BOOK REVIEWS

*Thomas Penn Papers.* (A Microfilm Project Sponsored by the National Historical Publications Commission.) **John D. Kilbourne,** Project Director. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1968. 10 rolls and pamphlet guide. $100.00.)

Thomas Penn, 1701/2-1775, was the only son of William Penn to achieve importance. From 1746 until his death he was the principal Proprietor of Pennsylvania, and it is difficult to write on any aspect of Pennsylvania's history during that period without recourse to his papers. For nearly a century, his letter books and the correspondence he received have been owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and it is probable that no single group of the Society's papers has been pored over by more scholarly researchers.

His papers contain vital data on governmental affairs and political conflicts and on the characters of those concerned. The French and Indian wars hold an important place with many letters dealing with the defense of the frontiers and with military expeditions. How to handle the Indians and how to acquire more land from them takes up much space in a correspondence which went on for years on such topics. Gifts to the Indians to keep them friendly, strategy aimed at defeating Quaker efforts to intervene in Indian problems, efforts to prevent squatters from occupying Indian lands, the fur trade, all are subjects which are discussed at length. In general, as the record discloses, Penn's views on the natives were supported by Sir William Johnson, the Indian Superintendent, and by his deputy for Pennsylvania and the West, George Croghan. One of the most difficult Indian problems was that of boundaries between white settlement and Indian hunting country, and this problem was complicated by Virginia's claim to western lands which included the Pittsburgh area. And then, too, there was that seemingly never-ending boundary controversy with Maryland. Even Connecticut attempted to seize part of Penn's domains. Much light is shed on these harassing and complicated matters in the Proprietor's letters.

Cultural, educational, and religious topics find their places in his correspondence. Penn was intensely interested in obtaining copies of maps, views, pamphlets, and printings of all sorts that dealt with his colony, and the story of many of these rarities is to be found only in his papers. He criticized the bad perspective of the picture of the State House on Scull and Heap's 1752 *Map of Philadelphia and Parts Adjacent,* but, proud of their monumental 1754 view, *The East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia,*
he gave a copy of it to George II. His theories on education are clearly set forth and may be found in his correspondence with his political ally the Rev. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia. The history of certain significant institutions stems in part from his philanthropy, among them the Pennsylvania Hospital, which still stands on the land he and his brother Richard donated. St. Peter's Church was similarly favored.

These and many other subjects are covered in the microfilm publication of his papers, the many thousands of letters he wrote and those which he received. This publication will safeguard the original manuscripts by making their content available on film at a relatively modest price.

_Historical Society of Pennsylvania_  
NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT


Gary Nash has written an outstanding book, one which more than fulfills the promise of the penetrating articles he has recently produced on early Pennsylvania history. _Quakers and Politics_, whose focus is the political instability which plagued Pennsylvania during her first decades, has at least four major virtues. First, Professor Nash pulls no punches; he is not a prisoner of filiopiety and, therefore, does not, like many of the province's earlier historians, play down the contentions of Pennsylvania's first years because of reverence for the founders' principles nor does he dignify them by transforming them into preludes to the American Revolution. For him factional conflict with its attendant political disequilibrium was perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of Pennsylvania's early decades (aside from the religion of the inhabitants) and for this reason he emphasizes it and explains it as a discrete phenomenon whose meaning does not derive from distant events. He notes that the factionalism with which Pennsylvania was afflicted was not peculiar to her, but seems to have been a by-product of settlement in virtually every other American colony and seems to have had rather similar roots wherever it occurred. And here is the second virtue of his study: the comprehensiveness of its vision and its freedom from the parochialism which has frequently marred earlier histories of Pennsylvania's beginnings. The third and perhaps greatest virtue of the book is the author's use of the tools and techniques of disciplines other than history. He relies heavily on the methods and rhetoric of sociology—"elites," the "alienated," and the "mobile" crowd his pages—and he uses economics, statistics, and psychology to good effect. His book is, in fact, a model of sane, balanced interdisciplinary scholarship. The book's final virtue is a product of those already mentioned; Professor Nash's point of view and his scholarly apparatus enable him to produce fresh and provocative assess-
ments of the important men of the period, William Penn, George Keith, Thomas Lloyd, and David Lloyd, and to challenge many traditional interpretations of events.

According to Professor Nash, the first forty years of Pennsylvania history unfold in the following way: William Penn, no egalitarian democrat, wished to govern the province in partnership with a select number of prosperous supporters and, accordingly, appointed them to fill all important provincial offices; but his team disintegrated almost as soon as its members set foot in Pennsylvania, the principal solvent being anger at his land disposal policies and at his attempts to collect quit rents; his disaffected supporters joined forces with a group of successful merchants and landholders who had not been members of the original “in group” and together they formed an anti-proprietary faction—an “elite” in Professor Nash’s words—based in the provincial council and led by Thomas Lloyd. Politically dominant in the 1680’s, this faction aroused the opposition of men of lower socioeconomic status, the lesser merchants and landholders and the artisans and tradesmen, who contested its power from their stronghold, the Assembly. Besides opposing each other, both groups opposed Penn and Penn opposed both groups, so that a three-cornered political donnybrook roiled the province for years; in the 1690’s the lesser faction opposed the ruling elite by enlisting under the banner of the religious “heretic” George Keith, and it came to power in the first decade of the eighteenth century under the leadership of David Lloyd, assisted by an economic slump caused by warfare in Europe. The peace of Utrecht, 1713, ushered in a new era of prosperity in Pennsylvania in which a merchant-landholding elite, richer than any the province had yet seen, was formed; it re-established political domination and provided a measure of tranquility, which its opponents disturbed only during times of economic dislocation or external threat.

Although Professor Nash emphasizes the role of economic factors in creating political turbulence, he sees other elements agitating the province in equal or even greater degrees: the three non-Quaker Lower Counties; the wilderness working on the settler’s psyche—it made him acquisitive, aggressive, and often obstreperous, he argues; the mentality of the religious dissenter turned pioneer—he claims that it made him temperamentally anti-authoritarian, in the Quaker case, almost pathologically so; and the structure of society—he finds it “dysfunctional” and hence inhospitable to the pretensions of an elite, because it was not sufficiently stratified. In fact, Professor Nash considers this last condition the prime cause of Pennsylvania’s instability.

*Quakers & Politics* will be controversial, for many of its conclusions are new and may even be disconcerting, especially to consensus historians. But in the opinion of this reviewer it is one of the best and most important books which has appeared on colonial Pennsylvania in years.

*Yale University*  
*James H. Hutson*

This volume is, its subject considered, a succinct essay written with a clarity and an economy of words which reminds one of the plain writing of the Puritans themselves. The author is thoroughly acquainted with the background from Elizabethan Puritanism to nineteenth-century American literature, and with the great mass of relevant new scholarship. Analyzing and quoting but briefly from each autobiography which he has chosen to treat, he draws on the other writings of these authors to point up their autobiographical remarks. With skill he uses material chosen from the mass of the writings of the Mathers, and of the writings on Jonathan Edwards. He deals with the autobiographies of the great from John Winthrop to Benjamin Franklin, and with some very obscure, but significant, authors, like Nathan Cole, whose "Spiritual Travels" have never been printed.

By his skill in distilling down these autobiographies, Mr. Shea extracts their clear spirit for the reader. One feels that he understands the religious experience of the authors better than Perry Miller did, and suspects that this is due to Mr. Shea's training in the College of St. Thomas. The reader is startled to have him call Charles Chauncy a Presbyterian, and then realizes that he has done so because in this chapter on the Quakers his sympathetic interpretation extends to an unconscious use of their vocabulary. This ability to identify with his authors, and his unwillingness to be distracted by peripheral material, leads him to ignore some aspects of the autobiographies with which others have treated. Thus, in dealing with the Quakers he does not bring out their quarrelsomeness, even among themselves, their vain pride in the slightest martyrdom, and their sometimes pointless defiance of the Establishment; nor does he point out the sometimes primitive character of Cotton Mather's religion. No doubt he is right in not cluttering up his theme with this, for his purposes, irrelevant material.

Mr. Shea begins his study with the journals of the Quakers because of their simplicity, dealing with special care with John Woolman. With the pattern of the autobiographies established, he takes up Edward Taylor and John Winthrop as examples of the traditional Puritan pattern, and traces it through Anne Bradstreet, Roger Clap, John Dane, and Thomas Shepard. The Mather dynasty he treats briefly and then proceeds to an illuminating study of Jonathan Edwards, in whose school he treats Elizabeth White, Nathan Cole, and Samuel Hopkins. Franklin, he studies as a transition to Thoreau, Whitman, Dickinson, and Henry Adams, whose autobiographic writings in this perspective take on new meaning. And Mr. Shea achieves this in a volume which can be read in one long afternoon. It will be a classic.

Harvard University

Clifford K. Shipton
The Otis Family in Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts. By John J. Waters, Jr. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina Press, 1968. xvi, 221 p. Illustrations, note on sources, index. $6.95.)

Professor Waters has written a history of five generations of the Otis family in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies, with particular emphasis upon the social and political arrangements they hoped "to fashion for themselves and their posterity." During their third, fourth, and fifth generations the Otises played dominant roles in Barnstable County. Consequently, the author has provided "an exploration in familial formation, influence, and power." He is especially concerned with the functioning and interaction of government and society on the local level. Waters is the first scholar to exploit two groups of Otis family papers acquired by the Columbia University Library. These manuscripts, along with an exhaustive search for sources in Old and New English archives, underpin a meticulous and fascinating family biography.

The changing nature of the chapters is inevitably influenced by the kinds of evidence available for each generation, as well as by the shifting role of the several Otises in colonial affairs. Thus, the first half of the book is primarily social history, while the latter portion is much more concerned with politics and public issues. The early chapters are in one respect the most original because they require an "American medievalist" to stitch together hundreds of particular fragments of information into a coherent whole. Yet because of, or despite, this ingenious technique of historical pointillism, John Otis I and II necessarily remain rather shadowy figures. James Otis, Jr., the Revolutionary patriot whose mind ran amuck after 1769, is treated sensitively, though Waters' psychological interpretation is quite tentative and perhaps inconclusive. Curiously enough James' sister, Mercy Otis Warren, the dramatist and historian, is almost totally ignored. She was a fascinating figure; yet I waited in vain for some discussion of her life and role.

Waters constantly seeks the broadest historical relevance, and always keeps in view the larger history of colonial New England as well as major issues currently important to students of early American society. The result is a series of analytical dividends throughout: the social origins of Hingham's first settlers (pp. 6-15); the socioeconomic structure of Barnstable (pp. 47-50); the legal practice of James Otis, Sr. (pp. 68-72); the social composition of the Massachusetts General Court (pp. 79-86), and so forth. In chapter five, in fact, we almost lose sight of the Otises amidst all the contextual foliage. Waters' book is thick with detail, most of it interesting. The author has excellent control over his sources, and economy in exposition. The prose is always good, often lively. A genealogical chart would have been quite helpful.
Altogether this is a distinguished book (winner of the 1968 Jamestown Foundation Award) which manages to dovetail the story of a particular family with the history of its political society. It manifests the concerns and methods prevalent in a cluster of recent studies of early New England, and may serve as a model for future histories of colonial families. There are a great many waiting to be done, and Professor Waters has shown us how to proceed.

Cornell University

Michael G. Kammen


Researchers of American art before 1870 are further indebted to Sinclair Hamilton for this Supplement to his Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers 1670-1870, first published in 1958. Ten more years of collecting have enriched by 722 items the 1302 entries in the first volume. More than 80 additional illustrators are accounted for in Volume II.

The format of the second volume is identical to that of the first, each volume being separately and fully indexed. As information is not repeated in the Supplement, Volume I becomes indispensable, particularly since the reader is referred to original entries. Interested purchasers will be glad to know that both volumes are available.

Although Mr. Hamilton gave primary emphasis to assembling books, the scope of the collection is far broader and includes almanacs, chapbooks, bookplates, newspapers, and original drawings. Nor are illustrations limited to woodcuts and wood engravings but include work in engraving, etching, and lithography. Periodicals such as Harper's Monthly and Weekly, and Leslie's Illustrated News, which can readily be found in large libraries, are not included.

As stated in the introduction to Volume I, "the history and development of American illustration, especially in relation to the illustrator or designer as distinguished from the engraver or craftsman, is a subject which has never been adequately explored." These two volumes, and the collection they document, contribute enormously to this little-known or studied field. Yet among the illustrators whose biographies and work are listed here are many illustrious names in the history of American art: Paul Revere, David Claypoole Johnston, Felix Octavius Carr Darley, John G. Chapman, Thomas Moran, Winslow Homer, and Thomas Nast, to name but a few. Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers is, therefore, a basic tool for the study of indigenous art. Scholars interested in the general field of Americana will find an enormous compilation of material in the indexes of illustrators and engravers, authors, and book titles.
Both volumes, designed by P. J. Conkwright, have been handsomely printed by Princeton University Press. The 124 illustrations in Volume I and the 51 in Volume II exhibit the usual high quality of Meriden Gravure Company craftsmanship.

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Kneeland McNulty

**Historical Needlework of Pennsylvania.** By Margaret B. Schiffer.

(New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1968. 160 p. Illustrations, index. $7.50.)

The desire to ornament cloth has led women of all countries and all ages to engage in some form of needlework in their leisure time. In eighteenth-century America, far from London shops and dependent upon importations for all but the simplest woven checks and stripes, women stitched colorful borders for their petticoats, blankets, and bed curtains. They also made pictures to be framed and undertook even more ambitious endeavors—firescreens, chair seats, and coverings for easy chairs.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Candace Wheeler and other accomplished needlewomen enjoyed collecting and studying antique needlework. Through the establishment of needlework societies they began a revival of interest in the creative aspect of the craft, long sunk in a morass of Berlin wool work. In 1921 the Colonial Dames published *American Samplers* by Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, the result of a monumental survey of about 2,500 examples. Frances Little wrote about all types of *American Textiles* in 1931 in the Century Company series on American antiques, and in 1938 Georgiana Brown Harbeson published her well-illustrated, general book *American Needlework*. Since then numerous needlework books have appeared which include brief historical sections, but for the most part they are concerned with “how to do it.”

Now, in *Historical Needlework of Pennsylvania*, Margaret B. Schiffer presents the first regional study of American needlework produced before the Centennial Exhibition. Many of her illustrations, drawn from both private and public collections, are not well known, and most of them have never been published before. Among the many dated and documented examples are samplers, crewel embroidery, silk embroidery, Moravian needlework, Florentine stitch, canvas work and Berlin work. Among the samplers, by far the largest section of the book, Mrs. Schiffer shows a surprising variety, some confined to numerals and alphabets and others with pictures, moral verses and expressions of devotion to parents. Choosing a broad definition of samplers as exemplars, Mrs. Schiffer has included unusual needlework maps, a pair of globes, and darning samplers.

In the eighteenth century, materials and patterns were imported from England, and it has been presumed that American needlework of the period
followed styles current in that country. Nevertheless, we glimpse for the first time in this book relationships between American needlework and that from other parts of Europe as well. Work from the upper Rhine Valley, the area from which many Pennsylvania Germans emigrated, would make interesting comparisons with the embroidered table cloth, or the numerous cross-stitched show towels (Paradenhandtücher). Dresden work and drawn work with inserts of hollie-point lace, although probably derived from work first made popular in Germany, seem to have been made only in the predominantly Quaker lower counties of Pennsylvania. Relationships between crewelwork motifs and the tulips, birds, and pinks found on Pennsylvania-German frakturs, painted furniture, and pottery could have been pointed out.

Moravian sisters taught needlework in their Bethlehem school from about 1749, but apparently Mrs. Schiffer was unable to find early embroideries made under their tutelage. Those that survive are primarily early-nineteenth-century silk mourning pictures, well known from other parts of the country. Another type of silk picture was skillfully worked in shaded silk threads on moiré backgrounds with patterns of exotic flowers and animals. Unfortunately, she illustrates only a few examples of this type, among the finest of Pennsylvania needlework. These were probably derived from English pattern books.

Far sturdier than silk embroidery were the zig-zag shaded patterns of the 1760's and 1770's worked in Florentine stitch on coarse canvas. This work in brilliant, lustrous worsted yarns, often called flame stitch, accounts for the handsomest examples of Pennsylvania needlework. Representative of it are Bible covers, pin cushions, seat covers, women's pockets, and men's pocket books in the fine collection of the Chester County Historical Society. Two unfaded chair seats are illustrated in brilliant color.

Indefatigable in her pursuit of both objects and facts, Mrs. Schiffer has brought together much information about the kind of needlework instruction offered young women in Pennsylvania from 1750 to 1850 and many previously unknown examples of work produced by them. Especially valuable are newspaper advertisements of numerous city academies and boarding schools. They give an excellent insight into early American education. In several instances the complete curriculum offered at a school is described, together with precepts of teaching and rules of behavior demanded of young pupils.

One wishes, however, that more examples by mature, accomplished needlewomen had been found. Where are the parallels to the glorious and colorful sets of bed hangings, the petticoat borders, and the fishing lady pictures with charming landscapes populated by figures, birds, animals and flowers for which New England is famous? Mrs. Schiffer has shown us what is to be found in Pennsylvania today, but she had not questioned the absence of other types of work. A broader survey of American needlework
produced in all parts of the country is needed, and to this end Mrs. Schiffer's book provides the first step.

*Henry Francis du Pont*  
*Winterthur Museum*

Florence M. Montgomery

**Chippendale Furniture circa 1745-1765. The Works of Thomas Chippendale and his Contemporaries in the Rococo Taste.** By Anthony Coleridge.  
(New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1968. 229 p. and 429 plates. Bibliography, index. $20.00.)

This is one of a series of handsome volumes on English furniture published under the editorship of Peter Thornton. The volume which covers the succeeding classical period from Robert Adam through Hepplewhite and Sheraton was written by Clifford Musgrave, and is already in print. The two should be taken together by any one interested in the developments of the second half of the eighteenth century, and they give a very fine picture of the period as well as a refreshingly new one, both being replete with new discoveries.

The research of scholars in the years since 1945 on both sides of the Atlantic has revealed the complexity of the world of the eighteenth-century cabinetmaker. Except for Hornor in his *Bluebook of Philadelphia Furniture,* most writers pre-1945 tried to define a "style" or a "master," and to emphasize the importance of a few designers or cabinetmakers. It has become increasingly clear, as accounts, inventories, and shop records have been examined, that there were few great masters-without-compare in the furniture industry, and that at any given moment in London or Philadelphia there were a number of most capable men who could fulfill a client's wishes. More than that, the men did not work in splendid isolation, but often with one another, purchasing designs, advice, help, subcontracting, suing, and generally living an intermixed existence which eluded the scholars of the "master" school.

Thomas Chippendale is a case in point, and, as Coleridge says, "a man to reckon with." However, it is curious that since we have come so far in exploring the lives of many cabinetmakers that we should divide one of the great personalities between two volumes of a series as though he were not the same being pre-and post-1766. The fact is that he was the hero of the rococo era and of this volume by Coleridge, but he turns out to be the normal cabinetmaker, no better nor worse than many of his contemporaries, working in the style of another (mainly Robert Adam) in the next sequence of history.

Coleridge is extremely careful to point out the background of style against which one is to see Thomas Chippendale. There were many great men, both designers and cabinetmakers like Vile and Cobb, Hallett,
Langlois, and the recently discovered John Channon, most of whom were somewhat older than Chippendale and whose works under the influence of Kent and Lord Burlington had begun to move toward the lighter idiom of the mid-century. The nobility and men of taste had begun to adopt the Gothic or Chinese modes, and by the mid-century a large number of designers were preparing books of engraved designs for the consumption of the trade. Enter the enterprising Thomas Chippendale, who had both the business acumen to produce a better design book and the taste to understand the styles of tomorrow.

Chippendale's *Director and Cabinet Makers Guide* stands as the greatest of the design books, both in scope and quality. Its earliest edition (1752) shows that Chippendale was quite a man of his time, and it is full of the idiom that he and his competitors were creating at that moment (Chinese and Gothic designs) while it introduces the new French taste in well-understood samples. The later editions omit the old and progress with the new, increasing the number and daring of rococo designs for mirrors, tables, and the like.

Coleridge brings forth all the most recent thought on Chippendale and his relations with Mathew Locke, Copeland, and other designers, disagreeing basically with Fiske Kimball's concept that Chippendale himself was not the originator of the designs. The credit formerly given to Locke for the majority of the work in the *Director* is given back to Chippendale on the evidence of signed drawings in the Metropolitan Museum, as well as notations in correspondence where Chippendale notes he "had peculiar pleasure in re-touching and finishing this design," and other like references.

Two features of the book are most welcome indeed. One is a description of each of the identified country houses or patrons for whom Chippendale worked, with the pertinent facts on furniture, other work, bills, and the location of the furniture at present. This is followed by a sampling of the accounts themselves. The second feature is a fine series of summaries of the work of Chippendale's contemporaries, who followed his manner and competed with him alternately. Many of these firms are famous, like those of George Seddon and Gillow of Lancaster, and it is interesting to find them employed at the same houses and supplying very similar work as the man whose designs they so often employed. The interconnections between the firms, particularly with designers and carvers, are brought to light, and the complex world of demanding clients who paid their bills five to seven years later is revealed.

Much of the illustrative material is new, and many of the attributions of the furniture are based on Mr. Coleridge's research in the past few years. It is only by this interplay between archives and objects that the old myths can be dispelled and a saner picture of Chippendale's position can be revealed.

*The Walters Art Gallery*  
**Richard H. Randall, Jr.***

This is the senior Schlesinger's final book, and was published after his death. It was designed to be the first of a multivolume series that "would have represented the distillation" of his "lifelong determination to bring the ordinary life of the people, their habits, beliefs, fears, and hopes, into the center of the historical enterprise." Contrary to the subtitle, there are many flashbacks into seventeenth- and eighteenth-century history and a few projections into the nineteenth century.

A listing of the chapter titles may well be the clearest method of describing the reach of the subject matter:

| I. The Physical and Human Setting | VIII. Stirrings of a Social Conscience |
| II. The Role of the Family        | IX. The Aristocrats                  |
| III. The Countryside             | X. The Mind of the People            |
| IV. The Emergence of Towns       | XI. The March of Knowledge           |
| V. The Labor Market              | XII. Artistic Groping                |
| VI. Otherworldliness             | XIII. The Lighter Side of Life       |
| VII. Urban Growing Pains         | XIV. The Emerging Pattern of America |

All of these are presented in a straightforward and highly readable style, but the reviewer has selected chapters II, V, VI, IX, and XII as likely to be of greatest appeal to advanced undergraduates. The chapter on religion (VI) will be invaluable in explaining—especially to Jewish and Catholic students—the differences among the "bewildering array" of Protestant denominations and sects. And the author's selection of salty quotations and his own wry comments will appeal to both college students and older readers. The final chapter will elicit the most strictures among reviewers, but this one believes his case to be sound. Schlesinger's real interest is not the long-debated question as to the nature and extent of American resistance to British measures in the late colonial period, but the more important question as to how and why Americans had acquired distinctive characteristics in more than a century and a half of astonishing growth.

The author's unhesitating willingness to generalize leads him into a few dubious conclusions. There are no footnotes, and some notable omissions from the selected bibliography. Prominent persons' names appear frequently in this book about "the ordinary life of the people," but this is inevitable because of the failure of "the people" to leave a large body of
evidence, except perhaps in widely scattered court records. On the whole, however, this is a strikingly successful and skillful presentation, and all the more so because of the omission of the pseudoscientific jargon that has begun to permeate the written productions of certain modern historians who apparently seek to emulate the unintelligibility—to the ordinary, literate reader—of the so-called social sciences.

Tulane University

William R. Hogan


This volume carries on the story of our naval participation in the American Revolution over a shorter time span than does its predecessors. The editors are discovering to their dismay that the documentation available to them is growing steadily in bulk. To cope with this situation, a determined effort has been made to eliminate borderline documents. Thus the editors have printed fewer purely commercial documents in this volume and have made a start at weeding out repetitious naval items. More drastic action is promised and is needed. While the choice of illustrations is excellent, it is our hope that the quality of the reproductions will be improved.

Here is rich fare for the historian. The documents demonstrate clearly how ill-prepared both sides were for the struggle. Despite George III’s decision “to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions,” the implementation of that decision was not easy. The British fleet had been allowed to run down badly. The Admiralty was faced with the problem of suddenly reactivating ships and transports sufficient to carry and protect a force of troops large enough to mount an invasion of the southern colonies. The British ships already on the American station were, as one observer wrote, “ill manned, ill provided, ill served” and spread so thinly that their commanders had difficulty in containing the armed vessels of the colonists. These vessels, Admiral Shuldham reported, “have defeated all our force, vigilance, and attention, by their artifice, but more by their being too early in possession of all the harbours, creeks, and rivers, on the coast, most of which they have already fortified” (pp. 764—765).

The American fleet itself was still only a token force. Washington’s navy operating in New England waters had some successes—notably the capture of the British ordnance brig Nancy—and its share of failures. The task of converting merchant ships into a Continental fleet was still continuing in Philadelphia. It was not until the middle of February, 1776, that this fleet under Esek Hopkins sailed from the Delaware Capes to search out their British adversaries. That stormy petrel, Lord Dunmore, forced afloat after
the defeat of his supporters at Great Bridge, Virginia, and a constant thorn in the flesh to the southern colonies, was high on the list of prime targets. The most momentous steps recorded in this volume were those taken by the Continental Congress in December, 1775, when it voted to establish an American navy of thirteen frigates, each of twenty-four to thirty-two guns, and to create a Marine Committee with a member from each colony. As the editor states, the Continental Congress had committed itself “irrevocably to a definite and extensive establishment of an American navy.”

The hundreds of documents printed here are largely concerned with the colonists’ daily prosecution of the war—the efforts to build ships, to get munitions of war, to fortify harbors, to gain friends abroad, to establish maritime courts, to build a stronger association of the colonies and, of course, with the British counter-measures designed to stamp out the rebellion. Emotional response to these events was also frequent and memorable. Witness the sense of shock that spread through the colonies when news of General Montgomery’s death arrived from Quebec. Read the stirring defense of the West India planters by Nathaniel Bayley in the House of Commons when he spoke against the Prohibitory Act: “And notwithstanding they are insured against the risk of the seas, and even pirates, yet I am sorry to say that after escaping all these, their ruin is inevitable, from rapacious and unprincipled ministers” (p. 420). To appreciate the dangers of a winter voyage from England, examine Bartholomew James’s vivid account while on the Orpheus, Captain Charles Hudson, R. N. (pp. 1057-1060). And for an authentic folk-hero, who is more worthy than the brave Captain John Manley of Beverley? Most of us would be willing to settle for the following tribute paid him by some unknown Boswell: “You no doubt have heard of Captain Manley, who goes in a privateer out of this harbour, because his name is famous, and as many towns contend for the honour of his birth as there did for that of Homer’s” (p. 145).

There is no need to stress the great importance of this series. It is evident to any reader interested enough in the history of the American Revolution to glance through the volumes. Many people have worked hard to achieve this distinction—none harder than William Bell Clark, the senior editor, who died recently. All of us salute his achievement and his memory.

Massachusetts Historical Society

Stephen T. Riley


Those who love American ships and boats, and the waters they sail on, will want to own his handsome book. Its large illustrations, both in color and black and white, do their subjects ample justice. The color plates are considerably better than normal. Since the text was obviously a labor of
love for Mr. Wilmerding, he had no difficulty in conveying his own passion for nautical matters, as well as for American art. He writes in a way that is straightforward and sympathetic, and fortunately he is scholar enough to say what he wants to say without romancing or eulogizing. Plentiful notes and an adequate bibliography at the end of the book provide enough substance for those land-confined salts who wish to pursue this subject—or various other by-ways of American art—any further.

The author stretched his definition of marine painting to include practically anything in American art that had water or a boat somewhere represented in it. From the early portraits, in which a small distant view of a ship served the purpose of identifying the sitter's occupation, to Eakins' pictures of scullers, all are counted here as marine painting. If this, to some readers, may seem unusually catholic, it does at least enable the author to make of this book something of a pocket history of American painting up to modern times, which may have its appeal. Although the art historian will look in vain for many profound insights into the painters and paintings listed here, he will at least admire Mr. Wilmerding's industry in compiling this book.

*Detroit Institute of Arts*

**Graham Hood**


In 1957 a large collection of tools comprising the equipment of a craft shop was discovered in the barn of an antique shop in Southampton, New York. The tools were a major portion of those used by three generations of East Hampton craftsmen by the name of Dominy who worked between 1760 and 1845 in their ancestral home, producing a wide variety of products and services for inhabitants of the surrounding communities. This discovery set in operation a chain of events which culminated in the acquisition of the entire collection by the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the re-creation there of the Dominy woodworking shop and clock shop. The Museum was also able to acquire additional tools and the remaining contents of the Dominy shops, as well as many associated records and objects, from surviving members of the Dominy family and from residents of the East Hampton, New York, area. To complete the record, the Museum proceeded to publish a sumptuous volume recording and documenting the life and work of the three craftsmen, Nathaniel Dominy IV (1737–1812), Nathaniel Dominy V (1770–1852), and Felix Dominy (1800–1868).

The volume is a folio 8½ x 11½ with more than 400 excellent illustrations of the tools, extant furniture, and clocks produced by the craftsmen,
and an appendix of source material, a bibliography and an index. The thoroughly documented text is nicely divided into three parts: the craftsmen and how they lived, the tool collection, and the work and the products of the craftsmen. The first part predictably traces the history of the family and its relation to the town in which it lived, and describes the woodworking and clock shops both located in the house. It is parts two and three, however, which offer the most rewarding aspects of the volume, for in the three hundred pages which comprise this portion are found not only a general commentary on the tool collection and an evaluation of it as representative of those owned by contemporary craftsmen, but also a description and an analysis of the use of each tool type. One hundred and seventy-six such analyses appear, many of them illustrated with one or more examples of the tools in the collection. They cover a wide variety of both metalworking and woodworking tools, including those used for cabinetmaking, clockmaking, carpentry, wheelwrighting, coopering, and watch repairing. A description and commentary on each of seventy-nine identified Dominy products, principally furniture and clocks, is also included as well as an interesting chapter on the rise and decline of the fortunes of the Dominy family as craftsmen.

A great deal of the information on the work and products of the Dominys was obtained from the account books of Nathaniel IV and V and Felix, covering the period 1762 to 1862, and generous samples of them at five- and ten-year intervals between 1765 and 1820 are included in the appendix. There is also a genealogical chart of the members of the family associated with the house and shops.

The volume, printed on calendered paper, bears the hallmark of Winterthur quality associated with the Portfolio and Charles F. Montgomery's American Furniture in the Federal Period (1966). The impressive format supplements the solid scholarship and the prodigious amount of research, reference work, and analysis reflected by the contents. An initial perusal of the volume will inevitably lead to the question: were these Dominy craftsmen of sufficient importance to rate such a work as this? Skilled craftsmen they undoubtedly were, responding to the needs of their customers in a wide variety of tasks and products. Nor were their wares inexpensive for the times in which they worked, especially in the manufacture of clocks which comprised a large portion of their total output. But they were country craftsmen without great creativity. Their sensitivity to style was, for the most part, limited. The lines and proportions of their cabinetry are honest but not always graceful and occasionally even clumsy. They catered to utilitarian needs and from the illustrations shown do not achieve, in many of their pieces, the simple charm achieved by many of their contemporaries.

Judged solely upon the quality of the extant examples of their work, the answer to the question would necessarily be a decided "no." But this should not be held as the criterion upon which to judge the book, for here is a
documentary storehouse of information reflecting the social, technological, economic, and cultural status of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century American craftsman. Here is a record which reconstructs between its covers the life and work of versatile country craftsmen, typical of the many who produced the furnishings for the vast majority of Americans a century and a half ago. It places the cabinetmaker and clockmaker in his community and relates him to his environment and times, it doubtless contains answers to many of those nagging detailed questions which inevitably arise in the minds of students in pursuit of an understanding of their subject, and, finally, it offers in encyclopedic style a completely documented collection of tools dated as accurately as can be determined for reference use.

The author, Curator of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, is to be complimented for his success in producing such a carefully referenced and analytical work, a volume contributing to the local history of Long Island and to the social, economic, and technological history of a significant period in the American scene.

Old Sturbridge Village

Alexander J. Wall


Dorothy Horton McGee is no newcomer in the field of popular historical journalism. A careful researcher and graceful writer, she is extremely well qualified to present a book that is useful and interesting to all students of the Constitution. This anthology of biographies will be a welcome and fresh addition to the body of older works concerned with the men who wrote the Constitution. Since the appearance of this volume coincides with increasing and persistent demands for constitutional reform, many interested readers may well want to review quickly events and controversies which culminated in the forging of the remarkable document which has been and still is the foundation of the American political system. The format of the book is simple and excellent for reference. A concise introductory chapter provides essential background information about the Constitution. The series of individual biographical portraits of the Framers, grouped according to state, demonstrates sound research and considerable insight into the lives of these remarkable men. The author also deftly incorporates her carefully researched material into a highly readable prose which has been spared the addenda of footnotes. Teachers, students, and speakers in search of "constitutional" anecdotes should find these biographies particularly useful. Readers in need of greater detail, in-depth analysis or explicit documentation, may supplement the basic biographical materials contained in the text with some of the many riches contained in the comprehensive bibliography so thoughtfully provided by the author.
An interesting section of illustrations greatly enhances the value of the *Framers of the Constitution* for those who enjoy and appreciate the association of portraits with biographical narrative. The entire text of the Constitution, including the amendments, completes the package.

_Claire Gilbride Fox_

_Beaver College_

*The Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions.* By **Frederick Grimke.**


Both Professor Ward and Harvard University Press merit our thanks for this reissue of an early study of the meaning of American political life, a work unavailable in most libraries and virtually unknown to most American historians and political scientists.

Unfortunately, there is little biographical material available about the author, Frederick Grimke, even though his sisters, Sarah and Angelina, are two of the most famous reformers of the nineteenth century. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, Grimke was graduated from Yale, became a lawyer, and later went to Ohio where he was elected in 1836 to the supreme court of that state. Six years later he resigned this position to devote the rest of his life to study and writing. The principal result of this occupation was *The Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions*, a work that appeared in two editions before the author's death in 1863, and a posthumous edition in 1871.

Perhaps the most remarkable contribution that Grimke offered in his study of American politics is his understanding of the necessary place of the party in political life. Jefferson had dismissed the problem by suggesting that perhaps the nation should have a revolution every generation. Professor Ward, in his excellent Introduction, notes that the Federalists had come dangerously close in their Alien and Sedition Acts to equating opposition to the government with treason. In his first inaugural address Jefferson then asserted that all Americans belonged to one great party. Even in the age of Jackson, Ward notes that astute political leaders, like Martin Van Buren, did not fully understand the function of the political party.

Grimke, however, appreciated the role played by a party organization to insure that the people would control their government. When power resides in the people, a different kind of control is required than in a nonrepresentative government. Monarchies provide a system of checks and balances "to maintain each department in its proper place." But in a people's government what is needed is a system that contains the machinery to control the several branches of government. Popular parties, as Grimke saw it, replace in a republic "that curious system of checks and balances which are well adapted to a close aristocracy or pure monarchy, but which play only a subordinating part in representative government." American political
parties provided the machinery that enabled the popular will to influence and alter when necessary every branch of government.

Surprisingly, Grimke, a brother of famous abolitionists, accepted the South's peculiar institution, finding no reasonable solution to the slavery issue ominously dividing the nation in his day. He was unwilling to accept the Negro as a full-fledged man, basing his conclusions on questionable racial theories in vogue at that time. Although he personally considered slavery repugnant, Grimke was willing to accept southern conservative warnings that emancipation would be even worse than slavery in those communities where slaves were numerous. He thus could not allow Negroes to enjoy the benefits of a free society he defended so capably in his writings.

It is not possible at this time to determine whether Grimke was aware of his own Negro relations. His sisters only learned after his death that another brother had three sons by a family slave, Nancy Weston. Grimke's lack of sympathy for Negroes, so disappointing to modern readers, may have been caused by this family scandal or simply by his recollections of slave life when he was growing up in Charleston. In any case, like most Americans of his day he was convinced that unfortunate Africans lacked the necessary mental qualities to meet the demands required of free citizens.

Despite his reservations about Negroes, despite his inability to rise above his contemporaries in this regard, Grimke did insist in his study of American political institutions that the only way to make men free is to give them freedom. Later generations could extend that concept to include all Americans.

Villanova University

JOSEPH GEORGE, JR.


Although the first writings on early American silver can be traced back to 1888, it was not until eighty years later that consideration was given to silver made after 1800. As colonial silver became scarcer, collectors were forced to turn their attention to nineteenth-century examples. The first major exhibition of early nineteenth-century arts was held at the Newark Museum in 1963. About forty examples of silver made between 1815 and 1845 were described and many were illustrated in the catalogue. In 1966 Dorothy T. Rainwater published the essential guide to nineteenth-century silver marks in her American Silver Manufacturers. What was sorely needed next was a general book on nineteenth-century silver, and Katharine Morrison McClinton has rushed into print to fill the vacuum.

She has made a good beginning. This lavishly illustrated book with its attractive bright Victorian blue trim is in fact a better beginning than many first books on a subject. The author has made use of some docu-
mentary materials in addition to roughly 450 illustrations of nineteenth-century silver. These two aspects alone make the book vital to the library of anyone interested in either American silver or the arts and history of the Victorian period.

The first third of the book is given over to a general discussion of styles, beginning with Federal and Empire, and proceeding through Rococo (more properly called Rococo Revival), Renaissance Revival and Eclecticism. This is the least successful part of the book, with inconsecutive sentences, lack of assimilation, oversimplification and a noticeable absence of discipline with regard to dates. As a result, one does not emerge with a very clear picture of the development of various styles. This may be somewhat unavoidable in any first book on a subject; but, even so, it is disappointing when the era is so complex and misunderstood as is the Victorian period.

Fortunately over half of the book deals with specialized categories of nineteenth-century silver such as presentation silver, battleship and cruiser silver, church silver, Masonic jewels (here the author makes use of her own original research), and small silver collectibles. The author is at her best when discussing the silver exhibited at important celebrations, silver made in California after the Gold Rush, and documentary gleanings such as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's Fletcher papers offer.

In general, the reproduction of the illustrations is quite good. A number of the objects shown are from the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but a large proportion were supplied by Gorham, Gebelein, and the Newark Museum. The few poor illustrations copied from Jones' Old Silver of American Churches, or a picture like that of the Society of Colonial Wars punch bowl, stand out in marked contrast. In the case of the Belmont Stakes Cup, one wishes the more dramatic photograph used by Tiffany & Co. for advertising in 1968 had been available for inclusion instead of the New York Racing Association's fuzzy photograph. Many books on silver omit dimensions in the captions as this one does, but they are important, and in the instance of the Boudo map case, which is almost ten inches square, might have prevented its misplacement under "Small Collectibles."

The layout is attractive, though somewhat confusing. On occasion the reader is overcome by a massive desire to rearrange the materials. Objects referred to in one section are sometimes pictured in another where they seem less appropriate; early nineteenth-century objects are shown where late examples are being discussed. A minimal glossary is included. In addition to terms pertaining to the making of silver, it defines such words as geometric and scroll. (Personally I could have used some help with convolvolus and oenochoe.) The bibliography is divided into categories for greater ease and is a partial acknowledgment of the author's sources. The index does not include all proper names mentioned in the text, nor the names of owners of objects given in captions. The references to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are given in part under that listing and in part under Pennsylvania Historical Society.
In spite of inevitable flaws, many of which could have been caught if more time and care had been taken, this book accomplishes the author’s stated purpose to search out and gather information about the silver of the later periods, to record data not hitherto available, and to give the beginning collector a survey of the period. As she says, “This book is a beginning.”

Kennebunkport, Me. MRS. DEAN A. FALES, JR.


This study of Gothic churches is the first in a projected series of monographs dealing with various aspects of nineteenth-century American architecture that is being planned by the press of the Johns Hopkins University with Professor Stanton of its History of Art Department as General Editor. No one familiar with the nineteenth century could possibly doubt the need for serious publication in this field, and most are likely to find encouragement in the solid merits of this first volume.

As qualified by the subtitle, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture is limited to sixteen of the most important years in the history of the revived use of Gothic forms in America, a practice that began in the late eighteenth century and has not yet been entirely abandoned if one may judge from the reputed plan to complete the National Cathedral in Washington. The absence of any but the briefest references to the earlier, more whimsical, phase or to the later, and in some ways more creative and artistically satisfying, aspects of the style can hardly be considered a disadvantage for the historian, though the average reader would doubtless prefer not to be obliged to seek this stylistic orientation in one or more of the references the author supplies in generous numbers. Also excluded perforce from such a study as this are the numerous houses, prisons, educational institutions, commercial buildings, masonic temples, and the like that have little to do with American churches, though they do represent interesting and important attempts to achieve effective architectural expression through the use of Gothic forms.

To modern eyes the attempt to turn Christian worship in a more traditional (i.e. Catholic) direction by reviving Gothic architecture may seem somewhat naïve and possibly a little unreal. But there is no denying the seriousness with which these goals were pursued in the 40’s and 50’s of the last century. In telling the story of the ecclesiological movement in America and of the churches it inspired, Professor Stanton resists any temptation to ridicule or dramatize. Except for preceptive criticism of the architectural qualities of the churches under discussion—judgments with which most architectural historians would probably agree—she usually prefers to let the events tell their own story. Her considerable success in this is owing
in no small part to the wise decision to put into the footnotes much useful material that will no doubt delight the specialist but which in the text might appear to others as something of a digression.

As in the case of so many ideas and practices that have gained currency in the United States, ecclesiology had its origins in England, in this case with the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society). Accordingly, Professor Stanton devotes her first chapter to supplying the reader with the English background necessary for an understanding of ecclesiology in America, a task for which she is exceptionally well qualified by reason of earlier work on Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), the English architect who bulks so large in any account of the Gothic Revival. In fact, Professor Stanton considers Pugin's influence to have dominated the American Gothic Revival between 1841 and 1847, the period covered by the second chapter of her book.

But readers of the Pennsylvania Magazine are likely to find most interesting the suggestion that the second and more sophisticated phase of ecclesiology in the United States (Stanton's Chapter III) should be dated from the building in 1846-1848 of one of the most appealing and least known of Philadelphia churches. Often neglected because of its location beside Laurel Hill Cemetery overlooking the Schuylkill, this is St. James the Less, considered here as "the first church in the United States to be erected under the direct supervision of the English ecclesiologists," and, with Upjohn's Saint Mary's, Burlington, N. J., marking the beginning of the "mature parish church revival." Some measure of the influence of St. James the Less may be seen in the frequency with which its distinctive bell cote, pronounced west front, and wide sloping roof turn up in the later examples illustrated in Chapter VI. Chapter IV is devoted principally to several churches in New Brunswick ("American" in Professor Stanton's title is used after the European manner as meaning "North American"), largely the work of Frank Wills, an English architect who went on to become the designer officially recommended by the New York Ecclesiological Society immediately upon its founding in 1848. A comparison of the views expressed in the New York Ecclesiologist, official organ of the New York group, and those of other contemporary books and periodicals in England and America makes Chapter V one of the most interesting and useful in the book.

All of the major churches discussed in The Gothic Revival are illustrated in plates so arranged that each falls near the most appropriate portion of the text. This is assuredly a great convenience for the reader, but it has also meant that the photographs have had to be reproduced by the same offset process as the text, a circumstance that presumably helps to account for their gray and somewhat lifeless character. Even less acceptable is the quality of all too many of the original photographs; some appear to have dust specks or similar blemishes; others are out of focus; a number should have been made with an architectural camera to avoid optical distortion. Perhaps all are sufficient for identification or recall, but few do justice to
the original as a work of art. Those of us active in this field should be on guard against what on occasion our critics have with some justice referred to as "the gray world of the art historian."

In an era of lavish volumes that tax the budget, tire the arm, strain the eye, and fit poorly, if at all, on library shelves, it is pleasant to find a book that lies so comfortably in the hand or rests so easily on the knee—and all at a cost easily justifiable by the enduring value of its contents. If no one can hope to understand the use of Gothic forms for American churches without some familiarity with ecclesiology, the understanding of either would be immeasurably more difficult without the guidance provided by Professor Stanton's excellent book.

University of Delaware

GEORGE B. TATUM


This brief study is an examination of the attempts by the Cotton Whigs, a relatively small and well-knit group of influential Massachusetts merchants, cotton textile manufacturers, and financiers, to prevent the secession of the South and the Civil War. Thomas H. O'Connor's major thesis is that the Civil War was the result of inept leadership and fanaticism, not an inevitable conflict brought on by competing and hostile economic systems. As evidence, he examines the attitudes of the Cotton Whigs toward southern planters and the southern economy, Cotton Whig involvement in local politics, and their consistent attempt in the antebellum period to end the ever-growing sectional division. By associating his investigation with Philip Foner's study of New York merchants, O'Connor concludes that northern capitalists opposed sectional conflict and failed to prevent war only "because they did not make common cause, pool their economic interests, or coordinate their political forces during the critical years" (p. 166).

The Cotton Whigs were heavily dependent upon southern planters and although opposed to slavery themselves, these New Englanders denounced antislavery elements who promoted sectional discord and so threatened the source of their wealth. Since the Cotton Whigs were confronted with a dilemma—their "Yankee zeal for profit" conflicted with their "Puritan conscience"—the solution at which they arrived lay in supporting the Constitution and federal power, denouncing all interference with slavery where it already existed in the states, opposing the extension of slavery (convinced that by so doing slavery would die a natural death), and at times by trying to avoid the slavery issue altogether. Thus O'Connor explains Cotton Whig opposition to Conscience Whigs and abolitionists, the conservatives' support for the Compromise of 1850, their opposition to the disruptive Nebraska Act but support for the Free Soil emigrants in Kansas,
their opposition to the sectional Republican Party and support for the Know-Nothing and Constitutional Union Parties, and their work for compromise during the secession winter.

This study has many deficiencies. There is no precise discussion of who the Cotton Whigs were or how the group was defined, and O'Connor has not examined business archives, census returns, statistical and financial reports, or private papers relating to business matters in order to consider in any detail what investments Cotton Whigs had made and what personal debts they held in the South and West, who their specific southern business associates were, or the nature and extent of their domestic markets. Furthermore, in failing to investigate the manuscript collections of such prominent conservative Whigs as Webster, Saltonstall, Story, and John Davis, or any Conscience Whigs except Sumner, and, in failing to examine campaign materials and election returns, the author has not probed the nature and depth of Cotton Whig support and political influence, their internal disputes, and the eventual disintegration of their political power. Similarly, the author's failure to analyze Cotton Whig thought and theory clouds his discussion of the conservative movement into the Know-Nothing Party.

One need not agree with the economic interpretation which O'Connor disputes to realize that he has fallen far short of proving his case. There is a great difference between "economic systems" and the desires and policies of a handful of members of a special interest in a special region. The fact is that the North and South did have different economic systems, and, as complementary as northerners may have and did believe them to be, southerners were in a "colonial" condition and did resent and fear northern economic expansion. The assumption that had the northern capitalists joined forces they could have prevented the Civil War is highly questionable and not justified by the author's evidence. Perhaps, since it was southerners who seceded, it would have been more to the point to consider their position than that of the Cotton Whigs. (Curiously, O'Connor makes only passing reference to Genovese's study of the southern economy.)

This book is the first study of the Massachusetts Cotton Whigs as a group and the first attempt to examine their relationship with southern cotton planters. It is to be hoped that more work will be done on the subject to complete the picture.

University of Minnesota

Kinley J. Brauer


Those specialists whose interests touch on the transatlantic connections between Ireland and America, will turn with profit to Mr. Hernon's study which inspects "the reaction in Ireland to the American Civil War and
deals principally with the dominant issues arising in Irish public opinion" (p. vii). The author concerns himself with charting the general drift of public opinion, mainly as voiced in the press, rather than attempting to analyze and measure how various political, religious, or social groups reacted to the war generally or to certain aspects of it specifically. The American Civil War was doubtless the principal topic of public interest in Ireland between 1861 and 1865, and it poses a series of complex problems for the cultural and political historian to solve. What symbolic function did the young Republic serve for the various factions in Ireland from the Union of 1800 onward, and how did the Civil War alter this? Mr. Hernon comments briefly on such topics, but his main effort is basically descriptive. Hence, I should judge that *Celts, Catholics, and Copperheads* might best be viewed as the first step in the writing of a larger and more profound book on the subject.

What the author does is to study the reactions of the various factions of the Irish Unionists (those who favored continued union with Great Britain) and the Nationalists (those who desired some form of Irish independence) to a series of issues and events: the heavy casualties of the Irish in the northern army, the New York draft riots, the rumors of federal recruiting in Ireland, England's relations with the North and the South, and abolition. This is done, in part, topically and chronologically. The reaction of the Irish in America to the general pro-Confederate sympathy that developed in Ireland is also touched upon. For one reason or another, most vocal political factions in Ireland came to look with favor upon an immediate end to the bloody conflict that would recognize the Confederacy as a sovereign state. Only a small segment of Irishmen, some Unionists and some Nationalists, saw that the victory of the modern, democratic North ultimately would help bring reform and/or independence to their unhappy nation.

The book is marred by a certain stylistic and structural unevenness. Sections of the work have appeared in one form or another as articles, and perhaps this accounts for the somewhat disjointed and repetitive aspect that the reader occasionally is aware of. "Mercenaries or Martyrs?" dealing, in part, with the bravery of the Irish troops and the reaction to the rumors of federal recruiting in Ireland is a particularly weak chapter. The handling of the first topic is reminiscent of the hero building that plagued our historical journals of the last century; fourteen pages are devoted to the second problem that more properly should have been allotted three well-footnoted ones.

On the other hand, there is much to be admired in Mr. Hernon's book. He is particularly to be commended for "The Abolition of Slavery" which is extremely well written and organized, full of interesting information and new insights, and is blessed with some excellent generalizations. He is well aware that Ireland and Irish politics were at best a third-rate side show when considered in conjunction with Anglo-American politics generally. Thus Mr. Hernon correctly catches the never-never land aspect of the vast majority of Irish political public opinion, assigning the title of realist...
only to a small body of pro-northern Unionists in the old country who, together with their brothers and cousins in Blue, partially grasped the direction of the western world.

_The Johns Hopkins University_  
Edward C. Carter, II

**Yankee Admiral: A Biography of David Dixon Porter.** By Paul Lewis.  
(New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1968. 210 p. $4.95.)

Paul Lewis has been described as "more of a novelist than a historian." This book amply confirms that judgment. Indeed, it would be kinder not to review it as a nonfiction work at all, but it is presented as a biography of Admiral David Dixon Porter and as such it must be judged.

Porter, whose father was one of the Navy's War of 1812 heroes, was born during that conflict and first went to sea in the Mexican Navy, of which his father was commander-in-chief for a short time. After six months of captivity in Havana, the young Porter was released and appointed a midshipman in the United States Navy. His early career was quite uneventful, including several years with the Coast Survey, active service during the Mexican War, and command of merchant steamers from 1849 to 1854. When the Civil War began, Porter, still a lieutenant, became involved in the irregular expedition which held Fort Pickens for the Union and thereafter blockaded the Mississippi River mouths, an experience which convinced him of the necessity of capturing New Orleans. Whether or not he was the real originator of that project, he commanded the mortar vessels which bombarded the forts below New Orleans before the city's capture by his foster brother, David G. Farragut. Nearly two years as commander of the Mississippi River Squadron followed, and then Porter became leader of the naval force which co-operated with the Army in the capture of Fort Fisher, the Navy's last major action of the Civil War. He served as superintendent of the Naval Academy until 1869 when President Grant made him the virtual commander of the Navy under Secretaries Borie and Robeson. A quarrel with the latter forced Porter, who had been promoted to admiral after Farragut's death, into an inactive role in 1876. Thereafter, he devoted much of his time to writing, producing three historical works and four novels, almost all of which have deservedly been forgotten. Admiral Porter died in 1891, having lived long enough to see the Navy begin its recovery from its post-Civil War nadir.

But Porter, according to Lewis, was more than just an important Civil War commander and the Navy's second admiral:

It was he who first utilized the concept of massed naval firepower in offensive operations. He was the first to demonstrate the relative invulnerability of the "metal warship" in conducting defensive operations. His inventions, including new torpedoes and other mechanical devices, changed the basic nature of naval warfare, bringing about the first great revolution at sea since the time of the ancient Phoenicians (p. 2).
This passage sets the tone for the entire book, so that the reader is not surprised when Porter is compared with Lord Nelson himself, coming off quite creditably.

Such praise would seem to require some support—there is none. There is no bibliography, not a single note, not even a preface in which the author acknowledges his indebtedness to the authorities on whose works the book is based. One is left with the impression that the author's imagination was a major source of information. This impression becomes the stronger as the reader realizes that Lewis actually has little knowledge of naval history. Nearly every page contains one or more factual or technical errors.

Of Admiral Porter's novels, Lewis says "these books were virtually without merit" (p. 194). This seems a fair appraisal of Yankee Admiral.

University of Alabama

Robert Erwin Johnson


Professor Curry, in this heavily documented study, has helped to fill a significant gap in our knowledge and understanding of the role of Congress in influencing the course of our national development during the early years of the Civil War. The study is limited to the tenure of the Thirty-seventh Congress—July 1861 to March 1863—and to legislation other than that "designed to create and support the military establishment necessary to prosecute the war" (p. 8). Following two introductory chapters he provides a series of detailed histories of resolutions and bills dealing with a wide variety of topics; slavery in areas loyal to the Union and in the rebel area; the disposal of the public domain—the Homestead and Land-Grant College Acts—and the promotion of public improvements—the Pacific Railroad Act and the Illinois Ship Canal Bill; revenue measures—the Tariff of 1862 and the Internal Revenue Act of 1862—and measures for reform and stabilization of the currency—the Legal Tender Act and the National Banking Act.

The author then turns his attention to the attempt by congressional leaders during this period to establish the dominance of Congress over the executive and judicial branches of the Government. In two chapters he details the largely unsuccessful "direct assault" of the radicals against Lincoln, and the more successful "flank attacks" launched by those "admirable vehicles for ... insinuations of authority"—congressional investigating committees. By March of 1863 congressional dominance of the Federal Government had not been achieved, he concludes, "but the purpose was unmistakable. Some weapons had been tried and found ineffectual; some had been found effective. Line by line, the blueprint was being drawn" (p. 242). In his concluding chapter the author summarizes his thesis that "the Thirty-seventh Congress had been active in drafting the
blueprint for a new social order” (p. 244), and indicates the future significance of the major legislation the Congress had written into law. To the text is appended lists of those who actually served in the Senate and the House in the Thirty-seventh Congress, an extensive formal bibliography, and a relatively brief but adequate index.

In the title of his study and repeatedly in the text Professor Curry asserts that out of the activities of the Thirty-seventh Congress emerged a “blueprint” for “modern” America. Blueprints usually provide a comprehensive and logical plan, however limited their scope. Yet, to cite but one instance, the author concedes that with regard to disposal of the public domain and the promotion of internal improvements, “a conglomerate mass of legislation emerged” that bore “not the vaguest relationship to a logical policy” (p. 101). As for “modern” America, the author at one point indicates his reference is to the “remainder of the nineteenth century” (p. 8), at another, that the Congress “had drawn the blueprint for the Gilded Age” (p. 148). Even assuming the first constitutes a liberal definition of the second, both periods would be considerably earlier than what many regard as the “modern” period of our history. Without further laboring the point, the study deserves a more historically precise title.

The introduction contributes little, if anything, to this study. A commentary on the historical game of “contemporary parallels,” it notes the superficial similarities and the differences between the conditions existing in the early 1860’s and some of our “current circumstances.” More useful is its appeal for closer attention by historians to congressional operations, but more on this point later. The author then devotes one chapter to the personnel who served in the Thirty-seventh Congress, and attempts an analysis of their political views in terms of “issues” and “alignments.” The results are neither satisfactory in themselves nor useful for the remainder of the study. Using as a frame of reference views of members on the alternatives of “compromise, negotiation, and ‘coercion’” with regard to the sectional crisis of 1860-1861, he distinguishes, with very extensive qualifications (p. 17 n), between radical, moderate, and conservative Republicans, and between moderate, conservative, and ultra-conservative non-Republicans in the Senate. In the House he groups members, again in terms of the same frame of reference, into “advanced radicals,” “advanced moderates,” and moderate Republicans, and, while characterizing the House Democrats and Unionists, with few exceptions, as “completely unorganized” (p. 31), he divided them between “advanced moderates,” moderates, and ultra-conservatives. References to “social origin” and personal and family “mobility” serve more to confuse than to clarify his analysis. Since the remainder of the work does not deal with the sectional crisis of 1860-1861, this analysis is not applicable; the author apparently recognizes this, for he generally summarizes votes on bills and major amendments simply in terms of numbers of Republicans, Democrats, and Unionists.

More serious, in this reviewer’s opinion, is the implication that the study is based upon “an intimate acquaintance with the debates and
documents" of the Thirty-seventh Congress (p. 7), and that the "official records of this Congress," when "judiciously supplemented by other sources—newspaper accounts, diaries, memoirs, personal letters, and special studies—can reveal to the earnest inquirer a valid picture of this remarkable legislative body in action" (p. 8). His basic sources are the Congressional Globe, which provides the chronology of legislative actions regarding the bills and resolutions whose history he reconstructs, and the published documents of this Congress. Pertinent editorial comment is provided from a dozen contemporary newspapers and periodicals, and nearly 150 different manuscript collections in several score institutions and a wide range of secondary studies help supply the personal motivations and concerns of those involved in or affected by the activities of the Congress. One may well hesitate to question such diligence, but the omission of the most important single body of unpublished material—the records of this Congress in the National Archives—deserves more than a passing notice. Included in the list of "manuscripts" in the author's bibliography is the brief entry "Senate Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C." There is no body of material so designated in the National Archives.

Among the holdings of the National Archives are Record Group 46, Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 128, Records of Joint Committees of Congress, and Record Group 233, Records of the House of Representatives. The records of the Senate, described in National Archives Preliminary Inventory No. 23, published in 1950, include some 49 linear feet of official records of the Thirty-seventh Congress, described on pp. 87-90. The records of the House of Representatives, described in the two volumes of Preliminary Inventory No. 113, published in 1959, include some 66 linear feet of official records of the Thirty-seventh Congress, described, frequently at the item level, on pp. 154-161 of volume I. The records of all the Civil War Congresses were most recently described and their research value highlighted in the Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War, compiled by Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers (Washington: The National Archives, 1962), 6-78.

The "official records" of any Congress include more than its published debates and documents. They also include the too-frequently neglected unpublished records deposited in the National Archives. Professor Curry's study would assume a much greater significance had his very extensive research demonstrated a thorough study and critical evaluation of this relevant research resource.

National Archives

FRANK B. EVANS


For almost seventy years, it seems, American history has been distorted by the notion that Slavic immigrants were an obstacle to the growth of
labor unions, especially in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. Or at least Victor R. Greene, not unlike Michael J. O'Brien when he sensed a general doubt that Irishmen had won the American Revolution, has so construed certain generalities which John R. Commons and others passed off around 1900. Although a rereading of those contemporaries reveals that, apart from one or two rather myopic journalists, they were talking about Chicago garment workers or Connellsville coke workers and specifically excepted the miners from their strictures, an extended analysis of ethnic factors in the labor history of the anthracite regions should prove useful for its own sake.

Professor Greene has unearthed convincing evidence, if any is needed, to establish not only that Slavs fully participated in the successful strikes of the United Mine Workers of America in 1900 and 1902 but also, somewhat superfluously, that they arrived too late to be properly blamed for the failures of the unions of the 1870's. Should anyone hastily deduce, either from the immigrants' avidity for dollars or from their extreme frugality, that they must have been easier to enlist as strikebreakers than as strikers, he demonstrates that neither their initial willingness to accept a low wage nor their ability to save most of it precluded their seeking to get more in order to save more. And so during a strike the Slavic mineworkers, intent as they were on accumulating enough to maintain their peasant plots in the old country or to buy land in America, either left the coal regions to find temporary work elsewhere or stayed and took whatever direct action seemed most likely to bring victory.

The two further points that Professor Greene considers essential to his thesis are less conclusive: that "all Slavs made up one community in the Anglo-American world" and that it was this ethnic solidarity that accounted for the successful organization of 1900. No doubt all Slavs did look alike to most native Americans. But to rely almost entirely on English-language and Polish sources and then to assert that it was "more than likely" that Lithuanians had the same experiences as Poles or that intergroup hostility at least was "not continuous" seems overly casual. And is it not circular logic to cite the joint participation of Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks, and Ruthenians in the union locals as proof that they must have been on good terms ever since coming to Shamokin, Shenandoah, or Nanticoke, and on the other hand to use this alleged harmony to explain their co-operation in the union? Although Professor Greene admires the skill with which John Fahy did organize them between 1895 and 1900, he slides too easily over the elementary fact that the U.M.W.A., was, after all, one of the few "industrial" unions of the time, made a particular effort to bring together all kinds and conditions of workingmen—and that the peculiar relationship between coal miners and their laborers had always made their unions of that kind. But the thesis of a unitary as well as a militant "Slavic community" seems to require that "the secure establishment of the labor union in the anthracite districts" must have been primarily "the result of such [ethnic] cohesion."
It is pertinent for a reviewer to note that he previously furnished the publisher an evaluation of the manuscript of the book. While it is gratifying to find that most of the minor points at which one caviled have been excised or smoothed over, the basic question nevertheless remains of the adequacy of Professor Greene's hypothesis, his selection of data, and in particular the narrowness of the subject which he has abstracted from the ethnic history or labor history of the anthracite region. Nor does his frequently undiomatic usage do credit to the editors of a university press, though conceivably Notre Dame accepts the thriftiness of the Slavic immigrants as having been as "providential" as it was provident and prudential.

Washington University

Rowland Berthoff


The private detective is best known as the subject of fiction and when he does by chance come to public attention in real life, in more recent years, it has generally involved some questionable practice such as wire tapping or illegal search. Unique in the annals of crime, not only in the United States but throughout the world, has been the history of the Pinkertons, who for more than a hundred years and through three generations conducted the most successful firm of private investigation. Beginning with Allan Pinkerton, a Scot who early showed a flair for investigation (Horan has him using the term "detective" before there was then any known use in that sense), the sons and grandsons not only operated a vastly successful enterprise but participated in some of the most spectacular cases in American criminal history. It was from the Pinkerton letterhead with the figure of an eye and the legend, "We never sleep," that the term "private eye" for a private detective originated.

Merely to list the cases in which the Pinkertons played a major role is impressive. Aside from Allan Pinkerton's spying activities for Lincoln, he pursued the James Boys, smashed the Molly Maguires, harried all the major safecrackers and confidence operators, pursued train robbers and swindlers, broke strikes, and solved the dynamite murder of the Governor of Idaho.

Many of the cases Mr. Horan reports have been treated better and more fully in single works devoted to them, e.g., Wayne G. Broehl, Jr.'s *The Molly Maguires.* What Horan has been able to add that is new about the Pinkertons is due to his access for the first time to their official records. While this has brought to light some new and interesting cases, little has been added about the controversial part which they played in certain episodes on which the Pinkerton family has, not unnaturally, been reticent. For example, the Agency, as the firm was called, was excoriated for their blundering attack on the home of the mother of Jesse and Frank James in
which that poor woman had a hand blown off and a child was killed by a "bomb" tossed into the building to drive out the outlaws who weren't there. Despite voluminous correspondence and reports on other matters, the author can only say that "time and lack of records have obscured the details" and, while it was always denied that William Pinkerton led the raid, even now, almost a hundred years later, that information is not forthcoming.

Horan has tried to present the evidence in light of the conditions of the period in which they took place, but it is evident that he is frequently kind to the Pinkertons in their strike-breaking activities. When Haywood, Pettibone, and Moyer, charged with having plotted to kill Governor Steunenberg of Ohio, were arrested in Colorado and hustled over the border to Idaho, he can refer to them as "the victims of what many charged was an infamous 'kidnapping.' " There was no need for Horan to have put kidnapping in quotes; it was a gross abuse of the rights of the prisoners and a denial of the whole process of extradition.

The careful reader will be annoyed by a number of minor errors or oversights which can only raise questions of the accuracy of the original material. Colonel Ephraim E. Ellsworth (not Elmer E.) was killed in Alexandria, Virginia, not Baltimore. John Brown is described as assisting slaves to Canada in 1859, and "in the following year" holding meetings describing these events. Actually he was executed at the end of 1859. City directions are confusing. Gladstone is seen walking down Piccadilly from the House of Commons to Jermyn Street, which he must already have passed, and Pinkerton walks from his Fifth Avenue office in Chicago to his home. Not only is H. G. Wells credited with writing "The Valley of Fear" (Conan Doyle's great tale of Sherlock Holmes and the Molly Maguires), but he has William Pinkerton giving Wells the details of the case on a trans-Atlantic line.

The publisher has done a careless piece of editing; there are an excessive number of typographical errors, some of the illustrations are unreadable, and the index sketchy. Mr. Horan, however, has culled a great deal of new and fresh material from many sources and, for the student of crime in the nineteenth century, it is a worthwhile book.

Purchase, N. Y. 

THOMAS M. McDade

Eakins. By SYLVAN SCHENDLER. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967. xix, 300 p. Illustrations, index. $15.00.)

The art of Thomas Eakins has been a constant source of interest and discussion for nearly a hundred years; and his acute and sometimes painfully detailed oils have again come under observation in a book entitled Eakins by Sylvan Schendler, Professor of English at Smith College. The author's approach is a highly subjective one in which he assumes the role of defending the artist against all the negative criticism which came from
sitters who found his probing style too painful, administrators who found him unyielding as a teacher, and a society often repelled by his over-all insistence on realism.

Suffice it to say that his view is at best one-sided. Mr. Schendler is most effective when he re-establishes the background of a particular sitter, attempting to renew the psychological rapport between the subject and Thomas Eakins. While this is a telling technique that brings the reader into closer emotional contact with the work, Mr. Schendler is prone to interpolate rather extensively from limited data. Just where rapport and psychoanalysis part company in the author's essays is not always clear. However, the inclusion of biographical data in the interpretation of a portrait has not been that frequent in American art history, and, even though the author's conclusions may seem strained, it does bring a freshness often lacking elsewhere.

Regrettably, the author does not share the sources with the reader in terms of footnotes, his "notes" being a rather weak extension of the text. There are several errors, such as those on page 7, when he misses Copley's date of departure from America and Charles Willson Peale's death date rather badly, especially in view of the several published sources on these gentlemen. Although he waives any claim to being an art historian in the "Germanic" mold, his performance in this area is poor for any art historian. Where he does include American artists contemporary to Eakins he introduces them with profuse apologies at their even being in the same volume with the key figure. More importantly, he often demonstrates a rather shallow understanding of the nature of their work which seems to do both Eakins and figures like William Merritt Chase and Duveneck a disservice. The opinions expressed on them could mislead the uninformed reader.

The plates in the book continue its over-all paradoxical nature. On the one hand, he does introduce several lesser-known works by Eakins, on the other the plates are disappointing in quality and lessen the benefit one might expect to receive. His juxtaposition of text and plate is good however, as is the opposition of related pictures, such as the two "Addies" side by side.

When one side-steps the polemics on Philadelphia, which is after all where Eakins spent his life (and he was not the only artist of the period to receive negative criticism), the book contains several perceptive essays that encourage a renewed interpretation of the works. Its inaccuracies may confuse the less experienced reader, but it provides an intriguing, if biased, view of Thomas Eakins and the Philadelphians who sat to him and for him.

Wichita Art Museum

William B. Stevens, Jr.

By the early 1900's the cities of the United States constituted a mechanistic panorama of self-government repeating its failures over and over again. No other element of this “more perfect Union” was built upon such quicksand. Settlement workers and muckrakers supplied the portrait of urban America which endures to the present day. Full employment or equal opportunity, adequate housing, schools, sanitary or health facilities, public safety, and recreational possibilities were lacking or in short supply then, as they are yet. Escape from the city was a bargain for those able to afford it, even as it continues to be, whether to a secluded enclave within the city’s limits or to the suburbs and resorts beyond.

The reasons for this nation’s urban failures are complex, but for Sam Bass Warner the most important is “the enduring tradition of privatism,” meaning the individualistic quest for wealth as the first purpose of each citizen. Historically, the goal of our cities has been to provide an arena for money makers. The passage of time quickly erodes communities so singularly founded however. “Once the scope of many city dwellers search for wealth exceeded the bounds of their municipality,” Professor Warner states, “the American city ceased to be an effective community.”

He has selected Philadelphia to demonstrate his thesis on the nature of American cities. The city of brotherly love for a long time, in his judgment, has fostered those conditions which its citizens must recognize and understand if they hope ever to build their environment more salubriously than they have done heretofore. Professor Warner describes Philadelphia today as “a big messy industrial city,” one of twenty or more metropolitan nuclei across the nation. Philadelphia’s development has not been unique in Warner’s mind, despite the fact that the city consists of the sum of its own history and is duplicated nowhere else, as the late Richard Wohl would probably have contended. Writes Warner: “It is my belief that Philadelphia’s history has been repeated, with minor variations, again and again, across the nation, in Cincinnati, in St. Louis, in Chicago, in Detroit, in Los Angeles, and in Houston.”

Warner has selected three Philadelphias in successive periods of growth—1770 to 1780, 1830 to 1860, and 1920 to 1930—to carry his analysis forward from the winning of national independence to the collapse of the private economy. The first Philadelphia of his model, the eighteenth-century town, portrays the early environment of private enterprise. The second Philadelphia, the period of the big city emerging, helped to define those fundamental American municipal relationships between public and private functions, a definition which foreshortened the communitarian limits of the city of private money makers to the point of widespread failure to build a humane environment in the urban segments of national life. The third Philadelphia, the industrial metropolis with its old slums and aging suburbs, its patterns of growth and incipient decay, its segregation, its miasmic futilities, is our urban inheritance.

Warner’s book is an important work. Its importance transcends Philadelphia’s history moreover. He offers it as “a scaffolding for urban history,”
as his article in the *American Historical Review* (October, 1968) entitled “If All the World Were Philadelphia” indicates. His book is important for its thesis also, even if its thesis is strongly reminiscent of Lincoln Steffens, who, in 1903 in his famous article, “Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented,” blamed municipal misgovernment on businessmen who distorted democratic means for plutocratic ends and who scorned politics only to fail as citizens.

It does not really matter that Philadelphia’s archivist, in a recent consideration of Professor Warner’s sources, regrets that the second and third sections of this book do not rely so much as the first section does upon the primary City and County records available. What is most important is that Professor Warner has supplied us with a clear insight into our urban mess. Philadelphians will recognize the truth of his indictment. They know the city intimately. It is their home.

*Bryn Mawr College*  
*Arthur P. Dudden*


Knowing hands and eyes have produced *Philadelphia The Intimate City.* This book by Gloria Braggiotti Etting (Mrs. Emlen Etting) tells about the author’s adopted city with the bright, fond focus of an inner-circle hostess. It opens doors into living rooms and dining rooms—serving up some choice anecdotes, quotes, and sweetmeats in chapters titled, “Art and Collectors,” “The Country,” “Clans and Friends.” The perceptive text is punctuated by an end-of-the-book sixteen-page album of Mrs. Etting’s own candid snapshots.

Dominant are 166 pages of photographs, taken indoors and out, by native Philadelphian James A. Drake. These capture fast-moving facets of the city—its moods, its people, its subtleties, its renaissance and its vibrance.

The book’s people range from Archie, the Art Alliance’s vintage bartender, and Christine, the Barclay Hotel’s veteran hat-check attendant, to Mrs. Alexander Biddle (“one of the last of Philadelphia’s salonnières”) and the Edgar Scotts (to whom Philip Barry dedicated his play, *The Philadelphia Story*). Alexander Biddle, husband of the “salonnière,” wrote the introduction. He calls the book “a valuable introduction to the folklore of Philadelphia.” That it is, done with zest and relish. About members of the Biddle clan, Mrs. Etting coined a new adjective, “He or she is so very Biddle.”

*Philadelphia The Intimate City* is Gloria Braggiotti Etting’s second book. Her first, *Born in a Crowd* (about her upbringing in Florence and Boston), was published by Thomas Y. Crowell Co. in 1957.

*Philadelphia Inquirer*  
*Ruth Seltzer*

This is the latest book to appear in the growing list of monographs which the Rutgers University Press has published in the field of New Jersey history and culture. The author is a member of the geography faculty at Rutgers, The State University, and has a wide background of study in other areas than New Jersey.

The Musconetcong Valley might appear at first blush an unlikely area for examination. No major historical events occurred there; and the valley is narrow, extending from Lake Hopatcong in the north central part of the state to the southwest to the Delaware River at Riegelsville. Geologically, the Musconetcong drainage system lies within and is typical of the natural region known as the Highlands. Characterized by a rugged plateau-like surface and traversed by the terminal moraine of the last glacier, the Highlands has a northeast-southwest trend, and varies from ten to twenty-five miles in width. The Musconetcong drains about one-sixth of this area.

This then is a study of historical geography considered as "the series of changes which the cultural landscapes have undergone and therefore involves the reconstruction of past cultural landscapes." The Musconetcong Valley has long been occupied. Paleo-Indians were there some 10,000 years ago; and the more familiar Lenape, with their trails, hunting, and agriculure had their impact on the area.

The main concern of course is with the entrance and settlement of varied ethnic stocks, with their different cultural traits. English, New England Yankees, Dutch, Scotch-Irish, and Germans came in at various times throughout the eighteenth century from east, south, and west, usually following the important Indian trails or the later network of roads laid out on those same paths. Acculturation of these ethnic groups is well illustrated by the changes which followed in the cultural landscape. The pioneers were attracted to those lands earlier cleared by the Indians by burning; the primitive subsistence agriculture was followed by commercial grain farming. Clearing of the land was greatly enhanced by the development of the iron industry. So much charcoal was needed in the Valley where iron ores abounded that the numerous furnaces and forges literally decimated the forest, and ore had to be carried to new sources of fuel. Bar iron was transported to market by wagon, and down the Delaware by "Durham boats," later made famous in the Battle of Trenton.

Dr. Wacker ends his study of changing cultural patterns with the end of the eighteenth century, a period marking the "initial occupancy" of the area. It is to be hoped that a later volume will follow. The book is well written, with an easy style. There are numerous maps, charts, diagrams,
an aerial view, and the architectural photographs of houses and barns are most instructive.

Princeton, N. J.  Wheaton J. Lane


Professor Sproat has no doubts whatever that the "best men" were not the best men. From his extensive research into liberal journals and manuscripts, he has carefully put together a detailed assessment of the liberal reformers of the Gilded Age which finds them to be not enlightened and progressive leaders but opportunistic, narrow-minded, impractical, nostalgic, and self-righteous zealots. Above all, the liberal is condemned for his lack of humility and compassion for the masses—"He was incapable of giving to lesser men than he even a measure of the respect he demanded from them."

By "best men" the author means "the intellectuals, the men of substance and breeding, the voters of independent political disposition" who believed it to be their public duty to combat corruption in politics and business, extravagance in government, and the breakdown of morality in post-Civil War America. Professor Sproat acknowledges the difficulty, common to all reform historians, of generalizing about the variety of aims and attitudes of the journalists, businessmen, political leaders, and intellectuals who marched in the forefront of the movement, but he also believes that he has detected a pattern of qualities in their inability to come to terms with their age which sets them apart as a distinct group. It would be difficult to argue with his criteria or selection of men who fit it except in the matter of emphasis. If Edwin L. Godkin "was less representative of the average liberal reformer than, say, Curtis or Schurz or Storey or Atkinson," the fact that the editor of The Nation is quoted far more than anyone else would tend to distort unfavorably the image of the typical liberal reformer. Students of Pennsylvania history might also wonder why no Keystone liberals, such as Alexander K. McClure or Henry C. Lea, were included in the book.

The reformers' formula for correcting the abuses which disturbed them was simple: place "good men" like themselves in public office, uphold the "natural law" doctrines of laizzez-faire and individualism, and "resurrect the moral principles of the past and apply them to business, politics, and everyday life." How successful were they in remaking the country after their own image? After analyzing their attitudes and actions toward Reconstruction, politicians, business, labor, the tariff, civil service reform, and inflationary currency over a thirty-year period, the author concludes
that they were "pathetic failures" as economic, political, and social reformers. Their only enduring achievement was the Pendleton Act for which they were only partially responsible. Not only did they struggle futilely to win supporters for their programs, they proved fallible and inconsistent in applying their own principles and moral precepts. For example, they abandoned the struggle for equality and justice for the southern Negro to preserve the ideal of limited government yet saw no contradiction in later demands for the intervention of the Federal Government against striking workers.

As political organizers, they were impatient, uncompromising, bitter when they could not have their own way, and essentially ineffective. Their campaigns usually demonstrated only how powerful the new Republican alliance of politicians and industrialists had become. They claimed credit for the election of Cleveland in 1884 but Sproat denies them even that. He argues convincingly that poor business conditions, light voting in traditionally strong Republican districts due to heavy rains, and the abiding hostility of Roscoe Conkling and the Stalwarts toward Blaine were more influential in carrying the decisive state of New York than the Mugwump revolt.

"The Best Men" is an important addition to the literature on the Gilded Age and liberal reform movements. It is an indictment of self-righteous intolerant reformers, but it is also an attempt, in the manner of Richard Hofstadter and others, to understand the emotional responses—the sense of alienation and fear of changes in society—that have produced both reform and reactionary political movements in America.

Beaver College

LLOYD M. ABERNETHY

The Architects of the American Colonies or Vitruvius Americanus. By JOHN FITZHUGH MILLAR (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1968. 205 p. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. $20.00.)

The Foreword of a book may be passed over by some readers, but it serves a special function, to condense in small space the author's motivating purpose and viewpoint. Mr. Millar's Foreword does just this. He tells us that, perceiving a lack, he undertook the task of supplying it, "to write," he says, "a text." His book is a successful textbook on architects of early America, in content, format, and detail. Moreover, it is readable, artistic, and handsome. There will be challenges to some of his conclusions (this reviewer has a few), but on the whole it is a fine and scholarly work, refreshingly free of dogmatism.

The subject is timely, because interest in Americana, including our native architectural heritage, is growing amazingly. It has survived the iconoclasm and neglect understandably incidental to the establishment of a new technological style (a style which had to appear because of the essential
materialism of our age). But the parallel growth, or survival, of something less commercial is proof that all of our people are not completely indoctrinated.

Quoting again from the Foreword, the author declares: "when I wanted to learn about American Colonial architecture, I found to my great amazement and dismay that Harvard offered no course that so much as mentioned the subject . . . that even if such a subject were to be included in a course, none of them knew enough about it to teach it." This reviewer has often commented upon this, as a curious and somewhat narrow characteristic of pedagogues. The time is not distant when they will change by popular demand.

Remembering that the book under consideration is consciously a textbook, we can overlook the fact that the drawings are almost diagrammatic, lacking detail, and embodying minor errors, such as irregular size and shape of window panes in the same sash. The drawings are akin to sketches made during a lecture.

The author's classification of "architect" as some one commissioned to design a rather important building, as opposed to a "master builder," is open to discussion. The apprentice system produced extremely talented regional designers, whose works and influence can be argued as entitling them to classification as architects, especially since, in their day, the distinction was vague.

To illustrate, Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, is justly regarded as America's most precious building. It is also one of the most effective pieces of design erected in the colonial period. It was so regarded by contemporary observers. Exhaustive National Park Service research reveals that Ezra Stiles, later President of Yale, in 1754 regarded it as "the most magnificent edifice" he had ever seen; and Manasseh Cutler, in 1787, confided to his Journal that it was "a noble building; the architecture . . . in a richer and grander style than any public building I have before seen."

Yet the same researchers uncovered no single "architect" as the designer. In 1729, John Kearsley and Thomas Lawrence ("gentlemen") and Andrew Hamilton ("lawyer") were appointed and "impowered (sic) to build the same," by the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania. Edmund Wooley, master carpenter and guildsman, is generally thought to have designed the building, and he participated in the work to completion; while Samuel Harding, carpenter and carver, appears in the records frequently. Many others contributed design features between 1732 and 1757, when the building was finally completed.

It may be that this process produced many more of our important early buildings. Perhaps Mr. Millar will find time to investigate and record the case for the colonial master builder. His style is entertaining and he has made a good contribution to our knowledge. Let us hope it may inspire some college professors. They are missing a teaching opportunity.

Gwynedd Valley, Pa.

G. Edwin Brumbaugh
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