

BOOK REVIEWS

Probing Our Past. By MERLE CURTI. Introduction by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xii, 294 p. Index. \$4.00.)

Though it would be easy to accept this volume as nothing more than an attempt to commemorate Professor Curti's presidency of the American Historical Association by reprinting eleven of his best and least accessible essays, this approach would not lead far along the road to understanding. The essays certainly deserve republication because of their merit and the range of topics with which they deal—historical writing, the dime novel, the frontier theory, nationalism and democracy, the retreat from reason, and the reputation of America overseas. As the leading historian of the American mind, and recipient of his profession's highest honors, Professor Curti is entitled to this special tribute. Ultimately, however, the book is most significant because of its reflection of the author's social faith, and its demonstration of his originality and mastery in his field.

There is an appropriate symbolism in the fact that the volume opens with an analysis of the democratic theme in American historical writing, and closes with a discussion of prospects for future research. The values of democracy and scholarship are not only keys to the book, but keys to the man who wrote it. His passion for democracy and his conviction that it is a never-ending experiment rather than an achieved result make their imprint on every page. Scholarship is essential if the experiment is to go forward. "I believe," he writes, "that we should make room in our outlook for tested knowledge about human nature and social behavior. But if we are wise we shall also provide for the revision of that knowledge—for what we now know, or think we know, is not the last word." As a disciple of James and Dewey, he is tentative and undogmatic, but in his quiet way he refutes the specious claim that relativists have no standards or principles. He rises above the pressures of the times to reassert his abiding faith in the worth and dignity of man, in the power of reason, and in the efficacy of political liberalism. In an age of hate and war he has the courage to stand for understanding, toleration, and peace. As a patriot, as well as an expert on nationalism, he reminds us that the United States has made its most favorable impressions on the world when championing the causes of liberty and material progress.

This is not, however, just a tract for the times. The essays are important for what they reveal about Professor Curti's conception of history, and his technical contributions to the field of intellectual history, in particular. He

views history not as a discipline unto itself, but as a partner of other disciplines, especially the social sciences, in the task of discovering verifiable and useful knowledge about the world in which we live. He has always enriched his own work by borrowing data and insights from other fields. As an intellectual historian, he has established his own tradition, one that embraces both popular thought and the more formal, speculative ideologies. He is equally at home with philosophical treatises and dime novels. Thanks to his concentration on the relationship of ideas to interests, he has made intellectual history a study of ideas in action, rather than a pursuit of abstractions. In respect to the transmission of ideas, he has also demonstrated that American ideals have had considerable influence abroad, that intellectual impulses have not always traveled along a one-way street from the Old World to the New.

These essays are only a sample of Professor Curti's pioneer work, but they provide something for every interest and taste. More important, they speak for the life of the mind, and for the humane values that we honor under the name of democracy.

University of Missouri

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

Rebels and Democrats. The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule during the American Revolution. By ELISHA P. DOUGLASS. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. xvi, 368 p. Appendices, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Rebels and Democrats is a young scholar's thoughtful answer to an invitation delivered when he must have been about two years old. In 1925, Professor John Franklin Jameson called upon historians to join him in considering the American Revolution as a social movement rather than as a series of military and diplomatic maneuvers that added up to a war of political liberation. Elisha P. Douglass of the University of North Carolina, student of Labaree and Griswold at Yale, is the latest of a long line of able historians who have accepted Professor Jameson's invitation in the generous spirit in which it was tendered, for he has concerned himself with the fight for liberty and justice *within* rather than *by* Revolutionary America. More precisely, he has undertaken to describe and evaluate the struggle for political democracy by the disgruntled, disaffected, and disinherited men of 1776. I doubt that the story will have to be told again. Plainly, this is a first-rate piece of work—in organization, style, documentation and insight. I predict confidently that most of Professor Douglass' fellow historians who read this book carefully will make important changes of emphasis and detail in next year's lectures on politics and constitution-making in the Revolutionary period.

Among the services the author performs in the course of this study are:

1. He identifies those groups, most of them "localized, temporary, and unorganized," that challenged the conservative leaders of the Revolution and their notions of good government. At the same time, he calls new attention to the leading figures in these groups, too many of whom have been all but forgotten in our current craze for considering the Revolution as a conservative event. It is a thoroughly pleasant and rewarding experience to be introduced once again to George Sims, Herman Husband, and Thomas Burke of North Carolina; to Rev. Isaac Backus, Rev. Thomas Allen, and Joseph Hawley of Massachusetts; to Timothy Matlack, George Bryan, and James Cannon of Pennsylvania; to the Regulators and the Paxton boys; to the men of Massachusetts who thought very little of the Constitution of 1778 and even less of the Constitution of 1780; and, above all, to the men of the Pennsylvania Convention of 1776 who failed, but failed nobly, in their attempt to have this article inserted in their bill of rights: "An enormous proportion of property invested in a few individuals is dangerous to the rights, and destructive of the common happiness of mankind; and therefore every state hath a right to discourage possession of such property."

2. He makes clear that it was democracy as a pattern of politics, not democracy as a system of values or even as a way of life, that these men and movements sought, and that this democracy—and I would agree with his careful and unassuming definition—was simply the Whiggish constitutionalism of Adams and Jefferson plus "political equality" (which meant the elimination of a "stake-in-society" as both the price of voting and the primary qualification for eligibility to office) and "the rule of the majority" (which meant the elimination of most of those checks and balances the founding fathers held so dear).

3. He gives an extended account of the constitutional struggles in six key colonies: Maryland, South Carolina, and New York, where the transition from colony to state was brought off successfully and, in an important sense, exclusively under the auspices of the conservative Whigs; Massachusetts and North Carolina, where the radical party was strong enough to influence the course of politics and the writing of the new constitution, but not strong enough to take decisive command in either instance; and Pennsylvania, where the campaign for equal political rights and majority rule resulted in the formation of a party that wrote a democratic constitution and dominated the government instituted by it.

4. He accounts satisfactorily for the general lack of success of the radical men and groups within the Revolutionary movement. *Rebels and Democrats*, it should be noted, is not a success story, and one of Professor Douglass' primary tasks is to point to the political, economic, and social reasons for the failure of these early American radicals. The immediate reason for the unique success of the Pennsylvania democrats was their readiness and ability to form a political party. This was a lesson not to be lost on the democrats of the new Republic.

5. Finally, in a balanced and thoroughly mature conclusion, he evaluates the contributions of the democrats and their opponents, and concludes judiciously that the purposes and programs of the conservative Whigs and radical democrats were "complementary to each other." Neither eighteenth-century liberalism, which, not altogether paradoxically, was the conservative faith, nor eighteenth-century democracy was "capable by itself of providing political freedom. Each without the other might have degenerated into tyranny. It was fortunate for the future of the nation that both liberalism and democracy became potent forces during the Revolutionary period." I suspect that Professor Douglass might be willing to add that it was equally fortunate for the future of the nation that our conservative liberals (or liberal conservatives) had their day first. Democracy must be built upon a firm constitutional structure.

There is even more to this fine book: for example, a splendid chapter portraying Thomas Jefferson as a democrat in values but not in politics and constitutionalism; an eloquent description of what Professor Douglass calls the "republic in equipoise," that balanced system of government dedicated alike to the teachings of Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke; and a new appraisal of John Adams' little pamphlet *Thoughts on Government*, an appraisal that amounts to a much deserved boost of this pamphlet's influence and reputation. But the frosting on this substantial cake is still not as thick as it might be. If I may indulge in a hopelessly mixed metaphor, I would inject at least one brassy note into my chorus of praise by questioning seriously the author's casual manner of polishing off five colonies (New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, Connecticut and Rhode Island) in two pages. Nor are the appendices on Georgia and New Hampshire altogether convincing. I will admit that the real story of Revolutionary democracy is centered in North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, but I will never admit that the debtors of Rhode Island deserve only one sentence in a 350-page book entitled *Rebels and Democrats*.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that Professor Douglass does not dispute the currently accepted interpretation of the American Revolution as a conservative event in the history of Western man—an interpretation, incidentally, which some people ascribe to writers like Daniel Boorstin, Louis Hartz, and the author of this review, but which was advanced some time ago by writers like Anthony Trollope and, of all people, Friedrich Engels. (And before them there was a man named Burke.) Professor Douglass agrees completely that the conservative Whigs managed to retain control of both military and political events in almost every colony but Pennsylvania. Indeed, he sees Revolutionary democracy as "in large measure a reaction against the pervasive conservatism which characterized the Revolutionary movement as a whole." Yet he does insist that we never forget the strong urges for political democracy within the movement itself. Out of these urges arose the American democracy.

Cornell University

CLINTON ROSSITER

Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier. With an Analysis of His Earlier Career. By CLARENCE L. VER STEEG. (Philadelphia: Printed for the American Historical Association by the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954. [xiv], 276 p. Bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Professor Ver Steeg's book, which won the Beveridge Prize, is a great advance over the old biographies by Sumner and Oberholtzer, which until now have been the standard works. Ver Steeg has done a great deal of research, especially in manuscript sources. The general field of public and private finance in this era is exceptionally difficult, and he has performed a singular labor in piecing together and making sense out of the scattered Morris papers of any importance, as well as the correspondence of Morris's principal business connections. As it stands, the book is the only treatment of many phases of Morris's career and the fullest exposition in print of Morris's administration as Superintendent of Finance.

The original impulse behind the present study seems to have been the desire to present Morris as a figure in entrepreneurial history. The author's reliance on mercantile correspondence as source material and his ability to wring meaning out of it are responsible for giving us the best account we have of Morris's commercial dealings and, in the period when Morris was Superintendent of Finance, such of his activities as involved distinctly mercantile affairs—his efforts to supply the army by contracts, his relations with the Bank of North America, his use of personal notes in public business, his negotiation of bills of exchange, and so on.

So far as this account portrays Morris as a businessman of his time, it affords valuable information; however, it lacks dimensions. It leaves out the general scene, affording little impression of the atmosphere of venture and speculation, the scramble of small capitalists to enlarge their capital and cash in on the bonanza opportunities of the war, the rivalries and suspicions of merchants, their brushes with committees of inspection, their contempt of agrarian politics. The author's sources are full of material which might have been used to give the color of life to his account, but he does not impart much of it.

Ver Steeg also seems to lean over backward in minimizing the role that public office played in Morris's career. On the basis of Morris's key position at the head of the Congressional committee of supply, he built up a virtual empire, his partnerships embracing much of Congress' foreign procurement and a share of its domestic purchases as well. One can explain that his position enabled Morris to deal through his own firm and its connections—and, of course, this is true. However, this fact should not imply that empires were built without motive. In an age when business was personal and the reputation and connections of an individual meant everything, an official appointment signified that one represented a great concern, had favors and mayhap inside information to dispense. It opened the way to forming relations with important mercantile houses, and even though one's principal was an insolvent government, it sometimes induced

people to advance credit or offer a daughter in wedlock. The result was by no means always fortuitous, but an official appointment could be the making of a man. It surely had a lot to do with the making of Morris, and although Morris was probably more scrupulous than the general run of merchants, he did not neglect opportunities to advance the interests of his house in the conduct of government business.

Professor Ver Steeg's account of Morris's public career as Superintendent of Finance is based on thorough research in specifically Morris materials, and, in details relative to Morris, it is the fullest and best study in print. It falls short of being completely satisfactory because it does not place Morris's actions in a setting which would display their full significance.

Ver Steeg scarcely mentions politics. Morris's administrative reforms, his promotion of strong government, sound money, and *laissez faire* are discussed without reference to the conservative trend in national affairs, a movement which had a past and was to have a future. No mention is made of the fact that Morris, in spite of a desire to avoid "factional" politics, was nevertheless identified with the conservative side of a bitter and dirty battle going on in Pennsylvania. Morris was also associated with the middle states foes of the "radical" Lee-Adams coalition that dominated Congress in the first years of the Revolution. These circumstances can hardly be excluded from a review of his term as financier.

Again, the discussion of Morris's pet scheme, the Bank of North America, is good on the fiscal uses of the bank, but virtually nothing is made of the fact that Morris hoped by means of it to supplant state paper money with bank notes as a national circulating medium. No particular emphasis is given to Morris's idea, repeatedly expressed, that the bank would prove an instrument of political centralization by involving the fortunes of moneyed men in an institution connected with the central government. These points are historically significant.

The most crucial failure of emphasis is the inadequate portrayal of Morris's great fight to secure the adoption of the Federal impost, a 5% duty on imports which Congress asked of the states in 1781 and 1783. It was to be a Federal tax, and the income from it applied to the Federal debt. Actually, the Federal debt itself was in some measure the creation of Morris's regime. Ver Steeg neglects this point, but had other policies prevailed, the debt would probably have been parceled out among the states; however, Morris and a conservative Congress succeeded in enlarging it and appropriating it to the Federal government. It was a "bond of union," which justified the request for Federal taxes and, if funded by this means, promised to bind the propertied classes of the nation to the central government. The request for a Federal impost entailed an amendment to the Articles of Confederation, which would have endowed Congress with a limited power of taxation, a power which Morris and his supporters expected eventually to make unlimited. As the disposition of the taxing power was the source of Congress' weakness and the main prop to state sover-

eignty, the adoption of the impost would have initiated a constitutional revolution or at least an evolutionary progress toward national government. Morris exhausted his force in pursuit of this goal. Ver Steeg sees some of this, but he does not illuminate it.

This study of Morris's administration as Superintendent of Finance, which omits vital reference to the forces which he represented, actually understates Morris's role in history. He was the head and guiding spirit of the first general movement toward constitutional reform. Although the movement failed in his hands, the measures he had taken were predicated on the existence of an effective central government, and they pretty well committed the country to a revision of the Articles of Confederation.

University of Maryland

E. JAMES FERGUSON

Benjamin Franklin and a Rising People. By VERNER W. CRANE. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954. xii, 219 p. Bibliography, index. \$3.00.)

This brilliant little book is not the kind of biography readers might expect, nor could it very well be made to conform to the orthodox chronological narrative within the space limitations. The author has been posed the difficult problem of presenting an extraordinarily long life, and a remarkably full and active one, within the compass of two hundred pages. He has had to deal with the added complication that thirty years of that career were spent in the public service and were closely bound up with an empire in process of disruption and with the destinies of a rising people. These thirty years call for chronological treatment, and this necessity imposes a pattern on the book. Professor Crane has solved the problem by treating the first forty-five years of Franklin's life as the story of his mental and moral growth. Though the author does not bind himself strictly to chronology, he finds even in this formative period that Franklin's development follows a rough time sequence—first as a student of human conduct with a "bold and arduous project of arriving at moral perfection," and later as a scientist, a natural philosopher, in the felicitous phrase of his day.

Thus when, at forty-five, Franklin entered his active career in politics, he had already laid solid foundations for his life of public service. A master of the printing craft, he so remained until old age, setting up a small press at Passy during the American Revolution to get out propaganda pieces for his country. But his craft had always been the means to an end, and he retired from its active pursuit at forty-five with a competence. Franklin's greater work as a scientist receives ample treatment in the chapter, "Natural Philosopher." And it was astonishing. Without the elaborate paraphernalia of the modern laboratory, he carried on studies in electricity that won him the Copley medal from the Royal Society, a royal letter of thanks from Louis XV, and the title Doctor of Laws from St. Andrews, Edinburgh. The

resulting fame he later typically turned to practical advantage during his European missions. Though his actual systematic investigations were limited to physics—principally electricity—his interests extended to other fields, and his encouragement stimulated the work of scientists in other branches.

The picture of Franklin drawing fire from the heavens is commonplace in schoolbooks. Undoubtedly, Franklin the politician and colonial agent, Franklin the diplomat and statesman weigh more heavily in the scales of history. And to these years of his life (1751–1788) that comprehend these activities Professor Crane devotes almost three quarters of his book.

From the Albany Congress through the Federal constitutional convention thirty-three years later, Professor Crane shows Franklin the public figure concerned with the security and liberty of the seaboard colonies (later, the commonwealths). Franklin's Albany Plan was union for defense, security through association within the empire. Thus, he grappled early with the federal problem. A few years later, the reforming ministries by their efforts at centralization threatened the liberty of colonials in the name of security. At the time of the Stamp Act Franklin for a moment tottered—"Retreat and Recovery"—but regained his balance. From that time on, his path was straight. He fought for decentralization in the empire—"Liberty and Empire"—and followed the pathway to independence. In the crisis of separating from the empire, Franklin recurred to his federal scheme, which he advocated until final implementation in the Constitution of 1787.

This volume meets the need for a brief, penetrating statement on Franklin. Fair and critical—Franklin is never idealized—it is clearly written and focuses on the principal contributions of Franklin to a dynamic period in America. A brief incisive introduction by Professor Handlin, editor of the Library of American Biography, and Professor Crane's note on recent Frankliniana add to the attractive features of this delightful book.

Vanderbilt University

AUBREY C. LAND

Gilbert Stuart. A Great Life in Brief. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. [Great Lives in Brief Series.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. [xii], 197, x p. Bibliography, index. \$2.50.)

This latest addition to the publisher's popular series of Great Lives in Brief is a republication of the author's sketch of Gilbert Stuart included in his *America's Old Masters* of 1939. The text has been revised and expanded. There are, however, no illustrations, a serious omission indeed in a biography of an artist. In compensation, there is only the familiarity to all of us of so much of Stuart's work, and the fact that Mr. Flexner's vivid and delightful style can bring the visual image as close to us as is possible in words.

Mr. Flexner's estimate of Stuart's art is that of mature and modern scholarship, and supplies clear definition of what earlier writers had been content to leave within the mystery of "genius." His evaluation shows how Stuart heralded the impressionist movement of a later day by his rejection of the line-contained style of his own time, and his development of one based upon light and color—and with what originality and freedom he readapted such of the traditional modes as he chose to use. On the character of the painter himself this biography is perhaps a shade too gentle. Stuart's undoubted genius has always tended to excuse his rascality and to give a certain authority to his word. One must face the fact that this great painter's statements about himself are among the least reliable sources of information. Mr. Flexner wisely casts some doubt on Stuart's declaration that he destroyed, as unsatisfactory, the original of his splendid "Vaughan type" Washington. He should certainly have presented with greater skepticism Stuart's anecdote about Winstanley in which he accuses the other painter of fraud and effrontery so blatant that, if true, it could hardly have escaped the notice of others. Fraud and effrontery were ingrained in the character of America's most brilliant portraitist, and that fact is not obscured in this lively account of his life.

Dickinson College

CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS

Jeffersonian America. Notes on the United States of America Collected in the Years 1805-6-7 and 11-12 by Sir Augustus John Foster, Bart. Edited with an Introduction by RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1954. xx, 356 p. Frontispiece, index. \$6.00.)

On December 4, 1804, a twenty-five-year-old diplomat named Augustus John Foster landed at Norfolk, Virginia, on his way to take up his duties as secretary of the British legation at Washington. Foster was connected with several of the great Whig families; he had been educated at Oxford and Weimar, had traveled in northern and eastern Europe; and as a sportsman, gourmet, and dabbler in ornithology, horticulture, and belles-lettres, he had developed highly sophisticated tastes. Despite all this, and also despite the violent anti-Americanism of his chief, Robert Merry, young Foster became an interested and sympathetic observer of Jeffersonian America during his first three-year stay here. A second sojourn, as British minister during 1811-1812, gave him an opportunity to enlarge his knowledge and his jottings on life in the United States. Surprisingly, his second mission seems only to have confirmed his early favorable impressions, though that mission was ended by the American declaration of war on Great Britain in June, 1812.

In the long years of his diplomatic service thereafter, Foster worked over his American diaries from time to time with a view to publishing them as a counterweight to the hostile and usually superficial travel accounts written by later English visitors to the United States. All that actually was pub-

lished, however, was some forty pages of excerpts in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1841—excerpts that furnished some of the most colorful bits of descriptive matter in Henry Adams' chapters on life in Washington during Jefferson's presidency. Portions of Foster's original diaries and a couple of successive revisions of his manuscript have survived and are divided between the Huntington Library and the Library of Congress. The latest revision (in the Library of Congress) has now been printed by Mr. Davis, with the excision of a very little irrelevant material and the addition of everything pertinent from the earlier Huntington text and Foster's original notes.

The results thoroughly justify the editor's labors. The section on life in the national capital is much the longest in the book and will take its place at once as a classic description of early republican leaders and manners. Foster never understood the true sources of Jefferson's political power, and he deplored the President's yarn stockings and down-at-heel slippers, but he could share and applaud Jefferson's philanthropic views on the "Wild Natives of the West." Being, like Jefferson himself, an amateur ethnologist, the diplomat interviewed members of the several deputations of chiefs who came to Washington and recorded much about them that would otherwise have been lost; and he also saw to it that their portraits were painted.

Diplomacy being a leisurely profession in those days, Foster traveled south into Virginia, west as far as Harper's Ferry, and through all the northern states as far as Massachusetts. His impressions of Virginia were extremely mixed. He liked the society of the "gentlemen Jacobins" of the great plantations, but abhorred their politics. His account of Jefferson's domestic regimen at Monticello is one of the most vivid, and presumably most accurate, of many such available. Since he spent the whole summer of 1806 at Lancaster and that of 1811 at the Penn estate called "Solitude" (on the site of the present Philadelphia Zoo), Foster devotes more space to Pennsylvania than to any other state. Lancaster seemed to him remarkable for the social harmony among the inhabitants, despite their heterogeneous religious and national backgrounds. At the same time, he thought the natural defects of democratic society appeared at their worst here and elsewhere in Pennsylvania. "A German who has just arrived fresh and set free from serving barons or counts is like a great cart horse turned loose upon a plain, kicking and snorting in all directions. They revel in their new state and appear to be delighted with rolling about in the mire of democracy." The Irish (or Scotch-Irish) were, if possible, still more intractable, Foster believed; his close-range view of Pennsylvania congressmen at social gatherings in Washington bred in him a prejudice which, though humorously expressed, went deep.

New England was another matter. In Connecticut Foster felt almost wholly at home, for here "order, good breeding and a strict attention to religious duties" prevailed. Massachusetts fell only a little below this high standard, and the Federalist merchants of Boston were wonderfully hos-

pitiable. Only in Rhode Island did Foster suffer the indignity of having the stage driver sit down at table with him in the taverns where they stopped.

Everyone who dips into these lively and engaging notes on the young United States will find much to savor and many a phrase and anecdote worth remembering and quoting. The work of the editor is on the whole very satisfactory; it is especially commendable for its restraint, which allows the reader to enjoy what Foster wrote without editorial interference.

Massachusetts Historical Society

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815. By JOHN A. MUNROE. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, Number 6.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. xvi, 286 p. Map, appendix, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

The author of this study gives us a political narrative, as we might expect from the title, but he gives us much more, for he considers politics in context with social, cultural, and economic conditions.

The story falls into three main divisions. Part I presents a description of the people, towns, farms, mills, roads, money, churches and schools in the 1770's, and then takes up the political story from 1765 to 1787. Part II continues the social, economic, and cultural developments to the end of the century. In this period, a mild humanitarianism appears as an afterglow of Revolutionary liberal thought. In Part III, which completes the narrative to 1815, politics emerges as the prevailing theme, while the economic and social factors are developed only as they serve to explain the political story.

Federalist control of Delaware rested on the dual nature of the state. Two distinct regions had developed: the Democratic industrial-commercial North with its center at Wilmington and its roots among the Presbyterians, the Scotch-Irish, and some manufacturers; and the Federalist agrarian South (Kent and Sussex counties) with its predominant English stock, landed gentry, and relative isolation. The regional division, however, does not explain why the Federalists continued to dominate Delaware when that party was declining in other states. The author finds the answer in astute politics. He states his idea succinctly in these words (p. 259): "By rooting itself in the dominant agrarian culture of Delaware, by following a policy of moderation which suited the prevalent conservatism, by wisely restraining its overly zealous partisans, by yielding on a bank bill, a canal bill, a road bill to encourage its minority following in New Castle [County], by shrewd leadership which correctly gauged and represented the Delaware climate of opinion, Federalism had not only entrenched itself in Delaware's past history, but was prepared to direct the state's destinies for another decade and more."

This volume will remind students of Pennsylvania history of the ties between the two states. New Castle County was a virtual economic de-

pendency of southeastern Pennsylvania. Chester and Lancaster county farmers sent their wheat to the mills on the lower Brandywine, and from there the flour was shipped to Philadelphia for sale. The Delaware River furnished a natural water route from Wilmington and New Castle to Philadelphia, while on land all roads seemed to lead to the same destination. Philadelphia newspapers circulated so widely in the smaller state that for a time the Delaware Assembly placed its official notices in them. Individuals moved easily across the boundary. John Dickinson and Thomas McKean divided their careers between the two states. James Adams left Philadelphia to set up the first printing press in Delaware; Thomas and Joshua Gilpin, two merchants of the Quaker City, established the first paper mill on the Brandywine. The Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture attracted eight members from Delaware. If the cultural ties between the two states weakened after the end of the eighteenth century, the economic ties held fast.

This book is a welcome contribution to the increasing number of serious studies of state history. The author has made effective use of the materials at hand, ranging from secondary works to numerous manuscript sources. The style is readable, the use of quotations adds flavor to the narrative, and the summaries at convenient way stations are helpful. In this reader's opinion, the author is at his best in Part III where he uses the economic and social data to explain his theme of Federalist domination. Parts I and II, on the other hand, do not seem to achieve the same unity and integration, which might well be due to the fragmentary nature of the available sources on the earlier part of the story. This becomes a minor criticism when we consider the rich variety and clear presentation of the whole narrative.

Drew University

ROBERT L. BRUNHOUSE

The Federalism of James A. Bayard. By MORTON BORDEN. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 584.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. [viii], 256 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Coming on the heels of Munroe's *Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815*, this book is a political biography of the state's leading public figure in the post-Revolutionary generation and "the progenitor of Delaware's most famous political family," which, as the author observes, "has remained active in national affairs to the present day."

What the Adamses were to Massachusetts, the Bayards have been to Delaware. It is interesting to find that James A. Bayard and John Q. Adams, both born in 1767, were colleagues in the Senate, and although both were moderate Federalists, they irritated each other to the point of personal obnoxiousness. At the time, Bayard was the more prominent of the two, with oratorical gifts which Adams could not hope to match. Both were on

the peace commission which ended the War of 1812, but Bayard returned from Ghent a dying man, while Adams lived to be eighty and President of the United States.

Bayard came to Delaware from Philadelphia in 1787 to begin the practice of law. By the end of ten years, he had done well in his profession, had married the daughter of rich Federalist Governor Bassett, and was back in Philadelphia again as Delaware's lone member of the House of Representatives, where he served with distinction, speaking often and well for the Federalist program of legislation during the first Adams administration. The high point of his six years in the House came in the election contest of 1801 when he threw Delaware's vote to Jefferson, making him President instead of Burr. In Borden's careful reappraisal of this famous episode all three of the principals come out rather well. Borden thinks Jefferson made no promises to Bayard, but their go-between, Samuel Smith, allowed Bayard to believe that he did. Bayard, like most of the Federalists, preferred Burr to Jefferson; but Burr, to his credit, would not turn Federalist to secure the Presidency for himself. Die-hard Federalists wished to prolong the deadlock beyond March 4, but Bayard would not go that far. Fearing for the safety of the country without a constitutional President, he reluctantly switched his state's vote to Jefferson, thus breaking the tie.

Bayard's eight years in the Senate, 1805-1813, were a frustrating experience. No amount of reasoning or eloquence from the Federalist minority could stop the Republican steam roller. Bayard, though as active in the Senate as he had been in the House, finally lapsed into silence, and got into the habit of not appearing in Washington until several weeks after the beginning of each session. On the last two years of Bayard's life, his appointment by Madison as minister to Russia in 1813 in response to the Czar's offer to mediate for peace, and Bayard's subsequent service on the commission which drew up the Treaty of Ghent, Borden goes fully into the circumstances of Bayard's original appointment, but omits the negotiations themselves, since he has "nothing fundamentally new" to add to this well-known story.

Our over-all impression of Bayard from this book is that he was a thoroughgoing Federalist, but at the same time a staunch nationalist. Unlike the Essex Junto of New England, his political partisanship always stopped short of disunion. He invites comparison with his contemporary, John Quincy Adams, and one wonders whether Bayard's public career, had it not been cut short by the Grim Reaper, might not have been equally brilliant.

Dr. Borden writes well and keeps his narrative moving without encumbering it with unessential detail. It is based on an apparently exhaustive study of contemporary material, much of it unpublished. His documentation is hard to follow, since the footnotes are at the end of the book. Is this necessary?

Practitioner in Physick. A Biography of Abraham Wagner, 1717-1763. By ANDREW S. BERKY. (Pennsburg, Pa.: The Schwenkfelder Library, 1954. xii, 175 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$3.50.)

In addition to the pleasure given the reviewer, this book also led him to an enjoyable visit to the Schwenkfelder Library. Housed in an attractive modern building, this library contains a store of books and manuscripts relating chiefly to the period of the Reformation and to the culture which flowed from it to settle in the red hills of Pennsylvania. A fair portion of this collection came from the outstanding library of Samuel W. Pennypacker. From this source Berky has drawn material for several studies and for *Practitioner in Physick*.

Abraham Wagner was a happy choice for a biography; he would have remained unknown unless thus resurrected. His life story must be similar to that of many unsung worthies of that interesting epoch when the individual was apt to have more varied interests compared to the specialization of today. Berky traces three main threads in Wagner's intellectual life. His family background and his upbringing inevitably supplied the first, making him a pietist. The second, not far removed in those days, was his training and his practice of "physick"; the third, his avocation as a poet.

The Wagners were members of the small but vital sect conforming to the doctrine of Caspar von Schwenkfeld. Harassed and persecuted, they moved from Lower Silesia to Saxony and again in 1737 to the New World. At this time Abraham was twenty years of age, old enough to have been molded by the part religious intolerance played in his life. Although a sincere pietist, he was a liberal thinker and found it difficult to find complete accord in any of the many denominations existing in Pennsylvania in the first half of the eighteenth century. Like many of his associates, theology was for him a chief preoccupation. The pages devoted to this phase of the life of the German settlers give a clear picture of their spiritual earnestness.

Even as a boy Abraham knew that he was destined to become a physician; this was fortunate, for in those times the prospective doctor entered at the age of twelve or thirteen into a lengthy period of apprenticeship. He had a quick mind, handling at an early age a program of education startling in comparison with today's schedule. The details of his medical training are not available, but Berky feels it is safe to assume that by the time Abraham reached America he was a full-fledged "practitioner of physick."

The section of the volume dealing with Wagner as a practitioner gives an excellent description of the state of medical knowledge and practice of his time. Fatal epidemics of unknown cause, routine and excessive blood-lettings, treatment with bezoar powders made from gall stones from cows and goats illustrate the situation. Wagner, however, seems to have differed from his fellow practitioners in placing less emphasis on philosophical casuistries, more on an attempt at experimentation and in asking "why" concerning matters then unknown. Decades before bloodletting reached its

ultimate excesses in the hands of Rush, Wagner had a sound skepticism about much bleeding, feeling that the first venesections removed the best blood. He echoed the Hippocratic oath by referring patients with broken limbs to an "intelligent surgeon." In many ways Wagner's medical thinking was ahead of the times, but his practice had to jog along with the means at hand. He drew up his own classification of diseases and recorded in 1740 in a small volume the remedies he employed in his practice. Berky quotes some fifteen pages of these—some safe and sane, some amazing, such as frog-spawn plaster for burns. It makes interesting reading, and one must not forget the date.

The claim that Abraham Wagner was a poet must depend on the meaning one gives the word. Certainly, he wrote much verse, all composed to the rhythm of a popular church tune. His verse, perhaps, served as an escape from the sternness of the pietist and the futility of the physician of those days. He seems to have been more of a hymn writer than a poet, but we may forgive the author for the sake of the alliteration.

Abraham Wagner emerges as a man deserving the immortality of a biography: a conscientious individual of deep religious character, a thinking physician in a time when acceptance of tradition was the rule, a charitable person who bequeathed to the distant Pennsylvania Hospital the sum of twenty pounds, and his residuary estate to four friends to be distributed in charity. The meticulous honesty with which they carried out his wishes is a high token of the character of those whom he had as friends.

This volume accomplishes the purpose of a biography; it gives us a picture of an individual, the factors which formed him, and the times in which he lived. It is readable and interesting; it illuminates the period when the Schwenkfelder group was contributing much to progress in Pennsylvania. But it is perhaps most valuable to one studying the early days of medicine in this country.

The format and binding are attractive; the five illustrations are reproductions of manuscript pages. The book can be recommended, and so can a visit to the Schwenkfelder Library, whose Director is to be congratulated on this publication. It is to be hoped that further exhumations will follow.

Ithan

O. H. PERRY PEPPER

Amishland. By KIEHL and CHRISTIAN NEWSWANGER. (New York: Hastings House, 1954. 128 p. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

Kiehl Newswanger and his son Christian, noted for their exhibits of Amish drawings and paintings in museums and at national and regional art exhibitions, have now turned to an altogether different combination of skills, namely, literary interpretation and communication.

With their farm-studio right in Amish country just east of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, they have had prolonged informal associations with their

Amish neighbors, a primary requisite for knowing Amishways. As their Swiss name would suggest, they are descendants of Mennonite immigrants in the early eighteenth century, although they themselves were never Mennonite members. Both have studied art in several famous art centers abroad.

The text, consisting of a series of forty-three descriptions, was written by the junior author. Written in the first person with genuine human intimacy, these impressionistic descriptions reflect high reader interest and touch on a very wide range of customs and folkways. Some of the more interesting ones are Yonnie Lapp School Boy, Amish Carpenters, In The Tobacco Stripping Room, Corn Cutting at Snake Hill, Threshing, Peach Picking, The New Baby, Shopping in New Holland, The Fire, Amishmen Go Abroad, Home From Church. There is absolutely no doubt about the son's ability to communicate on the level of his Amish neighbors.

These descriptions reflect insights into Amish naturalness, kindness, and enjoyments, and appreciation on the part of the author. Such qualities never come from the labor of secondary library research, but only through the sense of feeling and by human experience as the young author has demonstrated. It is refreshing to read firsthand impressions from a participant who has observed the Amish over a period of several years.

There are several minor errors of fact which might have been corrected had the publisher given the manuscript to a Mennonite historian for checking. The English text is (intentionally?) "Dutchy" at places, and the dialect spellings are somewhat labored. These, in the final analysis, doubtless were decisions of the publisher.

The text is generously illustrated with simple line drawings, crayon and soft-pencil portraits of Amish persons. The drawings quite accurately represent the material traits of Amish culture of the area, such as dress, farm equipment, and group activities.

The Newswangers have attempted "to express the 'inner spirit' of the Amish . . . to interpret the Amish in a form that is visually related to their actual philosophy of life." In doing so, they have deliberately avoided naturalistic portraits and turned to early primitive portrait tradition. But have they succeeded in expressing "the essence of Amish philosophy . . ."? The line drawings are pleasing. While the style of the portraits is well adapted to plainness, simplicity, and Biblical austerity, it does not communicate the inner spirit of the majority of the Amish I know. Instead of the self-assured people I know them to be, the portraits to me represent the Amish as timid Milquetoasts, or a kind of dour, downcast, and characterless people.

The horizontal lines running through quite a number of the portraits are apparently defects which resulted from folding or in mailing the original illustrations.

Scottdale

JOHN A. HOSTETLER

The Susquehanna. By CARL CARMER. [Rivers of America Series.] (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1955. xiv, 493 p. Map, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

At the front of Mr. Carmer's book is a map on which it may be observed that Yellow Breeches Creek has lost its garment but retained its hue; and the text which follows, though it too may omit some matters, is full of color. The Susquehanna drains an extensive area rich in history; but the fact that the currents of that history have more often crossed than followed the river's courses makes for variety rather than historical unity. Taking full advantage of this, the present writer has not attempted a history of the Susquehanna, as Richmond E. Myers did in *The Long Crooked River*, but gives us a chronological procession of vivid stories.

Captain John Smith's firsthand narrative introduces us to the lower portion of the Susquehanna; and the less satisfactory account of Brulé's adventures, as interpreted by later writers, to the upper reaches. Virginia and Maryland adventurers, Indian chiefs, Pennymites and Yankees, politicians, English idealists, French refugees, rivermen, rebels, and Molly Maguires pass in colorful review. Major events may be by-passed for picturesque details; thus, the direct impact of the Civil War upon the valley is briefly dismissed to make room for the story of the "Fishing Creek Confederacy"; and a collection of local happenings and folk tales makes up another chapter.

Following these, the final chapter takes us on a 144-page trip "Down the River" from the New York source of the North Branch to the Maryland outlet, with a side trip down the West Branch.

The style, as Mr. Carmer's readers would expect, is vivid and readable. One lapse of continuity and grammar (pp. 149-150) seems the result of accidental displacement of text. Despite a sprinkling of errors, the book is a fine collection of stories, an enjoyable sampling of the riches of the region, to be read, as it was written, for pleasure. Reference to Towanda as seven hundred feet above the river (p. 384) and to Azilum as upstream from Philadelphia (pp. 231-232) should mislead no one; and the same may be true of other errors: Governor Gordon's name was Patrick, not James (p. 64); Fort Necessity was not in Ohio (p. 93); General Early did not march north from Wrightsville (p. 297); Clapham was a full colonel, and "Colonel" Benjamin Franklin held no military commission when he organized the defenses of Northampton County (p. 407); "Fenables" seems to be a misreading of Fencibles (p. 424); the John Harris house was stockaded in 1756 (p. 429). The story of Teedyuscung, based upon Anthony Wallace's biography of the Indian leader, is not only very effectively written, but historically rewarding as well; the account of the first steamboats on the river (pp. 290-291), on the other hand, reflects inaccurate sources.

The bibliography is divided into books, periodicals, and other secondary sources. Under books, a history appears on one page as the work of David

Craft, on another as that of David Kraft. The periodicals section includes three state guides combined into a single title; *Pennsylvania History* appears minus its title and the editor's first name; and one misses Ralph Gray's "Down the Susquehanna by Canoe" (*National Geographic*, July, 1950). Under "other secondary sources," the Pennsylvania State Archives has for six years been the Division of Public Records, headed by Henry H. Eddy.

The Susquehanna is the forty-eighth volume of the Rivers of America Series, of which Mr. Carmer is editor. Attractively illustrated with drawings by Stow Wegenroth, it is dedicated to Elsie Murray, well-known contributor to the folklore and history of Azilum and Tioga Point.

Harrisburg

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

The Pennsylvania and New York Frontier. History of from 1720 to the Close of the Revolution. By WILLIAM BREWSTER. (Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1954. vi, 237 p. Bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

There is good reason for the conception of the New York-Pennsylvania frontier in colonial and Revolutionary times. Provincial lines were not barriers to the frontiersmen, and geography made the frontier a region of its own. Furthermore, the domination of the Six Nations Confederacy over the other Indian tribes tied Pennsylvania to the New York frontier. Finally, the centralization of the management of Indian affairs in the hands of a northern superintendent, Sir William Johnson, after 1756, gave some unity to British policy and more direction to colonial procedures. This unity, however, was severely disrupted on the eve of the Revolution. It was not until the Sullivan-Clinton campaign of 1779 that Washington and Congress adopted a positive campaign for the relief of the frontier, and for securing a claim to the western country.

This slim volume essays to treat the story of this frontier from 1720 to the end of the Revolution. This is an extremely large assignment, but it might have been done in general terms, with broad strokes on a wide canvas. To do so would require a nice discrimination between major events and those of minor importance, a careful weighing of policies, campaigns, Indian claims, the westward movement, and the conflict of civilization with primitive peoples. But the author has not made this attempt. Instead, he has seen the frontier as a succession of episodes, with emphasis on Indian raids and captivities, battles, and the personal records of pioneers. He is fascinated by what happened to this or that settlement, and he is particularly absorbed in the Wyoming Valley and its history. Thus he has not been able to see the woods for the trees.

This is the older concept of frontier history, and suggests comparison with Halsey's *Old New York Frontier*, Simms's *Border Wars*, and W. L. Stone's biographies and chronicles. In fact, the author relies heavily on older writers such as Bancroft, Lossing, and Simms, on the local histories

of Wilkes-Barre, and to some extent on the published documents. While modern studies are in some instances listed, his view of Conrad Weiser is that of Walton rather than of Paul Wallace; he refers to Walter Butler as a demon (after Simms and R. W. Chambers) instead of accepting the revision of Swiggett; and his hostile view of Sir William Johnson repeats the errors and prejudices of early biographers.

The short chapters give no indication of the relative importance of their subjects. Frances Slocum, an Indian captive, receives more attention than the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. And the effort to retell the campaigns of Burgoyne, Sullivan, and others in brief compass could not be satisfactory.

Hence, one does not look for accuracy in details. Careless proofreading and capricious punctuation in some instances impair the author's meaning. There is an index, and an inadequate bibliography.

Albany, N. Y.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

Knickerbocker Birthday. A Sesqui-Centennial History of The New-York Historical Society, 1804-1954. By R. W. G. VAIL. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954. xx, 547 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$6.00.)

R. W. G. Vail, the Director of the New-York Historical Society, has written with learning and imagination this history of the Society to mark its 150th anniversary. Founded on November 20, 1804, this institution is second in age only to the Massachusetts Historical Society and is but twenty years older than The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. One of the greatest of American learned bodies, it has contributed steadily to our knowledge of America's past both through its publications and through making available to visitors its important holdings of manuscript and printed materials, its art collection and museum objects. Since the first volume of *Collections* appeared late in 1811, it has published more than six hundred volumes and pamphlets, a truly impressive record.

Opening his account with a delightfully ingenious chapter on John Pintard's organizational meeting, Dr. Vail continues in three succeeding chapters to trace the growth of the institution against a backdrop of national developments. Brief sketches are given of each president of the Society and an assessment made of the progress or lack of progress during his regime. The more important acquisitions of books, manuscripts, paintings, and so forth, are recorded, and interesting side lights thrown on the collecting practices of the early curators. As was the case with many of these pioneer groups, an attempt was made to collect on a very broad scale, and such art objects as the Lenox Collection of Nineveh Sculptures and the "three large mummies of the Sacred Bull, Apis" were acquired. With the founding of more suitable institutions, some of these white elephants were disposed of either by sale or by permanent loan. Opportunities were missed—and what

organization has not missed them?—and key pieces of Americana were allowed to go elsewhere at such great book sales as that of the George Brinley Library. It might be noticed here that the author's statement that "our Society was the first agency in America to collect the history of the nation" (p. 36) is open to question. The Act of Incorporation (1794) of the Massachusetts Historical Society expresses a similar aim. In the two last chapters there is an account of some of the Society's more distinguished members and an entertaining description of the many anniversary dinners and celebrations which it sponsored. These with two of the earlier chapters have been printed separately in the January–October, 1954, issues of *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*. This method of organization does result in some repetition.

The Society's solid position today makes it difficult to believe that for many years its continued existence was in doubt. In 1827 it was so heavily in debt that it was forced to put its library on the block. Fortunately, the sale was avoided by a grant from the New York legislature. It did not have a building of its own until 1857 and only moved to its present location in 1908. Internal differences threatened at times to split the membership, but these were peaceably resolved. Perhaps the gravest threat was that made by a very determined woman, Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, who attempted to take over the direction of the organization in 1917. After a running fight of several years, she was finally squelched. It is fitting to record that the Thompson bequest of \$4,633,915.92, which was so greatly to enlarge the Society's activities, came after the death of Miss Mary Gardiner Thompson in 1935.

The usefulness of the volume is increased greatly by appendices containing some of the fundamental documents of the Society, such as the constitution and by-laws, also lists of officers and a selected list of its publications. There is a detailed index, which suffers from careless proofreading, and some one hundred eighty illustrations. A fine book and one that will serve the needs of a variety of readers.

Massachusetts Historical Society

STEPHEN T. RILEY

Making Democracy a Reality: Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk. By CLAUDE G. BOWERS. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State College Press, 1954. xii, 170 p. \$3.75.)

The democratic concept of society, Mr. Bowers writes in the opening sentences of this book, "is being challenged on two fronts. On the one there are the communists and on the other the fascists, and these two are as one in their common purpose to exterminate democracy . . . and to make men a mere cog in the machine of a police state." For this reason, he continues,

there is need "to review and reappraise the democratic or the American way of life, and for the generality of people to familiarize themselves with the processes and struggles through which we established the governmental system and adopted the philosophy through which we have made phenomenal progress and become the most powerful nation on the earth in which men are free."

There can be no quarrel with these assertions, but, in the lectures that follow them, Mr. Bowers portrays a strange and unfamiliar variety of democracy and freedom. Andrew Jackson is his central figure, and of him, the author says that his "conception of party leadership is well defined. He thought of a political party as an army, munitioned with elemental principles, fighting for policies in conformity with those principles. He insisted on a party organization reaching down from the commander-in-chief to the most insignificant private in the most obscure hamlet and all undeviatingly following the program handed down from the leader."

This avowal of belief in the *Führer* principle is not an accident of phrasing. Democracy came to America, he says, not from the desire of the people for freedom, but "only after a prolonged and bitter struggle and when a leader worthy of the democratic cause appeared upon the scene in Thomas Jefferson." And of James K. Polk, Mr. Bowers writes in one place that "thus with unerring judgment, he led the forces of the Jackson administration, and his leadership was acclaimed by the Jacksonians throughout the nation"; and in another that "the record proves that the nation owes an enormous debt of gratitude to Polk and the brilliant success of his administration, which in four years solved grave problems that had baffled his predecessors."

Fortunately for the United States, Mr. Bowers' interpretation of its past is not entirely accurate, and its people have never been willing to accept its leaders as paragons of virtue to be followed blindfolded. Nor have these people been willing to accept orders and obey them undeviatingly, and if someone has expected them to be grateful he has always been disappointed. This is not to deny that Mr. Bowers' heroes were courageous, honest, and loyal citizens and public officers. They were, but, in spite of Mr. Bowers' belief, so were most of their opponents.

It is in his discussion of the motives, policies, and characters of the men who dared oppose Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk that Mr. Bowers is least trustworthy. In one brief section of four pages on Nicholas Biddle and the Bank of the United States, there are twenty-four misstatements or misinterpretations of fact. And he concludes this section with the statement that "the issue was then crystal clear. . . . Should the economic rights of the common man give way to the domination of money? Should the democracy which triumphed under Jefferson end after thirty years to the Hamiltonian concept of society that Jefferson had crushed." Certainly, no one, not even Mr. Bowers, can examine the subsequent history of the United States and find that the influence of wealth was lessened by Jack-

son's financial policies or that the opportunity for speculative enrichment at the expense of the poor was decreased.

When Jackson became President on March 4, 1829, the American currency was elastic, uniform, and completely adequate for the needs of a prosperous and expanding economy. The Bank of the United States was the balance wheel of a complex but effective financial and credit system which was useful to every group in the country. When Jackson left office, this system was wrecked. The only accomplishment of his reform movement was the elimination of the one financial institution in the country which, prior to the Federal Reserve System, had public responsibilities equivalent to its great powers. The private banks and the general economy were left without controls, guidance, or support, subject to the unrestrained effects of the laws of trade, speculative manipulation, and foreign pressures.

The resulting destruction of values in the depression of the early 1840's and the speculative excesses which characterized the rest of the century, were attributable to Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk and the weakness of government they advocated. Hamilton and his followers had insisted that men, unrestrained by government, would turn upon each other, and the anarchy of the latter part of the nineteenth century proved them to be the truer prophets. Individual freedom was destroyed in many places by the unrestricted power of private tyrannies established by ruthless men and corporations. Only the speculators and a relatively few men of great wealth profited as the economy moved through an unrestrained cycle of boom and bust to the financial ruin of most farmers, merchants, local bankers, manufacturers, and transportation companies. Violence became the accustomed mode of settling disputes over land and water in the West, white supremacy in the South, the right of labor to organize, and between rival corporations. And when the nation, in an effort to remedy these abuses, turned back to the past, it was not to the laissez-faire doctrines of Mr. Bowers' heroes, but to those measures of governmental restraint advocated by Hamilton.

Mr. Bowers has based his lectures on the assumption, which has been accepted by too many historians, that the American society, rather than being interrelated and interdependent, is divided into groups with separate and conflicting interests, and that a policy which enriches some must impoverish others. He does not admit what was proved under Hamilton in the last part of the eighteenth century and reconfirmed in the middle of the twentieth, that if you increase the wages of workers and the income of farmers, you will increase the economic prosperity of all. And conversely, that you cannot destroy the profits and prosperity of the merchants, bankers, and manufacturers without causing depression and unemployment. To him, as to Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk, whenever one man is richer than another, if the riches came from anything but farming, then they have been gained unfairly. It is time for such ideas to be abandoned.

The Reputation of the American Businessman. By SIGMUND DIAMOND. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955. [xii], 209 p. Index. \$4.00.)

This is an ingenious and illuminating enterprise. Mr. Diamond has sought to ascertain what public opinion thought about certain rich men at the time of their deaths. For his purpose he has used sermons, eulogies, biographies timed to the decease of his subject, and periodical and newspaper articles. Only those who have examined the documentation of his original thesis can have a just idea of the extent and dispersion of the newspaper sources he has sampled; it is enough to note that for each of his six businessmen he found material in at least one hundred newspapers.

Mr. Diamond might have presented his material by making categories and arranging some thousands of lineal inches of print under them; instead, he has chosen the qualitative way of quotation. The decision was wise, for it gives the flavor of evaluation and thus adds to reader interest. This is not to say that all parts of the volume are of equal interest. On this count the chapters on Girard, Astor, and Vanderbilt are inferior to those on Morgan, Rockefeller, and Ford. Perhaps the availability of labor union and proletarian comments in the case of the latter three gives an agreeable and decisive clash of opinion. On the whole, the chapter on Morgan is the best of the lot, for his career presented the greatest challenge to stereotyped evaluation. Throughout, Mr. Diamond's narrative confirms and elaborates the myth of the self-made man, treated recently in another volume by I. G. Wyllie. Mr. Diamond, however, has judiciously refused to follow the will-o'-the-wisp of deciding whether his epitaph examples accord with reality. Only in his notes does he embark on factual clarification and reveal his own slant.

This is not to say that Mr. Diamond is not in a position to analyze and generalize, for he does both within the system of ideas he is dealing with. Geographically, his wide-flung net of sampling has discovered little variation in opinion; the sectional influence was apparently negligible. Chronologically, he detects an evolution in the myth and symbolism surrounding the businessman. In the early nineteenth century, individual qualities and effort explained business success; in the twentieth century, the business system—identified with capitalism or free enterprise—is used to explain the success of the businessman. "Only in America," runs the repeated phrase, were such opportunity and such unlimited achievement possible. The attack on the businessman thus became an attack on America. On the whole, this thesis is soundly documented. One aspect of the subject, perhaps a subsidiary one, is comparatively untouched. These estimates reveal as much about editors and eulogists, and perhaps about American democracy, as they reveal about rich men. In this context the evolution here set forth is creditable in its increasing sophistication: wealth is the result not only of individual but of social activity. At this point the good seems to stop. From those on Girard to those on Ford, the judgments, here collected, are uni-

formly cocksure, tasteless in expressing both malice and praise, cruelly unjust or stupidly unctuous, and, most of all, extremely arrogant. Admirers or detractors hesitated not a second in deciding whether their heroes went to heaven or their villains to hell. In a more humble age these were matters presumably left to God's decision or, at the very least, postponed to judgment day. Viewed by standards of intellectual poise, impartiality, and understanding, the record here set forth is disheartening. Perhaps that is why one closes this interesting book with a sigh.

Bowdoin College

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

The Self-Made Man in America. The Myth of Rags to Riches. By IRVIN G. WYLLIE. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. x, 210 p. Illustrations, index. \$4.00.)

For more than two hundred years, the ideas of American political, educational, and religious leaders have been studied. In political thought, particularly, scholars have reached a high level of understanding regarding the representative character of certain ideas—who held them, when and how far they spread. In contrast, the thinking of businessmen, the remaining and most numerically important part of the social elite, is largely unexplored territory.

Mr. Wyllie examines one of the stereotypes of nineteenth-century business thought, the idea of the self-made man. Books, articles, and sermons on how to succeed in business and on the virtue of success began to appear in quantity in the 1840's. The main elements of the argument appear to have changed little over the next fifty years. God was seen as directly interested in the process. He approved of care in selecting a calling, of self-help, of frugality and plain living, and of strict attention to business. While this sounds like Calvinism, the grim doctrine of predestination faded into the background, and God's grace was seen as a reward for proper attention to business.

The public champions of this ideology were largely ministers and professional writers. Relatively few active businessmen expressed such views publicly. Those who did, like Carnegie, Cooper, or Drew, were likely to be too eccentric, too rich, or too successful to be regarded as representative of ordinary American businessmen. Thus the extent of business acceptance of the self-help doctrines has to be inferred, largely from the absence of opposite views.

Scholars attempting to analyze business opinion are always likely to be misled by the few but articulate leaders of big business. Although big bureaucratic companies were numerous only in transportation and some lines

of industry, the chance to be a self-made man is pictured as substantially diminished by 1900. Statistically, the number of avenues of opportunity blocked by the social or educational demands of big management were relatively few. The great majority of American businessmen in 1900, or 1955, were, and are, engaged in small or medium sized business. And the business system as a whole has steadily grown in relation to the size of the total population.

In a similar vein, success is discussed in terms of becoming a multi-millionaire, whereas satisfactory success to most American businessmen of 1900 may have meant connection with a secure, going concern and enough saved to ensure a comfortable income. The thousands of men with spacious homes and several servants were successes in their own communities. Seen in these terms, the opportunities for success were greater in 1900 than in 1850.

More important than the presumed closing down of opportunity in altering the doctrine of self-help would appear to be new secular approaches to the elements making for success. By the end of the century, Mr. Wyllie notes, evolutionary theory with its emphasis on inevitable progress through natural law, and specialized education with its insistence on training rather than virtue were superseding the older moralistic, self-help formula. The growing emphasis on training was undoubtedly a reaction to more complex technology and systems of management, but it was also a sign of the increasing number of Americans who had such education. In spite of rival philosophies and the vigorous attacks of progressives, muckrakers, and other critics, the old formula continued to have its proponents in the depression of the 1930's.

Mr. Wyllie attacks the view advanced in Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism* that the evolutionary philosophy of the survival of the fittest as written by Herbert Spencer and preached by Fiske and Youmans spread rapidly in the seventies and eighties. The self-help doctrine, as illustrated in many popular books and as taught in business colleges, is seen as still dominant in business attitudes. Too little systematic analysis of business opinion has been carried out to support either contention. Among railroad leaders, at least, both views were present, and not generally regarded as in conflict.

The fact that the ideology of the self-made man has to be seen in relation to a changing culture would make more chronological ordering desirable in the present book. Explanatory rather than provocative chapter titles would also help.

But when a young and able scholar such as Irvin G. Wyllie is willing to plunge into the uncharted wilderness of business ideas he should be cheered rather than criticised, and my comments are chiefly designed to indicate the large amount of investigation necessary to give the analysis of business thought the form and clarity of the history of political thought.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

The Battle Cry of Freedom. The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade. By SAMUEL A. JOHNSON. (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1954. [xii], 357 p. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

This is the definitive study of the famous New England Emigrant Aid Company, which did so much to stir the North to the defense of Kansas and Free Soil; it seems unlikely that future need will make another retelling of this particular story desirable. Professor Johnson has used intensively the "papers and effects" of the Company itself, and much else, both printed and unprinted, which bears upon the subject. There can be little doubt that he has presented us with an accurate tale, seen as judiciously as care and awareness of issues can permit.

Cool-headedness and impartiality are essential to the telling of a movement which attracted so much partisan attention. Was Eli Thayer, evangelist of emigration, an ardent abolitionist, or an opportunist? It would seem that he was something of both. Was the Company a speculative enterprise, or was it dedicated to human freedom? Professor Johnson sees its directors, headed by Amos A. Lawrence, without veils, as conservative businessmen, most of whom also hoped that their company would pay a profit, but whose first consideration was that Kansas be rescued from slavery. But did the Company obtrude upon that territory, interfere with its natural political development; did it subsidize Free State men to go to Kansas merely to vote Free State and depart? Professor Johnson finds "not one shred of valid evidence" to this effect. The Company advertised Kansas as a proper home for Northerners, it organized, arranged, encouraged. Thanks to careless and overeager agents, it did not always present an accurate statement of conditions in Kansas, its money was not always disbursed in the business-like manner which was calculated to protect it from proslavery and political criticism. It did raise temporary huts for early settlers, and it bought, built, and aided the building of hotels and mills and other appurtenances of settlement in Kansas. It took the lead in organizing the Free State forces against aggressive and determined proslavery elements during critical periods in 1855 and 1856 when it became necessary to meet their increased efforts to halt the Free Soilers. How savage was the resultant war? Professor Johnson entitles one of his chapters "Bleeding Kansas," but the words are in quotation marks, and he takes pains to see the quarrels, fights, and deaths in perspective. "[It] was petty warfare indeed; but judged by its consequences, it was far more important than many a conflict waged on a much grander scale" (p. 181). By the spring of 1857, Free Soil emigrants were coming on their own, and in numbers which slavery partisans could not match. The Emigrant Aid Company, which had publicized the need for Northern settlers and had helped their advance columns to drive stakes into the territory, was no longer needed. It continued its career, largely for speculative purposes, but its mission—which had included the

building of the Republican Party—had been completed. “The Kansas crusade was ended.”

What emerges, then, is a lucid narrative of combined motives and mixed accomplishment, particularly in connection with some of the agents of the Company and co-operating personalities. At times, the tale is somewhat less than enthralling, as when Professor Johnson details the story of the Company's organization, its financial arrangements, and its business operations. In the end, one is pleased to observe that he has avoided the confusions which the Kansas chronicle holds for the unwary. His book contrasts instructively with another recent book on the general subject by Alice Nichols, published, this time without quotation marks, under the title *Bleeding Kansas*. This author read widely in secondary sources, and caught some of the fire of newspaper accounts of events, as well as a sense of the drama which Kansas symbolized. Alas, she was too quick to take asseverations for facts, and to find drama if it was anywhere suggested. Some of her passages are arresting and evocative, but their significance cannot be trusted. One is always happy to point to a proper mating of style and substance; but, in history, the first consideration must always be substance. Miss Nichols' book is expendable; Professor Johnson's is a permanent addition to the history of the antislavery crusade.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

Lincoln and the Party Divided. By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. xii, 264 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Many elections past and present attest to the fact that national political campaigns in the United States are not always among the glories of the democracy. The contest of 1864 stands even yet as a shudder-provoking example of the depths that politics can plumb. Perversely enough, the often demonstrated rule seems to be that the more serious the crisis, the more blatant the crusade.

Professor Zornow in *Lincoln and the Party Divided* has presented in all-too-limited a compass the tangled web of jealousies, personal ambitions, and burning hostilities, open and covert, that flared over the North with the beginning of the search for a Presidential candidate as Lincoln entered the last year of his first administration. Among the basic issues were the preservation of the Union, the defense of civil rights, the abolition of slavery, and, strange to say, the unseating of a President unbelievably hated, on the surface at least, by the leaders in his own party. The bulwark of opposition to Lincoln's nomination was the radicals, or “Unconditionals,” as the author chooses to designate them; the heart of the Lincoln strength was the common people.

The vagaries of the bitter quest for someone who could unhorse Lincoln are related with directness by Professor Zornow. But the strivings of Salmon P. Chase to stir a pudding that would "not rise," the eager—and persistent—push of Ben Butler to hoist himself to glory, and the always obvious willingness of "romantic" John C. Frémont to lead a cause are not ingredients of a thrilling story, whatever the skill of the author. Factional successes and attempted political bargains only deepened the dissensions. Even the eventual nomination of Lincoln was marred by the fact that there were those who soon began a movement to nullify that action.

The campaign was no less uninspiring than the nominations. There were basic policies to be determined and perplexing problems to be solved, and yet those who conducted the campaign did indeed, as one writer at the time put it, hurl their "oratory, elocution, rhetoric, declamation, and eloquence . . . into the troubled air." But in spite of the horde of individuals who harassed the voters and dumped prodigious quantities of political literature into their laps, no real issues were developed and no fundamental principles were discussed. With a critical war to win, the Union party, uncertain, divided, and not devoid of questionable elements itself, chose to appeal to the electorate for support on the basis that the Democrats were traitors. And so in November, the people went to the polls with nothing to vote *for* and with no clear evidence of what they were voting *against*. The furloughing of thousands of soldiers at election time was, says the author, not decisive. The faith of rural and small-town folks brought Lincoln's hard-won victory.

Professor Zornow, while he has made liberal use of the papers of leading figures in the political drama of 1864, has in his story presented no great amount of new material. He has, however, corrected some errors of the past and made some fresh interpretations that will be generally accepted. He is firmly convinced that the election, whatever the outcome, could have had little effect on the war, for by March 4, 1865, the momentous struggle had reached the point where no individual, even in the Presidency, could stay the course of events. Politically, he points out, the election marked the beginning of a long-time dominance of the Republican Party—although at the moment nobody but the Democrats admitted that there was a Republican Party.

The book is a good one; to this reviewer, at least, the chief criticism is that it is only a brief general survey of the major factors involved in the election of 1864 and not, as the title suggests, a critical study of the forces and developments that temporarily disrupted the Republican organization and returned Lincoln to the White House as the representative of a party that had no unity, no place in the hearts of the people, and no hope for permanence. The index is satisfactory, and there are few typographical errors.

Bull Run Remembers. . . . The History, Traditions and Landmarks of the Manassas (Bull Run) Campaigns before Washington, 1861-1862. By JOSEPH MILLS HANSON. (Manassas, Va.: National Capitol Publishers, Inc., 1953. x, 194 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$1.90.)

In *Bull Run Remembers*, Mr. Hanson, a former superintendent of the Manassas National Battlefield Park, has produced a volume in which are revealed in chronological order the various military events which occurred in the vicinity of Manassas, Virginia, during the Civil War, including a very interesting and little-known description of what today would be called "amphibious operations" along the Potomac River. The book is divided in sections starting with the First Bull Run (or First Manassas) in July, 1861, then the interlude to August, 1862, with the Second Bull Run (or Second Manassas, as you may prefer); various tables give the make-up of the armies, the losses, and so forth, and, finally, there are several unrelated sections on incidents and stories of events at Manassas, and a list of landmarks and historical monuments and markers.

In no other battles of the Civil War, Mr. Hanson points out, were there so many similar features and so many dissimilar and contradictory events, which confuse not only the tyro on the details of these battles, but the expert as well.

Just to start the confusion, at the First Bull Run the Union army was called the Army of Northeastern Virginia and the Confederate army, the Army of the Potomac. Then, the two battles were fought over the same territory, so that on the "Henry House Hill," for example, one has to remember which battle he is talking about to recall events at this historic spot. In both battles, superior leadership on the part of the Confederates brought overwhelming victory, and in each case a numerically superior Union (or Federal) army fell back on Washington in utter confusion. It is a safe assumption that almost any army commanded by Lee and Jackson could beat any army commanded by Pope, as happened at Second Manassas. Again, at First Bull Run, Joseph E. Johnston, Beauregard, and Jackson were opposing the unfortunate McDowell and the Division Commanders, all second-rate or worse, in his makeshift army.

The extraordinary story of Wilmer McLean, a farmer near Blackburn's Ford, who had the Civil War break out, so to speak, in his front yard at Bull Run, and then moved way down to Appomattox only to have the war end in his front parlor with Lee's surrender, is probably one of the most astonishing coincidences in history. "On the morning of April 9th, 1865," says Hanson, "while walking down the village street in Appomattox, [McLean] was accosted by two horsemen, one in the uniform of a Union officer, the other in Confederate gray. They asked him to conduct them to a house where they might find a room large enough for the holding of a con-

ference." So, all unwitting as to what great historical event his parlor would witness, McLean set the stage for the scene that ended a war whose opening guns had wrecked his kitchen near Manassas three and a half years before.

A story of the lost "Panorama of the Second Battle of Bull Run" painted by Kowalsky in 1885 is included, and two small segment pictures from this are reproduced. The massive painting itself disappeared after being shown in Washington and elsewhere and has never been located since; perhaps it went back to France with Kowalsky and was destroyed there.

One of the most interesting quotations in this book is a nineteen-line summary of the first battle of Bull Run used at the U. S. Military Academy for the instruction of the Cadets. Here in about one hundred and fifty words is a perfect picture from a military angle of two untrained mobs fighting each other; it was a tossup which would give way first. As it happened, Confederate reinforcements arrived just in time to hearten their retreating troops, who returned to overwhelm their equally exhausted opponents; no pursuit was attempted by the untrained Southerners.

Bull Run Remembers contains quite a few illustrations of houses, landmarks, and scenes famous in both battles, a selected bibliography, and a good index, and is a most useful book to have along should one desire to visit Manassas and take time to investigate these battles and their impact on the Civil War and American history. Recommended as a valuable addition to a Civil War library or as a guidebook for that field of battle.

Paoli

KENT PACKARD

Rebel Rose. Life of Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Confederate Spy. By ISHBEL ROSS. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. xiv, 294 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History. By JAMES D. HORAN. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1954. xxvi, 326 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

Espionage during Civil War days was a crude, individualistic performance compared with the highly organized and widespread methods now employed. The spies were essentially amateurs, and there was no organized fifth column. The penalty for detection and arrest was apt to be much less severe than is at present the case.

"Rebel Rose," Mrs. Rose O'Neal Greenhow, was a cultured, much traveled, and well-connected woman, who, previous to the Civil War, had lived much of the time in Washington where she had established friendly contacts with most of the important and influential men. Some of them called her their "Wild Rose" and gave her access to and knowledge of many "secrets" of government. When war came, Mrs. Greenhow, strong in her support of the Southern cause, was able to obtain information concerning

military plans and troop movements that she constantly relayed to the Confederate authorities. Some of the information was useful, but much of it had no more value than gossip.

Mrs. Greenhow's most valuable contribution to the Southern cause was the information she was able to send to Richmond concerning the planned movements of the Union troops to the field of the First Bull Run. Long under suspicion, she was arrested on August 23, 1861, placed under house arrest and later transferred to the Old Capitol Prison. She was finally brought to trial in March, 1862, and sentenced to be banished to the Confederate capital at Richmond where she went in June, 1862.

For the next year she was more or less a quiet observer of events in Richmond and passed the time composing a book on her arrest and imprisonment in Washington. Early in August, 1863, it was arranged for her to run the blockade to England where she expected to get her book published, in the meantime doing what she could to arouse sympathy and secure help for the Southern cause. After a year in England and France, she sailed on her return to Richmond heavily weighed down with two thousand dollars in gold carried in a belt or sewed into her clothing. The blockade runner on which she sailed ran aground in entering Wilmington, North Carolina, harbor. Impatient at the delay, Mrs. Greenhow insisted on going ashore in a heavy sea in a small boat. The boat capsized and the "Rebel Rose," weighed down by the gold which she carried, was lost in the rushing sea. All others in the boat were saved.

Miss Ross has written an interesting account of Mrs. Greenhow's life, based on published materials and to some extent on contemporary newspapers. There are a few minor errors.

Confederate Agent, largely an account of the Confederate career of Captain Thomas H. Hines of Kentucky, is a more original and thorough book, based on much unpublished and hitherto unused manuscript material. After several years of service with Morgan's cavalry, Hines, with others, was taken prisoner, helped to engineer a spectacular escape from the Ohio penitentiary in Columbus, and early in February, 1864, appeared in Richmond. He proposed a plan to create a revolution in the "Northwest" with the aid of the Copperheads in that region to free Confederate soldiers in Northern prison camps and to gain control of several of the large cities in the area. Because of his prior contact and experience with the Copperheads, Hines was chosen as "the logical man to lead the military command of such a project," and was thereafter the dynamic head and leader of the attempt to create a revolution in the states north of the Ohio River.

Confederate Agent is a detailed account of Hines's efforts, which, in general, failed for lack of sufficient resources and because the Copperhead leaders drew back at the critical moments when wholehearted and effective co-operation might have achieved some measure of success. Instead, about all that Hines really achieved was to become a nuisance rather than a dangerous and effective weapon. Attempts at revolution in Indiana, in Illinois,

and in Ohio, bank raids in Vermont, and attempts to burn New York, Chicago, and other Northern cities all failed—and then the war ended.

A short chapter (pp. 107–112) is given to the abortive meeting of the Confederate Commissioners with Horace Greeley at Niagara Falls late in 1864. In this account, James P. Holcombe (not Holcomb) is the principal character. For some reason, unnecessary mystery is attached to Holcombe's activities and ultimate fate. Holcombe, at Halifax, boarded the blockade runner bearing Mrs. Greenhow to Wilmington, North Carolina. The author insists that Holcombe left Niagara Falls en route to London and cannot understand why he should have boarded a vessel bound for a Southern port. In his report to Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, Holcombe makes no mention of any plan to go to London. This letter was included in the Pickett Papers sold to the United States Government in 1872 and, at the time, was widely published in the newspapers.

Confederate Agent is essentially a bringing-up-to-date of "The Northwest Conspiracy," signed by Hines, but written by one of his associates, Captain John B. Castleman, and published in *The Southern Bivouac* in 1886–1887. At the time, many persons involved in the so-called "Conspiracy" were still living, and Castleman was reluctant to criticize. Consequently, he told only half the story, leaving out mention of names and acts that might have given offense.

The author has done extensive research both in published and unpublished materials, some of the latter never before used. He seems not to have consulted only the Pickett Papers. He has made an interesting and valuable contribution to the "hidden" history of the Civil War. Both these books are well illustrated, both have useful bibliographies, and each has an index.

Locust Valley, N. Y.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY

The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman. By GAY WILSON ALLEN. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955. xviii, 614 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. \$8.00.)

Professor Gay Wilson Allen, of New York University, has given us in his *The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* the most comprehensive and exhaustive work on the poet that has thus far appeared. It is, as the title indicates, not only a biography, but a critical examination of the subject's poetry and prose.

Allen has so carefully tracked down the path and career of Whitman from his birth on May 31, 1819, at West Hills, Long Island, to his death in Camden on March 27, 1892, that we know almost every place where he had been, and everything that he did, wrote, and said. The book is thoroughly documented, does not read like a chronology; in fact, it holds the reader with

breathless interest, and pages of facts are relieved by pages of critical insight. Allen has profited, and so acknowledges, by Whitman's early newspaper work resurrected by Emory and Holloway, and especially by access to the material accumulated by the late Clifton J. Furness, who never completed his own intended work and whom Allen (perhaps a little ungraciously) calls "one of the most tragic failures I have known among scholars." Furness did publish a valuable work in connection with Whitman, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, to which Allen's notes show he is indebted.

Most of the essential facts of Whitman's life have become familiar by this time. It is a far cry from the adverse view held of him, with few exceptions, in his lifetime and even for a couple of decades after his death, to the adulation and even reverence that have since been his lot. Those who in the past wanted to be generous found one bright spot in his life, the period when he acted as a voluntary nurse to soldiers wounded in the Civil War, and they commended one poem of his, "Captain, My Captain," not only because it was a tribute to Lincoln, but because in form it had an approach to regular meter, somewhat different from the irregular rhythms of his other poems. The value of Allen's book is that it is sympathetic, without being adulatory. The best tribute to be paid to it is to declare that here is *the* book to read about Whitman for a verbal portrait of the man, for insight into his mind as a thinker and his soul as a poet. It analyzes the *Leaves of Grass* poem by poem, and devotes space to the neglected *Prose Works*.

It is not to be wondered at that a work abounding in so many facts should have inaccuracies; some, however, are inexcusable. It was not a Senator from South Carolina who beat Charles Sumner with a cane, but a Congressman (Brooks). Had 10,000 been killed and wounded in the draft riots in New York in 1863, it would have been a massacre, not a riot; probably 1,000 were killed. Allen has also misquoted sources, as when he assumes that Whitman was angry because he was not selected to read the opening poem at the Centennial instead of Bayard Taylor, and that he therefore visited the Exhibition only once. Whittier, not Taylor, delivered the opening poem, and Whitman visited the Exhibition many times. The reviewer has noted at least a score of such errors, which it is hoped will be corrected in a new edition.

The chief fault of the book is that the word "perhaps" and other similar terms are constantly used. There must be nearly fifty in the first chapter of thirty-eight pages alone. Not that Allen makes many bad guesses, but these "perhappes" create in the reader a feeling of uneasiness as to whether the author is always sure of what he is saying. There are, of course, matters on which there is controversy. Allen underplays the role that women occupied in the poet's life. He does not believe that Whitman, although not married, had children, as Whitman himself admitted on several occasions; he does not concede that the poet entertained homoerotic feelings. There is also what has been called some "small beer" in the book; the poet's relatives are given too much space.

Allen's literary judgment on the whole is very sound, but he has done obeisance to the "new criticism" with its identification of literary criticism as a quest and imaginary interpretation of "images," "symbols," and "myths."

Withal, this is still a monumental biography of a great poet by a masterly writer.

Philadelphia

ALBERT MORDELL

NOTICE

The Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America is searching for letters of Hannah Penn, wife of William Penn, and letters to her or about her. The Committee wants photostats only, not originals. Please communicate with the Secretary, 1630 Latimer Street, Philadelphia.