and execution" of "English commercial laws and regulations." He asks two fundamental questions. One, "did or did not the Americans oppose the regulatory principles involved in the . . . commercial laws?" Two, "were the means of enforcement available to the English adequate?" His convincing answers are that the Americans were indeed opposed to regulation, but before 1764 the system "worked" because of general nonenforcement, that the British customs service was woefully inadequate throughout, and the reforms after the Seven Years War were inept, inexpedient, and stemmed from much ignorance.

Lots of other questions, major and minor, are tackled along the way and students of Anglo-American colonial history will have to use the book. On some points Barrow gently revises such historians as Lawrence Harper and Dora M. Clark, but it is alongside Oliver M. Dickerson's work on the Navigation Acts (which also utilizes, if less deeply, the Treasury Papers) that the book will mainly be placed. Space forbids any discussion, and the two monographs only partially overlap, but Barrow sometimes obliquely, sometimes directly, clashes with Dickerson on large and small points. There is no mention of the latter's "custom racketeering," and Barrow does not think the Navigation Acts were the "cement" of empire. However, for partly different reasons both agree that the customs are bound up in a major cause of the Revolution.

Barrow is fair concerning the British side (usually he navigates the Namierian waters quite well), but he is more sympathetic to the Americans, and he justly observes that really the question of right and wrong is irrelevant to the Revolution—the British appealed to theory, the Americans to practice.

A growing bibliography is making us very well informed about the political-administrative side of the American Revolution; knowledge of the workings and especially the deficiencies of British administration grows. This book will join such fairly recent works as those by Donoughue and

Namier and Brooke from the other side of the Atlantic, and Wickwire, Sosin, Bargar, and Clark on this side. Also Barrow will certainly have to be read alongside Beer, Dickerson, and Harper.

Administrative history is not my favorite, but it has to be done, and Mr. Barrow, from his almost neo-Bancroftian viewpoint, does it well.

University of New Brunswick

WALLACE BROWN

Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763. By M. EUGENE SIRMANS. Foreword by WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina Press, 1966, xiii, 394 p. Map, bibliographical essay, index. \$10.00.)

The focus of recent scholarship on the colonial history of the United States—the rise to power of the lower houses of the colonial legislatures and the existence of a “democratic” or “aristocratic” structure of pre-Revolutionary America—will not, regrettably, be sharpened by this study of a century of South Carolina experience. For this is almost entirely narrative history, piling detail upon detail in almost stupefying plenitude, but failing essentially to convey any clear impression of what really was happening in the political lives of these early Carolinians.

Had time been more generous to the late Professor Sirmans, he might have reshaped his manuscript to demonstrate some central theme or perhaps brought to it an additional analytical substance to add to the basically uninformative data which it contains. Standing as he left them, however, his pages give little but a rambling account of such topics as the early domination of the colony by the Goose Creek men of Barbados origin, the failures of the proprietors which led to royal control in 1720, and quarrels over religious toleration, Indian policy, paper currency, land grants, quit-rents, and colonial rivalries. Adhering to a rigid chronological organization, the author plods through a bewildering succession of repeated discussions of these various topics, with such determined evenness of stress that the reader struggles to find some promontory from which he might grasp an insight into the meaning of the facts swirling about him.

It is indeed true that Mr. Sirmans indicates his conviction that the “most significant event” of the period from 1743 to 1763 was the “rise of the Commons House of Assembly,” but even this phenomenon is obscured in the relentless march of events which simply happen, for what reasons or by what historical impulses we are never told. There has been at least one review of this book which claims to find in it a demonstration of the “non-aristocratic” structure of early American life, citing Mr. Sirmans’ description of South Carolina’s “remarkably mobile and democratic” society as evidence of the popular “foundation upon which the power of the assembly rested.” This is really wishful thinking, for Mr. Sirmans’ book

simply spells out the letter of the law concerning suffrage, officeholding qualifications, etc., in colonial South Carolina, which was admittedly remarkably liberal. Except for some few observations about evasions of the strictures against dissenters, there is nothing in these pages to indicate how these legal principles were transformed into the vital day-by-day workings of a political community.

Even the economic and social realities of this society are left undelineated, so that there is no way of discovering which classes supported which political programs or even if there were indeed any economic or social classes in the colony at all. The single attempt at any kind of statistic on this point highlights the limitations of this study, for we are told that the 1742 assembly estimated the colony's total value in property at 2,000,000 pounds sterling, which, with the number of families calculated to be some 3,333, meant, it is said, that the "average value of property belonging to white families would have been about . . . £600 . . . per family." What we are not told is how such a really non-statistic can be descriptive of this or any other society.

It is a pity that Mr. Sirmans did not live long enough to bring to this study the kind of revision and amplification which his dedication to his topic so amply promised.

Louisiana State University in New Orleans JOSEPH G. TREGLE, JR.

Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God. By ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE.
(Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1967. 279 p. Index. \$7.50.)

This is a graceful, informative book bringing together two subjects Professor Aldridge knows very well, the life and thought of Benjamin Franklin and the religious ideas of the Enlightenment. Gathered in it are more of the details of Franklin's religion, and of his relationships with Presbyterians, Anglicans, Unitarians, Methodists, Pietists, Jews, and Roman Catholics, than is available elsewhere.

Though much of the book treats such familiar topics as Franklin's early religious doubting, his friendship with George Whitefield, and his proposal for prayer at the Constitutional Convention, Aldridge does add some new dimensions. The story of Franklin's important role in promoting Unitarianism in London just before the American Revolution is both little known and vastly revealing. Also largely new is the account of Franklin's conversations just before his death with the Spanish priest Ruiz de Padrón, in which the aged deist persuaded the cleric that the Inquisition was unworthy of true Christianity, a story especially significant in view of Ruiz de Padrón's key role twenty-five years later in the final dissolution of the Spanish Inquisition. One wonders, though, despite this revelation of Franklin's influence, whether he was as Aldridge claims "in considerable measure" responsible for the end of the Inquisition. By 1813

surely its days were numbered whatever words had been exchanged at a chance meeting in Philadelphia in 1788.

The sources of the Unitarian and Inquisition stories reveal both the strength and weakness of Aldridge's method. He uses little-known memoirs of the key people with whom Franklin dealt in each case. Aldridge has combed such materials far more fruitfully than any other Franklin scholar. He has as well worked hard to identify Franklin's anonymous writings in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and elsewhere. Thus his book contains much fugitive Frankliniana. On the other hand, there is a lack of connection with larger bodies of Franklin source material and scholarship. An excessive proportion of his footnotes are to previous works of his own. Furthermore, Aldridge is sometimes too categorical in claiming additions to the Franklin canon. A paragraph from *Poor Richard* for 1757 is asserted to be "clearly Franklin's" (p. 132n) since it parallels some earlier writings. Actually the sentiments in question (on learning and godliness) were commonplace at the time and could have been derived, as was most of *Poor Richard*, from among hundreds of English publications.

In assessing Franklin's religion, Aldridge refutes effectively the persistent assertions that Franklin was an atheist and that he was condescending or insincere in his religious beliefs. He was what he claimed to be throughout his life, a believer in five propositions: "in one God, Creator of the Universe. That he governs it by his Providence. That he ought to be worshipped. That the most acceptable service we render him is doing good to his other Children. That the soul of Man is immortal, and will be treated with Justice in another Life respecting its Conduct in this." This made Franklin a deist or rational Christian, each widely held sincere positions in the eighteenth century. One wonders, though, whether Franklin was as systematic or as deeply concerned about religion as Aldridge argues. Franklin seems not to have varied from or probed beyond the conventional creed stated above and which he first accepted in his early twenties. Furthermore, one suspects that Aldridge's own rational, humanistic assumptions, always denigrating theism and other supernaturalisms, have led him to assess too lightly the continuing influence on Franklin, despite his disavowal of its doctrine, of the pietist Puritanism in which he had been reared. Franklin was only in part the detached rationalist; he was as well an enthusiastic moralist, heir to John Bunyan, the Mathers, and his own pious father.

Syracuse University

RALPH L. KETCHAM

Conestoga Wagon 1750-1850: Freight Carrier for 100 Years of America's Westward Expansion. Second Edition. By GEORGE SHUMWAY, EDWARD DURELL, and HOWARD C. FREY. (York, Pa.: George Shumway and

Early American Industries Association, Inc., 1966. xii, 279 p. Illustrations, index. \$16.00.)

The name "Conestoga Wagon" is certainly no rarity on the pages of American history. Unfortunately, however, it has been too frequently equated with "prairie schooner," or just plain "covered wagon." The refinements of the design of the Conestoga wagon, the craftsmanship required for its building, and the role it played in many specific events in history have been rather poorly known and often misunderstood. This book is a major effort to bring together the facts needed to describe the wagon, to tell how it was made, and when and how it was used.

It is of considerable significance in evaluating the worth and importance of the book to note that publication was undertaken by the Early American Industries Association, a nonprofit organization whose purpose it is to encourage the collection and study of the tools, implements, utensils, instruments, vehicles, and mechanical devices made and used by our forefathers. Admiration and appreciation of expert handicraft, inventiveness, ingenuity and self-taught engineering skill are strong traits of those persons who participate in the Association's activities. It is not at all surprising, therefore, to find that the chapters devoted to an analysis and description of the design, structure, and fashioning of each part of the Conestoga wagon to be the best and most interesting. These chapters should be of great help to many museum curators and collectors who have long struggled to identify and explain the many parts and pieces that were required for each wagon. The exploded drawings lay bare and name each part; the sketches show clearly the complicated harness and the means by which the horses were controlled by one man. The photographs are, for the most part, very clear and well selected, permitting the reader to make careful study of the individual characteristics of many of the surviving wagons. The quality of workmanship, the artistic ability of blacksmith and woodmaker, and methods of construction are all nicely revealed in closeups of fine detail.

The parts of the book given over to the fabric of the wagon itself, and the manner of its use, reflect long years of original research and careful examination on the part of the authors; they constitute a significant contribution of a highly specialized nature to the history of American industry and transportation.

The scope of the book is broader than this, however: it includes a number of chapters telling of the importance of the Conestoga wagon in the growth of freighting between Lancaster County and Philadelphia; in the Braddock Campaign, and in the later traffic to western Pennsylvania. There are chapters on early roads, early taverns, and the lore of the wagoners. Unfortunately, in this effort to create the full historical setting, through which the importance of the vehicle might be described and justified, there is extensive retelling of well-established and frequently published historical narratives. While this might be defended on the grounds that this is the complete book

on the Conestoga wagon, the fact that almost all references are to readily available secondary works would indicate that some portions of the story might be better obtained elsewhere. There is little doubt that many historians would take exception to the lack of citations; there are no footnotes, and the few reference numbers which do exist are supported only by a standard bibliographical list at the end of each chapter. This very casual technique does not destroy the book's usefulness nor value, although it can be annoying. A shorter essay, directed more sharply and clearly to showing the importance of the Conestoga wagon in military and economic history, would unquestionably strengthen the entire presentation.

Opportunity should not be lost to commend the Early American Industries Association for advancing this publication. It is to be hoped that more studies of this nature will be undertaken for there appears to be an increasing need for a more substantial comprehension of the relationship between written history as recorded in print and three-dimensional history as preserved in museums. This is a matter that is becoming of more and more importance to museum personnel who strive to create exhibits with proper historical perspective; it must also be of concern to the historian in his attempt to understand completely both the problems and achievements of the past.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

WILLIAM N. RICHARDS

The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775. By LOUIS DE VORSEY, JR. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. xii, 267 p. Maps, bibliography, index, \$7.50.)

In this monograph Professor De Vorsej discusses the background and evolution of the Southern Indian Boundary Line as it changed from idea to reality following the Peace of Paris in 1763. The line resulted from efforts by the colonial population to expand onto Indian lands and by the Indians to halt this movement. Except for a vague idea that colonists and Indians should be kept apart when possible, British attitudes toward an Indian boundary were confused and British actions intermittent. In fact, one of De Vorsej's main points is that the boundary line evolved because of actions taken by competing colonial agents rather than because of a rational or planned policy emanating from London.

Essentially, this book is concerned with the cartographic results of frequent councils with Indians from Virginia south to Florida and west to the Mississippi. The emphasis is upon drawing the boundary line, the circumstances involved in Indian-colonial negotiations, and the territorial cessions resulting from such meetings. De Vorsej pictures the Indians and colonists as competitors for the land, and demonstrates how both recognized this.

Then he traces their negotiations. This discussion supports his contention that the boundary line evolved in an unplanned manner.

Some of the narrative deals with the actions of John Stuart, the superintendent for Indian affairs in the southern department. In this capacity, Stuart had the responsibility for providing information and maps depicting the Indian boundary to his superiors in London, and, therefore, it is strange that De Vorseley ignores Stuart's opinion of the boundary. This omission is part of a larger weakness in the book, at least from the historical point of view. The book makes little effort to assess the significance of the Indian boundary line. Extending the line provided temporary employment for colonial negotiators, surveyors, and cartographers, but did it help reduce colonial-Indian friction at the time? If it did, one might ask, "How?" If it did not, then why was the line significant? Granted, this is basically a geographic discussion; still, it is unfortunate De Vorseley chose not to generalize on the value of the Indian boundary line to British and colonial officers responsible for peaceful co-existence with the Indians.

There is much of value in this book. The author has combed archival and manuscript collections both in the United States and Great Britain. The breadth and depth of his research in these and printed materials is impressive. He paid particular attention to contemporary colonial maps and drawings of the boundary line and to others included in earlier published material. These he criticizes because they do not show all parts of the line. De Vorseley seems to be the first recent scholar interested enough in the problem to use inaccurate contemporary maps to produce a description of the boundary line. His numerous maps help the reader, and the small strip maps give a particularly clear picture of the boundary. The prose is hampered by a too frequent use of long quotations, and to some extent by the material itself.

De Vorseley has performed a service in unraveling the tangle of conflicting colonial land claims, of discussing in a broad context the frequent colonial-Indian treaties of land cession, and in showing actually where Indian and non-Indian lands met. His book will remain the standard work on this topic.

University of Georgia

ROGER L. NICHOLS

Naval Documents of the American Revolution. Volume 2. American Theatre: Sept. 3, 1775–Oct. 31, 1775. European Theatre: Aug. 11, 1775–Oct. 31, 1775. American Theatre: Nov. 1, 1775–Dec. 7, 1775. WILLIAM BELL CLARK, Editor, For and in Collaboration with The U.S. Navy Department. Foreword by PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON. Introduction by REAR ADMIRAL ERNEST McNEILL ELLER. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966. xliii, 1463 p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

This second volume carries the story of our naval participation in the American Revolution from September 3, through December 7, 1775, with

a section on the European theatre for the period August 11–October 31, 1775. Like its predecessor, it is a blockbuster in content and size, and the careful reader would be wise to anchor it securely while examining it. Made in two volumes, it would have been easier to handle and better able to withstand the heavy use that such an important contribution is likely to receive.

Few, if any, will challenge the significance of the contribution being made by this series. Here is the documentation drawn from a myriad of sources—manuscript, printed and illustrative, official and private, foreign and domestic—that helps explain a crucial period in our maritime history. The documents in this volume throw light on the implementation of the “Continental Association”—the agreement that forbade the shipment of goods from American to British ports after September 10, 1775; the strenuous efforts of the American colonies to secure the materials of war so vitally needed from foreign sources—with the equally determined British efforts to block them by means of diplomacy and the use of its naval forces; the efforts of the colonies to defend their ports against the incursions and depredations of the blockading British vessels; the consequent rise in American privateering; and the eventual establishment of that token force, George Washington’s navy. In steady progression the documents record the steps taken in the Continental Congress that led to the establishment of the Continental Navy on October 13, and scarcely a month later the United States Marine Corps on November 10. A vexing problem was the handling of captured prizes. By the end of the period under review, as Mr. Clark points out in his preface, the Continental Congress had passed legislation establishing the legality of prize-taking “either by Continent or Colony, of British war vessels and transports engaged in ‘the present cruel and unjust war,’ and the measures for trial and condemnation.” It was not ready yet to extend such legislation to the “unrestricted capture of all British ships or vessels.”

Particular attention is given to the burning of Falmouth (Portland), Maine, by the British armed vessel *Canceaux*, Lieutenant Henry Mowat, on October 18, 1775, and the two-pronged Canadian expedition under General Richard Montgomery and Colonel Benedict Arnold. Perhaps few events in the American Revolution caused so much resentment as the burning of the Casco Bay town. News of this raid percolated slowly throughout the colonies and greatly heightened anti-British feeling. In this connection it should be pointed out that giving the dates of receipt of the documents printed in the volume would have been most useful to the reader. The documents on the almost successful Canadian expedition point up as never before the difficulties of waging a war with short-term troops. Few can read the accounts of the progress of this expedition without feeling admiration for the courage and modesty of General Montgomery, the foolhardiness and boastfulness of Ethan Allen, and the skill and resolution of Benedict Arnold. The following comment made by Montgomery

outside Quebec on Arnold's troops is revealing: "I find Col. Arnold's Corps an exceedingly fine one, inured to Fatigue, & well accustomed to Cannon Shot (at Cambridge). There is a Style of Discipline among them much superior to what I have been used to see this Campaign. He himself is active, intelligent, and enterprising. Fortune often baffles the Expectations of poor Mortals. I am not intoxicated with the Favors I have received at her Hands, but I do think there is a fair Prospect of Success." On the other side, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, and the dreaded Captain James Wallace, commander of His Majesty's Ship *Rose*, emerge as able and devoted officers of the King.

The volume abounds in narratives of great human interest. One need only refer to the moving account by young Daniel Tucker of the burning of Falmouth (pp. 488-489, 500-501); the antics of Captain Coit, privateer, who brought several prizes into Plymouth, where he "(a humorous genius) made the prisoners land upon the same rock our ancestors first trode when they landed in America, where they gave three cheers, and wished success to American arms" (p. 967); the frigid treatment given by Washington to two renowned captains of privateers when they overstepped the bounds of decency in their treatment of Loyalist officials (p. 1322), or the account of the supreme contempt of one Coggeshall of Newport for the Royal Navy: "Early last Saturday morning [November 4] one Cogge [shall, being] somewhat drunk or crazy, went on the Long-wharf [, and] turn'd his backsides toward the bomb brig in [this] harbour, using some insulting words; upon w[hich the] brig fired two 4 pound shot at him" (p. 905). Fortunately for Mr. Coggeshall the royal gunners missed the shining target.

As a bonus to this extraordinarily useful and carefully prepared volume there is a section on "American Navigation during the Revolution" by Marion V. Brewington. All landlubbers, such as this reviewer, will find it of great value.

Massachusetts Historical Society

STEPHEN T. RILEY

American Maps and Map Makers of the Revolution. By PETER J. GUTHORN. (Monmouth Beach, N. J.: Philip Freneau Press, 1966. 48 p. Illustrations, index. \$6.95.)

The approach of the Revolutionary bicentennial is marked by an increasing interest in the American War for Independence. Institutions and historical repositories have already felt the first twinges as professional scholars have begun to build up their lead (5-10 years), on the general public and amateur historians. Dr. Guthorn, a New Jersey physician, is an exception to the latter group in that he arrived on the field early.

The author does not suggest that *American Maps and Map Makers* is a definitive bibliography. Instead, like a military engineer, he is preparing the

ground with a "descriptive and presumably preliminary check list" (p. 5). As such, his purpose is to draw corrections and suggestions toward a larger work.

American maps are here defined as those made between 1775 and 1783 by soldiers or civilians supporting the colonists' cause. This includes Frenchmen serving in the American Army, but not members of France's expeditionary forces. Hence, Thomas Hutchins is excluded because he produced no maps during the period, but we have the excellent maps of Michel Capitaine du Chesnoy. The author's statement that some of these French returned to America during their revolution applies to three out of the seven in this study, and one of them died while returning home late in life.

Loyalists and traitors are left out entirely, regardless of the time of their disaffection. John Trumbull's wartime studies in England following his Continental service could have jeopardized his eligibility, but Dr. Guthorn takes the eighteenth-century view that regarded such behavior as apolitical.

Map makers are also defined in an unusual manner. The term here refers to engravers, printers, and publishers, as well as geographers and cartographers. R. V. Tooley adopted similar guidelines for his "A Dictionary of American Mapmakers . . . to 1900," in *Map Collectors' Circle* (London, 1965), 16, 28 *passim*.

In his search through all the significant collections in the United States, the author found forty-nine map makers who fitted his definition. These are taken up alphabetically, each in a short biographical note followed by a list of his maps produced in the specified period. Repositories are indicated in instances where a map or maps are particularly rare. Dr. Guthorn relies mostly on secondary sources for his biographies, which are adequate for quick reference. The total absence of footnotes or bibliography may hinder further research on minor figures should the need arise.

In general, the subjects are given friendly treatment, except for poor Knox, whose obesity is once again brought into the picture. Washington's biographical note is entirely omitted as the author believes that he can add nothing in his allotted few lines that is not common knowledge. Under the stated aims of the book, this decision is valid, though perhaps not entirely so in an expanded later work.

The map lists are arranged in chronological order except for anonymous maps, which are taken up geographically in a separate section. Among the latter is an interesting subheading containing spy maps of New York and vicinity. The code names of "the more active spies and possible map makers . . ." (p. 38) further enhance this part of the study.

Dr. Guthorn has chosen seventeen representative illustrations, which are black and white and of reasonably good quality. The best are the manuscript maps by Capitaine showing his excellent workmanship and two interesting variations of "Plan de la Retraite de Barrenhill . . . 1778." At the other end of the scale are the almanac maps. These were hastily drawn and often reprinted with such minor variations that, individually, they are of more bibliographical interest than cartographic or geographic value.

The index is keyed to the table of contents which is considerably reprinted nearby. However, there are two consequential omissions. Spy code names are given only after their owners' true identities, which is frustrating to a researcher trying to refresh his memory. Second is the absence of an entry for Vromer, the signature used by Isaac Vrooman in signing Erskine-De Witt 88.

It is to be expected that *American Maps and Map Makers* will see considerable use by institutions and historians concerned with early United States cartography. Repositories should examine their holdings with an eye to serving members of the general public whose interest will be stimulated through the efforts of Dr. Guthorn.

William L. Clement Library

NATHANIEL N. SHIPTON

The Memoir of John Durang: American Actor, 1785-1816. Edited by ALAN S. DOWNER. (Pittsburgh: Published for the Historical Society of York County and the American Society for Theatre Research by the University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966. xix, 176 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$7.00.)

John Durang (1768-1822) was not only America's first successful dancer, he also, to quote Alan Downer's brief but informative introduction: "painted scenery, built playhouses, performed acrobatic and equestrian feats, constructed a puppet show, developed summer amusement parks, organized and directed acting companies, founded a short-lived theatrical dynasty, devised transparencies, pyrotechnic displays, and pantomimes, and played minor roles in legitimate drama."

This memoir, written some time after 1816, begins with a brief account of Durang's father, a native of Strasbourg who came to America with his bride in 1767, and continues with his own recollections which begin in York, Pennsylvania, before the Revolution. The family moved to Philadelphia and the narrative through 1803 describes his experiences as a performer and manager in the principal cities of the East, in the towns of Pennsylvania, and on a tour north through New York State to Montreal. The years 1804 to 1822 are covered in a few pages of abstracts from his Day Book. Eight water colors by Durang, six of them showing him in characters on stage, are reproduced in color. The end papers reproduce a pony race at Rickett's Amphitheatre, Philadelphia, in 1797.

Students of American theatre history will welcome this lively addition to the scanty store of firsthand accounts of our early stage. Durang performed at the Southwark and the Chestnut Street Theatres in Philadelphia and at the John Street Theatre in New York. He has interesting things to say about William Dunlap, Lewis Hallam, Jr., John Hodgkinson, William Warren, Joseph Jefferson I, and many less known managers, actors, scene painters, dancers, and acrobats of his day.

Histories of the early American stage sometimes give the impression that theatre was confined to the largest cities, to Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Charleston, with occasional brief seasons in towns like Baltimore, Washington, and Albany. This memoir serves to remind us that early in the nineteenth century towns like York, Lancaster, Hanover, Fredericktown, Chambersburg, Harrisburg, Gettysburg, Petersburg, and Carlisle also had their theatrical seasons, thanks to enterprising managers like Durang.

Although Durang concentrates on the theatre, to which he was devoted, he recorded enough of what he saw in his considerable travels, so that his account should be of interest also to students of American social history. Professor Downer has edited the text with care, annotated it helpfully, and provided in an appendix additional information about the actors whom Durang lists in the Chestnut Street Theatre Company.

University of Illinois

BARNARD HEWITT

The Artist in American Society, The Formative Years, 1790-1860. By NEIL HARRIS. (New York: George Braziller, 1966. xvi, 432 p. Illustrations, selected bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The history of American art is not easy to write in terms of those schools, categories, influences, and traditions which sustain the art historians of other places and other times. Histories of our own art must contend with a bewildering and disorderly succession of influences from abroad, isolated American talents, interesting failures and paltry criticism. Somehow our historians must contrive some order, if not the false tidiness of an imagined historical process, at least a manageable organization for presentational purposes. In either case the truth suffers and emerges, alas, most clearly when the narrative of our art history becomes a series of disjunctive, critical-biographical beads strung on a thin strand of chronology.

The present volume, with its awesome coverage of obscure speeches, memoirs, biographies, diaries and travel books, combined with the beginnings already made by others on some of the neglected masters of our art and the exhibitions projected by institutions like the National Collection of Fine Arts, will bring us closer to the possibility of writing a profound history of American art with its genuine internal order emerging from a range of knowledge in depth we have not yet had available to us. As the title suggests, this book is an inquiry into the position of the artist in American life. Not suggested by the title is what will perhaps prove its most lasting contribution: a study of American attitudes toward art itself. Of its twelve chapters only three are devoted exclusively to socio-economic patterns of artists' lives and their institutions. His account of the Philadelphia institutions and patronage and of the gradual shift of artistic activity to New York is of considerable interest, but this material is for the most

part less revealing than the bulk of the material concerned with the broad characterization of Americans' attitudes.

In this area of investigation Mr. Harris gives a coherent account of progressive liberalization extending from an analysis of early inhibitions to the eventual equation of art and morality, both, it would seem, under the patronage of an enlightened mercantile class. Mr. Harris makes a convincing case for placing the blame for early restraints on the artistic impoverishment of the settlers' geographical origins and on their views of the content of traditional art, rather than on any opposition to art itself. He shows the real cause of continued opposition to be less a continuation of Puritanism than the notion among early republicans that art stood for aristocracy and luxury and therefore could have no place in a hard-working, egalitarian society.

In tracing the decline of this conception, the author has culled the travel journals of the famous and obscure to describe the seductive effects of the great European collections—especially Italian ones—and their role in breaking down the old animosities among even the most militant anti-Catholics. He also examines the impact of Romantic nature worship in our landscape painting, architecture (Downing), and in our civic parks (Olmstead), and dwells briefly on the Transcendentalists.

There is quite enough in the book as it stands, but one wonders if an overly zealous exclusion of artists as thinkers was responsible for his elimination of Allston's writings from his discussion of Transcendentalism. There is also a disturbingly unqualified parade of quotations from sources which can be found too often only by repeated reference to the copious footnotes. Do the comments of the Reverends Henry Bellows and Wilbur Fisk add anything to what we already know of the prevalent attitude toward nudity in American neo-classical sculpture? When we learn that even Hawthorne could congratulate himself on finally being able to distinguish a Rubens from a Rembrandt we may be entitled to question the worth of a host of quotations from lesser minds. There is also a sometimes slipshod combining of quotations in the matter of dates. A paragraph on Luman Reed's support of Cole in the 1830's concludes, for example, with the remark that Vanderlyn addressed Aaron Burr "My Dear Patron." No date is given in the text for the latter statement, and the layman, weary of flipping to the notes, might be led to assume that this was the evidence from the 1830's and not 1803. If one tires of the limp paraphrases of nineteenth-century rhetoric he can probably be thankful he has been spared the original, and if the prose is occasionally contaminated by the style of its references ("art competence" for example), one can only admire the author's thoroughness in getting at sources. Material is there in abundance.

The main problem of the book stems from the isolation of attitudes toward art from the patterns of artistic activity. While our travelers were shedding their prejudices before Renaissance Madonnas, the public was supporting

landscape and genre painting at home. The reader soon realizes that he is learning the genesis of an opinion and little of its effect. Perhaps this is because the triumph of charity toward art, to which he has been so knowledgeably led, resulted most often in the kind of pious sentiments on art and morality that in the end had little to do with the making of an American art but led rather to vapid imitations of Italian Renaissance painting and ultimately turned patrons from American contemporaries to foreign reputations in the period after the Civil War. But this is not Mr. Harris' fault. His book represents a long step toward that time when a new history of American art, with all the subtlety and complexity of its social and ideological background, can be written.

University of Pennsylvania

JOHN W. MCCOUBREY

Biddle's Bank: The Crucial Years. By JEAN ALEXANDER WILBURN. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967. vi, 149 p. Maps, tables, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

Recent Jacksonian historiography has reduced the Bank War to a struggle between pathetically unequal combatants, an energetic Democratic majority versus a politically abandoned and relatively defenseless Bank. It is Mrs. Wilburn's argument that the Bank was a formidable foe in the economic and political world of Jackson's America. To evaluate the Bank's support she analyzes pro-Bank memorials to Congress and congressional votes on the Bank issue, consisting of the House and Senate vote to recharter the Bank in 1832 and the House vote on a resolution in April, 1834, that the "Bank ought not to be rechartered." The analysis of these votes is handled badly. It is her conclusion that "except for Jackson's home state, the Southwest and West gave strong support to the Bank." Translated into votes, this means that the Southwest supplied six pro-Bank votes for recharter out of a total of 135. If it is important to decide whether sections did or did not support the Bank, it is just as important and realistic to keep in mind the relative political power of the different sections. Thus, the author's term "strong support" in this connection is misleading.

Mrs. Wilburn's emphasis upon sections is dictated by her challenge to what she considers "the basic history" of the Bank, the 1902 study by Ralph Catterall. He erred in claiming that the South and Southwest were strongholds of opposition to the Bank, and Mrs. Wilburn is justified in pointing out the error, or qualifying it in the case of the South. But to reverse the process and attempt to argue that rather than being strongholds of opposition these sections strongly favored the Bank is to become a slave to the same sectional analysis of the Bank War that was so misleading in the first place.

Indeed, Mrs. Wilburn's own evidence will not support any generalization based upon sections, as she realizes after including the analysis of the 1834 congressional vote on the resolution against the Bank. After lining up the states from various sections of the country which supported the Bank consistently and doing the same for those states where there was a similar pattern of opposition, she concludes: "A neat generalization about either of these groups is hard to come by. Perhaps there is none." Perhaps not. But let me offer one which indicates the central weakness of this study.

No analysis of the Bank War which is not sensitive to the political changes on both the national and state level will be informative about Jackson's America. For example, Mrs. Wilburn finds it "surprising" that Maine and New Hampshire congressmen voted against the Bank, New England being otherwise strongly pro-Bank. But these two states had strong Democratic majorities and their votes in Congress reflected party discipline. Perhaps Mrs. Wilburn overlooks this explanation because of her assertion that the recharter vote was taken "before the Bank became a major political issue." But in her conclusion she states: "The popular President Jackson had come out against the Bank in his annual messages to Congress in 1829 and 1830, so his position with respect to the institution was well known to the people." The latter statement is more nearly correct. The Bank rapidly became a political issue in state after state. The point is to discover how this issue affected Democratic majorities or minorities in these states, not what geographical area they represented.

The rest of her study points out what should have been obvious to all historians who have worked in this period. State banks, on the whole, grudgingly accepted the regulatory functions of the Bank, and no sections of the country offered stronger testimony to the need for the Bank's credit than the underdeveloped areas. Hence the author's emphasis upon state bank support and Western votes for the Bank.

The presentation of the book lacks polish and contains irritating errors which should have been eliminated. The Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Albany is often cited as the Farmers and Mechanics Bank. However, it is the lack of political sophistication which defeats the author's purpose. Mrs. Wilburn's bibliography cites only the Biddle, Jackson, and Van Buren manuscripts. This slim volume will offer little help to those who wish to understand the politics of the Bank War.

California State College at Long Beach

JOHN M. McFAUL

Robert E. Lee: A Portrait, 1807-1861. By MARGARET SANBORN. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1966. xii, 353 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

Over fifty years ago Douglas Southall Freeman began his monumental biography of R. E. Lee. When, twenty years later, the four-volume work

appeared on the market, critics pronounced it as "definitive." Today more sophisticated scholars avoid this word because they are aware that a writer's values and his selection of materials are affected by his environment. Freeman, a native of Virginia, seemed to overemphasize in Lee certain qualities cherished by the First Families of that state, such as a deep sense of honor, loyalty, and public duty. As in all his writings, Freeman covered his subject thoroughly, and any historian following in his footsteps must risk comparisons and the danger that his account will be considered repetitious and not as well done.

In the first volume of her biography of Lee Mrs. Sanborn has in many respects escaped this danger and drawn her own convincing portrait. The explanation for her success is obvious. She is a Californian, not a Virginian of the old school, and she had access to sources of information not previously available (how many is difficult to say). Above all she sees Lee through the eyes of an understanding woman who observes keenly but forbears judgment. Lee is no longer the marble figure riding high above the throng, the symbol of the "Lost Cause." He becomes a human being, vigorous, handsome, able, with a strong zest for life, his friends, relatives, and society in general. Though Freeman recognized the convivial side of Lee's nature and his love of female companionship, he stuffily played down these characteristics and kept his sights on the general's ultimate mission in life and his preparation for it. In contrast, Mrs. Sanborn accepts Lee for what the records reveal him to have been, a Virginian living, playing, and working according to the values of his upper-crust society with scarcely an eye to his future.

Lee as pictured by both biographers was a strong family man who lovingly fussed and brooded over the well-being of his children. Mrs. Sanborn seems to think that his marriage to Mary Custis was less than a happy one. Mrs. Lee could not wean herself permanently from her mother and father or from Arlington, and she often let her husband attend social functions by himself or go off alone on army assignments for months at a time. As a military man Lee was almost apolitical, but when the showdown between the North and South occurred Mrs. Sanborn agrees with Freeman that Lee's choice of sides was inevitable despite his abiding love of the Union and his veneration of the Washington tradition. He placed his loyalty to Virginia above everything else because for him it was both home and country.

In her treatment of Lee's army career, which she could not avoid, Mrs. Sanborn falls short of the standards expected of a military historian. The omission of army maps or even rough sketches is inexcusable. Her account of Lee's activities sometimes lacks clarity, precision, and completeness, especially his vital role in General Winfield Scott's successful campaign to capture Mexico City in the Mexican War. Were it not for the praises that Scott and other generals heaped upon him, the reader would not fully appreciate that in this campaign Lee demonstrated exceptional military

talents and learned many lessons which would be of value to him during the Civil War. In spite of its defects the book offers fresh insights into the character of Lee and makes for fascinating reading. Mrs. Sanborn writes of Lee the man; Freeman, of Lee the soldier. Thus the two works complement each other.

Lafayette College

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

John Randolph Clay: America's First Career Diplomat. By GEORGE IRVIN OESTE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966. 602 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Biographers are too frequently and too readily drawn toward the outstanding figures of political history. A minor functionary in the diplomatic service is hardly likely to attract such attention. Events in the life of the secretary of America's legation in some European capital did not tend to be of the sort which would thrill future generations, and any effort to prove such a figure of decisive importance in the unfolding of some major historic event would be both strained and suspect. Yet George I. Oeste has illustrated just how much can be gleaned from one such secretary's life, when it is diligently investigated and carefully described. His success in recounting the career of John Randolph Clay between 1831 and 1861 as legation secretary in St. Petersburg and Vienna, then as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Lima, suggests that serious studies of comparable figures might provide more insight into the workings of governmental and diplomatic affairs than will ever be derived from repetitious recounting of the lives of presidents and other notables.

Thorough is the word for Dr. Oeste. At times, alas, thoroughness can be overdone. After a payment-by-payment description of the collection of a \$300,000 Peruvian indemnity, the reader rejoices much as Mr. Clay must have at the sight of the final instalment. Yet the care taken by the author lends reliability to the book as a whole.

What does emerge with fascinating clarity from Dr. Oeste's study is the essential nature of American foreign policy during the first half of the nineteenth century. By diverting the reader's attention from the Monroe Doctrine and the Mexican War toward the unchanging routine of a United States legation in Europe or South America, this biography makes it evident that Americans then considered their diplomatic agents primarily salesmen and bill collectors. This continuity of function is revealed better by the activities of secretaries and *chargés d'affaires* than by those of politicians playing musical patronage chairs as heads of legations.

To be sure, there is no lack of humor in the thought of Clay's interrupting frenzied efforts of Metternich and Nesselrode to hold a crumbling European political order intact with an offer to sell some American tobacco. Nevertheless, the integral position of state tobacco monopolies in Met-

ternich's system exposes how neatly the American's espousal of free economic enterprise and increased exports for his country's plantations blended with his faith in political liberalism. Diplomatic historians of the William Appleman Williams school should love this book.

The author is clearly at home dealing with the intricacies of Peruvian indemnities and guano diplomacy. Here again Clay's primary mission was to open doors to American trade, while established European power and the traditional concession of monopoly contracts to favored companies stood athwart American interests. The Vivanco rebellion of 1857-1858 turned international competition for the guano mined by Chinese coolies off tropical islands into a dramatic confrontation between the British- and French-supported Peruvian dictator and the United States, as American shippers, encouraged by Clay and their government at home, sought to take advantage of the rebellion to open free trading in guano. Only secession within the United States showed its government the hazards of the precedent it was trying to establish in Peru. Secretary of State Seward reversed the position Clay had taken and conceded Peru's rights. These events proved the end of Clay's career, for the newly triumphant Republican Party had friends to care for with his office.

Such neglected areas of American diplomatic history need to be explored with the care Dr. Oeste has exhibited. Now that this biography has demonstrated the potential value of well-written studies of minor figures, we may hope that it will have many imitators.

University of Pittsburgh

DAVID MONTGOMERY

Democratic Politics and Sectionalism: The Wilmot Proviso Controversy. By CHAPLAIN W. MORRISON. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967. xii, 244 p. Index. \$6.00.)

Professor Morrison, in this slim and well-written volume, provides a detailed study of the Wilmot Proviso and its relationship to Democratic party politics through the presidential election of 1848. Beginning with an analysis of the first years of the Polk administration, particularly of the expansion issue, the author concludes that the Proviso originated as a political maneuver of the Van Burenites in their efforts to regain control of the national party. "The amendment [to an administration appropriation bill] appeared perfectly suited to their situation: it would enable them to fully exploit the northern Democratic resentment against the administration and the South created by the passage of the [Walker] tariff, the compromise settlement in Oregon, and the veto of the Rivers and Harbors Bill" (pp. 16-17). Polk eventually got his appropriation, without the Proviso, but the slavery extension issue had been "injected into national politics, and the full ventilation of the question in Congress had articulated,

in one form, the basic division of American society on the institution of slavery" (p. 37).

The author next traces the development of the southern rights movement under the leadership of Calhoun, intended to arrest the antislavery movement he saw developing in the North. "Under the prodding of Calhoun's movement for southern unity," he concludes, "a significant portion of the southern Democracy had made a northern disavowal of the Wilmot Proviso a *sine qua non* of its continuing participation in the national party." The most interesting chapter in this study deals with "The Meaning of the Wilmot Proviso for the General Public." Following a discussion of the views of the revisionist school of American Civil War Historians and of their critics, the author maintains that "the question is not why was the public unrealistic, but what realities were embodied for the public in the territorial issue" (p. 59). "The Wilmot Proviso," he concludes, "had such a strong appeal precisely because it expressed the northern determination to prevent the spread not only of slavery but of the despised Negro as well" (p. 73).

Escape from the Wilmot Proviso was provided by the doctrine of popular sovereignty, first suggested at this time by George M. Dallas and seized upon by Lewis Cass in his bid for the party's presidential nomination. The slavery extension issue is traced through the various state conventions in 1848, in the Baltimore Convention, and finally in the 1848 presidential election, which "presaged the ultimate failure of the Democratic popular sovereignty solution of the territorial dispute" (p. 172). The volume concludes with fifty-eight pages of notes—but no formal bibliography—and a brief but adequate index of about six pages.

The major weaknesses of this study are twofold. It abounds in generalizations frequently buttressed by only one or several references to private communications gleaned from a variety of collections of personal papers. The extent to which such correspondence accurately reflects the situation within an entire state political organization, let alone an entire section of the country, is questionable. In any event the author's use of this device is unconvincing. Secondly, we learn much about New York Hunkers and Barnburners in this study, but virtually nothing of the struggle within the Democratic Party in other key northern states, particularly Pennsylvania. The situation in Pennsylvania is briefly presented in terms of the Buchanan-Dallas rivalry in 1847-1848, in turn summarized from Charles M. Snyder's *The Jacksonian Heritage, Pennsylvania Politics, 1833-1848*. Neither Buchanan, nor Dallas, nor even Wilmot, is given the attention accorded to such figures as Preston King and John A. Dix, and no apparent use has been made of other studies of Pennsylvania politics in this period. Apart from the unevenness of treatment, however, the study contributes much to our knowledge and understanding of the background of the Civil War as well as of the history of the Democratic Party in this period.

Pre-Civil War Reform: The Variety of Principles and Programs. By LORMAN RATNER. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967. xii, 116 p. \$3.95.)

Prentice-Hall's "American Historical Sources Series," under the editorship of Lorman Ratner, enters a field already occupied by other publishers. If the volume under consideration may be taken as representative, it possesses in its brevity a strength and a weakness. The series editor himself has put together this particular work, supplying a fifteen-page introductory essay. He has also provided an explanatory paragraph for each of five sections which excerpt from the writings of William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Lyman Beecher, Neil Dow, and Theodore Weld. These excerpts occupy eighty-seven pages. For the college student needing a quick sampling of some pre-Civil War reform thought, the book will prove helpful. Where it can prove especially enriching, however, is in the high school for the better American history pupil.

Ratner's essay is a stimulating look at some reform thought during the period 1820 to 1860. He suggests two interpretations as prevailing among modern historians in this area. The first attributes reform to faith in democracy; the second stresses the attempt to maintain order in society by preserving the influence of the morally concerned. These approaches he thinks are only partially useful in understanding the period. The missing key, as he grasps it, lies in knowing that "reformers believed God has a plan for America."

Garrison, he views as having a perfect understanding of God's plan and a willingness to implement it regardless of hindering institutions. Parker perceives the plan through the prism of conscience and tries to work within the framework of society. Beecher sees the plan as calling for the religious awakening of man who will then transform institutions. Dow does ceaseless battle with evil as a matter of course and uses legislation to check man's evil propensities. Weld feels man cannot clearly know God's design but must nevertheless act.

All this, Ratner believes, suggests that while certain themes, such as religion, democratic liberalism, and humanitarianism, run through pre-Civil War reform, the period cannot yet be synthesized. Maybe he is right, if a common static motivation is sought for. But in the context of a developing society, men asserting their brother's right to humanity, as well as their own, is not startling. The concern with slavery was a growing thing which polarized attitudes. Even an ardent woman's rights advocate like Abby Kelley was to put her cause second to that of the slave by the 1840's. If synthesis is the bringing together in meaningful fashion the actions of men, the task is not impossible—though it may take more than fifteen pages.

It should be added that the selections are well chosen, although weighted toward antislavery. A female advocate of woman's rights would have been in order. The only factual error apparent is a carefully footnoted reference to the Haitian slave rebellion of 1802 which should be 1791. The "Suggested

Readings" would have been more useful if paperback editions were designated when available. Also, the section should have included Henry Steele Commager's *Theodore Parker: An Anthology* (1960).

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

DANIEL R. MACGILVRAY

Owen Lovejoy: Abolitionist in Congress. By EDWARD MAGDOL. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967. xiv, 494 p. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Owen Lovejoy's fame in his own lifetime (1811-1864) has been completely eclipsed by that of his older brother Elijah, who died at the hands of an antiabolitionist mob in 1837. Owen's life, however, provides a better vehicle than Elijah's for studying the history of the antislavery movement, especially in its political aspects. His mature years coincided almost exactly with the lifespan of radical abolitionism.

Relatively little is known of Lovejoy's early life. His father was a Maine farmer and Congregational minister. Owen attended Bowdoin College and Bangor Theological Seminary but did not complete the course at either school. He continued his studies for the ministry in Alton, Illinois, assisting Elijah in publishing the antislavery *Observer*. He witnessed Elijah's assassination and wrote a memoir of the martyr's life. In 1838 he became pastor of the Congregational church in Princeton, Illinois, where he served for the next seventeen years. In 1843 he married Mrs. Eunice Storrs Denham, a widow, by whom he had seven children. Their farm home on the edge of Princeton became an important station on the Underground Railroad.

About 1843 Lovejoy became active in the Liberty Party, and in 1848 he joined the Free Soil movement. In 1854 he was elected to the state legislature of Illinois, and he helped to organize the Republican Party. In 1856 he was elected to Congress, where he served until his death in 1864. He was an early and consistent supporter of Lincoln and, unlike some other leading Republicans, was patient with the President's relative conservatism on the problem of emancipation. Lincoln is reported to have said that Lovejoy was the best friend he had in Congress.

Lovejoy opposed further concessions to the South in the secession crisis. In 1861 he went out from Washington to view the battle of Bull Run. His chief contribution to the crusade against slavery was his sponsorship of the Congressional measure of 1862 which provided for the abolition of slavery in federal territories. He was also active in the movements leading to the Homestead Act and the creation of the federal Bureau of Agriculture. He took part in the debates concerning federal aid for a transcontinental railroad, favoring its construction by a "single indivisible company."

A hard-money man, he opposed the issuance of "greenbacks." He was an early advocate of enlisting Negroes in the army, and he favored the confiscation of Confederate property in land as well as the freeing of slaves. In the last year of his life he introduced a bill for emancipating the slaves in loyal states. His views on Reconstruction were never fully developed, but he did not go along with Stevens' theory that the southern states were "conquered provinces," or with Sumner's view that they had committed suicide.

The book is well written and has been handsomely produced by the publisher. It is extensively documented, but unfortunately the notes are at the back. Though not a professional historian, the author (editor of *Everybody's Money* magazine) seems to have done a thorough job of research. One misses, however, intimate sidelights of Lovejoy's personal life and of the workings of his mind. It might also be noted that about half of the book consists of general history of the period, which will already be familiar to many readers. There is some question as to whether Lovejoy's career justifies a 500-page treatment.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

The Reconstruction of the Nation. By REMBERT W. PATRICK. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. ix, 324 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Paperbound, \$4.50.)

Basically this book is a synthesis of older and more recent writings on United States history from 1865 to 1877, with treatment of a few issues like the status of race relations going beyond that period to 1900. It is an expanded textbook rather than an attempt at original interpretation, and, although it covers many aspects of American society, its emphasis is heavy on politics. In a preface the author describes his work as an "attempt to provide an overall, somewhat detailed and interpretative account of the Reconstruction period for readers and students. . . ." This description is appropriate for it is the Reconstruction period rather than Reconstruction itself which best defines the subject matter at hand.

In dealing with the controversial aspects of Reconstruction, Professor Patrick hews pretty closely to a moderate position, borrowing ideas from the Dunning school of revisionists as well as from contemporary scholars who are revising the revisionists and picturing a more positive and sometimes more complex view of the period than did an earlier generation of historians. At times the author's determination to present all points of view even leads to a discussion of the sources in the text itself. For the most part, however, the synthesis is sound and the work offers an excellent summary of the newer scholarship with adequate recognition that not all of the old should be discarded.

Some of the problems are resolved with a degree of circumspection almost amounting to ignoring them. The discussion of Radicals, for instance, begins with the statement: "No comprehensive definition of the Radicals is possible. The principles and membership of this segment of the Republican party changed from time to time. No unified organization by Radicals ever existed, and the extremists had no program for reconstructing the southern states in 1865. The policies they eventually developed lacked unity, were reached with aggravating slowness, and required supplementary acts to make them workable" (pp. 52-53). After an excellent discussion of the varieties of persons who were at times called "Scalawags," the author continues to use the term. The use of the older terminology, which often brings to mind stereotypes, is offset by material which should put the reader on guard against those stereotypes.

Conventional chronological organization characterizes the study which opens with a chapter on "War Results and Plans for the South," and closes with one on "The Completion of Reconstruction." Chapters on "Foreign Affairs" and "The People" cover diplomacy and some of the social history which did not fit in with the fundamentally political emphasis of the rest of the book. Except for a brief section on Albion W. Tourgée and other writers who treated racial themes, virtually no attention is given to the literary contributions relating to Reconstruction or to the period itself.

Because there is so much diverse material included with a minimum of interpretation, this is not an easy book to read. Although it is probably the most balanced of recent attempts to deal with the period as a whole, it is also the most bland, and the format, with numerous subheadings within chapters, does not help. There are no footnotes but references are listed at the end of each chapter and these are supplemented by a short essay on "General Historiography and Bibliography." The illustrations, which are all inserted together, are particularly unattractive. Nevertheless, for those who wish to consult a detailed and thorough study of American history during the years of Reconstruction, this is the book to read.

Wilmington College

LARRY GARA

The Mechanical Engineer in America, 1830-1910: Professional Cultures in Conflict. By MONTE A. CALVERT. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967. xviii, 296 p. Illustrations, tables, index. \$8.50.)

Mr. Calvert has performed an impressive feat in turning out an interesting and enlightening book on a subject that might not seem intrinsically very attractive—the rise of professionalism out of what had been a chaos of machine shop culture. His work shows a wide range of research and great care for the nuances that so often trip up a writer handling historical facts.

In 1830, which Mr. Calvert has wisely picked as the beginning of his period, the Industrial Revolution was just beginning to exert important influences on the cultural and economic direction of America's growth. Only a few years before, the nation's productive power had been restricted to the handworker—the farmer, the artisan, the fisherman, and the small shop operator. This was traceable in part to the restrictions Great Britain had imposed on the development of continental industry, but also stemmed from the lack of sophisticated machine technology, such as had begun to develop in Europe.

After the War of 1812, when America reaffirmed its power and capacity for self-determination, the need for technology became acute, for it was obvious that we needed far more than an agrarian economy to develop the thousands of miles of land that lay between our oceans. We needed machinery and tools to do our work efficiently, and we needed machine technology to achieve this.

The early growth of industry was slow and erratic. Capital problems were common, and they were aggravated by periodic depressions and panics. The first shop owners were basically entrepreneurs—practical, intuitively guided men whose economic survival was dependent upon their own inventiveness and the productive skill of their employees. It was their conviction that the best (if not the only) training was to be found in the shops themselves.

Gradually, however, the trial and error method of the small shop gave way, as it had to, to the refined, standardized, and scientific methods of the factory and the mill. With this change, there arose a new middle-class elite of professionally oriented men, and immediately a schism developed between them and the upper-class entrepreneurial shop-owners. The new engineer enlarged his view to consider, among other things, the economics of production and the use of manpower, the qualities and potentials of available materials, and the establishment of standards in specifications for materials, measurements, and methods. To the shop-culturist, this was largely idealistic, theoretical poppycock.

Even the engineers could not agree among themselves as to how they wanted to define their areas of responsibility, or what qualifications should be demanded of a man before he was to be regarded as a true professional. There was a long, bitter, and sometimes amusing debate over the metric system versus the inch and foot, and the desirable curriculum content for the education of an engineer was hotly argued. Even the proper application of the title, "engineer," caused concern to many, since the same term was used to describe stationary engineers, locomotive drivers, and others in nonprofessional categories.

In the period following the Civil War, professionalism became a major issue, and soon engineering associations were formed. Interestingly, status was still an issue, so that a number of separate organizations became established, each regarding the others with a mixture of hauteur and sus-

pcion. At all events, this and other moves toward professional identification met important needs for the good of American industry and commerce, and the story of this evolution is a fascinating one as told by Mr. Calvert. The author, by the way, is Associate Curator of Mechanical and Civil Engineering at the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology.

There is a good deal to interest Pennsylvanians in this handsomely designed book, for members of Philadelphia's engineering community (most notably the Sellers family) are frequently cited. There is also a very unusual coverage of the status and working problems of marine engineers in the Civil War era, which ought to appeal to many history buffs.

Ambler, Pa.

JOHN W. MAXSON, JR.

With Brass and Gas: An Illustrated Embellished Chronicle of Ballooning in Mid-Nineteenth Century America. By MUNSON BALDWIN. Illustrated by OWEN WOOD. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967. x, 238 p. \$6.00.)

Should you wish to acquaint yourself with every aspect of Free Ballooning you can do so with ease and pleasure by reading Munson Baldwin's *With Brass and Gas*. Mr. Baldwin has researched painstakingly an abundant list of revealed sources and reproduced enough excerpts of varied types of reports to convey not only the techniques but also the experiences of Free Balloonists in America in the year 1859.

The techniques remain much the same today in the classic sport of "gas" ballooning (as opposed to "hot air") and while for dramatic value the author stresses excitement, even calamity, it would be untrue to deny the continuance of such experiences among the categories recurring in the mid-twentieth century.

We hesitate to designate Mr. Baldwin as "author" because of the unusual means which he employs to relate his findings. The volume consists principally, if not entirely, in excerpts from "newspapers, magazines, books, letters, speeches, editorials, poetry, telegrams, headlines, announcements and advertisements as well as firsthand accounts by the balloonists and the people who observed them." These are edited and reproduced. The reproduction is in a variety of type and design forms. It is interspersed with appropriate, seemingly contemporary, illustrations of flights, posters, and incidents by Owen Wood, which augment and "embellish" the piecemeal text. The reader will fight Mr. Baldwin's editing at first, but will be quickly swept into the series of exciting revelations it sustains and remain fascinated to the end.

This is a first-rate volume. Historians will get double value from Mr. Baldwin's efforts. Not only is Free Ballooning given center stage but the

scenic setting is such that one lives each event with the 1859 inhabitants of the plains and northeast America, even meeting early prospectors in the Quebec wilderness.

Blue Bell, Pa.

CONSTANCE WOLF

The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage. By ALAN P. GRIMES. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. xiii, 159 p. Notes on sources, index. \$4.75.)

The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage deals primarily with the West, partly because that is where the woman suffrage movement achieved its first success, partly because woman suffrage in the West has been a relatively unworked field for historical investigation. The book supplies answers to a number of questions raised by the author. Why was the woman suffrage movement successful only in the West in the nineteenth century? Remembering that it was men who had to grant or withhold votes from women, what kind of men voted for woman suffrage? What did they hope to gain from this action? Who voted against it? Why did they oppose votes for women? What social values underlay these political decisions? These and other questions explore the familiar territory of the Turner thesis, with interesting results. The author concentrates upon political behavior, analyzing voting records on woman suffrage and two other issues which he finds connected therewith in the West, namely prohibition and literacy test restrictions upon immigration, his purpose being "objectively to relate values articulated to votes cast, to find a social basis for social attitudes."

The book's major thesis is that the woman suffrage movement in the West was conservative from the beginning and throughout its development there. First legalized in the territory of Wyoming, in December, 1869, women's votes served the purpose of the community-builders of that wild frontier, essentially doubling the votes of the responsible householders and making possible the establishment of law and order. In Utah, where woman suffrage was adopted by the territorial legislature in February, 1870, the Mormons hoped, by giving the vote to their women and thus increasing Mormon political power, to preserve a civilized society already in existence against the threats of Federal intervention and the influx of Gentile immigrants. The same social forces were at work in both Wyoming and Utah, seeking "to establish the norms of community behavior usually associated with the term 'the Puritan ethic.' These norms included order, temperance, honesty, and an extraordinary sense of calling or divine mission in the process of community building." Although Professor Grimes does not restrict the connotation of "Puritan" to either Calvinism or Protestantism, he notes that the upholders of the Puritan ethic came to be identified with the predominantly Protestant, rural, white, native-born Anglo-Saxon,

middle class. Confronted by the growing power of a different value system based on urban industrialism, the "Puritans" turned negative, restrictive, ultimately reactionary. In the West, the woman suffrage movement served the Puritan cause. It was neither equalitarian nor democratic but in some ways antithetical to both of these values.

The nation-wide struggle for control of American society inspired major movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—Populism, Progressivism, and the "100% Americanism" of the World War I period. Woman suffrage both contributed to and was aided by all of these, indeed would not have succeeded nationally without them. Professor Grimes examines the voting record of the 63rd Congress, elected in 1912, on woman suffrage, prohibition, and literacy restrictions on immigration, in terms of geographic section (West, South, East), rural and urban constituencies, and political parties. He finds that the major support for all three measures came out of the West, there being no significant difference there between rural and urban areas or between political parties. The South was overwhelmingly opposed to woman suffrage but supported the other two measures. The East presented a more complicated picture but was about evenly divided on woman suffrage.

The correlation of voting statistics and social attitudes may not satisfy those who feel that the academic discipline of history is one of the humanities, concerned essentially with individual behavior. Psychiatrists tell us there is no precisely predictable one-for-one relationship between an individual's mental state and his overt acts, an observation doubly true, perhaps, in the log-rolling world of politics. On the other hand, as we rush toward the saturation level of population, the statistical study of group dynamics may ultimately offer the only insights either knowable or considered noteworthy by historians. Professor Grimes has not gone over completely to the methodology of mathematics. He looks behind the political act to the human performer, as, for example, in the case of Councilman W. H. Bright's introduction of the woman suffrage bill at the meeting of the Wyoming territorial legislature on November 27, 1869. In spite of the many political reasons suggested by political experts as motivations for Mr. Bright's action, Professor Grimes seems to give most credence to the opinion that Bright did what he did because his wife told him to. Quite apart from its being of doubtful statistical significance, such behavior even appears to be somewhat outside the mainstream of Puritanism as well.

The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage provides a searching, new look at the old question. It reaches a modest conclusion, "that the presence of the Puritan ethic in the West was a significant contributory factor in the rise of woman suffrage."

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch, 1878-1883. By JULIAN S. RAMMELKAMP. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967. xiii, 326 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

Joseph Pulitzer is acknowledged to be one of America's greatest newspapermen, perhaps the greatest. His reputation for revolutionizing American journalism and setting it on its modern course is based primarily on his *New York World*, despite the fact that the *Post-Dispatch* still is regularly listed as one of America's ten best newspapers. *The World*, in its grotesquely hybridized form, has just been buried hastily and finally, but it really died many years ago. In its heyday it carried an aura that no other newspaper, even the late *Herald Tribune*, could top. To have worked on the old *World* was an experience that no newspaperman could forget or let his colleagues forget.

The philosophy and techniques that Pulitzer brought to the *World* when he took it over in 1883 had been tested in the *Post-Dispatch* from 1878 on. This is Professor Rammekamp's thesis and he documents it in detail. It is interesting to see examples of the earliest forms of liberal, crusading journalism (even though the causes themselves lost their interest long ago) and to watch Pulitzer refine his ideas.

At first Pulitzer confined his attacks on corruption and special privilege to the editorial columns. Then he found that the news columns could do the job more colorfully and sensationally. And the circulation went up. As Professor Rammekamp points out the journalism became frantic and exaggerated. "Unrestrained attacks upon the 'best citizens' already had begun to earn for [the *Post-Dispatch*] the enmity of those who, in considerable degree, controlled the politics and wealth of the city. Only with a broad popular base—in the form of a large circulation—could the *Post and Dispatch* (as it was called in the early days) prosper as an independent business."

Pulitzer had found a formula for success in spectacular journalism that later even went so far as stunt journalism, such as Nellie Bly's dash around the world for the *World*. Unlike other papers the *Post-Dispatch* could not look to political parties, politicians or community leaders for support. But, of course, sensationalism alone was not enough, the paper had to supply hard news and this it did brilliantly.

Pulitzer had a genius for surrounding himself with able and competent associates in both the business and news sides of the paper. John Cockerill, his great editor, said: "Mr. Pulitzer was the damndest best man in the world to have in a newspaper office for one hour in the morning. For the remainder of the day he was a damned nuisance."

Pulitzer was a dynamo of energy, inventive, mixing into the smallest details of operation and forcing success. Professor Rammekamp concludes that:

"In just four and a half years Pulitzer created a newspaper whose sensational and entertaining style attracted to it a mass city readership. Adapting, developing, and exploiting ideas and trends already evident in the 'new journalism,' his *Post-Dispatch* became an astounding business success almost overnight. The greatest significance of the *Post-Dispatch*, however, was that once Pulitzer turned his attention exclusively to journalism, it mobilized the middle class elements of St. Louis into a dynamic movement of reform. As it turned out, the struggle was long and bitter, as the allied forces of political corruption and economic privilege were strongly entrenched, but 'the red thread of continuous policy' which became such a striking characteristic of *Post-Dispatch* journalism after 1880 guaranteed a constant campaign in the future until, in the first decade of the next century, success began to crown its efforts. The age of progressivism in St. Louis and Missouri which eradicated Butlerism and tamed the monopolies, had its roots in the late 1870s and early 1880s when the tough little *Post-Dispatch* began publication."

This is the story that Professor Rammelkamp tells with scholarship and skill.

Chester Springs, Pa.

PIERRE C. FRALEY

Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World. By GEORGE JUERGENS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. xvii, 392 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Professor Juergens' analysis of Joseph Pulitzer and the newspaper he founded demonstrates both the virtues and the defects of the Ph. D. thesis translated into a book. More strikingly, it illustrates the difficulties a nonjournalist historian can get into when he is writing journalistic history.

The virtues are considerable, it must be said. He has painstakingly sorted out the ingredients of the brew Pulitzer concocted to make the *World*, and has shown with an abundance of examples why the formula was so successful in late nineteenth-century America. This formula was, in brief, a combination of sensationalism on the front page and crusading on the editorial page. That was the essence of the Pulitzer recipe for mass circulation, and it was admirably adapted to the times. New York was full of half-assimilated Irish and German immigrants, cruelly and ruthlessly exploited by politicians and employers alike. Pulitzer spoke, or pretended to speak, to and for these masses. While he entertained them with crime and fairly discreet sex in the news columns, he argued for housing reform, higher wages, and improved working conditions in his editorials. This adroit mixture was responsible for the *World's* impressive circulation figures, although it must be remembered that they were also achieved at a time when the paper's competitors were either in a state of decline or transition.

To document all this was Professor Juergens' intention when he wrote his thesis, and he did so with commendable thoroughness and more literary skill than one usually finds in these efforts. One of the results, no doubt, was his subsequent appointment as assistant professor of history at Amherst. It would scarcely be fair, consequently, to fault Mr. Juergens for not doing something he never intended, yet it must be pointed out that the ground rules for the doctoral thesis have not served him well in creating a book about Pulitzer of any more than limited value, and possibly they have led him to a major conclusion which, in my view, is wholly erroneous.

The conclusion is that Pulitzer's creation of the *World* resulted in the first modern, mass-circulation daily, and so was a profound and lasting influence on the American press. But historians of journalism have long agreed that it was James Gordon Bennett, Sr., who laid the foundations for modern journalism with his *Herald*, begun in 1835 and carried on after the Civil War by his eccentric son, Bennett Jr. It was Bennett who pioneered the modern method of gathering and presenting the news. Moreover, his formula for the *Herald* was precisely Pulitzer's, and it was directed at largely the same audience, although its members were far more Irish than German at the beginning, and in "mass" was of course not as large. Pulitzer improved on Bennett's original formula in various ways, until Hearst arrived on the scene and so improved on Pulitzer that in the end the *World* had to abandon the recipe entirely and become an entirely different kind of paper. It was this later *World*, created after Pulitzer's withdrawal from the war with Hearst and coming to fullest flower after his death, which became a landmark in American journalism.

Conceived within the limitations of doctoral scholarship, Professor Juergens' book lacks the historical perspective which would have set his analysis in the proper context. Unavoidably, too, it also lacks the human element. Everything Pulitzer did can hardly be fully understood except in the light of his complicated, highly neurotic personality. It is not Mr. Juergens' fault that he was unable to bring this kind of insight to a thesis, but such omissions do deprive his study of a dimension it badly needs, in spite of the substantial contribution it makes to a further understanding of a giant in American journalism.

New York University

JOHN TEBBEL

Here We Have Lived: The Houses of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Foreword by THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS. (Boston: A Massachusetts Historical Society Picture Book, 1967. 28 p. Illustrations. \$1.25.)

The Massachusetts Historical Society, perhaps the most prestigious of all our historical societies, has occupied seven homes since its founding in 1791. Its present stately mansion was erected in 1899. Unfortunately, the plans for this structure were too ambitious. While the omission of stairs

to the cellar was inadvertent, the failure to build the wing that was to have housed the stacks reflected the sad fact that the money had run out.

Since 1899 collections of fantastic value and interest have continued their flow to the Massachusetts Historical, necessitating ingenious arrangements for their shelving, including the use of former coal bins. However, ingenuity can go just so far in the shelving of an ever-growing collection. As Thomas Boylston Adams has written in his Foreword "every available cubic inch of space has been requisitioned to make place for books and manuscripts." It is clear that the Society desperately needs new stack areas. An illustration depicts such a proposed addition. Numerous other illustrations show the Society's previous and present homes and evoke the line from the poet Holmes "Build thee more stately mansions," an injunction of poignant significance for this first of all our historical societies.

In line with the tradition established by the Massachusetts Historical Society Picture Books, this fourteenth in the series has a most attractive appearance and format. It is a credit to the Society and to the Anthoensen Press and The Meriden Gravure Company.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

An Illustrated History of U. S. Commemorative Coinage. By DON TAXAY.
(New York: Arco Publishing Company, 1967. viii, 256 p. Illustrations. \$6.50.)

Mr. Taxay's most recent work presents new and interesting data pertaining to the issuing of gold and silver commemorative coins by the United States Mint, as authorized by Congress. Although struck as official coins, which could be used as legal tender, very few have actually ever been in circulation as such. Due to the minted number, which gradually increased with each succeeding emission, opposition from some official quarters in Washington resulted finally in a discontinuance of the abused practice.

The author carefully traces the history of all issues from the earliest, commemorating the Columbian Exposition in 1893, to the Carver-Washington Memorial, dated 1951, when Congress withdrew its approval of any further issues. The number of such issues reached its peak in the middle 1930's. Depending on the influence exerted by the numerous proposers in official circles, events of relatively minor importance were thereby transmitted to metal, to be forever memorialized. Much of what resulted was merely political by nature!

By an executive order dated July 28, 1921, the Commission of Fine Arts was instructed to render final approval on every new design for coins and medals which might originate in the government. Mr. Taxay, having access to the Commission's files, has included the exchanges of letters, drawings, sketches, etc., most pertinent to a better understanding of the

symbols used and the designs employed. Logical arguments, as well as those of a petty nature, discussions of the problems of transposing the designs to greatly reduced size, especially as it applied to the gold dollars, the limitations of high relief and other technical problems, are clearly set forth. Various trial pieces are also illustrated, and the reader is given a clear insight of the labors and talents of America's outstanding medallic artists.

As the original purpose for minting commemorative coins grievously degenerated into a purely money-making scheme by most proposers, interesting information is set forth regarding the historical accuracy depicted on the coins. Some verbatim correspondence on controversial questions is included—material hitherto unavailable. As the coins were sold at double face value, the profit motive became paramount and numerous pet projects were launched.

Finally, Mr. Taxay has set forth the several fallacies connected with the government's decision to discontinue minting commemoratives, pointing out that such new issues do not encourage counterfeiting as charged, for their designs are more intricate than those used on the regular coins, and hence more difficult to reproduce. Their manufacture is not a burden on the mint's operations, and he suggests that, if this be the case, the minting of coins for foreign governments should be eliminated. Another fallacy is the added expense incurred, which, in the light of our current depreciated coinage, should have little effect. Added expense in the past has largely been due to the excess number of pieces struck, requiring that excess unsold coins be melted down. Another argument revolves around the question of whether the sale of the coins was being abused by the profiteers. For, if correct measures had been taken, and the coins minted in limited quantities for only one year, such abuses would never have arisen. Designs should be approved only if the subject was deemed of sufficient importance and of a "national character." A ruling commission, knowledgeable in the historical incident involved, could readily control all future emissions with little difficulty.

For those interested in the commemorative coins, their historical background, as well as a study of medallic art and artists of the nation, this work is excellent, and the numerous large illustrations add greatly to its value as a reliable reference for the numismatist and the general reader.

Newfoundland, Pa.

RICHARD T. HOOBER

The Death of Tinker Bell: The American Theatre in the 20th Century. By JOSEPH GOLDEN. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967. ix, 181 p. \$5.00.)

Peter Pan's pocket-sized, light-emitting fairy, Tinker Bell, serves Joseph Golden as a continuing, useful symbol as he evaluates the successes,

failures, and possibilities of the twentieth-century American theatre. Tinker Bell symbolizes the American theatre's ripeness for a "reawakening of our half-forgotten potential for sharing universal dreams and experiences."

This book was originally prepared as a series of lectures, and the happy result is that it reads like spoken language; it is direct, informal, clear, stimulating, and brief. At times its style practically motivates an audience-speaker dialogue. The book's goals are simple but valid: to draw together opinion, theory, and historical fact concerning the modern American theatre and synthesize the findings for an audience made up of "that vast middle band on the spectrum of American cultural life . . . who are neither the professional makers of theatre nor its professional critics or teachers."

Fortunately, Mr. Golden has prejudices, admits them, and uses them to color his book. He loves the theatre, and that shows clearly as he studies the peculiar nature of the art: theatre's "seeming artlessness," that causes it to be taken less seriously than such sister arts as painting, sculpture, and music; and the theatre's peculiarly temporal nature which causes both its overwhelming immediacy and its transient effects. Each of the book's six chapters reveals other strong opinions about the theatre. The discussion of Eugene O'Neill, for instance, declares against the traditional assertion that O'Neill revolutionized American dramaturgy; instead, Golden maintains that O'Neill's contribution was a devotion to the cause of American drama and the energy to search experimentally for a better theatre. In a brilliant chapter on poetry in the theatre, Golden reminds us that verse and rhyme are not the only requisites of poetry: "If poetry is, in essence, the magnification and distillation of human experience, then *Death of a Salesman* is one of the great poetic plays of the 20th century."

Another of Golden's biases that I applaud is his insistence that three major American playwrights—Arthur Miller, Thornton Wilder, and Tennessee Williams—are at least in search of the theatrical magic that Tinker Bell symbolizes, and in plays like *Death of a Salesman*, *The Skin of Our Teeth*, and *The Glass Menagerie* they have reached the kind of heights that make the fairy's existence possible.

Finally, I appreciate Golden's achievement in writing with a considerable sense of cultural, dramatic, and theatrical history. Artists and artistic events are consistently placed in their cultural matrix. It is proper that the book ends with a chapter surveying the possibilities for Tinker Bell's re-birth (if she ever lived in the American theatre, and Golden is not certain); he sees the growing regional and university theatres contributing a "new professionalism" that may be the most positive sign of our day.

Judged on the basis of its intention, to provide intelligent laymen with some understanding of the modern American theatre, James Golden's book is a venture successful enough to cause a strong glimmer in Tinker Bell's light.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1963-1965. Volumes 63-65. Edited by FRANCIS COLEMAN ROSENBERGER. (Washington: The Columbia Historical Society, 1966. xx, 513 p. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

This volume has an excellent balance, and its well-researched papers are a valuable addition to any bibliography on the City of Washington. This review, however, can only summarize the major ones, and these are treated in groups. Those on intellectual and cultural themes have a special reference value. Wilcomb E. Washburn of the Smithsonian Institution makes a distinguished contribution in his discussion of that Institution's role in the intellectual life of Washington a century ago. Josephine Cobb has given us a splendid article on the Washington Art Association and its exhibition record (1856-1860), with a list of artists then active in the city, and the reprinted exhibit catalogues; it will be most useful to students of American art. George W. Hodgkin's study of educational associations emphasizes the National Education Association, while Albert W. Atwood has written in considerable detail about the founder of Gallaudet College.

Related to earlier periods are studies by the late Guy Castle. These extend the history of the site of Washington back to 1608, when Captain John Smith first visited this upper Potomac region, and to a period when this area was seated by some of Maryland's most notable and affluent colonial planters. The study of his family by Brice M. Clagett illustrates the circumstance that scions of the Maryland and Virginia gentry were later attracted to the city and made contributions to its growth that are still valued.

Several other papers focus on the Civil War period. Especially informative is the one by Keith E. Melder on Josephine Griffing and her work among the Freedmen between 1864 and 1872. Closely related to this study is another on compensated emancipation by Mary Mitchell, which should be extended to a work of book length, for she displays an ability to do it successfully. Addresses by Elden E. Billings and David C. Mearns add some knowledge for that era which was so well covered by Margaret Leech in her *Reveille in Washington* (1941).

Papers on the White House, the White House stables and garages, the Capitol building, Victorian houses, and houses on N Street in Georgetown, all have much appeal. Mrs. John N. Pearce is a specialist on White House history, and Fred Schwengel offers highlights about the Capitol. Henry H. Glassie's account of Victorian homes goes beyond the houses themselves to the physical character of the city when many of the old mansions were built. Mary Mitchell and Robert Lyle did admirable research in their study of Georgetown houses, and they, too, demonstrate the ability to produce what is much needed for a correct history of the oldest section of the city. Let them do a book on this subject!

Several tributes are included. Milton Rubicam offers a fine memoir on John Clagett Proctor, a much beloved figure who shared a great knowledge

with his fellow citizens in regular articles for *The Sunday Star*, and made Washingtonians more aware of their surroundings. The tribute to his daughter, Maud Proctor Callis, by O. Kenneth Baker is equally appropriate. But the finest of these is a critique by the late Donald H. Mugridge of Constance M. Green's *Washington, Village and Capital, 1800-1878* (1962). Such a review is seldom seen. Mr. Mugridge not only wrote extremely well but all he had to say was very much to the point. He had great talent. His tribute to Mrs. Green is richly deserved because her volume, which won a Pulitzer Prize, is certainly the finest history we have of early Washington.

This volume of *Records* will appeal to a variety of scholars, and its illustrations do much to enhance the attraction. Such activity is a rewarding function for any historical society, especially when those who read this volume find pleasure in historical writing.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

JOHN BEVERLEY RIGGS

Records of the Provincial Council, 1682-1776. (A Microfilm Project Sponsored by the National Historical Publications Commission.) DONALD H. KENT, Project Director; MARTHA L. SIMONETTI, Assistant Project Director; GEORGE DAILEY and GEORGE R. BEYER, Editors. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1966. 26 rolls and pamphlet guide. \$234.00.)

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers. (A Microfilm Project Sponsored by the National Historical Publications Commission.) DONALD H. KENT, Project Director; MARTHA L. SIMONETTI, Assistant Project Director; GEORGE R. BEYER, Editor of Microfilm. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1967. 10 rolls and pamphlet guide. \$90.00.)

Since 1950, the National Historical Publications Commission has been co-operating with various agencies and institutions "in collecting and preserving, and, when it deems such action to be desirable, in editing and publishing the papers of outstanding citizens of the United States and such other documents as may be important for an understanding and appreciation of the history of the United States." Among major documentary publication projects encouraged by the Commission have been *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, *The Adams Papers*, *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, and *The Papers of James Madison*.

Legislation in 1964 authorized direct federal financial assistance for such historical activities through "allocations to federal agencies, and grants to nonprofit organizations and institutions, for the collecting, describing, preserving and compiling, and publishing (including microfilms and other forms of reproduction) of documentary sources significant to the history of the

United States." The sum of money made available for such assistance was \$500,000 annually for five years. As of January, 1967, the National Historical Publications Commission was able to list sixty-four projects as participating in its program; about a third of these are documentary publications on microfilm, such as the two series recently issued by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

The larger of these, the *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682-1776*, contains on film the manuscript Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania; the Executive and Crown Correspondence of the Governor-in-Council, referred to as the Papers of the Provincial Council; and thirteen volumes which make up the two editions of the published Minutes of the Provincial Council and which are commonly known by the binder's title, *Colonial Records*. The pamphlet, which accompanies the film, describes the collection and how to use it. A lengthy section lists chronologically all 2,962 of the Executive Correspondence documents and the ninety-four which make up the Crown Correspondence. The printed editions of the *Colonial Records* were filmed because they have become scarce and because it was deemed wise to keep together as an entity all versions of this primary source which have been cited by scholars for generations past.

The Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers have had an interesting history, as explained in the pamphlet guide to that series. Although they constitute one of the most important bodies of source material in the State Archives, these papers are not really archival material. They comprise the records of one of colonial Philadelphia's most outstanding and adventurous business houses. Anyone interested in intercolonial trade, the Indian trade, and early western development will find a great deal of value in the Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is to be commended for making these collections available on film. In this form they should find their way to many libraries and thereby save the students who use them much inconvenience and expense. Through projects such as these sponsored by the National Historical Publications Commission, the research facilities of libraries across the nation will be immeasurably enriched.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

Policing the City: Boston, 1822-1885. By ROGER LANE. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. x, 299 p. Notes on sources, index. \$8.50.)

It is surprising that more studies of the police have not been made, for nothing better demonstrates the social attitude of a community. In Europe the police were an external force, enforcing the will of an executive upon communities which had small voice in determining purposes or methods. Even in London, which had the world's best police in the nineteenth cen-

ture, the policemen were recruited deliberately from the army or the country, and compelled to live in segregated areas.

In a democracy the police problem was very different, for the men of the force were of the community, and were enforcing its will. In Boston, the Puritan City upon a Hill, the community expected to have no police problems, and could not imagine anything more un-American than any kind of police force. For almost two centuries this busy port got along with nothing more than a squad of often superannuated night watchmen, armed with nothing more than rattles.

The changes which compelled the incorporation of Boston as a city in 1822 also demanded the creation of some kind of professional police force, but for some years crime and criminals required little of its time and attention. The great Irish immigration beginning in 1848 plunged Boston into all of the modern police problems except drugs and organized crime. The immigrants were the first large alien body with which the community had to deal. They were rural folk, unable to cope with problems of urban life and sanitation, and all too often unable to find employment in what was then a commercial rather than an industrial society. As a result, the situation soon developed in which "of the eleven or twelve thousand citizens who participated regularly in municipal elections 'at least five thousand' were 'pledged by instinct against the enforcement of the most wholesome laws of the Commonwealth'" (p. 120). How Boston adjusted to this problem, and how it tried by change and experiment to deal with the age-old problems of drunkenness, poverty, and prostitution, makes fascinating reading. Dr. Lane clearly demonstrates that the Boston police in dealing with the alien group showed more social awareness, more kindness and consideration, than brutality or corruption. He has written a superb book which makes absorbing reading, despite its solid foundation of research and statistical study. There are things in it for everyone who has contact with a modern city to ponder. As he relates it, Boston's experience casts doubts on the glib conclusions of some of those who prescribe for modern problems without knowing the history of the police.

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