

BOOK REVIEWS

Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642. By Carl Bridenbaugh. [*The Beginnings of the American People.*] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. xxiii, 487 p. Index. \$10.00.)

This volume merits careful study. It is by all odds the most authoritative answer to the question as to why, between about 1590 and 1642, about 80,000 English men, women, and children deserted the so-called "Merrie England" to brave the dangers, discomforts, and uncertainties of the American wilderness and to establish the first permanent English colonies in America.

But it is also more than that. With a constant attention to the conditions and circumstances which "vexed and troubled Englishmen" during these years, it is a rich social, economic, and cultural history of England between the latter years of the reign of Good Queen Bess and the outbreak of the First English Civil War. As such, it *implicitly* helps to explain the convulsions which overtook Stuart England toward the middle of the seventeenth century as well as *explicitly* to illuminate the causes underlying the migration of thousands of English people to the New World. Professor Bridenbaugh concerns himself with political history only to the extent made necessary by his description and analysis of the social and economic scene, but the latter inevitably contributes to a broader comprehension of the former; and the whole involves much institutional history as well.

Fundamentally, it would appear that the tensions and unrest in English society at the time arose from the dislocations and uncertainties accompanying the transition from a rural, agricultural, medieval-type society to an increasingly urbanized, manufacturing, commercial, and capitalistic society. The process of transition was still going on, still incomplete. In consequence, England was widely uneven in its development, with incidences of considerable wealth existing alongside abject poverty. No *national* economy had yet emerged; England was a nation of localities, each with its own economy, institutions, and local peculiarities; and the transition from medievalism was unevenly spread among them. The dislocations brought about by enclosures in rural areas were contemporary with the emergence of urban problems in the growing towns and cities. The people had become more mobile, the society more fluid. Broadly speaking, the masses of people, from the most lowly farm laborer to the landed gentleman and commercial capitalist had become "climbers," with a savage disregard at every level of society for the people "below" them. Litigation, snobbery, petty crimes, and infidelities of all kinds abounded—

with thousands of frustrated individuals of both sexes seeking release from their problems in widespread drunkenness. Family life was often threatened, morals and morale suffered. There was growth and improvement, but not enough of the latter, and it was unevenly distributed. And imposed upon this writhing social complex was the insensitive and unbending rule of the first Stuarts, with the theory of divine right in the State and Laud's policies of "thorough" in the Church. Neither the Crown nor the Church appreciated the conditions in England, and their practices and policies found small favor or sympathy from multitudes of Englishmen, most of whom had become, since the days of Wyclif, "puritans" in a broad sense of the term. There was a curious similarity between those "vexed and troubled Englishmen" who migrated to the New World in the early seventeenth century and their heirs and successors who undertook the War for Independence in the eighteenth. Both generations felt morally superior to the ruling powers; both felt constrained to undertake their respective policies with reluctance and a poignant sadness. Even the particulars had points in common. "Taxation without representation" was a cry raised against the early Stuarts as it was against George III; the spectre of a bishop's mitre played a role in both instances; and the "rights and liberties of Englishmen" of 1628 and 1642 became—thanks to the Enlightenment—the "natural rights" of all free men.

The research that has gone into the preparation of this book is most impressive. Not only has Professor Bridenbaugh surveyed the literary sources with a thorough and discerning eye, but also he has traveled over the ground and viewed the scene, studied the artifacts that remain, and welded the whole into a lucid and informative book. There is no bibliography as such, but a "Note on Documentation" (pp. xv-xix), together with the footnotes, adequately informs the reader of the sources employed. *The Beginnings of the American People* has an illustrious initial volume.

The University of Illinois

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier, 1629-1700. By Peter N. Carroll. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969. xi, 243 p. Bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The transfer to America of the segment of seventeenth-century European culture known as Puritanism is particularly interesting, especially as its motivating forces were much more intellectual than those in French or Spanish colonization. Professor Carroll begins by having the immigrants describe in their own words the impact of the sea voyage, demonstrates that their ideal commonwealth was a medieval city with walls of faith rather than of stone, and describes the New England Confederation as their pragmatic compromise when those walls failed.

Dr. Carroll has done his research well, consulting all of the obvious sources and turning up obscure articles. He presents the Puritans in the framework of their century and their knowledge, and does not blame them for not being moderns. Unfortunately for his readers, there are sections of this book in which every sentence contains a quotation, which makes for heavy going because of the constant change in tempo. Unfortunately, too, he accumulates quotations on single subjects where his reader would have been happy with a sample and a generalization. Obviously he is unacquainted with New England geography and its terminology. He regularly refers to the town of Lynn as "Linn," and mentions places like "Natascott" and "Winetsemet" as if there were not standard spellings of these place names now sanctified by three centuries of use; a stranger would be hard-put to identify many of these places on any map. One wonders if Dr. Carroll realizes that "Newton (Cambridge)" and "Newtown" are the same place. But geography is not important in this volume.

There will be no long reviews of this book because there is no news in it, and that is perhaps less the fault of the author than of Perry Miller, whom some of us used to charge with setting the bounds of intellectual history to include only the easily available sources. Dr. Carroll greatly exaggerates the influence of the fear of the Indians because he has used well the excellent new books on them. Like Miller he ignores the intellectual implications of such facts as that the Puritan immigrant either immediately invented or seized upon the curved axe handle, the curved scythe handle, and the principle of the gang-saw. Why did the Puritans, who had experience in the multitude of forms of municipal government in England, suddenly settle on a single form, the New England town government which still flourishes, in many places unchanged? Yet the differences between the first and second generation towns suggest deep intellectual changes.

And is there anyone more irritating, Dr. Carroll, than the reviewer who takes the author to task for not having written another book?

Shirley Center, Mass.

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

Maps and Charts Published in America before 1800: A Bibliography. By JAMES CLEMENTS WHEAT AND CHRISTIAN F. BRUN. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969. xxii, 215 p. Illustrations, index. \$30.00.)

This bibliography of American printed maps was planned as long ago as the 1930's and is the achievement of two successive compilers, the first of whom did not live to see its completion. The result does credit to both of them and is impressive in the amount of detailed information it contains and in its high standard of accuracy and completeness.

The basis for inclusion of a map in this list is publication before 1800 in the area that is now the United States, a definite and sensibly limited goal.

There are 915 entries but not really 915 maps described because a separate listing has been given to each variant state of an engraved map plate, regardless of whether the variation is the mere addition of a place name or the complete change of an imprint. In all, about 160 separately published maps are listed, more than a third of which occur in several states or editions. The rest of the entries describe, with their variant states, the maps published as illustrations in books, or in almanacs and magazines, as well as maps in the atlases which began to appear toward the end of the period. More than two hundred publications of various kinds contained one or more maps.

Among the separate maps there is a high percentage of rarities, known in only one or a very few copies. The compilers have also found evidence of the publication of thirty-two separate maps—an astounding number—of which no surviving copies have been found despite a widespread search in libraries. Their book will be of considerable help to any collector in this difficult field. It will tell him much of what he needs to know about any individual map, in addition to providing references to a large number of specialized studies and to reproductions.

On the other hand, historians need the information in this book just as much as collectors do, and anyone who wants to use it for reference is going to encounter difficulty because of its organization. This is an imprint bibliography, as stated in the title, but it is not presented in the chronological order that has long since proved itself the best for such works. Instead, the arrangement is a rough-and-ready geographical classification in forty groupings according to the subject matter of the maps. The result of this choice is that we have carto-bibliographical trees, green and luxuriant; we could have had the forest, too, if only the arrangement and indexing were normal for an imprint bibliography.

If anyone wants, for instance, to find the first map published in the United States he must look in forty different places before he can go back confidently to the beginning of a section called "New England and Northern United States," where he will find an excellent summary of information about the first and second states of the John Foster woodcut map, published in Boston in 1677 as an illustration in Hubbard's *Narrative of King Philip's War*. The same inconvenient process must be repeated to find that the next publication, a long forty years later, was Cyprian Southack's chart of North America, engraved in Boston in 1717. A chronological list would have made these beginnings self-evident, and it would, more importantly, have made clear the influence of historical events in stimulating the publication of maps in America during the eighteenth century.

Did Boston follow up its early lead, or did Philadelphia or New York become more important as centers of map publishing? The book contains the information that should provide a definitive answer to this interesting question, but there is no indexing by place of publication. A major statistical analysis would be necessary to produce the answer.

Whatever the problems created by its arrangement, there is no question that this book is a major production and all future work concerned in any way with American maps must depend upon it as a point of departure.

The John Carter Brown Library
Brown University

JEANNETTE D. BLACK

Ethan Allen, Frontier Rebel. By CHARLES A. JELLISON. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969. viii, 360 p. Map, notes on sources, index. \$9.95.)

Every schoolboy for a couple of hundred years has heard of Ethan Allen and has known that he led the Green Mountain Boys, and he may have known that he captured Fort Ticonderoga at the start of the American Revolution; but beyond that his knowledge has been hazy.

Probably no American of comparable importance has had so many biographies and articles written about him as has Ethan Allen. The first of these was probably that by Jared Sparks, later President of Harvard, who thought so highly of the man that his life appeared in Volume I of Sparks' Library of American Biography in 1834. Most of the early works must be called inadequate if not even worthless, but in 1929 appeared the fine study by John Pell, whose family saved and restored Fort Ticonderoga. Now Professor Jellison of the University of New Hampshire (*not* Vermont) has given us a new biography. The reason he gives is "to carry on where John Pell left off" and "to present a fuller and perhaps more penetrating account of an uncommonly important and colorful figure."

What was there about Ethan Allen that over the years has elicited all those earlier biographies and now this new one by Dr. Jellison? Ethan Allen was certainly an important figure in Vermont; but for him there might not now be a State of Vermont. He rallied and kept rallying the early settlers under Governor Wentworth's New Hampshire grants to resist New York's claims to their lands. On the national scene his capture of Fort Ticonderoga was of real value to the new nation about to be; but of course if he had not done it, Benedict Arnold or others would have done it a few days later. He was probably of more importance to the nation later when he was the central figure in those still highly controversial negotiations which kept the British army in Canada after Burgoyne's defeat.

It was, however, as a frontier swashbuckler, profane, blasphemous, and fond of rum, strutting in a grand uniform with a huge sword, that he became the pride and glory of the young activists of his day who made up his Green Mountain Boys, formed to resist the Yorkers. And it has been in this role that his fame has continued through the years.

Ethan Allen should not be judged in this manner, however. For one thing it should be said that he himself wished to go down in history as a

philosophe. George Washington wrote of him: "There is an original something in him that commands admiration." Ever since Americans have been doing their best to discover "that original something." Professor Jellison himself, in a talk before the Vermont Historical Society in 1965, said, "Whatever else he was, he was a man, and throughout history to be a man has been a rare and wonderful thing."

The public is urged to read this book and learn for itself what "that original something" was and at the same time learn much about the difficult, riotous birth of Vermont. For one of the good points in the book is the larger story of the events within which Ethan was operating. The chapter on "Trouble on the Grants" is a fine short summary for the ordinary reader of the origin of Vermont's difficulties with New York. This over-all background picture which he gives is one of his improvements on Pell; but he might well have given the more detailed chronological picture of Ethan's own life which is found in the latter. Although written in an easy, pleasing style, the account is prolix, especially in the long attempts to guess at the inner workings of Ethan's mind. He might better have written more specifically about various events naming names and giving dates.

Professor Jellison evidently intended this to be a book for reading and not for study. It can not be the definitive work for future students and scholars because of this general approach and because he fails to give specific sources for any of his statements and quotations. He does provide an adequate index and his "Notes on Sources" is an excellent list of the available material on early Vermont.

Vermont was a fabrication of illegality from its beginning, but the avarice of New York and the fighting spirit of Ethan Allen and his associates overcame this illegality and were able to consolidate the Grants into an independent republic and eventually into the fourteenth state of the Union.

Hartland, Vt.

HAMILTON VAUGHAN BAIL

The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution. By WALLACE BROWN. (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1969. xi, 302 p. Index. \$7.95.)

Dr. Wallace Brown's new history of the loyalists follows closely the scheme of C. H. Van Tyne's *The Loyalists of the American Revolution* (1902). He seems to accept Van Tyne and incorporates the findings of the important books and articles on the subject that appeared between 1902 and his date of going to press, and adds a multitude of anecdotes and illustrative comments derived from his own intensive study of thousands of loyalist claims for compensation.

Although the author's industry and contact with the original sources are abundantly evident, it is hard to say in what particular his opinions represent advance or innovation. He is not in love with the loyalists. Following the severe judgment of William H. Nelson in *The American Tory* (1961), *The Good Americans* argues that the loyalists were born losers, incorrigibly second-rate: "outclassed as writers" and "outfought as soldiers" (p. 93), although drawn heavily from "the snobbish, well-to-do sections of society" (p. 123). While ascribing superior "talent" to the Whigs at every point, this account fails to make consistent distinction among kinds of talent, between talent and historical reputation, between the personal defects of the loyalists and the tactical disadvantages of their position.

At some points the book is rather hard reading because of its enthusiasm for original sources. Quotations fit awkwardly into the text, and there is much uncritical quoting of material pro and con, language which appears to be selected mainly to present the picturesque extremes of rhetoric. As a result, analytical firmness is lost. Quantification too is frequently missing; so that generalizations appear, in many instances, to rest upon single instances.

There remains the question of motives. While Chapter III is entitled "The Welter of Conflicting Motives," its psychological assumption is simplistic. Although motives differed, individual loyalist leaders "made a fairly rational decision to remain loyal. But probably comparatively few [persons] took a reasoned position. Most colonists, like most people anywhere, followed their leaders. And most of the American leadership was Whig" (p. 81). Probably some readers would be unhappy with the High Tory sociology of that passage, yet it contains one unexpected, and perhaps unintended, implication that I could live with. It implies that most Tories were indistinguishable from most Whigs in morality, intellect, and gumption—perhaps even in social outlook and economic status—and thus it reduces all but the leaders to an understandable common humanity.

Dickinson College

HENRY J. YOUNG

The Susquehanna Company Papers, 1776-1784, Volume VII. Edited by ROBERT J. TAYLOR. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, for the Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, 1969. xxxix, 481 p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$15.00.)

Publication of *The Susquehanna Company Papers*, renewed in 1962 and advanced by the appearance of Volumes V and VI in 1968, moves substantially ahead with the completion of Volume VII, which covers the years 1776-1784.

The Revolutionary period marked a crisis not only in the history of the new American nation but in that of the Connecticut settlements on

the Susquehanna as well. For the Susquehannah Company these years were disastrous. The year 1776 began with these settlements well established, able to hold their own against Pennsylvania officials, and formally constituted by Connecticut as the Town of Westmoreland, part of the County of Litchfield. In October, 1776, Westmoreland was raised to county status, but its future remained uncertain.

The success of the Yankee settlements depended on vindication of the Connecticut territorial claim against that of Pennsylvania and on Connecticut backing of the land company's proceedings. The American declaration of independence ruled out settlement of the land dispute by the British government and weakened arguments based on the priority and nature of royal charters; and the Articles of Confederation, adopted in March, 1781, provided for the settlement of such disputes under Article IX. In the meantime the Yankee settlers suffered severely from a British attack in July, 1778; and the locally raised Continental companies who had first defended the region were withdrawn and, to avoid partiality, were replaced by troops from New Jersey, who remained until 1783.

The disputed sovereignty of the region was settled on December 30, 1782, by the Decree of Trenton, which ruled in favor of Pennsylvania. By prior agreement, the court announced its decision as unanimous and gave no reasons for it. These probably were wise precautions, but they left the way open for charges of collusion, which the editor of the present volume dismisses. The documents relating to this case, and the editor's analysis of them, are outstanding features of the volume.

The Decree of Trenton left unsettled the problem of private title to lands, and the Yankee settlers were unhappily aware that their grants in fact had been made by neither state but by a land company that, deprived of support from Connecticut, could expect no sympathy from Pennsylvania. However, although Connecticut settlers suffered some attempts at intimidation by private Pennsylvania claimants, the Commonwealth itself adopted the reasonable policy of distinguishing between the claims of actual settlers and those of speculative investors (that is, of the land company as such); and although the State suggested that the Connecticut people accept other lands in place of those in dispute, it did not attempt to eject settlers. The present volume closes with these conflicting private claims still unsettled.

As in previous volumes, the editor follows a topical rather than an archival definition in determining the content of the series, which includes not only papers of the Susquehannah Company and its agents but also documents of external origin but concerned with the Connecticut settlements. Among records of the latter kind are, for example, items from the National Archives' Papers of the Continental Congress, which made their first appearances in Volume VI and are more numerous in the present volume.

The complicated fortunes of the Connecticut claims and settlers in the difficult Revolutionary period are traced with considerable skill in the edi-

tor's twenty-five page Introduction, both useful in itself and most helpful in study of the 262 published documents. In all, Volume VII maintains the scholarly standards set by the editors and is a credit to them, the publisher, and the historical society that is sponsor to the undertaking.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission*

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787. By GORDON S. WOOD. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina Press, 1969. xiv, 653 p. Note on sources, index. \$15.00.)

This lengthy and important volume on American political thought in the latter part of the eighteenth century is yet another attempt to answer several fundamental questions that have troubled historians for more than a hundred and fifty years. These relate to the basic philosophies underlying the origins of the American Revolution, the principles and objectives of state and national constitution-making, and the nature and significance of the Americans' contribution to the science of government.

Beginning his research with the aim of analyzing the processes of constitution-making in the Revolutionary era, the author eventually recognized the necessity of understanding "the assumptions from which the constitution-makers acted." To recognize this fact was to accept a challenge that was indeed formidable, for it required a detailed analysis of the thought of a large number of men who, in a little more than a decade, conceived and brought to fruition the two major revolutions which produced the United States of 1776 and the new nation under the Constitution of 1787. While both of these events occurred within a republican milieu, there took place in the intervening years a seismic shift in conceptions regarding the proper role of the people in government and their relation to it. The explanation for this shift is the major purpose and accomplishment of this book.

In 1776 the Whig political thinkers, according to Dr. Wood's distillation of their views, embraced the ideology of a republicanism that was so revolutionary that "it alone was enough to make the Revolution one of the great utopian movements of American history." The republic they envisioned, which could be created only by separation from Britain, was one in which individual interests would be sacrificed for the welfare of the community. This sacrifice was regarded as "public virtue," and it required a reformation in public behavior to eliminate the vice and corruption they saw everywhere around them. Independence gave the Whigs an opportunity to embody their ideas in new governments, and thus to establish a firm foundation for freedom. The building of this foundation "became the essence of the Revolution."

The Whigs, who spent much time and thought in erecting state governments, struggled with the fundamental problems of suffrage, representation, sovereignty, and separation of powers and came up with decisions that reflected both past experience and current urgencies and ideologies. To frame constitutions they adopted the convention system, an instrument considered to be the most accurate and faithful expression of the will of the people. Used generally throughout the period, this invention was perhaps "the most distinctive institutional contribution . . . the American Revolutionaries made to Western politics." With the conduct of royal governors fresh in their minds, they abruptly departed from English tradition by seriously weakening the executive. Most of the powers and prerogatives of that office were given to the legislature as a branch of government that would be most responsive to the desires of the people.

Unfortunately, the perfection they sought failed to materialize, and long before the war ended many thoughtful Whigs became disillusioned. The high expectations held for the legislatures were being destroyed by the numerous instances of irresponsibility, incompetence, and arbitrariness displayed by those bodies. The people also, upon whom all government had to rest, too frequently resorted to violence and even tyranny. In short, the intended fruits of their utopian Revolution—the achievement of social and political reform in a land of equality and freedom—were being lost.

To save them, and to cure the many ills that plagued the Critical Period, many old-line Whigs began to seek a modification of the Confederation government. Now, as proponents of a strong central government, they hoped to salvage the Revolution by engaging in another even "more desperate revolution." They were compelled to take this action, not primarily to correct the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, but to solve the problems that bedeviled the state governments. They would create a new central agency that was not dependent upon the "virtue" of the people, but one that was "designed to control the social forces the Revolution had released." In a reversal of the prevailing views of 1776, that the assembly should be exalted at the expense of the executive and judiciary, they now maintained that the two latter branches were as truly representative of the general will as the legislatures, and that the freedom of the people could be best preserved by the establishment of a proper balance among them. During the debates over the Constitution of 1787, the Federalists argued with telling effect that the new system would restore the liberties won during the Revolution.

This book consistently displays a high quality of scholarship. Interspersed throughout with quotations from an impressive number of contemporary books, pamphlets, newspapers, and letters, it manages, to a great extent, to allow the Founding Fathers to speak for themselves. Concerned not so much with events *per se* as with contemporary thought about them, it conforms in spirit with recent scholarship which has emphasized the ideological aspects of the Revolution. What the participants called

"The Present Just and Necessary War" has become a thinking man's Revolution. Whatever the merits of this approach may be, and they are many, this study, with its fresh insights and careful judgments, is a thinking man's book about that great conflict.

Temple University

HARRY M. TINKCOM

The American Revolution and the French Alliance. By William C. Stinchcombe. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969. x, 246 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Ever since the Revolution a great deal has been written about the French Alliance, extolling or denigrating it according to the authors' personal prepossessions or the political expediencies of the moment. This latest study is not primarily concerned with the negotiation of the alliance or with its place in international diplomacy, but rather with its "implementation" in the United States and the ways in which American leaders of the time "considered and coped with the alliance in formulating foreign and military policy." Stinchcombe begins his survey of American opinion with the arrival of news of the treaties in April, 1778, and then traces it to the conclusion of peace in 1783. Going back to contemporary sources, and with a wealth of pertinent quotations, he shows how American leaders in Congress, the clergy, the press and the military "responded to" the alliance. Considerable attention is devoted to Gérard, the first French Minister to the United States, and his successor La Luzerne and their relations with Congress and other opinion makers. The military intervention of the French is discussed chiefly in terms of its influence on opinion. Not surprisingly, the victories of 1781 earned more good will for the French than any amount of propaganda in the press and pulpit.

Later historical writings on the American alliance with France have been much concerned with questions of motivation and indebtedness. Even some of our currently eminent historians seem to consider any alliance with a foreign power a pact with the devil which must be explained away, or they are beguiled by notions of American innocence and foreign duplicity. Consequently they incline to underestimate or overlook the decisive importance of the French alliance in the American Revolution. Stinchcombe's book provides a welcome corrective by helping us to see the alliance as it appeared to contemporaries, without benefit of the later interpretations. "Revolutionary leaders," he concludes, "accepted the alliance for what it was, a pact dictated by temporary mutual interests."

Having carried his story through the peace of 1783 to the terminal point of his dissertation, Stinchcombe concludes with a less satisfactory chapter entitled rather misleadingly "End of the Alliance." The treaties signed in 1778 (both the Treaty of Alliance proper and the Treaty of Amity and

Commerce), as well as the Consular Convention of 1788 (the "separate agreement" foreseen in Article 29 of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce), remained in force until they were unilaterally abrogated by a Congressional "Act to declare the treaties heretofore concluded with France, no longer binding on the United States," approved by President John Adams on July 7, 1798. It is in fact impossible to follow the course of United States foreign relations through the last years of the Confederation (when Jefferson was Minister to France) and the administrations of Washington and Adams without reference to the Treaties of 1778. The very entanglements created by them during this period were a determinant factor in subsequent American foreign policy. All this—as well as the influence of the alliance in the "sentimental" relations between the two countries—is, to be sure, outside the chronological limits of Stinchcombe's study, but it seems regrettable that he has rung down the curtain as if it marked the end of the play, and without suggesting that there are other acts to follow.

In view of the book's subject, it would be a convenience to the reader to have the texts of the 1778 treaties included as an appendix, even though they are available elsewhere. The illustrations, comprising a series of portraits of congressmen and others concerned with the alliance, appear to have been an afterthought. These pictorial documents have not been treated with the same respect accorded the textual evidence presented elsewhere in the book. No artists' names are given, no distinction is made between authentic life portraits and derivative engravings, the original compositions have been cropped without so indicating. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of Charles Willson Peale's portrait of Conrad-Alexandre Gérard, which shows the French Minister in an appropriate setting which alludes to the alliance. Peale's little allegory portraying statuesque figures of mature France and youthful America entwined in flowers is certainly as significant an example of the American "response" to the alliance as many of the contemporary texts cited. It is pointed out in the book (p. 77) that La Luzerne was a soldier turned diplomat "with a knowledge of military affairs which served him in good stead in the United States," but in the mutilated version of Peale's portrait reproduced as an illustration he has been stripped of his epaulets and cross of St. Louis.

Princeton University Library

HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752-1804.

By ROBERT C. ALBERTS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969. xvii, 570 p. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Whenever the biography of a relatively unknown character appears, it is cause for rejoicing. By putting the "greats" into slightly different perspective, we get what is probably a slightly truer historical picture. When

such a biography is as well done as this one, it is an even greater pleasure to read it.

William Bingham was born just in time to participate in the American Revolution. Due to his excellent education and to the fact that he knew Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, he was sent to the island of Martinique in 1776 as agent of the Continental Congress to get supplies from the French. Mr. Alberts' tale of Bingham's four years there is packed with the excitements of privateering adventure and political intrigue.

Shortly after returning from Martinique in 1780, he married Anne, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Thomas Willing, the partner of Robert Morris. According to all accounts she was lovely and charming then and grew more so with every passing year. Fortunately, Bingham was always successful in his business ventures, and so was able to provide her with the glamorous setting that suited her so well. At the close of the War, they set out for Europe. Three years later they returned with plans to build a mansion and most of the furnishings to fill it. Mr. Alberts does an excellent job of building up the Philadelphia political and social situation that they returned to, and fits them nicely into the niche they were born to fill. By the time they were settled, the Constitutional Convention had been called. It was soon learned that New York would be the first capitol, with Philadelphia taking over in 1790 for ten years. It was during this latter period that Anne Bingham became known as the queen of the "Republican Court." Their town house was ideal for entertaining and they soon acquired two others, one on the Schuylkill and the other on the north Jersey shore. Nearly all the well-known travelers of the day stayed with them. This gave their two daughters unusual opportunities. The elder did as well as any parent could wish. The younger provided Philadelphia with one of the biggest scandals of the period.

Bingham was the owner of part or all of many ships that really did sail the seven seas. He became interested in land speculation, which was all the rage during the 1790's. In spite of the Duer panic of 1792 and the later one that put Robert Morris in the debtor's prison, Bingham seems to have been able to meet all his obligations with funds to spare. He was interested in internal improvements and was president of the company that built the first paved road in the United States—the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike. He was interested in the new colleges that were being established in the western part of the State. His political career included membership in the last Continental Congress, a term in the Pennsylvania Assembly, of which he was Speaker, and one term in the United States Senate beginning in 1795. His influence seems to have been greater behind the scenes than in speaking from the floor. His particular genius was as a banker and financier. He was part of the groups that founded the Bank of North America and the Bank of Pennsylvania. His seems to have been the guiding hand behind Hamilton's plans which included the establishment of the Bank of the United States and the Funding and Assumption

Act. Long before he could have discussed the questions with Hamilton, there is evidence that he thought along the lines of the plan that was adopted. Before Hamilton sent the legislation to Congress, he sought Bingham's advice. The two may simply have agreed because they thought alike, but a careful reading of this account indicates that Hamilton depended on Bingham.

Mr. Alberts has given us a highly readable story, carefully researched, well indexed, with a comprehensive bibliography, and a well-chosen group of illustrations.

With the bicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence so near at hand, this book has appeared at a good time. It is to be hoped that the lives of other Philadelphians of that period will be published in the next few years. But if they are not, we should all be grateful to Mr. Alberts for his contribution.

New York, N. Y.

MARGARET L. BROWN

The Gansevoorts of Albany: Dutch Patricians in the Upper Hudson Valley.

By ALICE P. KENNEY. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969. xxvi, 322 p. Illustrations, genealogical chart, bibliography, index. \$9.75.)

Unlike the Pennsylvania Germans whose rural background in Europe made them among the best farmers of the new world, the New York Dutch burgers and merchants stuck to trade and developed an urban culture. Albany, which remained Dutch in language and customs longer than other parts of the Hudson valley, reverted to the social and economic pattern of the medieval Dutch communes and developed a patrician class comparable to that in Holland. This is the thesis of Dr. Alice P. Kenney in her study of the Gansevoort family through six generations. While plebeian in origin, the Gansevoorts, coming to Albany in the seventeenth century, engaged in trade, building a fortune which set them apart with others of like background to form an urban aristocracy. They were a part of a small patrician group which kept control of the business, politics, and society of the city and for generations repelled the efforts of outsiders to break their monopoly. They clung tenaciously to Dutch customs and lived out the traditions of their ancestors until well into the nineteenth century.

Historians like Henry Adams and Dixon Ryan Fox have pointed out the influence of the aristocracy in the politics of New York, but have generally attributed it to the patroons or manor lords of the Hudson valley. Yet these landed estates were earlier Anglicized by immigration and by intermarriage than was the city of Albany. There a family like the Gansevoorts, or their contemporaries the Schuylers, Van Schaacks, Cuylers and Van

Rensselaers, held a succession of political posts, and warded off the efforts of others to break in. But they have been little known outside of the area. Only two of the family achieved wider recognition—General Peter Gansevoort, defender of Fort Stanwix and hero of the Revolution, and his grandson Herman Melville. These have been given due treatment in this volume, but its major contribution is in the documented activities of the family in business, society, and politics. This would not have been possible were it not for the extensive papers of the family, principally in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection of the New York Public Library. These comprise 400 boxes of manuscripts and 295 volumes. Through this archive the author is able to trace family relationships, business progress, success and failure, and the intimate relations of family members. She even attempts a kind of psychological analysis of some of the later generations. There is an informative chapter on the Gansevoort women as “mothers and matrons.”

Throughout the volume the author has stressed the importance of the patrician rôle, the emphasis of the Dutch upon tradition and this intangible as a cohesive force in the family as well as in the structure of society. One wonders at times if this is not carried too far. Herman Melville is given as an example of “escape from tradition,” while the force of this tradition is noted in his novels and in their philosophy. A series of personal misfortunes, business failures especially during the panic years, and loss of political influence marked the decline of the patrician family in Albany. The influx of the English and other nationalities changed the complexion of Albany society. Yet for many years the Dutch tradition was a strong undercurrent in Albany, and has not entirely vanished to this day.

Some chapters of this excellent study are of greater interest to the genealogist and antiquarian. There is a photographic record of the family's homes and their milieu. The colonial and Revolutionary activities of the family are of interest to the historian and are treated with scholarly detachment, although they effect no revision in general accounts. A few minor slips have been noted. To say, p. 64, that “Johnson and his Mohawk allies . . . defeated the French at Lake George,” ignores the fact that Johnson's army was chiefly composed of New York and New England militia. It was not Loudoun in 1757 who decided to attack Louisbourg, but William Pitt who ordered him to do so. Although the author has utilized the *Sir William Johnson Papers*, she omits in her military summary his major success in taking Fort Niagara in 1759. Two common misspellings are “Abercrombie” for General Abercromby, and “Jeffrey” for Jeffery Amherst.

Finally, it must be said that this well-organized and gracefully written study is a major contribution to that small list of books, including Don Gerlach's *Philip Schuyler* and P. L. White's *The Beekmans*, dealing with the Dutch in New York. It should inspire much needed studies of such other families as the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts and Livingstons.

Glenmont, N. Y.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

The Virginia Germans. By Klaus Wust. (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1969. xii, 310 p. Maps, bibliographical note, index. \$8.50.)

When Klaus Wust undertook to write on the Germans in Virginia he of course did not begin "from scratch." Local histories of the German counties and communities abounded and have been listed in Dr. Emil Meynen's truly monumental *Bibliographie des Kolonial-Deutschtums Nordamerikas* (1937). Denominational and institutional histories, some quite respectable products of careful historians, have also appeared. And since 1907 there has been John W. Wayland's *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley*. This work was based on a doctoral thesis at the University of Virginia and though a pioneer production it enjoyed wide reading and earned a reprinting in 1964.

It is a merit, perhaps the chief one, of *The Virginia Germans* that it transcends these local histories in both time and space. Many readers will be surprised to learn of the seventeenth-century Prussians whom the Virginia Company secured for its specialized need for glassblowers at Jamestown. More familiar, of course, were the German colonial settlers who between 1714 and 1790 established communities in the Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley areas of the Old Dominion. It was the prevalence of these persons which Thomas Jefferson in April, 1788, had in mind when he wrote in a letter to William Short from Frankfort-on-the-Main: "The neighborhood of this place is that which has been to us a second mother country. It is from the Palatinate on this part of the Rhine that these swarms of Germans have gone, who, next to the descendants of the English form the greatest body of our people."

The great body of the colonial Germans in Virginia were Protestant. By denomination they were originally Lutheran and Reformed, Dunkers and Mennonites, and also United Brethren. As in Pennsylvania, from which they largely came, they were attracted to limestone soil; they cleared land by felling trees and soon established productive grain farms and pastures for horses and cattle. They became important, too, as craftsmen in the towns of the Valley. In the wake of Indian wars they suffered their quota of deaths and hardships. The Virginia landscape bore the stamp of a sturdy way of life that was centuries old. Theirs was a transplantation from the Rhine to the Shenandoah in language, agricultural skills, music, books, artistic expressions, and community folkways.

The role of the Pennsylvania Germans in the American Revolution has been told by Arthur D. Graeff in *The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities* (1937). It has remained for Klaus Wust to describe the role of the Virginia Germans in the same conflict and it sets in a large perspective the varied roles of the Palatinate descendants during this period of social and political change. Thus one sees the Reverend Peter Muhlenberg mobilizing the German inhabitants of the western

counties; the infant iron and gunsmith industries of the German craftsmen furnishing the sinews of war; and the dissenting Dunkers and Mennonites receiving exemption in the 1772 revised militia laws.

Sociologists of religion and church historians will find much in this splendid work that sharpens the understanding of America's pluralistic society and its processes. Here is material on the economic consequences of religious faith in the well-kept family farms and in the community mutual aid of the widow and orphan. Here is the phenomenon of an Americanized ethnic group which had broken its cultural, political, and economic ties with the Fatherland but which was still using the German tongue until well into the nineteenth century. (An interesting topic for investigation would be why the Virginia Germans made the language transition in such large measure before their Pennsylvania counterparts.)

The prevalence of slavery among the English and the lesser prevalence of the peculiar institution among the Germans is illuminated by a chapter on the topic. Only a minute fraction of the Germans had slaves at the time of the Revolution. That slavery never reached large proportions in counties with sizeable numbers of Germans bears further study but Wust tends to support the thesis that religious compunctions against it on the part of the sectarians played a part.

In various ways Wust restates a central theme: the Germans of Virginia were an ethnic group in America which detached themselves from Europe and felt more solidarity with the land of their choice than with the land of their fathers. If the process of Americanization seemed slow, especially among the sectarian Dunkers and Mennonites, the reasons are to be sought in their religion and in their culture, not in the perpetuation of ties across the Atlantic.

If one must call attention to oversights in this comprehensive and balanced work it might be to cite that the author did not note the reference to the "Menonists" in James Madison's *Memorial and Remonstrance* of 1785 with its implications in the struggle for religious liberty. Also no mention is made of the materials in the study of Civil War pacifism by Prof. Samuel Horst, *Mennonites in the Confederacy*, 1967. (The title of this work is a bit misleading since Dunker experience is quite conspicuous in the study.) As one reads the volume and notes the wide sources from which it has been so masterfully quarried it is in order to ask: How did the Virginia Germans appear to their fellow Virginians over the centuries? In Pennsylvania the Germans have, to quote Dr. Richard Shryock, suffered "from eulogy within their group as well as from damnation without."

The Virginia Germans deserves to rank with Dieter Cunz's *The Maryland Germans* (1948). That the latter was published by Princeton University Press and the former by the University Press of Virginia is a good omen that the German story is well on the way to being considered as an essential part of the colonial and later heritage of America.

The War of 1812. By Reginald Horsman. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. x, 269 p. Illustrations, map, bibliographical note, index, \$6.95.)

Historians writing about the War of 1812 have often neglected the role of the British during this war. Professor Reginald Horsman has in this brief history attempted to correct this situation. He has based his book on extensive research, particularly in British sources. Perhaps in the Introduction (promised in the Table of Contents but missing in my review copy and in another copy that I checked) Professor Horsman may have explained why he has chosen to give us another general survey of the War of 1812 rather than a full study of the British conduct of the War.

Horsman begins with a brief survey of the origins of the war, going back to 1783, and carries the narrative through the Treaty of Ghent. All the familiar interpretations of the causes of the war are given appropriate emphasis, but Horsman maintains the crucial issue was maritime grievances. The failure of the American invasion of Canada is attributed to overoptimism and lack of preparation. The Canadians' successful resistance is traced to the essentially easier task of defense as opposed to the very difficult problem of waging an offensive war along the largely unsettled and difficult terrain of the Canadian-American border. The British were overoptimistic too. American naval victories came as a shock. "Peace came," Horsman states, "when the seas were once again free of maritime disputes, and when both sides had shown their inability to carry out successful warfare along the Canadian frontier."

The chief value of this book is that it adds more depth and dimension to the British part in this struggle. In shifting the emphasis, however, the American side (admittedly already familiar to us) is treated rather cursorily. The focus is definitely from the British point of view. This impression upon the reader is no doubt enhanced by the numerous Britishisms in the spelling of words and the manner of expression, for example, the instance where the Federalists "attempted to shelter in the gaol."

The emphasis on the British conduct of the War, while enlightening, still leaves many questions. What was the extent and nature of British influence over Canadian military operations? How was the British military policy for North America developed? What degree of coordination was there between the Admiralty and the War Office? Upon what responsibility did the British Secretary for War, Earl Bathurst, act?

On the American side there is little discussion of the problems of supply. The inadequacy of the militia organization and the organization of the regular American Army, especially the staff departments, are treated much too briefly. In this regard, it is difficult to understand how a valuable work like Emory Upton's, *Military Policy of the United States*, was not cited.

Horsman's coverage of the battles, both on land and sea, is satisfactory but told in a restrained manner. There is little of the drama normally associated with military histories. Horsman is objective in the treatment of individual personalities but extremely cautious in his judgments. President

Madison, for example, is characterized as "hardly . . . a dynamic war leader."

Professor Horsman concludes that "the War of 1812 stimulated the development of national feeling" in America. It might more reasonably have been concluded from this book that the war had widened the breach between the sections of the country, and far from stimulating a national pride, the conduct of the war should have produced a profound feeling of national disgrace. Perhaps Horsman's statement referring to the British that "time erased the memory of the little war," could apply equally to the Americans—at least the unpleasant parts.

Memphis State University

C. EDWARD SKEEN

An American Conservative in the Age of Jackson: The Political and Social Thought of Calvin Colton. By ALFRED A. CAVE. (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1969. xi, 69 p. Bibliography of the Works of Calvin Colton, index. Paperback, \$3.50.)

The author of this study of *An American Conservative in the Age of Jackson* recognizes that such terms as conservative, liberal, and radical, have no clear and agreed on meaning in American political history. But, despite the "semantic ambiguity" that surrounds them, he believes they serve a useful purpose, and that "current preoccupations with 'consensus' . . . overlook the fact that many Whigs openly claimed the 'conservative' mantle and angrily repudiated the efforts of those who sought to blur the distinctions dividing the parties." They shared "that skepticism about human nature, majority rule, and social reform that have been the hallmarks of conservatism in America," and the purpose of Mr. Cave's brief monograph on Calvin Colton, the biographer of Henry Clay, the editor of Clay's collected papers, and prolific "Whig propagandist," is to refute the commonly held view that the Whigs "possessed no distinctive political ideology."

Colton, as the author demonstrates, was convinced that "the age of statesmen had given way to the era of the democratic demagogues, whose power rested solely on their unscrupulous skill in pandering to the prejudices of the multitude," and his only consolation was "the feeble hope that despite the electorates' preference for demagogues rather than statesmen, the Whig party might somehow preserve those constitutional restraints which had thus far prevented the nation from sinking to the lowest depths of democratic degradation." He truly believed that American constitutional freedom was in danger from a radical group, and many other Whigs shared this view. Mr. Cave thus presents a convincing case for the Whig belief in real and valid distinctions between the parties, but he is less successful in demonstrating that the Jacksonian Democratic party was

made up of radicals. Many of the members of this party, certainly most of its leaders, also were skeptical about human nature, majority rule when it brought their opponents into power, and social reform if it meant improving the lot of Indians, Negroes, or the poor. No one has ever argued that American political parties do not employ distinctive and hostile rhetoric. All pretend to be the true defenders of the Constitution and its freedom, but rhetoric is not necessarily representative of actuality. Mr. Cave has not quite proved his case.

University of Oregon

THOMAS P. GOVAN

Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat. Vol. 1: Field Command. By GRADY McWHINEY. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969. xvi, 421 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Grady McWhiney has made of General Braxton Bragg what no other writer about the Civil War has accomplished: a vital, human character with nearly normal reactions, in place of the forbidding martinet having no emotions but being wholly an incarnation of army red tape and the letter of the regulations. If one were not on the alert he might become admiring, even fond of Bragg, so artfully is the story unfolded.

Though Bragg, North Carolina born, was one of the strikingly introverted yet brazenly controversial figures of the war, denigrated by large numbers during the war and almost universally by historians after it, this is the first creditable biography of the commander of the Army of Tennessee, and, as far as this reviewer is aware, the first of any nature since Don C. Seitz wrote his brief and uncritical biography in 1924.

Still, this volume deals with Bragg only through the battle of Murfreesboro (Stone's River) at the close of 1862, after which there was a harsh clamor through the South and among his own generals for his removal. He was retained through some coincidences to gain a resounding triumph at Chickamauga, then had a catastrophic confrontation with Grant, Thomas, and Sherman in the battles around Chattanooga. These lie ahead for the second volume.

Grant's remark in his *Memoirs* that Bragg was "naturally disputatious" is the understatement of Civil War literature. The subsequent quotation of a post commander to Bragg, that "You have quarreled with every other officer in the army and now you are quarreling with yourself," is a perceptive glimpse into the man's nature.

The early years are indeed the fresh part of Mr. McWhiney's volume. He draws the reader through a well-near incredible story of Bragg's bickering and letter writing to superiors. He called for army reforms. He lectured Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett. He complained about delays in War Department correspondence, about the rundown condition of barracks, and whatever of critical nature he could lay his hands on in "his obdurate

determination to protect what he considered his rights. "He was the army's best cavalier."

His moral character was of the highest, his personal habits scrupulously correct. The man, after all, had substance. He studied and excelled. At West Point he was considered "equal, if not superior, to any member of his class," which included Hooker, Pemberton, John Sedgwick, Jubal Early, and W. T. H. Walker. His health failed in the Seminole swamplands of Florida and remained a lifelong problem.

He told Colonel William Gates, his commanding officer, whom he regarded inferior in character and education (and spoke to only on official business), when invited to drink at the officers' club, "Colonel Gates, if you order me to drink a glass of wine with you, I shall have to do it." He called Erasmus D. Keyes a "sly, insinuating sycophant." He seemed to go out of his way to create enemies, whose number finally included the commanding general, Winfield Scott.

Nevertheless, he excelled with the guns. The author, about whom it is difficult to complain, seems unduly exercised about what General Zachary Taylor said at Buena Vista when, according to tradition, he ordered, "Give them more grape, Captain Bragg." As with most such statements, many denied it and the author treats it as a myth. One version was that Taylor's order was not quotable, another was that Bragg and his battery were running, which they certainly were not. Probably the "more grape" version is a succinct summary of what Taylor had in mind and the New Orleans *Daily Delta*, which first published it, as correct as any. On this field Bragg won the lasting admiration of Colonel Jefferson Davis of the Mississippi Rifles, to whom Bragg's artillery gave relief.

In the old army, Sherman, loquacious and peculiar himself, was perhaps Bragg's closest friend. Bragg left the army in 1855, married into a wealthy Louisiana planter family, operated the plantation well, was an ardent southerner, and at great personal sacrifice left the plantation to become a major general of Louisiana troops, soon under the Confederacy. He was still looked on as the best artillery officer in the service.

The author tells well the stories of Shiloh, Perryville, and Murfreesboro, but a full appraisal of Bragg's generalship will have to await his second volume. The key sentence in the first is the author's statement after Murfreesboro: "Just as at Perryville, Bragg seemed to change under stress from a bold and aggressive attacker to a hesitant and cautious retreator." He lacked the Lee and Stonewall Jackson follow through.

Fairview, N. C.

GLENN TUCKER

The Radical Republicans: Lincoln's Vanguard for Racial Justice. By HANS L. TREFOUSSE. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. xiv, 492 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

There is a stereotype of the "Radicals" which pictures them as bitter and vindictive, opposed to Lincoln, determined to crush the South, creators of an age of hate, and thus ones whose role in history is to be deplored, not praised. This stereotype has recently undergone significant reappraisal. This volume by Professor Trefousse of Brooklyn College and author of biographies of two major radicals (Ben Wade, Ben Butler) is one of the latest and one of the best in the field.

Trefousse, believing that the actual extent of the influence of the radicals was "still problematic because no comprehensive study" of this influence existed, attempted "to fill this void" by dealing with a series of basic questions, among which were: "Who the radicals were, what qualities they had in common, how they differed from one another, and what kind of motives impelled them." Also, "what were their strengths? Their weaknesses? Were their policies truly vindictive and were they impelled by mere selfishness and lust for power during the period of Reconstruction?" He begins with a discussion of the concept of radicalism, especially its opposition to the spread of slavery before the war, its support for emancipation during the war, and for "full civil rights" for the freedmen after the war, and of its leading proponents (Sumner, Seward, Chase, Wade, *et al*). Then, correctly, taking the long view, he analyzes developments from the first great struggle in 1849-1850 down through the war, Reconstruction, the aftermath of the election of 1876-1877, and the end of the effectiveness of the radicals.

The account is not only soundly researched but it is presented in such a way as to capture the drama of the rise, the success, and the political eclipse of a very interesting and important set of personages. One is given a realistic and balanced picture of the radicals as individuals along with an understanding of their commitment, despite their differences, to a unifying principle which made them a recognizable faction in the politics of their day. Naturally, the center of the stage is the national capital, but the interplay between national and state politics is meaningfully handled.

Of special interest is the treatment of Lincoln's relationship to the radicals. This shows that they were not as far apart on the basic question of slavery as often stated. Trefousse writes that as early as 1858 "the fact was that, fundamentally, Lincoln and the radicals were looking forward to the same goal: a free democracy untainted by slavery." Later, in the secession winter and during the war they supported each other, although they played different roles. While the radicals were "the shock troops of the Republican party," Lincoln was both president and the leader of a party of many factions. He had thus to balance "the conservatives' caution with the radicals' urgency." To reach common goals "the President and the radicals continued to work together—unwillingly, at times, but effectively just the same. Although the advanced Republicans were often far ahead of the administration, in the end, Lincoln generally caught up with his critics. The ultras' impetuosity mitigated by his caution was an exceptional combination."

For many years the radicals had formed the "vanguard" in the battle for human equality. In the end they may have been "unable fully to protect Negro rights" and they may have "failed to accomplish their vision of the equality of all citizens." But who can deny that "their accomplishments were astonishing" and that "they . . . laid the foundation for the achievement of their goals" in our century? The tragedy of the situation lay in the breakdown of the working relationship between the radicals and Lincoln's successor. Certainly it is reasonable to conclude after reading Dr. Trefousse's account that had the martyred president lived, gains in the field of civil rights during Reconstruction would have been more significant than in fact they were.

Finally, it might be added that the illustrations, chiefly of the leaders of the radicals, are a valuable visual supplement to the text, the exhaustive bibliography will be of great value to any student of these years, and the footnotes, believe it or not, do indeed appear at the bottom of the page!

Muhlenberg College

JOHN J. REED

The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912. By MARGARET LAW CALLCOTT. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. xxv, 199 p. Appendixes, bibliographical note, index. \$7.95.)

This is the latest book in a growing list of monographs which The Johns Hopkins Press has published in the field of Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction history. In this clearly-written and well-documented study, Mrs. Calcott has helped to fill a significant gap in our knowledge and understanding of these two eras. Throughout the book, she highlights the role that Negroes played in Maryland politics at a time when blacks were being eliminated from political life in most southern states. She demonstrates that Negroes, who comprised about one-fifth of Maryland's population, participated with relative freedom in the electoral process, and were especially active in the southern and eastern counties of the state where the number of Negroes was greatest. Mrs. Calcott uses statistics to good effect to prove the high voting rate of Negroes in Maryland.

The unique development in Maryland was due not to white generosity nor to the absence of racial hostility but rather to the fact that the Maryland Democrats, in their plans to disfranchise the Negro, threatened to deprive many former whites as well of the suffrage, and, as a result, large numbers of whites combined with the threatened blacks to defeat the entire disfranchisement scheme. It is interesting to compare this development with that described by Andrew Buni in *The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1902-1965*, published two years ago. In Virginia the election encumbrances used to disfranchise the Negro also excluded many white voters from the polls. But Professor Buni points out that there was little white opposition to these disfranchising schemes and no attempt to build a white-Negro

alliance to defeat them. Unfortunately, Mrs. Calcott does not discuss the difference in the white reaction in two former slave states geographically so close to each other.

The author does make it clear that, unlike other parts of the South, Maryland possessed a vigorous two-party system in the decades following Reconstruction. The Republican Party, maintained at first largely by Negro voters, became a racially mixed party strong enough by 1895 to wrest control of the state from the all-white Democratic Party. Still, Mrs. Calcott does not play down the indifference of the Republican leaders to the real problems of Maryland Negroes. She notes that the Republicans, dependent though they were on Negro votes, did little to advance the position of the blacks and offered only token resistance to the wave of segregationist legislation which followed the restoration to power of the Democrats in 1900.

While Mrs. Calcott's study does much to dispel the myth of Negro apathy during these years, her work suffers from a failure to analyze, except in passing, Negro thought and theory. This failure clouds her discussion of the role black Marylanders played in politics. In her bibliographical note she cites the present writer's four-volume *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* as providing "insight into the political thought of a Negro leader who was a source of guidance for many Marylanders." But in her discussion there is no mention of what political thought this influenced and what was the nature of the guidance. Indeed, Douglass, who spoke frequently before Maryland Negro audiences, is not even listed in the index. Then, too, there is no precise discussion of the Negro community, its class composition, and how it functioned. As a counterweight to the myth of Negro apathy, we need to know more about the influences at work in the black community which brought about the degree of Negro political participation, and the reaction of the community to the failure of the Republicans to support specific black programs.

One development discussed by Mrs. Calcott needs further clarification. To buttress her position that Maryland lends support to the thesis Professor C. Vann Woodward set forth in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, she asserts (p. 134) that segregation of the races in Maryland on all railroads and steamships did not begin until 1904. Yet in a speech in the United States Senate, February 8, 1871, on the proposal to desegregate schools in the District of Columbia, black Senator Hiram R. Revels refers to a visit he had just made to Baltimore and describes it as a city where "colored people were not allowed to ride in the street cars." (*Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, part 2, pp. 1059-1060.)

Despite these deficiencies, this is a well-researched and well-written book. It fills a gap in American political history and is an interesting commentary on the relationship of the two-party system to the achievement of minority rights.

General Washington and the Jack Ass, and other American Characters, in Portrait. By J. H. POWELL. (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1969. 363 p. Illustrations, index. \$10.00.)

Mr. Powell's delightful collection of essays deserved a better title. Some may choose not to read it on the mistaken assumption that it is nothing but a full-length study of military frustration. "General Washington and the Jack Ass" is actually the title of the fifth essay in a series of ten which comprise this book and it describes specifically, with hilarious sobriety, the preoccupation of the Father of His Country with the breeding of mules. The reader becomes as engrossed as Washington himself in this esoteric specialty of animal husbandry and resents as much as he does the irritating distractions of the Constitutional Convention and the Presidency. Indeed, in this essay the author accomplishes the almost incredible feat of humanizing Washington while adding to his stature.

The ten essays deal respectively, in chronological order, with ten clusters of events in American history: the Zenger case, the betrayal of the Acadians, the First Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence, the Washington story, the celebration of the ratification of the Constitution, the imprisonment of Pat Lyon (who later became the subject of Neagle's famous portrait), the creation of a mammoth cheese in Cheshire, Massachusetts, to celebrate the inauguration of Jefferson in 1801, the receptions tendered Lafayette in 1824 and 1825, and Lincoln's journey from Springfield to Washington in February, 1861. Ranging in subject from the most exalted to the relatively inconsequential, all demonstrate the broad scope and considerable depth of the author's scholarship together with his outstanding talents as narrator. In his Notes at the end of the volume Powell states: "These essays are meant to suggest character, more than issues, for character is certainly the ultimate object of the historian's contemplation." His characters come to life.

Eight of the essays have appeared in earlier versions in various media. The Lafayette piece began as an address at The Franklin Inn in Philadelphia, was developed in talks at "colleges and universities, historical societies, libraries, museums," and elsewhere, and was published in *Woman's Day*. The Independence Day story was published in different forms in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, *Delaware Notes*, and *Woman's Day*. "The Grand Federal Processions" and "The Case of the Innocent Blacksmith" also appeared in *Woman's Day*, "General Washington and the Jack Ass" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, and "Treason in Profile" in *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* of the University of Pennsylvania, all in various versions. "'A Certain Great Fortune and Piddling Genius'" was first delivered in 1960 as the annual Boyd Lee Spahr Lecture in Americana at Dickinson College and was published in that collection. "The Mammoth Cheese" began as a lecture at the Philobiblon Club of Philadelphia and was later given before other groups.

Although Powell calls himself a "mere antiquarian" and professes some amusement over the vagaries of "scientific historians," he practices a Rankean devotion to primary sources. The surprising results of reworking old records he demonstrates dramatically in his treatment of John Adams. The development of an American legal tradition separate from English common law, a special interest of Powell, provides the learned substance of "Philadelphia Lawyer" and reappears in several other essays, most notably in "The Case of the Innocent Blacksmith." The importance of conservatism in American history, another favorite and recurrent theme, he examines with particular fervor in the career of John Dickinson, who is to be his subject in a forthcoming biography. Least successful is the Lincoln essay, which lacks the freshness and pungency which one expects of this author.

"I cannot imagine a man could study history serenely," Powell tells us in his Notes. His essays sparkle with wit and erudition. They also crackle with anger from time to time. Altogether they provide entertaining and provocative reading for both amateur and professional historians.

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

Those Fabulous Philadelphians: The Life and Times of a Great Orchestra.

By HERBERT KUPFERBERG. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. x, 257 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$7.95.)

"This book was not commissioned by the Philadelphia Orchestra," so the author begins, but as one reads one begins to wonder "why not?", for it conforms very closely to the type of sponsored corporate history. It is illustrated by excellent photographs, many by the Orchestra's own Adrian Siegel, and much of it is drawn from the Orchestra's archives, but, for at least the first half, the material is so interesting that the author transcends the form and tells an exciting tale. It may be only nostalgia which makes me find this book absorbing, or perhaps it is the personality of that great musician, or rather magician, Stokowski, that glamorizes this book. As a prelude we have Mr. van Rensselaer, Chairman of the Board, Miss Wister, Chairman of the Women's Committee, and Fritz Scheel, who directed the Orchestra till 1911 when he had a breakdown and died tragically in a mental hospital. The Board spent \$6,000 to erect a bronze bas-relief to his memory, which the present Board has seen fit to remove from the Academy lobby so that his kindly face now gathers dust in its cellar along with Leopold Seyffert's portrait of Stokowski and other Academy memorabilia.

Then in 1912 "Stokie" arrived, trailing a broken contract with Cincinnati. But "he was just thirty years old, stood six feet tall, had a lithe slender figure, a Grecian nose, blue eyes, and a halo of blond hair." Audi-

ences adored him, even when he scolded the "little old ladies with bundles" for coming late and leaving early on Fridays. Carping critics objected to his "beefing up" Bach, or "improving" the work of other composers, but the music sounded fine, at least to Philadelphia audiences.

With the performance of the Mahler Eighth Symphony by over a thousand instrumentalists and chorus in 1916, Stokie's fame reached a peak which crowded the headline of the battle of Verdun into second place in the *North American*, and in spite of complaints about too much modern music his Philadelphia honeymoon lasted till about 1927. Then he began to ask the Board for longer and longer vacations. Still there were always new excitements even if some of them were not what the Main Line ladies liked: Martha Graham dancing the *Sacre du Printemps*, the performance in 1931 (so many years before the Metropolitan) of *Wozzeck*, Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* and Prokofiev's *Le Pas d'Acier*.

But these projects cost money, the depression was still with us and deficits mounted up. In 1934 the Orchestra Association made the incredible decision to make ends meet by putting on an opera season. The result was a *succès d'estime* but a financial disaster. And then the Maestro announced his resignation. But his farewell was a protracted one. Stokie, like the Cheshire cat, kept appearing and disappearing until his last smile faded away in 1936. The new conductor, Eugene Ormandy, had had a hard time with him during those years, but his tact and determination won him so firm a hold on Philadelphia that it was said that Stokie pulled down the shade by his Pullman seat whenever he went through the city.

When Ormandy persuaded him to return in 1950, he was a white haired man with a cherubic face like Churchill's. His first words were, "As I was saying nineteen years ago . . ." In the meantime, Ormandy had led the Orchestra from triumph to triumph at home and abroad, but this tale of success is not as interesting as that of the years of struggle.

Mr. Kupferberg ends the first half of his book with a transcript of a conversation between him and Stokowski in 1968. It is too bad the reader cannot hear the inimitable tongue-in-cheek accent of Stokie himself as he replies to the author's question about Boards of Directors: "They know very little. So sometimes they do not make very good decisions, in my opinion. But perhaps I am wrong and they are right. Perhaps they know more about orchestral music than I do. I hope they do . . ."

Philadelphia

GEORGE B. ROBERTS

Annapolis Visit. A Photographic Essay on Maryland's Ancient City. Text and Photographs by MARY MITCHELL. (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1969. 121 p. Illustrations, bibliography. \$10.00.)

Of the making of picture books it sometimes seems as though there will be no end, but here is a charming example that will become a favorite of

the lovers of Americana in general, and of Tidewater in particular. Mrs. Mitchell's photographs of "The Ancient City" succeed amazingly in capturing the spirit of Annapolis, conveying at once the bustle and crowding of a modern seat of government and the languid dreaminess of an eighteenth-century capital-that-never-was, except to the readers of Winston Churchill. Most of the charm is here encapsulated; much of the tawdriness is squarely acknowledged. In short, the book is an honest look at one of our most important architectural locales. Half the royalties received from the sales of this book will be contributed to Historic Annapolis, Inc., which has been responsible for much that is worthwhile in the preservation of the Annapolis atmosphere.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

Ulysses S. Grant: Warrior and Statesman. By MAJOR GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT, 3d. (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1969. 480 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

One would expect a biography of Grant by his grandson to be wholly sympathetic, and this is. But followers of Grant's career would also expect more "inside information" from such a source. Although the author was only four when Grant died, he must have heard many discussions about the general by Fred Grant (the author's father) and others of the family circle. He must have had opportunity to read all the documents, including unpublished letters. Yet the book seems to present nothing new other than some early letters between "Ulys" Grant and Julia Dent before and after their marriage. These contain little of significance to the historian other than a portrayal of Grant as a devoted family man—an admirable, warm human being. Perhaps this was the author's motive in writing the book.

U. S. Grant 3d discusses briefly one of the charges against the general, that he resigned from the Army because of heavy drinking. He does not refute this specifically but argues rather convincingly that Grant had other motives in leaving the service. He could have been more emphatic. He might have pointed out, for example, the claim that Grant was a drunkard is completely negated by the fact that he never became a teetotaler (he responded to toasts at banquets, and perhaps even went on a binge once); and this is entirely impossible for a "reformed" alcoholic.

Although the book takes up in some detail Grant's experiences during the Mexican War, it is too skimpy on the Civil War for the devoted buff; in fact, it is not much more than a capsule narrative of the campaigns in which he participated. There is little display of the military sophistication possessed by the author. We would have appreciated a discussion of Grant's grand strategy (not tactics) during the entire period 1861-1865. Even as a new brigadier at Ironton Grant was observed marking his map

with the best lines of advance into the heartland of the South. He never deviated from his early concept, and he was ahead of his time in his use of amphibious operations and in his close attention to the strategic aspects of logistics. U. S. Grant 3d lectured on such topics during the centennial and he should have included them in this book.

The author quotes too frequently from standard, readily available sources. His own opinions would have been a more valuable contribution. Perhaps he wrote the book too late in life, when he was exhausted and distracted through care of his invalid wife, and was overpersuaded to bring it out. As an aside, he feels that Kenneth Williams' *Lincoln Finds a General* is the best biography of Grant published prior to 1968. This is worth knowing.

Pertinent today, in connection with the drumbeats for a "more equal" place in the sun for American Negroes, is the account of how Grant solved the "contraband" problem during the Vicksburg campaign.

Readers who lack ready access to earlier, longer biographies of Grant telling of his occupancy of the White House and his life afterwards, particularly his Grand Tour of Europe, will relish this portion of the book. It is an account of how a man who came from an ordinary rural, midwest background was able to hold his own in contacts with royalty and the mighty figures of European government and diplomacy. The Grants were by no means ugly Americans.

Despite the book being a bit of a disappointment to close followers of Grant's military life, it has considerable value if only in confirming what others—who had no direct knowledge—have said, and in helping refute a number of mendacious, baseless criticisms. It leaves the general impression that Grant was an honorable, patriotic American of ordinary though not humble background. It reflects the fact that the author himself had some of the same characteristics—the subject of his book was a fine, intelligent person, wholly approachable and not at all the cold, stern man that his photograph on the book jacket portrays. I only wish that in his book he had used some of his exclusive knowledge to help solve the mystery: Was General Grant a born genius or was his success based mainly on super-human determination, luck, and the good work of his subordinates? I have my own ideas on this, and possibly other readers will be assisted in reaching a conclusion.

Historical Times, Inc.

WILBUR S. NYE

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JACOB EICHHOLTZ 1776-1842

PORTRAIT PAINTER OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY REBECCA J. BEAL

With an Essay by E. P. Richardson

DESIGNED by P. J. Conkwright, illustrations by the Meriden Gravure Company, printed by The Winchell Company, bound by Murphy-Parker, 436 pages, 256 illustrations (four in color), notes on Eichholtz techniques by Theodor Siegl, bibliography.

This first volume on Eichholtz represents about twenty years of research and effort on the part of Mrs. Beal, its compiler, and is a long overdue appreciation of the career of an important nineteenth-century American portrait painter. "It was," comments Dr. Richardson, "from the great body of unpretentious, hard-working, deeply patriotic Americans, simple in their tastes, domestic in their interests, that Eichholtz came and it is of their qualities he speaks."

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This volume will be of interest to those who own Eichholtz paintings, descendants of subjects painted, people interested in American art, and libraries featuring strength in that field.

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