

BOOK REVIEWS

American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783. By LAWRENCE A. CREMIN. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970. xiv, 688 p. Appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$15.00.)

The appearance of *American Education* is a notable event in our cultural life; it signalizes that Americans are beginning to look wisely and maturely on what is possibly the most significant activity in which we are now engaged—the training of our youth. Beginning in the nineteen thirties some students of American culture began to view education as virtually the total experience of youth with life. They have been steadily discarding the notion formerly taught in the schools of education that the history of the primary and secondary *public* schools and the time spent in their classes are the sole proper subjects for the history of education in this country.

Some years ago Lawrence A. Cremin of Teachers College in Columbia University revealed both his great talents and this broader grasp of what education really is in a remarkable work, *The Transformation of Education*, which properly received a Bancroft award for 1962. Now he has given us the first of three volumes of what will, without question, quickly become the standard work on the history of education in this country. This installment, which deals with the years from 1607 to 1783, is remarkable for resourceful and prodigious research, breadth of view, balanced judgment, effective organization, and a richly rewarding synthesis. It is, moreover, clearly and pleasingly written. Most of all, this is a history of the ideas that many people have held about education and the efforts to translate such abstractions into practice and to root them in institutions. Although he does not overlook them, Mr. Cremin is less concerned with actual schools, life in the classroom, curricula, the teaching methods of the past, and the ordinary human products that issued from our early schools. Likewise, he places less emphasis upon religious influences on schooling, for he believes that Protestantism-at-large, rather than narrow sectarian concerns, is the key to education during the colonial period.

The first colonists brought with them the educational ideas, books, concepts, and goals that had developed in Renaissance and Reformation England. In the new settlements the school as an institution did not exist, and therefore the great burden of instructing youth fell on the family, even more than on the church; and Mr. Cremin awards higher marks on this score to family training in the southern colonies than previous writers. Precept and example in the home yielded remarkable results: in reading and writing, in training for agriculture and the crafts, in getting along in life, and in countless other ways. Above all, colonial boys and girls learned

how to educate themselves. In the eighteenth century, schools began to appear everywhere and lift some of the burden from the family. Moreover, in numerous towns, books, newspapers, pamphlets, libraries, and a host of voluntary associations for conversation vastly expanded the educational experience of a growing body of youths. Furthermore, they were secular rather than religious. "Self-education," far more than his meager schooling, educated Benjamin Franklin so well that he became one of the finest flowers of the Enlightenment; and in a somewhat different manner the other great American intellectual figure of the age, Thomas Jefferson, was also largely self-educated. The pluralism and vast extent of the new American society produced a richness and diversity in the means of education for ever more young people that by 1783 gave the United States a higher rate of literacy than that of England. "Popularization . . . with respect to access, substance, and control became early and decisively the single most characteristic commitment of American education. It was an optimistic, and in many ways messianic commitment . . ." (p. 561).

Mr. Cremin's wide knowledge and firm grasp of his subject in its entirety and the comprehensiveness of his treatment make this volume essential for any understanding of the early history of American culture. But it is more than this. The author cites his sources in footnotes, and in a bibliographical essay he gives, chapter by chapter, learned critical discussions of the secondary literature of the subject, which he construes so broadly. Thus, in both text and bibliography, he opens up many possibilities for further investigation, especially about actual schooling, teachers and pupils, curriculum, housing, the numbers of colonists involved, and kindred matters. Certainly, the Southern and Middle Colonies require much more investigation in these respects.

Readers of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* will be puzzled to find Nottingham listed as being in Maryland; and truly disturbed to have the "liberties" of Philadelphia mistaken for the entire county, which leads to a wholly misleading estimate of the community's population. Fortunately this lapse does not affect the author's conclusions. If these same readers will but read the book from cover to cover, the reviewer suspects that they will join with him in pronouncing this one of the few creative histories of American society we have been given in the present century.

Brown University

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

The Character of the Good Ruler. A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630-1730. By T. H. BREEN. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970. xx, 301 p. Bibliographical essay, index. \$10.00.)

Dr. Breen has given us a very interesting study of one aspect of Puritan thought which all of us can read with profit. He has carefully avoided the

use of words like "democratic" and "conservative" which are loaded with later changes of meaning, and has tried to present the ideas of each generation in their contemporary framework. He demonstrates that the Bay Colony had remarkably homogenous patterns of thought, and he dismisses as peripheral Roger Williams' idea that there should be freedom of speech as well as freedom of conscience, and the Antinomian tendency toward anarchy. The issue which divided the great majority was the amount of discretion to be allowed to the Magistrates, whose deeds were reviewed in annual elections, and the delegation of the authority of the Freemen to their local representatives, the Deputies. In the conflict of *Discretion vs. Delegation* he traces the development of separate executive, judicial, and legislative functions; the City upon a Hill becoming a more normal state.

So far, Dr. Breen's research, reasoning, and clarity of thought are very impressive, but with the Glorious Revolution he begins to lose his grip on his topic. He has not so thoroughly covered the vastly greater amount of source material. The concept of the Character of the Good Ruler is no longer to be demonstrated by *Discretion vs. Delegation*, and the quotations which he chooses to demonstrate his points sometimes represent exceptions rather than the rule. Thus he has the preachers of the jeremiads calling for orthodoxy when the real burden of their plea was for religion; orthodoxy was already a dead issue. In dealing with the interim government and the Province under the new charter, he replaces *Discretion vs. Delegation* by *Court vs. Country*, and makes Procrustean efforts to fit men and issues into this pattern. On the basis of election sermons preached by the ministers from the great pulpits he places the clergy in the Court group. He complains that he does not understand the leader of the Country faction, Elisha Cooke, but he does not appear to have used the standard biographical accounts of these men.

Court vs. Country was a shifting political struggle of no intellectual significance. The issue was the Establishment *vs.* those who did not have a Public Education, as it was then called, and who resented being taken care of by their betters. The Establishment included the clergy and the leaders of both political factions. It was the custodian of the Puritan concept of the duty of public service, as illustrated in the order of seniority in which Harvard students were placed, reflecting their fathers' service. Its political ideas are reflected in the long lists of *Theses* and *Quaestiones* printed for debate at each Commencement; Dr. Breen has not used this prime source. In immediate local application the most important political issue in the early Provincial period was the use of tax money to support the ministry, an issue on which the native leaders of the Court and Country factions stood together. Had Dr. Breen carried his account one administration further, to that of Jonathan Belcher, he would have seen that his thesis could not fit the facts.

In most respects the author has succeeded admirably in keeping the ideas with which he is dealing from being contaminated by modern conno-

tation, but when on page 183 he says that "The Mathers [after 1692] in effect infused property with a sacred quality and then proceeded to defend it with a evangelistic fervor once reserved only for the church itself" he is speaking pure twentieth century. This is not the only place where "property" crops up like King Charles' head. But this is trivia. Dr. Breen has written an interesting and important book which should be given the honor of criticism.

Shirley Center, Mass.

CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography. By ROGER P. BRISTOL. (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of America and the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1970. xix, 636 p. \$35.00.)

In the past twelve months American colonial and early federalist bibliography has come of age. In late 1969 it was the Shipton-Mooney *Short-Title Evans*, and then, in mid-1970, Roger P. Bristol's *Supplement to Evans' American Bibliography*, the first chiefly the contribution of an outstanding New England antiquarian society, and the second, the gift principally of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, as though Puritan and Cavalier had once again joined in common cause. Beyond the leadership of these two societies, as Messrs. Shipton and Bristol would both be quick to acknowledge, whatever excellence in accuracy and inclusiveness their joint compilations possess has sprung in great measure from the quiet research of a considerable number of dedicated librarians and bookmen—past and present—from all over America.

The *Supplement to Evans* is the fruit born of the happy circumstance of having in the same place at one time the late John Cook Wyllie, the long-time secretary of the University of Virginia Bibliographical Society, an enthusiastic prime mover of large scholarly enterprises, and Mr. Bristol, a colleague of his, with a prime interest in pre-1800 American imprints and the qualities of indefatigableness, infinite concern for accurate fine detail, and determination in the face of odds-long discouragement. The Society issued in late 1962 the first thirty-two-page fascicle of Mr. Bristol's checking list of Not-in-Evans items, and concluded the body of titles, a total of 629 pages, with a "Supplement to the Appendix to the Supplement" two years later. In all, Bristol accumulated 11,282 additional titles and found locations of actual copies for all but 694. Better than half of all the new items recorded run four pages or less, and more than 70 per cent of them fall within the years 1770 and 1800.

In form, the Evans-Bristol follows the arrangement adopted originally by Evans. The individual entries are arranged year-by-year from 1646 to 1800, and are ordered alphabetically by author, title, or subject within

each year. A typical entry also includes imprint information, format, pagination, frequently the measurements and, at times, the collation of the piece together with bibliographical references or evidence for including unrecorded imprints where no copy has been found, and library locations.

For most entries the relation between the Evans-Bristol and the *STE* is clear enough, but on particular items the occasional user may run into difficulty. Roughly 10,000 of the 11,282 titles are listed in both bibliographies, though in *STE* the arrangement is by author, title, or subject heading, not first by date, and about 9,500 of the 11,282 are reproduced photographically on Readex microprint. The numbering of like entries in the two works is, unfortunately, not the same. Bristol numbered his entries from 1 through the 11,000's, while Shipton, picking up the numbering at the end of the Evans volume for 1800, numbered his from 39,163 to 49,189. Bristol supplies the *STE* number in each entry where the two match; the trouble comes where the editors of *STE* who, working with a much larger manuscript, were obliged to call a halt to alterations several years ago and hence omit items which Bristol lists, or list items which Bristol discovered later were inaccurate and corrected or found to be ghosts or London printings and deleted. The two differ also in their use of library symbols. The *STE* follows the original Evans abbreviations as it had to do; Bristol uses the currently more widely understood National Union Catalogue symbols. The varying systems offer no problems except with the initials "PPL" which in the *STE* means the Free Library on the Parkway and in Bristol refer to the Library Company.

Finally, how all inclusive is the Evans-Bristol? As complete as the compiler could make it at the time, but he confidently predicts another one thousand Not-in-Evans imprints will come to light within this decade, and invites scholars to send him corrections and additions. By coincidence, Mr. Edwin Wolf 2nd was recataloguing the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania during the years that Mr. Bristol was putting his bibliography into final shape. The two men were in steady communication, and the results speak for themselves. The combined collections of the Historical Society and the Library Company rank in the top three collections in America as holders of unique imprints listed for the first time in this *Supplement to Evans*.

Temple University

C. WILLIAM MILLER

George Washington and the New Nation (1783-1793). By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970. xiv, 466 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

George Washington and the New Nation, the third of a four-volume biography, follows Washington from his army retirement in 1783 to his election to a second term as president. In the preceding volume, General Washington

is depicted as the embodiment of disinterested patriotism, the long-suffering hero, constantly harassed by lesser men—Gates, Mifflin, and by Congress. Much the same theme runs through this volume. Anyone who criticizes Washington is young, foolish, or short-sighted. Washington is wise, patient, stable, and honorable, unswayed by petty passion and possessed of a vision as to America's true interest that is denied to others. Mr. Flexner humanizes Washington, but only through suggestions of his affection for Eliza Powel and his interest in such earthy farm activities as breeding jackasses. Politically, Washington remains a waxen image, occupying a position "above the battle" and serving as "the keystone of an arch, holding all upright and in equilibrium." Beneath this benevolent presence, Hamilton and Jefferson conduct their duel, while Congress, "a gaggle of arguing men," fails to perceive the Republic's real interests.

Mr. Flexner displays rather considerable sympathy for James Madison and perhaps slightly more for Jefferson than Hamilton. Few other people enter these pages at any length, and the complicated politics of Washington's first term are personalized as few historians have done since Claude Bowers wrote. If some regard is given to sectional issues, almost no attention is devoted to the parties and problems of the several states, which were to have a greater impact upon the formation of national parties than the personal animosity of Jefferson and Hamilton. Such matters, however, are of less interest to Mr. Flexner than is the question of Washington's independence and celestial vision. He was the tool of no man and, in thought and judgment, superior to all men. Whether in analyzing fiscal policy or in planning the District of Columbia, Washington's ideas are sensible, wise, and in advance of his contemporaries, and his judgment invariably sound. Naturally, if Washington is to be presented as a precursor and creator of much of what we value most today, some alteration of the historical Washington is necessary. Thus, an eighteenth-century, aristocratic, Virginia planter—living in a society characterized by considerable social and political deference as well as wide-spread slaveholding—is accorded an undue measure of democratic sympathy and faith in "the people."

Mr. Flexner is superb in his depiction of Washington at home. Many will question the portrayal of Washington the president, but most will be charmed by Washington the man. There are delightful descriptions of his triumphal procession to New York for the first inauguration, of social life around the President, of his trip through the South, of his activities at Mount Vernon, and of the planning of the new capital city. Both the thought and the writing are much less distinguished in an area where a presidential biography can ill-afford to be weak—the politics and national developments that are at the heart of any presidency. Striking passages on the presidential personality and social life afford a sharp contrast to routine and uninteresting summaries of governmental problems and policies.

This very substantial biography assumes there is a body of educated readers who want something more than the brief biographies Marcus

Cunliffe and others have written and who need something less than the seven scholarly volumes of Douglas Southall Freeman—a fair assumption certainly, and in a sense Mr. Flexner provides just what has been lacking. But it is also a fair assumption that anyone who is interested enough to buy and read four volumes on George Washington is sophisticated enough to demand something more than an interesting, but fundamentally adulatory and dated, story of Washington and the founding of the American republic. This volume is based largely on the printed papers of Washington and a few of his leading contemporaries. The *Annals of Congress* are not cited and almost no use is made of newspapers or other political writings of the period. Such recent writings as those of Joseph Charles, E. James Ferguson, Forrest McDonald, and Jackson T. Main are missing from the bibliography. A biography of Washington that ignores such sources and studies cannot hope to satisfy the informed reader, however well-written it may be.

Cleveland State University

JOHN CARY

The Cornwallis Papers, Abstracts of Americana. Compiled by GEORGE H. REESE. (Charlottesville, Va.: Published for the Virginia Bicentennial Commission by the University Press of Virginia, 1970. xiv, 261 p. Index. \$7.50.)

The Cornwallis Papers is a calendar of the official correspondence in the papers of Charles, Lord Cornwallis relating to his military campaigns in America. The papers themselves are located in the Public Record Office in London and microfilm copies of them are available at the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. Dr. Reese has painstakingly listed the various letters and army returns contained in them and has skillfully abstracted them. His abstracts will be particularly useful to anyone who plans to undertake research on the campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Carolinas and Virginia.

A word of warning should be given here about the papers which Reese has abstracted. Many of them are contemporary file copies of official correspondence. The originals of the reports and returns sent by Cornwallis to his superiors are to be found in their papers rather than in his. To give an example: reports sent by the earl to General Sir Henry Clinton are to be found in the Clinton Papers at the William Clements Library at the University of Michigan. Moreover, the originals of many of the reports sent to Cornwallis by his subordinates were forwarded by him to Clinton.

Anyone undertaking research on the campaigns in which his lordship took a prominent part would have to utilize not only his papers but those of many other officers, British and American, including those of Clinton, Horatio Gates, Nathanael Greene, and George Washington. Unfortunately,

these collections are not housed in one place and the researcher would have to visit many different archives and libraries.

Since excellent biographies have been written about most of Cornwallis' opponents, it is difficult to say how much research remains to be done on the campaigns of 1780 and 1781. In addition to the biographies of the earl's opponents, William Willcox has produced a scholarly and perceptive biography of his superior, General Clinton. Finally, Franklin and Mary Wickwire have recently brought out a fine book entitled *Cornwallis, The American Adventure*. What remains to be done? It appears to the reviewer that further research needs to be done on Cornwallis' military government policies in the Carolinas and on his campaign in Virginia before he was trapped at Yorktown. Anyone who undertakes research on these subjects will find Dr. Reese's abstracts of the Cornwallis Papers to be an indispensable guide.

Northern Arizona University

GEORGE W. KYTE

Alexander Hamilton & American Foreign Policy: A Design for Greatness.

By GILBERT L. LYCAN. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. xviii, 459 p. Illustrations, tables, bibliographical essay, index. \$9.95.)

There has been a resurgence of scholarly interest in the foreign policy of the Federalist Era, particularly with regard to its pro-British orientation. Gilbert Lycan's study joins a growing list that includes works by Marvin R. Zahniser, Joanne L. Neel, Gerard H. Clarfield, Jerald A. Combs, Lawrence Kaplan, Charles Ritcheson, and Helen J. Looze. These volumes have, however, only slightly altered the standard interpretations of Samuel F. Bemis, Alexander De Conde, and Bradford Perkins.

The purpose of Professor Lycan's study, which began as a Yale dissertation, is to present "both an analysis of Hamilton's policies and a consideration of the place he holds in the literature of history." These objectives, this reviewer believes, do not merit the equal consideration the author assigns them. Perhaps Jefferson's famous characterization of Hamilton as "so bewitched and perverted by British example" was overdrawn. Yet Lycan, in what he frankly admits is a "pro-Hamilton" book, has bogged himself down in fruitless historical controversy and partisanship, thereby severely limiting his overall scholarly contribution.

In keeping with the book's subtitle, Hamilton emerges as the man responsible for securing American independence and for providing the necessary conditions for national development. He developed his forward-looking views on neutrality, on the supremacy of international treaties over state laws, and on continental empire while sitting in the Continental Congress. Hamilton became the "chief author" of United States foreign policies, we are told, as the result of Jefferson's late arrival in office and

President Washington's reliance on Hamilton's advice, particularly following the Nookta Sound Controversy. Lycan rejects Julian Boyd's attack on Hamilton in "Number 7." In contrast, the Hamilton that appears here is less the indecorous Anglophile than the *primus inter pares* of the "Empire-Builders." Anglo-American co-operation was at the heart of Hamilton's policy, but only as the means to an end. Hamilton's desire to build alliances on the principle of mutual awareness of the need for peace and commerce to further each nation's interests led to Jay's and Pinckney's Treaties and to the destruction of the Franco-American alliance. Hamilton, however, was always prepared to use military force if negotiation failed. (On Jay's Treaty Lycan is closer interpretatively to A. L. Burt than to Bemis.) Of Hamilton's part in formulating Washington's Farewell Address, Lycan writes, and with some justification, that it "is one of his greatest legacies to his nation." Fewer persons will fully agree with the author's claims that Hamilton dominated the foreign policy of the Adams administration and that he was apolitical. In the inevitable comparisons of Jefferson and Hamilton, Jefferson fares little better at Lycan's hand than he did at Hamilton's.

The research for this essentially chronological study is dated and lacks balance. Lycan, for example, has largely limited his work in the unprinted sources to the writings of a few Federalists, such as Hamilton and Pickering, and to the British Foreign Office collection in the Library of Congress. His work in newspapers is slight. The author has also relied at this late date on the older editions of the Hamilton and the Jefferson papers, almost neglecting the more recent, scholarly collections by Syrett and Boyd. Although the book is highly readable, Lycan occasionally fails to achieve a desirable balance between his subject and the historical background. There are even some factual errors: the *National Gazette* ran from 1791 to 1793 and not to 1795; Frederick A. Muhlenberg and not Jonathan Dayton cast the decisive vote in the House on Jay's Treaty.

Despite these deficiencies, Lycan's monograph still stands as the best single account dealing exclusively with Hamilton's motives and achievements in foreign affairs. Hamilton's contribution hereafter must be recognized as being twofold: "Finance Minister" and diplomatic statesman.

Bowling Green State University

ROLAND M. BAUMANN

Henry Wansey and His American Journal, 1794. Edited by DAVID JOHN JEREMY. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970. xvii, 186 p. Illustrations, map, index. \$7.00.)

In the summer of 1794 a Salisbury clothier, Henry Wansey, spent seven weeks touring the United States, concentrating his attention on Boston, Hartford, New York and Philadelphia. The journal that he subsequently published can be read with pleasure on at least three levels. One level is

established by Wansey, the English tourist, interested in "knowing something of the United States, of which we hear so much." A second level is provided by Wansey, the Nonconformist entrepreneur, the clothier intent upon evaluating the American potential for textile manufacturing, the businessman assessing the investment potential of American real estate, and the Nonconformist contemplating America as an asylum for religious dissenters. A final dimension is supplied by Wansey, the critic and scholar, offering a correction to views of America published by earlier visitors. Wansey's *Journal* was thus of value not only to the prospective English settler and speculator, but also to the English merchant curious about a growing rival. In collating the first and second English editions (1796, 1798) to produce a well-edited, readily available version of the Wansey *Journal*, Mr. Jeremy has put us all in his debt.

Employing his special training and insight into the textile trades, Wansey spent much of his time in the United States determining the status of America's inchoate textile industry. Admitting the great strides taken by American industry, impressed by the physical expansion of the young country, and cognizant of the implications of America's rapidly growing population, Wansey nonetheless concluded that American textile manufacturers would not achieve a capitalistic, industrial level, and thus become a serious competitor to English textiles, for another one hundred years. He was convinced that the American population would continue to outstrip American manufacturers' capacity to supply it, western lands would continue to entice potential labor from American mills, and the level of technological skills in the United States would remain far inferior to that found in England. These factors guaranteed that American textile production would long remain geared to the domestic market and that America would continue to be a market for, rather than a rival of, English textiles. Much of the value of Wansey's *Journal* stems from the fact that his evaluation was the only professional English commentary on the nascent American textile industry published between the American Revolution and 1812.

Wansey's *Journal*, like most works of its kind, in turn delights and frustrates. It offers numerous penetrating observations on the social, political, and economic life of early America and delightful comments on the habits of Americans in 1794. But Wansey disappoints, too. Today's historian looking for insights into the life styles of the working classes and the politically inarticulate for the most part looks in vain. Despite some noteworthy vignettes concerning working men, one learns far more about the social and economic milieu of the employers and commercial figures with whom Wansey associated by virtue of his wealth and connections than of the lower classes.

It is a tribute to Mr. Jeremy's diligence and editorial skills that his footnotes are frequently as rewarding and as entertaining as the journal itself. His short biography of Wansey in the introduction which corrects and enlarges upon earlier accounts of Wansey and his interests is a model

of its kind. *Henry Wansey and His American Journal, 1794* also includes a Wansey genealogy, thirty-four well-chosen illustrations including two portraits of Wansey, nine maps detailing Wansey's progress, and an extensive bibliography. If the binding is not as substantial as one might like, the book is certainly priced right.

University of Northern Colorado

G. S. ROWE

Bottles, Flasks and Dr. Dyott. By HELEN McKEARIN. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1970. 160 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

When Thomas W. Dyott became one of America's pioneer patent medicine vendors, he needed bottles. This led him to acquire glassworks at Kensington on the Delaware near Philadelphia. During the 1820's these works made a notable series of historical figured flasks, one of them portraying on one side Benjamin Franklin and on the other Dyott himself. During the 1830's Dyott's works became the largest glass manufacturing establishment in the nation, employing 400 workers including 130 apprentices who were ruled by a firm and ingenious moral paternalism of Dyott's devising. A flyer into banking just prior to the 1837 depression cost Dyott factory, fortune, and for a time freedom, for he was imprisoned for fraudulent bankruptcy. The two decades preceding Dyott's death in 1861 saw him return to nostrum production in company with two sons.

Partly because of his own extravagant claims, Dyott's career has posed a series of puzzling questions. Miss McKearin has found no major new sources, but by a careful analysis of newspaper references has offered some clarifying answers. She is persuasive in arguing for Dyott's arrival in Philadelphia from England or the West Indies in 1804 or 1805 instead of a decade earlier, as several historians have suggested. She is less persuasive in asserting there may have been substance behind the M.D. degree which Dyott assumed in his advertising during 1809 when he added to his marketing of nostrums the practice of treating patients afflicted with sexual weakness and venereal disease. Dyott's personality and character receive added touches of enlightenment in this book but remain enticingly elusive.

Greater emphasis on Dyott the patent medicine king would have helped the balance of this biography. But properly, Miss McKearin, a historian of American glass, focuses on Dyott's glassmaking ventures. These are seen to some degree within the perspectives of social and industrial history. The author's main concern, however, centers on the unique products from Dyott's factories which interest glass collectors. Here the text is fullest and the abundant photographs and drawings most apt in a book noteworthy for its superb design and craftsmanship.

Emory University

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

The Jacksonians Versus the Banks: Politics in the States After the Panic of 1837. By JAMES ROGER SHARP. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970. xii, 392 p. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Money forms both a dynamic element in capitalist society and a major mode of communication. Its forms and control have served as a focal point of political debate from the seventeenth century to the present day. Recent historians have compiled a brilliant series of books on Andrew Jackson's "war" with the Bank of the United States and the controversies over bonds, Greenbacks, and National Banks at mid-century. Yet little has appeared on the chaotic period between Jackson's retirement and the Civil War legislation. Because the question fell into the hands of roughly thirty district state governments, it is a complex task if indeed manageable at all.

Professor James Roger Sharp of Syracuse University deals with the importance of the bank issue in Democratic politics during the decade after the Panic of 1837. *The Jacksonians Versus the Banks* represents a synthesis of the existing state studies buttressed by three detailed case studies of Ohio, Virginia, and Mississippi. Professor Sharp argues that the Jackson party constituted a heterogeneous group before 1837. Gradually however the party took on the cast of "Agrarian radicalism," moving against the Bank of the United States in what evolved into a full-scale attack on the "increasing commercialization and vulgarization of American life." The party gradually became the representative of the lower orders of society, attacking against both aristocracy and social change which seemed to threaten their status. The more wealthy elements faltered and deserted as one measure after another struck at the source of their power. "After the Panic of 1837, although the rhetoric of the two parties sometimes obscured their real positions, it is clear that the Whigs were the champions of the banks against the 'radicalism' of the Jacksonians. Despite internal feuding, the main body of the Democratic Party supported reform of the banks and, in some cases, their destruction. The party reflected in both ethos and program, the hard-money position." Although this position was not adopted in most states, it served to make "the banks more sensitive and responsible to public needs."

Sharp is critical of the whole range of Jacksonian scholars from Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., to Lee Benson who have failed to perceive this because of their eastern orientation. Concentration upon the East where a consensus was reached early has thus obscured what Sharp believes "the most important political issues of the Jackson era and . . . crucial factors in shaping the political history of the entire nineteenth century."

When Martin Van Buren decreed that the bank issue should revert to "the proper tribunal, the states," he left historians a situation so complex that as a fraternity we should curse him down the ages. To argue as Sharp does that "it would have been virtually impossible, and needlessly repe-

titious, to have undertaken a close study of the political development of twenty-six states," raises questions about his study which he does not adequately answer.

One may challenge the degree to which his case studies can be considered representative of each section. Certainly the political history of the bank issue in Mississippi was quite different from that of Louisiana; Indiana differed drastically from Ohio; and Virginia simply does not exemplify each state from Georgia to Maine. The devotion of only thirty-five pages to the middle states and New England is unfortunate. On Pennsylvania, for example, Sharp used only one manuscript source from the state.

As Professor Sharp and anyone else who has plodded through the tedious literature on ante-bellum state banking knows, the studies which exist are generally unreliable. Professor Sharp's best chapters are the set pieces on Ohio, Mississippi, and Virginia which make up the bulk of the book. Outside these he falters, because of the low level of the studies he uses. In dealing with Indiana, for example, he follows the standard monograph by Logan Esarey—right into error. Esarey believed the free banking bill of 1851 was a Democratic measure, because a majority of Democrats in the state senate supported it. But, in fact, a majority of *both* parties favored free banking, in the house the Whigs carried. Outside the legislature Democratic editors nearly unanimously opposed the bill, while Whigs generally backed its passage. Similar errors are easy to find in the general chapters. The only way to avoid such errors would have been to do every state.

I must also dissent from Professor Sharp's emphasis on the "lower class" nature of the Democrats, and the "hards" place in a tradition of "agrarian radicalism." The latter he merely states, referring to a discredited article; the former he tries to prove statistically by rank order correlations of wealth and the Democratic vote at the county level. The problem is an old one commented upon often in the literature, namely that he uses only economic data. His own analysis indicates other factors may have been important, but only multivariant analysis can solve this problem.

Finally, Professor Sharp's argument that it was somehow more principled to be against banks than for them is unconvincing. One can hardly take seriously Sharp's contention that, "Political principles and beliefs meant more to them than they did to their contemporaries or would to most public men of later eras."

Because this is a well-done and important book on a neglected topic, I hesitate to criticize those points of difference which I have with Professor Sharp and hope my strictures do not obscure my respect for his prodigious research and basic good sense. Historians will make much use of this book even if in the end—like the reviewer—they do not accept its general characterization of the Jacksonian Democrats.

Prints in and of America to 1850. Edited by JOHN D. MORSE. (Charlottesville, Va.: Published for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur Conference Report 1970, by the University Press of Virginia, 1970. xx, 354 p. Illustrations, appendix. Paper, \$4.50.)

Each year for the past seventeen years the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum has sponsored a conference on specific aspects, or fields of study, in the American arts. The papers delivered at these meetings by scholars in their respective disciplines have been collectively but infrequently published as *Reports*, the latest of which is this significant volume. The conference committee had set ambitious goals for itself in 1970, goals which were more fully realized at the conference than is discernible in the publication of its papers alone. The workshops on print technology and terminology, the demonstrations in printing methods and paper conservation, the repartee and free exchange of ideas between scholars in a field which has known few such symposiums, and the exhibition of prints from the Winterthur collection, all gave to the meeting a coherence that is somewhat lacking in this compendium of the ten essays delivered.

The papers themselves vary considerably in subject matter and periods covered, in relevance and depth of analysis, in originality and readability. Chronologically and technologically they cover the ground from the introduction of printmaking to America in sixteenth-century Mexico, to the advent of the lithographic steam press in the Civil War era. In content and analysis they range from straightforward answers to such questions as the "Supply and Demand" of prints in Colonial America (Joan Dolmetsch); through the slightly more complicated telling of developments in "American Lithographic Technology before the Civil War" (Peter C. Marzio); to the penetrating analysis of both literary and pictorial sources contextually referred to as the "Arts of Dissent" which influenced the design of Charles Willson Peale's mezzotint of "Mr. Pitt" (Frank H. Sommer, III).

There is here no sequential unveiling of events in a story; rather, there is spotlighting, focusing, and exploring. "Sheet Music Covers in America" by Nancy R. Davison is prosaic but concentrated, while "Prints and Scientific Illustration" by Charles B. Wood, III, is somewhat apologetic but totally new. The papers collectively have raised as many questions as they have answered. They have intentionally opened several avenues for future study. How influential were landscape or scenic engravings in the development of American Art? How successful was the Art Union in its campaign to improve artistic taste in America? How important were the printmakers Amos Doolittle, John Sartain, Alexander Lawson, etc.? This is but a sampling. To the student, to the novice collector, or to the layman, all this may be somewhat disconcerting. To those knowledgeable of American prints, however, it is understandable and well founded.

No general survey of American Art published to date contains a well-

developed section on the graphic arts. Even histories of the subject itself are vastly out of date. There is an amazing gap of years between publications of note—from the monumental works of David McNeely Stauffer (1907), Mantle Fielding (1917), and I. N. Phelps Stokes (1928), to the important monographs by Clarence S. Brigham (1954), Sinclair Hamilton (1958), and Nicholas B. Wainwright (1958). Much, much more is needed. As Jonathan Fairbanks, the Conference Chairman, so pointedly accented the obvious, “more research remains to be done before a definitive book on prints made or used in America can be published”

Consequently, this publication is unquestionably a forward step in that direction. Its appendix by Wendy J. Shadwell of “Early American Print Research Resources” also provides an invaluable aid to such work. In addition, the footnoted articles contribute materials to the eventual compilation and publication of bibliographical resources. All of these efforts represent a continuum of the Winterthur Museum’s earlier initiative along the same lines, as found in their exhibit catalogues: *Philadelphia Reviewed: The Printmaker’s Record 1750–1850* (1960); and *Prints Pertaining to America* (1963). To this must be added the singularly important catalogue of the Middendorf Collection: *American Printmaking: The First 150 Years, 1670–1820* (1969).

Without question the 1970 Winterthur Conference was an eminent success, and its published papers a lasting achievement. Criticisms pale by comparison. Nevertheless, careless statements and oversights like the reference to the symbol-laden 1686 woodcut of “The Harp Player” as having been executed “just for the sport of it,” the reverse printing of the first state of the “Richard Mather” woodcut, the omission of an index in a scholarly publication, and the use of a poor grade of paper seem inexcusable for a work of such high calibre.

Independence National Historical Park

JOHN CALVIN MILLEY

Crisis Of Fear: Secession In South Carolina. By STEVEN A. CHANNING. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970. 315 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Historians in writing about the coming of the Civil War have variously stressed one or another crisis leading to the disruption of the Union and the outbreak of war. These have included a crisis of morality involving the ethics of slavery; a crisis of freedom engineered by slaveholders to curtail liberty and expand slavery; a crisis of a feudal, backward-looking society confronted by a capitalistic, progressive society; and a political crisis in which a national party failed to resolve the diverging forces pulling it apart. For some time, too, scholars have explored the potentialities of psychological states in their efforts to understand historical processes. Professor Charles Sellers, for example, has argued that a guilt crisis developed in the South; conscious of its wrongdoing and spurred by northern criticism, it

became increasingly aggressive generating tensions so great that release was sought in secession and civil war.

Professor Channing in his Allan Nevins History Prize-winning study sees fear as the prime mover of the secessionist movement. To prove his contention he concentrated on the period marked by John Brown's raid in October, 1859, and South Carolina's secession in December, 1860. As a good playwright, he has divided his narrative into three parts (acts) with three chapters (scenes) in each part. In part one, he develops the fear theme and tells how the radicals rejected co-operation with national and southern leaders in finding a mutually satisfactory solution to the slavery issue while at the same time trying, unsuccessfully, to keep South Carolina from taking the initiative in the secession movement. Co-operationism having failed by the spring of 1860, radical leaders worked to expand their intransigent stance into a strong majority position within the state. Part two covers the debate between the secessionists and unionists and the vain attempt of the pro-slavery forces to influence the Baltimore convention of the Democratic Party. Breckenridge's nomination by the pro-slavery Democrats following Douglas' nomination by the National Democrats provided the radicals with a political vehicle for campaigning for secession. In part three Channing gives us the last act of his drama. Scene one describes the contest to win support for the revolutionaries and culminates with the act of secession by the state legislature—"the politics of fear and the urge for catharsis" had triumphed over caution and the hope that the South could find safety in the Union. In scene two the author undertakes to explain how the secessionists sought to suppress underlying class and sectional antagonisms in an effort to generate an "irresistible motion toward disunion." Subordinating all lesser anxieties to the major "fear-of-insurrection-abolition syndrome," the radicals forged a "persuasion" which in the end proved victorious. In scene three Channing speaks his aside to the audience—"Secession was a revolution of passion, and the passion was fear."

In his preface the author expressed the hope that he might throw light upon neglected questions such as "Why slavery was believed to be threatened, why a different structure of race relations than enslavement of the blacks was inconceivable to most whites, what the fears and passions were which were mighty enough to drive a people to revolution . . ." (p. 6). What he has done here (and he has accomplished this task superbly) is more to document the fear of the Negro than to explain that fear. His documentation rests upon a thorough use of an impressive list of manuscript and other primary sources and he has produced a well-written and convincing narrative. But, the task of explanation remains. Why? Why did southern whites fear the blacks? It may take a historian trained to use psychoanalytical techniques or a psychoanalyst trained in the methodology of history to answer these questions.

The Siege of Charleston, 1861-1865. By E. MILBY BURTON. (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1970. xvii, 373 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$9.95.)

Charleston, South Carolina, was a sentimental symbol during the American Civil War comparable to Pearl Harbor and Corregidor during World War II, and to Lexington and Concord in 1775. For the North it was a place where an unprovoked and premeditated assault had launched four years of rebellion against the sacred Union. To southerners it was, and is, the site where the first shots were fired for the CAUSE of southern independence.

Mr. Burton builds his story of the siege of Charleston around these themes. The old South Carolina seaport is described as much more than just an important city. It was either a "Cradle of Secession" to be reduced at all costs, or a citadel of the Confederacy to be defended street by street and house by house according to the orders which General John C. Pemberton received from Robert E. Lee.

The city was besieged by Union forces almost as soon after the fall of Sumter as Mr. Lincoln's generals and admirals could organize a campaign. Orders went out as early as August, 1861, to recruit an army force in New England for an attack upon the Carolina coast, and in September Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles began to gather a formidable armada to support amphibious operations there. The long-range investment began with an attack upon Port Royal and adjacent areas in late October. This point was fifty miles from Charleston but, as Mr. Burton notes, the conclusion of these landings gave the Union control of the entire coast from Georgetown, South Carolina, to New Smyrna, Florida, with the exception of the Charleston enclave. It also provided control of most inland waterways.

The inexorable advance upon the city was at first characterized by naval blockade and bombardment, and dragged on with fluctuating fortune until, one by one, various forts and harbor islands were reduced. The author gives much space to the comparatively little-known story of the "Second Battle of Fort Sumter"—this time against Confederate defenders. It was actually a much more prolonged and far bloodier assault than that which began the Civil War in April, 1861. The first Union shells began to fall in Charleston itself on August 29, 1863, while the struggle for the harbor islands still raged. When Charleston was evacuated on February 17, 1865, a siege of 587 days had come to an end. The final capitulation was rendered certain when Sherman's invading forces from the West and South joined the vast Army and Navy assault from the seaward side. Naval forces under Admiral Dahlgren had the honor of first entering the city and establishing the occupation.

Mr. Burton details these military and naval campaigns in particularly graphic style. Notable are his discussions of all of the Sumter actions and the reduction of the harbor forts. However, some of his readers will be disappointed that certain aspects are not equally well described. There is

a natural curiosity about many things which he touches only lightly—the civilian life in a city long under siege, the growing shortage of necessities in the blockaded community, the morale of human beings not sustained by the *esprit de corps* of the military establishment, and the processes of law and government under such conditions. Mr. Burton gives us just enough of this side to arouse intense interest. One example is his story of the secret reburial of the body of John C. Calhoun in an unmarked grave because of fear of possible desecration of the remains of the South's apostle of State Sovereignty by vengeful invading federal troops (p. 182).

In the same vein one regrets that the story of Charleston under the Union occupation is covered only in an introductory fashion in the last chapter. Of course the author's stated objective is to write mainly of the military aspects of the siege, as the title of the book indicates. Yet he deals with political and social phases of his subject in such an interesting style that one is inevitably disappointed when there is not more of that side of the story. There is a desire to go to other sources for more of the nonmilitary background, so Mr. Burton must get credit for an ability to inspire a broader interest. It is hard to imagine the reader of this book not finding himself so motivated.

The author is Director of the Charleston Museum, and Chairman of the Charleston Historical Commission. He has previously published a number of books and articles which were concerned with the history and culture of his state and city. In collecting material for this volume his research was facilitated by his access to many important official archives and primary source collections. In addition he had contacts with numerous individuals who had invaluable personal contributions to make from family papers, diaries, letters, and personal recollections and reminiscences. He acknowledges these private sources in his foreword, and thus provides a valuable reference for other scholars who might contemplate writing about Charleston and South Carolina during this era.

There is a very comprehensive bibliography, a full set of notes, and a good index. Sketches, maps, and drawings are used throughout the volume, and several paintings and photographs are reproduced to give this book a very attractive general format. Mr. Burton writes in a fast moving and interesting style, and should be commended for contributing a very worthwhile addition to Civil War historiography.

Rider College

LAWRENCE EALY

The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vallandigham and the Civil War. By FRANK L. KLEMENT. (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1970. xii, 351 p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$10.50.)

During the Civil War the name of Clement Laird Vallandigham was as well known as it is forgotten today. The fiery Copperhead congressman,

whose activities inspired Edward Everett Hale to write *The Man Without a Country*, personified opposition to the Lincoln Administration's war policy, its usurpation of powers belonging to Congress and the states, and its violation of civil liberties. Because of his eloquence and his willingness to become a martyr, he became the leader of the Peace Democrats and an incessant war critic. Eventually, his antics led to his arrest and exile in 1863. However, he was able to return to the country in time to attend the 1864 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, where he helped compose the famous "peace" resolution which called for a cessation of hostilities and proposed a convention of the states. McClellan quickly disposed of this halter about his neck, and Vallandigham only reluctantly campaigned in his behalf. With the surrender of Lee, Vallandigham's predictions about the outcome of the fighting appeared to be foolish and his political power all but disappeared. Such was the penalty he paid for guessing wrong about the war and for exceeding what was then considered the proper limits of dissent.

Professor Frank L. Klement's treatment of Vallandigham is readable, fair, and well researched. He avoids the uncritical praise of his subject that marred the Reverend James Vallandigham's biography of his brother and the intemperate criticism that pervades most other studies mentioning Vallandigham. The Vallandigham who emerges in Klement's work is a realist who believes that the war is ending the chance of the Midwest to hold the balance of power in national politics. Moreover, he is a man who deliberately courts martyrdom to further his political ambitions. In the spring of 1863, Klement writes, "it seemed as if his propeace crusade might make him Ohio's most popular figure and push him toward the governor's chair. Opportunity seemed to be knocking, and a key labeled 'Peace' might unlock the door (p. 137)." Thus Vallandigham was not displeased that he was arrested, summarily tried before a military commission, and exiled to the South. "Vallandigham, in seeking arrest, had taken a calculated risk. Events of June 11 [*when he received the Democratic gubernatorial nomination*] proved that the gamble paid off (p. 173)." But if he was politically ambitious, he was also sincere in his beliefs. At no time did he commit treason; never did he abandon his hopes of restoring the Union by compromise rather than by coercion.

Readers may be surprised to learn that Vallandigham once condemned slavery as "a moral, social, and political evil" but believed that only a state could abolish this institution within its borders. Vallandigham is normally portrayed as a teetotaler, but Klement implies that on occasion he partook of wine. Klement also argues that Vallandigham left Jefferson College before his graduation not because of a dispute with the president but rather because his family was not satisfied with the quality of instruction at the school.

Since Klement's research is prodigious and since Vallandigham left no body of personal papers, it may seem unfair to offer criticism of this

biography. Nonetheless, the book does have a few minor faults. First, there is inadequate attention given to Vallandigham's pre-Civil War career. Similarly, the post Civil War chapter should have given more detail on Vallandigham's role in the 1867 election and his activities in behalf of the "New Departure" in 1871. One wishes that more were revealed about Vallandigham and the Sons of Liberty. True, the title of Klement's study announces that it will concentrate on Vallandigham the dissenter, but it is unlikely that there will be another biography of the Ohio Copperhead leader for many years to come. One final comment is not directed at Klement. It is ironic that just after this book was written, Emory University discovered eight Vallandigham letters in its Alexander Stephens correspondence; one of these, written on June 4, 1860, sheds some light on Vallandigham's feelings toward Douglas in 1860. All in all, Klement's biography is a fine addition to any Civil War bookshelf.

Emory University

ARNOLD SHANKMAN

Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man. By DAVID DONALD. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. xix, 587 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

To be genuinely enthusiastic about this biography is not to abandon the role of critical appraiser. Sound research, beautiful writing, penetrating analysis, all are present throughout. It is an exciting book in these respects and is most pleasing in general appearance and typography as well as in the useful index and lists of manuscripts cited.

Professor Donald is ever aware that he is writing biography and does not stray into lengthy and detailed presentations of background. While to the uninitiated all aspects of the historical incidents and situations referred to may not be altogether clear, Sumner's actions in relation to them is always in sharp focus. The reader follows him as he experiences the political and personal forces at work and observes his impact on them. Sumner is always in focus not only in his actions, but as much as possible in his mental processes.

The Senator from Massachusetts stands forth as a real person. He may attract or repel the reader, but in either case he appears real and is almost as understandable to us as any of our contemporaries. His egotism may antagonize or his idealism mixed with political realism arouse respect or admiration, but one feels that he has come to know Sumner as a person. Skillful presentation keeps the reader's interest high.

Trifling errors are always present, but it would be unfair to emphasize them in dealing with such an unusually fine work. Suffice it to say that such slips as a reference to Senator Jacob M. Howard of Michigan as James M. Howard (p. 92) are held to a minimum. In fact the absence of factual slips and typographical errors is remarkable as compared with other distinguished publications.

It is unnecessary in order to enjoy and appreciate this volume to have read Dr. Donald's earlier Pulitzer Prize winning biography of Sumner. It would seem desirable, however, and is recommended. That work does delineate the personality, character and events of his earlier life and in so doing makes for a better understanding of the man, his strengths, weaknesses, quirks, and attitudes. Even without the background of the first volume, enough is said or suggested in the second to make his personality and actions seem a natural development of a truly individual person.

A real contribution has been made in the emphasis on Sumner as a practical politician despite his doctrinaire postures. Both in dealing with public opinion and in the intimate influences within government circles in Washington this combination is superbly demonstrated. The power that he wielded in foreign affairs from his position as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is clearly depicted. How he was removed from this influential post after battling with the Grant Administration concerning the proposed annexation of the Dominican Republic is equally clear.

Sumner's interest and attempted influence on questions of civil rights and voting privileges rightly receive extensive treatment. Although defeated on most specific policies that he urged, it is remarkable how many of his positions were ultimately accepted. An antislavery crusader before the war years, Sumner never ceased to take ever more advanced positions in regard to rights of freedmen. His position seemed always to be taken deliberately on what he considered the highest principles while expressing little concern about specific or practical application. His influence was tremendous although he seldom won a major battle. Even when he did, the penetrating analysis of Dr. Donald shows how incapable of satisfaction or personal contentment Sumner was.

Charles Sumner is shown near the center of the national stage. His party was in power but he seemed unable to adapt to the role of a leader with real party responsibility. He continued his restless efforts toward the achievement of other goals and eventually lost the support of his former backers through unfortunate tactics and the abrasive aspects of his personality. His private life, including a late and unsuccessful marriage, is analyzed in detail as is his physical condition, his illness and death.

Altogether Professor Donald's second biographical work on Sumner which deals with his later life may be favorably compared with the notably successful first volume. The research is thorough and consistently presented in an interesting style of literary quality. Above all, the author's penetrating understanding of one of the most outstanding figures of the nineteenth century in America is shared with readers in a way that will interest both professional historians and average individuals. This combination of qualities constitutes a truly exceptional achievement.

Sovereignty and an Empty Purse: Banks and Politics in the Civil War. By BRAY HAMMOND. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970. ix, 400 p. Selected bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

One of the important publishing events of 1957 was Princeton University Press's issuing of the late Bray Hammond's *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War*. Winner of the Pulitzer Prize, it is a great book, lucidly and charmingly written, and based on research which took the major portion of its author's adult life. The serious student of banking may sometimes find it less satisfactory than parts of Fritz Redlich's *The Molding of American Banking: Men and Ideas* (vol. 2, parts 1 and 2, of *History of American Business Leaders*, Ann Arbor and New York, 1940-1951); still, *Banks and Politics*, with its broad sweep, its clear explanations of complex matters, its almost Churchillian prose, has deservedly become a classic of American historiography.

Sovereignty and an Empty Purse is a sequel to *Banks and Politics* and is Mr. Hammond's final work. It covers less than two years—from the spring of 1861 to the end of February, 1863, the time during which the United States government determined its Civil War fiscal policy. The task was complicated, for Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase knew little of the banking system, and the states were sensitive to usurpation of their rights. (As Mr. Hammond reminds us, these rights were often as jealously guarded in the North as in the Confederacy.)

Chase, a lawyer, insisted that the loans proffered by the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia banks shortly after the outbreak of hostilities be made available to the government in gold rather than in deposit credit. This followed the letter of the law, but it placed an unbearable burden on the banking system, and as money flowed from the Treasury into the economy, provided opportunity for private hoarding. As specie stocks declined and further adequate bank loans proved impossible, Congress authorized paper money issues—the famous greenbacks—and made them legal tender. This proved but a stopgap. New tax measures, including income and direct property taxes, likewise failed to produce the required sums.

While yielding to the paper money and tax measures forced on him by bankers, Congress, and the circumstances of the times, Chase continued to believe that the war should be financed through borrowing. In 1862 he proposed a system of national banks that would lend money to the government while providing a uniform national currency, of which the country was in great need. Congress gave him what he wanted in the National Currency Act of 1863, under which federally chartered banks were to invest capital in government bonds and circulate currency based on the bonds. Yet it was not this law that "saved the Secretary's administration of the Treasury, but his contract [for selling United States bonds] with Jay Cooke, who prayerfully, shrewdly, and energetically went out for the money and got it" (pp. 335-336).

Mr. Hammond maintains that had Chase, like any other borrower, been willing to accept bank loans in the form of deposits against which the Treasury could draw checks to pay its debts, the money and revenue measures of the Civil War era would have been unnecessary. But Chase's myopia and the exigencies of war brought in the legal tender and revenue acts "a radical assertion of federal powers and an unrecognized commitment of them to new and increasing uses" (p. 280). At the same time, the Currency Act once again thrust the Federal Government into banking, the control of which had gone to the states by default. Thus, the fiscal measures of the period significantly altered the relationship between the federal and state governments.

Sovereignty and an Empty Purse is essentially a legislative history of American finance for the period that it covers, but it is legislative history informed by the author's unparalleled knowledge of the circumstances from which the laws emerged. Added to Mr. Hammond's meticulous research is the dimension of experience, for his years of service with the Federal Reserve Board (of which he was Assistant Secretary at the time of his retirement) familiarized him with public policy making under conflicting pressures. Yet the book is not quite up to his earlier, prize-winning work. Although *Banks and Politics* is extensively documented, the reader feels himself in the presence of a wise, urbane, thoroughly informed authority who is beyond the need of the usual scholarly props. *Sovereignty and an Empty Purse* shows its author's dependence upon note cards, but in the lucidity of analysis and the sweep of conclusions the earlier Hammond may be glimpsed.

Indiana University

IRENE D. NEU

The Money Machines: The Breakdown and Reform of Governmental and Party Finance in the North, 1860-1920. By CLIFTON K. YEARLEY. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970. xvii, 377 p. Selected bibliography, index. \$12.00.)

Jacob Burckhardt, the prescient Swiss historian, once remarked that human turpitude was immortal. What he had in mind was the durability and universality of the appetite for power. But his generalization might also explain the low cunning displayed by Americans in evading tax burdens: a topic explored in detail by Clifton Yearley in the *Money Machines*. Focusing on the period from the Civil War to World War I, Yearley has produced a monumental study of the struggle by various pressure groups to meet the ever growing demand for government services without loading the tax burden on their respective constituencies. His theme is particularly relevant to a comprehension of contemporary urban problems, for he examines the chronic fiscal woes of northern cities with side-long glances at their

relationship to the policies of other governmental units. He also delineates the complex functions of political parties and the municipal machines, which constituted their backbone, in the protracted controversy over taxation.

No segment of the population emerges from this survey with credit except a handful of experts on public finance. The farmers and the corporations are exposed with appropriate documentation as groups determined to secure maximum immunity from taxation by legislation, pressure on assessors, and sundry other devices. Even the mugwumps and later municipal reformers receive their share of knocks. Their self-styled highmindedness dissolves under Yearley's scrutiny into querulous protests against taxation for the benefit of the growing mass of immigrants. He makes a persuasive case in contending that most strictures against corruption and most demands for efficient government were motivated by economic apprehensions rather than moral impulses.

Yearley does not squander his energies on denouncing hypocrisy. On the contrary, he operates from the tacit assumption that each group was justified from its own viewpoint, and bends over backwards to praise the generally maligned urban bosses for their sporadic efforts to extend social services.

Despite his concentration on the unedifying side of the struggle to cope with inescapable increases in the cost of municipal and state government, Yearley concludes his analysis on an optimistic note. As he sees it, behind the apparently futile clashes of pressure groups there was a slow movement from reliance on the general property tax to a more equitable system based in part on the graduated income tax. In the process, control over revenue was centralized and the mischief inherent in a mass of overlapping taxing units was abated.

For scholars interested in the more arcane aspects of municipal finance, Yearley's monograph is a mine of information. More general readers with an antipathy to such matters should not be discouraged. Their reward will come from the treatment of familiar historical movements in the context of concern about taxation. This approach adds a new and useful dimension to our knowledge of such diverse figures as Thomas C. Platt and Richard Ely. What does not emerge so clearly are the successive phases in the tax reform movement. Throughout the narrative the author is prone to double back and to compare, for example, some situation in Massachusetts in the 1890's to one in Iowa in the 1860's. It must be said in Yearley's defense that his topic invites heavy reliance on cross references. In fact, the discontinuities in the chronological presentation may be a faithful representation of the turmoil that dogged the movement rather than a defect in the author's organization. In any case, the *Money Machines* deserves a wide audience.

McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers. By HAROLD S. WILSON. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970. ix, 347 p. Bibliographical notes, index. \$10.00.)

Any historian who wishes to bring his history of the American people past 1900 is bound to take into account the famous muckraking magazine, *McClure's*, and its energetic and inventive editor. Much has been written about McClure and his multifarious ventures. (He seems to have had a new proposal working in his dreams every night.) Strangely enough he and his magazine have been given their due largely in articles or chapters of books. Louis Filler's admirable *Crusaders for American Liberalism. The Story of the Muckrakers* (1939) deals with many other editors and magazines than McClure and his journal. Not until 1963 did a full-length, thoroughly documented biography appear, written by his grandson Peter Lyon.

On first looking into Wilson's *McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers*, one is likely to ask: Was it needed, now that we have Filler and Lyon? What is there new to say? Wilson must be excused for his excursions into biography because McClure's many activities were intimately connected with his private life. He could not really take a vacation. Or rather, while he was attempting to do so, he was laying plans for his next venture.

What I find new here is the explicitness with which Wilson examines the origins of most of the now famous articles or series of articles. He is also intent on discovering just what kind of muckraker each staff member was. Their reasons for taking up the cause varied widely. Thus it is important to know what drew them to it. These two explorations—the making of the articles and the motives of the makers—are Wilson's chief contributions.

McClure was a poor boy who had to scratch for his living at Knox College in Illinois. Knox was still living in the afterglow of Abolitionism, and reforms of many kinds were preached from the college pulpit. Others besides McClure caught this fever of reform, and several of these young men eventually followed McClure into his various enterprises. By the time he graduated he had made up his mind about his life work. He had determined (in his own words) to become a "Publisher, Importer, & Dealer in Books."

Sam McClure's apprenticeship in journalism was obtained on Colonel Albert Pope's *Wheelman*, a trade journal which promoted the old "high-wheeler." But McClure had his eyes and ears open and was looking for a suitable outlet for his vaulting ambition. He noticed that the newspaper syndicate was the newest direction American journalism was taking. He resolved to organize one to compete with the one owned by Irving Bacheller. This he did, making contacts along the way with the best writers in America and soon in England, where he extended his scheme. Thus by the time he was ready to organize his magazine in 1893, he was well acquainted with the best writers on both sides of the Atlantic and had their good will, because he paid well and had opened up a new market to them.

McClure's experience with his syndicate showed him that there was a large number of readers who enjoyed the kinds of articles published in the "class" magazines which sold for more than they could pay. He would found a magazine as good in quality as the *Century* (which sold for thirty-five cents) and he would set his price as low as possible (fifteen cents). The magazine must be lively but not vulgar and it would offer articles on timely subjects, as well as fiction, biography, and travel pieces. It worked! Though *McClure's* began business in the depression year of 1893, circulation soon mounted, and the demand for fresh material kept him constantly on the search for writers who could give him what he wanted.

At first the magazine contained little that could be called "muckraking." But McClure, always in touch with his times, presently felt the great interest in political and business corruption that was sweeping the country. Other considerations helped to bring him round. Wilson believes that the success of the stories about these evils which the magazine published was an important factor—stories by Israel Zangwill, Brand Whitlock, Octave Thanet, and Josiah Flynt. McClure was particularly influenced by Hamlin Garland's "A Romance of Wall Street," which dealt with the Grant and Ward failures. "It was *McClure's* first article on the chicanery of the Market." Members of his own staff were bent on reform and helped to move him toward a preoccupation with muckraking. Thus by 1903 the magazine was fixed in the public mind as the champion of this kind of journalism.

Many of the articles on the ills of American life, both in *McClure's* and other magazines, dealt with the iniquities of the secretive trusts. McClure wanted a piece that would be a striking example of the ways they went about their devious business. He found not one but a whole series of articles on the way in his own office—Ida Tarbell's study of the development of the Standard Oil Company. She had grown up in the oil country of western Pennsylvania and knew at first hand a good deal she wrote about. She also had decided principles about how such a work should be written.

No matter how much she was revolted by the methods of the trust-builders, she was determined, so far as possible, to keep a neutral tone and let the appalling facts speak for themselves. In retrospect, she noted "We were neither apologists nor critics, only journalists intent on discovering what had gone into the making of this most perfect of all monopolies." Her research could not be challenged. It was solidly based on court cases and reports of commissions. She interviewed many actors in the drama, even some who were hostile. A great influence on her work was Henry D. Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, who also gave her considerable direct help. She refused, however, to follow him in the direction of socialism.

Miss Tarbell's kind of muckraking stemmed from her belief that the "basis of everything in business integrity is moral, not economical" and necessitates the recognition that "public interest is higher than your own." Among the muckrakers Miss Tarbell was the "main purveyor of a 'moral'

history, a contempt for crass materialistic ethics, a position which she never seems to have changed."

The attitude of Lincoln Steffens, who joined the staff in 1901, was very different. In the beginning McClure was puzzled by him but he came to admire his work and was sorry to lose him in the "great schism" of 1906. Steffens had received an excellent education in this country and in several universities abroad. He left the post of city editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* to join the McClure staff. But unlike Miss Tarbell, he was not certain what kind of writing he wished to do. He had published short stories and had made plans to write a biography of Theodore Roosevelt. McClure was at a loss to know what task to ask him to undertake. He finally sent him off on an exploring trip to various American cities in search of something the magazine should look into. He talked with all sorts of people, looking for a "lead." In St. Louis he heard hair-raising stories from Joseph W. Folk, circuit attorney for the area, who had tried almost by himself to arouse St. Louis to the pillaging and bribery that were going on there. McClure was much excited about the plan of an article on the subject and characteristically took a hand in preparing it. "Tweed Days in St. Louis" was the beginning of Steffens' famous book, *The Shame of the Cities*.

Steffens had his eyes opened by what he saw in the cities and states he wrote about. The disease was deeper and more widespread than Miss Tarbell's moral interpretation would cover. Steffens came to feel that all Americans were involved. He dedicated his work to "the accused—to all citizens of the United States" who reasoned "that it was not bad to give a bribe, but to take one." The typical American "deplores our politics and lauds our business." Yet both use similar methods. Corruption begins at the lowest level, the saloon keepers, prostitutes, ward heelers, and forms a net which draws in mayors and senators. The reform of a few wicked men will not be enough. Steffens drew nearer to socialism than any of the other muckrakers, but, as Wilson says, he was attracted "by socialism's heavenly city and not by pronouncements on class warfare."

It was not the least of McClure's achievements that he could hold together in his staff an Ida Tarbell who believed that the reform of the big malefactors might be enough and a Steffens who would vote for Debs in 1908.

Princeton University

WILLARD THORP

Last of the Steamboats: The Saga of the Wilson Line. By RICHARD V. ELLIOTT. (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1970. xii, 204 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Back in the good old days of 1926, when there were showboats on the Delaware, the Wilson Line's *City of Wilmington* and *City of Philadelphia*,

their oyster bars and candy stands wide open, made two hundred north-and-southbound sailings daily, carrying the kids of Philadelphia, Chester, and Wilmington on a nautical adventure which provided at its Riverview terminus, the bathing point closest to Philadelphia, a sand beach "just like the actual seashore."

Behind the folksy simplicity of the five-cent popcorn, and the very real recreation which went with it, was the huge enterprise about which Richard V. Elliott writes so pleasantly in *Last of the Steamboats*. Between the World Wars, the Wilson Line provided the country with its largest river fleet, consisting of passenger and freight steamers, excursion boats, auto-passenger transports and ferries.

Wilson was a maritime complex which operated on the Delaware, the Potomac and the Hudson, in Boston harbor, Chesapeake Bay, Long Island Sound and, briefly, on the coast of Florida. It promoted the Ocean Hiway to speed its five million annual passengers, but it also oversold speed. The line, founded in Wilmington in 1882 by a tugboat owner who was chief engineer at Cramp's Shipyard, was doomed when the Delaware River Bridge opened in 1951. The firm was liquidated in 1955, although a small steamboat and hydrofoil service on the Potomac and a shipyard in Wilmington continue to operate under the name.

Some Wilson Line passengers did more than eat popcorn. The author of *Last of the Steamboats* tells us that Howard Pyle wrote several of his books aboard. Mr. Elliott himself first met the Wilson Line as a young excursionist. He has chosen to tell its story in a pictorial format which mates two-column journalistic text with some 225 well-chosen illustrations, primarily vessel portraits. Fortunately, neither nostalgia for his subject, the use of all those evocative photographs, nor constant digressions which follow Wilson boats *ante* and *post* Wilson, swamp a briskly-written, easy-to-read narrative. More than this, *Last of the Steamboats* is based on sound research and, in dealing with the recent past, and with a humbler breed of vessel, is innovative maritime history for the Delaware.

The specialized and closely-knit fraternity of steamboat lovers which gathers under the banner of the Steamship Historical Society of America will recognize the value of the list of Wilson's technical "firsts" cited by Mr. Elliott and of his detailed history of Wilson vessels and many rival craft, culminating in an impressive fleet list. Others will be interested in the impact on the growth of the Delaware Valley of the Wilson ferries which during World War I made accessible the new Du Pont industrial installations on the Jersey side, and in the Wilson Line's pioneering of modern transportation techniques by providing the first ship to *store* service in the area. (With all this serious business, about which we are glad to know, it is nice to remember that Wilson preferred to be known as the nation's largest excursion line.)

Only a few small suggestions are in order. The relationship between the old Wilmington Steamboat Company of 1820 and J. Shields Wilson's iden-

tically named partnership of 1882, some sort of successor, *can* probably be established through the use of the Mercantile Agency Credit Reports and vessel registrations. John Fitch, the Delaware River's great steamboat pioneer, deserves a better portrait than that used, the only really poor picture in the book. A more graceful appearance would have been achieved by eliminating the blackest of bold type for chapter and page headings.

The maritime history of the Delaware is featured in a fine local museum but has long been neglected in print. David Budlong Tyler's *The Bay & River Delaware* (1955), a pictorial rather like Mr. Elliott's in format, is still the closest thing to such a study. Segments of the story appear in print, but infrequently. The most recent history of another nineteenth-century steamship enterprise, Leonard Alexander Swann, Jr.'s distinguished biography of *John Roach Maritime Entrepreneur*, appeared five years ago. It is interesting to contrast the international vision of John Roach with the regional interests of the Wilsons: on one side, a glorious, but so brief, operation of naval warships and oceangoing steamers; on the other, a century-long investment in river craft, ferry boats, and tugs. One is somehow left with the impression that the meek of the Delaware Valley, if they do not inherit the earth, may well inherit the water.

Villanova, Pa.

FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Volume 9, 1894-1896. ARTHUR S. LINK, Editor. JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON and DAVID W. HIRST, Associate Editors. JOHN E. LITTLE, Assistant Editor. JEAN MACLOCHLAN, Contributing Editor. M. HALSEY THOMAS, Consulting Editor. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970. xvii, 612 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

The present volume of the Wilson Papers covers his life from the opening of college at Princeton in the fall of 1894 until he sailed home from Scotland two years later, following his first trip abroad. Although this was a relatively uneventful period in his career, it was marked by a number of incidents that reveal the complexity of his character, and further illustrate his development as a scholar, faculty leader, and popular writer and lecturer. Besides a full account of his impressions of Britain, the book describes how he and Ellen built a home of their own, which entailed financial obligations that forced him to supplement his income by lecturing more extensively than ever, and writing for popular magazines. In light of the future, however, perhaps the most interesting episode was his first experience in politics.

This occurred in the winter of 1896 while Wilson was giving his annual series of lectures at Johns Hopkins. It so happened that his subject that year was local government, which proved a most timely coincidence. In the previous city elections, a coalition of Republicans and reform Democrats

had overthrown the corrupt Democratic machine and elected an independent Republican mayor and a Republican city council. But when the mayor insisted on making nonpartisan appointments, he became embroiled with the councilmen, who were determined to distribute the offices among their fellow Republicans. This caused a bitter controversy, especially when the council enacted an ordinance depriving the mayor of his power of appointment. At that very moment Wilson, whose lectures had been thrown open to the public, was sharply criticizing American municipal government for its inefficiency and lack of responsibility, very much along the lines of his former criticism of the federal system in *Congressional Government*. He soon found himself being prominently covered by a newspaper that supported the mayor, and which took pains to point out the resemblance of the views of this "specialist on municipal government" to those of the civic reformers of Baltimore. Then, immediately following a particularly flagrant act by the city council, Wilson was quoted by the newspaper as calling for a mass meeting "to utter a tremendous protest" against such blatant defiance of the will of the people. When such a meeting actually took place a few days later, attracting nearly 4,000 people, he was invited to be one of the speakers. The chief speaker of the evening, ironically enough, was Theodore Roosevelt, at that time police commissioner of New York City. Although this was the first occasion on which Wilson ever addressed a real political rally, his remarks were punctuated by frequent bursts of applause and laughter, and he had good reason to be well satisfied with his success.

There was another feature of Wilson's lectures at the Hopkins that winter that will surprise those who accept the prevalent belief that, until his difficulties arose at Princeton, he was always a staunch conservative. Among his suggestions for the reform of municipal government, he advocated the replacement of the mayor and council by a commission. Although it would become one of his main reforms as governor of New Jersey fifteen years later, the idea was generally considered radical at that time. But Wilson did not stop there. He even went so far as to advocate the municipal ownership of gas works and street railways, and to urge cities to dispense public charity to the poor. Furthermore, he had the temerity to suggest that any citizen chosen to serve on one of the various municipal boards should be compelled to do so, as in Prussia, under pain of having his tax assessment increased or even losing his franchise!

An event that had a greater effect on Wilson's immediate future was his building a house which his father, who lent generous financial assistance, referred to as "your extravagant mansion." Built in English Tudor style, half-timbered with stucco, it stands today well back from the street, in an attractively landscaped lot on Library Place, in the heart of the most fashionable section of Princeton. There was a large study for Wilson, as well as a living room, library, dining room, butler's pantry, kitchen, laundry, and porch; while upstairs, there were seven bedrooms and two baths. He had paid \$3,000 for the lot and had intended to spend no more than

\$9,000 for the house; so when he and Ellen discovered that the total cost would reach \$14,000, they were in despair and almost abandoned the project. (It is currently being offered for sale at \$140,000!) Since Wilson's salary as a professor was only \$3,500, and he received but \$500 for his annual lectures at Johns Hopkins, he was consequently obliged to depend on his writings and lectures to pay off the mortgage and support his family. Under the circumstances, he can scarcely be blamed for jumping at the chance to write six popular articles on George Washington for *Harper's Magazine*, for which he received the then princely sum of \$1,800. Otherwise, as he assured his friend J. Franklin Jameson, "You may depend upon it that it would not have occurred to my home-keeping mind to write a series for one of the vulgar-rich magazines. . . ." Yet the subject fitted in with his plan to write a "Short History of States" patterned on Green's *Short History of the English People*; besides which he hoped that *Harper's* might agree to serialize the later book too, as proved to be the case. The result was a huge popular success, both as a magazine serial and afterward as a book, but it was so badly marred by such affectations both of style and content that it is virtually unreadable today. Moreover, despite its flowery prose, its ingenuous patriotism, and its romantic illustrations by Howard Pyle, it contained practically nothing new about Washington. As the book is readily available, the editors have seen fit to omit it from the Wilson Papers.

Wilson undertook such an excessive load of lecturing and writing in order to relieve the financial pressure that it took a severe toll on his health. He became so afflicted with gastrointestinal disturbances while lecturing at the Hopkins in the winter of 1896, that his doctor urged him to take a vacation in England during the following summer. Wilson objected strenuously to leaving Ellen, who would be obliged to remain at home with the children; but when a friend of the family offered to finance the trip, she finally succeeded in persuading him to go. On the eve of sailing for Glasgow, he suffered a slight stroke that caused pain in his right arm and numbness in the fingers of his right hand. However, laughing it off as mere "writer's cramp," he went anyway. He thoroughly enjoyed the tour, mostly by bicycle, of the lovely Scottish, English, and Welsh countryside, stopping at village inns, and visiting the architectural and literary shrines that he held so dear. He taught himself to write with his left hand, and the letters he sent Ellen, giving a detailed account of his impressions and experiences, are among the most charming he ever wrote.

This volume also contains Wilson's notes for his courses at Princeton on public law and on the history of law, which represent the culmination of his work as a scholar. In fact, this was the period when he reached maturity as a college lecturer and became an acknowledged leader of the faculty. There is ample testimony to his growing stature in the reports of the varied committees on which he served; in his numerous speeches on the alumni circuit, where he was already a great favorite; and in the minutes of faculty

meetings. There are also many newspaper items describing his public lectures, as well as many of his essays and addresses printed from manuscript sources, for the editors have included not only everything of importance by and about Wilson, with the exception of his longer published works, but also much that seems rather trivial. Nevertheless, Professor Link and his colleagues are once more to be heartily congratulated for their meticulous editing of another volume in a series that is destined to become one of the monuments of American historical scholarship, and at the same time the definitive source for studying the life of one of America's greatest statesmen.

Princeton, N. J.

C. PARDEE FOULKE

Early American Silver for the Cautious Collector. By MARTHA GANDY FALES. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1970. x, 329 p. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Anyone who glances at the numerous illustrations of the many diverse forms in this volume cannot help but be impressed by the conspicuous role that articles of wrought silver played in the material culture of early British America. They were used not only in the homes of the affluent to indicate wealth and social position, but also to assist in the ritualistic and sacramental functions of church and synagogue, to convey civil authority, and to reward the famous and to commemorate the noteworthy. John Hull and Robert Sanderson, who formed a partnership in Boston by 1652, fashioned the earliest surviving colonial silver. With the subsequent increase in population and wealth, the craft grew rapidly. By the time of the Revolution, silversmiths practiced their trade from what is now Maine to Georgia. "Silver, in fact, represented," as Mrs. Fales notes, "a fine art in the new country and progressed more rapidly than the arts of architecture, painting, or sculpture."

Owing to its considerable intrinsic and symbolic value, it is not surprising that silver reflects more closely contemporary styles in the arts than other crafts. Silversmiths were responsive to changes in taste and constantly assured their public that they worked in the latest fashion. Mrs. Fales begins by broadly sketching the principle style periods from the late Renaissance through the various stages of neoclassicism with illustrations of many familiar and important pieces from a modest mid-seventeenth-century dram cup by Hull and Sanderson to a pretentious mid-nineteenth-century presentation set by Childs of Philadelphia. In discussing the sources of design, she notes that prior to the nineteenth century, except for trade cards and bill heads, the American silversmith had relatively few engraved designs to guide him. Rather, he depended to a large extent upon actual pieces of foreign silver, mainly English, to serve as models for his productions. Sculpture, ceramics, and furniture also influenced formal and decorative

usage. The apprenticeship system and the character of each locale contributed to regional preferences in design.

Mrs. Fales has shown in her writings a persistent interest in the circumstances and history involved in the making and ownership of silver. To her, and rightfully so, a piece of silver is as much a cultural document as it is an object for aesthetic appreciation and stylistic analysis. To her, silver is inseparably entwined with the history of the country, its customs and manners. It is the unravelling of these relationships which makes silver meaningful to her and which makes, in part, this volume constantly fascinating to the reader. Equally fascinating are Mrs. Fales' sections on connoisseurship, a topic all too infrequently discussed in print. She impresses upon the reader that many factors are involved in a balanced judgment concerning dating, attribution of provenance, and, most importantly, determination of authenticity and even the design of a maker's mark, for instance, can reveal much information as to the date and provenance of a piece.

Mrs. Fales has written without question the most comprehensive survey of this important subject, and she has accomplished this with ease and interest. She has admirably fulfilled her stated purpose "to present all . . . aspects with equal emphasis and to provide in one volume the most interesting and essential information concerning American silver from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century." Her volume is a most welcome addition to the literature on the subject, for it draws together a large quantity of recent and original research and illustrates a number of unpublished pieces. It replaces C. Louise Avery's *Early American Silver* (1930) and John Marshall Phillips' *American Silver* (1949) as the standard survey work. It is hoped that the title will in no way limit the reading audience, for it deserves to be read by all who have an interest in the cultural history of early America.

Colonial Williamsburg

JOHN D. DAVIS

Mennonite Attire Through Four Centuries. By MELVIN GINGERICH. (Breinigsville, Pa.: Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, 1970. 192 p. Illustrations. \$7.50.)

The latest volume of the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society (1970) presents Dr. Gingerich's study of the attire of Mennonites through four centuries, European and American. It treats of the clothes, headdress, hair styles, footwear of the "plain" Dutch who now are such a tourist attraction that Lancaster County is crowded with visitors. For four centuries the outer evidence of a plain spirit has been dress. Where Quakers and Moravians have lost both plain speech and plain dress, Mennonites have kept their bonnets and flat-brimmed hats. We should not, however,

overburden the distinction between plain and fancy as many of the so-called "fancy Dutch" were in fact pietist in spirit and tended toward being plain.

This work discusses also the reason for plain dress, the changing trends in Mennonite clothing, American standards of dress; but its heart is a topical discussion of men's clothing, women's clothing. The work concludes with illuminating appendixes on European dress regulations, on Palatine costumes, on the dress of Mennonites in South America, and on Hutterite garb.

The value of this work is in its point that the constant reality is the plain spirit, not legalist rules for dress, over which much splintering of religious organization has come. While costumes have changed through the years, the effort to keep free from prideful elegance has remained. What remained was the spirit, not the hooks and eyes over which the sect split.

The fault of this work—and this reviewer believes it is a major one—is in its structure. It calls itself a study of Mennonite dress through four centuries but it does not follow a chronological structure. Had he organized the subject by periods the work would have been clearer, especially the more than sixty illustrations which ornament the work.

Also, a deeper study of the dress regulations regarding class and "estate" in secular Europe might have illuminated the theme. Nor did the author dig deeply enough in European studies of costume, especially as revealed in seventeenth-century painting.

Still, with these faults, this work will prove valuable and useful.

Fleetwood, Pa.

JOHN JOSEPH STOUT

Descriptive Inventory of the Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia.

By JOHN DALY under the direction of ALLEN WEINBERG, City Archivist. (Philadelphia: City of Philadelphia Department of Records, 1970. x, 545 p. Indexes. \$10.00.)

In 1957 Roy F. Nichols congratulated the City of Philadelphia for being the first of the "older American cities" to publish a guide to its records. And, considering the disarray that greeted the newly-created Department of Records in 1952, the publication of that guide certainly deserved praise. The ensuing years have, however, seen remarkable improvements in the standards of stewardship in the City and County Archives, culminating in the publication of this truly impressive *Descriptive Inventory*.

The *Inventory* divides materials into four major groups: county records, city records, materials from districts and boroughs, and nonmunicipal materials. Appropriately, the records in the first two groups are further divided into sections describing executive, legislative, and judicial functions, as well as sections dealing with the records of boards and commissions.

Two features of the *Inventory* will make it invaluable to researchers. Daly has introduced each series of records with a concise historical note,

telling us when the particular body or board was created, by whom, what its responsibilities were, and when it ceased to function. The descriptions of the records themselves are equally helpful, noting what the records contain, and referring readers to similar materials. Researchers will also find the two indexes useful. The first is a chronological index which shows which materials have survived from each period of the city or county's governmental organization. The second will enable the reader to find descriptions of materials even if he does not know the proper corporate title of the body whose records he is seeking.

Only in the matter of format do I have any reservations about this guide. The volume has been issued in a loose-leaf binder to permit later additions and corrections, for which service there will be no additional charge! The promise of free additions is remarkable, but one hopes that the volume will bear up under the heavy use that it most certainly deserves to get.

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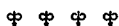
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