

BOOK REVIEWS

Washington's Farewell Address In facsimile, with transliterations of all the drafts of Washington, Madison, & Hamilton, together with their correspondence and other supporting documents. Edited, with a History of its Origin, Reception by the Nation, Rise of the Controversy respecting its Authorship, and a Bibliography, by VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS. (New York: New York Public Library, 1935. xvi, 360 p. \$12.50.)

To the historically minded of Philadelphia, and, particularly, to the members of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, this volume should be one of especial interest. It was in Philadelphia, early in 1792, that President Washington first announced to James Madison his intention to retire from the presidency. It was in Philadelphia, four years later, that Washington drew up the first sketch of the Farewell Address, and, after the receipt of the forms prepared by Alexander Hamilton, penned the final draft. Here, too, on September 19, 1796, the Farewell Address was published by David C. Claypoole in the *American Daily Advertiser*. Here, in 1811, Judge Richard Peters, writing from Belmont, exchanged letters with John Jay in which he remarked upon the "unnecessary Buzz" to the effect that Alexander Hamilton was the real author of the Farewell Address. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at the time under the presidency of William Rawle, published in 1826, in the first volume of its *Memoirs*, a discussion of the authorship of the Address; and likewise endeavored to secure from Claypoole the original manuscript which was still in his possession. In Philadelphia in 1849, the original manuscript was advertised for sale at auction. Although the Congress of the United States took action in the matter, this was done too late; and, as no Philadelphian would bid more than the twenty-three hundred dollars offered, on February 12, 1850, by the Reverend Dr. Henry Alexander Boardman, pastor of the Tenth Presbyterian Church, who acted as purchaser for James Lenox, of New York, the original manuscript left Philadelphia forever. Here, finally, in 1859, Horace Binney, one of the ablest of Philadelphia's lawyers, published his celebrated monograph, *An Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address*. This work of Binney, written three-quarters of a century ago, constitutes, it may be noted, the nearest approach to what Dr. Paltsits has now accomplished. The conclusions of Binney on the major question of the authorship of the Farewell Address Dr. Paltsits approves; but he keenly criticizes the failure of Binney to grasp the full identity of Hamilton's "major draft," the inaccuracy of Binney's documenting, and his too great dependence on texts printed by others or furnished in copy.

The history of the controversy over the authorship of the Farewell Address comprises the freshest and most revealing part of Dr. Paltsits' work. Next in importance is the documentary material. This consists, first, of an excellent

facsimile of the final manuscript; secondly, of transliterations of other manuscripts and drafts together with some facsimile pages of these several papers; and, thirdly, of selected correspondence and documents for the years 1792, 1796, 1811, 1818-19, 1825-27, 1836, 1839, and 1850. At the close of the work is to be found a "Bibliography of the Farewell Address," covering forty-nine pages. This bibliography, it may be noted, is limited to editions of the Address, including, first, the separate pamphlet editions of 1796, and, secondly, the texts as published in newspapers and magazines of that year. The arrangement in each case is geographical.

Upon the format of the book both the editor and the New York Public Library are to be congratulated, for this is one of the most handsome of volumes recently published. The absence of an index, although perhaps to be regretted, is understandable in the light of the mixed character of the work, with its large proportion of documentary material. As to the printing, when the only fault that has been noted is an irregularity in the spacing on page xv of the Preface, the rule of perfection seems pretty nearly established by so small an exception.

With respect to Dr. Paltsits' presentation, in his introductory chapters, of the origins of the Farewell Address there lies occasion for a word of friendly criticism. One can understand—indeed one must share—the feeling of the editor that such a monumental work should be free from partisanship, even from an exaggeration of the evidences of contemporary partisanship. But history is history: and all the truth should be told briefly, if not elaborately. Three of Dr. Paltsits' chapters are headed successively as follows, "The Plan of Washington to retire in 1793 and why it failed," "The Plan of Washington to retire in 1797—How it was consummated—The Farewell Address prepared and published," and "The Reactions to the Farewell Address succeeding its publication." As to the chapter which deals with the year 1792 one can have only praise. Concerning Dr. Paltsits' account of the year 1796, however, it must be noted that he dismisses the background of politics almost entirely. He alludes, indeed, to the opposition in the House of Representatives towards John Jay and to the incompatibility of Jefferson and Hamilton; but I question whether anyone not otherwise informed would derive from Dr. Paltsits' narrative a clear vision of all the different objectives involved in the preparation of the Farewell Address. Every one who peruses this volume of Dr. Paltsits' should afterwards turn to the article, "Washington's Farewell Address" by Dr. S. F. Bemis, to be found in *The American Historical Review*, XXXIX. 250 ff. (January, 1934). Like Dr. Paltsits, Professor Bemis maintains that, however much Hamilton may have aided, the ideas in the Farewell Address were, for the most part, of Washington's own thinking. But, says Professor Bemis with entire correctness, "The Address was as directly pointed to the diplomatic problems of the French Revolution as were Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points to the intricate diplomacy of the World War." In discussing the reactions to the Farewell Address, Dr. Paltsits refers briefly to the "silent sirens of the opposition press." With reference, however, to unfavorable com-

ment upon the Address, his chapter, except for a paragraph on William Duane's *Letter to George Washington*, is comparatively "silent." Had the editor's plan extended beyond the expressions of the press and the resolutions of legislatures, he might have included the scorching despatch which P. A. Adet wrote from Philadelphia, October 12, 1796, to the Foreign Office of the French Republic, in which, apart from its violence of tone, the most interesting point is Adet's immediate attribution to the Address of the "doctrine" of Alexander Hamilton.

Of Horace Binney's monograph, Dr. Paltsits has written that as an historical treatise it "should be avoided by scholars." Concerning this volume of Dr. Paltsits exactly the opposite advice is to be given. Every student should be familiar with it. But every student should bring to it a full realization that the Farewell Address is to be remembered not only as the declination of a third presidential term and as a political legacy for succeeding generations, but also, in a very real sense, as a party document, designed to rally opinion in this country against the interference of the representatives of France in the approaching presidential election of 1796.

University of Pennsylvania

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

The First Century of American Literature, 1770-1870. By FRED LEWIS PATTEE. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935. viii, 613 p. \$3.50.)

Dr. Pattee doesn't mention it, but it is the somewhat astonishing fact that he was the first professor of American literature ever appointed to the faculty of an American college. That was in 1894, and the institution was the State College of Pennsylvania. Before his appointment brief courses in the subject had been offered at Smith, at Wisconsin and at Michigan, but Dr. Pattee was its first full professor, and he has remained one of its ornaments to this day, though he left Pennsylvania for Florida in 1928 and now operates his critical machine under the palms of Coronado Beach.

Its latest product is a worthy successor to the *History of American Literature Since 1870* which appeared in 1915, and indeed the two volumes are companions to each other, and were planned to cover together the whole course of the national letters. There is nothing revolutionary or otherwise extraordinary in them. They do not demolish any traditional reputations or attempt to set up any new ones. But from first to last they show a really tremendous acquaintance with and understanding of American literature, and there has never been any similar work which covered the ground more thoroughly, or with better sense. In this or that detail, of course, the author lays himself open to cavil—as when in the present volume, for example, he passes over "Barbara Frietchie," probably the best ballad ever written in America, and again when he forgets "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"—, but on the whole his selections are as shrewd as his judgments are sound, and the panorama of the national letters that he offers is not only vivid, but also admirably proportioned.

His studies long ago convinced him that American literature has been by no means a monopoly of its great ornaments. Irving and Cooper, to be sure, were important, but the lesser men of their time, each plowing his narrow stretch of the Federal scene, were perhaps even more important; Emerson influenced all American writing, but it was also influenced profoundly by the newspaper humorists and the writers of annuals and gift-books. To these minor figures Dr. Pattee gives more space, relatively speaking, than they have ever got in any similar history, and to his discussion of them he brings a wide and exact knowledge of their work. In brief, he has put an enormous amount of industry and a high degree of critical acumen into his book, and it deserves a secure place among the small number of literary histories that are really valuable.

Baltimore

H. L. MENCKEN

Antoine Charles du Houx, Baron de Vioménil: Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the King; Second in Command under Rochambeau. By LE COMTE DE MONTMORT. Englished by JOHN FRANCIS GOUGH. (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. 66 p. Illustrations.)

This is indeed a curious little volume. In a brief foreword the Count de Montmort declares that he was moved to write the present biographical sketch because the Baron "served with such great distinction" in the War for American Independence. Historians will agree when the author laments that in the various accounts of that war no "adequate" sketch of Vioménil is to be found. The reader presumably will find something adequate in the present volume. But in the Count's essay there are but some six hundred words devoted to Vioménil's participation in the American Revolution, and they hardly summarize the facts already known of those services!

The translator has done his part of the task exceedingly well, but the Count gave him very little that was worth translating. Mr. Gough does his best to save the volume by adding seven documents as an appendix and by contributing a number of useful notes. He is likewise responsible for the remarkable end papers which adorn the item. Curiously enough, the reader will find in the translator's notes indications of valuable manuscript materials which the Count de Montmort failed to utilize.

The American career of the Baron de Vioménil deserves good monographic treatment; this present publication of the *Institut Français de Washington* is distinctly not what is needed. The translator has unconsciously made it evident that it was he, and not the Count, who should have been entrusted with the task. What boots it that the Count is the "last descendant, after his father the Marquis de Montmort, of the Baron de Vioménil"? This reviewer hopes that it is not too late to remedy the present mistake and that we shall yet have from the pen of Mr. Gough a merited and adequate treatment of an interesting subject.

Yale University

FRANK MONAGHAN

The Lincoln Legend. By ROY P. BASLER. (Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1935. 336, xiv p. \$3.50.)

The soil of the United States has proved peculiarly fertile for the seed of heroic tradition. Within the brief compass of our national development, as Mr. Basler points out, we have nourished more men of heroic mould, from the popular viewpoint, than other nations of greater age and longer tradition. What are the phases in this growth? The author wishes to find out, so he writes a biography of a tradition, the Lincoln legend.

He inaugurates his work with a chronological survey of Lincoln's biographers and their contributions, supplemented by a brief discussion of the figure made by Lincoln in anecdotes, poetry, the drama, and the novel. He then turns to contemporary comment, emphasizing that made by the discerning literary men of his time such as Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, Hawthorne and Whitman. His third category of examination is an analysis of the recollections and folklore about Lincoln's early life, touching such things as the mystery of his ancestry, his model youth, the great prowess of his early manhood, and the melting romance of Ann Rutledge explaining their similarity to the great heroic myths common to all lands.

The last half of the book deals with the growth of the tradition of his greatness and the character of his genius. Lincoln appears as a prophet, savior, and martyr. Eulogists and biographers alike have carried him to a plane in some instances as high as that of Christ and so firmly is the tradition of prophetic connection with the Divinity developed that the author feels, "If all the conspiracy of circumstances and events which cast him at once into the sky becomes eventually naught, and the interpreters of Lincoln are found false; still, the 'Second Inaugural Address' will be prophecy and its author somewhat allied with God."

Likewise Lincoln figures strongly in literature as emancipator and savior of the Union, a theme which has inspired much writing. Even more important is the concept that Lincoln mystically typified the spirit of America, that he in essence was the true American. As the author says, "The elemental matter remains for the future poet to employ in any way he desires . . . the possibilities of Lincoln as matter for literature have barely been realized."

While devoting himself almost exclusively to the literary treatment of Lincoln, the author adds an illuminating chapter upon the work of sculptors and painters in studying the great subject and he plentifully illustrates the book with pictures of the various statues of Lincoln. All told, the author concludes that interest in Lincoln shows no signs of flagging and that the printing press and the various media of art are being constantly used to interpret and re-interpret the intriguing mystery of this greatest of Americans.

The work in itself shows extremely painstaking and conscientious effort to assimilate the spirit of a vast literature and to attempt to pass certain judgments upon the varying worth of the multitude who have attempted to interpret Lincoln. Naturally all the judgments cannot be accepted by any one person, but so careful are they that where they may not be acceptable, they will nevertheless not offend. The book itself is written in good style and it is very easy to see that

the author has not been uninfluenced by the extent to which his study has called upon him to read good literature. Quite aside from the merits of the book, the author owes Lincoln a great debt. Just as Douglas Freeman, at the conclusion of his extensive work on Robert E. Lee, rejoiced that he had spent twenty years with a cultured gentleman, so Mr. Basler must rejoice in having spent a long time in intimate contact with a genius and mystic.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

The Records of the Virginia Company of London. Edited by SUSAN MYRA KINGSBURY, A.M., PH.D., Carola Woerishoffer Professor of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College. Volume III. [The Library of Congress.] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933. xx, 769 p. \$5.00.)

The settlement of Virginia may be compared to a laboratory experiment in which the Elizabethan theories of colonization were subjected to their first major tests. From those trials were drawn certain conclusions relied upon for guidance, both by private adventurers and by the government, in succeeding English ventures in the new world. Therein lies the larger significance of the early history of Virginia, and the true importance of Miss Kingsbury's careful collection and scholarly editing of the records of the London Company.

This third volume of a set designed for completion in four volumes (the first two comprised the court minutes of the company from 1619 to 1624) includes a wide variety of materials collected with infinite patience from many American and foreign depositories. The instructions to the colony's governors throw light upon the aims and hopes which inspired the adventurers. Records of suits in Chancery by the company against defaulting subscribers to the joint-stock indicate the importance of expectations of profit on investment in the adventurers' first support of the enterprise. Official correspondence between the governors in Virginia and the company's officers in London reveal, at times in great detail, the plans and methods upon which the company relied for the realization of that profit. While materials gathered from private collections (the Ferrar Papers and the Manchester Papers are of chief importance) present more frankly than can any official correspondence the mistakes in policy and administration that go far to explain the repeated failures and the ultimate collapse of the company. For the study of early proprietary plantations developed under patents from the company the Smyth of Nibley Papers provide a valuable aid to the understanding of experiments of great importance in the background of later proprietary grants from the crown.

Most of the materials fall as to date between the election in 1619 of Sir Edwin Sandys as governor of the company and the year 1622, which witnessed the final failure of his heroic efforts to rescue the company from bankruptcy. These are the most significant years of the company's history, and Miss Kingsbury has placed all students of American colonization heavily in her debt.

New York University

W. F. CRAVEN

Nathaniel Evans. A Poet of Colonial America. By Edgar Legare Pennington. (Ocala, Florida: Privately printed, 1935. [32] p. \$0.50.)

In this pamphlet of thirty-two unnumbered pages the Reverend Mr. Pennington has attempted to present the few known facts relative to the life of the Reverend Nathaniel Evans, one of Philadelphia's earliest lyric poets of any consequence, and to survey his major verse. Evans, whose life spanned the quarter century from 1743 to 1767, early came under the influence of Dr. William Smith at the time when, as provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, he was encouraging the youthful endeavors of such men as Thomas Godfrey, Benjamin West, Jacob Duché, and Francis Hopkinson. Dr. Smith preserved, and in 1772 published posthumously, the verses of Evans under the title, *Poems on Several Occasions, with Some Other Compositions*. Prefixed to this volume was a brief biographical sketch of the poet, on which all subsequent accounts have been based.

The present work is divided into two parts: "Evans the Poet" and "Evans the Priest." Nothing in the way of critical appraisal is offered which will add to our estimate of Evans's position among colonial poets. It is long since his verse has been read for its poetic beauties, and Mr. Pennington is but stating an accepted opinion when he says that we "will not find in Evans another Keats." His significance is historical rather than aesthetic, a fact which Mr. Pennington has suggested, but not developed. That Evans, together with others in the Philadelphia group, was imitating the work of Collins and Gray and was not averse to seeking inspiration for his lyric verses in native surroundings at a time when fellow poets were for the most part still laboring under the spell of Pope, is, it seems to the reviewer, an indication of a future trend in American letters. Although the poetry of Evans fades when compared with that of his English contemporaries and that of later American writers, the fact remains that in his work we have what might very well be considered a foreshadowing of at least one phase of the romantic movement.

A few biographical details warrant comment. It might be pointed out that Evans's acquaintance with the poetess Miss Elizabeth Graeme (later Mrs. Fergusson) receives scant consideration, although their friendship is one of the very few well known facts in his life. His *An Ode. Written at G—me Park*, which celebrates a visit at Miss Graeme's country estate where he probably sought rest and quiet while combating the disease that soon terminated his career, is unmentioned. Exception might be taken to the identification of a parody on Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard* contained in Evans's volume of verse. The parody was the beginning of a sprightly versified correspondence carried on between Miss Graeme, as Laura, and Evans, as Damon, and is from Laura's pen, not Damon's. These epistles, probably better known than any other works by either writer, afford intimate glimpses of the poet's personality, and suggest that his interest in this Philadelphia belle might have developed further had he received encouragement.

The greatest value of the pamphlet is to be found in the second chapter, "Evans as Priest." Here Mr. Pennington has availed himself of hitherto unused

biographical data that shed considerable light on Evans's activities as a missionary in southern Jersey, and on the details of his death and burial. For the assembling of this new material from the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and from other contemporary sources, literary historians are indebted to Mr. Pennington. Although he does not quite bring his subject to life, he has provided important material for the definitive study of Nathaniel Evans that will in time be made.

Columbia University

CHESTER T. HALLENBECK

Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile American. By J. Fred Rippy. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1935. xii, 257 p. Illustrations, index. \$2.50.)

Joel R. Poinsett, A Study in Diplomacy. By Herbert E. Putnam. (Burlington, Vermont: Privately printed, 1935.)

So much of the same source material has been used in the preparation of each of these books, and their points of view of Poinsett are so similar, that the reviewer's task can be simplified by first stressing their omissions. Each is written in a complimentary—at times Professor Rippy inclines to an almost eulogistic—strain, and neither reveals the sense of critical appraisal which is so essential in biography. As a noted book reviewer recently added, "There can be no real greatness without some individuality in proportion," and neither of these writings appears to the reviewer to either sufficiently emphasize Poinsett's individuality, or to suitably stress the growth of his national reputation and position. Neither has made use of all available source material. Although Professor Putnam seems to have consulted more contemporary newspapers than Professor Rippy, he has by no means covered them for contemporary allusions to Poinsett. This is particularly true of those of the Van Buren Administration. A most notable omission of source material in both these works is the failure to make use of the Campbell correspondence in the Historical Society of South Carolina, at Charleston, without which it is difficult to see how a complete picture of Poinsett's activities from 1832 to 1845 could be drawn. Two important sources of material in England have also been neglected—the Sir Charles Vaughan papers at Oxford, and the despatches of the British Minister, Fox, to Lord Palmerston, for the period between 1837 and 1841. In a number of instances in each book, a more analytic and detailed use of the Poinsett Papers in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania would have served to amplify many of the phases of Poinsett's career.

A number of other omissions become apparent as we analyze the two volumes by chapters. Neither contains an accurate genealogy of Poinsett. While the political reasons for Poinsett's mission to Argentina and Chile are mentioned by both authors, the fact that United States trade with those countries had been going on for at least 12 years before Poinsett arrived in Buenos Aires on February 13, 1811, is not even alluded to. Some account of the commercial relations of the United States with South America in 1811 and 1812 would have added greatly to this portion of the book. The statement of Professor Rippy that Poinsett was an apostle of liberty in South America, is open to serious discussion,

and the critical estimates of his Chilean activities by some of that country's historians might well have been included in an appraisal of his activities there. The writings of Dr. Ravignani, of the University of Buenos Aires, on Poinsett's mission there, are not even alluded to.

Professor Rippy's failure to secure more detailed information regarding Poinsett's expenditures as Commissioner of the Board of Public Works of South Carolina might have been remedied by his consulting Poinsett's manuscript notebook on this topic, in the Mexican Division of the Library of Congress. It is difficult to reconcile Professor Rippy's statement that Poinsett's services as a member of Congress were not conspicuous with some of his other remarks regarding Poinsett's congressional activities. The failure to consult the Vaughan papers and other sources concerning Poinsett's term of office as United States Minister to Mexico, renders the accounts given by both authors of this period incomplete; although Professor Putnam does well to mention the difficulties that Poinsett encountered in protecting American interests while in Mexico.

In regard to the discussions of Poinsett's part in the Nullification period, Professor Rippy has apparently not consulted Poinsett's letter to Stephen F. Austin of October 14, 1832 (American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1922, *Austin Papers*, II. 875-77), in which Poinsett specifically alludes to "the short time I had the command (of the anti-Nullification forces)—not three weeks." While this letter is mentioned and commented on by Professor Putnam, neither he nor Professor Rippy appears to realize how studiously Poinsett kept himself away from the forefront of the Nullification Controversy until "he had the command," and even then did everything possible to keep far in the background.

The portions of both books dealing with the four years (1837-1841) when Poinsett was Secretary of War, are curiously inadequate. They omit the Masonic influences which were not without effect on his appointment. Though they enumerate the actions of Poinsett in what might be termed the routine duties inseparable from his office, they fail to appraise either Poinsett's position in the Administration as the "favorite Minister of Van Buren," or the very important part he played in the foreign affairs of that Administration, when he decisively influenced the discussion and settlement of many questions involving foreign relations.

An instance of this is their failure to allude to the fact that it was stated in the Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia newspapers in April, 1839, that Poinsett was to supplant Forsyth as Secretary of State (See *American Daily Advertiser*, April 6, 1839) at a time when President Van Buren was treating Forsyth with "cool, polite, and diplomatic reserve" (*ibid.*, April 8, 1839).

Poinsett's part in the Westward Movement is strangely neglected, as well as the influences exerted by his reforms at West Point on the educational system of the country as a whole. His part in the Campaign of 1840 is neither sufficiently emphasized nor clarified; and without such accentuation it would be difficult to accurately judge his influence during the last ten years of his life. The newspaper attacks made on him even before the bitter Presidential campaign

of 1840, which increased in violence as that struggle developed, deserve fuller treatment.

While each of these books adds to our knowledge of Poinsett and presents many facts concerning his life in a form not hitherto available, neither can be considered a definitive and final biography. Such a work would have to include, among other things, studies based on the newspapers published from 1837 to 1841, which were hostile to the Van Buren Administration; and would have to supply far more of the background of contemporary United States history than is the case in these volumes.

Philadelphia

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER

The Discovery of the Oregon Trail. Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip from Astoria in 1812-13. Edited by PHILIP ASHTON ROLLINS. Illustrated. 391 pages. (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1935. 391 p. Illustrated. \$7.50.)

It was Robert Stuart who made the first crossing eastward from Astoria to St. Louis and mapped what, a quarter of a century later, became known as the Oregon Trail. As associate and agent of John Jacob Astor the young Scotchman sailed around the Horn and up to Astoria from New York in the fall of 1810. In order to establish a rapid line of communication between the great western post in Oregon and the Astor office in New York, Robert Stuart and a half dozen courageous companions volunteered in June, 1812, to cut new paths. Dodging hostile Indians and surmounting obstacles presented by dangerous streams the party worked its way to the mouth of the Walla Walla River and then proceeded by horse to American Falls and thence to Sweetwater River. Stuart was the first white explorer to find South Pass, the Sweetwater, and the upper canyon of the North Platte. He thus hit upon The Oregon Trail. The party reached St. Louis on April 30, 1813.

For his account in *Astoria*, Washington Irving used Stuart's *Travelling Memoranda*, written some time after the journey. The actual Journal, however, has never before been published. The Journal, now issued under the able editorial direction of Philip A. Rollins, after 122 years, brings to light one of the most important journals of American exploration. *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail* also includes "An Account of *The Tonquin's* Voyage and of Events at Fort Astoria (1811-12)," and Wilson Price Hunt's "Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria in 1811-1812." Mr. Rollins has checked every fact and visited every point along the route and here offers a volume marked by importance in content and superiority in historical editing.

Philadelphia

NATHAN G. GOODMAN