

BOOK REVIEWS

Index to The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Volumes 1-75 (1877-1951). Edited by EUGENE E. DOLL. (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1954. xvi, 1170 p. \$60.00.)

This is the most valuable research tool made available to American historians in many a year, surpassing, because of the scope of the contents of *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, such useful compilations as Cappon and Duff's *Virginia Gazette Index* and Swem's *Virginia Historical Index*. Although the project had been conceived in the 1890's, it was the impetus given by Margaret Bailey Tinkcom in a review of Swem in 1936 that resulted in the actual beginning of the work in 1941 under the editorship of Mrs. Tinkcom. After her departure for Williamsburg, Eugene E. Doll became editor in 1947 and carried the *Index* to its successful completion. The officials and Council of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania deserve every commendation for their realization that the results of a very large expenditure of time, energy, and funds would be more than justified.

The true value of this *Index* will, of course, be revealed only in the course of long use, but that it is immediately a successful work may be stated without fear of contradiction. A section entitled "Construction and Use" clearly sets forth the principles upon which the *Index* was compiled and gives the user in a few pages all the keys he needs for unlocking the treasures of the seventy-five volumes of this the oldest American historical journal. Merely by flipping the pages of this volume, one becomes at once aware of the vast changes in historical interest and especially of the widening content of history; and the present work reveals that indexing has kept abreast of these changes and represents a great advance in the listing of economic, social, and cultural items which earlier indexes failed to meet adequately. The cross references provided are excellent. A special feature of the *Index* made possible by the inclusion of many admirable illustrations in *The Pennsylvania Magazine* is the indexing of illustrations and graphic materials—a feature particularly important in these days of greater attention to pictures.

Constant readers of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* have long known that it is the least parochial and provincial of the journals published by the historical societies of this country, but not until one goes through the *Index* does he fully grasp the truly broad sweep of the contents. George Washington, the Virginian, has many more entries than the greatest Pennsylvanian, Benjamin Franklin; Alexander Hamilton of New York rates more space than the leading Pennsylvania Hamiltons—Andrew, James, or William.

Mirabile dictu, Washington received more attention than the Society of Friends in the first seventy-five volumes! Perhaps more useful for research purposes are the many references to minor historical characters whose lives are always so difficult to trace, such as Chief Justice William Allen, Robert Smith the architect, or any one of the many Morrisises. For genealogists this *Index* will prove indispensable, and will in addition aid—nay force—them to make their studies more critical (and hence more reliable) than in former times. Similarly, the *Index* supplies leading clues to information about all sorts of topics. On Indian affairs, agriculture, bridges, gardening, towns, the Revolution, all aspects of immigration, the Civil War, literature, music and art, the references are legion. That I found no mention of whiskey before the 1780's confirms a long-held hunch that it was not a widely consumed colonial beverage.

As might be expected, the emphasis of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* in its first fifty years was principally on the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but one is surprised to find as many references to nineteenth- and twentieth-century happenings as the *Index* reveals. The adjoining states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland (as also Virginia) come in for so much notice that this is properly a guide to the history of the Middle States. One aspect of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* that calls for special comment is its wealth of letters, diaries, travels, journals, and other original materials drawn principally from the rich manuscript collections of the Society. If the next seventy-five volumes continue this trend, with the emphasis on the period since 1800, history will have been well served.

During the past two decades my investigations have required me no less than three times to go through the entire *Pennsylvania Magazine* volume by volume and page by page in search of materials on a number of individuals and topics. Heaven be praised that this superb *Index* will forever release me from the need to perform such a chore again.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

Cotton Mather, First Significant Figure in American Medicine. By OTHO T. BEALL, JR., and RICHARD H. SHRYOCK. [Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, First Series: Monographs, Vol. V.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1954. x, 241 p. Illustrations, index. \$4.00.)

The reader of this book, unless he happens to be peculiarly acquainted, will gain enlightenment on several matters. He will be persuaded that Cotton Mather was not merely a "pompous reactionary theologian who spent his spare time in persecuting witches," but, on the contrary, a man of diversified interests with special reasons for emphasis on physic. He will get a sympathetic picture of medicine of the early eighteenth century, and at

the end will realize that the authors have succeeded in bringing belated credit to Cotton Mather and in justifying the subtitle of the volume.

Only such details of Cotton Mather's life are mentioned as help to explain the background of his interest in medicine and health. In youth he studied medical subjects in preparation for a medical career should his stammer prevent the preaching required of the clergy. After he conquered his handicap, he was ordained in 1685, but continued to give attention to science. He came to feel that the clerical and medical functions could well be combined, and that it was truly an "angelic conjunction." In this he was influenced both by a strong humanitarian sense of duty and by the practical conclusion that there was a great scarcity of practitioners of medicine.

In the time of Cotton Mather (1663-1728), it must be remembered that the body of scientific knowledge was capable of being encompassed by an intelligent individual. The highest praise that Pepys could give a man was that of being "ingenious"—interested and curious about all things. Cotton Mather was indeed an ingenious man, covering "in the manner of a seventeenth century virtuoso" mathematics, astronomy, geology, meteorology, biology and medicine. Almost a hundred communications on these subjects were sent by him to the Royal Society, and he became the first native American to be honored by election to what Pepys termed the "College of Virtuosoës."

Mather wrote on many subjects: on measles in 1713, and in 1721-1722 seven items on smallpox inoculation which led to public condemnation and the throwing of a "Granado" into his house. In 1724 he completed the first general treatise on medicine to be written in the English colonies. To this he gave the title *The Angel of Bethesda*, again revealing the duality of his interests. This work has never been published, but Beall and Shryock have printed more than a hundred pages of selections. This adds to the already great value of their volume. Also, many footnotes and references open the way to further authors, both lay and medical. Of the latter, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Joseph Sargent saw little or no good in Mather or in *The Angel*; only William S. Thayer in 1905 treated Mather's medicine sympathetically and quoted bits from *The Angel*.

From the vantage point of today it is easy to select from Mather's writings many credulities and absurdities for criticism. But, as Beall and Shryock point out, he had an amazing ability to discriminate, as is evidenced by his acceptance of the recently seen animalculæ as a cause of disease, although at other times when the theologian was dominant he wrote, "Lett us look upon Sin as the Cause of Sickness." For him to have championed so quickly the earliest form of the germ theory of disease and the first effort at true preventive medicine is amazing. Even more so is his apparent appreciation of the implications and importance of these advances.

Beall and Shryock have produced a very readable and significant volume, which should appeal to all in the medical field and to anyone con-

cerned with the American scene of that period. It is also a fascinating picture of the interplay of influences and talents which weave a complex human character such as that of Cotton Mather, too long maligned as a narrow theologian and too long overlooked as the first significant figure in American medicine.

Ithan

O. H. PERRY PEPPER

Walam Olum, or Red Score: The Migration Legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians. A New Translation, Interpreted by Linguistic, Historical, Archaeological, Ethnological, and Physical Anthropological Studies. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1954. xiv, 379 p. Illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

Constantine Rafinesque, that busy botanist of America's midwestern frontier, about 1820 acquired from an obscure "Dr. Ward" a bundle of sticks incised with pictographs, and later an accompanying text, purporting to be the historical traditions of the Delaware or Lenni Lenape Indians. These aboriginal inhabitants of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were at that time living precariously on the waters of the White River in Indiana. Portions of the *Walam Olum* were later translated by Rafinesque, by E. G. Squier, and by Daniel G. Brinton, and there has been considerable speculation as to the historical value of the chronicle (a record of tribal wanderings, wars, and successive chieftainships). In the past three decades, particularly, intensive research has been directed toward the *Walam Olum* by historians and anthropologists of various persuasions (archaeologists, linguists, physical anthropologists, and ethno-historians) attached to various institutions (Indiana Historical Society, which initiated the work; the University of Pennsylvania, whose museum holds Rafinesque's documents; Yale University; and Indiana University, in particular).

This luxuriously printed and bound volume reports the results of the twenty-odd-year investigation, largely financed by Eli Lilly, of the famous *Walam Olum* of the Delaware Indians. There are photographic reproductions, page by page, of Rafinesque's copies of the original pictographs, and of his own translation; a retranslation by linguist C. F. Voegelin; separate interpretations of the pictographs by Eli Lilly; ethnological observations by Erminie Voegelin; a history of the Rafinesque documents themselves by Paul Weer; speculations on the chronology of the *Walam Olum* by Eli Lilly; a consideration of similar chronicles kept by other tribes by Erminie Voegelin; a discussion by Glenn Black of the archaeological data on the Lenape, organized to show prehistoric migrations and cultural affinities; and an examination of Lenape physical anthropology as an aid to elucidation of the ethnic migration problem.

The authors seem to agree on two main points: that the *Walam Olum* is a genuine tribal history; and that it describes the migration of an Algonkian

population, including the Lenape, all the way from Asia, across Bering Strait and the plains of North America, to the Ohio valley (where the Lenape were the makers of the famous Hopewell culture), and thence to the Atlantic Coast, where they were met by white men. The authors compare the Walam Olum, as history, to the epics of Homer: as Schliemann was able to find Homer a guide to Troy, so, they feel, they have found an aboriginal account of an episode in the peopling of North America.

It is impossible for the reviewer to agree or disagree with the carefully reasoned arguments about the source of the document and about Lenape prehistory. There is an element of special pleading: the provenience of the "Red Score" is after all still mysterious; the crossing of the ice does not *have* to be the entry into Alaska (it might refer to one of the Great Lakes); the connection of the Lenape with Hopewell is based at best on slender evidence, a skein of "ifs"; there are so many alternative explanations of so much of the evidence that at times the thread seems on the point of snapping. It would seem that further evaluation of the Walam Olum documents would be necessary before a final decision on their significance can be made.

University of Pennsylvania

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia. Compiled and edited by LOIS MULKEARN. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954. xl, 731 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

We live in a day of great editorial enterprises—the voluminous Jefferson papers, the promised Franklin papers, the best-selling Boswell papers, the multivolumed correspondence of Voltaire, of Horace Walpole, of Theodore Roosevelt. One wonders, occasionally, if the thing is not being carried a little too far, if the zeal of editors is not in danger of passing out of control. The *George Mercer Papers* is a case in point.

Essentially, the volume consists of a sixty-page documentary narrative called "The Case of the Ohio Company," compiled in 1770 by George Mercer to be laid before the Privy Council and here reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the New-York Historical Society; plus an earlier manuscript version of some ninety pages compiled ten years earlier by his father John Mercer; plus the documents—letters, journals, minutes, resolutions, and the like—on which the two accounts were based; plus 280 pages of commentary on the printed "Case" and annotations on the manuscripts.

The story these papers record—the story of the Ohio Company of Virginia—is unquestionably an important and exciting one; it is the story, from the Anglo-American side, of the struggle for the heartland of America in the eighteenth century. The editorial scholarship deserves highest praise. The editor, Mrs. Lois Mulkearn, has been indefatigable in ferreting out supplementary information to illuminate the documents, rigorous in subjecting every statement to the most exacting test.

And yet the haunting doubt persists: Do these papers really warrant such reverent handling, such lavish treatment? Was it really necessary to print them all, *verbatim et literatim* and *in extenso*, when there is so much repetition?

Let me be more particular: Of the 388 pages of documents, approximately 125, almost a third, represent duplication or near-duplication—material already reproduced, with only slight variations, elsewhere in the volume. For example, the proceedings at the Treaty of Logstown in 1752 are printed in full or in extracts *four* times; the textual differences are minor (e.g., “The goods were got” for “Got our goods”) and could easily have been covered in footnotes. The Ohio Company’s petition to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia in 1752 appears in identical form *three* times. The journals of Christopher Gist are reproduced in whole or in part at *four* different points in the volume. Gist’s first journal, incidentally, has already appeared in print many times, most recently in 1949, when it was admirably presented by Mrs. Mulkearn in her edition of Thomas Pownall’s *Topographical Description*. A number of the documents indeed are readily available elsewhere—for example, the twelve pages of “Acts of Pennsylvania about the Indian Trade, 1758–59” and Governor Dinwiddie’s famous letter of 1752 to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio with that officer’s reply (both here printed *twice*).

One wonders what—beyond the fact that these manuscripts exist physically as a unit in the Darlington Memorial Library of the University of Pittsburgh—justifies the reproduction of so much redundant material in a time of soaring publication costs. Let me be quite clear: the documents are both interesting and important—Gist’s journals, laconic but somehow vibrant with the explorer’s excitement in seeing virgin country and watching the strange customs of the Indians; John Mercer’s letters, full of entertaining social history; the crucial records of the Ohio Company itself. But it seems important to remind ourselves that they are not sacred codices of Holy Writ or variant quartos of *Hamlet*.

But I fear I am being churlish and ungracious. The volume, I must in fairness say, is handsomely printed, attractively bound, magnificently indexed, and usefully equipped with such handy gadgets as a chronological check list of the documents and a calendar of related manuscripts. For Mrs. Mulkearn’s painstaking historical scholarship, exhibited in the annotations, there can, I repeat, be nothing but praise. Her commentary, she modestly observes, “is not a history of the Ohio Company,” but merely an effort to elucidate the documents. Mr. R. W. G. Vail, who contributes a foreword, frankly wonders “which is the more important, the original papers or the notes which explain and enrich them.” I sympathize with Mr. Vail’s uncertainty and only wish that Mrs. Mulkearn had undertaken—or would now undertake—to write a history of the Ohio Company.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

The Rittenhouse Orrery, Princeton's Eighteenth-Century Planetarium, 1767-1954. A Commentary on an Exhibition Held in the Princeton University Library. By HOWARD C. RICE, JR. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Library, 1954. xii, 88 p. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$2.50.)

This is a beautiful little book with an authoritative and satisfying text and magnificent illustrations. It accomplishes just what Mr. Rice set out to do in providing the historical perspective required to understand the Princeton exhibition celebrating the restoration of Rittenhouse's famous orrery. It gives evidence that the author has consulted not merely "some of the source materials" but very nearly all that are available.

The appearance of this book emphasizes again the debt historical scholarship owes to the restoration and exhibition of ancient apparatus. It specifically recalls the restoration of the Rittenhouse orrery belonging to the University of Pennsylvania for the Rittenhouse bicentennial of 1932 and the scholarly articles by James Stokely, Thomas D. Cope, and Maurice J. Babb. It also recalls the more recent Harvard exhibition of early scientific instruments including the orrery built by Joseph Pope in 1787. That event furnished the occasion for the publication of I. Bernard Cohen's *Some Early Tools of American Science*.

Mr. Rice's book makes clear the real reason that men of the eighteenth century valued orreries or mechanical planetaria so highly. They were not merely teaching devices. They were symbols of the mechanical universe of Sir Isaac Newton—a universe which in all of its parts was conceived to operate according to invariable law. The orrery was a monument to the faith of the Enlightenment in the reasonableness of the world.

The most important new information adduced by Mr. Rice relates to the accuracy of the orrery. He reveals for the first time just how closely this apparatus represents the solar system. It is obvious that the little balls representing the sun, planets, and satellites are far too large to be in scale. It is even clear that they are out of scale with respect to one another—it was physically impossible to make them in the right scale and size if they were to be visible at all in a device of this magnitude. The restoration has made it possible to discover the rates of revolution and rotation of the various bodies, the scale of planetary distances, the inclination of axes and orbits, and the eccentricity of orbits. On the whole, Rittenhouse appears to have compromised with realism only when forced to it. When the multiplication of speeds proved too great to represent the revolution of Jupiter's and Saturn's satellites accurately, he just slowed them down. Although he used circular orbits, he made them eccentric and even varied the speed in the case of Mercury.

Bigger questions remain unanswered. How did Rittenhouse's orrery compare with other orreries? How did it compare with the best that might have been done? Some very simple questions that must have been answered in

the process of reconstructing the orrery are not given. How well designed were his gear trains, for example, and his gear faces? The biggest question of all goes well beyond the orrery: what was the general stature of David Rittenhouse? Was he an intellectual giant who could have written "a work that would fill Europe with amazement," or was he a mere "mechanician"? This little book does nothing to help us to answer the great question, but it does lead us to ask it—more and more insistently.

This competent and stimulating book will fail of its maximum utility because of certain aspects of its format. It must be presumed that a limited edition of this sort is not destined for the great public, so why not document it as it deserves to be? Why limit the bibliography to "secondary works"?

New York University

BROOKE HINDLE

The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775-1782, with An Appendix of Original Documents. Edited by WILLIAM B. WILLCOX. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts: 21.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954. lii, 658 p. Maps, appendices, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

Professor Willcox has rendered an important service to students of the American Revolutionary War by editing the memoirs of General Sir Henry Clinton. It should be remembered that Sir Henry played a key role in the war. He was a general officer in the British army in North America from Bunker Hill until the evacuation of Philadelphia; he became commander in chief of the army in time to conduct the retreat from Philadelphia in June, 1778, and he remained in command until many months after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis' army at Yorktown in October, 1781. He commanded in person at the siege and capture of Charleston in the spring of 1780. However, the reputation which he had gained at Charleston was shattered when Earl Cornwallis was defeated at Yorktown and Lord Rawdon was driven from his posts in the interior of South Carolina.

Whether rightly or wrongly, Lord Cornwallis and his friends managed to lay much of the blame for the Yorktown disaster at Sir Henry's door. A lively pamphleteering battle then broke out between his lordship and the onetime commander in chief. The first and most effective blows in the "Clinton-Cornwallis controversy" were struck by the noble earl. General Clinton was then shelved, at the age of about forty-four, while Lord Cornwallis remained in public service and lived to win renown as a general and administrator in India and Ireland.

General Clinton tried to obtain a public hearing of his conduct in office, but he was denied the opportunity to defend his reputation. He turned next to the writing of his memoirs, but he died before his manuscript was ready for the printer. It remained with his papers and was unnoticed by scholars until after it was purchased, together with the rest of his papers, by William

L. Clements in 1925. It has great historical value and will be very useful to scholars now that Professor Willcox has made it available in readable form.

Anyone who has used the Clinton Papers at the Clements Library will realize at once what a tremendous and difficult task Professor Willcox faced when he set out to collate the memoirs and the various collected (and scattered) notes. The task was made particularly difficult by the magnificent illegibility of General Clinton's marginalia and interlineal corrections. The present reviewer has been repelled in considerable confusion by some of the notations which Professor Willcox has succeeded in deciphering. All honor should be rendered to Dr. Willcox for the patience and scholarly care with which he has edited an important, but long-forgotten, historical source.

An editor's task is still incomplete when he has prepared the text of someone's memoirs for publication. There is need for an editor's introduction, critical notes, an index, and perhaps some maps or portraits. Dr. Willcox overlooked only one of these items—he has not included a portrait of General Clinton in his otherwise very complete book. He has, however, furnished a most useful introduction, notes wherever needed, a fine index, and some very handsome maps.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is the editor's introduction. In it, Dr. Willcox has attempted to evaluate the personality and abilities of General Clinton. He has concluded that the general was weak-willed, timid, and, for the most part, lacking in initiative and in the will to command. The present reviewer is in fundamental agreement with Dr. Willcox's estimate of Sir Henry's character. However, it is but fair to point out that the general's troubles were not entirely of his own making. Lord George Germain was quick to promise, but slow to deliver, reinforcements and supplies. Earl Cornwallis was a rash and arrogant man who would have tried the patience and firmness of a Marlborough. Finally, Vice-Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot would have tried the patience and temper of a man far more warm-hearted and patient than was Sir Henry Clinton.

The Yale University Press is to be commended for publishing this important historical source in its series of "Manuscripts and Edited Texts."

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy. By GERALD STOURZH.
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. xviii, 335 p. Index. \$4.50.)

In the past, historians have paid too much attention to the day-by-day development of American foreign policy and too little to the thought and assumptions that underlie it. Events rather than ideas, the working out of policies rather than their ideological origins have, for the most part, attracted their interest. It is well, therefore, that the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago, under the directorship of Hans J. Morgenthau, has included as one of its three areas of re-

search the thinking of individual Americans on international relations. As the first product of its efforts in that area, Dr. Stourzh's thoughtful monograph is almost unique in the literature of American diplomatic history.

The author is concerned with interpretation, not narrative, and with concepts, objectives, and motivations, not deeds. He has endeavored, quite successfully, to analyze systematically the principles of Franklin's approach to foreign policy by probing into his actions as well as into his expressions of opinion concerning international politics.

Dr. Stourzh combines a topical and a chronological treatment. His first chapter discusses generally reason and power in Franklin's political thought. The second analyzes the world balance of power in the mid-eighteenth century and Franklin's views on the great Anglo-French struggle that culminated in 1763. The third investigates his conception of British imperial relations down to 1775, as far as they pertain to his ideas on international affairs. The fourth deals with the problem of isolationism prior to the conclusion of the French alliance, and the fifth carries that theme beyond 1778. The sixth considers Franklin's theories on the peace settlement, and the seventh summarizes his attempts to reconcile the aspirations of the Age of Reason with the realities of international life.

Several familiar generalizations about the many-sided Franklin are demolished in these pages. The Pennsylvanian is shown to be neither a crusader for abstract principles nor a proponent of power politics. It is too simple to call him an opportunist, an internationalist, a pacifist, a moralist, or a rationalist. His alleged abandonment of isolationism after negotiating the French alliance was more apparent than real, while his relative silence on American claims to the West during the preliminaries to the peace with England indicates not indifference but an assumption of indisputable rights. Although too trustful of French benevolence, Franklin was the first of the commissioners to disobey his instructions when they conflicted with the essential interests of the United States. And Franklin, not Jefferson, was America's first great expansionist, the man who anticipated the gospel of Manifest Destiny.

Franklin's zeal for territorial extension, particularly for Canada, can be traced to his concern for American security in general and to his desire for living space for a rapidly increasing population in particular. Like Jefferson, he placed his hopes in an agricultural democracy, and such a society could not prosper or remain uncorrupted without the elimination of foreign threats on the North American continent and the ever-westward thrust of the new nation. The choice between isolationism and internationalism, whose meanings differed in Franklin's day from our own, was of secondary importance, for he never indulged in abstract formulas. Franklin decided each potential entanglement on its own merits; freedom of action was the supreme objective of the infant republic. He did not believe in expounding in advance a set of diplomatic principles from which statesmen could never deviate.

By its very organization, this work suffers from repetition; but its major flaws are the excessive documentation, which occupies fifty-eight pages, and the too-frequent quotations, which break the flow of the presentation. But these are minor considerations in a well-conceived and much-needed study.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

The Adams Federalists. By MANNING J. DAUER. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. xxiv, 381 p. Maps, tables, charts, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

In the preface to this work the author describes what he considers to be the ideal approach to the problem of accumulating and interpreting facts in the social sciences. Too often, he complains, historians have arrived at their conclusions through intuition or by the application of broad philosophical concepts of the cyclical or mechanistic variety. Without arguing the value of the philosophical interpretation of history—although one can hardly consent to the dismissal of Toynbee and Spengler in a few sentences—the historian will certainly agree with the insistence on fact-supported conclusions. Mr. Dauer then outlines his procedural technique in a manner that should be of genuine interest to all teachers of historiography.

As his field of investigation the author has chosen national political development in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Or, putting it in question form, he asks: What were the "difficulties attendant upon the development of self-government in the new era"? Naturally, so broad a query raises ancillary ones on social, political, and economic theories, class divisions, international affairs, and domestic and group conflicts. So great and vital are these questions that full answers to them would require a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the complete social structure of the period or, in other words, a full history. Mr. Dauer feels that ideally the student of the social sciences should attack a given period from this comprehensive viewpoint, but he makes it clear that his study is not a history of the period. Instead, it is an examination of the genesis and development of the Republican and Federalist parties and a rather detailed account of the infighting which characterized the conflict between the Hamilton and Federalist wings of the Federalist Party. Throughout the text the major emphasis is on John Adams, his political and economic theories and his vicissitudes as titular head of a party that was badly split between the Hamiltonians, or High-Federalists, and the moderates, with whom Adams is identified. Adams certainly deserves the attention he is given, and we are grateful for this cogent, well-documented reappraisal. Without detracting from the importance of Jefferson and Hamilton it increases the stature of Adams and enhances the perspective of the entire era.

Mr. Dauer believes that no satisfactory explanation for the growth of the Republican and Federalist parties can be given unless careful attention is

paid to the religious, social, economic, cultural and geographic influences of the period. Also, governmental theories and policies must be set forth in relation to the various economic and social groups affected, and, finally, elections must be studied to determine whether or not patterns of political behavior exist. In attacking this ambitious project he has done extensive and meticulous research, the fruits of which are concentrated, for the most part, in two chapters on early political divisions and in an appendix some eighty-two pages in length. His most impressive contribution is a survey of the membership of the United States House of Representatives from the Fourth through the Seventh Congresses. In a series of elaborate vote charts and maps he lists the congressional districts, locates the Representatives in them, and shows how they voted, with party affiliation, on 105 issues. As good sounding-board technique this serves to illustrate Dauer's answer to the problem of data accumulation. Incidentally, this book required twenty-two years to complete.

Nowhere in this study is there a working definition of a political party in the 1790's, nor is a distinction drawn between a party in the strict organizational sense as opposed to a mere faction or opinion group. Such a definition might justify, or seriously qualify, the chronology for the appearance of parties. For example, reference is made to the "inflationist wing of the Republican Party" in 1789 (p. 69) and to the fact that Adams "had the united support of the Federalist party" in 1792 (p. 77). The terminology clearly suggests definite party organization in those years. Is this not too early?

The proofreading is generally good, although there are a few lapses: James McHenry was John Adams' Secretary of War, not Oliver Wolcott (p. 176), and the man for whom Fries' Rebellion is named was John Fries, not Amos (p. 207). On the whole, though, this is a fine study, one with which every student of the early Federal period should be thoroughly acquainted.

Temple University

HARRY M. TINKCOM

Samuel F. B. Morse and American Democratic Art. By OLIVER W. LARKIN. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954. viii, 215 p. Bibliographical note, index. \$3.00.)

Here is an excellent account of Samuel F. B. Morse and his times. It is enjoyable indeed, and, though scholarly and thorough, is not one of those exhaustive but exhausting biographies in a volume too thick and heavy to hold with comfort.

The confusion of the years following the revolution and birth of a nation are reflected in a unique way in Morse's own character. Although his life's span is almost equally divided in years as an artist and as a scientist, there was a basic dedication to the service of mankind which permeated the whole.

Thoroughly grounded in the strict Calvinistic convictions of his parents, his boyhood training in the New England town of Charlestown, Massachusetts, stamped him with certain fixed opinions, which changed but little as he matured. These dedications colored all the varied aspects of his life.

Mr. Larkin writes equally well and is equally understanding on the two major divisions of Morse's professional activities. He does, however, give many more pages to his life as an artist. In this section we find the struggle and discouragements very similar to those of many painters in his own and all times. It is almost the rule, rather than the exception, that men and women with a genuine creative urge have to walk a stony path. They do not all have the exalted visions of greatness that Morse entertained. He was convinced, at one point, that he would take his place beside Titian, Michelangelo, and Raphael. He dreamed of vast projects, monumental in scale, which would prove the unquestioned merits of the new republic. With the same characteristic sincerity, he came to express the wish that all his paintings, except a few family records, might be destroyed.

As did many other struggling American artists, he found his way to Europe, not only for travel, but for study, with a constancy of purpose to return to paint as an American and to make an important contribution to the new democratic culture. Although enamored of these creative projects, he, with many another, had to settle for portraiture. For this he had a very real gift. His work outside the portrait field never approached distinction. Many of his portraits have come to be considered as fine as any produced in his era. He was deeply concerned with the problem of his brother artists, and out of this intense interest he became the prime mover in the founding of the National Academy of the Arts of Design. He became its first president and continued in this position for twenty years. Strangely enough, when thus involved, his own creative activity diminished, and finally, when the combination of financial problems and other heavy obligations beset him, he turned his back on the field of painting entirely.

His scientific interest, never wholly dormant since his school days, was refired by the enlarging challenges in this new world; and his success in this field is that for which he is chiefly known. In competition with many others here and abroad he perfected the system which produced the telegraph, and he lived to see, after great stress and turmoil and confusion of all sorts, the world-wide use of this marvelous and phenomenal invention. He finally achieved through science a financial security for himself and his family. The many honors and acclaim which were his in his declining years came again after many involvements, both political and business. His narrow convictions and stubborn devotion to an almost outmoded code brought him to difficulties, and, in one instance, his behavior did anything but add to his good reputation.

Mr. Larkin has provided a satisfactory section of sources and an excellent index so that the book becomes ideal reference material. He is also to be complimented on the delightful quotations from contempo-

rary poetry which are scattered throughout the text and which add a whimsical charm.

I am at a loss to understand fully his title. The paintings produced during these formative years of our country need not be classified as, or, indeed, may not be, necessarily, democratic art. I would also question the virtue of including the one double page of four illustrations. The delightful early family piece, while a charming document, scarcely gives the reader unfamiliar with the breadth of Morse's production any adequate idea of his stature as an artist.

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

JOSEPH T. FRASER, JR.

Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier. By JEANNETTE MIRSKY. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954. x, 201 p. Bibliography, index. \$3.00.)

Within this small volume, Jeannette Mirsky has compressed an account of the two arctic voyages of Elisha Kent Kane, which the explorer himself gave to the world in his own words in 1853 and 1856. Hers is an admirable condensation and is most readable. One gains the impression that, after his first voyage in search of the lost Sir John Franklin, it was exploration rather than rescue that fired Kane's imagination. Certainly, a desire to find an open polar sea seemed his chief goal in the second expedition.

Miss Mirsky dismisses the episode of Margaret Fox, the spiritualist, with the statement that the claim to a romantic attachment for Kane was a frantic effort to stay in a waning public spotlight. In the *Dictionary of American Biography* Margaret Elder Dow, who specialized on the explorer's life, states that the spiritualist and Kane were often seen together and that it was known that he tried unsuccessfully to wean her from spiritualism. Miss Mirsky might have thrown more light on this affair than a mere bibliographical reference. Nothing new is contributed to Kane's life story in this latest biography, which labors somewhat to conclude with what Miss Mirsky calls, "Kane's Legacy." She has, at least, reintroduced Elisha Kent Kane to that portion of the reading public which dotes on arctic and antarctic exploration.

Brevard, N. C.

WILLIAM BELL CLARK

The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848. By JOHN R. BODO. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. xiv, 291 p. Bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Mr. Bodo's definition of American Protestantism is one of the most limited ever drawn. "The *American Protestant clergy*," he says, "comprises,

with some exceptions, the educated ministry of New England and the middle states, whose theology was largely Calvinistic, and whose patriotism, while rooted in their sectional background, embraced the whole nation, as a *nation*."

Having thus confined his thesis to a group who were, by definition, in essential agreement, it is not surprising that he should find a "pattern" in their public attitudes. When he describes this pattern as "theocratic," however, he is using that term with a looseness that is in striking contrast to the narrowness of his definition of "Protestant."

All that he really shows, even for the relatively small group of clergy with whom he is concerned, is that, insofar as they took any interest in public issues, other than those of a strictly religious nature, such as Sunday observance, they endeavored to give a superficially Christian tone to opinions which were simply those of their class and section. If this is theocracy, then almost any Christian is a theocrat.

To the present reviewer, the situation seems to have been the reverse of theocratic, as that term is usually understood. The clergy were making a not very effective effort to Christianize opinions which were secular in origin. On page 221, for instance, the author asks, "Why were the Congregational theocrats virtually alone to oppose the War with Mexico. . . ?" The answer, of course, is that they were not "virtually alone." Opposition to the war was widespread throughout the North. Though given a moral aspect by the clergy, it was really based on a fear, which subsequent events proved to be mistaken, that the territory acquired by the war would strengthen the political position of the South.

Mr. Bodo sees "theocracy" in the efforts of missionary societies and their supporters to make a religious use of the idea of "Manifest Destiny" by suggesting that evangelistic efforts should follow the political and economic expansion of the United States. The nineteenth-century linking of missions and imperialism was certainly a mistake, but it was not theocracy. The Christian Church, instead of taking the lead, was humbly asking that a place be found for it in a movement which was materialistic in origin and purpose.

The author is, if possible, even further astray in interpreting the religious-society movement of the early nineteenth century as theocratic. The voluntary character of these societies was their most conspicuous feature. Their rapid development at that particular time was an obvious result of the separation of church and state and the consequent need to obtain free-will contributions for the support of religious activities.

One minor error noted by this reviewer should be corrected for the record. J. P. K. Henshaw, mentioned on page 51, was bishop of Rhode Island, not New York. As he was no Calvinist, he presumably belongs, like the other Episcopalians mentioned, among Mr. Bodo's "exceptions."

The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860. By CHARLES C. COLE, JR. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 580.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. [viii], 268 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.25.)

A good deal has been written about the political role of the clergy in the time of the American Revolution and about the "social gospel" of the late nineteenth century. Now we are reminded by Dr. Cole's book and by John R. Bodo's *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848* (Princeton University Press, 1954) that preachers also had much to say about secular themes in the middle period. "It is the duty of the minister of the Gospel to preach on every side of political life," said Henry Ward Beecher. "I do not say that he may; I say that he must."

The title of this work is somewhat misleading, for the various clergymen whose views are analyzed were not all revivalists in the conventional sense. Nathaniel Emmons, Lyman Beecher, Henry Ward Beecher, Peter Cartwright, Francis Wayland, Horace Bushnell, and Charles G. Finney are a few of the diverse Protestant spokesmen here loosely grouped together as "the Northern evangelists." These men differed greatly among themselves in personality and points of view, and it is hazardous to generalize about them. It is especially difficult to represent fairly the opinions of men who made public statements on such a great variety of topics in many different contexts over a long period of years. After introductory chapters consisting of biographical sketches and general comment on revivalism in pre-Civil War America, the study surveys topically the ideas of the revivalists on the social, political, and economic problems of their day.

Tractarianism, Sabbatarianism, prison reform, temperance, and the campaign against vice were among the social movements which engaged these crusaders. Their instruments included a great network of voluntary societies often called "the benevolent empire." In politics and economics the preachers usually took the conservative side. Lyman Beecher, for instance, led the fight against separation of church and state in Connecticut, and President Wayland of Brown University headed the party of "law and order" against Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island. Wayland, a leading Baptist but not generally thought of as an "evangelist," was also an important advocate of *laissez faire*. Horace Bushnell attacked John Locke's theories of popular sovereignty and the social contract. In the slavery controversy, which receives a special chapter, religious arguments were used to support opposite positions, though Dr. Cole deals mainly with the clerical contribution to the antislavery cause and blames the revivalists for helping to bring on the Civil War. In this connection, Finney's priority in applying the doctrine of "a higher law" is emphasized.

The author is quite critical of the evangelists, who are, of course, easy game for anyone equipped with the tools of modern scholarship and wishing to test their social science by the knowledge and insights of our day. Dr.

Cole suggests that in general the evangelists were extremely dogmatic and uncompromising. "In their assertion of a dualism, an either-or approach to life," he says, "they helped make philosophically acceptable the hard and fast concept of absolute good and evil which hampers so much of modern thinking" (p. 240). Mr. Bodo's somewhat comparable study is a more sympathetic presentation of the clergy's role as a constructive force in American society during the same period. A recent work by Winthrop S. Hudson, entitled *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (Harper and Brothers, 1952), also affords a corrective to Dr. Cole's evaluation of the evangelists.

The book is marred by some stylistic infelicities and an excessive number of quotations, which betray its origin as a doctoral dissertation published perhaps without thorough revision. While the bibliography includes an impressive selection of contemporary polemic literature, one misses some important secondary works: Dorfman's *Economic Mind in American Civilization*, Stephenson's *Puritan Heritage*, and Sweet's *Religion in the Development of American Culture*, among others. The study could also have been improved by more adequate attention to theological currents of the period; Haroutunian's *Piety versus Moralism* might have helped in this respect.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

The Jews in America: A History. By RUFUS LEARSI. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1954. xiv, 382 p. Illustrations, maps, index. \$6.00.)

Mr. Lears, in order to fill a need for a sound one-volume history of the Jews of the United States, which certainly exists, and meet a demand which the celebration of the American Jewish Tercentenary has stimulated, essayed the impossible. His task was impossible because, before a one-volume synthesis could be created, basic source materials and specialized studies would have had to have been written. They have not been. American Jewish historiography is in its infancy, promising much for the future, but still not mature.

As a result, the book is both inaccurate and inadequate, particularly for the period from the beginnings down to the great Eastern European immigration which commenced in 1881. For his narrative of these more than two centuries, Mr. Lears picked up names, isolated events, and situations which other, also not very adequate, one-volume histories had picked up before. He dipped without discrimination into secondary sources, gathering some facts on the way, but catching up myths and half-truths along with them.

Many examples of these could be cited, but a few are enough to point up the weakness of this first section of the book. Most of the Jews who came to America during the colonial period (p. 30) were not merchants of Spanish

or Portuguese descent, but by the beginning of the eighteenth century most of them were tradesmen, artisans, peddlers and clerks of Central European origin. No corroborating evidence has ever turned up to show that there really was a community of Jews at Schafferstown, Pennsylvania, early in the eighteenth century (p. 33). Beth Elohim (founded in 1749, not 1750) was the only synagogue in Charleston during the eighteenth century; a second one was not organized in the 1780's (p. 33). Solomon Bush, who was wounded during the retreat from Brandywine was a Jew, but George and Lewis Bush (p. 44) were not. The call for a joint address by the American synagogues to Washington on the occasion of his inauguration originated with Shearith Israel in New York, and not with Manuel Josephson in Philadelphia (p. 45), and the reason that the Savannah congregation did not join with the others was because they had already sent an address of their own.

However, the main trouble with the first third of the volume is the fact that no continuous chain of history is woven. There is no indication that the most significant feature of the history of the Jews in this country to the end of the nineteenth century was their acceptance by their fellow citizens and their rapid integration into American life. They did indeed develop a characteristically American form of Judaism, and their religious beliefs were respected. They at the same time developed charities, fraternal organizations, social clubs and schools, but they were all founded in harmony with the basic, pluralistic pattern of the American civilization.

In the larger portion of the work, dealing with the period of the mass immigration down to the present day, Mr. Lears gives a far better and fuller picture. The background of the Jews, who arrived here from 1881 until World War I virtually cut off the flow of immigrants, and the impact of their old culture upon the smaller American Jewish community which was already established here, are well presented. But the author continues to be more concerned with the influence of external events upon American Jewry than with the influence of America on the Jews. One side of the medal is sharply chiseled; the other side is left formless and indistinct.

It is naturally difficult to write of one's own times, of events that one has lived through, of movements that one has been involved in, without permitting personal views and personal prejudices to creep into what is supposed to be objective history. Mr. Lears is only human, and throughout his account of the stirring events of this century his strong Zionist bias is apparent. The Jews of the United States who thought as he does receive sympathetic treatment; those who differed with him are treated less well. His interpretation of what has taken place recently may prove to be the correct one, but perhaps the perspective of years may show that apparent trends were not the real ones, and specious accomplishments not those which lasted.

The truth of the matter is that Mr. Lears is a fine historian of Zionism and the State of Israel, and he has both interest and competency in those sub-

jects. Therefore, he is able to write brilliantly when dealing with their influence on and importance in American Jewish life. But he is not so well versed in the totality of American life, and not sufficiently an American historian to capture the story of what American Jews built for themselves in this country and what as a group, religious and cultural, they have contributed to the mainstream of the United States.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

The Haunted Man: A Portrait of Edgar Allan Poe. By PHILIP LINDSAY.
(New York: The Philosophical Library, 1954. 256 p. Frontispiece.
\$4.75.)

It seems to be the fate of some authors to fall into fixed patterns of interpretation which are repeated over and over. It is Poe's additionally unhappy fate to have fallen into several such patterns, none of which agrees with the others. Rufus Griswold early planted his own prejudices in the story, and American biographers have ever since been confronted with a dissolute and lying villain who must either be accepted or disposed of; the first of the English biographers, John H. Ingram, presented a more balanced portrait and helped to rescue the art of the horror stories; Baudelaire created out of Poe a great poet in his own image; and modern psychopathology has vied with modern literary scholarship to divide a diseased mind from a superb critical and poetic intelligence. The temptation to try to solve the problem is great.

But there seems to be no very good reason for this new biography. It is simply a retelling of the distressing facts of the poet's life without any new information or even new theories of interpretation, and with very little critical understanding of Poe's writings as literature. The one thing that a new interpretive biography might do—the illumination of the total work of a great artist by the same use of psychological analysis—Mr. Lindsay shies away from at every critical point in his narrative. The result is a rather well-written and honest account of a pathetic human being who wrote great stories but otherwise wasted his genius. This portrait is only a partially accurate likeness.

Mr. Lindsay is probably not the only admirer of Poe's tales who has searched for an impartial reconciliation of the sordid facts of his life with his artistic power. With Poe's enemies pulling one way ever since his own lifetime, and with his advocates—of which Arthur Hobson Quinn is the acknowledged authority—pulling the other, the general reader is left in an unresolved confusion. But Mr. Lindsay does not help to resolve it because he too has become infected with the virus of special pleading. He dismisses all the poetry and poetic theory as trifling and imitative jungle in spite of Poe's acknowledged place at the source of the modern movement in poetry; he accepts the theories of impotence as explanation of Poe's deficiency in

his relationship with women, and of drink and drug addiction as cause of his failing imaginative power, without adding anything to the findings and speculations of Robertson, Krutch, and others; and he expresses admiration for the horror tales without supplying critical evaluation of their art. There is nothing violently inaccurate or objectionable in what Mr. Lindsay offers, but there is no special reason for doing this much about setting Poe's account straight unless one is prepared to do far more.

University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT E. SPILLER

Villains Galore: The Heyday of the Popular Story Weekly. By MARY NOEL.
(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. xii, 320 p. Illustrations,
index. \$5.00.)

Everyone who is interested in popular taste and popular journalism in the United States should be delighted by this book. It is the first study ever made of the American "story papers" of the nineteenth century. The story papers were not quite magazines and not quite newspapers; consequently, they have been neglected by the historians of both these categories. The story papers were published weekly; they specialized in thrilling fiction and uplifting articles; they avoided political controversy and defended the sanctity of the home against all comers; and they were read by millions who got from them the kind of entertainment that comes now from soap opera and the movies. The peak of the story paper age was reached in the 1870's, when Street & Smith's *New York Weekly* was running "Bertha, The Sewing Machine Girl, or, Death at the Wheel." Today we are likely to think of Bertha as a tearful and much-abused girl; it is reassuring to learn from Miss Noel that the original Bertha was full of fight and responded to danger in true American fashion. When the boss's son made insinuating remarks to Bertha she really told him off:

"Beast! villain! coward! are you so idiotic as to suppose your promises would have a feather's weight with me, even if you were the perfection of manly beauty and loaded down with wealth, instead of the vain, empty-headed, hollow-hearted disgusting fright that you are? I am a poor working-girl, obliged to toil late and early for a mere subsistence, but I consider myself as far above you as heaven is above the earth."

The story papers, of course, were quite different from the gutter-raking journals like the *Police Gazette* and *Ned Buntline's Own*, or the picture weeklies like *Frank Leslie's* or *Harper's*. Miss Noel has wisely omitted both these classes of publications from her book. The great prototype of all the story papers was Robert Bonner's *New York Ledger*, which began its career in 1851 as an outgrowth of the strictly commercial *Merchant's Ledger*. Bonner himself was an ambitious young printer, born in north Ireland in 1824, who came to the United States at the age of fifteen. His fabulous

success with the *Ledger* made him one of America's richest men; in 1868 his taxable income was \$238,411, and only two men in New York City received more. Miss Noel analyzes both the *Ledger* and its publisher in very satisfying fashion, and she has used original sources to illuminate material gleaned from printed pages. The correspondence between Bonner and his favorite contributors—Sylvanus ("The Gunmaker of Moscow") Cobb, Jr., Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth, Edward Everett, and the Rev. T. Dewitt Talmage—is especially interesting. When Bonner wanted Horace Greeley's "Reminiscences" for publication in the *Ledger* he knew how to go about it; he invited the famous newspaperman to breakfast, put a \$10,000 check beside his plate, and got the manuscript.

Before Bonner, the story papers were largely centered in Philadelphia and Boston. Miss Noel gives the nod to Philadelphia's Andrew McMakin as the real pioneer; his *Saturday Courier* began in 1831, and McMakin's career was exactly like Bonner's until he let success go to his head and went bankrupt. *The Saturday Evening Post*, which began in 1821 but did not become a full-fledged story paper until the 1840's under Henry Peterson, was the most conspicuous of the *Courier's* Philadelphia rivals, and Miss Noel mentions several others. New York in the 1840's had the *New World* and *Brother Jonathan*, while Boston boasted the *Universal Yankee Nation*, "The Mammoth of all the Mammoths. . . . The largest newspaper, by 500 square inches, ever published in this or any other country." Later Boston papers, *Uncle Sam* and *The Flag of The Union*, were more lasting.

With the rise of Bonner and his unique methods of advertising (he spent more than \$100,000 a year to advertise the *Ledger's* stories, but allowed no ads in his own paper), the older publishers were wholly eclipsed. Bonner became the personal crony of President Grant, the owner of Dexter, the nation's most famous horse, and a power over the minds of millions. His rigid exclusion of certain aspects of life from his columns was followed by other popular editors until recently—in a letter to Sylvanus Cobb in 1884 Bonner laid down the law of the story papers:

"I have again read part of that last chapter that we omitted, and let me tell you, *in the most affectionate way*, that I am amazed that Sylvanus Cobb could have written a chapter concerning the relations—the intercourse, between the sexes, for a family paper! I am bound to believe that you could not have been yourself while writing it. There is not money enough in Wall Street—or on the face of God's earth—to induce Robert Bonner to publish it."

Miss Noel, who is a Ph.D. from Columbia and a research associate of the New York Public Library, has examined files of some forty of the popular story weeklies; her book is well researched and very well written. It is a valuable supplement to Mott's *History of American Magazines*, and will be useful to every student of American social history in the nineteenth century.

Hartwick, N. Y.

ROGER BUTTERFIELD

Purple Passage: The Life of Mrs. Frank Leslie. By MADELEINE B. STERN.
(Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953. x, 284 p. Illustrations, bibliographical note, index. \$3.75.)

Mrs. Frank Leslie was born Miriam Florence Follin in New Orleans in 1836. A certain romantic obscurity shadows her early years, her education, her first marriage, and her theatrical tour with Lola Montez of the provincial circuits in New York, New England, and Pennsylvania. Her second husband, Ephraim George Squier, an archaeologist of some note, introduced her to a brighter world. Shortly after this marriage, Miriam met Frank Leslie, and in 1862 went to work for him as an editor of *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine*. Later on, she edited *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner*, a family paper with an annual circulation of 80,000 copies and an annual profit of \$72,000.

An acknowledged beauty as well as an extraordinarily able editor, Mrs. Squier was a spectacular figure even in the rather vulgar and showy society of post-Civil War New York. Her diamonds, her marriages—she became Mrs. Frank Leslie in 1874—her clothes, her travels, her opinions were regularly reported in the nation's newspapers. She understood not only the value of self-advertisement but that of sensational journalism as well, and after Frank Leslie's death, she took over his heavily mortgaged literary properties and built herself a fortune with them. When she died in 1914, her estate was valued at some two million dollars, the bulk of which she willed to Carrie Chapman Catt for the "furtherance of the cause of Woman's Suffrage."

Purple Passage is Mrs. Frank Leslie's first full-length biography, and it is too bad that it is not a more perceptive one. We hear a great deal about the dramatically sensational side of her life, but nowhere in the book is there a critical study of her achievements as a publisher, although these were, if possible, even more sparkling than her jewels. She had a phenomenal success both with the *Illustrated News* and with the *Popular Monthly*, and a comparison of these journals with other magazines of the seventies and eighties as regards content, editorial policy, and financial return is necessary if Mrs. Leslie's accomplishments are to be assessed properly. We should like to know to what extent she was an innovator and how far merely a lucky follower of established precedent. Was she always able to deliver "the newest news" as she promised her readers? Or was the Garfield coup her only scoop?

Similarly, her personal life cannot be presented satisfactorily without relating it to the spiritual climate in which she lived. Mrs. Leslie's career was gaudy, but so was the age, and she would be no less remarkable for being read in context, so to speak. The ironic approach to biography which Miss Stern evidently favors, with its emphasis on the extravagances, the moral vagaries, the absurdities characteristic of an individual, is manifestly inadequate. The result is a caricature, not a portrait, of a man or woman. Some-

day perhaps, Mrs. Leslie will find another biographer, one who will recreate her world and show her movement through it with a real understanding of both the woman and her time.

Ardmore

MARGARET BAILEY TINKCOM

Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase. Edited by DAVID DONALD. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954. x, 342 p. Frontispiece, index. \$6.50.)

Professor David Donald seems to be making of himself something of a specialist in angular and difficult personalities. Herndon was a good start. Chase is in the angular pattern, and so is Charles Sumner, on whose life he has been working. The choice represents a fortunate matching of talent to subject, for such subjects call for a special endowment of humor and balance and perception. These are qualities which Mr. Donald possesses in the proportions demanded by his chosen tasks.

There is no doubt about the need for the edition of the Chase war diaries he has produced. Because of a dispute between the literary executors of Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, the diaries became scattered after Chase's death. Portions of them appeared out of context and in inaccurate form in various biographies. The part published without editorial comment in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902* has long been out of print. It is the only one of the important Civil War diaries that has been so neglected. Mr. Donald's long and illuminating introduction, his scrupulous care for accuracy and detail, and his ample annotation of the text make this one of the best-edited diaries of the period.

What Chase himself wrote, of course, leaves much to be desired. There are long gaps in his chronicle, gaps that leave untouched the most vital and controversial aspects of his war career. What he does write is put down laconically and humorlessly. There is none of the pungency of Gideon Welles or the wit of John Hay. The journal is almost entirely impersonal. The reader will search in vain for insight upon his glamorous daughter Kate, or his three marriages, or very much about his feelings toward his bitterest enemies or his warmest supporters.

As Mr. Donald remarks, however, the very defects of the Chase diaries are a source of their value. His clarity and objectivity compensate for his cold, impersonal approach. He appears to be constantly striving to report exactly what people said and did—regardless of how he felt about them or what they did. Readers will recall his classic account of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, but they may have forgotten how much history owes to his portrait of generals and politicians and events of less momentous character. He set it all down without apparent regard for how the facts reflected upon his own views and wishes. This makes him a rare and valuable type of diarist—though not the most exciting type.

Chase revealed himself almost as impersonally as he pictured others. The revelation still leaves one puzzled over Lincoln's statement that "Chase is about one and a half times bigger than any other man I ever knew." He did attain high stature when he presided over the trial of President Johnson, but that was after Lincoln's death. The Chase Lincoln knew and that these diaries reveal was a capable and devoted public servant. But he was also a self-centered, ambitious, and humorless man who sometimes lacked a reliable grip on the essentials of human loyalty.

Mr. Donald understands all that. By his perceptive introductory essay and his careful editorial comment he has added appreciably to the understanding of an important figure in our history.

The Johns Hopkins University

C. VANN WOODWARD

My Diary, North and South. By WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL. Edited and Introduced by FLETCHER PRATT. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. xvi, 268 p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

This diary by a correspondent of the London *Times* contains some of the first on-the-spot reporting of a war in modern times. The war with Mexico and the Crimean war had both been reported, after a fashion, but the War Between the States was the first in which the reporters literally filed dispatches at the front that were largely based on personal observation and experience. Most newspaper reporters remain virtually anonymous and unknown unless, as in Russell's case, they publish an account of their experiences from their own observations and dispatches.

Russell was an observant reporter, not only of marches and armed conflict, but also of the country through which he passed and of the people he met and with whom he talked. His stay in the United States was brief. He reached Washington from London soon after Lincoln's first inauguration and left New York for England a few weeks more than a year later. Most of this diary, compiled from his notes and dispatches, covers the five months from mid-March to mid-August, 1861, including a visit to Montgomery, Mobile, and Pensacola in the course of which he met President Davis and his cabinet and General Braxton Bragg, then commanding at Pensacola. He returned north via the Mississippi River and the Illinois Central Railroad to Chicago, and then came east to Washington.

Russell graphically recorded his observations and experiences during the retreat from the battlefield of the First Bull Run or Manassas. He awoke on the morning of July 22, with the rain falling in torrents, to see "a steady stream of men covered with mud, soaked through with the rain, who were pouring irregularly, without any semblance of order, up Pennsylvania Avenue towards the Capitol" (p. 232). The battle made some reputations, broke others, and started a sifting process in the upper echelons of command

that continued throughout the war. It was the first pitched battle of the war and brought to both sides a partial understanding of what war is.

The twenty-five concluding pages of the diary cover the nine months from mid-August, 1861, to mid-April, 1862, when Russell sailed for England. Most of this time was spent in Washington, with the exception of a hurried and brief trip to Chicago in September, 1861.

Except for the First Bull Run, Russell observed no engagements of importance. His diary is largely a comment on events and personalities in the capital city of Washington during the year of his stay there. His portraits of men and his descriptions of his surroundings are discerning and graphic. He was a veteran reporter who understood politics, war, and human nature. As the editor states, this "is a book of pictures in movement; a picture book of what the war looked at as it was about to begin. No one else has left anything comparable" (p. xiii).

The reprinting of this diary, in readable type and well bound, makes available an interesting comment on the events and participants, principally in Washington, during the first year of the war. The editing, however, leaves much to be desired and is of little help to the general reader. There is no account of Russell himself, who thus must remain to the general reader a war correspondent without beginning and without end. In fact, about the only editing that seems to have been done was to write a seven-page preface and to divide the diary into numbered chapters without captions. There are no footnotes to identify characters and to relate events, and there is no index.

It is good to have this interesting diary back in print, but it could easily have been made more interesting, understandable, and useful both for the general reader and the student.

Locust Valley, N. Y.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY

The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill. By HERMANN HAGEDORN. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. [viii], 435 p. Illustrations, index. \$5.00.)

A poet or a novelist was required to write this book. In Mr. Hagedorn the reader finds both.

As the title implies, it is the story of a family and of a house, from the day in 1887 when the bridegroom drove his bride in a phaeton the three miles from the railroad station to her new home, until the final early morning in January, 1918, when the battered soldier, statesman, hunter, explorer turned to his wife and murmured, "I wonder if you will ever know how I loved Sagamore Hill." She did know, for she, too, loved Sagamore Hill.

After the publication of the eight volumes of the collected letters of Theodore Roosevelt, and the numerous personal books which preceded

them, there was not much by way of discovery that Mr. Hagedorn could contribute with respect to the deeds of Theodore or his relationship with his wife, children, children-in-law, and grandchildren.

Mr. Hagedorn does, however, make a very real contribution. In fluent prose, at times poetic, and with skillful selection of quotations from family memorabilia, he paints a picture of a type of American family life little expressed and rarely referred to today, a manner of life curiously cast into the discard by our novelists and writers of memoirs or even of history. Manifestly, few, if any, communities between 1890 and 1914 had the equivalent of the Theodore Roosevelts as family heads, but many communities had Sagamore Hills. Such houses sheltered large families, children and friends of children pouring in and out, parents actively playing with their children, horses and ponies in the stable, cows in the barn, hay to be harvested in the summer, muskrats, coons, opossums and crows to be hunted, style in dining and drawing rooms, in the saddle and with the tandem, books and the reading of books, many house servants, a coachman and grooms in the stable, gardeners on the lawn and in the vegetable and flower areas—and all with no ostentation and with warm pleasure as between the masters and the servants, the youngsters and the grooms.

The American novelists of the past thirty years seem hardly to have known that such houses existed. The families apparently were lacking in power of expression, since they left few memoirs. The historian has tended to smear with the "robber baron" brush the competence and civilization such houses expressed. It was, however, from such houses that there came many of our finest soldiers under Pershing, many parents of our finest soldiers under Eisenhower, and between wars, chartered leaders in church, culture, charity and business.

Mr. Hagedorn in his painting of the Roosevelt family at Sagamore Hill has painted more than a silhouette; his colors are true, delightful, and I would hope and believe, of lasting quality. The master and his wife were particularly distinguished individuals. But neither the house itself nor the health and robustness of its occupants was a *rara avis* during the years of which the tale is told. Those of us who knew such houses must regret that the occupants, in contradistinction to English ways, left so few written words for the younger generations. We tender Mr. Hagedorn our respect for his sensitive relation of that which, in fact, is more than a footnote to American history.

He does treat Mr. Roosevelt tenderly, perhaps too tenderly for this reviewer's taste. He does not touch on his hero's desperate efforts to obtain a medal of honor after San Juan Hill, nor on his many boyish absurdities, nor on his personal relationship with President Taft; nor is he critical of his lack of understanding of President Wilson. But, after all, this book is a labor of love, and a well-conceived labor of love is worth while.

Philadelphia

R. STURGIS INGERSOLL

A Traveler's Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania. By LOIS MULKEARN & EDWIN V. PUGH. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954. xxvi, 426 p. Frontispiece, maps, bibliography, index. \$3.00.)

This handsome volume locates and describes many of the historic sites of western Pennsylvania, which comprises "the [27] counties of Pennsylvania west of and including the Counties of Potter, Cameron, Clearfield, Blair, and Bedford." In point of time, some references are made to prehistoric occupation, but the principal attention is directed to the period from the advent of the first Indian traders in the area to the opening of John Paul Harris's "Nickelodeon" on Smithfield Street in Pittsburgh in June, 1905.

Physically, the arrangement is alphabetical, by counties. Each county section is preceded by a map of the county, and is introduced by a general statement outlining the physical characteristics, the date and method of erection, any antecedent native habitation, the early settlers and settlements, and the significant features of the social, economic, political, and cultural development of the county. In each county section the sites described are assigned a numerical designation and their locations are indicated on the county map by appropriate numerals. This arrangement makes for ready cross reference to sites either by name or by location. Of a total of 640 sites described, the number in each county ranges from a maximum of 165 in Allegheny County (ninety-one in Pittsburgh proper and seventy-four in the remainder of the county) to a minimum of three sites each in the counties of Clearfield and Lawrence.

The index, when used in conjunction with the list of sites in the table of contents, is adequate, but the other supplementary material is particularly valuable. The bibliography is excellent, and the maps by Mr. Theodore Bowman are worthy of more than passing note. At first glance, those of the more densely populated counties seem hopelessly contracted, but on closer inspection they are found to be remarkably clear and cogent. In the map of Washington County, at page 313, Mr. Bowman has succeeded in showing the following physical features within an area just over four inches square and occupying the upper two thirds of a text page: thirty-eight cities or towns, one river and seven creeks or runs, three U. S. highways, ten Pennsylvania highways, thirty-one legislative routes, and the numerical designations of sixty historical sites.

Historic Western Pennsylvania has an air of authenticity not common to publications of this type. Mrs. Mulkearn, as librarian of the Darlington Memorial Library and as editor of Pownall's *Topographical Description* (Pittsburgh, 1949) and, more recently, of the *George Mercer Papers* (Pittsburgh, 1954), has had an unparalleled opportunity to become familiar with the documentation of western Pennsylvania history. The authors, however, have not been content merely to erect a monument to their scholarship, but have contributed vitality to the text through the medium of extensive field

work. All the sites were visited by the authors in the course of the preparation of the book, and their descriptions of the approaches to the sites are always interesting and occasionally amusing. The book has a minimum of errors and those which were found were minor in character.

For the general reader and/or the casual traveler—armchair or otherwise—the present volume represents a welcome addition to the literature of western Pennsylvania. Moreover, it will serve as an admirable “point of departure” for the local history enthusiast or even for the serious student of provincial geography. Several areas which are susceptible of further development occur to this reviewer in the region of his own particular interest and, undoubtedly, others will occur to those interested in other portions of western Pennsylvania. This, however, should in no way be construed as a criticism of the present work. The important thing is that we have this book, one which is a credit both to the publishers and to the Buhl Foundation under whose aegis the work was performed. To the authors we are happy to say “Well done,” with a hearty “Thank you.”

Dillsburg

JOHN V. MILLER

The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered. By WILLIAM WHITE. Edited by RICHARD G. SALOMON. [Church Historical Society Publications, No. 39.] (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1954. 78 p. Paper, \$.50.)

Bishop White's rare pamphlet printed in 1782 is one of the basic documents for the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. It contains the first draft of the organization of the church as it is today. Mr. Salomon's edition of this work makes the text available to all interested in American church history, and contains notes and appendices for the use of the scholar. This edition replaces the reprint of 1937 which has long been out of print.

Mennonite Life. By JOHN A. HOSTETLER. (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1954. viii, 32 p. Illustrations, selected reading list. Paper, \$.50.)

As he did for the Amish in 1952, Mr. Hostetler has now written a descriptive account of the Mennonites today, tracing their beginnings, their philosophy, and their customs. Because of the number of Mennonite communities in the United States and the variations in their customs and religious practices, there is frequent confusion as to just what Mennonite life is like. Mr. Hostetler has written an easily read and well-illustrated booklet in which he has endeavored to answer briefly and concisely many of the questions often asked about the Mennonites.

The Harmony Society. A 19th-Century Utopia. By CHRISTIANA F. KNOEDLER. (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1954. xii, 160 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$3.00.)

The author of this story of the Harmony Society was born and raised in Old Economy, the last of the three Harmonist settlements in America. Interspersed with personal reminiscence, Miss Knoedler presents a history of the Harmony Society (1805-1905) in its various phases with attention to its way of life and customs. Because of better available documentation and because of her own associations with it, the preponderance of the book deals with the Economy settlement, particularly in the latter part of the century. The many illustrations enhance her story, as do her brief accounts of the Economy landmarks.

A Half Year in the New World: Miscellaneous Sketches of Travel in the United States (1888). By ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG. Translated and edited by ERNEST J. MOYNE. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, No. 4.] (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1954. xvi, 225 p. Index. \$4.00.)

In 1888 Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg of Finland came to America to attend a national women's congress in Washington, D. C. Afterward she traveled extensively through the United States, and in 1889 published in Helsinki an account of the events of her trip and her reminiscences of people and places. Because she was a feminist with literary and newspaper experience, her observations are generally penetrating and her interests diversified. She met American literary figures and leaders in the suffrage movement, and spent time visiting immigrant settlements, especially those of the Finns. Her aristocratic background and her career undoubtedly conditioned her opinions, but her experiences are all described with charming detail. This is the first English translation of Alexandra Gripenberg's account of her travels in America.

A Book of Maps of Cape May, 1610-1878. Compiled and annotated by HORACE G. RICHARDS. (Cape May, N. J.: Cape May Geographic Society, 1954. 28 p. Paper, \$2.00.)

Mr. Richards became interested in the maps of Cape May through his geological studies of the region and his attempts to trace the old shore lines. He has included twenty-eight maps in this booklet, chosen to show changes in the shore line and the growth and development of Cape May County. Preceding the maps are a chronology of the region and brief descriptions of the maps themselves. A map of "Town" or Portsmouth, 1726, is tipped in on the inside back cover.

Pennsylvania's Oil Industry. By ERNEST C. MILLER. [Pennsylvania History Studies, No. 4.] (Gettysburg, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1954. ii, 54 p. Map, bibliography. Paper, \$.50.)

The story of Pennsylvania's oil industry is an exciting and important phase of the state's history, and Mr. Miller has told it well in this booklet. Beginning with the earliest evidences of oil in Pennsylvania and with its early uses, Mr. Miller carries his story through the Titusville oil boom of 1859 and on to the industry controlled by Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. Included in the account are sketches of the personalities who participated in the development of Pennsylvania's oil industry, the story of "fabulous" Pithole City, and discussions of such aspects of the industry as transportation, refining, and markets. A map of the Pennsylvania oil region in 1866 is printed on the back cover.

English, Irish and Scottish Firearms Makers. By A. MERWYN CAREY. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954. xvi, 121 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography. \$5.00.)

This attractively designed book will serve as a companion volume to Mr. Carey's *American Firearms Makers* (1953). In an alphabetical arrangement, Mr. Carey lists some 1,750 firearms makers, telling when, where, and what they made from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. Some names are more fully discussed than others, but a blank page at the end of each letter of the alphabet provides an opportunity for the reader to make his own annotations. There are a number of illustrations of pistols.

Erratum: Through an editorial correction, an error was made in Francis D. West's review of Josephine Herbst's *The New Green World. John Bartram and the Early Naturalists*, published in the October, 1954, issue of this MAGAZINE. It was William Bartram's *mother*, not his *sister-in-law*, who raised his sons John and James after William's death.