became the vehicle of slavery, using the Constitution to check northern “progress.” At this point Craven reminds us that alongside the Constitution “stands that other troublesome document, the Declaration of Independence, with its promise of greater freedom and equality. If politicians and parties do not sometimes give it heed, they may learn to their sorrow that the great document was written to justify revolt. That too may be a fatal weakness in the democratic process” (p. 97).

One wonders whether the essayist really had in mind the 1850's or his own day when he wrote: “It was inevitable in such an atmosphere that the extremist ... should have appeared with his doctrine that the end justifies the necessary means. Bearing letters of marque from God, his patience exhausted by delay, he was ready to accept personal responsibility for a people's failure to meet their obligations to mankind. He was certain that the only language the opponent could understand was that of force. He was willing to risk war if that were the price for setting the world in order” (p. 146).

In any case, in the Old Northwest inequality and privilege and economic failure (of farmers and workers) led to frustrations soon turned by pious cranks and clever politicians against the slaveholding leadership which had, in fact, held up federal participation in the rapid exploitation of natural resources. “Thus the halo of democracy and morality ... was placed upon the brow of western needs, and its bitterness from unrealized ambitions became a holy sentiment” (p. 35). The Republican party “was one with God and the world's great experiment in Democracy” (p. 42). At the same time the South became self-conscious and bitter also, turned to self-defense, and the Southerner emerged a superior man in a superior civilization. Concrete issues were reduced to abstract principles and conflicts were simplified to the point where men felt more than they reasoned.

In these essays written at widely separated times and now brought together in a single volume, there was bound to be considerable repetition. Some problems such as the impact of the Negrophobic backlash of that day (the reason for Lincoln's victory over Douglas?) are unresolved and there is no satisfactory picture of the South's efforts to gain and retain the friendship and loyalty of the Northwest. Yet no one will ever again be considered knowledgeable in the period of the Civil War without a solid acquaintance with the research, thinking, and writing of Avery Craven. The sand in which he wrote will not revert to nature after having been arranged so carefully.

University of Mississippi

James W. Silver


This handsome volume is a fine example of the scholarly and sensitive writing that the history profession has come to expect from the pen of Professor Eaton. In this study of the minds and thinking of southerners of the antebellum period, the author wisely avoided John C. Calhoun and other more famous figures whose thinking and
opinions are only too well known. Instead, he probed more than a
dozen of the less well-known thinkers who he believed represented
the various facets of Southern Society.

Among those included in this study are James H. Hammond of
South Carolina; Maunsel White, a New Orleans merchant (the
commercial mind); Henry A. Wise of Virginia (the progressive); Cassius
Marcellus Clay (the radical); Matthew Fontaine Maury, William
Barton Rogers, and Joseph Le Conte (the scientific minds); William
Gilmore Simms (the romantic mind); William Lowndes Yancey (the
voice of emotion); and Hinton Rowan Helper (spokesman for the
nonslaveholding class). Also portrayed are even more obscure men and
women of the time. Of the major figures studied, all but two owned
plantations and only four clearly favored secession in 1860. The author
believes that the southern way of agriculture influenced their thinking
more than did the issue of slavery.

This reviewer regrets, as did Professor Eaton, that adequate and
heretofore unused source material was not available for a study of the
Negro's mind. The author is at his best in his study of Hinton Rowan
Helper and of the scientific minds. The latter clearly indicate that the
South in the years before the Civil War was not a cultural and educa-
tional wasteland.

All in all, this volume should be of particular interest to students
of southern history and to others concerned with an understanding of
the Old South. It should be on the list of required readings for courses
in southern history.

Indiana University

Powell A. Moore

Edited by James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves. (Lex-
$15.00.)

The third volume of The Papers of Henry Clay covers the four
years in which Clay made his initial bid for the presidency. During
the years 1821-1823 he was out of Congress, though not out of politics
since his presidential effort was then launched. Upon his return to
Congress late in 1823 Clay was again elected speaker of the House.
In the period from 1821 through 1824 Clay was an avowed and persistent
advocate of the protective tariff and federal support of internal
improvements, issues which had widespread appeal to the West. During
this period he served as an attorney for the Second United States Bank,
especially as regards matters in Ohio and Kentucky. The bank was a
leading, if not his leading, client. This fact, coupled with Clay's wide-
spread political following in the West, suggests the possibility that
various historians have exaggerated the anti-bank feeling of the West
during the initial half of the twenties.

During 1822 and part of 1823 Clay appeared to have had a good
chance of winning almost every western state. But in 1823 Andrew
Jackson's campaign for the presidency took hold. At first, Clay refused