

BOOK REVIEWS

Paintings and Miniatures at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Revised Edition. Compiled by NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1974. xx, 334 p. Illustrations. \$20.00.)

This large and handsome volume is a greatly extended and improved edition of the catalogue published in 1942 under the direction of William Sawitzky and with much assistance from Dr. Wainwright and others. For continuity, the Sawitzky Foreword is reprinted, and much of the earlier format retained. The number of paintings described has risen from 615 to 791, the number of identified artists from 166 to 201, the historical content is far more voluminous and complete, and the number of illustrations has been quadrupled, to 240, with four (an excellent one on the jacket) in full color.

This latter feature reveals the book's dual character. It is at once a long-needed reference source on the history of art, and a presentation of all the paintings of outstanding historical and artistic value in the Society's collections. For the pictorial presentation the illustrations are grouped chronologically, "Proprietors and Governors," "The Colonial Era," "The Revolutionary Era," "The Young Republic, 1790-1820," "Years of Growth, 1820-1850," and "Second Half of the Nineteenth Century." Here we see portraits of major interest, with views and genre in every period. The text, on the other hand, goes farther to reflect distinguished holdings. Significant groups appear, notably the Society's collection of forty Sullys from all periods of his long life, of which nineteen are illustrated. There are twelve works of Thomas Birch, six important pieces by Gustavus Hesselius, twenty-four by James Reid Lambdin, thirty-four by members of the Peale clan, twenty-four landscapes and portraits of Isaac L. Williams. While no particular claim may be made for the thirty-seven by J. Augustus Beck, it is worthy of note that the Society has spread its light by placing many of its copies on long-term loan to institutions where the subjects represent historical background. Groups of family portraits bequeathed to the Society have a special interest, as does the collection received from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society in 1923. Miniatures, a private art which can best be studied where numbers are assembled, are here in 106 examples.

In the text, portraits are entered alphabetically by subject, and "Other Subjects" by artist. There is an "Index of Artists," with biographical

sketches. The core of the whole work is its meticulous descriptive detail, all precisely documented. The frequent "Notes" give fact, past errors, and points of doubt yet to be explored—briefly, or at length, as with the portraits of the Penns, of Washington or of Wayne. Treated with a fine impartiality are all those curious minor works which give institutions such as ours an antic, attic charm—Sally Wistar's "British Grenadier," for instance, or "Karl Theodore, Elector of Bavaria" (formerly identified as Count Rumford).

So much sound scholarship clamors for fuller coverage. Generously illustrated as it is, many would be happier with reproductions of everything, however small. Following the earlier edition, the text fails to tell us which pictures are illustrated, and where—a lack the reader can supply with pen or pencil. In the next edition, sculpture could well be included. This great accomplishment points up our need for more of the same, and for union lists matching what has been done in librarianship. Built as it is on the past, and looking to the future, this book does honor to the Society in its 150th year.

Dickinson College

CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS

England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620. By David Quinn (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974. xxiv, 497, xviii p. Maps, index. \$15.00.)

David Quinn is Professor of History at the University of Liverpool; he is also, *pace* Admiral Morison, the world's greatest authority on the early exploration and settlement of the Atlantic littoral by Englishmen. He has been at the game for nearly forty years now; not only has he written several definitive books on the subject, but he has had research fellowships at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, and the University of Delaware. He has also explored every bay, estuary, river, creek, beach, and marsh from Cape Race to Cape Fear by every known means of transport, from a canoe to a hydrofoil. He also happens to be a close friend of the present reviewer, and has visited the Historical Society on several occasions. This book is therefore the distillate of a lifetime's research and study.

Although it is an oft-told story, Professor Quinn tells it with all the expertise of a great authority, adding as well several supernumerary chapters of quite new material. He is skeptical about the Vinland Map (the book went to press before the map was proved spurious), but he accepts the Day Letter (the letter from John Day of Bristol to Christopher Columbus, recently discovered in the Simancas Archives in Spain), which indicates that Bristol seamen had reached North America about 1480. From then on, the narrative is familiar; the Cabot voyages, the grace of shadowy ventures in Henry VIII's reign, and of course the Elizabethan

experiments. Of particular interest are the chapters "Sailors and the Sea in Elizabethan England" and "England and the St. Lawrence, 1577-1602," which last records many hitherto obscure ventures, proving that the lands to the west of the Grand Banks were well known to fishermen in Elizabeth's time. The passages on the projected Catholic settlements in America also cover fresh ground, while the story of the Roanoke colony is told fully and vividly. There is a surprising passage (from the Hatfield MSS), telling of a party of American Indians in London in 1603, instructing the Thames watermen in the art of paddling a canoe; it must have been a bizarre sight indeed, which Shakespeare himself might well have witnessed.

A splendid book, in fact highly important and extremely interesting, veritably "a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner."

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

BOIES PENROSE

Black Majority. Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion. By PETER H. WOOD. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974. xxiv, 346 p. Appendixes, bibliographical note, index. \$10.00.)

This excellent study examines the history of African and Afro-American peoples in South Carolina from its founding until 1739, when a major slave outbreak occurred. Its subject matter, then, is limited to the approximate span of a person's life; further, in 1708 there were fewer than 10,000 people in South Carolina—of whom some 4,000 were black—while in 1740, there were perhaps 60,000 inhabitants, of whom some 40,000 were black. Thus, both in terms of time-span and numbers of people involved, this generously proportioned volume conveys a sense of thoroughness as well as careful thought.

An important strength of the book, also, is the fact that while its major subject is the black people, those who were white and Indian also are presented as is the history of the colony as a whole, both in its relationship with England and with the British West Indies.

The special quality of Wood's volume is its depiction of the black people as *people*, with their own aspirations, irritations, variations, and their own significant backgrounds, including different sections of Africa and also islands in the Caribbean. This allows the author to make important contributions in terms of medicine, language, religion, and economic activities, especially in regard to the African influences in all these areas.

Wood's study persuaded him, as he writes in his introduction, that "the role of the black majority was major rather than minor, active rather than

passive." He adds: "Negro slaves played a significant and often determinative part in the evolution of the colony."

The body of the text proves this. Wood's book emphasizes the varied industrial skills and capacities of the black slaves, their efforts at self-affirmation, their significant restiveness and frequent displays of outright rebelliousness, and the great fear of and elaborate precautions against slave unrest taken by the master class. Once again, the view of slavery associated in the past with U. B. Phillips and in our own period with Stanley Elkins and most recently with Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, receives heavy blows.

A few sources unmentioned by the author would have strengthened his presentation. These include the well-known recollection of Africanisms offered by the late Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the important work by the late James Hugo Johnston on a comparable subject in Virginia, the studies of fugitive slaves and black-Indian relationships produced by Professor Kenneth W. Porter, and this reviewer's work on maroons within the present limits of the United States. On the whole, however, Wood shows excellent mastery of the literature in the field, and his book manifests considerable and fruitful work in the sources.

As a book in itself, this is excellent. As a first book by a scholar just reaching his thirtieth year, it is a remarkable work, offering great promise for the historical profession.

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HERBERT APTHEKER

British Drums on the Southern Frontier: The Military Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1749. By LARRY E. IVERS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974. xiii, 274 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$12.50.)

England's last and poorest colony in America was founded by a circle of parliamentary reformers and church missionaries who justified their petition to the Crown for a grant with many popular but contradictory notions about colonization: the new colony would become a defense for Carolina against her Spanish and Indian enemies in Florida; England's poor and Europe's persecuted Protestants could find refuge there; the place would become a buyer's market for raw materials and a seller's market for manufactured goods. In 1732, George II, convinced that the venture would be good politics as well as good works, granted the unsettled but disputed land between English Carolina and Spanish Florida to a group of trustees for twenty-one years and gave it the benefit of his name, Georgia. This remote outpost was launched by the most elaborate promotional campaign in early American history, so that the colonists were

inevitably disappointed to find themselves in a lonely wilderness, burdened with elaborate restrictions and diverted with military duty from building up the colony. Perhaps 6,000 people came to Georgia during the 1730s, but by 1743 all but 1,000 had deserted the place. In 1752 the trustees of Georgia surrendered their charter to the King. Georgia simply could not be—to use the colonial promoters' own slogans—both a Garden of Eden and the Gibraltar of America.

Larry E. Ivers' admirable and conscientious book gives us a close look at the excursions and alarms which took place at the southern frontier of Georgia. The book was undertaken by the author because he had experienced firsthand in Vietnam "the boredom of frontier garrison life, the discomfort of patrolling under a hot sun in an open paddled boat, the exhaustion of marching in enemy country with a stomach full of ambush fear, the excitement of a brief clash and victory, the loss of morale during a retreat, and the dismay of viewing the remains of a friendly fort destroyed." The author does succeed in making what might have been a tedious chronology of daily events into an interesting narrative. He has written for the most part from standard works, articles, and printed sources which are well known, but his careful use of military records, slighted by social historians, gives his book a most satisfying grasp of details and specifics.

But the book suffers badly from the author's myopic military vision, and he seldom raises his head out of the trenches. We are left with no explanation of the war whose tedious daily life he describes so carefully. Why are Spain and England fighting for this rather undesirable piece of deserted wilderness? Sir Robert Walpole is mentioned only once in passing, though he was the pre-eminent politician of the era and one who was actually thinking about returning Georgia to make peace with Spain. The fragile political and economic worries of the Georgia trustees in London, who were financing Georgia's early military expeditions and who were effectively waging their own little war between 1733-1735, are overlooked. General Oglethorpe's relationships with the trustees, who distrusted him after his second trip to Georgia, and with the civilian officials at Savannah, who caused him so much distraction, are not discussed. The homefront at Savannah, where people were leaderless, alarmed, and fleeing Georgia by the hundreds, is another missing element. Indeed, this book's narrative takes place in a vacuum and tells us very, very little about Georgia. The book has been illustrated with artist's renderings of military uniforms and equipment. The publisher and author overlooked an opportunity to use instead superb maps and fortification plans from the Public Record Office, the real thing instead of a mediocre substitute. In short, this is a good book which could have been so much better.

At the end of his book, Ivers concludes that, by the end of the 1740s, "only Savannah, Augusta and Darien survived. The military no longer served as Georgia's principal industry . . . and Georgia became a military

backwater." This suggests a fundamental misunderstanding of the effect of military life on colonial Georgia, where martial duties and fears and prescriptions prevented the prosperity of the place. The military establishment in Georgia was not a contribution to the colony's economy, but a drain on its economic life; after the 1740s Georgia was, indeed, a "backwater," not because the military had finally left, but because there had been so many wars for so many years; and after 1752, under the Royal Governors' administration and without military problems, Georgia did finally enter a prosperous era.

Savannah, Ga.

MILLS LANE IV

The Price of Independence: A Realistic View of the American Revolution.

By BROADUS MITCHELL. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. x, 374 p. Bibliography, index. \$9.50.)

During this bicentennial era we ought to expect that a great many books on the American Revolution will be published, some scholarly, some popular, and some both. It is difficult to gauge the group for whom this study was written. It was clearly not done for Mitchell's professional colleagues, for there is nothing in it that they didn't already know or couldn't quickly find out elsewhere. The publisher is a university press and not one from whom one expects this sort of popularization of history, nor does the author's style, quite wooden at many places, especially at the beginning, indicate that its audience was seen as a popular one. Mitchell promises to tell the story of the other, less glorious, side of the War for Independence and he makes good on his promise. The chapters cover a broad range of topics from the earliest engagements in the colonies to the making of peace in Paris. One unifying theme is Mitchell's admiration of Washington who becomes the hero of the piece, rising above petty bickering, political meddling, insubordinate subordinates, and the rest, to carry it off with a great amount of help from at home and abroad. Mitchell wants to portray a realistic view and he does so in a series of topical non-chronological chapters that treat such matters as Congress, the invasion of Quebec, Loyalists, wounded and diseased troops, prisoners of war, General Charles Lee on whom Mitchell comes down hard, inflation, Valley Forge, mutiny, treason and much else. These stories are told with a great amount of personal detail on the participants, lots of facts and figures, and a good amount of quotation from those who were there. Mitchell does not pull any punches in his telling of the story as he sees it.

The work has no notes at the bottom of the page, nor at the end of each chapter, nor anywhere else. Instead, Mitchell offers a "Selected Bibliography," oddly subtitled "American Archives," of about a hundred and sixty items that include a mere half-dozen imprints of the period,

English or American, virtually no mention of any work published in the seventies, and just a couple of dozen titles of works written since the Second World War. One looks in vain for the standard and the recent names: Gipson, Shy, Wood, Shipton, Bailyn, East, Greene, Lemisch, Boorstin, Zobel, Labaree and scores of others. None of the journals are here. Except for an occasional published diary or journal, there is no evidence of manuscript research, and there is no sign of newspapers. Based on this, the book is instead a synthesis of some secondary works heavy on medicine, prisons, Generals Sullivan and Wayne, and other specialties.

The index is scant at best and given over almost entirely to proper names. The level of proofreading does not inspire confidence, as Dr. Waldo's first name is Albigence in the index, Albigence in the bibliography, and it is not given in the text. In the Foreword the word patriots is spelled partiots and this careless proofreading continues. Mitchell also does not resolve the question of modernization of spelling in his text, depending instead upon whether his published sources had been modernized. In the short chapter on Burgoyne's capitulation, Mitchell retains the awkward literal rendition of the word honorable on p. 243 and the word would on p. 251 where in other places in the book these contractions are spelled out in quotations.

Physically the book is sound enough for library use. Smyth-sewn signatures in a binding with headbands and stamped buckram over boards is perfectly in order, but the page design has introduced extraordinarily generous bottom margins. At a minimum this book should have had at least one map, and Oxford University Press surely could have found a moderately appropriate one somewhere in their files. Except for a head-piece that leads each chapter, there are no illustrations. The bicentennial is a grand opportunity for good sound popular treatments. Here the opportunity was missed.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

JAMES E. MOONEY

Sea of Glory: The Continental Navy Fights for Independence 1775-1783.
By NATHAN MILLER. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc.,
1974. xi, 558 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

A one-volume history of the Continental Navy has long been needed. Unfortunately *Sea of Glory* by Nathan Miller falls somewhat short of being a definitive study of this subject.

The major criticism of this book is that Mr. Miller has ignored the many valuable manuscript collections in American and English repositories. His bibliography lists printed sources and secondary works only. These latter studies are invaluable but should be supplemented by manuscript material.

Mr. Miller mentions in his preface that documentary evidence exists for every statement of fact. I do not question this statement but suggest that a more critical analysis of those sources quoted would have omitted many of the errors of detail noted. Comments in this category will, because of space limitations, be directed to the actions on the Delaware River.

Fort or Mud Island is mentioned as being renamed Liberty Island. In the excitement of the impending adoption of the Declaration of Independence, unofficially a number of politicians and state naval officers used this designation in their correspondence and ration orders. However, the use of Liberty Island disappears in mid-August, 1776. Later in the narrative Mr. Miller refers to this island as Port Island.

In the defense of the river and the *chevaux-de-frise*, emphasis is placed on the sailing elements of the American fleet. These ships, principally of the Continental establishment, were considered ill-suited for the river defense. Difficult to maneuver about the river obstructions and outgunned by the heavier British ships, they were rarely used during October and November, 1777. On the other hand, the ability of the galleys to maneuver around and over the obstructions and approach close to the frigates and 64-gun ships, made them ideal to harass the efforts of the British to remove the *chevaux-de-frise*. In close, the British ships had difficulty depressing their heavy cannon to hit the small wasp-like galleys. The fire rafts were not a deterrent to the British. In fact, these rafts were linked in chains of six rafts each and were 260 to 280 feet in length, cumbersome and difficult to operate. They were used once with disastrous results.

The description of the assault on Fort Mercer mentions the attack on the abandoned section of the Fort and another column under von Donop as striking the redoubt (Fort Mercer was little more than a redoubt) itself. Actually there were three columns in motion, the first, von Linsing's Grenadiers, attacked the south wall, hoping to breach the main gate. They were repulsed and in headlong flight before von Minnigerode's Grenadiers scaled the wall and entered the north section of the abandoned area. Simultaneously, von Mirbach's Infantry regiment, with von Donop, attacked the same area from the east. The two columns merging, they attempted to break through the abatis and scale the north wall of the fort, but were repulsed with heavy losses. In connection with this assault, elements of the British fleet attempted to move into position to assist von Donop. Unsuccessful before night ended the action on October 22, one 64-gun ship, the *Augusta*, went aground on a sand bar. Miller states that the *Augusta* was stripped to permit a closer approach to Fort Mercer. The *Augusta* was not stripped, as a matter of fact, a ship of this size could not have been lightened sufficiently to carry it over the then existing sand bar or through the *chevaux-de-frise*.

Mention is made of a Major André-Arsene de Rosset, a French engineer officer, who, although wounded, remained in Fort Mifflin throughout the siege. This description fits Major Francois Louis de Fleury, the only

French engineer officer in the garrison. He was wounded and left with the last contingent. The only other foreign officer who served in the fort was the Baron d'Arendt who was commander, but left the garrison shortly after the attack of October 22 and 23 due to ill health. The casual allusion to Hazelwood's mishandling of the fleet reflects little knowledge of the problems of the river defense.

The Appendix notes two xebecs loaned by the Pennsylvania Navy to the Continental fleet. Actually, these boats were never a part of the state navy.

The inclusion of certain material not necessarily germane to this study was also noted. An example is a seven-page quotation from John Masefield's *Life in Nelson's Time*, describing the life of a British sailor in the 1790's, a readable and interesting description but its relevancy to the Continental seamen of the 1770's is doubtful.

Flourtown, Pa.

JOHN W. JACKSON

The Struggle for Neutrality: Franco-American Diplomacy During the Federalist Era. By ALBERT HALL BOWMAN. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974. xvii, 460 p. Notes on sources, index. \$13.50.)

The foreign relations of the United States during the "Federalist Era" have long been a subject of attraction to American historians. This stems in part from the fact that the nation under its new Constitution had its first testing in the decade of 1790-1800 during a period of global and ideological warfare that inevitably affected the interests and sympathies of the United States. Through endless re-examination and reiterated reference to them, the principles and policies developed at the time have exercised a continuing influence on subsequent American foreign policy and diplomacy. Interest has been further stimulated by concern with the experience of the "founding fathers," all of whom were in some way involved in the conduct of foreign affairs. As more papers are made available and more biographies published, so, apace with them, come new interpretations and fresh studies of foreign affairs. Bowman's book is among the recent additions to the already bulging shelf.

Though focussed primarily on relations with France, this study deals also with England and the lesser powers, since the several strands are inseparable during the period under examination. The author conducts a sober and careful investigation, utilizing the now familiar sources, but, as he points out, has "exploited the French archival sources more systematically" than have many of his predecessors. One of his purposes is "to give equal attention to the French side of the Franco-American equation and to balance traditional American views with the French ones." The equation is an intricate one, often confusing even to the most avid students of the period. The rapidly evolving situation in Revolutionary France created a lack of synchronization, inherent in the slow transatlantic com-

munications of the time, between the policy-makers at home and their diplomatic representatives abroad. Among the more obvious examples of this time lag are the arrival in America of the French minister Genêt at a time when the Girondist-controlled government he represented had already been ousted from power, Gouverneur Morris' assumption of his duties as United States Minister in Paris during the final months of the monarchy, and James Monroe's arrival on the scene shortly after Robespierre's downfall. Bowman, with the advantage of the historian's hindsight and thanks to a well-constructed narrative, manages to keep both Philadelphia and Paris within the line of vision and, as added assistance to the reader, provides a convenient chronology of events.

Since Bowman's approach is that of the foreign affairs analyst writing for other analysts, less specialized readers may find the book a bit lifeless. He devotes relatively little attention to such factors as the public mood and the "background music" in the two countries. He does however include brief characterizations of the personalities involved, with comments on their social and intellectual background, especially on the American side, but is less curious when evoking the French who, except for the more conspicuous figures, remain little more than names. Despite political upheavals at the top, there were in the lower echelons of the French foreign service many persons associated with American affairs over a long period. Among the names recurring in Bowman's narrative, are, for example, Louis-Guillaume Otto, who was in Philadelphia as legation secretary as early as 1780, or "old" Létombe (as he was described in 1799), who first came to America as consul in Boston in 1781. These old American hands—the relatively obscure career civil servants, bureaucrats, and analysts, about whom one would like to know more—played a considerable role in the evolution of Franco-American relations and had few counterparts in America, where there was as yet no long-established department of foreign affairs.

Bowman's analysis of Franco-American diplomacy, beginning with Jefferson's term as Secretary of State (1790-1793), traces in detail the gradual shuffling off of the 1778 Treaty, the crisis and quasi-war provoked by the Jay Treaty of 1795, and then the slow and hazardous progress toward the reconciliation consecrated by the Convention of 1800 ("rivaled only by the peace treaty with England of 1783 as the most fortunate peace settlement ever negotiated by the United States"). In the course of his discussion Bowman stresses the significance of the Tonnage Act of 1789 ("the first of a series of measures tending to tear away the bonds linking the United States with France and to orient it towards closer relations with Great Britain"), points out the crucial importance of the "free ships make free goods" principle throughout the struggle for neutrality, comments on the intemperate role of such Federalists as Oliver Wolcott and Timothy Pickering ("ruled by his hatreds" and "incapable of playing a diplomatic role"), and pays tribute to the "courageous initiative"

of John Adams and the "genuine statesmanship" of Talleyrand in "cheating the High Federalists of their French War."

The Convention of 1800—the terminal point of Bowman's book—coincided with Washington's death (adroitly exploited by Bonaparte) and with Jefferson's accession to the presidency. Franco-American relations had come full circle. Jefferson as President had to start again where he had begun as Secretary of State a decade earlier. The same issues and many of the same persons were to be involved in the continuing story. With his firm grasp of the subject, it is to be hoped that Bowman will write the sequel in a companion volume carrying his analysis of Franco-American diplomacy through 1815 and the restoration of the Bourbons.

Brattleboro, Vt.

HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861. By THOMAS D. MORRIS. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. xii, 253 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

From the time of the American Revolution to the Civil War, northern states which had abolished or precluded slavery from their jurisdictions faced the twin problems of providing legal protection to their free black inhabitants and questions relating to the status of transient slaves or fugitives from slavery. That blacks were free unless proved to be slave was a basic assumption of most northern laws. In the South, laws were based on the opposite assumption, that blacks were slaves unless clearly proved to be free. A universal belief in state sovereignty, along with a provision in the Federal Constitution of 1787 protecting the rights of slaveholders whose property had run away complicated the issue. *Free Men All* examines the legislation of northern states designed at first to protect free blacks and, by the time of the Civil War, to nullify the federal law providing for the return of fugitive slaves to slavery.

Most early personal liberty laws in the North resulted from pressure by antislavery reformers. Foremost among their objectives was their effort to protect free black people from being kidnapped and illegally enslaved. The legislators assumed that southern slaveholders had a constitutionally protected right to their "property" in human form. When northern citizens became increasingly disturbed over the demands and acts of what they termed the "slave power," they paid closer heed to the words of the abolitionists, and eventually repudiated the right of southern owners to recapture slaves. The later personal liberty laws were in part a response to southern aggressive demands after the Mexican War. It is a thesis of this book that the personal liberty laws were a significant extra-territorial attack on the institution of slavery itself, similar to the northern doctrine of free soil. Both posed serious threats to slavery and in turn to

the slave power, though less attention has been given the northern laws in this context. Calling attention to their role in the sectional dispute is a contribution of the study.

The story of the personal liberty laws confirms the cautiousness with which northern states confronted slavery, even when it encroached on what was indisputably free soil. Only a few of the laws were clearly in conflict with the constitutional clause regarding fugitive slaves. At the onset of the Civil War the extreme Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 still had its supporters in all of the northern legislatures. While spokesmen for the South lamented the effect of these laws, abolitionists exposed them for their inadequacy. Public response to the unpopular Kansas-Nebraska Law of 1854 and to a series of incidents involving the return or attempted return of fugitive slaves forced the legislators to act. Popular sentiment was considerably ahead of that of elected officials.

Free Men All does not paint the whole picture of the personal liberty laws, for the author has chosen to treat legislation in only five northern states: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Wisconsin and Ohio. These are depicted as representative states and the reason given for restricting the study is to avoid repetition. The book also concentrates on the debates on the issues relating to the laws, with less attention given to the social and political environment from which the legislation emerged. The emphasis is legal and many of the sources used are legislative materials along with some personal manuscripts, newspapers, and published source material. An appendix provides a complete checklist of the personal liberty laws in all the northern states.

This is an excellent study for those seeking information on the passage of the personal liberty laws in the states covered. It provides a balanced account of the role such legislation played in the sectional struggle, and the possibilities it offered for coping with the slave question through legal action rather than civil war. A twenty-six page bibliography adds to its usefulness.

Wilmington College

LARRY GARA

Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860. By RUSSEL BLAINE NYE. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974. xiv, 432 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860 brings to twenty-eight the number of volumes now available of the projected forty-odd volumes of the New American Nation Series being edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. Russel B. Nye's earlier contribution to the series, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830*, described the impact of European ideas, especially those of the Enlightenment, upon American society. His new work traces the continued interaction of European and

particularly British patterns of thought and action upon American life. He defines cultural history as "chiefly the development of key American ideas and institutions, that is, of those ways of thinking and acting . . . held in common by members of a society" (p. xiii).

Nye readily notes that "the complex, fugitive thing called American culture cannot be captured and explained in one book" (p. xiii). Certain areas are not explored, such as business, law, and family life. However, he does deal with reform movements, history, literature, music, oratory, theatre, drama, painting, architecture, sculpture, racial minorities, philosophy, religion, science, journalism and education. He places his examination of American life within what he calls "the frame of American belief." He sees as the major elements in this structure the idea of nationalism, the sense of mission, Romanticism, and the certainty of progress, the mid-nineteenth-century evolution of which he integrates with the ideology and practice he covered in his earlier volume. Although his approach is basically ideological he gives full credit and adequate coverage to the technological base provided by the maturing Industrial Revolution.

Distinguished Professor of English at Michigan State University, Nye has studied the period 1830-1860 both extensively and intensively in his chosen topic areas and has ably summarized and incorporated in his text the contributions of leading scholars in the field. His annotated bibliographical references in topical footnotes and the general Bibliography constitute a valuable guide to the scholarship of the period. Unfortunately, though the footnotes are helpfully placed at the bottom of the appropriate pages and the topical bibliographies presented therein are excellent, Nye has used what seems to be a haphazard method of referencing. Some paragraphs contain many quotations without any references at all. Sometimes Nye gives a reference for several quotations to an entire chapter in a secondary source or even an entire work, without page references. At other times the more usual, standard reference method is used, each quotation being duly identified by reference to source and page.

Faulty editing may be responsible for a seeming contradiction in Nye's treatment of the African element in American Negro culture. On page 230 he states, as earlier white American scholars believed, "Black culture was essentially American culture, for most African elements brought to American shores were soon eliminated by slavery." But on pages 233 to 235 he describes the persistence of African elements, the viewpoint of today's black history experts. ("Slaves brought from Africa a strong folktale tradition, including fables, jests, quests, history, legends, and so on. . . . The African's religious art came with him to America. . . . The slave brought with him . . . a well-developed musical tradition, both vocal and instrumental. . . .") Many now contend, as Nye notes specifically about music, that the richness of African culture survived but was simply not perceived by white Americans.

Society and Culture in America is strongest in the chapters on the fine

and applied arts. In his chapter on religion, "The Life of the Soul," Nye tends to use the word "religion" interchangeably with "Protestantism." His treatment of Catholicism and Judaism is scanty. Chapter 2, "The Thrust of Reform," begins with a generalization that is simply too whopping: "The American of the early nineteenth century faced the future with magnificent self-assurance." Finally, since each volume of the New American Nation Series is intended to be complete in itself, a summary chapter would have been in order. The book ends with a chapter on education, which cuts the reader off in mid-air on the last page.

Nye's thoughtful survey of major American ideas and behavior patterns in the period 1830-1860, together with his extensive bibliography of current books and articles, should prove stimulating and helpful to the general reader and beginning scholar. The specialist will find *Society and Culture in America* a useful compendium for ready reference.

Lebanon Valley College

ELIZABETH M. GEFFEN

Wilmington, Delaware: Portrait of an Industrial City, 1830-1910. By CAROL E. HOFFECKER. (Charlottesville: Published for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation by the University Press of Virginia, 1974. xvi, 187 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

It is stated in the preface to this book that "the study of the dynamic elements that have shaped urban growth will help to inform present-day discussion of how to reinvigorate American cities." This turns out to be a rather gratuitous assertion. The author does not pursue it, and her account of the evolution of Wilmington does not demonstrate implicitly that urban history has any such instrumental value. Whether or not urban history has any relation to problem-solving is an interesting issue, but historians might as well refrain from contending that it does until they can show why or how. At present, there does not seem to be much linkage between urban history and urban prospects.

As an example of urban history, this study of Wilmington is informative without being innovative in theory or methodology. The author covers conventional economic and social themes—changing economic structure and labor force composition, social and recreational institutions, governmental organization and functions. The general thesis, that "size, rate of growth, and economic conditions were the most significant factors in the framework of a city's social system," is hardly a revelation; but the description of the nature of the economic changes and their ramifications is useful. The small craft, grain-processing economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as the post-1900 domination by chemical firms, are covered briefly. The main emphasis falls upon the classic industrial economy of the nineteenth century: railroad-car construction, shipbuilding, leather goods, iron and steel.

In dealing with the social system produced by this industrial pattern,

the author stresses the significance of a nonabsentee elite. Social stability and the creation of new social institutions were controlled by the emergence of an upper-middle-class elite of industrialists and professionals who resided in the city. This led, presumably, to a "great stake in making certain that their community was sufficiently well governed to draw customers, workers, and new industry to their city." In contrast to historians and others who have emphasized the disruptive effects of industrialization and urbanization, the author stresses the elements of community stability and cohesion. Since the study is self-contained and noncomparative, however, it is difficult to generalize about these themes, particularly the significance of residential as opposed to absentee elites in relation to community size, economic mix, and labor force composition.

This account of Wilmington includes many photographs. Illustrative rather than documentary in nature (they are not systematically integrated with the text), the photographs almost comprise a book within a book—a kind of pictorial essay on the economic and social life of a nineteenth century American city.

University of Pittsburgh

ROY LUBOVE

The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863. By ADRIAN COOK. (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1974. xii, 323 p. Appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$14.50.)

Adrian Cook has given us as complete an account as we are likely to require of the devastating New York City draft riots of 1863. His book's introductory chapters depict New York in the 1860s and recount the riotous tendencies of the city's population in the period 1834-1874. Next Cook fills over one hundred pages with a detailed account of the events of July 11 through July 16, 1863, a chronicle of viciousness and mayhem seldom, if ever, rivaled in the history of our bloodstained cities. A penultimate chapter surveys the aftermath of the riots: partial restitution to the victims, too rare and too lenient punishment for the criminal participants, a modest boost for Confederate morale and a sharp decline in the black population of New York City.

Historians of the Civil War period and of American violence will be most interested in Cook's final chapter. Here, Cook furnishes the best data yet available on the numbers and characteristics of the victims and participants. Historians heretofore have indulged in sheer guesswork in discussing the death toll of the riots (a recent text glibly counts "some 1,200" corpses). Cook, using official records, and scouring newspaper accounts as well, can find no more than 105 people who lost their lives as a result of the riots, 119 people if every doubtful and peripheral case is included. Those who argue for a much higher toll must take refuge in the clandestine burial argument, the implausibilities of which Cook is quick to demonstrate.

Cook has engaged in laborious original research among the police and court records in the New York City archives, enabling him to generalize about the rioters. They were, he maintains, "a fair cross-section of New York's younger male working class." Most came from the uptown wards (between Fourteenth and Fortieth Streets); an "overwhelming percentage" were Irish by birth or ancestry; most were under thirty years of age; two-thirds were unskilled laborers or factory workers; few had criminal records.

These generalizations, however, are valid only to the extent that Cook's list of known "hard-core" rioters (Appendix 4), culled from arrest records and lists of those killed or wounded in the riots, is a representative sample of all the rioters. There is little reason to believe that the police arrested a random sample of the trouble makers, even though, as Cook points out, most arrests were made after the violence subsided and were based on solid evidence. Cook's inclusion of some of the dead and wounded hardly improves the representativeness of his list. Worse, it raises the possibility that the list includes names of persons who were not rioters at all. In this category, many readers will agree, belong two little girls, ages ten and eleven, whom Cook calls "hard-core rioters" because "the evidence seems to show that they were in the streets, some way from their homes" when they were shot to death. Cook's list of rioters, then, must be accepted for what it is, and no more. It is a list of people, most of whom took some part in the riots. Generalizations drawn from it do not describe the rioters in general.

More secure are Cook's generalizations about the riots themselves. The violence, he says, was "fundamentally an insurrection of anarchy, an outburst against any kind of governmental control by the people near the bottom of society. The temporary powerlessness of the authorities released a flood of violence and resentment that was usually kept repressed." Opposition to the draft and to the war itself was only one impetus to the destruction. Hatred of blacks (though not, Cook insists, founded upon fears of competition for jobs) goaded the rioters to their most bestial cruelty. Personal vendettas, opportunities for theft, hints of class hatred and even incipient Luddite fears provided the motivation for other riotous activity.

In his "Acknowledgements" section, Cook worries that much of his book "reads like a blood-and-thunder penny dreadful." Bloody, thunderous and dreadful his account may be, but there is nothing cheap or sensational in his writing. Cook's prose is measured and lucid. His organizational ability is sufficient to give order and comprehensibility to a tumult of activity. His notes (in the rear of the book) are copious and complete. The publisher is to be commended for the handsome format of the book, but condemned for failure to include adequate maps.

American Habitat: A Historical Perspective. Edited by BARBARA GUTMANN ROSENKRANTZ and WILLIAM A. KOELSCH. (New York: The Free Press, 1973. x, 372 p. Illustrations, index. \$10.00.)

In the final chapter of *American Habitat*, Barbara Rosenkrantz and William Koelsch clearly identify America's often shallow approach to its environmental problems as perhaps the central dilemma of the ecology movement today. The irony is, however, that even as they decry the commercialistic spirit of "pop ecology," they seem to fall victim to it themselves. This is not to say that *American Habitat* is unscholarly, nor is it to suggest that it contributes nothing at all to the field of environmental history. It is only to point out that the book is distinctly flawed—and that its primary weakness lies in the familiarity of its material and in the questionable relevance of some of its readings. The "intellectual" tone of the book fails to conceal the fact that its message is not even remotely new. It conveys the impression that—like other environmental anthologies—it was designed as much to capitalize on the nation's environmental "market" as to provide fresh dialogue on America's ecological concerns.

The focal point of *American Habitat* is the historical adjustment of American society to its environment. Tracing the migration of various culture groups to the New World in pre-colonial times and documenting their adaptation to the land, the authors carefully catalog the creation of "secondary culture hearths," or "habitats," in America. The problem is that the story of Americans responding to and interacting with environment has been told many times over. The Indians' "killing of animals" and "gathering of plants" in response to environmental necessities, the initiation of the "rancho" by emigrating Spaniards, and the development of a cotton economy in the American South are facts that simply do not merit the twenty-three pages of narrative expended on them in the book. Nor do they warrant an entire section of readings, ranging from a discussion of the sociopolitical impact of landholding in colonial New England to the now-familiar "soil exhaustion" thesis of Eugene Genovese relative to the existence of slavery in the antebellum South. The book's weakness, again, lies not in the authors' superficial treatment of the theme, but in the general familiarity of the theme itself. What the authors write, stated simply, is not new or novel enough to be of any great scholarly interest.

A prime example of this fault is the authors' section on American environment as value and symbol. Operating in an area already thoroughly mined by Roderick Nash and others, Rosenkrantz and Koelsch but transmit and assess ideas and theses of others before them. Their contention that, to most eighteenth-century Americans, "wilderness became the habitat that gave America uniqueness that set it apart from the Old World" is one familiar to any reader of Frederick Jackson Turner. The idea that Americans believed that "God spoke more clearly to man in the wilderness" and thus gave Americans a "moral edge" on Europe is equally familiar to readers of Thoreau and John Muir. Henry Nash Smith,

Roderick Nash, Arthur Moore (in the still-underrated *Frontier Mind*), and Samuel Hays, among others, have already dissected the American mind in relation to the national environment. *American Habitat* adds little of value in this area.

While much of the book's thesis is valid in itself, it is marred by a certain consistent lack of perspective. For example, while it may have been—as the authors maintain—that the historical response of Americans to environment has been dictated by their perception of social needs rather than by some innate urge to plunder, it is also true that many *have* plundered. It is equally as difficult to deny that national conflict over natural resource policy has sprung from differing conceptions of the nature and priority of those social needs. Yet while the authors mention such conflict, they do not begin to explore its dimensions. Specifically, they virtually ignore the violent national confrontation between conservationists and anticonservationists in the critical final years of the nineteenth century. Some attention is given to the conservationist element (in the form of good but familiar writings by Charles Van Hise and George P. Marsh), but anticonservationist sentiment is not represented at all. In a book dealing with environmental attitudes and the creation of habitat in wilderness, such an omission is a signal one.

In the end it is a combination of faults that reduces *American Habitat* to a rather ordinary level. Its rehash of familiar environmental themes—from the land as safety-valve to the image of the “Garden of the World”—its lack of focus on the role of resource devastation in the process of habitat-construction, its overemphasis on geography and environment as shapers of American civilization (and its concomitant de-emphasis of social factors in the same process), its often-stilted narrative style, and, finally, its erratic readings (highlighted by long, technical selections on birdwatching, health resorts, and human adjustment to Alaskan earthquake hazard) all merge to undo the work. The subtitle of *American Habitat* is *A Historical Perspective*; but well-intentioned as the book might be, the perspective is cloudy.

Regis College

G. MICHAEL MCCARTHY

Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University. Books Printed 1675-1700. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1973. xxxii, 484 pages. Index. \$35.00.) *Short-Title List of Additions, Books Printed 1471-1700.* (vi, 67 pages. Index. \$5.00.)

Library catalogues are an essential part of the historian's scholarly equipment. In publishing them the library makes a commitment to keeping scholars, collectors, booksellers, and other libraries informed of its hold-

ings, knowing, of course, that tomorrow's acquisition will make the catalogue out of date. The John Carter Brown Library has undertaken to bring the catalogues of its holdings up to date, supplementing earlier catalogues that have won wide acclaim among Americanists. These two catalogues together with the printed catalogue of 1919-1931, which is available in reprint, present the Library's holdings published prior to 1701 as of July 1, 1971.

Necessarily detailed and precise, library catalogues of this type are expensive to publish, and the grand format of the earliest John Carter Brown Catalogues can no longer be expected. The spate of catalogues made from catalogue cards that have been issued in recent years has not deterred librarians from seeking a more pleasing format, and the John Carter Brown Catalogues reviewed here are a welcome improvement.

Set by typewriter, the *Catalogue of Books Printed 1675-1700* is in fact made up of the same information that was prepared for the card catalog. Each of the 1,852 items listed includes author, full title, and full imprint information, collations and bibliographical references, with occasionally such other information as manuscript inscriptions, illustration, ornaments, and bindings. Atlases include lists of maps contained therein. Call numbers are also included. Using this catalogue, therefore, is the equivalent of using the card catalogue at the John Carter Brown Library for the 1675-1700 period.

The *Short Title List of Additions, 1471-1700*, is precisely that, including additions made within that period since the publication of the earlier catalogues. Imprints are briefly given, but the essential information is there. Collations are not included, nor are other descriptive statements.

Both volumes are arranged chronologically, and are alphabetically indexed. A high quality of cataloging expertise is shown throughout, and the large-format layout will make these catalogues easy to use. Binding and quality of paper indicate high concern for durability.

University of Minnesota

JOHN PARKER

Old American Prints for Collectors. By JOHN & KATHERINE EBERT. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974. 277 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Although *Old American Prints for Collectors* is not directed at the scholar, the increasing desirability and market value of early American prints necessitates a more searching approach to the buying, authenticating, and care of a collection. The dearth of scholarship in the field of early graphic Americana enables John and Katherine Ebert to make an important contribution, but unfortunately they give us only hastily-digested gleanings from the existing literature, poorly credited at that. The serious

collector, having doubtless disbursed large sums for his desirably wide margins and clean condition, would be better advised to turn directly to the bibles of American print research, such as Groce & Wallace's *Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860* or Harry T. Peter's monumental *America on Stone*, from which the Eberts seem to have culled their biographical information. An annotated bibliography would have been more helpful to the casual reader or collector alike; while selective, the authors omitted some indispensable references, such as Nicholas B. Wainwright's *Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography*, Baker's *Engraved Portraits of Washington*, and numerous noteworthy articles in journals such as the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, the *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, and *Winterthur Portfolio*.

It is virtually impossible for a book to be all things to all readers; *Old American Prints for Collectors* is no exception. The chief difficulty in using the book is the disorganization of subject matter; history and technique jostle lists of prints, printmakers, and books that more properly belong as appendixes. The sections on papermaking in Europe and America are awkwardly bifurcated by a capsulized history of printmaking in Europe. Printmakers are mentioned without references to more detailed discussions elsewhere in the book. The reader is further misled by gross inaccuracies such as "Etching was not used until about 1800 in America" (most eighteenth-century American cartoons, many book and magazine illustrations, and a fair number of views were completely etched), or "Mezzotint never became a common American print technique" (hundreds of mezzotints poured out of the studios of John, William, and Henry Sartain, Thomas Welch, Henry Wagner, R. G. Harrison, Henry Sadd and Thomas Doney, to name but a few). Unsubstantiated generalizations by the authors weaken their history of printmaking in America, which is heavily biased toward New York City, virtually overlooking the flourishing printmaking industries in Boston and Philadelphia, and later Chicago and San Francisco.

The section on conservation is a useful and important addition for any book on "collectibles." While the authors do not recommend the do-it-yourself approach, insufficient emphasis is placed on the importance of seeking professional advice. Furthermore, their advocacy of bleaching prints is a form of radical surgery that few competent conservators would condone. However, the Eberts are to be commended for their discussion of proper matting and framing methods; far too many prints have been irreparably damaged by the use of scotch tape and acid matboard.

It is unfortunate that a book with such propitious aims and attractive format falls short of the mark. Collectors of early American prints must continue to wait for a long-awaited guide.