

destined to bring about the fulfillment of the covenant. It was they who would lead the conquest. It was they who would help the people step out of a feudal past. To Bancroft the sprawling frontier was a "garden" not to be despoiled once again by the sordid bickerings of man, especially political man.

Beard and Turner perhaps synthesized much of the conflict between agrarian expansion and the industrial revolution and the various contradictions which arose. It was Carl Becker, however, who best revealed the changing viewpoints of the American historian with the passing years and the gaining of experience as a historian. Becker's Kansas experience tarnished some of the shine of the frontier for the eager young historian. In two perceptive essays the author traces the transition of Carl Becker from an idealistic frontiersman to a historian willing to accept the dynamics of technology and industrial revolution. In his later years Becker greatly revised his belief in the ability of the common man to achieve democracy and to make the great plan necessary for its future operation. Beard, too, viewed the revolution of the twentieth century from a sharply revised perspective—even though he was highly cynical about the capacity of the capitalist plutocracy to survive.

In his concluding chapter, the author examines the points of departure of Daniel Boorstin between the publication of *The Mysterious Science of Law* and the *Genius of American Politics*. By 1962, and in the *Images*, Noble says Boorstin reached the point at which he seemed "to deny much of the intellectual position he had constructed over the last decade. He appeared to have discovered a more fearful threat to American innocence than those which had haunted Bancroft, Turner, Parrington, and Beard. He found corruption within the 'people'" (p. 173).

This book raises many old questions and provokes many new ones. It raises no greater new one than whether or not middle twentieth-century America has fulfilled the covenant of the garden and the great dream.

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*Fisher Ames, Federalist and Statesman, 1758-1808.* By Winfred E. A. Bernhard. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1965. Pp. xiii, 372. Notes, illustrations, note on sources, index. \$8.75.)

Among congressmen of the 1790's Fisher Ames, representative from Massachusetts, acquired a notable reputation as a hard-core Federalist and an outstanding orator. He reached the peak of his fame midway in the decade in defense of the treaty which Federalist John Jay had negotiated with England. The treaty provoked dispute throughout the country, and in the House rebellious Republicans moved to block the necessary appropriations. "A Jupiter was needed," Bernhard writes, "who could hurl thunderbolts and confound the enemy. Federalists turned to Ames" (p. 267). They were turning to a sick man. "Mr. Chairman," he began, "I entertain the hope, perhaps a rash one, that

my strength will hold me out to speak a few minutes" (p. 268). For over an hour the sick man held the floor in "a display of oratory which remained unsurpassed in his generation" (p. 268). Some in the audience wept, and all were moved. It is possible that some votes changed as a result—it is known that the House Republicans were soon defeated—although all Bernhard can say is that "it is reasonable to assume that Ames's speech had a strong influence on the final outcome" (p. 272).

Bernhard is not one to go off the deep end, which is easy to do with a man like Ames. Die-hard Federalists—of whom there have been few—have admired Ames. Jeffersonians have scorned him. Jeffersonian liberals, like Parrington, have portrayed him as a hysterical reactionary. (To Ames, Parrington would have been a mere "democratick babbler.") After Ames retired from Congress in 1797 he turned to writing, trying to turn the tide of "Jacobinical" Republicanism. The country, he warned, was "sliding down into the mire of a democracy" (p. 337).

For most twentieth-century readers, Ames is a man who needs explanation. The mockery of Parrington is of little help. And this biography, objective as it is, offers little by way of explanation or analysis. What it does present is a comprehensive account of what Ames did and said, and particularly what part he took in each congressional issue of the time.

Since it is the first, and will probably be the last, full-length biography of Ames, it will be read and cited. But granting that a full-length biography of a notable American of the past is a meritorious project, it is hard to think of this one as a prize winner. (It won the 1963 Manuscript Award of the Institute of Early American History and Culture.) The book has good qualities: it is objective, comprehensive, and is based on scholarly examination of the sources. These are all to its credit, but why a prize? The book does not substantially change our understanding of Ames (assuming one has read more than Parrington), nor is the presentation distinctive. If it is representative of the kind of work that informed historical opinion generally considers worthy of a prize, historians may be sliding down into a mire of their own making. It may be that they, like the Federalists, have become men alienated from all save their own brethren.

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*A History of Negro Slavery in New York.* By Edgar J. McManus. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1966. Pp. xi, 219. Notes, appendix, bibliographical note, index. \$5.95.)

Until recently most historians confined their accounts of the Negro and slavery to the southern colonies and states, leaving the impression that slavery in the North was an insignificant, relatively mild institution. Scholars are now taking a closer look at involuntary servitude in the North and are finding that it possessed many of the harsh, repressive characteristics heretofore regarded as peculiarly southern. In this work McManus places special emphasis on the urban slave, tracing the development of slavery from its introduction in early New