
By the time this review is printed every subscriber to The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, along with most newspaper readers and radio listeners in the United States, will have become aware of at least some of the fabulous features of the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan edition of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Merely to outline the scope of the edition, merely to describe its sponsors, is to reveal why the publication last May of Volume I was reported in the press, in the newsreels, and over the air as a national event.

This first volume of Jefferson’s papers begins a series that will include at least fifty additional volumes each averaging 400,000 words. The series, when it is completed in 1963, will reproduce all of the 18,000 letters written by Jefferson as well as the 25,000 letters (sometimes complete, more often in summary) written to him. A dozen of the volumes will be topical: legal papers, Notes on Virginia, farm books, the Jefferson “Bible,” etc. Each volume is to be printed on a special paper with a special type (based on a type face first cast at Philadelphia in 1796 by Binney & Ronaldson) christened the “Monticello.” Total cost of editing and publishing the Papers is estimated at a million dollars. Without exaggeration The New York Times could say with proprietary enthusiasm, the Boyd edition is “one of the largest book-publishing projects in the nation’s history.”

The sponsorship of the edition is equally newsworthy; certainly no previous work of scholarship in this country ever elicited such distinguished and varied support. The first move toward publication was initiated in 1943 by the Congress of the United States with the personal blessing of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Responsibility for carrying the work forward was then assumed by Princeton University, while the actual editing was gotten under way by a $200,000 grant from The New York Times, given as a memorial to Adolph S. Ochs. The Princeton University Press, with daring equal to its faith, has undertaken, without subsidy, the colossal job of manufacturing and distributing the set. In his editorial capacity Mr. Boyd had the active support of the twenty-two members of a blue-ribbon advisory committee, the aid of hundreds of private individuals, and the co-operation of scores of libraries and learned societies. From the beginning, the Library of Congress was a major partner in the undertaking, and it was at the
Library on May 17 that the unprecedented laying-on-of-hands took place, in which President Truman, General Marshall, and Douglas Freeman ("America's greatest historian," to quote Truman) officially introduced Volume I to the world. This climactic celebration, in the words of one acute observer, seemed less like a release of a work of scholarship than like a ritual dedication of a great public works such as a bridge, a national museum or art gallery.

In a strictly pragmatic sense, any work that can create such a furor "deserves" its fame. To speak bluntly, however, the name Jefferson has taken on such a magical aura in recent years, the Virginian has become the object of such hero worship that we must remember that any "big" Jefferson project would probably be hailed as a masterpiece today if its execution was even reasonably adequate. Thus it behooves one passing judgment on any Jefferson book to be wary of superlatives, to recall that "bigness" is quantity not quality, to remember that the manufacture of publicity about mediocre performances is an established national industry.

With due regard for these facts, candidly recognizing that some of the recent cheers for Jeffersonianism have risen from causes remote from scholarship, there can be only one conclusion about the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan achievement. As a work of historical scholarship the edition is truly great; the editors earned all the fanfare they were accorded on May 17, and, in fact, deserved more than they got.* Indeed, it can be predicted (with a sober and strict concern for the exact meaning of the word "greatest") that the Jefferson Papers when completed will probably stand as the greatest technical triumph of historical scholarship produced in the twentieth century.

This first volume demonstrates that the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan Jefferson is not merely a triumph by earlier standards of historical editing, but, more importantly, creates a new standard of technical excellence never before attained. The special problems of the Jefferson manuscripts—the number of documents involved plus the fact that they were scattered to the four winds—forced Mr. Boyd and his co-editors to experiment with a whole series of new devices made possible by modern technology. With daring, imagination, and intelligence, they have pioneered in the utilization of the microfilm camera and the V-mail duplicator as the basic editorial tool. As a result they were able to assemble in one file a complete corpus in photo-facsimile of every document to be edited—a file such as no previous editors of a comparable work had available. And the results shown in this first volume justify their innovations magnificently.

In the first place, the economy resulting from the use of photo-facsimiles made possible the decision to publish the letters to Jefferson. The gain in historical understanding from this double exchange is overwhelming. Often

* To this observer the one false note in the Library of Congress celebration—it also drew editorial comment from at least one newspaper—was the failure to have Mr. Boyd sit with the other guests of honor on the stage, which was apparently too small to hold all the very important people who wished to praise Jefferson.
the in-letters are as revealing as Jefferson's own (see particularly the hitherto unpublished letters from Page, Pendleton, and R. H. Lee in the summer of 1776), and even the most familiar and dramatic of Jefferson's writings take on freshness and new meaning when read as part of a living dialogue. Mr. Boyd's new technique will make all of us dissatisfied in the future with the old-fashioned edition of letters cast in the form of a monologue in which a great man addresses a disembodied collection of ghosts and waits not for an answer.

In the second place, the novel use of photoduplicates throughout the editorial process has produced a text that is probably as free from errors of transcription as is humanly possible. Precious original documents such as the Declaration of Independence must be handled with extreme care, and cannot be used to check galley and page proof. Even the best transcripts, however, breed errors in arithmetic progression. Photofacsimiles allow proof to be double checked and thus reduce error to a minimum. Here again the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan pioneering has set a standard that will serve as a bench mark for all future editors.

Finally, as the editors discovered in the process, the very attempt to set up a chronological file of every known Jefferson document—an attempt that could not have been made without the photoduplicates—revealed relationships in whole series of documents and showed stages in the development of Jefferson's ideas not previously recognized. This is probably the most unexpected feature of Volume I, covering as it does a period in Jefferson's life in which his papers are relatively scarce but well known. It is also the period in Jefferson's life that has recently been covered by two biographies written on an extended scale, so there was little reason to suspect that the Jefferson Papers would do much more than elaborate what was already familiar. Take, for example, the attempt to date the two bills for dividing Fincastle County, both written in October, 1776. The effort to decide which was drafted earlier, the attempt to disentangle them, could only be accomplished by following their legislative history "step by step." The result is an original and significant revelation of Jefferson's skill as a parliamentarian and of his early championship of the rights of western settlers against tidewater land speculators. The Fincastle documents make it easy to see the superlative technique in action. The same skill is apparent in the linking of preliminary documents to the Summary View; the series of four drafts of the Causes for Taking up Arms; the six documents under the heading, The Virginia Constitution; and the nine documents dealing with the disestablishment of the Virginia Church. Readers of The Pennsylvania Magazine who remember Mr. Boyd's analysis of the part John Dickinson and Jefferson played in drafting the Causes for Taking up Arms, published in The Magazine, already know the fruitfulness of the Boyd technique. In effect, the editorial note on each of these linked groups of documents is a compressed equivalent of that essay. Even Mr. Boyd's own study of the evolution of the text of the Declaration of Independence, which seemed in
1945 to be a complete and definitive monograph, is now superseded by the account in the *Jefferson Papers*.

The Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan *Jefferson* does indeed promise to be more like a monumental public works than a mere set of books. The completed series will be like a mighty bridge connecting us in the present with one of the great personalities of the American past. It will be the monument that Jefferson himself requested on his deathbed—that Madison take care of his memory after he was gone. And it is also a monument to the craft of the twentieth-century historian—his industry, his organizing power, his search for truth, his imaginative insight into the past—operating, as these editors have, at the very peak of the profession's potential.

*Williamsburg, Va.*

**Douglass Adair**

*Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism.* By ISABEL ROSS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1949. xviii, 421 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. $6.00.)

Margaret Fell was Mrs. George Fox. She first met the Quaker leader when, as a youth of twenty-eight, he came to her hospitable home, Swarthmoor Hall, in Lancashire. She was ten years older than he, the wife of a magistrate of substantial means, and already the mother of seven children. She knew nothing of the Quakers, but the young man soon remedied that: he presented the message of the new sect so persuasively that she and her household capitulated at once. Judge Fell was away at the time. When he came riding back from London three weeks later, he was met on the road by a long-faced delegation led by the local Anglican clergyman, who informed him that his family had been bewitched by an irresponsible young dervish. Judge Fell took his way sadly home. That very evening, at the wife's request, George Fox came again; she wanted her husband to hear and decide for himself. "After supper my husband was sitting in the parlour, and I asked if George Fox might come in; and he said 'Yes.' So George came in . . . and spoke very excellently as ever I heard him. . . . And so my husband came to see clearly the truth of what he spoke, and was very quiet that night, and said no more, and went to bed."

The visit of the young prophet was full of destiny for Margaret Fell. She threw in her lot unreservedly with the new movement, made her home a meeting place for its leaders, spoke for it, wrote for it, and suffered for it; indeed she spent more than four years in the miserable jails of the time because of her allegiance to it. By that time her husband had died, and the government, as part of her penalty, compelled her to forfeit her ownership of her beloved Swarthmoor Hall. Her only son turned against her. But her loyalty to Fox never wavered, and finally, when he was forty-five and she was fifty-five, the father and mother of Quakerism became man and wife. Much of their life continued to be spent apart, for Fox's missionary journeys
took him far afield to America and elsewhere; she was not with him when he died; and she long outlived him. In her combination of devotion with independence of spirit, the author of her biography thinks that she went far toward setting the pattern of later Quaker womanhood.

Margaret Fell was very much of a person. She wrote several books, and at least one of these was translated into Dutch and then, since she was a strong friend of the Jews, into Hebrew. Isabel Ross believes, and apparently with good evidence, that this last translation was done by none other than the great philosopher Spinoza, then a young outcast from his own people in Amsterdam. Although Margaret Fell was uncompromising about Quaker essentials, she had her own views as to what these were, and when it came to costume, she was unorthodox. She disliked “Quaker grey,” connived with her daughters in their love of bright colors, and wrote a letter in her old age “beseeching Friends not to think a uniform dress and color bespoke the pure life within.” She was capable of writing from her prison cell to the King himself in stern remonstrance and rebuke.

It is fortunate that this biography of a distinguished woman should have been written by a woman, for it is full of the sort of interesting detail about the housekeeping, the marriage customs, the comforts and discomforts of life in the seventeenth century, which a masculine eye would be only too likely to miss. Not that the other kind of incident goes unrecorded; take this choice titbit for example: Leonard Fell “when travelling alone was robbed of his money and his horse. He warned the robber of his evil ways, who then threatened to murder him. ‘Though I would not give my life for my money or my horse, I would give it to save thy soul,’ answered Leonard. The highwayman thereupon gave back all he had taken.” It was through this kind of physical and moral countryside that Margaret Fell had to make her way, and because she took that way with such exemplary courage Isabel Ross thinks that her sturdy soul has gone marching on in many of the mothers and daughters of later Quakerism.

Yale University

A Topographical Description of the Dominions of the United States of America.

Thomas Pownall, whose long life extended from 1722 to 1805, acquired a grasp of colonial affairs enjoyed by very few Britons who came to America in an official capacity during the colonial period. His own stay in the Western Hemisphere was indeed of only six years’ duration. Yet his interests
in American affairs antedated and long survived his sojourn in America. After serving in the Office of the Board of Trade he came to the colonies in 1753 as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne, and when that unfortunate committed suicide two days after assuming the governorship of New York, Pownall remained in America in an essentially unofficial capacity. Sensing the impending climax of the struggle with France for the control of the North American continent, he became intensely interested in strategic considerations, and although not a delegate, urged upon the Albany Congress of 1754 the importance of establishing effective control over the Great Lakes region. On his return to England in 1756, at the time that Pitt was taking control of the war effort from the ineffectual hands of Newcastle, Pownall, young, vigorous, dynamic, and primed with information, seems to have made a profound impression upon the great minister whose temperament was so much like his own. He was rewarded with the governorship of Massachusetts, and on arriving in Boston sought to throw the resources of the Bay State behind the war effort with an energy which the military commander Lord Loudoun relished, but with an independence which he did not. Indeed, in his efforts to secure Massachusetts' support for the war Pownall seems to have gone further than other colonial executives in like position in making concessions to colonial aspirations at the expense of the royal prerogative. It was principally on this account that he was removed from office in 1759. He was appointed Governor of South Carolina, but returned to England and never assumed administration of the southern colony. For much of the rest of his life he displayed a continued interest in America, partly through his activities in Parliament, but still more through his writings.

Interested as he was in strategy and geography, Pownall came to know Lewis Evans, the Philadelphia cartographer, and assisted him with the preparation of his General Map of the Middle British Colonies and the Analysis which accompanied it. These were published in 1755. After Evans' death in 1756 Pownall continued investigations in this field, and his Topographical Description which appeared in 1776 was essentially a revision of his friend's work. Persisting in this interest, he prepared what he called a third edition, for he was scrupulous in giving generous acknowledgment to Evans' contribution, which he expected to publish in 1784. Perhaps because of declining reader interest in England on the heels of the American Revolution, this edition never materialized. The manuscript is in the Darlington Memorial Library of the University of Pittsburgh, and thanks to the interest of Mrs. Lois Mulkearn, the Librarian, it now appears one hundred and sixty-five years after the originally contemplated date of publication.

The perusal of this work is a very rewarding occupation. Written by one of the versatile, cultured men of whom the eighteenth century seems to have been so prolific, it is more than a mere description of the country, and gives us an insight into the contemporary mind as well as into the physical setting of contemporary life. Interested as he was in strategy, it is perhaps fair
to say that Pownall concentrates on the problem of communication, but
he is also concerned with natural resources and with the inhabitants and the
works of their hands. As one reads one understands why Pownall should
have been as popular as he was with the American colonists, for a sort of
affectionate nostalgia diffuses itself through the whole work. His interest in
America obviously survived the move for political independence which he
deplored, and the prophecies which suggested themselves to his vigorous
mind, while not always verified by subsequent events, testify to his lively
interest in the region’s future.

The present quarto volume affords ample evidence of the assiduousness
of Mrs. Mulkearn’s labors and of the scrupulousness of her attention to
detail. Her editorial notes are especially helpful in identifying persons and
in fitting places into their modern geographic setting. The format is excel-
lent, and while not quite as pretentious as that of Evans’ work of 1755
which was edited by Professor Lawrence H. Gipson and published by The
Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1939, it makes a not unworthy com-
panion volume to its predecessor.

University of Pennsylvania

Leonidas Dodson

King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763. By Anthony F. C. Wal-
lace. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xiv,
305 p. Map, notes, index. $3.50.)

In the dismal days following Braddock’s defeat, a Delaware Indian rose
to prominence in the eastern branch of that tribe. The folklore fame which
has adhered to this self-announced king, Teedyuscung, makes him the best
remembered of all Pennsylvania’s aboriginal inhabitants. The reader of
Pennsylvania history is familiar with Teedyuscung as a raiding frontier
villain, and as a principal figure at numerous treaties where he seemed al-
ternately under the influence of Quakers and rum.

Shaking facts from fancy, Mr. Wallace has presented a penetrating study
not only of Teedyuscung, but also of the Susquehanna Delawares and of
Indians in general. Teedyuscung is certainly a worthy biographical subject,
for an understanding of the man reveals much in a highly confused epic of
our local history, particularly the handling of the Indian problem during
the last French war. Writing in a pleasant, readable style, the author cap-
tures the Indian mind in a convincing manner. Many books deal with
transactions between white and red men, but few of them present the
Indian point of view as does the King of the Delawares.

In evaluating Teedyuscung, the Walking Purchase of 1737, and the role
of the Friendly Association, Mr. Wallace shows mature and careful judg-
ment. One comes to understand the Delaware chief as a peculiarly pathetic
character, “A Bird on a Bough,” one who admired the white men and
wanted to be like them, while at the same time inwardly hating them. On
the matter of the Walking Purchase, Mr. Wallace agrees with Dr. Julian
P. Boyd that it was not the absolute fraud which long-standing propaganda would have it. Of the Quakers, he quietly concludes: "It is unfortunate that the Friendly Association chose the middle of an Indian war for the time to champion the rights of the Indians." Finally, the Susquehanna Company is held responsible for Teedyuscung's murder.

Minor criticisms relate to factual matters which in no way affect the sweep of the story. It is not probable, for instance, that Teedyuscung visited Fort Pitt in August, 1759. The evidence cited for this conclusion is based on the journal of James Kenny, incorrectly identified as Charles Kenny. Unfortunately, this journal was badly transcribed and Teedyuscung's name is given in error. Of less importance is Mr. Wallace's identification of the Governor of Pennsylvania as William instead of James Hamilton, and his mention of the proprietors of Pennsylvania in 1755 as John, Thomas, and Richard Penn. John Penn had died in 1746.

Mention of these relatively picayune matters seems ungrateful when considering a book of such essential excellence as Teedyuscung. The story which Mr. Wallace tells with such skill is at once pitiful and exciting. The chief emerges as an understandable figure and many bits of our history come into proper focus. The author is to be congratulated on a charming volume, an excellent biography which will prove of interest to the general reader and of undoubted value to the student.

The end papers bear an attractive map of the region in which Teedyuscung spent his life and are most helpful as a ready reference to the many obscure places named in the text.

Philadelphia

Nicholas B. Wainwright

Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene: Their Correspondence, 1755–1790. Edited by William Greene Roelker. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949. x, 147 p. Illustrations, index. $3.00.)

In the winter of 1754–1755 the colonial postmaster general, Benjamin Franklin, made a tour of inspection in New England. In Boston he stayed with his brother John and met John's wife's sister, Catharine Ray, who was on a visit from her Block Island home. Caty was twenty-three, unmarried, and entranced by the great man's attentions to her. Franklin was forty-eight, married, and far from insusceptible to the attentions a lively and intelligent country girl could pay him. They traveled together part of their respective ways home. Three days after his arrival in Philadelphia Franklin wrote Caty: "I stood on the shore, and looked after you, till I could no longer distinguish you, even with my glass; then returned to your sister's, praying for your safe passage." Some months later he acknowledged the gift of a cheese, the finest "ever tasted" in Philadelphia:

Mrs. Franklin was very proud, that a lively young Lady shod have so much Regard for her old Husband, as to send him such a Present. We talk of you every
time it comes to Table; She is sure you are a sensible Girl, and a notable Housewife; and talks of bequeathing me to you as a Legacy; But I ought to wish you a better, and hope she will live these 100 Years; for we are grown old together, and if she has any faults, I am so us’d to ’em that I don’t perceive ’em... Indeed I begin to think she has none, as I think of you. And since she is willing I should love you as much as you are willing to be lov’d by me, let us join in wishing the old Lady a long Life and a happy.

No one has ever played the dual role of gallant and grandfather with more devastating success than Franklin, but Caty Ray was indeed “a sensible Girl” and took her friend’s advice by marrying William Greene, who later became governor of Rhode Island and to whom she bore six children. The friendship so auspiciously begun lasted until Franklin’s death; the correspondence that documents it, printed here from largely unpublished sources in the American Philosophical Society, ends with a letter from Franklin in 1789 containing his avowal that “Among the Felicities of my Life I reckon your Friendship, which I shall remember as long as that Life lasts.”

In Caty’s life, though she saw Franklin only four times after their first meeting and was ceaselessly busy and happy in her own multifarious concerns, this friendship was a major felicity. She emerges from this correspondence as a bright, tender, and capable woman, an excellent representative of the women behind the men who won the Revolution and formed the republic.

The editorial work on the documents has been performed with devoted care. Mr. Roelker’s plan of embedding the letters in a running commentary is a good one, though it results in occasional repetition. His plan of introducing supporting letters written by other members of the Franklin-Bache-Mecom and Greene-Ward circles is also a good one, but some of these letters are so commonplace as perhaps to merit space only in a genealogical journal. I found myself a good deal puzzled as to why the editor did not place his numbered notes at the foot of the page (where they belong) instead of at the end of successive chapters (where they have to be hunted for). If he had, he would have saved a little space and spared the reader no little irritation, for many of the notes merely repeat the captions of the documents presented in the text.

Princeton University

L. H. BUTTERFIELD


This spirited volume, culmination of Mr. Van Doren’s work in the Revolutionary period, is entertaining, provocative, an artistic performance of skill and conviction. It is the best existing account of the making of our federal constitution, and altogether a distinguished work in the literature of American history.
The settings are vivid, the scenes stirring; the theme is how men, distinctly individualistic and representing diverse interests in conflict, meet in a body and learn to think together on the hardest problems they share—how they fumble and quarrel, how leadership emerges, how areas of agreement are gradually mapped out, areas of disagreement defined and laid aside. There is drama in it. Drama requires the backdrop, of course; but drama gathers its force from the observed action, the vivid conflicts seen on the stage. It is ideas in conflict that Mr. Van Doren gives us: “arguments in action,” as he says, “not in a philosophic vacuum. The arguments are the story.” And he adds what should be observed as a fixed rule by all historical writers: “Arguments must always be seen as actions if they are to reach through the minds of men to their hearts and habits.”

The Convention met in Philadelphia, a city full of bustle and activity, surrounding the delegates with a lively metropolitan environment. We are made constantly aware of this environment, as after the day’s work was done the official visitors joined in the homes, the institutions, the taverns of the capital. The conviviality of the city strained the delegates’ resolution to keep their proceedings secret, but they did pretty well on the whole. Mr. Van Doren demolishes the “grotesque legend” that Dr. Franklin was indiscreet. He was as careful as everyone else, and surprisingly, the city learned little of what went on in the State House, guarded as it was inside and out by alert sentries.

First we are introduced to the delegates: General Washington calls on President Franklin, other members arrive, private caucuses and conversations transpire, meetings begin. Each delegate emerges from Van Doren’s distillate as a separate personality, and each represents also part of the pattern of conflict—conflict between the aloof statesman and the vigorous partisan, between the rigid fundamentalist and the experimenter, between landholder and merchant, conflict between large state and small, between big-government men and defenders of the loose confederation. The poles of political disagreement in the Convention are classic, well known, well understood. What gives this book vitality is the permeating humanity in it, the very personal story that is told, the story of men changing as they work together, the story of men at thought.

The deliberations of the Convention itself require only 152 pages, arranged in seven chapters corresponding to the major decisions as they were made. Every difficulty is brought to life by some telling illustration or clear example. Mr. Van Doren so well understands the world of 1787 that its issues leap from his pages. The reader instinctively takes sides. Van Doren also conveys the togetherness, the unity, the wholeness of the convicentle body, shows how the corporate group operated to modify and qualify the thinking of individuals in it. No member began with a clear notion of what he wished ultimately to emerge, nor was there among many members a general agreement as to ends. “Some had local patriotisms, some had personal ambitions. Uncertain of themselves, they were uncertain of
one another.” It was no one man or group of leaders who fashioned their product. “Their problem could not be merely reasoned out; it had to be felt through, by some process of growth in the corporate body of this assemblage.” Fifty-five wills were not coalesced as the delegates proceeded, but enough of many wills was joined to make a constitution most could agree to. Some never could. Martin, Gerry, Randolph, Mason, these were the intransigents, the fundamentalists who could not become part of the corporate body as it advanced with “the great & awful subject of their labours.” There is an inevitable human factor in any joint endeavor.

Four chapters, the last third of the whole book, deal with the ratification controversy. Here Mr. Van Doren must leave his tight little scene and his theme of men at thought together, and range over the country as a whole, describing its “war of words and ideas.” This is material less familiar to Americans, who still tend to regard their constitution as ineffable from the beginning. Some of Mr. Van Doren’s pages contain fresh facts and views. The history of the ratification struggle has never been told with such picturesque detail. The pamphlets pro and con, the debates, the legislative devices and political maneuverings are all here, in fast moving narrative sprinkled with generous illustrations from the sources. Those sources, incidentally, are curiously random. Delaware and New Hampshire recorded almost nothing of what they said or thought as they ratified, and South Carolina’s debates remained puzzling because of the suspicion that the elegant Lowndes was engaged by opponents as an advocate to represent their cause. But South Carolina like the rest of the Union made its great celebration. The Federal Processions in every large city on July Fourth following ratification were spectacular demonstrations of the hope the new constitution brought, the faith people had in the future of the country. They furnish Mr. Van Doren with a colorful conclusion.

I choose to pass over the title of this book, and the issue it raises of a parallel with present international issues. The author himself makes no parallel, nor does he even suggest it anywhere. I think the title was ill-chosen. It is the only criticism to be made of this book, however, which is a model of historical writing, the perfect example of what we are all seeking: a thoughtful, reflective volume on our past, unimpeachable in judgment, superbly written from a deep faith and mature wisdom.

Philadelphia

J. H. Powell


The dust jacket describes this volume as “a comprehensive survey of medicine in the thirteen original colonies”; the author in the introduction declares his purpose was “to construct a representative evaluation of colo-
nial medicine.” Unfortunately, the book is neither a comprehensive survey nor an evaluation of any sort. And this is the more regrettable not only because American history needs a comprehensive, interpretative history of medicine in the United States, but also because the author spent so much time with his book and manifestly obtained many satisfactions from compiling it.

The text consists of thirteen separate chapters, with a concluding chapter of bibliographical suggestions. Each chapter begins with some miscellaneous historical annals, mostly irrelevant to the subject of the book. These are followed by biographical notes on each of a dozen or two of the better-known physicians of the colony, which were taken from Kelly and Burrage, Dictionary of American Medical Biography, and the standard histories of medicine in the several states, like those of Walsh for New York, Wicke for New Jersey, and Blanton for Virginia. There are occasional digressions into the history of institutions, as when the author turns from Dr. Thomas Bond to give two pages on the Pennsylvania Hospital and from Dr. John Morgan to give two lines on the foundation of the first medical school in the colonies. In addition, some of the chapters contain lengthy quotations of original materials—fee bills, letters, acts of assembly, and newspaper accounts—taken, like the biographical data, from older secondary accounts. There are in every chapter careless or ignorant inaccuracies (p. 167), schoolboy judgments (pp. 49–50), uncritical acceptance of the printed word (p. 451), and irritating omissions. And all of this is put together without system or meaning in an exasperating book which adds nothing to our knowledge or understanding of medicine in colonial America.

Of a comprehensive history of medicine in colonial America one may fairly expect more than some biographical data on certain famous practitioners in the chief cities. What of practice in the rural areas? What of the majority of undistinguished physicians, the irregulars, and the quacks? What of domestic medicine and of the popular reaction to medical science and the medical profession? And, though it be admitted that physicians practice in particular places, ought a history of medicine in America preserve political boundaries? Was there, for example, a Connecticut medicine which differed from that of North Carolina? From a book entitled Aesculapius Comes to the Colonies a reader may expect an account of Aesculapius’ European sojourn. What medical knowledge did the first physicians bring into the colonies? What did they learn when, in the eighteenth century, they returned to study at Leyden and Edinburgh, Paris and London? What European publications did they import for their libraries? What, in short, were the standards of European medical science and practice by which the American achievement must be judged? Most accounts of the Pennsylvania Hospital, for example, make no reference to the English provincial hospitals founded after 1720, which provided a pattern the Philadelphians gladly followed.

From the time of Benjamin Rush, who wrote a valuable essay on the changes in medical practice which occurred during his own lifetime,
through that of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes to our own days, when Dr. Cecil K. Drinker has written on actual practice in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, materials for a general history of medicine in colonial America have been accumulating. More recently Professor Richard H. Shryock, now of the Institute of the History of Medicine of Johns Hopkins University, has been pointing to the social background and implications of medicine, suggesting what the frontier and democracy both may have meant to that science. Let the next history of medicine in colonial America, then, be comprehensive, based on all the good work that has been done; or interpretative, related to the larger movements of American life; or both. But let us have no more books like this.

Dickinson College

Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.


Wide reading, sound scholarship, and a vivid historical imagination, happily combined in the author of this volume, have produced a tale of mounting horror more exciting and at the same time more convincing than most best-selling thrillers, because this is the reporting of reality. Benjamin Rush is the hero of this story and the villain is *aedes aegypti*, deadly female of its species, unsuspected during the main course of the narrative. With a technique comparable to that of the eighteenth-century artist Benjamin West, in his historical paintings, a huge canvas and many characters are used to depict the scene for us. We see the entire population of the Philadelphia of 1793 in the grip of an invisible malignant force. The plague fells thousands of victims and defies understanding by the medical profession. The past is here recreated for us with such skill that, as we turn the pages of this swiftly moving narrative, we suffer with the afflicted and live through days of anxiety and dread while yellow fever is raging in its severest onset, long before bacteriological discovery brought solution to its puzzles in another century.

To summarize this story in a paragraph or two is a hopeless task, since its proper telling by Dr. Powell has required almost three hundred pages. He has spared us the distraction of footnotes; all relevant information has been incorporated into the text and additional facts for the curious are supplied in brief, well-chosen notes at the back of the book. Only a hint of the richness of this volume can be given here.

Overtaken by yellow fever in 1793, Philadelphia, then the national capital, was quickly deserted by all who could get away. Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Hamilton undoubtedly felt it was their duty to flee from the local disaster, since in their keeping rested high governmental
affairs of the nation at large. Governor Mifflin followed suit and the Pennsylvania legislature was disbanded. Some prominent clergymen in the city found reasons to desert their flocks; even some of the doctors became fugitives. Newspapers went unprinted, mail delivery stopped, banks would not discount loans. Life was entirely disrupted. The sick died like flies and the doctors disagreed.

This emergency was the chance of a lifetime for Benjamin Rush. It brought all the force of his training and his character into direct focus upon a serious problem worthy of his powers. The fever was his to fight. He became the chief actor in this tragedy which had befallen his city. It is no slander to say that he enjoyed his role, just as many people in this century have enjoyed their opportunity for service to a high cause in World Wars I and II. The part Dr. Rush played demanded self-surrender. Day and night he gave himself to the care of his patients, never counting the cost. Of such stuff martyrs are made, and he would have been equal to martyrdom’s extreme demand. The program of bleeding and purging which he misguidedly recommended and practiced for the cure of disease was unfortunately “wrong, disastrously, frightfully wrong . . . nor shall we ever know how many lives his errors cost.” Twice Rush himself fell miserably ill to recover (after milder bleeding than his patients)—by the Lord’s mercy, he felt. But through it all, Rush’s fortitude and courage gave the community psychological help beyond measure to carry them through their ordeals. Rush’s heroism was real.

In the city’s government Mayor Matthew Clarkson was at his post as sole official, administering affairs singlehanded until by appointment of a committee of twenty-six volunteers he could “organize Philadelphia’s resistance to the silent terror of the plague.” It was the day for obscure people to show their latent abilities. The help given in this emergency by all classes, creeds, and nationalities is notable in the annals of co-operative endeavor. Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, Negro religious leaders who had been slaves, became minor heroes. To the efforts of Stephen Girard, the French merchant prince, and Peter Helm, a German cooper, the city owed the cleansing of the “Augean stables” of the pesthouse at Bush Hill and its organization into a clean, properly staffed and equipped hospital for the desperately sick. During the siege the French doctors in the city, many of them hitherto rather unnoticed refugees—Dr. Jean Devèze, in particular—were especially devoted.

Yellow fever was actually self-limited. The plague played itself out as the season advanced and frosts came. Citizens began returning to their homes in November, government and business began re-establishment. Life returned gradually to a state of normal equilibrium in Philadelphia, although, as Dr. Powell says, nobody who had lived through the shock and terror of 1793 would ever be quite the same.

_Baltimore, Md._

_Betsy Copping Corner_

The biographer of one of those individuals who, with a cheerful preconception of his own importance to posterity has preserved an ample documentation of his life, has a very easy task in comparison to that undertaken by Dr. Dickson. Jarvis lived wholly in the present, and cared even less for future generations than for his reputation among contemporaries. More than a century has gone by since his genius and gaiety burned themselves out. The records that remain today are scant and often undependable—a few Jarvis letters, Dunlap's gossipy History of the Arts of Design, the recollections of Audubon and a few others, a few newspaper and directory notices—but little else.

Dr. Dickson solves this problem adroitly and as only an outstanding scholar could. He sifts the full value from each shred of evidence, and, following the wanderings of his subject from place to place, at each reconstructs the entire background so vividly and completely that the painter is perforce brought to life within it. Each scene comes out in full and colorful detail, its artists, its social life, its inns and alehouses, the brighter and darker sides where the inimitable Jarvis was to be found. New York is, of course, the center of these backgrounds, and it is painted in with a worthy brightness and skill. Jarvis was a New Yorker; not a born-and-bred New Yorker, if there be such a creature, but one who found success there and made his talents and frailties a part of the pattern of the city.

His biographer writes a little wistfully of what might be done in fiction with this subject, as he struggles vainly to bring back the full flavor of Jarvis' merriment. Only on the stage could that be done. Eyes, voice, hands, dress, the whole manner of the man entered into it and no one could or can put all these into print. But when Broadway wants a play about a painter, it must look to Jarvis and this book.

Dr. Dickson's admirable selection of plates as well as his text gives us a thorough showing of Jarvis the artist. The key to a portrait painter is in his relation to his subjects, perception, and sympathy. Jarvis' greatness, like Stuart's, is in his faces, though he could do more with hands than Stuart. He reacted best, as Dr. Dickson points out, to "virility with a spark of humor." His attitude toward women was objective. Jarvis was not a domestic animal. He painted women charmingly and appealingly, but his men are more real and direct. In the intimate art of the miniature he could not, as Malbone and C. W. Peale did, paint a man's face with any softening, any tenderness that would make it appeal more strongly to the woman who was to wear and cherish the piece as a symbol and reinforcement of her love. It undoubtedly never occurred to him to do so.

Jarvis the painter cannot be understood without an understanding of the
exuberant Jarvis himself, careless, contradictory, and intense. This volume not only gives us the best view of the man but of his times, through an artist's eyes, that has yet been published.

Dickinson College

Charles Coleman Sellers

American History as Interpreted by German Historians from 1770 to 1815.

This initial report of studies on "Amerikakunde" should remain the standard English monograph on geographical and historical writings about the United States published in Germany before 1815. In a chronological survey Mr. Doll sketches the motivations of German writers, their historiographical methods, and their interpretations of United States history, examining most carefully works which appeared between 1770 and 1815. Half the book concerns "eight major writers outstanding by virtue of their accomplishments or their influence" whose names, as that of J. J. Moser, are less unknown in Germany than in the United States. The resulting historiographical study complements H. S. King's Echoes of the American Revolution in German Literature (1929-1930).

According to Mr. Doll's balanced and critical analyses, most works surveyed were compendia of data, exceedingly dull in style and content, lacking integration, inspiration, or lasting importance. Mr. Doll's delight in minute detail and thorough workmanship would presumably keep him from agreeing with the judgment which Friedrich Kapp expressed in 1874, that he wished most German works on United States history had never been written.

Although Mr. Doll seems to subscribe to the nationalist hypothesis—that by virtue of national background Americans and Germans will write the history of the United States differently—he discusses interpretations familiar in American historiography. Perhaps German writers stressed economic facts and interpretations earlier; Mr. Doll emphasizes here their academic training, especially in statistics and notably at Gottingen. But the German writers differed vehemently. While a Mauvillon presented "a classic justification of the American cause" in the Revolution, a Schlözer was notable for the "virulence and superficiality of his attack." Ebeling devoted years of scholarship to his geographical history of a little-known country in order to display the growth of human freedom in America. Bülow, after travel and business failure there, strove to correct false European ideas of American freedom by emphasizing the selfishness and materialism of Americans. No uniquely "German" view of United States history appears. One might suggest as a theme the effort to distinguish the American and French Revolutions to the advantage of "orderly develop-
ment" and possibly of Americans. But this effort, too, was not simply German.

Studies of the United States were a minor or temporary concern for most of these writers; their claim to recollection derives from other works. One might consequently wish to know much more about the connections between their interests in the United States and their major activities. Had Mauvillon's justifications of the American Revolution, for instance, any relation to his criticisms of Prussian military monarchy? In spite of some references to Statistik and the Enlightenment, these German writings on American history are scarcely related to the main currents of German historiography or thought, even through investigation of the writers themselves. "Amerikakunde" appears as a virtually self-sufficient island of knowledge.

Originally Mr. Doll intended to consider German writings about the United States in terms of the relations between the two lands. Disappointingly, he has neither persisted in this intention nor raised the challenging questions which it poses. Thus, presumably, it would require investigating the impact of historical writing; such inquiry marks out a stony but fruitful field too little cultivated yet by scholars of historiography. Although Mr. Doll mentions various ties which some German writers developed with the United States, he suggests that they had few readers here and little impact on the course of historical writing. Ironically, it seems that the one writer devoted primarily to American studies, Ebeling, affected American historiography chiefly because a Boston merchant bought his library for Harvard. Similarly, most of these writings on the United States seem to have had little influence in Germany. But, as Mr. Doll declares in the case of Ebeling, an evaluation of the influence of these works upon Germans' views of the United States must await further research.

The summaries, especially in the last chapter, are most useful and thoughtful. A table on page 510 epitomizes the study. There is a convenient index, and the bibliography lists German works published down to 1866.

University of Washington

D. E. Emerson


The historian of a large business firm such as the House of Baring confronts a major problem of organization and emphasis. If he concentrates upon the individual transactions which are the life, purpose, and function of the enterprise, he is in danger of bogging down in a mass of meaningless details; but if he ignores such matters, his book degenerates into an amusing collection of anecdotes about personalities and colorful happenings. Mr.
Hidy has met this problem with courage and intelligence. He has selected from the voluminous records of the firm the details which illustrate its mode of operation and recorded them as they happened.

He has assumed—rightly, I think—that the House of Baring has importance only as merchants and bankers engaged in trade and finance, and that anyone who wants to gain knowledge concerning these activities must be willing to work at it. Most pages are filled with the names of individuals and firms, dates, prices of commodities, details of transactions, and such figures as 4,868,666.66 francs and $7,814,536. The book consequently will make its greatest contribution to future students of economic history, rather than directly to the mythical general reader or to those political and social historians who shy away from such tough morsels.

The study is arranged chronologically, with three chapters on the growth of the firm from 1763 to 1828 and the remaining thirteen on the period from 1828 to 1861 when the Barings were the most important British house in the American trade. The author has almost literally laid bare the ligaments and sinews which united the British and American economies during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Barings entered into every aspect of this trade and commerce. They were, in the broadest sense of the term, merchant bankers, buying and selling cotton, tobacco, coffee, wheat, dry goods, iron products, securities, etc., on their own account, while financing the trade of other men in the same commodities. They operated in good times and in bad, and at no time during this difficult period were they seriously embarrassed or straitened. Their rectitude was so formidable that the very phrases, worthy or unworthy, of the House of Baring could almost act as the guiding rule for the individual partners and their agents overseas.

Mr. Hidy's contribution to the knowledge of this important period of economic history is so great that it is almost caviling to demand more. But it does seem that two or three additional chapters summarizing and interpreting the factual material and describing in more general terms the economic difficulties and problems of the period would have strengthened the book. This reviewer would also have liked to see greater attention paid to the unique attempt by the second Bank of the United States to achieve American economic independence from Great Britain in the 1820's and 1830's, but this unsuccessful effort was in opposition to the interests of the Barings and not immediately germane to the author's purpose in his study.

University of the South

THOMAS P. GOVAN

Mennonite Piety through the Centuries. Its Genius and Its Literature. By ROBERT FRIEDMANN. (Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society, 1949. xvi, 287 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

This monograph traces the ever-changing pattern of Mennonitism from its Anabaptist roots in the sixteenth century to the contemporary sect.
Robert Friedmann appeals to the present-day Mennonite to carry on his faith in the prophetic tradition of his forebears and to crack through the protective shell of Pietism that encompasses the sect.

The book is divided into two parts. First, a general historical analysis is presented in which the author points out that Mennonitism was synonymous with Anabaptism at one time. During this period of Mennonite history the prophetic trend was dominant: This was the religion of discipleship; the cross and the crown of thorns were its symbols. However, even as early as 1580, individual Mennonites were starting to turn away from their discipleship. The catastrophe of the Thirty Years' War dealt the doctrine of justification by faith a stinging blow. The Mennonites and other more radical Protestant sects turned to the sweet Saviour and sanctification; they turned to Pietism, which meant an undogmatic inwardness in religion. Mr. Friedmann seems to use the Thirty Years' War as the immediate cause for the dominant pietistic tenor of Mennonitism in Holland and northern Germany after 1650. He also believes that toleration, bourgeoisie prosperity, and urban life were added factors in leading the burgher down this easier road. Successive evolutionary changes in this new pattern of Pietism are noted in Mennonite centers throughout Europe from 1650 to the present.

In the second part of his book, after this historical analysis, Mr. Friedmann shows how Mennonite devotional literature mirrored the changing character of the sect.

Robert Friedmann approaches his subject in a scientific manner; yet he seems biased. He conceives that Mennonitism should once again move in the channel of prophetic religion or Anabaptism. He therefore seems to look down his nose at the quieter, pietistic way without realizing it. This is a common failing among religious historians. They are so well versed in their own religious beliefs and conclusions that they are unknowingly prejudiced.

There are a few errors of fact. Mr. Friedmann certainly has a masterly grasp of Mennonite history, but when he starts delving into other sects he is not quite so sure of his ground. He conceives of Quakerism, for example, as an intuitive, mystical sect—the "inner light" guides the Quaker through life. This is not exactly accurate, because no sect can exist for very long on a mystical basis alone. There must be the prophetic force to energize the faith. The Society of Friends is and has always been a mystical and at the same time a prophetic sect. True, there have been pietistic or mystical periods, but the prophetic strain was always present, although relatively dormant. At other times, however, from the rise of the Society of Friends until 1691, it was basically a sect in the prophetic tradition. Mary Dyer's martyrdom in Massachusetts in 1660 and John Perrot's attempted conversion of the Pope about the same time, can hardly be called acts of spiritualists or mystics. Quakerism is not based on the "inner light" alone; the Bible is considered an equal source of heavenly guidance.
For the Mennonite historian this is a worth-while book to read. It certainly proves the connection between Anabaptism and Pietism, and it is a signpost to the future. However, the general reader would be wrong to assume that this study will hold his interest. The author’s thoroughly scientific research is to be commended, but it is offset by a labored, ponderous style.

**Admiral Farragut Academy**

**Walter Lee Lukens, Jr.**


“Happy is a people which has no history,” wrote Thomas Jefferson. The sage of Monticello was a pacifist at heart; the kind of history which he deplored was the sanguinary accounts of battles and of man’s inhumanity. But happy indeed is a people which has preserved its lore. Folk songs and legends indigenous to an area constitute two of the largest categories in the compendium of a people’s folklore.

The term “folklore” is comparatively recent in common usage. As late as 1880 those who engaged in such studies were called “antiquarians.” Even today there are some students of history who accord scant recognition to folklorists as allies in a common quest. Is such knowledge functional in our workaday world? they ask. The volume entitled *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* is an argument in the affirmative. In the few short months that this volume has been available, it has served to identify great numbers of persons with their fine heritage as Pennsylvanians, and has enabled visitors to the Commonwealth to understand and appreciate more of its peculiar culture patterns.

Thirteen collaborators joined forces to blend the story into a unified account. Samuel P. Bayard, a native of western Pennsylvania, contributed tales which had their origin in English speech. Here we find the transplants of Scotch, Welsh, Irish and English songs and legends. William S. Troxell and Thomas R. Brendle, both deeply immersed in the lore of the Pennsylvania Germans, have supplied a selection of dialect folk songs extracted from their extensive library of recordings.

A sympathetic and lucid account of the hymns sung by the Amish folk of Lancaster and other counties is supplied by Dr. J. William Frey of Franklin and Marshall College. This is excellently written and constitutes one of the finest interpretations of the hymns ever written by a non-Amishman.

One of the most informative accounts in the volume deals with the Cornplanter Indians whose reservation extends into Pennsylvania from New York. Historians will be grateful to Merle H. Deardorff for the revelations contained in this unit of the volume, many facts finding their way into print for the first time.
The name of Colonel Henry W. Shoemaker is known to all readers of matters pertaining to Pennsylvania history and lore. From his vast fund of "mountain" stories he gives us several which are now recorded for the first time. Tall tales are teasers, and Robert J. Wheeler, who tells them in this volume, tests the patience of his readers by the protracted suspense which he establishes before the impact of the story forces a smile. It is super-hyperbole.

The Conestoga Wagon built along the banks of the Conestoga Creek, in Lancaster County, has become a symbol of the American pioneering spirit. Howard C. Frey, an established authority on the craftsmanship which went into the construction of these "prairie schooners," used his topic as a symbol to bring the days of the wagoners back to life as he records the songs and legends which grew out of the experiences of these robust men. Another hearty crew of bygone days was the fraternity of canal boatmen. There were lusty songs and lively contests during the days when commerce used inland waterways. Lewis Edward Theiss records these deftly and with a full sense of the romantic quality that is inherent in canal lore. There is something vibrantly American about the lore of the early days of the railroads. Freeman H. Hubbard has captured this spirit and the reader feels something of the present tense in this account.

Perhaps the story which most readers will find least familiar, and therefore enlightening, is the rousing one of the lumberjacks and raftsmen. "In the Pennsylvania woods there were three kinds of whiskey—squirrel, fighting, and sleeping," states J. Herbert Walker, the author of this sketch. What the cowboys were to the "wooly west," the lumbermen were to interior Pennsylvania.

All readers who remember George Korson's *Minstrels of the Mine Patch* are prepared for the new pleasures which await them in Korson's account of "Coal Miners." The song *Union Man* is a gem:

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Union Man! Union Man!
He must have full dinner can;
A.F.L. — C.I.O.
Callin' strike, out she go!
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Harry Botsford, born in the oil fields of Pennsylvania, recounts the Titusville story and expands upon Coal Oil Johnny and other colorful characters who bathed in the magic mineral. Jacob A. Évanson has captured some of the "Songs of an Industrial City." Here we meet *Pittsburgh is a Grand Old Town; Song of Steel; Monongahela Sal* and many other songs, some in Greek, others in Slavic tongues.

In addition to editing the volume Mr. Korson wrote the introduction, itself a powerful argument for the functional values of preserved lore. A valuable appendix lists all songs and ballads which appear in the volume.

The legends are related simply and there is no attempt to separate fact from fiction in the telling of most of them. In some cases there are pre-
liminary accounts of established history, placed in the volume to provide background and stage-setting, but the book is honestly what it claims to be—an anthology of Pennsylvania songs and legends.

_Philadelphia_  
Arthur D. Graeff


One of the most attractive manifestations of the romantic cult of nature that developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was landscape as an art form, and the travel book consisting of a compilation of views in engraving or lithography. _Valley Views of Northeastern Pennsylvania_ is a study of such views, along with some oil paintings, made of scenes in Wyoming and other valleys of the area included in the major portions of Berks and Northampton Counties.

A brief notice of the highlights in the history of the region is followed by discussion of the principal sources of the original illustrations (sketches, water colors, and oils) and of the engraved or lithographed versions which found their way into countless publications of quite varied character, not always with due acknowledgment of the sources. It is not surprising to learn that the preponderance of river and valley scenes was in consequence of the most convenient means of travel during the century or so which is the chronological span of the book. The greater part of the text is devoted to the description of the plates in which the sources of the prints may be found, the artists of original works and their reproductions, data concerning size, and similar details. Oil paintings are identified by artist, and the locations given when known. Curiously enough, this last is not found for the oil of “Wilkes-Barre and the Wyoming Valley” of about 1845, by an unknown artist, which is well reproduced in the single color plate in the book. A list of artists and paintings by them exhibited at the National Academy of Design from 1826 to 1860, of which there are no present records of location or ownership, is a reminder that much of historical value has escaped notice and that a great deal of further research in this and related fields has yet to be done.

The volume is in a format as handsome as would be expected from the Princeton University Press which printed it, and the plates are of the accustomed high quality of the Meriden Gravure Company. Taken in all, the book will be of use to the historian interested in matters of topography and town development, and as a modest footnote to the history of landscape art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

_University of Pennsylvania_  
David M. Robb

When Christopher Columbus sighted San Salvador on October 12, 1492, one of the most tremendous undertakings in man's history began. Between that event and the admission, in 1912, of Arizona to full membership in these United States there lies a story of human achievement never before paralleled. Where before lay a continent populated by a few thousand native Indians, there now stands one of the powerful nations of the world. It was not until 1893 that students of American history began a truly organized study of this mighty movement westward. In that year Frederick Jackson Turner presented to a Chicago audience his paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." It was inevitable, as the sources of this story were used, that there should grow an appreciation of the great body of literature that played such an important part in this movement. Until the publication of the present volume, Henry R. Wagner and Charles L. Camp's The Plains and the Rockies (San Francisco, 1937) was the most important bibliography of the westward movement. It, however, embraced only the sixty-five-year period from 1801 to 1865. R. W. G. Vail, Director of the New-York Historical Society, has now given us a work that sweeps over the 260 years preceding Camp-Wagner. The Voice of the Old Frontier is the tenth publication of the A. S. W. Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography. It is, incidentally, the first of these publications to qualify as a bibliography. The concept and execution of this book have a breadth of vision that makes it more than a mere list of books: it is a bibliography in the most important sense of the word. Mr. Vail starts with Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca's La relacion de lo acaecido en Nueva Indias of 1542, and ends with William Cooper's A Guide in the Wilderness; or the History of the First Settlements in the Western Counties of New York, published in 1810 (no. 1300). Between these two titles is embraced that vast body of writings created by the frontier. Every conceivable literary form is represented: narratives of voyages and travels, Indian captivities, missionary tracts, land-promotion schemes, colonial charters, political writings, emigrant guides, contemporary histories and even belles lettres. The eighty-one pages of introductory text, discussing in more detail some of the important items, creates a setting into which the 376 pages of titles can be placed. Here is no jumble of unrelated books, but rather a reflection of the developing impact of the Idea of America on the European mind. This is perhaps Mr. Vail's most important contribution, for he has brought together the titles of those books which helped open to the Europeans the wonders of the New World.

A selective bibliography is perhaps the hardest kind of historical or literary scholarship to evaluate. It is the framework of scholarship and, as in any such skeletal structure, the flaws are readily apparent and easily seized upon. There are, however, no glaring omissions in the author's selections. Specialists in various fields may regret certain omissions and in-
elusions, but Mr. Vail has prepared for this by saying, "... this is a pioneer work in more sense than one, for no other bibliography has attempted to record the more important or more elusive works relative to the early American frontier. So perhaps a few students will be grateful for what he has included rather than censorious for what he has not."

All bibliographies must submit themselves to an examination of their technique and it is here that this otherwise splendid book is open to adverse criticism. The user gets the impression that no over-all bibliographical form has been adopted. Each title seems to be handled independently of the others. Some descriptions go into great detail, giving line endings, type ornaments and variants, while others are little more than reproductions of the information found on Library of Congress catalogue cards. The sound chronological arrangement is marred by including with the date of first publication all editions appearing after 1800, and this is further complicated by the absence of any date in the running title of the page. The use of bibliographical references is also confusing. In some cases the user is given a full description and in others he is referred to other works. One also misses a key to the references. Such names as Sabin and Evans should give the initiated no trouble, although it is shocking to discover the number of students of American history who do not know of their existence. However, such names as Thomson and Porter will undoubtedly puzzle many. The location of copies, although useful, should not be regarded as definitive, for Mr. Vail has evidently had to rely heavily on the Library of Congress Union Catalogue, whose entries always bear further investigation. It is unfortunately apparent that one of the cardinal rules of bibliography has been violated, namely, that descriptions have not always been made from the books.

Let it not be understood that the descriptions are not useful. On the contrary, this book is filled with immensely useful information, both bibliographical and literary, and it will stand as an important reference work for years to come. It is regrettable, however, that the fine standards that bibliographers have developed in recent years have not been put to full use. This weakness has made an otherwise fine piece of work an awkward, although none the less essential, tool.

University of Pennsylvania Library

Thomas R. Adams


In Baedeker's Tyrol and the Dolomites certain mountain ascents are described as being suitable "for experts only, with steady heads." This caveat most emphatically applies to Mr. Bowers' book, for it is a highly
technical and hair splittingly exhaustive manual, addressed solely to the professional bibliographer. For the expert who seeks after perfection, however painstakingly and encyclopaedically, and for the specialist who loves to make more and more of less and less, this volume cannot be too highly recommended, but for the *amateur de livres*, and in fact for the average research librarian, it is too advanced. Indeed, it is a book “for experts only, with steady heads.” On the other hand, Mr. Bowers deserves the greatest credit for writing a definitive and truly monumental work, and thereby for promoting bibliography to the rank of an exact science. It is difficult to see how such a book could ever be supplemented or improved upon, although it might be made a trifle more human. Surprisingly enough for a book of this character, it contains no bibliography, while its high price may place it beyond the range of those for whom it is intended.

Far more to the purpose of readers of *The Magazine* is the *Standards of Bibliographical Description*, an extremely useful and readable little volume based on the Rosenbach Lectures of 1946–1947. It consists of three essays: the first, on incunabula, by Curt Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library; the second, on early English literature, by Dr. James G. McManaway of the Folger Library; and the third, on early Americana, by Dr. Lawrence Wroth of The John Carter Brown Library. While these three phases of bibliography are fairly distinct (with some overlap, of course), all three contributors hammer away at a theme which runs through the volume, and which has been all too often forgotten by many calling themselves bibliographers. The theme is simply this: that the most important thing about a book is the book itself, which should be viewed not only as to its physical make-up, but also as to its text. As Mr. Bühler puts it, “bibliography is not so much an end in itself as it is an ancillary investigation to the study of the text (be it literary, historical, or scientific); consequently, it seems to me that a complete account of the textual contents of any volume (what Klebs called the literary collation) is absolutely required.” Dr. Wroth is even more emphatic:

In my creed, one has done only half his job when he has completed his description of the *form* in which the text has been presented to the world. From this point onward he is to be, or should be, concerned with the text, with the treasure which the earthen vessel contains; concerned, that is, with the circumstances which brought the text into being; the relationship between circumstances, author, and composition; the publication progress of the book; subsequent editions and issues; or its passage into oblivion. This is the reality of bibliographical purpose. Henry Stevens of Vermont used to represent Bibliography pictorially as a well from which sprang, green and dripping, the live tree of knowledge. Unless bibliography is practiced in the spirit of that conception, it becomes a species of research which closely approaches sterility.

It is this deficiency in many formal bibliographies that has often made the lavish catalogues of antiquarian booksellers far more useful to students. But it need not be so; Dibdin brought life to bibliography a century and a
half ago, and such men as Professor Jackson of Harvard (and for that matter Messrs. Bühler, McManaway, and Wroth) have done it in our own day. Let no bibliographer—nor any book lover of any sort—lose sight of their warning.

Although all three essays are essentially readable and worth while, it is perhaps Dr. Wroth's contribution on early Americana which should be emphasized in this review. He begins with an excellent summary of what may be called the apostolic succession of American bibliography: Leon Pinelo (1629), White Kennett (1713), Harrisse (1866), Sabin (1868), Cole's *Church Catalogue*, and Evans, mentioning also the fine subject bibliographies of H. R. Wagner and T. J. Holmes. By means of this historical survey Dr. Wroth provides the background for the Americanist's task. From this point the writer presses on to the problems of function and method: the immediate function of bibliography is to enable the reader to identify texts, to discriminate between editions and other variants, to fix the position of a given text with relation to other versions, and to study both the event or movement which brought the text into being and its influence. Emphasizing that a good bibliography should be simple, compact, and comprehensive, he proposes two standards of description—the first, a short, intermediate form of entry; the second, a "full dress" listing. For the former he suggests (1) short title, (2) compressed imprint, (3) short collation, and (4) essential bibliographical notes. The latter is much more complete: (1) author's name, (2) photograph of title page, (3) collation with signatures, etc., (4) collation of contents, (5) measurements, (6) historical and literary notes, (7) references, and (8) location of copies.

Perhaps the salient point of Dr. Wroth's bibliographical method is his insistence on a chronological arrangement. This seems particularly suitable in the case of Americana; at least he makes out a good brief for its use. How far it might be used in other fields can be debated. For incunabula the Proctor system of countries and printing towns may possibly be the most satisfactory; certainly the dyed-in-the-wool incunabulist can have the most fun with it. In the case of early English books, most publications fall broadly into the general class of Elizabethan literature, where chronology is compressed into a brief century or so, with the result that the traditional alphabetical arrangement of the *Short Title Catalogue* still carries on, although Professor Taylor in her *Tudor Geography* has shown what can be done by applying the chronological method even in that field. For Americana there can be no doubt. The alphabetical order from John Adams to Augustine Zarate hides away whole streams of human endeavor, whereas under the chronological system we find the Virginia tracts bunched in the early seventeenth century, and the literature of the American Revolution under the 1770's and 1780's. Not only the progress of political history, but the development and course of movements, of ways of thought, and, in fact, of the whole American scene can be thus surveyed, and in no other way. This insistence of Dr. Wroth's is wholly in line with his thesis that, after
all, a book is a human document, and that its physical construction can never be considered apart from its contents and its relation to other books.

Devon, Pa.

Boies Penrose


This is volume one of a projected ten-volume History of the South. Two others have already appeared, and the nature of the series is beginning to be clear. The indications are that it is going to rank high among collaborative ventures in American history.

The work under review deals with the beginnings of colonial enterprise in America and is largely the story of English activity. As only the southern colonies are examined, it is possible to secure a unique and uninterrupted view of the oldest and probably the most fundamental of the English patterns of operation in America, namely, the nationalistic-economic.

The sixteenth was a great century in English experience. Tremendous energy which had been long in accumulating was released in the reign of Elizabeth. A nationalism which manifested itself in ambitious determination to best rivals came to the fore. This nationalism was not only the stimulant of the government, but more important, it seemed to be widely held by such a large number of men of enterprise. When the urge to contest the possession of America with Spain developed, the lead was taken not by the Crown, but by private individuals. This fact the author uses as a major theme—namely, how little the government contributed to the task of planting Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, and by how much the work was the work of enterprising Englishmen.

These men, such as the Hakluyts and their business associates, were faced with the idea of promoting England's power and fortune, and, incidentally, their own. They studied the Spanish experience, they drafted proposals and blueprints, published information and propaganda, and enlisted financial support. The Crown granted charters and gave land; at first, also, the government seemed inclined to attempt control. But except in Virginia, and there not consistently, the job was in most part left to individual or corporate energy and ingenuity during the seventeenth century.

The author makes excellent use of his own previous significant work in the early history of Virginia and Bermuda to present a picture of the beginnings of the permanent settlement which is clearer and more revealing than previous writing. He proceeds to study the situations in Maryland and the Carolinas with less detail but with equal clarity. Under his skillful treatment we see these colonies grow; we gain a new understanding of the almost insurmountable difficulties which they had to face; we see communities emerge and colonies come to corporate consciousness. Here are the begin-
nings of economic activity, of the process of social expansion, and of the growth of the democratic idea.

The author has had a difficult problem of compressing into one volume a meaningful selection from the welter of events which made up the history of the southern colonies in their first century. The whole complex history of each colony could not be included; selection had to be arbitrary, and no two people would ever agree on the proper choice. Mr. Craven's has been, on the whole, successful. He has used fragmentary sources with intelligence and insight, and he has made his analysis realistic and convincing. The History of the South is ably introduced.

University of Pennsylvania


Remember the story of the prize that was offered for the best "Impartial History of the War Between the States, Told from the Southern Point of View"? It is difficult to name a historian who could write A History of the Old South that would be satisfactory to all parties, but surely Clement Eaton has done as well as anyone could. Southernborn, so that he approaches the region with the understanding possible only to the native, he is also a "liberal" southerner, who clearly admires the Jeffersonian tradition and firmly champions civil liberties, and is, therefore, no apologist for the ante-bellum slavocracy. Furthermore, he studied both in North Carolina and in Massachusetts, taught for several years in Pennsylvania, and finally found in the border state of Kentucky an appropriate vantage point for writing a balanced account of the pre-Civil War period.

The first five chapters of this book give an admirable summary of the South during the colonial period, including the settlement of the Old West. A longer section then discusses the political events of that period from the American Revolution through the Mexican War in which the South played so conspicuous a role. The treatment here is conventional, because within the space requirements the author could do little more than condense a great deal of familiar material. Moreover, the discussion of important national affairs almost entirely in terms of their southern aspects often produces a curiously truncated narrative.

But in the last half of the book, Mr. Eaton really hits his stride with a detailed and authoritative survey of the economic, social, and intellectual history of the ante-bellum South, which draws much more heavily upon his own researches and for the first time gets beneath the surface. Especially interesting are the descriptions of the South's varied economic activities (how refreshing to learn about the hemp industry as well as the cotton kingdom!), the chapter on Creole culture, and the indications of the persistence of antislavery sentiment in the South even after 1830.
Mr. Eaton is particularly adept at summing up the differing viewpoints on disputed issues, not only balancing traditional versions against more recent interpretations, but in some cases even presenting revisions of the revisionists. Too often, however, he then drops the question without resolving the conflict. He does take a stand on the ultimate fate of slavery, arguing that the institution was becoming economically unprofitable and, therefore, eventually would have disappeared without the Civil War. This verdict is all the more striking because elsewhere Mr. Eaton shows considerable skepticism about economic determinism in general, and indicates that slavery in particular was as much a social and racial matter as an economic one.

The style is clear and readable, punctuated as it is by personality sketches of prominent southern figures, several comparisons with the New Deal and United Nations, a number of "spicy" allusions and the use of bizarre Indian names wherever possible. At the end of six hundred pages we may still feel we have had an excellent account of what happened rather than of why it happened. But such a complaint is wishing for the historical moon. Mr. Eaton has digested a formidable amount of material so well and presented it so coherently and dispassionately that the volume remains a triumph of the skillful handling of a complex task.

University of Pennsylvania

WALLACE E. DAVIES


In Lincoln Finds a General, Kenneth P. Williams, a professor of mathematics, subjects Lincoln's problems of command and leadership to the searching and discriminating analysis of a mathematician with military experience. The scope of the work is large, these first two volumes of a projected four being confined to an analysis of Lincoln's problems in Virginia from the beginning of the war until the end of the year 1863. To justify the subtitle, A Military Study of the Civil War, it will be necessary to consider the entire western area, including New Orleans and the operations in Louisiana, as well as the Virginia area, to which this present study is almost entirely confined.

Only incidental mention is made of the leadership and the conduct of operations outside of Virginia, although these other areas were just as much Lincoln's responsibility as were those in Virginia. If the Northern leadership elsewhere had not been effective and generally successful, the failure of the leadership in Virginia would have been much more tragic than it was. Lincoln and his generals and perhaps the structure of the American republic were saved by Northern successes in the West, as well as by the greater
strength in men and materials that permitted errors of judgment and performance to be made without resulting complete defeat. The aggressive Northern military leaders, who, in the end, won the war for the North—Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Sheridan—were all from Ohio. They learned the business of war by engaging in it, usually on more or less even terms and not, in the beginning at least, with a superiority that made them careless.

Professor Williams has presented a critical as well as a narrative account of Lincoln's problems and leadership that in the end was more rational and constructive than that of any of his generals. Lincoln applied common sense to any problem he was called upon to solve, but not always successfully, because he did not always follow his own best judgment. His choice of McClellan was made as much because no one else seemed available and capable of high command as for any other reason. McClellan, overcome by the choice, assumed an attitude toward Lincoln that, eventually, was his own undoing. If he had consulted with Lincoln and listened to his analysis and solution of problems facing them jointly, Grant might never have come east. McClellan's organizing ability and personal leadership operating in co-operation with Lincoln's rationalizing ability and drive would have been irresistible.

McClellan's successor, John Pope, comes off better under Professor Williams' analysis than has usually been his lot. Pope's braggadocio and failure to command the co-operation from subordinates that he was entitled to canceled his own genuine ability as a field leader. Pope's successor, Burnside, never should have been appointed and accepted the command only under protest. Hooker's appointment, likewise, never should have been made. At least two capable men were available—John F. Reynolds and W. S. Hancock. Of the two, Reynolds was the more competent, and had he been appointed, the results at Gettysburg might have been conclusive. His possible assignment is dismissed with the statement that Reynolds "probably would have declined," but with no indication as to why he would have done so. Furthermore, there is no discussion of the political aspects of Lincoln's appointments to command—Dennison's support of McClellan, Sprague's of Burnside, and Chase's of Hooker. Too little consideration is given to the relations between Lincoln and the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War. Halleck is constantly "in the picture" and was so until after Appomattox. A considered appraisal of his functions, relations, and value to Lincoln would help in an understanding of Lincoln's problems in finding a general.

McClellan is characterized as "an attractive, but vain and unstable man"; Halleck was "bookish"; Hooker, arrogant and insubordinate; and Meade was vacillating and frequently confused. Grant, mentioned in the beginning of the first volume and at the end of the second, is, however, a resolute, honest, kind and selfless man.

Lee and Jackson are appraised objectively, without diminishing their true greatness. Both of them made mistakes, because they were men of
action who were constantly probing and experimenting, endeavoring to set up situations that automatically would react in their favor. They made mistakes, but usually discovered and corrected them before their opponents could benefit. It is true that Gettysburg "was probably the worst battle that Lee fought." But probably no one realized this better than he did himself.

Professor Williams has here presented an objective account of the logistics of military command and operation that is a contribution to the military history of the period. He is particularly concerned with the importance and use of railroads and with the effective direction of the services of supply. In the concluding two volumes Grant bids fair to be the hero; the stage is set for his entry. It is hoped that the same meticulous attention will be given to the western operations, both Union and Confederate, that has here been given to President Lincoln and the Army of the Potomac. The account here presented is based on a careful study of the Official Records, a mine of information that is seldom used effectively. There are footnotes, several appendices, and a good bibliography. A number of useful maps are included, and there are several illustrations and an index.

Locust Valley, N. Y. Thomas Robson Hay


Mr. Zeichner, after commenting on the steady habits of Connecticut and its relative isolation because of its small trade, leads the reader through gradual stages to the overthrow of the old conservative governing clique as a result of the reaction to the Stamp Act. One is made aware of the cleavage between eastern and western Connecticut. The eastern section of the colony was a growing hotbed of radicalism. Here the New Light revival was strongest and the interest of the Susquehanna Company most ardently promoted. In the western part, the conservatives, influenced by a growing Anglican minority, attempted to hold fast to steady habits.

As the story is told the evolution of the revolutionary concept is made clear. One is taken through the various unsuccessful efforts of the Tories, after 1766, to regain the government, and is finally left at that point when to be a Tory was to be an enemy of the state.

It is a commendable book, clearly written, well annotated, and supported by a worth-while bibliographical essay.

N. B. W.

This most recent publication of the "journal" of Margaret Morris is a well-annotated, attractive little volume, containing valuable biographical information on Mrs. Morris and her family. The journal itself has been as literally transcribed as is possible in print, even to the rather questionable use of word underlinings in place of the italics generally found in manuscript transcription.

The journal is familiar to many readers in the Revolutionary period. It is a lively account of Burlington, N. J., from December, 1776, to late spring, 1777. Margaret Morris, quite naturally, emerges as the most clearly defined of all the characters in the narrative, her humor, fortitude, faith and compassion being ever present. Her political sympathies are perhaps less obvious, although her Tory inclination would seem to be strongest. For all her stanch Quaker beliefs, Mrs. Morris at times seems quite un-Friendly in some of her comments. The names and activities of many Friends are mentioned, and the misfortunes of the Anglican clergyman, Jonathan Odell, are prominent in the journal.

Although this fragmentary journal tells primarily the plight of a Quaker town in war, one finds here all the confusion of successive occupations, the turning fortunes of battle, and the uncertainty and unreliability of report and rumor. This little journal is interesting and human, and rightly takes its place in the great documentation of the Revolution.

L. V. G.


This reprint from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1949, is a welcome addition to the early movement against slavery in this country. Mr. Cadbury has pieced together scattered information on the life of John Hepburn, an East Jersey Quaker, to give us a picture of the man, and has supplied us with a critical description of the book. John Hepburn's book, The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule, or An Essay to prove the Unlawfulness of making Slaves of Men, is reproduced by offset.


From 1782, when the first bank was established, to 1866, when the National Bank Act provision for a tax on state bank currency became effective,
certain periodicals were circulated to report to purchasers the rate of discount on notes issued by local banks. These periodicals were called bank note reporters and counterfeit detectors. Mr. Dillistin describes the circumstances which necessitated the issuance of bank note lists and counterfeit detectors, and includes a chapter on wildcat banking and bank notes. The longest single section is devoted to the reporters and their publishers; additional information is provided in a chapter on related contemporary publications. The volume includes nineteen plates, mostly of bank notes, genuine and otherwise.


This much-needed guide to the Pennsylvania Archives, one of the best collections of printed source material, is a welcome one to researchers. It is divided under three main headings: (1) finding aids, including an alphabetical finding list for the Colonial Records and the Archives, Series I-IX; an index to maps, portraits, and other illustrations in the ten series; an index to diaries and journals in the ten series; (2) a history of the publication of the Colonial Records and the Archives; and (3) an appendix supplying the names omitted in printing the index to the Sixth Series.

The guide can be purchased only from the State Bureau of Publications, Harrisburg, and the order must be accompanied by a check or money order.


This guide is a catalogue of the extensive correspondence and records of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, deposited in the Newberry Library in 1943. The growing significance of business records in history makes this volume a valuable one, for the Burlington railroad was the first major corporation to deposit its nineteenth-century records in a library for historical use. These records include not only those of the C. B. & Q., but those of many smaller roads which became part of the Burlington system.


This booklet presents the history of the Old Wye Church (St. Luke's at Wye Mills), a chapel of ease in St. Paul's Parish, Talbot County, Maryland.
Mr. William Graves Perry, who was the architect in charge, has included his notes on the architecture of Wye Church, and on its restoration (1947-1949), made possible through the generosity of Mr. Arthur Amory Houghton, Jr.


This volume is the second in the series of three to be published on the Louisiana-Missouri Territory. The broad source of documentation used in the other volumes of the Territorial Papers is followed here, and covers the wide span of problems involved in territorial settlement and administration. The documents cover the administrations of Acting Governor Browne, 1806-1807; Acting Governor Bates, 1807-1808, 1809-1810; Governor Lewis, 1808-1809; Governor Howard, 1810-1813; and Governor Clark, 1813-1814.

Announcement

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., announces the publication about July 25th of the Virginia Gazette Index, edited by Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff. The Index covers the three papers printed as the Virginia Gazette between 1736 and 1780 (about 1,700 issues) and will be accompanied by a microfilm file of these papers. The extensive coverage of Pennsylvania news—as well as other non-Virginia material—has been thoroughly indexed. Prepublication price for the two volumes of about 600 pages each is $75.00 for the Index and microfilm; $50.00 for the Index or microfilm. Orders received after July 25th will be billed at $85.00 for Index and microfilm; $60.00 for Index alone and $50.00 for microfilm alone.