
This book sets a new standard of excellence for American local history. Seldom has so fascinating an incident as the epidemic of 1793 found a writer so admirably equipped to treat it. If it is primarily Philadelphia history, it has universal implications, for suffering, death, fear, selfishness, self-sacrifice, and courage are as widely distributed as the human race. The result is a book that will give solid satisfaction to the most diverse kinds of readers—from the scientific investigator of the history of epidemics to the jaded addict of horror fiction.

This is a tale of horrors that really happened. Dr. Powell begins with a review of Philadelphia’s “merry, sinful summer” of 1793, when the shiploads of French refugees arrived from Santo Domingo and there was music and dancing in the hot, crowded streets of Penn’s sober city, then the national capital. In mid-August came the first threatening approaches of the dread disease, followed by more and more cases, more and more fatalities, utter bewilderment among the doctors, and, by September, signs of panic among the citizens. Those who left the city early were able to find places of refuge; later, the sick and the well were alike barred from neighboring towns and distant cities. In the stricken metropolis the tide of the fever rose steadily all through September, only to climb to new levels in the following month. Yet before October the city had rallied against its assailant. The leaders of both the national and state governments had departed, and conventional political and legal machinery quite broke down, but the people found their own leaders and supplied their own troops to hold the lines against the ravening enemy. They were a strangely assorted lot: Mayor Matthew Clarkson; Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, and William Gray, who organized their fellow Negroes as a brigade of nurses; Israel Israel, a minor politician who seems to have been on all the sub-committees appointed to perform the most difficult and discouraging tasks; Stephen Girard the merchant and Peter Helm the cooper, who transformed the shambles at Bush Hill into a smoothly running hospital; Helmuth the Lutheran parson, Fleming the Catholic priest, and Offley the Quaker preacher, tireless in their dangerous and merciful work; and some others—the list is not long. These men did not conquer the fever, any more than the physicians did, but they conquered the panic of a distracted citizenry. The story told in Bring Out Your Dead leaves two impressions stronger than any others—the horror of
the disease itself, which no one knew how to fight effectively, and the heroism of those who fought it.

The synopsis given above emphasizes the interest and the importance of this book as an essay in social psychology. From the medical standpoint Dr. Powell’s narrative of that fatal autumn is just as interesting and perhaps even more important, for it uproots some hoary clichés of American medical history.

Now that Aedes aegypti has been identified and put in her place, the major riddle for us about the yellow fever is the conduct of Dr. Benjamin Rush in the successive epidemics in which he played so prominent a part from 1793 onward. Early in the course of the fever of ’93 the physicians of Philadelphia chose sides for or against Dr. Rush’s inspired specific (as he believed it was), which consisted of purging and bleeding to the point of collapse. There are some questions about this mode of treatment that no one will ever be able to answer—such as how so many of Rush’s patients survived it. But to the question of why Rush persisted in a therapy that was disastrously wrong Dr. Powell has furnished a full and penetrating answer. Rush was the kind of man, whom most of us have met, who stiffened in his opinions when they were opposed. His sense of rectitude was supported by a deep if unorthodox piety, and for him, as for the New England Calvinists of the seventeenth century, “piety was like looking in a mirror.” Moreover, though surrounded by the pestilence, Rush for several reasons was incapable of a scientific view of it: his young disciples never dreamt of questioning his commands, he was sought out only by those who believed in his “cure,” and the hundreds of letters he received from outside the city reverenced his authority and hymned his praise.

Rush never visited Bush Hill, where a less voluble physician, Jean Devèze of Santo Domingo, instituted a therapy just the opposite of Rush’s, a therapy designed to assist rather than to overwhelm the powers of nature. For several reasons the record of recoveries at Bush Hill is not numerically impressive, but Devèze did what a modern doctor would do in the same circumstances, for today we scarcely know better than he did how to “cure” a developed case of yellow fever.

Jean Devèze is here first and very properly recognized as the medical hero of the yellow fever of 1793. Rush’s name belongs with those of the moral heroes. Dr. Powell writes:

There was one heroism that shone above all the others. There was only one doctor who would enter a fetid chamber, scorn all protections, sit on the edge of a vomit-soiled bed, smile cheerfully to the frightened patient, say blandly, “You have nothing but a yellow fever.” There was only one physician who could write in the midst of his grisly duties, “Never was the healing art so truly delightful to me.”

There was only one Benjamin Rush.

This book presents in graphic and authentic terms the drama of a city’s catastrophe. The people involved in it live once more; their actions are
interpreted with sympathy and truth. There is every reason to think that
*Bring Out Your Dead* will prove a popular book, for it is wonderfully read-
able in spite of the technical data that are essential to the story. The more
austere among its scholarly readers may deplore the lack of documentation,
but the sources are listed in a short bibliographical essay, and the author’s
statement that he has invented nothing will be readily confirmed by everyone
qualified to pass judgment. The present reviewer would make only one tiny
reservation from the very high praise he believes the work deserves. Surely
the author should have recorded the artists and the sources of the several
interesting portraits used as illustrations.

*Princeton University*

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

The Great War for the Empire: The Victorious Years, 1758-1760. By
Lawrence Henry Gipson. [*The British Empire before the American
xxxvi. $7.50.)

With unfailing regularity each succeeding volume of Professor Gipson’s
significant work, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*,
appears. Volume VII is the latest to be published. It is the second volume
devoted to *The Great War for the Empire*, better known in America as the
French and Indian War and in Europe as the Seven Years’ War. This
volume, having as its subtitle *The Victorious Years, 1758-1760*, covers the
period from the accession of William Pitt to power, in 1757, to the com-
plete victory of Britain over France in America by the year 1760.

The book opens with a brief summary of the life of William Pitt, the
Great Commoner, who is described as a man of “many paradoxes” and
“glaring inconsistencies” and also as an opportunist. After Pitt took over
direction of affairs in the midst of the war, “The Years of Defeat”—the sub-
ject of the preceding volume—gave way to “The Victorious Years.” Pitt
carried on the war with “a fixity of purpose,” and his policies were largely
responsible for victory. This volume treats chiefly of the winning of the war
in North America and omits much of its progress in Europe, as well as the
conflict in the West Indies, the Far East, and on the seas. These phases of
the struggle, together with the Peace of Paris, are promised in the next
volume of the series.

The victories in America, following the defeats of the earlier years, were
remarkable. The surrender of Louisbourg, the fall of Fort Frontenac and
Fort Duquesne, the French withdrawal from Fort Niagara, Wolfe’s mem-
orable victory at Quebec, and the capture of Montreal won the continent
for Britain. These victories decided that English-speaking people and not the
French should control this area of the world. France had lost in her struggle
for empire.

In this volume Professor Gipson stresses the military aspects of the strug-
gle in North America and points out that, although the war in the New
World was not characterized by movements and clashes of large armies, the
fighting was won by adherence to traditional European techniques of carry-
ing on war. He cites the importance, both actually and psychologically, of British heavy artillery for the battering of forts. Then, too, to a large extent, open warfare was carried on by both British and French according to European military science and tactics, though the French utilized the Indians and Canadians for ravaging enemy settlements and for scouting. The war, therefore, may be called "a European conflict in a New World setting." In considering the basic reasons for British victory, the author concludes: "One may, indeed, assert with confidence that had it not been for the relentless and effective exertion of British naval predominance on the high seas, for the unchallenged superiority of English heavy industry and British colonial agriculture, now turned to warlike purposes, over French heavy industry and Canadian agriculture, and for the equal superiority of the pound sterling over the livre and, with it, British credit over French credit in the world's money markets, there would have been no military collapse in New France such as took place in 1760."

As in the preceding volume of the series, Professor Gipson presents the view that the English were fighting the war in North America to protect the colonists, who gave them lukewarm assistance, especially during the early part of the struggle. Of course, the war in America was a phase—an exceedingly important phase—of the duel for empire between England and France. The struggle for leadership and mastery between the two powers was the chief reason for the war that was waged in various parts of the world. And Professor Gipson states: "Yet there can be no question that there was at stake one of the greatest prizes ever contended for by rivals in arms—a prize, in fact, that makes the conquests of an Alexander the Great, a Caesar, or a Napoleon sink into insignificance; for it was nothing less than the continent of North America."

As is true of all the preceding volumes of the series, this study is based on the work of earlier scholars and on much original research. It is the product of indefatigable labor. The book is not intended for the reader of popular works but for the serious student of history who is seeking to understand and evaluate the events involving the fate of a continent. Care and insight, originality and authority mark every page. The detailed outline at the beginning of the volume is an excellent aid to the study of the book; the many original maps and plans that have been reproduced also contribute to an understanding of the military aspects of the war. Readers will look forward with eagerness to the completion of the story of "The Great War for the Empire."

University of Pennsylvania

Arthur C. Bining


Systematic and scholarly study of the history of the arts in America is in its infancy. After many years of reading amateurish and uninformed writings on the subject, we are beginning to be aware that what is most needed is to
establish the facts about the early practitioners of the arts: facts which will prove what works are theirs and what works are not. Particularly is this true of American painting, the history of which is cluttered up with unsound theories and restricted by a paucity of facts. Recently, we have been favored by a number of carefully prepared monographs on various early painters, such as Louisa Dresser's fine study of seventeenth-century New England portraits, William Sawitzky's Matthew Pratt, and Anna Wells Rutledge's painstaking listing of Charleston painters. These works, besides adding much to the factual content of the history of American art, have laid the foundation for future critical analyses of techniques and of achievements.

Transcending these excellent contributions is the biography of James Jackson Jarvis by Harold E. Dickson, a graduate in architecture as well as a brilliant water-colorist. This rare conjunction of scholarly and artistic talents, brought to bear on the career of Jarvis, has produced a work that is satisfying because it is learned, that is delightful because it is well written. Employing the most approved apparatus of scholarship, Mr. Dickson has assembled and subjected to rigorous testing all that was previously known about the Knickerbocker painter; and he also has presented a great deal that is new.

Jarvis, the son of an Englishman, grew up in Philadelphia, and came into the increasingly dignified artist's métier by the tradesman's entrance. He began as an engraver with Edward Savage, whom he came to despise, and he learned much from David Edwin and from Matthew Pratt and his cronies among the sign painters. Moving to New York in 1802, Jarvis set up as an engraver, but soon took up portrait painting; and, "partly by talent, partly by default," he had by 1808 risen to the first rank among Manhattan painters. Until 1823, at least, Jarvis could be classed with the first-rate portrait artists at New York; but thereafter, despite several successes in Baltimore, Richmond, and New Orleans, he deteriorated rapidly in performance, and his popularity waned. Always known as a wit and a bon vivant, Jarvis was not a great painter, a fact Mr. Dickson readily admits. "There are," he writes, "no masterpieces of art among the panels and canvases painted by Jarvis, but many of them he made forceful documents, painted images of his American contemporaries as effective as many a marble one of a Roman citizen. And he thus becomes a figure of consequence in the long tradition of American realistic portraiture." Jarvis was, moreover, a prolific painter, a fact attested by the 412 paintings listed by his biographer.

The usefulness of this book is greatly increased by the 105 plates which embellish it, plates which commercial publishers might well take as models of half-tone illustrations for books of art. In addition, Mr. Dickson has appended to this study a long bibliography, a useful chronology, a checklist of the works of Jarvis, and a list of the owners of Jarvis' paintings. All told, the book is a significant contribution to the history of American painting. In bringing it out the New-York Historical Society has once again performed a service to the study of our country's arts.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

Carl Bridenbaugh

The book tells the story of Teedyuscung, a Delaware Indian. It is not simply an historical treatise, or an ethnographical one; it is also, primarily, a biography. As such it deals in discussions of emotions, motives, and states of mind—intangible matters, indeed, but the stuff of which a life is made—which would lie outside the province of the pure historian or ethnographer. Inference about such things is no enemy to fact, however. . . . Teedyuscung is unique among eighteenth-century Indians for the wealth of material to be found about him in the published and manuscript archives. . . .

Although I have tried to write in idiomatic English rather than in psychological jargon, I have been guided largely by the "culture-and-personality" approach of anthropology. I hope that the book will be of interest not only to historians of the colonial period but also to these anthropologists and psychologists who are studying the effects upon personality of contact between European and "primitive" cultures (pp. vii-viii).

In these words Wallace introduces this book to his readers. Few books indeed reach a reviewer's hands that fulfill their avowed purpose more completely and understandingly than King of the Delawares. Wallace will be accorded the distinction of being a master ethnohistorian. As the author of articles in scientific journals in which he has put on record the results of his field work among the Iroquois (especially treating the Tuscarora), he has paved his way into recognition as one of the promising authorities on the ethnology of eastern North America. The full-sized book before us is a token of his caliber as student and writer.

In the first chapter Wallace has painstakingly produced an admirable brief summary of the cultural background of the Delaware Indians at about the time of their first contact with the English in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. He has incidentally clarified some of the mooted points in the social system of the Delawares—actual contributions to ethnology which one hardly expects in what is entitled a biography. His attitude toward the Indians of the region dealt with is modernly adult and sophisticated in respect to cultural values of the contemporary natives and colonists, both the plain settlers and the intriguing officials. "It is impossible in a few pages to describe adequately the way of life of a people who through unnumbered generations have devised a well-integrated system of techniques for satisfying all of the needs of life" (italics mine). Imagine the sahib historians-of-the-line conceding as much to the "tawny savages of the wilderness!" Devoid of sentimentality toward either racial group, the author adheres to the objectivity of his modern training in scholarship, sparing neither the high nor the lowly in his register of events. Teedyuscung is staged as a political, party-playing, arrogant, and bombastic upstart, once "baptized a Christian—and can drink a gallon of rum in a day without getting drunk"; James Logan, the enterprising business magnate of Pennsylvania of the Walking Purchase days, as an equivocating forerunner of the "spoils system" for dispossessing the
Indians; and General Jeffrey Amherst as an inexperienced, aggressive bluffer. Even the anti-proprietary Quakers are apostrophied, to mention but a few outstanding personages. A new era in historical method is here!


The subject matter of the book is amply documented with twenty-four pages of reference notes and is well indexed. There are three maps.

For a concluding remark I wish to say that this highly appreciative review is not a cocktail inspiration but one written with candor by an ethnologist who is impressed by the excellence of another's job in the field of the humanities which has long held his own attention. The University of Pennsylvania Press may celebrate the book's appearance with a bumper of fine champagne.

University of Pennsylvania

F. G. Speck


This book is volume forty of the *Rivers of America* series. The first chapter describes the city of Washington during the presidency of John Adams, and the next to the last chapter discusses Washington as the growing seat of government in recent times. Except for a concluding chapter entitled "The Potomac Prospect," the remainder of the book is concerned chiefly with the Potomac above the falls, though three of the twelve chapters deal with the tidewater region bordering on the river and with the civilization existing there in the colonial era. The story of the later development of the tidewater region is not told. The burden of the author's theme is the Potomac above the falls, and here he is at pains to describe the march of industry and trade, the Potomac route to the West, and the Civil War along the river, with special reference to the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg. John Brown's raid, the assassination of Lincoln, and the attempted escape of John Wilkes Booth are described at some length.

Although Mr. Gutheim's story of the Potomac makes interesting reading on those topics he discusses, his book is disappointing in some respects. A
disproportionate emphasis is placed on the relatively unimportant part of the Potomac above Washington at the expense of the broad, deep, and noble river from Washington to its entrance into the Chesapeake Bay. Practically nothing is said of this main stretch of the river apart from the plantation life along its borders in the colonial era. Why terminate the story of this part of the river with the close of the colonial period, when its main story is concerned with later developments throughout this area? The author passes up entirely a description of the freight and passenger traffic borne on the river, which was by no means inconsiderable, especially before the advent of the automobile. A principal means of communication for the people living on or near the river was by steamboat, which was also the chief reliance for transporting the products of large sections of the tidewater country to market. No description is given of the important fish and oyster industry of this great tidal river—an industry from which many people living on its shores derive the greater part of their livelihood. A comparison of the Potomac with other great rivers of the eastern United States, and more especially with those in Virginia, such as the Rappahannock and the James, would have been in order but is omitted altogether.

Strangely enough, the author does not concern himself greatly with the river itself, and the information he furnishes about it is remarkable not so much for what he puts in as for what he leaves out. Towards the close of the book he mentions casually that the river is three hundred and eighty miles long, but says nothing about its breadth or its depth, an omission all the more remarkable since the river is both very wide and very deep. Even at Washington the Potomac is not a small river, and for a hundred miles of its course it averages a width of more than seven miles, and at several points attains a width of twelve miles. In short, it may be said that the author's description of the Potomac is inadequate, since, after all, it is the river that he is supposed to be writing about—the whole river from its source to its mouth. In the main, however, he writes about everything else except the river, and, when he mentions it at all, the emphasis is upon its least important part, the upper reaches above the falls. One puts down the book with the feeling that, while he has learned something about the happenings in the vicinity of the river, he has read four hundred pages without learning a great deal about the river itself and the traffic borne on its bosom.

The format is good, and the writing is in readable style, and the book, though undocumented, is well supplied with maps, illustrations, bibliography, and index.

State College, Pa.

Wayland F. Dunaway


In this charming little volume Dr. Schaeffer has presented an account of the life of a now almost-forgotten nineteenth-century German Reformed
clergyman. The lifetime of Bernard C. Wolff (1794-1870) spanned a period in which the German Reformed Church in the United States not only made its greatest geographic expansion but also established the greatest number of its benevolent and educational institutions, and, during the latter half of Wolff's life, divided itself into two openly hostile camps whose bickerings led the communion almost to the point of schism.

Within the framework of this broad picture Dr. Schaeffer has described the life and labors of his subject, first as a devout layman of Martinsburg, Virginia, next as a theological student, then as a pastor at Easton, Pennsylvania, and at Baltimore, Maryland, and finally as a theological professor in the Seminary of the Reformed Church at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. Wolff was active in both the educational and the missionary work of his denomination. He was a trustee of Marshall College (and later of Franklin and Marshall College), and at the Seminary he was both professor and “fund-raiser.” In theological and liturgical controversies he stood between the extremes of the Mercersburg and Ursinus positions; as an administrator he was capable; as a pastor he was sympathetic and devoted; as a teacher he won the confidence of his students; and as a translator he made available in English numerous German theological works. He was not, however, so distinguished as were some of his contemporaries, such as John Williamson Nevin, Philip Schaff, or Henry Harbaugh, notwithstanding Dr. Schaeffer's attempt to raise him to such heights. Wolff was not a profound theologian (p. 65), and in the controversies of his day he seems seldom to have taken a very positive position. As is pointed out throughout the volume, it was perhaps as a mediator that he rendered his greatest service.

The general reader (and especially the Reformed pastor or layman) will find this book both enjoyable and informative. The serious student of history, however, although he will welcome the new light it throws upon the Mercersburg controversy, will be annoyed by the almost total absence of documentation. Furthermore, the numerous “running starts” and digressions, though always interesting and sometimes charming, add nothing essential to our understanding of the life of Bernard C. Wolff. Finally, it may be questioned whether the sub-title Memoirs is appropriate, since the work is definitely a biography.

Lehigh University

GLENN WEAVER


Americans readily identify Alexis de Tocqueville as the author of the classic commentary on the United States, Democracy in America, but otherwise know little about him. His Recollections, written in 1850-51, first published in 1893 and now re-edited in English with additional material which first appeared in French in 1942, give considerable insight into Tocqueville's personality and political ideas, even though limited to the years 1848 and 1849.
Part One is an account of the February Revolution of 1848 which overthrew the régime of Louis Philippe. Part Two describes the drawing up of a constitution for the new republic, but finds its climax in a vivid report of the insurrectionary June Days in Paris in 1848. Tocqueville makes no pretense of writing a comprehensive history of the Revolution of 1848, scrupulously reporting only what he himself observed; but the combination of his official position as a member of the legislature and of the curiosity that made him roam the streets at a moment of historical crisis results in an exciting first-hand narrative. Part Three, recounting Tocqueville's experiences as Foreign Minister in 1849, is inherently less dramatic and bogs down in details of diplomatic negotiations of less interest for the non-specialist.

The most revealing part of these reminiscences is that which shows how a sympathetic critic of American institutions responded to a republican, egalitarian, and even socialist upheaval in his own country. Tocqueville emerges as a "liberal" aristocrat in the Lafayette tradition who never lost either a sentimental attachment for the royal family or a sense of identity with the nobility, no matter how much he deplored the policies of both. He showed little enthusiasm for the bourgeoisie, admitting he found it difficult to get along with its representatives even when he agreed with their ideas, and he manifested a positive distaste for the working class when it forgot its place and fell under "demagogic" influences. Convinced though he was that a constitutional monarchy was the best form of government for France, he nevertheless was willing to accept a republic for want of a better choice, provided that a republican government would not introduce "innovations" into the structure of society. In his most explicit statement of political philosophy he declares himself for a "balanced, regulated liberty, held in check by religion, custom and law." This leads not only to the expression of frequent tributes to the abstract concepts of "liberty" and "free institutions," but also to the declaration of a strong concern for "order" and the rights of property. Perhaps even more significant, the tone of his descriptions of the actual working of parliamentary institutions is often so contemptuous as to convey an anti-democratic impression. In this connection it might be noted that the only practice of the United States which he thought it worth while for the French Republic to copy was that of the indirect election of the President.

The style is lively and often epigrammatic. The innumerable thumb-nail sketches of his contemporaries are seldom flattering and are frequently malicious, and one wonders about the reason behind the incessant aspersions cast upon the intelligence of everyone else in public life. Tocqueville's more philosophic reflections on the nature and the practice of politics, and particularly on the class-nature of the 1848 uprising, are interesting, but it is dubious whether he overshadows Karl Marx in social analysis or historical prophecy as much as the editor seems to think.

University of Pennsylvania

Wallace E. Davies

"The study of the piety of a religious group is a most elusive subject since it deals with the innermost movements of human hearts which never find full expression in external records" (p. 176). This quotation from the book under review reveals the difficulty of the author's undertaking. His purpose was to trace the internal changes in the spirit and type of piety or devotion among the Mennonites during their history of more than four hundred years. The task was a particularly difficult one because accurate records of the early period of Anabaptism and Mennonitism have not been preserved.

The book is composed of two different studies. The first one, called Anabaptism and Pietism, examines the mutual relationships between these two externally so similar and yet in their core so different phenomena. The second study, called Mennonite Devotional Literature, treats for the first time almost unknown materials. The work is organized by political areas, such as Holland, Prussia, Hamburg, Switzerland, and America.

As the Preface points out, the two studies are logically interrelated. The first one gives the historical analysis, and the second one the concrete proof of the thesis, namely, that the old Anabaptist genius of discipleship slowly changed and moved toward a more emotional (pietistic) type of devotional life. From the point of view of the first study, the second is but an illustration of the thesis. From the point of view of the second study, the first constitutes but the general historical introduction (meaning by "historical" the observation of changing ideas and attitudes). The book was begun in Europe and finished in America, in the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College, where the author was a research worker.

At the center of the first study are the crucial questions: "What is the Holy Spirit?" and "What is the guarantee that the Spirit which the Schwärmer believed themselves to possess is the same as the Spirit of the Scriptures?" (p. 78). Anabaptism gave one answer: a concrete discipleship which requires absolute obedience to the Word of God. Pietism gave another answer, namely, understanding the Spirit as a subjective experience, a feeling which can be enjoyed as an emotional uplift. So the task of discipleship becomes softened and transformed into the cultivation of subjective devotion.

While official Protestantism taught "justification by faith," and the Pietists stressed "sanctification of life," the Anabaptists urged the "realization of the Kingdom of God on earth," and this by way of the acceptance of the principle of Love and Cross (pp. 75, 92). The interplay of these different approaches to the Christian experience is the theme of the book. The author goes into great detail trying to discover general formulations concerning the ordinarily unnoticed shift of ideas.

Dr. Friedmann has made a special contribution by his discovery and interpretation of Mennonite devotional literature in the hitherto overlooked Prayer Books and by his discovery and interpretation of many inter-group contacts hitherto unknown. For the student of Pennsylvania history the
book has special attraction, since it traces the inner story of the Mennonites of Pennsylvania almost from its beginning to the division in 1848 and beyond, with emphasis on the devotional literature produced during this period (pp. 223-260).

This book is emphatically the work of a scholar, and it will be read with particular interest by scholars. Its weakness, if it has one, lies in the fact that it is written in so scholarly a style that it will be more or less difficult for the general reader to comprehend. It contains, however, a great amount of material that will reward anyone interested in these plain people who from a small beginning in Europe developed in America into a highly respected denomination.

The book is well printed and well bound, and it is enriched by five remarkable plates taken from rare devotional material.

*Hartford Seminary Foundation*

J. E. Hartzler


Here is a magnificent book. It is not a new book; it is an old book in a new setting. When it was first brought out in the early 1830's, it made considerable noise in both Europe and America. It quickly passed through several English as well as several American editions, through several French editions, and through at least one Spanish, one German, and one Dutch edition. In the United States it seems destined to have enduring value, and for that reason it is likely never to be long out of print. Between 1901 and 1927 three editions of it were brought out in New York; and now comes the latest and by all odds the best edition, the one which perhaps may be rightly called definitive. Both editor and publisher, it seems, have done their best to make this edition a pleasing one. On the one hand, the editor has contributed an illuminating introduction in which he tells all that even the critical reader will need to know about the author; he has extracted from the author's notebooks and the rough draft of her book appropriate passages for appendices and equally appropriate material for explanatory footnotes; he has clarified the text with many of his own footnotes; and he has appended to the work a well-selected bibliography. The text is that of the first edition (1832), with slight emendations. On the other hand, the publisher has seen to it that the book was beautifully printed, that it was appropriately bound, and that it was brought out in an attractive format. Thus we have in delightful form a source of Americal social history that is a classic.

Mrs. Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* was not the first book about America written by a European traveler, nor was it by any means the last one. America has always been a land of fascination for Europeans, and from colonial days to our own time visitors from the Old World to the New have piled volume upon volume of observations and reflections on America and its rising civilization. In the Jacksonian era the democratic "experiment" under way in the United States affected conservatives in
Europe somewhat as the present régime in Russia has affected the people of the Western World. Thus the travel books about the United States of the 1830's and 1840's bear some resemblance to the travel books about Russia of the 1920's and 1930's. The decade of the 1830's was indeed fruitful of such books about American society. That was the decade of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and of Harriet Martineau's *Society in America*, as it was also the decade of lesser books by the Isaac Fidlers, the Thomas Hamiltons, and the Frederick Marryats. That too, as has been noted, was the decade of *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. Books written about the United States at that time by British authors unfriendly to the United States, and reviews of such books written for British quarterlies by British authors even more unfriendly to the United States, exasperated most Americans and evoked from some of them retaliatory utterances. Thus was precipitated an Anglo-American literary war.

Although she returned to England in 1831 to publish a book that would point a moral to the British people, as well as earn some money for her needy family, Mrs. Trollope had come to America in 1827 for a purpose other than that of writing. She had crossed the Atlantic to restore, if she could, the dwindling estate of her family by establishing a business in Cincinnati; and her disappointment because of the failure of this enterprise no doubt distorted her thinking about America and the American way of life. However that may be, she observed the habits of Americans in the West and the ways of Americans in the East, and what she saw did not please her. She heartily disliked the principle of equality which Americans professed fervently but practiced indifferently, for deep in her good Tory heart she knew that the effect of such hypocrisy upon the manners of both men and women could be not otherwise than deplorable. From the sorry plight of the Americans she would do her part to save the British people. By describing "faithfully" the effect of the American political system upon the American people, she would show "how greatly the advantage is on the side of those who are governed by the few, instead of the many," and thus would "encourage her countrymen to hold fast by a constitution that insures all the blessings which flow from established habits and solid principles." Consequently, her book, besides setting American teeth on edge, proved to be a heavy volley in the rather prolonged "cold" war between aristocratic Britons and democratic Americans—a noisy war of books and quarterlies.

By observation and by conversation Mrs. Trollope learned about American behavior various and sundry things, some of which, unhappily, were true. Of the numerous goings on that displeased her, only a few can be mentioned here. She did not take kindly to the thrifty American practice of letting the pigs remove the garbage that had been thrown into city streets; she had little liking for the American habit of eating rapidly and in silence; and she was taken aback by the widespread misuse by Americans of the English language. But her greatest objection—and here her heart beat in unison with that of the "dread sovereign" James I—was to the use by Americans of the soothing herb called tobacco. Mrs. Trollope and the illustrious Stuart monarch, however, emphasized different aspects of a custom they both per-
ceived to be an evil one. Whereas the royal author of *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* and of *A Counter-Blaste to Tobacco* declaimed against smoke that was "harmeful to the braine" and that "neerest" resembled "the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomlesse," the dainty author of *Domestic Manners of the Americans* revolted against the copious brownish showers that were forever descending from American mouths upon American carpets—the consequence of that "most vile and universal habit of chewing tobacco." For showers like these she had never pleaded. Nevertheless, the land continued to be spit-drenched. Everywhere, she observed, American men spat tobacco juice; and, she lamented, they spat on everything. They spat to show that they were free; they spat to prove that they had no superiors; and they spat because they had the best government on earth.

But, the people thereof excepted, Mrs. Trollope thought rather well of America; and she was generous enough to believe that there were some Americans "who with the wisdom of philosophers, and the fair candour of gentlemen, shrink from a profession of equality which they feel to be untrue, and believe to be impossible." If "power should pass into such hands," she would truly rejoice; and if Americans should once "learn to cling to the graces, the honours, the chivalry of life" (and leave off crucifying the King's English), then she would gladly "welcome to European fellowship one of the finest countries on the earth."

Americans today can read Mrs. Trollope's book without experiencing any feeling of resentment, and, apart from the amusement such reading will give them, they can learn from it a great deal about their countrymen of the Jacksonian era. The good lady, it is true, wrote a biased, Toryish book, but as compensation for this fault she did tell some truths—unpleasant truths; and many Americans of her time, though they squirmed and fumed as they read her book, profited by what she told them. No American library should be without a copy of this book. And every Pennsylvanian should read Mrs. Trollope's comments on life in Philadelphia.

*Bucknell University*

J. ORIN OLIPHANT


During the last fifteen years in particular, as the result of the explorations of scholars in many diverse directions, a South different from that of the stereotyped concept that existed for many years after the War Between the States has come into existence. The attempts at integration of these explorations have, however, not been numerous. By skillful use of many articles and monographs, some of them from the pen of Professor Eaton himself, and by the use of original sources as well, the author has produced the most penetrating work to this time on the South from colonial beginnings to 1861.

The emphasis is upon the internal history of the section, rather than upon the South in the political history of the nation. Such titles among the twenty-three chapters as "The Rise of a Native Aristocracy," "Breaking the Bonds
of Empire," "Characteristics of Southern Agriculture," "Calhoun and State Rights," "Commerce of the Old South," "The Social Pyramid in 1850-60," and "The Chrysalis Stage of Southern Culture" suggest the varied character of the topics treated. The objectivity usually apparent does not mean the absence of interpretation and analysis. The advantages and disadvantages of the English navigation system are carefully weighed, and the disadvantages of the later cotton factorage system are made clear. There were aristocrats in the South, but most of them were made, not born; there were also "poor whites" in the South, but thousands of Southern yeoman farmers were not included in that category. The region made marked intellectual progress in some respects, and had shortcomings in others. Political democracy, though not fully achieved by 1860, had made conspicuous advances. Slavery in some ways retarded the growth of the section, but was not, as many charged, the source of all its ills. The signal contribution of Professor Eaton is his excellent portrayal of the evolution of the unique culture of a region.

Additional light might have been thrown upon some of the topics treated. There seems to be some uncertainty as to whether indentured servants did or did not become, to an appreciable extent, yeoman farmers (pp. 41, 53). The political aspects of the controversy over petitions are not mentioned. The impression apparently conveyed (pp. 356-357) that the South, when Oregon Territory was being organized, insisted upon the acceptance of the Calhoun view concerning slavery in territories is erroneous, since Southern representatives voted heavily in favor of organizing Oregon as a free territory, provided that the extension of the Missouri Compromise line was recognized in so doing. The considerable hostility in the South itself to the Southern commercial conventions is scarcely mentioned, and one might wish that the author had not ended his volume without completing his treatment of the secession movement. How much attention, in a work of this kind, to devote to the sectional controversy is admittedly a difficult question to answer. This reviewer, however, feels that the author might have paid more attention to the Republican, and not simply the abolitionist, assaults upon the South and to the attacks by many Southerners upon Northern "society" as highly emotional factors generating conflict.

This large volume is generally free of errors, but there are several. John Taylor of Caroline becomes (p. 208) John Taylor of Carolina, an obvious typographical error. Senator Borah's middle initial is not H. (p. 377) but E. In the bibliography (p. 617) W. G. Simms is credited with two books written by H. H. Simms.

*The Ohio State University*

**HENRY H. SIMMS**


American historians have been wont to describe in detail the influences which the British Isles and Europe have exercised on the civilization of America. Few, if any, writers have attempted to analyze the impact of the New World upon the Old.
Professor Kraus's approach to his subject is different. While not neglecting the contributions made by Europe to American culture, he emphasizes the part the colonies played in the development "of that synthesis called 'the Atlantic civilization,' which, though fundamentally European, was undergoing transformations resulting from New World influences" (Preface, p. vii).

The discoveries in America profoundly affected the life of Europe. Economic changes already under way were accelerated; the imagination of poets, philosophers, and dramatists was stimulated; the investigations of historians were broadened; and impetus was given to the study of social sciences. "Political scientists," states the author (p. 309), "were led to think more critically of the nature of governments by comparing their own institutions with those newly found in America and elsewhere."

In a scholarly manner the author demonstrates the Old World's indebtedness to America. He notes especially the establishment of the free circulating libraries advocated by a Maryland clergyman as early as 1697, eighty of which were set up in England and Wales by 1730; the contributions of colonial artists to the development of historical painting; the introduction of the American style of architecture in Hessen-Kassel by the Hessian officers who had fought for Britain during the Revolution; the foundation of London's first natural-history museum, which had its start with a collection of specimens from America and the West Indies; the studies of the Swedish expedition to North America (despatched on the advice of the botanist, Linnaeus) which collected seeds of plants in order to improve Swedish agriculture, manufactures, arts, and sciences; and the incalculable effect which the American Revolution had on the political thinking of Europe and Latin America, thus paving the way for other struggles for the achievement of democratic ideals and of human rights and liberties.

Pennsylvania's share in the development of the Atlantic civilization during the eighteenth century was considerable. That intellectual giant, Benjamin Franklin, cast a tremendous influence over his contemporaries. European scholars sought his advice, his criticisms, and his comments on amazingly diverse subjects. His publications, especially his Autobiography, were read avidly; the Scots Magazine observed that he was better known abroad than at home. Pennsylvania led the way in penal reform, the German writer, Kleinschrod, declaring that "no American state had as good a system of criminal legislation as Pennsylvania" (p. 137). The establishment of the American Philosophical Society contributed much to the exchange of scientific information between Europe and America, and Europeans deemed themselves honored if elected to its membership. Philadelphia, under Dr. Benjamin Rush's leadership, was "the most important center of medicine in America"; here medicine was "taught more scientifically . . . than in London" (p. 197).

Professor Kraus's book abounds with footnote citations. Much of his material is based upon original sources of which some were consulted in Europe and others in America. The selected bibliography (pp. 315-325) is excellent. The principal defect of the work lies in the index. Most of the
personal names and most of the subjects are included, but all the local names (Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Boston, Georgia, etc.) are omitted. One interested in emigration from specified German states (as is the reviewer) would miss the reference to the 1773 decree issued by Nassau-Dillenburg (mentioned on p. 241) if he depended upon the index only. But these are minor imperfections which detract little from the value of the treatise.

Green Meadows, Maryland

MILTON RUBINCAM


Andrew Bradford, printer and publisher of the American Weekly Mercury from 1719 to 1742, was an outstanding figure in colonial journalism. His paper was the rival sheet in Philadelphia to Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette, and for that reason perhaps he has not received due recognition. Franklin has depicted him as rich and affluent, but as an indifferent printer. Allowing for Franklin's captious criticism, we must admit that this study somewhat confirms the judgment. He suffers by comparison with Franklin, but probably his influence was as great as that of his counterparts in other colonial cities. Colonial printers as a rule did not write much; their papers were vehicles for the controversies of others and depositories for miscellany from a variety of sources. A thorough study of the content of Bradford's newspaper forms the major portion of this book.

Few details can be learned about the personality or character of Bradford, and these personal data are effectively marshalled in one chapter. This falls short of being a biography, a fact which the author acknowledges. Nevertheless, this information is extremely important, and on this score we are grateful for a thorough job of research.

The author's treatment of newspaper comment is largely descriptive. She deals with it as evidence of colonial literary tastes and of the fare provided the colonial reader. Such treatment, however, gives an imperfect idea of the resources of the publisher and of his capacity as a journalist. The author has been diligent in tracing material copied from other publications, and has copiously documented this study. The display of such erudition, however, goes far to justify the critics of documentation. References to the Mercury are given by number instead of by date; and of what possible value to the reader is the list of some twenty-three numbers, for example, which give an account of the American expedition to Nova Scotia? Or of what use is it to know that another paper is quoted in some ten or a dozen cited numbers? Should a student wish to pursue such references, however, there is a nine-page tabulation of the numbers and their corresponding dates (incorrectly labeled an "index" to the issues). Newspapers in documentation should be cited by dates, thus conveying some idea of chronology even to the casual reader.

A chapter on "Politics in Philadelphia: the Bradford-Hamilton Controversy" holds forth hope of some clue to the principles of our "journalist." Yet the bitter exchange with Andrew Hamilton appears to have been the
result of partisan antipathy rather than of principle. The Mercury reflected the political issues of the time, and was the vehicle for politicians. Yet writers veiled their identity in pseudonyms, and the printer frequently evaded responsibility.

Like other printer-journalists, Bradford printed a considerable number of books and pamphlets. While noting the quantity of this output, the author disclaims the intent of a bibliographical study, and she provides no checklist of imprints. Such a list would be a most important gauge of the printer's influence, as well as an indication of his success.

Within the limitations set, this is a thorough and scholarly study and a contribution to the history of colonial journalism.


American Democracy has looked often for leadership to the product of an American formula. An ambitious farm lad studies law and goes into politics. Countless times the product of this operation has become a central figure in community life and has been awarded the responsibility of government. This success story is found with almost undeviating regularity on the frontier. How many lawyers have been architects of democracy in the newly forming communities?

Silas Wright, Jr., was a lad who grew up on a farm in Vermont, went to Middlebury College, taught school, and then went over into New York State to study law. Admitted to the bar in 1819, he discovered that there was need of a lawyer at Canton in growing St. Lawrence County. There he settled and became the local arbiter and jack-of-all-trades which a frontier lawyer so often was. He was naturally friendly, a good mixer, and so just as naturally he went to the legislature. In his own county he secured 1,439 votes to his opponent's 20. This was the measure of the man, one so gifted with the art of inspiring public confidence and loyalty that a scattered population in a rural frontier county would almost unanimously support him for office.

From this initial success in 1823 until his final and only real defeat in 1846 he held public offices, being legislator, Congressman, Comptroller of New York, U. S. Senator (1833-1845), and finally governor of the Empire State. All this time he was a Bucktail, a friend of Van Buren, a member of the Albany Regency, a supporter of Jackson, and a radical Democrat. He helped to create the great state party, the New York Democracy, and then by his own ineptitude, strange in one so expert, he had much to do with the disintegration which almost put it out of business in the forties. In 1844 he could have had the nomination for the presidency had not his loyalty to Van Buren prevented it.

He is one of those many figures in our party history who were great in their day, who were constantly in office, and who yet make it hard for students of a later time to discover why men thought them great. Here was a shrewd, good fellow, a hard drinker, author of no public measure, a
man marked particularly by his loyalty to those whom he accepted as leaders. It is to this last-named trait that we must look for the explanation of his career. In the day of the formation of real parties he was loyal and trustworthy; he could be counted on to build an organization and to work tirelessly for it. It is interesting to note that, when in response to the demands of the organization he became governor, he sought to put off the quiet clothing of a loyal party worker and to assume the garments of a statesman. This was laudable, but for statesmanship he had no training or background; and, like his mentor Van Buren in the presidency, he was a total failure as governor. Party regularity and routine office-holding too often are not adequate training for statesmanship; rather they serve to disqualify for the highest responsibilities of government.

This study is well done. The author has expertly threaded the maze of New York politics. He contributes a very keen analysis of the situation in the national Democratic party in 1844. He senses the tragedy of Wright's life. He has added to our knowledge of the shortcomings of democracy. We need this knowledge to help us guard against them.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS


The title correctly speaks of laughter “on” rather than “of” the frontier. Much herein recorded had its genesis elsewhere and was brought to the frontier. It was relished by, but was not always created by, frontier folk. The material represents America, not just a part of it.

The book is a collection, culled from a very great range of literary record, rather than an organic whole. The headings are for the most part apt, but are occasionally farfetched; and some of the items are coerced into the mold provided for them. It must be conceded, however, that the materials were difficult to reduce to order.

The whole is deceptively simple, unassuming, and unpretentious; wherefore some of the author's deftest points may be overlooked. Here is no profound analysis or pregnant theorizing. Yet the author does make an effort to fit his material into a Turnerian pattern; or, rather, he seeks to utilize the material to illustrate certain aspects of frontier theory, and to apply the theory to the particular manifestation of American behavior called folk humor. He derives the tall tales beloved of frontier raconteurs from the impulse to geographical expansion and to familiarity with huge areas and big movements. The popular anecdote is the creature of the frontier's militant democracy. The special manifestations of religion on the frontier are illustrated by episode and tale. The frontiersman's contempt for formalism, whether in matters legal or theological, or in personal intercourse and manners, is abundantly illustrated in anecdote and quip. Alleged traits of frontier character, such as crudity, love of bluster and braggadocio, exaggeration and extravagance of utterance, all seem confirmed by the specimens of what delighted folk on the frontier. The author ponders the debatable propo-
sition that frontiersmen were either gloomy and despairing, their laughter a futile striving for surcease; or, contrarily, were buoyant and optimistic, their laughter merely a conspicuous expression of that trait. He directs his evidence to affirm the latter.

There is value in this collection in that it exhibits the sources of American laughter and its special qualities; reveals and illuminates phases of frontier life; and suggests (if it does not actually make) an application of frontier theory to one aspect of American life. But its greatest worth lies in the extensive, almost exhaustive, bibliographies appended to the chapters. Obviously the author has levied upon every kind and piece of record that would yield even a mite. There is doubtless too much Texas in the bibliographies and in the chapters. But students will find here a comprehensive and invaluable guide and work of reference.

The reviewer was impressed by the astonishing amount of American humor which (if one relies upon the illustrations here assembled) was not spontaneous, impromptu, created by sparkling minds and imaginations on the instant in response to an immediate situation. Much of it appears to have been elaborated, studiously contrived for effect. Does the Turner theory of frontier character and behavior have room for this phenomenon?

The James Millikin University

Abide in the Presence. By the Alumni and Friends of the Theological Seminary of the United Lutheran Church in America. (Gettysburg, Pa.: Times and News Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. 80. $3.00.)

This book brings to the reader the factual details and something of the worshipful spirit engendered by the Chapel on the Hill built within the past decade for the use of the Theological Seminary of the United Lutheran Church in historic Gettysburg. The chapel itself with its Greek columns and colonial steeple has been greatly admired for its simple beauty in setting and design. The stained-glass windows are rich in sentiment and glorious in artistic beauty, variety, and harmony. Each window has its appropriate theme.

In the beautifully illustrated pages of this quarto-sized book the reader is guided through the chapel from the vestibule to the high altar, and in the journey learns, through symbols, heroic figures, and Biblical incidents, the story of Christianity, including the history of the Lutheran Church and of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary.

The windows, which are reproduced in this book by full-page color plates artistically arranged, are remarkable not only for beauty of workmanship and design but for a skillful solution of a difficult problem in fenestration. Colonial windows with small wooden frames are not usually associated with stained pieces of glass of irregular shape assembled by means of lead strips. The artists solved this problem in the Gettysburg Chapel, preserving the colonial style and at the same time harmonizing it in such a way that the aggregate in each window forms a part of an inspiring theme. Reproduced, too, are the tablets erected in the chapel as memorials to Seminary graduates.
who laid down their lives as missionaries in India and in Africa "in their Master's service."

The original conception of this book came from Pastor John D. Foerster. Its publication was made possible by the friends of the Somerset, Pa., Chapter of the Seminary. In addition to the necessary and helpful descriptions of the main features of the chapel, the book contains a series of meditations and prayers fitting the various figures and symbols of the sanctuary.

The whole book is in good taste, worthy of the subject and the title. In format, ornamentation, colored illustrations, and contents this handsome publication, bound in white embossed cover, will be appreciated by anyone interested in church architecture as a medium for the worship of God in the beauty of His sanctuary. The book is a joy to behold and a keepsake to cherish. Its value is more than local.

*Lancaster, Pa.*

H. M. J. Klein
CONTRIBUTORS


G. EDWIN BRUMBAUGH is architectural consultant of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for the restoration of historic buildings. He lives at Gwynedd Valley.

HAROLD E. DICKSON, professor of architecture at the Pennsylvania State College, has done research on Pennsylvania architecture under a grant from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

HENRY T MACNEIL is the artist who drew the cover sketch, which is one of a series of historic landmarks issued by the Stephen Moylan Company, Whitford, Pa.

HAROLD M. HELFMAN is an instructor in the department of history, Ohio State University.

CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS is on the faculty of Dickinson College, and is the author of a biography of Charles Willson Peale.

SYLVESTER K. STEVENS, State Historian, is president of this association, and of the American Association for State and Local History.
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